In his 86th year, George Richardson wrote sixty long letters urging Friends to take up foreign missionary work. This effort greatly helped forward the movement that led up to the formation of the F.F.M.A.

(Photo by the late Sidney Weston, of Folkestone. Block kindly lent by Emma R. Pumphrey, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, great-niece of G. R.)
Friends Beyond Seas

BY

HENRY T. HODGKIN, M.A., M.B.
SECRETARY OF THE FRIENDS' FOREIGN MISSION ASSOCIATION, AND SOMETIME MISSIONARY IN CHENG TU, WEST CHINA

"So if any be moved to the contributing and for helping them beyond seas, cheerfully do it, and every one to the ministry yourselves which is [unto] the seed Christ, for England is as a family of prophets, which must spread over all nations."

Epistle of Skipton General Meeting, 1660

LONDON
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1916
To the Memory of

THOSE FEARLESS AND FAR-SIGHTED MEN AND WOMEN
WHOSE FAITH, COURAGE AND PATIENCE HAVE BEEN THE MEANS
USED OF GOD
FOR LEADING THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS INTO
A LARGER LIFE AND A FULLER SERVICE,
ESPECIALLY OF MY FRIENDS
HENRY STANLEY NEWMAN,
WATSON GRACE,
AND
WILLIAM WILSON,
AND
To my Colleagues at Home and Abroad
WITH WHOM IT IS MY DELIGHT AND PRIVILEGE TO BE
ASSOCIATED IN THE WORK OF THE
FRIENDS' FOREIGN MISSION ASSOCIATION,
I GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.
PREFACE.

THE present volume has a very definite purpose. Its object is to trace the history of foreign missionary endeavour in the Society of Friends from the days of George Fox until now, and to discuss the relation of Quakerism to the missionary movement. Those who seek a detailed history of every phase of missionary work carried on by Friends will be disappointed. Within the limits of space available, it would have been impossible to enter into such detail. The chief difficulty I have encountered has been the discarding of so large a part of the wealth of material available. I have been compelled to leave out much of very deep interest to the missionary student. In particular, little reference has been possible to isolated efforts either on the part of individual Friends or by small groups. Many of these have been of real value, and are only omitted as not having sufficient bearing on the central question of the relation of missionary effort to the life of the Society as a whole. Mission work by American Friends has also found a very small place. Its full treatment would require another volume. The fact that many who have played a leading part in the development of missionary work among Friends are, happily, still living, has prevented me from making fuller personal references.

I hope that what remains may prove of real value and interest. The main lines of development have been
A number of other friends have kindly supplied me with letters and other material of value. Unfortunately, there has not been room, in this volume, to use more than a small fraction of it. I wish to express also my satisfaction and appreciation of the willing and efficient service rendered me in this, as in much other work, by my typist, Miss M. Dobell.

To me the many blemishes are apparent, due, in some measure, at any rate, to the pressure of much other work that had to be given preference while this book was in course of preparation. I well know that the subject is worthy of a better treatment. I am confident, however, that its own deep interest will serve to cover some of the writer's faults, and that any who make a personal study of it will be rewarded by a quickening of their faith and an enlarging of their sympathies. I commend the work to Him in Whose service it was undertaken, and the extension of Whose Kingdom has been the chief aim of the men and women whose labours are here recorded.

HENRY T. HODGKIN.

Easter Sunday, 1916.
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FRIENDS BEYOND SEAS.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.

The religion of Jesus Christ is essentially missionary and universal. Its claim to be so rests upon the whole teaching and spirit of its Founder, and not simply upon a few stray sentences that fell from His lips. That which makes a man a Christian gives him, at the same time, a world mission. He cannot, in any true sense, hold the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and withhold it from any race or any human being. What Christ is to me, He is not because I am an Englishman, because I have a certain training, environment, ancestry, colour or speech, but simply and solely because I am a man. If it be a fact that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself," that He "hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son"; if our Lord was not mistaken when He said: "All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father: and no one knoweth . . . the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him"—if these things, which lie at the root of our faith as Christians, be indeed true, then the Gospel must be for the whole human race, and no one nation or group of nations has any peculiar
In the light of these thoughts, the wonder of Church History is not that Christianity has spread so far and won such signal victories, but rather that the Church has even continued to live during those long periods when she has denied her universal mission, and kept for herself what was given her to hold in trust for others. It is difficult to explain how, with so inadequate an understanding of the central passion of her Lord's heart, she was able to retain enough vitality to hand on the message from generation to generation. The early days of Christianity witnessed a great outburst of missionary activity. Every nation which calls itself Christian owes the Gospel to missionary effort. Every great revival within the Church has been characterised by missionary activity. Nevertheless, there have been long barren intervals in the life of the Church as a whole, and in the life of separate sections of it, when there has been little, if any, recognition of the missionary obligation, and no serious effort to discharge it. Only the fact that she was being preserved by a greater Power in order some day to fulfil her high destiny can account for her deliverance from irremediable and fatal decay during these periods.

THE EARLY MISSIONARY MOVEMENT.

Such thoughts as these inevitably pass through one's mind in reviewing the history of the Society of Friends during the first two hundred years of its existence. Here in miniature we see an epitome of the Church's history. We have first the early enthusiasm carrying all before it. "England is as a family of prophets which must spread over all nations, as a garden of plants, and the place where the pearl is found which must enrich all
nations with the heavenly treasure, out of which shall the waters of life flow, and water all the thirsty ground, and out of which nation and dominion must go the spiritually weaponed and armed men, to fight and conquer all nations, and bring them to the nation of God.”

Into all parts of the world the early Friends carried their glorious gospel of life and power. It was too good a thing to be kept to themselves. To every man, they believed, was given a “seed of God.” They had only to go and proclaim the message, and a response would be awakened in the heart of “blacks and Indians,” just as surely as they had found among the Seekers in Swaledale and Westmorland. An outside observer says of them: “They say that they know they shall overspread the face of the earth; and when any oppose their way they seem to prophesy, and tell them they may oppose the truth for a time, but they know they shall be of the same mind within three years to come.”

When Anthony Pearson saw Oliver Cromwell, he showed him what great things the Lord had done in the North, which was going over England, and should pass over the whole earth.”

George Fox himself, both by word and example, showed that he believed his message to have a universal application. He summons Friends in West Jersey and Pennsylvania to “have some meetings with the Indian kings and their councils, to let them know the principles of Truth; so that they may know the way of salvation, and the nature of true Christianity, and how that Christ hath died for them, who ‘tasted death for every man’ (and so the Gospel of salvation must be preached to every creature

* Epistle of Skipton General Meeting, 25th April, 1660. See Appendix, p. 242.
† Timothy Langley letter, dated 28th December, 1657. Quoted in “Beginnings of Quakerism,” William C. Braithwaite, p. 230.
under heaven)."* He included in his personal activities visits to Negroes and Red Indians in the West Indies and America, as well as to Holland and parts of Germany.

The earliest example of what we should now call foreign missionary work is in 1657 and 1658, when John Bowron of Cotherstone, in Durham, after visiting the Orkneys and the West Indies, spent some time in travelling through Surinam, then an English plantation under Lord Willoughby. The natives, who were mostly naked, listened to him "as a good man come from far to preach the white man's God." "He went to their sort of worship, which was performed by beating upon hollow trees, and making a great noise with skins, like a sort of drums, and he declared the word of the Lord among them by an interpreter ... and spake to their kings, who were arrayed with fish-shells hung about their necks and arms, and they spake to him in their language, and confessed he was a good man come from far to preach the white man's God."†

Other early Friends visited Italy, Turkey, Jerusalem, Bermuda, Antigua and many other places, declaring "the everlasting gospel of peace unto them that have been afar off, that they might be brought nigh unto God."‡ Nor was this merely an individual matter. The Church, in its corporate capacity, entered into these concerns, the first collection of National Stock being taken, in 1657, for service beyond the seas. £443 3s. 5d. was collected for "the service of Truth." The second collection was also confined to foreign service, and was

† From "Piety Promoted," Vol. I., p. 234, quoted in "Quakerism in the American Colonies," p. 43. See also pp. 73 ff. for the journeys of John Coale and others. J. C. "had, in a peculiar way, the key to the Indians' hearts. They loved him, trusted him, and 'had true breathings to know his God.'"
‡ Epistle of Skipton General Meeting, 1660.
called for in 1658 by an epistle signed by forty Friends because they had "heard of great things done by the mighty power of God, in many nations beyond the seas, whither He hath called forth many of our dear brethren and sisters, to preach the everlasting Gospel."* A full account is preserved of the expenditure of the first sum so collected, including payments on account of visits to eight countries or states across the seas.

It is clearly impossible to do anything like justice to the many and varied labours of Friends of this period. They went out charged with a burning sense of call, and persuaded that the Truth which had been given to them should and would spread to every nation. They carried with them epistles from Fox, mostly in Latin and English, among them being one addressed "To all the nations under the whole heavens." They often suffered much. In some cases they were shipped back as disturbers of the peace. Some were cast into prison, notably two women, Katherine Evans and Sarah Chevers, who fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and were only liberated after three and a half years' confinement. "On their release they knelt down and prayed God not to lay to the charge of the officers of the Inquisition the evil they had done to them."†

There were many other remarkable women missionaries who preached and suffered for the truth. Among these perhaps the most striking figure is that of Mary Fisher. With a Friend named Elizabeth Williams, she discoursed at Cambridge to the undergraduates "about the things

* Epistles from the Yearly Meeting, Vol. I., p. xxix. At a meeting of Friends out of the Northern Counties of York, Lincoln, Lancaster, Chester, Nottingham, Derby, Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, at Scalehouse, the 24th of the Fourth Month (June), 1658. The collection produced £252 11s. 8d. See "Beginnings of Quakerism," pp. 321-326. The term "National Stock" was for many years used in the Society of Friends for the Central Fund contributed for the general purposes of the Society as a whole.

† "Beginnings of Quakerism," p. 432.
of God,” and they were publicly “whipped until the blood ran down their bodies.” Imprisoned in York Castle three times, and also in Buckinghamshire, she was by no means deterred from carrying out the service to which she felt herself called. With Anne Austin she attempted to carry the Quaker message to Boston, but was banished from the Colony. With three men Friends and two other women, Mary Fisher set forth in 1657 to visit the Sultan of Turkey. The story of this visit has often been told—the wonderful leadings, the obstacles surmounted, the strange adventures through which Mary Fisher, then about twenty-four years of age, came at last alone into the presence of the Sultan at Adrianople, the courteous reception and the respectful hearing given her, the Sultan’s invitation to her to stay in the country because he felt “respect for one who had come so far with a message from God,” the offer of an armed escort to Constantinople for her return, which she refused. Mary Fisher was one of a number of women who realised that the Lord’s hand had been laid upon them, and that they had been called into His service. They were the spiritual ancestors of the splendid women who, in our own time, have heard the same voice, and have gone forth as missionaries to China, India, Ceylon, Madagascar, Syria and even Constantinople itself, as representatives of the Quaker faith.

With few exceptions, these efforts failed to bear any adequate fruitage. Probably this was due in part to their spasmodic character, in part to the failure on the part of Friends to enter intelligently into the conditions of those to whom they went. “Quakerism reached the Mediterranean shores not in a form which could bring its truths home to the comprehension of the Latin race and the Mohammedans, for this would have needed a sympathy and a knowledge far beyond the powers of the Publishers of the Truth, but rather as a sign of
some great but mysterious Divine working, which evidenced itself in the courage and pertinacity of those who pressed through every danger, even to Jerusalem or into the presence of the Sultan, and in the endurance which overcame even the rigours of the pitiless Inquisition."

PERIOD OF DECLINE.

It has been said that religious revivals seldom retain their warmth and purity for more than about forty years. Whatever be the general truth of this statement, it is a fact that, after the first generation of Friends, there was a marked falling off in that eager missionary spirit which characterised the early days. The year 1660 seems to have been something like a high-water mark in this respect. As the century closes, we hear less and less of fresh foreign work being undertaken, and of the claim of those in other lands.

In 1681, however, an enterprise was undertaken that had a definite missionary aspect. It has not been sufficiently recognised that William Penn's famous experiment in founding the colony of Pennsylvania was initiated in part as a missionary effort. Acting in that "universal spirit" to which he calls his fellow members, he set out to found a colony which should be to "the glory of God in the civilisation of the poor Indians, and their conversion by just and lenient measures to Christ's Kingdom." It was not Penn's fault if this aspect of his work was lost sight of, for "nothing could exceed

* "Beginnings of Quakerism," p. 433.

For further details of the early activities of Friends, see J. S. Rowntree's address at Darlington Conference, 1896, on "The Work of the Society of Friends in the Foreign Mission Field," and W. C. Braithwaite's "Beginnings of Quakerism," especially Chapters X. and XVI.
his love for these poor people, or his desire of instructing them, so as to bring them by degrees to the knowledge of the Christian religion; and in this great work he spared no expense, though whatever he bestowed in this way came solely out of his own pocket.” (Clarkson.)

In 1682 Friends in Algiers, Holland, and Germany are mentioned in the Epistle. In a few subsequent Epistles there are similar references, but there is a decrease in catholicity, and even in the missionary spirit, in its widest sense. The Society was faced with bitter and continuous persecution. Many of the Publishers of Truth died in prison, or wore out their strength prematurely. The leaders began to turn their attention to the organisation of the movement into a Society, and thereby severe internal strains arose. Already, in 1689, there was a “decay of primitive zeal, and, though the harvest was great, the faithful Gospel labourers were few.” (George Whitehead.) The Friends, in becoming a Society, had ceased primarily to be a “Camp of the Lord.”

It is frequently difficult, in spiritual things, to separate cause and effect; and it would be difficult to say how far the falling off in spiritual life was due to and how far it led to the lack of missionary zeal. So far as the records go, they would suggest that the Society, as a whole, very early turned its attention away from the distant peoples and remoter claims, and that it was only as the result of that change of outlook became felt that any considerable loss in spiritual vigour was generally noticed. Certainly the two changes were closely inter-related, and among the chief causes of both seems to have been the growing wealth of the young Church.*

Almost exactly two centuries elapsed between the

* See quotations given in Darlington Conference Report, pp. 36, 37.
The First Two Centuries

great missionary epoch of the early days and the genuine and widespread revival of missionary interest which resulted in the establishment of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association and kindred enterprises. During the larger part of this period the Society declined in numbers and in vitality. It became engrossed in minor matters, paying great attention to the precise kind of dress and form of speech suitable for its members, to small points of discipline, and generally to the care of the inner life and outward behaviour of its own members rather than to the promulgation of the truths which had been delivered to them. All honour should be given to those who upheld, by their beautiful lives, even more than by their searching words, the high standard of honesty and truth for which the Society always stood even in its darkest days. Recognition must also be made of the many travelling ministers who went from place to place, often holding public meetings and preaching to larger or smaller audiences. They exercised a certain influence outside the Society, and quite a number (about 132 between 1661 and 1771) visited America. It may be held that these Friends maintained the succession, and that the organised work of home and foreign missions can be regarded as having taken their place in the life of the Society. Unfortunately, however, the Society as a whole seems, to a large extent, to have lost the early vision. “The family of prophets which must spread over all nations” had become a self-contained, self-centred and somewhat self-satisfied group of respectable, consistent and philanthropic persons.

Among those who heard the Macedonian cry were such individuals as Thomas Chalkley, John Woolman, Stephen Grellet, Thomas Shillito. They undoubtedly helped to keep alive in the Society the thought of a universal mission. Any who
wish to gain an understanding of the period should study these lives. Perhaps even more valuable in this respect was the anti-slavery movement, which claimed the earnest thought of Friends for many years, and was animated by the desire that to all men should be given an equal opportunity, as all were equal in the sight of God.

The evangelical revival in the latter part of the 18th century, which not only gave birth to Methodism but out of which sprang the modern missionary movement, certainly had its effect upon the Society of Friends. We find an echo of it in the reference in the Yearly Meeting Epistle in 1791 to "that universal love which reaches over sea and land, and anxiously desires the welfare and happiness of the whole mass of mankind";* but this, it must be confessed, is practically an isolated reference to the world conception of Christianity during many years when the Epistles were occupied almost solely with counsels on the individual spiritual life and on Christian deportment. These documents form a unique index to the corporate condition of the Society, and in them we search almost in vain for any clear call to service outside the bounds of the Society, or for any realisation of the great need of the non-Christian world.†

When the call comes to the middle-aged "as valiants having on the armour of light," it is not that they may go forth to win victories, but that they may "withstand the attacks of the enemy."‡ There is frequent and wearisome reference to the danger of being led away from the truth. The virtues encouraged are resignation, constancy, consistency, plainness in dress and speech, reverence and so forth. The thought that "ye are not your own" becomes a call to regular attendance at

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† See Appendix, p. 242.
‡ Y.M. Epistle, 1808, Vol. II., p. 144.
meetings for worship rather than to active service on behalf of mankind.*

In 1806 an unusual step was taken as a result of the receipt of intelligence from North America of the missionary efforts of Friends there on behalf of the Red Indians. A collection was ordered by the Yearly Meeting, emphasis being placed on the promotion of their "civilisation," and over £7,000 was collected and sent to America for this purpose. The fund was used by Friends in Pennsylvania, New York and Maryland, all of whom were engaged in work among the Indians which would now be described as of the character of an industrial and educational mission. Several Friends offered themselves as resident workers, but they were not described as missionaries. They taught spinning, weaving, soap-making, farming, tanning, etc. The funds are spoken of as "for the purpose of promoting amongst them (the Indians) the principles of the Christian religion, as well as school-learning, agriculture and useful mechanic employments." The Meeting for Sufferings,†

* A typical utterance of this kind is found in the Epistle in 1796:—
"Let us consider, brethren, what is the cause of our dissent from the prevailing opinions and practices of the age. Is it not that we most surely believe that our faith is more consistent with the evangelical purity of the primitive times; and our manners less liable to promote an attachment to a world that passeth away? How then shall we set the candle that hath been thus mercifully lighted in any of us, under the bed or the bushel; giving up any part of our testimony, be it ever so small, for the sake of ease or of outward advantage? . . . Wherefore, brethren, in your conduct as individuals, and in the part which ye take in the exercise of the discipline established amongst us, be ye animated to resist every appearance of evil." Epistles of Y.M., Vol. II., p. 96.

† The Meeting for Sufferings (so called from the fact that it was first established, in the early days of the Society, in order to consider the sufferings of Friends, and to provide for their alleviation) is a standing representative committee of the Yearly Meeting. It is held monthly, and is entrusted with the general care of whatever may arise, during the intervals between Yearly Meetings, affecting the Society as a whole. See also Appendix, re Ministry in the Society, p. 242.
through its Aborigines Committee, continued for many years to give attention, sympathy and occasional financial help to this work, and, in 1844, published an extremely interesting volume on the "Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes," containing full accounts of these missionary labours by American Friends from the earliest times.* It is clear that English Friends were deeply interested in these efforts.

Friends were also interesting themselves in the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which they felt to be consistent with their principles, and reference to the circulation of the Scriptures occurs in several of the Epistles during the first half of last century.†

In 1821 a proposal was brought to the Meeting for Sufferings asking that body to promote a Mission of Instruction to the Negroes on the Gambia. The proposal was declined,‡ and the matter was, therefore, taken up privately, and, two years later, four Friends, Hannah

* This was the ninth of a series of publications on the subject. For further information see also "A History of the Friends in America," by A. C. and R. H. Thomas, Fourth Edition, pp. 178-184.

† In 1825 we find, for example, the following words:—"We are anxious that our fellowmen, in every region of the globe, may possess and may be able to read the volume of inspiration."

‡ The minutes passed at the time are illuminating, and are here given for reference:—

Meeting for Sufferings, 7th of 12 mo., 1821. "The following Minute from the Committee on the total abolition of the Slave Trade has been brought in; and the important subject embraced by it is, after much consideration now had, left to be further deliberated upon at a future meeting, viz:

"Committee Room, Devonshire House, 7th of 12 mo., 1821. This Committee has had under its notice a proposal of conveying to some of the natives of Africa the benefits of instruction in reading and writing and useful knowledge, through the medium of their own languages, and by the instrumentality of native teachers, qualified by a suitable education for that office. The proposal extends likewise to the promoting, by these means, translations into some of the languages
THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES.

Kilham, Richard Smith, Ann and John Thompson, sailed for the West Coast of Africa, with two native Africans, their expenses being defrayed largely by Friends. Two of these missionaries died in the following year, and the others returned to England. Hannah Kilham again visited Sierra Leone in 1827 and in 1830. She made a considerable study of the language, translated some portions of Scripture, and opened a school of Africa of such portions of the Scriptures as it might be found practicable and expedient thus to circulate among the natives.

"A beginning having been made by an individual Friend with two African youths, their disposition, and progress in learning have been found encouraging as to the practicability of thus forming teachers for the natives. And it has been represented to the Committee, as the opinion of several Friends, that, in order to accomplish the object above stated, through such teachers, it would be useful that their labours should be exercised in their own country, under the superintendence of a Friend or Friends resident on the spot, in the manner of the Friends who have gone in different instances in America, to reside amongst the Indians. And it is believed that such residence of consistent Friends among the natives of Africa would tend to their improvement in other respects, besides the kind of instruction above mentioned; inasmuch as, by promoting useful knowledge in agriculture and other arts, and thus elevating their views and extending their employments and means of subsistence, their attention might be gradually turned to pursuits more beneficial to society than they are at present found in, and the practice of enslaving and selling each other finally abolished, where such instruction might prevail, and discouraged among those with whom they have intercourse elsewhere.

"The part of the continent to which the attention of some Friends has been turned with these views is the Gambia River, in which the slave trade is already so far done away that, at least as far as the influence of the British settlers extends, it is apprehended that no serious obstruction will arise, on the part of persons engaged in that trade, to such endeavours for the benefit of the natives. The Committee, apprehending the substance of this proposal to be embraced by the printed minute of the Meeting for Sufferings, with a report annexed of 3rd of 11 mo., 1820 (which has been circulated among Friends), has given the subject deliberate consideration, and esteems it sufficiently worthy of like attention from the meeting at large."

1st of 3 mo., 1822. The subject laid before us in the 12th mo. last by the Committee on the total abolition of the slave trade has again had our solid and deliberate consideration; but this meeting does not see its way clear at present to proceed to take any step in relation to the proposal.
at Charlottee. In 1832 she was attacked by fever while travelling between Sierra Leone and Liberia, and died at sea. Her example and her writings stimulated thought on the question, and were doubtless one considerable factor in preparing for the discussions in Yearly Meeting which took place in the early thirties.

The year 1827 may be said to mark the beginning* of a movement which led up to a notable attempt to bring the Society of Friends to a fuller recognition of its duty towards the non-Christian world. It was in that year that Henry Townley issued an address to Friends calling them to take part in the work of foreign missions. His appeal is carefully drawn up, beginning with a statement of the condition of the people of India (where he had worked as a missionary under the L.M.S.), and closing with a list of seven different directions in which Friends might subscribe to missionary work consistently with their well-known views on the freedom of the Christian ministry. The following year saw the publication of "An Address to the Society of Friends on the Employment of Means for Disseminating Christian Knowledge among the Heathen," by a member of the Society, who proved to be Dr. Edward Ash, of Bristol, at that time a young man of thirty. This paper is clearly influenced by that just mentioned, and brings out forcibly not only the need but also the success of missionary effort. He too assumes that "we cannot,

* The attention of Friends had been drawn to the matter, however, in 1824, by a series of articles published in "Collectitia," and by a sixpenny pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Society of Friends on behalf of Missions." These had not led to any official action, though they had doubtless prepared the ground.

† Edward Ash subsequently published "Seven Letters to a Member of the Society of Friends," in which he, while expressing general agreement with Friends' views, pleads for a more liberal interpretation of them. He gave up his membership in the Society, but continued a regular attender at Friends' meetings, and subsequently rejoined.
under present circumstances, co-operate with other religious societies in the support of missionaries without a departure from our important testimony respecting the Christian ministry, as well as from that which we have always borne against the use of merely typical rites.” But he asks whether there has “not been in many of us something like a disposition to avail ourselves of this principle as a cover for our indolence, and for a very imperfect compliance with one of our blessed Master’s great commands, ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’” The practical suggestion made was the appointment of a committee which would receive subscriptions from Friends and see that they were spent on objects in harmony with their wishes and principles.

In the following year another Friend issued a pamphlet on the same subject; an appeal was addressed to the Society by J. Peggs, a retired Indian missionary, and a number of Friends met at the close of the Yearly Meeting to give further consideration to the question. About this time the “Friends’ Monthly Magazine” was issued, and its pages clearly reflect the interest which was now being taken by many Friends in foreign missionary work. During the three years of its existence (1829-31) some forty articles appeared on the subject, several being notable contributions to the discussions. Among the writers were William Davis, of Taunton, Samuel Tuke, Samuel Lury and Hannah Kilham, all of whom, from different points of view, pressed the claims of foreign missions on their fellow-members. It is clear that there were a good many who felt that the time had come for a forward movement. “Shall Friends then, a people enjoying many privileges beyond others, alone remain spectators of the great work going on in the Lord’s vineyard, without taking a part in it (so far as they may be enabled) either in their person or with their substance; but satisfy themselves with subscribing a
few pounds annually to Education, and Bible Societies: while others are bearing the heat and burthen of the day?"

In May, 1830, the editors of the magazine inserted a second article by Samuel Tuke with the remark that "the subject is one of such increasing interest to the Society that it may probably engage considerable attention in the ensuing Yearly Meeting." The plea is one for action in place of the continual talk "about the spread of Christ's Kingdom in some remote part of the globe."

The attention of Yearly Meeting was actually directed to the subject by a minute from West Somerset Monthly Meeting (13th April, 1830), forwarded by Bristol and Somerset Quarterly Meeting (21st April, 1830). Richard Young seems to have introduced the matter to the attention of the Monthly Meeting, and it will be noted that several of the Friends who were most deeply concerned in regard to it came from the West of England. It is clear, however, that even in the Quarterly Meeting whence the matter originated, there was a considerable divergence of opinion.


This William Davis was, at that time, an elderly Friend, not taking any vocal part in our meetings for worship, though very regular in his attendance, and one of the early projectors of Savings Banks. He personally offered £100 as a start if a committee were commenced in the way he suggested. His sympathies seem to have gone out chiefly to South Africa. No doubt his influence was a chief factor in arousing Friends of his day to their missionary responsibilities.


"I suppose thou heard at G[eorge] D[ymond]'s at Bristol of the 'missionary proposition' having passed the Q.M. there. We are told it did pass, but we can scarcely tell how to believe it. I think if it is to go to the Y.M. in the form which we hear it is, many amongst us will be much astonished. It would seem as if the Somersetshire Q.M. had lost sight of the fundamental principle of our Society. We hear the proposition runs thus—or words to this effect: 'We propose to the
When the discussion took place in Yearly Meeting, "many remarks were made, and much caution expressed as to moving therein";* and the net result was a minute recording the "judgment that the subject is deserving of further and close attention."† William Davis considers that "the Yearly Meeting has now happily sanctioned the principle of Christian Missions, for the benign purpose of communicating the knowledge of the Gospel to the heathen,"‡ but how far other Friends shared that view may well be questioned in the light of subsequent events.

"Further and close attention" was indeed given to the question in 1832, and a committee of fifty-six Friends, most of whom have names well known and deservedly honoured in the Society,§ was set apart further to consider it and report. The report presented in the following year appeals to the reader of to-day as a masterly attempt to cover up timidity and consequent inaction with a multitude of beautiful sentiments expressed in eloquent periods. "Thus," says a writer in the "Monthly Record" (November, 1869), "after four years of labour this great mountain brought forth—a mouse!

There is in the document none of the old fire which inflamed the hearts of the ancient Friends. It

* From an account by Benjamin Grubb, of Clonmel, now in the possession of J. Ernest Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir.
† For full minute and account of the proceedings at this time see Darlington Conference Report, pp. 291-6.
‡ In "Friends' Monthly Magazine," October, 1830.
§ For full list see Darlington Conference Report, p. 293.
contains the startling inference that the diffusion of Christianity among the heathen can only be partially undertaken by Friends without "compromising our religious principles." It is indeed quite possible that to have moved forward then would have involved serious difficulties within the Society, and, possibly, even a secession of some members. Only five years earlier Friends in America had been rent in two by bitter theological controversy. There was a great, perhaps an undue, fear of the same controversy dividing Friends in England into two camps, and not long after there were a number of resignations in England on account of the publication of a book ("The Beacon") called forth by these very disputes in America. An interesting account of this Yearly Meeting in "The Christian Advocate" distinctly states that the decision reached was "in consequence of the present want of unity in the Society on a point of doctrine."

It was, nevertheless, a very bitter disappointment to the more eager spirits to find the Society in its corporate capacity unwilling to go forward in what seemed to them the clear path of duty. It is not for us to say that, with the Society in the condition in which it then was, a mistake was made. What we can say, however, is that the Society, as a section of the Christian Church, ought to have been ready to move forward. The day of her opportunity came, and she was not found ready.* It is well for her that a further chance was

* A letter from James Cropper to Joseph Sturge (18 iii. 1831) gives an interesting side-light on this question. He says: "I have myself no testimony against contributing to the moderate maintenance of those who devote themselves to the cause of spreading the Gospel. One of the difficulties amongst us is that the love of money and the love of the good things and the comforts of this world so prevails amongst us that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for us to find members of our Society who would be willing to make the sacrifices which those do who are called by some of us hirelings. Here, I believe, is an insuperable difficulty if all others were got over."
given her some thirty years later, and that, when that came, she was able, albeit tremblingly and with many a misgiving, to step forward in answer to the call of God.

The period that followed this great refusal was, in many ways, a barren one for the Society in its corporate life. In 1835 the Yearly Meeting was given another chance to go forward, again by a minute from Bristol and Somerset Q.M. This time, however, it is clear that the question was regarded as practically closed by the action (or inaction) of two years previously. The meeting did not even think it necessary to appoint a committee. A side-light is thrown upon the whole incident by the words of John Candler (at that time a young man and a member of the committee appointed in 1832) who, nearly thirty years later, "recollected the apparent coldness with which the proposition was received, and thought that, if due earnestness had then been manifested, he himself would have been ready to say: 'Here am I, send me.'"*

It is true that the thirty years which followed witnessed a good deal of activity on the part of individual Friends who visited foreign lands "in the love of the Gospel." Notable among these were James Backhouse and G. W. Walker (visiting Australia, Mauritius, and S. Africa), Daniel Wheeler (S. Pacific and elsewhere), J. J. Gurney, E. O. Tregelles, James Jupp, J. Candler, Grover and Caleb R. Kemp. These visits and others aroused a good deal of interest at home, but the Yearly Meeting Epistles scarcely reflect it at all. The opium wars probably account for a reference in 1840 to the fact that "the treatment of millions in the nations of the East . . . has mournfully given occasion for it to be said to professing Christians: 'The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you.'"† At the same time

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we find the call to the young is not so much into efforts on behalf of others as "to commune with your own hearts," "to think on the blessing pronounced upon the pure in heart," "that in your intercourse with the world . . . you may be blameless and harmless."* While there is a growing recognition that "we are not the people we might be and ought to be," the cure is found not in seeking to discover how to serve the world, but we read, "it is our concern that we may become a . . . retiring people" (1852). We seem to see the Society scarcely daring to step out into a larger life and service lest it should be committed too far, become too prominent, or seem to surrender any one of its cherished traditions.

THE TIME OF AWAKENING.

During these years, however, movements were on foot which were profoundly to modify all this and ultimately lead the Society forward into a new, a larger and a more fruitful service. The year 1843 witnessed the establishment, under the editorship of Charles Tylor, of a regular monthly paper in the Society of Friends, "The Friend," which has continued ever since. From 1892 it has been issued weekly. The opening notice speaks of a wider outlook and an enlarging sympathy. "We enter on the work under the cheering conviction that there prevails within our Religious Society a feeling of delight in every evidence that the Kingdom of the blessed Redeemer is extending amongst the nations of the earth, that the banner of the Prince of Peace is gradually unfurling, and that many even of the hitherto benighted heathen tribes have heard, with joyful hearts, the Gospel invitation."† From the beginning the claims

INDIA: HOMeward BOUND FROM THE "BANDRABHAN MEla.

(PhoTo By GeoFrey W. May.)
RACHEL METCALFE, IN INDIA, 1866-1889.

The first missionary of the F.F.M.A. is here shown as she was during the later part of her service in India, when, crippled with rheumatism, she could only move about in a conveyance of some kind.

(Photo kindly lent by Caroline W. Pumphrey.)
of other races find a large place in its pages, and undoubtedly the information given regularly to Friends through this medium must rank as one of the causes which prepared the way for the forward move that was taken some twenty years later. "The British Friend" was also established in this year, and, though not giving so large a place to missionary matters, was another indication of quickened life in the Society.

There were many other signs of change. The adult school movement was in its early stages. Isolated schools had been carried on for a number of years at Nottingham, Bristol, Leeds, York and Leicester, the earliest dating back to just before the close of the eighteenth century. The modern adult school movement may be said, however, to date from about the period we are now considering. It was in 1845 that Joseph Sturje opened the first adult school in Birmingham, and two years later the Friends' First-Day School Association was established, with Joseph Storrs Fry as its first Secretary. It included at that time both junior and adult schools, and could record nearly 4,000 scholars when the 10th annual report was presented. The quickened interest that Friends of this period were beginning to take in the world around them is witnessed also by the formation of the Friends' Temperance Association in 1850, as well as by many other signs too numerous to mention seriatim.

The claims of aborigines in Africa and elsewhere were being urged and responded to, being emphasised especially by the thought that "the maintenance of our views of the Christian ministry restrains us from those direct efforts for evangelizing heathen nations in which other religious bodies are extensively engaged."* In 1845 E. O. Tregelles, who had himself visited the West Indies under religious concern, expressed his belief that "the Great Husbandman purposes to send from

* Yearly Meeting Discussion, 1844, reported in "The Friend," p. 137
amongst our little Society vine-dressers into this and other parts of the earth."* Evidently, while the vision had not, as yet, been given to the Society as a whole, there were some who had it, and who were seeking to communicate it to others.

Quite a number of schools in the mission field were, at this time, receiving the liberal support of Friends, including those on the Gold Coast, and some in Jamaica, which were commended to Friends by the Yearly Meeting in 1851. The chief objection which seems to have been felt to undertaking or supporting regular missionary work is that Friends might, in so doing, compromise their views in relation to the freedom of the Christian ministry. Reference to this question occurs repeatedly in the discussion of the problem both in Yearly Meeting and in the pages of "The Friend." It is dealt with by Edward Ash in a searching though sympathetic criticism of the position of Friends, published in 1855. "As regards the latter subject" (assistance to foreign missions), he says, "the course which so many of them now take involves a very serious consequence; for, as their own community virtually does nothing in the way of carrying the Gospel to the heathen of other lands . . . by refusing to aid the efforts of other bodies, they practically exclude themselves, to a large extent, from taking any part in this great work of Christian love and duty. And while, in doing so, they deprive that work of what might be an important aid to it, I believe they are serious losers themselves, in not having their interests and exertions called forth on behalf of those noble and godly enterprises. It has long been to me a matter of great regret to observe how little the generality of Friends know about them and how little interest they seem to take in them." "Nor do I see," he says

* Yearly Meeting Discussion, 1845, reported in "The Friend," p. 142.
in another place, "why Friends should not be called, as well as other Christians, to missionary labour among the benighted heathen."* Even the Editor of "The Friend" (Charles Gilpin), with his broad sympathies, "doubts his wisdom in expressing such an opinion," and endorses the view that the peculiar service Friends have to perform is rather to christianise our relations with non-Christian peoples.†

In the following year a suggestion was made as to the enlargement of the functions of the Meeting for Sufferings. "Its attention might be given to the promotion of Christian truth . . . among our country-men and in heathen tribes."‡ It is not, however, until 1859 that any general movement towards a further consideration of the problem can be detected. In the next chapter we shall endeavour to trace this movement, and show how it led up finally to the formation of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association nine years later. Before closing our account of the early period, however, we may pause for a moment in the attempt to review the progress of missionary interest during the first two centuries of Quaker history.

Such a survey brings to the mind's eye, first, the glorious outburst of new life which resulted from a fresh vision of the Living God. It has been said by one of our profoundest philosophers of to-day that "in the bosom of Christianity unfathomable forces are slumbering, forces which have by no means lived themselves out, and are still capable of breaking forth again and driving human life into new channels with an irresistible and elemental violence."§ Just such a manifestation marked the first days of Quakerism. In the power of this life tradition

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*A Glance Over the First Two Centuries.*

* "Seven Letters to a Member of the Society of Friends," pp. 25, 20.
§ "Can We Still Be Christians?" Rudolf Eucken, p. 211.
gave way, new standards of living were set up, timid men and women became courageous, "they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them" (Mark xvi. 20).

The pity of it is that so soon the glory departed. The eye scans with no eager delight the record of the following years; the look turned inward instead of outward, the creeping paralysis of a new tradition spreading slowly over the body which had been pulsing with exuberant life, the lamp which had given light to the whole house timorously stowed away under the bushel. As the sense of universal mission gives way to the minor matters of the law we enter upon the period of retrogression, and almost of decay.

But the light had not been extinguished. Still here and there prophetic souls were found. In the anti-slavery movement, in prison reform or in the occasional visits to distant lands, the Spirit of God was still stirring, and the body was being kept alive for some great service which it was then unfit to render. Coming on to the early part of the nineteenth century, we can witness the fierce struggle which was needed to shake off the inertia resulting from the long sleep. Once, indeed, it seemed as if the effort must be vain. It almost seemed as if the only result of the quickened life was to be division. The new ideas grew very slowly. There was scarce courage enough to bring forth the lamp and set it once more upon the stand. But the slow processes of preparation were going on, and once more the Society of Friends was to hear and respond to the call of God to go forth into the world, to offer itself for the salvation of mankind, and was to know the reward which comes from a whole-hearted response to such a call.
CHAPTER II.

THE FORMATION OF THE FRIENDS’ FOREIGN MISSION ASSOCIATION.

PRELIMINARY EFFORTS.

During the latter part of the decade, 1850-60, public affairs were moving in a way which was calculated to remind the Society of Friends of its wider responsibilities. With the Peace of Paris in 1856 it seemed as if the country might enter upon the period of rest and internal development which it so greatly needed. In the very next year, however, the Sepoy mutiny in India broke out, and thoughtful Englishmen were awakened thereby to a new sense of the grave responsibilities entailed by their occupation of the Indian Peninsula. The fact that Friends were deeply stirred by this event, and by the spirit of bitterness and revenge in England, is clearly shown by a minute passed by the Meeting for Sufferings on 6th November, 1857. It is there recorded that serious consideration was given to “the present position of the British nation in reference to its dependencies in India, and, connected therewith, the duties of a professedly Christian nation in its intercourse with the less enlightened countries of the earth.”

*Various references are found to the unchristian sentiments of revenge towards the Sepoys indulged in freely by leading men in England, and to the fact that “the cry for indiscriminate vengeance
FRIENDS BEYOND SEAS.

A powerful address on the subject was prepared by the meeting, and forwarded to the Yearly Meeting in 1858, which adopted it and ordered its extensive circulation. Some passages from this address, which so clearly marks the beginning of a fresh interest in the non-Christian world, are worthy of inclusion here.

"... Whether a man be a Jew or a Greek, a Saxon or a Celt, a Hindoo or a Hottentot, he is alike an object of the universal love of Him who ' hath made of one blood all nations of men '; and who, in Christ Jesus, has proclaimed for all the message of His free salvation. ... Assuredly, then, it is a duty incumbent upon all, and especially upon those who bear the hallowed name of our one Lord and Redeemer, to act towards man, everywhere, however uncivilized or unenlightened, with that respect, with that consideration and love which are due to our common nature and to our common hopes. To treat man with disdain because his colour differs from our own, is a reproach cast upon Him who made him. ... We turn with satisfaction and with rejoicing [after a reference to crimes perpetrated by 'those who are called Christians' in various parts of the world] to the exertions which have been employed of later years for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures, and of Christian knowledge and civilization, among some of the less enlightened tribes of the earth, as well as to every effort made, under the constraining influence of the love of Christ, and under the guidance of His Spirit, to bring the heathen to the knowledge of the way of life and salvation through the Lord Jesus. Warmly do we desire that Christians everywhere may be more and more alive to their high vocation: and address themselves to the warfare against sin, ignorance and superstition, relying on the power of our Risen Redeemer, rather than on the protection of fleets and armies."

which arose in the country was a disgrace to a Christian nation," England was seen to have "an opportunity for the extension of her commerce and still more for the spreading of the Christian religion, such as has never been possessed by any other nation."—"The Friend," 1858, p. 11.
A brief reference in the Yearly Meeting Epistle shows further how Friends were feeling in regard to this question.* In August of the same year the "Act for the Better Government of India" came into force, and the rule of the East India Company was superseded by that of the British Sovereign and Government.† The Editor of "The Friend" (John Frank, of Bristol), in his summary of the year (1st January, 1859), calls his fellow-members to realise that "on us it rests in a great measure whether the millions of the inhabitants of India become acquainted with the beneficent spirit, as well as the outward form, of the religion of Christ." He refers to the movements in Japan and China by which "we are about to be brought, for the first time, into reciprocity and internal acquaintanceship with one-third of the human family." The new era in the former country was just commencing, and the imagination had been deeply stirred by the thought of a people, so long unknown, emerging from their seclusion and reaching out towards the West. The Editor, however, is still far from feeling that the situation calls for direct missionary work on the part of Friends. "We would," he adds, "be very far from wishing to depreciate missionary effort of any kind. But, while Church and State are one, as long as missionaries are sent out to establish their own sects and Churches, and receive praise and honour one from another, we have little faith in the forms of religion so planted" (a censure

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* Earlier in the same year an address was adopted by the Meeting for Sufferings and sent to David Livingstone, who was then about to set forth on a journey to Central Africa, occupying, for the first time, the position of British Consul.

† In the following month the Meeting for Sufferings addressed a memorial to the Government arguing that, in view of the fact that "the plea of divided responsibility" (between the Crown and the East India Company) could no longer avail, steps be taken immediately to bring to an end the opium traffic with China.
of the missionaries of the day which comes rather badly from a body of Christians who were not even seriously attempting themselves to fulfil the missionary obligation).

Further evidence that the matter was now beginning to take hold of Friends is found in the correspondence columns of "The Friend," where the subjects raised in the leader were taken up and eagerly discussed. S. R. says:—

"What have we, as a Society, or, indeed, as individuals, done towards the fulfilment of that command, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature'? So far as being pioneers in this work in heathen countries, I believe we must say literally nothing: . . . We ought to be filled with shame when we think how we have kept aloof from this labour."

He urges that, while priding themselves on the correctness of their principles, Friends had exposed themselves to the taunt that these very principles had "proved an utter failure in practice"; and he pleads for more liberty in carrying them out.*

Nor was it only in regard to foreign missions that Friends were beginning to see the possibility of a larger liberty, and the danger of a too-exacting application of minor rules. At the Yearly Meeting in this year (1859), two very important steps were taken. A change in the marriage regulations was effected, as from 30th June, 1860. This enabled those not in membership, but attending Friends' Meetings, to be married according to Friends' usages, and so led the way to the discontinuance of the disastrous practice of disownment for "marrying out."† An alteration was also made,

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† Before the close of the seventeenth century, the practice was introduced of issuing testimonies of denial or disownment against a Friend who was married by a priest, and this practice was continued
after prolonged discussion, in the 4th Query,* which had the effect of reducing the amount of attention which had been given in previous years to the smaller matters of language and dress. Thus step by step was the Society being led away from the traditionalism and timidity which had fettered its action, and held it back from delivering its living message to the world.†

It cannot be altogether a coincidence that this forward move came during a period when the whole Church of Christ was being roused by a new wave of life. Not only in Ireland, where the revival of 1859 commenced, but to a lesser extent in England and in other Christian countries, there was a marked quickening of spiritual life frequently accompanied by a new missionary spirit. It is thus seen that the Society of Friends was being influenced by a number of movements in the world and among its own members, and the way was being prepared for a definite advance in many directions.

It was at this time that one of the oldest and most

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* The Queries are a series of carefully prepared questions read periodically in Friends' meetings. They are calculated to draw attention to important points of faith or practice. Formerly answers were required, but now the question is left with the meeting as a means of stimulating thought on the particular subject.

† A contemporary observer, T. F. B. Combe, from the South of France, writes: "The Society of Friends appears to be at last arousing itself, and to be desirous to advance from the old traditional beaten track, which was leading it to death, spiritually speaking."—"The Friend," 1859, p. 132.
respected members of the Society, George Richardson, of Newcastle,* then in his eighty-sixth year, was being raised up to fan into flame a movement which, without his action, might easily have smouldered and finally come to nothing, as did that in 1830-5. Never was there more striking proof that it is not always left to the young to sound forth the call to advance. To this old man was it given to "dream dreams," and, instead of seeking the repose to which his many years of devoted service fully entitled him, he threw himself with energy into the crowning effort of his long life. Up to within a few hours of his retiring to the room where he was confined for the remaining months of his life, he wrote letters full of burning words calling Friends to take up the work. As we read to-day some of these sixty long letters, and the careful memoranda written with his own hand, there comes back to us something of the prophetic vision and fire of this aged servant of God. His swan-song was no wail of sadness, nor merely the sweetness of some beatific vision breathed in beauteous words. It rang out rather as a clarion call, challenging the men and women of his day to enter into a strenuous and persistent warfare, to cast fear aside and go forth into a new country "not knowing whither [they] went."

One of these letters appeared in "The Friend," being forwarded to that journal by William Tanner, of Bristol. "My mind," G. Richardson says, "has long been

* George Richardson was born at North Shields, 18th December, 1773, and died at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 9th August, 1862. The abolition of the slave trade and the cause of education received his energetic support. He was also an enthusiastic worker for the British and Foreign Bible Society. As a minister, he visited all the meetings of Friends in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and most of them more than once. In his own town he was a warm friend of the poor. Fifty years earlier Dr. Marshman (Carey's associate) had stayed with George Richardson in Newcastle, and had expressed to the latter his view that Friends were especially fitted for missionary work on account of their non-observance of outward rites.—See letter in "The Friend," 1892, p. 254.
burdened with an apprehension that our Religious Society is not coming forward as it ought to do; but has shrunk from its true line of service, in reference to an endeavour to promote the extension of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in heathen lands.” After referring to the efforts of individual Friends, and to the teaching of the Bible, the writer passes in review the missionary efforts of the preceding half-century. He is careful to point out that Friends can go forward “without the abandonment of any of our main characteristic principles or testimonies,” but urges, at the same time, that “brief and transient visits, though very useful for instruction and edification, are not all that is required for the conversion of heathen nations.” He suggests the formation of a “Friends’ Association for aiding in the diffusion of Gospel light amongst the Heathen and other unenlightened Nations,” and anticipates the day when Friends will be “drawn to take up their residence among the heathen.” “My letter,” he concludes, “has run to a great length, but my heart is warmed with a fresh feeling of the love of God to our perishing fellow-mortals of distant lands, and with ardent desires for their help.”*

George Richardson’s letters came at the right moment. They called forth a ready response both in the public press and in a considerable private correspondence with George Richardson himself. While a number of the letters, as is only natural, deal chiefly with difficulties, and are discouraging, or, at least, give only a very qualified approval, a body of opinion was brought together which showed clearly that the time was ripe for action. Josiah

* “The Friend,” 1860, pp. 12, 13. G. Richardson, writing of his part in this effort later, says: “the seed has taken root and it will grow. We may have to wait for action, but it will grow. What a favour that I was able to work for a while before being laid by!”—“Monthly Record,” 1870, p. 164.
Forster was among those who were prepared to move forward. He wrote to George Richardson encouraging the idea, but urging caution and definiteness of objective. "We are but a small body, and if we attempt too many things we may not do any one well. I do not say that we do what we do well, and I am sure we do not do enough." He thought other countries ought to be included.

The thought of greater breadth in the proposals evidently led George Richardson to fear that the main object might become relatively obscure, for we find him writing (18th February, 1860) to Josiah Forster: "My son-in-law, Thomas Pumphrey [Superintendent of Ackworth School], is now here and informs me that their late Quarterly Committee cordially assented to the holding of a Preliminary Conference at Ackworth at the time of their Committee in Fourth Month, on the subject of efforts for the benefit of the heathen. But the question has expanded in size remarkably. My original proposal was for aid in the diffusion of Gospel light amongst the heathen. Then, at thy suggestion, Spain, Russia, and Turkey were to be embraced. The proposal occasioned the addition of 'and other unenlightened countries.' Then our dear friend, John Hodgkin, and several other Friends thought that the low and degraded inhabitants of Shoreditch and those in the suburbs of several of our large towns must be included. This led to the addition of 'both at home and abroad,' so that now we almost need a Noah's ark to contain the magnificent project! I therefore consider the proposed preliminary Conference of considerable importance to guard against confusion."

The Conference herein referred to was duly held on 25th April, 1860,* and a document prepared by George

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* About thirty Friends were present, a large proportion of whom were members of the Committees of Ackworth School and Flounders Teachers' Training Institution.
Richardson was submitted to it. This refers to such questions as the advisability or otherwise of forming a separate organisation, the necessity of clearly defining the scope of operations, the problem of where to commence work, the need of careful preparation on the part of the missionaries, the power of the managing committee to decide as to locations. Among the leaders in calling this Conference were Thomas Pumphrey* and Isaac Brown,† the Principal of the Flounders Institute.‡ Thus, in its very initiation, the leading educational establishments of the Society were closely linked with the missionary movement. John Ford, headmaster of Bootham School, York, in replying to the original letter, says: "I can go the whole length of thy proposition for education, the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures, and the inculcation of the general principles of Christianity."

* Thomas Pumphrey was born at Worcester, 10th June, 1802, and died at Ackworth, 31st July, 1862. He was Superintendent (or Principal) of Ackworth School from 1834-1862. His fertility in resource, his active and enterprising spirit, his sound judgment and ripe Christian experience, were of the greatest value to the Institution, and to all the efforts that won his sympathy. His first wife was a daughter of George Richardson.

† Isaac Brown was born at Amwellbury, near Ware, 27th July, 1803, and died at Kendal, 3rd November, 1895. His chief work was at Ackworth, as the first Principal of the Flounders Institute. He held this post for twenty-two years (1848 to 1870). He was a true scholar, a gifted minister, and a man whose judgment Friends were accustomed to rely upon. He was well versed in the missionary work of all the Protestant Churches of the world. He was present at the meeting of Friends at Ackworth on 7th July, 1864, when the application of William Ellis for well-qualified teachers for Madagascar was considered. He was a member of the small Committee appointed to commend the subject to Friends, and joined the "Provisional Committee" upon its formation in 1865. He continued upon the F.F.M.A. Committee up to the time of his death, entering deeply into the personal problems of the missionaries, and also keeping his eye on the larger aspects of the work.

‡ The Flounders Institute was founded in 1848, under the will of Benjamin Flounders, for the training of young men as teachers in the schools or families of the Society of Friends.
Four propositions were submitted to the Conference by the two Friends named (T. Pumphrey and I. Brown), suggesting, among other things, the formation of an independent organisation and a means for securing the general sanction of Yearly Meeting. The main reasons for the former suggestion seem to have been that the Meeting for Sufferings was already fully occupied, and might easily become overburdened, and that the Society as a body would "not be committed to the actions of the Association."

A long session of Yearly Meeting in 1860 was devoted to the question of home and foreign missions. "A warm and earnest feeling pervaded the whole discussion, and even those who could not at present see any way for collective action were, we believe, very desirous that, if possible, some way might be pointed out."* A committee of over fifty Friends was appointed, and not a few were led to ask themselves, "how it is that, in the year 1860, we are standing, as we were in 1830, outside the threshold of missionary enterprise?"† It is particularly interesting to find that the distinguishing views of Friends were now being urged as a reason for undertaking missionary work, and not as a difficulty in the way. (Cf. correspondence, 1830-5, in "Friends' Monthly Magazine," etc.‡)

The Epistle in this year tells us that "this meeting has been again introduced into a lively exercise in the consideration of what is due from the members of our Religious Society towards the heathen and the unenlightened in foreign countries, and the ignorant and

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† "The Friend," 1860, p. 179.
‡ See editorial in "The Friend," 1860, p. 170, and letter by R.E.T., 1860, p. 194, which argues that Friends "would be more successful than any other body of the Church, as their simple Church discipline, their unpaid ministry, and the less distinction between ministry and laity would be more adapted to the minds of the heathen."
FORMATION OF F.F.M.A.

depraved of our own land. Under a deep sense of the responsibility which rests upon us as individuals and as a Church, we would commend this subject to the serious thoughtfulness and sympathy of our members.”

During the twelve months which followed, the Committee gave careful consideration to the question of missionary service. It brought forward a minute on home missions which was adopted by the Yearly Meeting in 1861. It clearly recognised, however, that the chief burden on Friends’ minds at that time was for foreign missionary work, and it prepared a lengthy address on the subject for the consideration of the Yearly Meeting.

Unexpected aid was forthcoming. At the first session Dr. Thomas Hodgkin* and Robert Alsop introduced Mariano and Cecilia D’Ortez, who had come over from Calcutta on purpose to inquire about Friends. They represented a little group of persons, chiefly Indo-Portuguese, who had become acquainted with the views of Friends through having read Barclay’s “Apology” and other Quaker literature. This group were holding regular meetings for worship after the manner of Friends, and they had sent these two of their number as an embassage of inquiry, and also to ask that a Friend missionary† might be found who, “after consulting Him, the Lover of Souls,” might undertake this service. After much consultation (almost the whole of an unusually long session was devoted to the point‡), it was decided

* Brother to John Hodgkin and uncle to the historian; his devotion to the help of native races was well known, and was sometimes courageously exhibited in the face of prejudice and ill-feeling.
† The visit of these Friends was preceded by a letter, addressed to the Society of Friends, asking for a missionary. A large portion of the letter was printed in the “Friendly Messenger,” July, 1909, p. 86.
‡ “Much interest was expressed in the case on all hands, but not a few seemed to fear that a precedent might be created for infringing a wholesome rule, and a still larger number that the effect of introducing the parties to our deliberations might tend to unsettle rather than to edify them.” -“The Friend,” 1861, p. 137.
to admit them to the meeting. They attended throughout, dressed in native costume, deeply interested listeners, always speaking by their silent presence of the need of India and the welcome which awaited any spiritual and God-given message to her peoples.

Other matters which were presented to the Yearly Meeting and served to remind it of its wider responsibilities were the report of an extended journey in the Sandwich Isles and elsewhere, undertaken by Robert and Sarah Lindsey,* and the prospect of service in the Faroe Islands and Iceland by Isaac Sharp and Asbjorn Klöster, of Stavanger.

In this atmosphere the Yearly Meeting entered upon a discussion of the address submitted to it by the Committee. It is described as a “sound and judicious document,” and evidently met with the approval of Friends, although clearly stating that “On considering how far we can, as a Society, aid the work by giving additional facilities to those who, under the preparing hand and constraining love of Christ, may be called to labour in foreign lands, some external arrangements appear to be desirable” (italics ours). The call to foreign service is based on fundamental Christian grounds and on the practice of early Friends. Members are encouraged to “individual faithfulness and to a willing surrender of themselves to the service of their Lord,” and any Friend feeling so called “is invited freely to seek both counsel and help” from the Meeting for Sufferings. This address, long since forgotten, was, in truth, a landmark in the progress towards the ideal. “It was like an advanced guard planting their standard on a hilltop,

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* Nearly eighteen pages of the printed proceedings of Yearly Meeting, 1861, are devoted to an account of this journey forwarded by the Meeting for Sufferings. They came across several “who remembered and spoke with great interest of our Friend D. Wheeler’s labours amongst them twenty-four years ago.”
Friends' pioneer missionary to Madagascar, and an active worker in the movements which led up to the formation of the Provisional Committee for Foreign Gospel Service.

(Photo by C. E. Fry, London, S.W.)

Sakalava students, with their wives, in training as lay evangelists under James W. and Beatrice M. Ryan. Jeanne S. A. Duriez is also shown. This is an important experiment along the lines of a voluntary native ministry. See "Madagascar Deputation Report, 1913," pp. 127-128.
not as marking an end, but rather as embodying a new beginning."

Not even yet, however, were the "external arrangements" actually to be made. Four years elapsed before a Provisional Committee came into existence for this purpose. During that period the interest among Friends continued to increase. The discussion altered in character. It was no longer as to whether anything was to be done, but rather as to what course was the wisest. The way was open for any Friend to offer for missionary service. Was this new departure to be undertaken by the Society itself, or by a group of Friends associating themselves for this special purpose? Would it be right to issue any call to Friends to volunteer? Which field should be entered? Such were some of the questions to which answer was to be given, not by the careful deliberation of men, but by the intervention of Him who was guiding and inspiring throughout.

In 1862 an epistle from Calcutta Friends was read in Yearly Meeting, and Josiah Forster announced that an Australian Friend, Frederick Mackie, had a concern to go out and visit them, his expenses being borne by the Meeting for Sufferings.† On 20th November, Russell Jeffrey, Henry Hipsley, and William Brewin sailed in the Pera

* From H. S. Newman’s manuscript account of the origin of the F.F.M.A. (a book which has been of the greatest service to the present writer). He adds: "William Woolley, an old prophet in the country, not a member of the Society of Friends, but one who preached under direct monitions and baptisms of the Holy Spirit, was sitting in a country meeting for worship, and happened to hear the Epistle read. His face brightened and was radiant with joy, and he congratulated Friends on the advanced ground taken, and said, 'That address marks an epoch in your history.' He expressed the thought that the community which had issued that address undoubtedly had a great future."

† For relation of Friends in Australia to London Yearly Meeting, see Appendix, p. 243.
for India.* These Friends also went out under the Meeting for Sufferings, having a deep concern to visit Friends in Calcutta, and also the scenes of the recent mutiny. Russell Jeffrey says that for twenty years he had had the matter of visiting India on his mind, and was further moved to offer himself for the service by hearing George Richardson's letter, and later by the knowledge of F. Mackie's concern. The journey extended over some eighteen months, and included visits to many of the leading centres in India and Ceylon. A careful study of conditions was made, and very full reports appeared month by month in "The Friend." Before leaving India a paper was prepared entitled "Thoughts on the Present State of Christianity in India." In addition to loving counsel addressed to Indians, missionaries and other European residents, there are some general remarks on the situation in which the value of the indirect results of missions, the importance of higher education and the need of a close dependence upon the Holy Spirit are strongly emphasised.†

It was during 1862, also, that a considerable fund was raised for Madagascar Schools, amounting in all to over £1,000. The amount was given to certain specific educational objects in connection with the London Missionary Society. Conditions in this island had been brought prominently to the notice of Friends by William Ellis and others. As far back as 1843 a letter to Jas. Backhouse from David Johns, then vainly seeking an entrance into Madagascar during the era of persecution, had been

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* On their way out they sighted the wreck of the vessel in which they had originally planned to sail, and the Pera itself was wrecked on its return voyage. They were thus strikingly reminded of the mercies they had received in their own safe journey.

† In Calcutta, in addition to visiting the group of Friends, they paid a call, with an introduction from Dr. Hodgkin, upon Babu Devindranath Tagore (father of Rabindranath Tagore), a leading member of the Brahmo Samaj.
published in "The Friend,"
* and a number of Friends had continued to watch the situation with interest. When the country was once more opened to missionary labour in 1861, the London Missionary Society hastened to re-occupy the field, but they felt themselves quite unable fully to cope with the great opportunities that now opened out. Hence came the appeal to Friends. No doubt largely on account of Friends' views on the ministry, the call came chiefly for help in educational work. In August, 1864, an Address to Friends on Education in Madagascar was circulated widely. William Ellis is therein quoted as saying, "I should like this matter to be laid before James Backhouse; and, if you have the opportunity, you might speak to some other Friends. I believe, in the present day, education is carried on by the Society of Friends on the most sound and just principles, and with them the work is done thoroughly, that is what we want." The burden of the appeal is a call for trained teachers, a man and a woman.

During these years another voice was being continually raised on behalf of Madagascar. Joseph S. Sewell, himself an acknowledged minister, † a trained teacher, ‡ and a nephew of William Ellis, was urging Friends to respond to the call. A series of letters from him were published in "The Friend." In May, 1864, he writes: "There are many in our Society who have for some time felt that, as labourers in foreign lands, we have fallen far short of our duty. There has appeared of late, indeed, a greater readiness to embark in such service, but no clear opening. Has not such an opening now arrived? Are we ready to avail ourselves of it?" § In the following year he

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† See Appendix, p. 242.
‡ J. S. Sewell had held posts at Ackworth and Rawdon Schools, in Yorkshire.
§ "The Friend," 1864, p. 132; see also, p. 152.
again presses upon Friends the necessity for doing something, and points out that our principles demand not the reproduction of home methods in work abroad, but "that we should go forth unfettered by form or system."* Once again, in April, 1866, on the eve of Yearly Meeting, we find two columns from his pen written in the "hope that these lines may meet the eye of some who have been in secret preparing, or, rather, being prepared, for such a work as this; and who may now be ready to make a full offering of themselves."† He does not seem even yet clearly to have realised that he was himself the man whom God had chosen. The claims of four motherless children, and the knowledge that he filled a useful place in his own meeting at Hitchin, made him feel that nothing short of the very clearest guidance could justify such a step.

Before describing how this guidance came, however, we must return to the year 1863, and trace the steady rise of the missionary interest among Friends. During that Yearly Meeting many incidents served this end. On the first day the testimony respecting George Richardson called forth references to his letters and their effect in leading Russell Jeffrey to undertake his journey to India. Extended reference was made on several occasions to this visit, during which Jonathan Grubb "expressed his belief that a day would come in which more labour in the field of the world would be called for from Friends."‡ Isaac Sharp interested Friends greatly in his account of his visit to Iceland and his prospect for further service there.

‡ "The Friend," 1863, p. 129.
THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FORMED AND THE FIRST MISSIONARIES SENT OUT.

It was not till the following year, after the return of the three Friends from India, that a new and younger voice was raised, one which was to ring out through the length and breadth of the land. Probably no one person has, in the aggregate, made to the cause of Foreign Missions in the Society of Friends so large a contribution of deep enthusiasm, persistent optimism and wise counsel as that given by Henry Stanley Newman,* who thus, at the age of twenty-seven, wrote: "Oh, that we might more completely become a great missionary Society!"† and who followed the expression of that wish by many years of unremitting labour for its fulfilment. To the young man it was given to see visions and to devote

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* Henry Stanley Newman was born at Liverpool in 1837, and died at Leominster, 23rd October, 1912. In addition to his work for Foreign Missions, he was actively engaged in Adult School work in this country, and was a member of the Friends' Home Mission Committee from its commencement in 1882. He took a warm interest in the whole work of the Society of Friends, including the deliberations of the Yearly Meeting and Meeting for Sufferings. He served his own Monthly Meeting as clerk for nearly twenty years, and the Quarterly Meeting in a similar capacity for six years. His work as Editor of "The Friend" is alluded to in Chapter VII., p. 197. He held this post from 1st January, 1892, up to the time of his death. H. S. Newman founded the Leominster Orphan Homes in 1869, and the Orphans' Printing Press, at Leominster, in 1873. He visited India in 1880–81, America in 1888–90 and 1902, and Pemba in 1897. For a brief appreciation of his work for the F.F.M.A., see Chapter VII., p. 211, and for fuller details refer to the short biography by his daughter, Harriet M. Newman, in the F.F.M.A. Biographical Series, published in connection with the 50th Anniversary.

† Letter to "The Friend," Nov., 1864, in which he also writes: "Is not our Society in many ways peculiarly adapted for furnishing and sending out missionaries? Would that young men and young women under the constraining power of the love of the Gospel might volunteer to go out under the sheltering arm of Christ and of the Church and reside as missionaries in foreign parts."
his gifts and his tireless energy to the fulfilment of the dreams which the aged patriarch had dreamed. Surely it was a day of the Spirit for the Society of Friends.

This letter was speedily followed up by a vigorous pamphlet entitled "Foreign Missions Reviewed," in which the same writer calls for the formation of a "Friends' Missionary Society." "We see," he writes, "that there are parts of the globe never yet visited by any European missionary. There are multitudes who have never heard one word of the glad tidings of salvation. There are many others eager to be taught, yet, for want of funds, missionary societies are unable to send them teachers.

"Shall the piercing cry of heathendom for help be unanswered? Shall millions of our fellowmen live and die our contemporaries without our making an effort to send them the Gospel Message? Shall we, who feel Christ precious, refuse to give the word of reconciliation to multitudes for whom Christ died?

"Some will say, we must not engage in such a service without a divine call. Certainly not. Yet let us be willing to hear and ready to obey that call whenever it comes to us. . . .

"A Society which, in its earlier years, was remarkable for nothing more than the actively-aggressive and missionary character of its labours,* should still maintain that character in its home and foreign missionary service. It would tend to the health of the Church at home to be more actively engaged in spreading the knowledge of the Gospel abroad. If our religion is better than other people's, it should bring forth better fruit."

This pamphlet came to the notice of several Friends, who undertook to circulate it widely. It sold freely and, along with J. S. Sewell's letter to "The Friend," formed the subject of a good deal of conversation. Three informal

* Richard's "Life of Sturge."
FORMATION OF F.F.M.A.

conferences were held before the matter came to the Yearly Meeting, on 31st May,* 1865. At that session the three Friends who had returned from India gave an account of their visit and the impressions they had formed, and Isaac Brown, on behalf of the group of interested Friends, stated what was being done. No discussion followed this statement, but later in the day the Friends met again and formed a Provisional Committee on foreign Gospel service “for the purpose of gaining and giving information on the subject, and taking such steps as may seem right towards increasing the interest of the Society in the subject and leading to further effort.” Henry Stanley Newman was appointed honorary secretary.†

* The summons issued to the last of these informal meetings is as follows:

“London, Fifth Month 26th, 1865.

DEAR FRIEND,—Thou art invited to attend a meeting of Friends to consider the duty of Members of our Society in connection with the work of communicating the knowledge of the Gospel to the heathen in foreign lands, to be held in No. 1 Committee Room, Devonshire House, on Third Day, the 30th instant, at two o’clock.

Thine sincerely,

WILLIAM BREWIN, ISAAC BROWN, ROBERT CHARLETON,
JOSEPH STORRS FRY, RUSSELL JEFFREY, FODEN LAWRENCE,
JOSEPH STORRS FRY, THOMAS PEASE, JOHN F. RUTTER,
GEORGE THOMAS, FRANCIS JAMES THOMPSON.

P.S.—To enable Friends to be punctual we have secured tickets for cold dinner at the Institute for those now invited, and enclose one for thy use.”

† A circular issued in 1865 gives the names of the Friends comprising the Provisional Committee as follows:—

Isaac Brown, Ackworth.
Edward Brewin, Leicester.
William Brewin, Cirencester.
Robert Charleton, Bristol.
George Dymond, Birmingham.
Joseph Storrs Fry, Bristol.
D. Alexander Fox, Birkenhead.
Charles Fox, Falmouth.
Thomas W. Fisher, Dublin.
Jonathan Grubb, Sudbury.

George S. Gibson, Saffron Walden.
Henry Hipsley, York.
Charles Horsnail, Canterbury.
Russell Jeffrey, Cheltenham.
Caleb R. Kemp, Lewes.
William S. Lean, London.
John Morland, Jr., Croydon.
Josiah Newman, Leominster.
Henry Newman, Leominster.

Henry S. Newman, Leominster.
This Committee lost no time in issuing an Address to Friends calling attention to the openings in India, Italy, and Madagascar, suggesting the need of better information and more sympathy and prayer, which "when rightly exercised rarely fail to lead to further action." The Committee "assure their friends that they have no desire in any way to interfere with duties which properly devolve upon the Meeting for Sufferings, or other bodies sanctioned by our rules of discipline. They wish to act in perfect harmony with the expressed judgment of the Yearly Meeting and in thorough accordance with the principles which it acknowledges."

A great deal still remained to be done. The Committee was well aware that there was some opposition and a great deal of indifference in the Society. An acknowledged minister, on hearing of the step taken, said, "I hear you have formed a Committee, but I do not think you will do much harm, for it is very unlikely that any Friend will offer to go out under your auspices." But the movement was of God. He was speaking to one and another and leading the Society forward, in ways unknown, into a vast field of service abroad, and, at the same time, into a fuller and more fruitful life at home.

*Published in "The Friend," 1865, p. 185. For some years these words were reprinted in the Annual Reports of the F.F.M.A., and they still express its policy and steadfast endeavour.

†Quoted by H. S. Newman in his manuscript volume referred to above.

‡As evidence of the fact that the new movement was being watched from outside, we may quote a notice in "The British Standard" (Congregationalist):

"For our own part, we do not doubt that the blessed Spirit, on
While this group of leading Friends had been cautiously feeling their way towards the establishment of an organisation which could aid Friends in undertaking settled missionary work, and while many had been interested in India through the appeal of the Calcutta group and the visit of Russell Jeffrey and his companions, the great Lord of the Harvest had been speaking to an obscure and timid woman, who had been a domestic servant in the families of Friends and who was then in a small way of business in Manchester. This humble and faithful follower of her Master was the one chosen to be the means of leading the Society of Friends for the first time in its history to send out a regular resident missionary for work among non-Christians. "Not by might nor by power but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts!"

When we think of what this frail woman did, when we picture her standing on the steamer which was to take her to India, "shivering from head to foot in bodily dread of all that might be before her," yet facing the future with courage and hope, we cannot fail to be deeply moved in reading her own account of the steps which led to her going. "It was in 1856," writes Rachel Metcalfe, "that I received a direct call to India from the Lord. Why India? It filled me with dismay. To the North American Indians, or to Africa among people I was interested in and knew something about, I would have

whose guidance the Friends so implicitly rest, will lead them to a right conclusion; while we strongly hope that the new signs of an active religious life among them, of which the missionary spirit is not the least, will prove to be the harbingers of a new lease of existence to a body which the world could ill spare, yet which has, on some occasions, seemed to be taking its place among those things which, "decaying and waxing old, are ready to vanish away." (Quoted in "The Friend," 1865, p. 215.)

In the light of subsequent events, we cannot doubt that the wish herein expressed has been amply fulfilled.
rejoiced to go; but India, an idolatrous, priest-ridden people—O, why, Lord?—and I pleaded, pleaded strongly, but only this response, 'Not yet, in ten years.' Time passed on. I left my situation, entered into business, and almost began to think the Lord might have other work for me. I could serve Him as well in England in training little ones there for His service, and perhaps it had only been a fancy, a temptation; I had not really been called, it was my presumption, and so I reasoned. When one night all alone, as I slept, I was startled by hearing a call. I sat up, listened, not a sound to be heard through the quiet house; again I lay down and slept, and again I was aroused and listened: and the third time came the call, when I started up (for it seemed borne in upon me why the call), exclaiming, 'I will, Lord, only go with me.' Then the sweet assurance was given, 'I will be with thee,' a promise which has never failed from that day to this.”*

Within a few months of this experience Rachel Metcalfe saw a letter in "The British Friend," from Mrs. Leupolt, of Benares,† asking for some one who understood sewing machines to undertake her industrial work. She offered for the post, only to be told that no salary could be given, and she could only be accepted if Friends would support her. Her own Monthly Meeting, on being approached, counselled her to stay at home and mind her own business. Knowing of Russell Jeffrey's visit, she entered into correspondence with him, the upshot of which was a definite proposal to the Provisional Committee, when at last she found a body of persons prepared to enter with sympathy into her concern, waiting, indeed, for just such offers of service as hers.

†The Leupolts were a German family working in connection with the Church Missionary Society, whom Russell Jeffrey and Henry Hipsley had met during their visit to India.
At their meeting on the 25th May, 1866, the Committee expresses its "feeling that her call to this service is a right one, encourages her in her prospect, and undertakes to provide for her pecuniary maintenance, and, in case of necessity, to arrange for her return." The men of faith who had been called to lead the Society into a new sphere of work had a clear enough vision to see in one whom men despised the chosen vessel for the Master's service.

"So with the Lord: He takes and He refuses,
    Finds Him ambassadors whom men deny.
Wise ones nor mighty for His saints He chooses,
    No, such as John, or Gideon or I."

Meanwhile, the interest in Madagascar had continued to grow. Joseph S. Sewell at length came to the conclusion that, if any one else offered for Madagascar, it would be right for him to go also, but that the way was not clear for him to go alone. Shortly after reaching this conclusion, a letter reached him from America which proved to be just the guidance he needed. It was from Louis Street, of Richmond, Indiana,* and contained the news of his desire to work in Madagascar. After this had been laid on his heart he had been shown J. S. Sewell's letters to "The Friend," and had felt clear that he should offer to go out in connection with English Friends. His own Monthly Meeting united in his concern,† and the Provisional Committee, still without

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* At that time American Friends had no "foreign" missionary work, unless that among North American Indians be so designated.  
† The word "concern" is used among Friends for a sense of call from God to a particular service. All Friends with a concern for religious service abroad, even when not requiring financial aid, are desired to bring their concerns before the gathered Church (in its Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, or the Meeting for Sufferings when the Yearly Meeting is not in session) for sanction, counsel, and sympathy. If the concern is approved, a Minute is adopted by the Meeting, and a copy handed to the Friend in question. This Certificate, as it is called, forms an introduction to the Friends amongst whom his service may lie.
any knowledge of J. S. Sewell's own readiness to go out, decided, on 8th October, 1866, to ask him to come over from America "with the prospect of his proceeding next spring to Madagascar."

Not long before, J. S. Sewell had consulted his uncle, William Ellis, and, to his great surprise, found that he no longer favoured the idea of Friend missionaries going to Madagascar, as he feared the effect of introducing different views of Christian truth. This seemed to close the way; but later William Ellis, who had, perhaps, been over-persuaded before by some of his fellow-missionaries, finding the great difficulty of obtaining teachers for the opening in Antananarivo, told J. S. Sewell that he had altered his mind and would welcome him if he felt free to go out. When, in addition to this, the needed companions were forthcoming, J. S. Sewell decided to go forward, and brought his concern before his Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. Being an acknowledged minister, it was quite in order for him to carry the matter to the Meeting for Sufferings through the Morning Meeting.* This he did, asking, at the same time, that Louis and Sarah Street might be included as his companions.

Everything went forward satisfactorily, and the Meeting for Sufferings, in February, 1867, appointed a Committee to make arrangements. J. S. Sewell himself felt, however, that all matters had not been gone into fully enough by that meeting, and it

* "The Morning Meeting [so called from the fact that it always met in the morning], which existed for two hundred and twenty-eight years and was, at different times during that period, charged with the oversight of Ministers labouring in London and its vicinity, as also with the duty of granting or withholding Certificates for foreign religious service in the intervals between the sessions of the Yearly Meeting, ceased to exist in 1901, its functions being then transferred to the Meeting for Sufferings." (From the Introduction to "Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends in Great Britain and Australia"; Part III., Church Government.)
was clearly no surprise to him when a hitch in the proceedings occurred. This arose when J. S. Sewell clearly stated, what he had never made any secret of, that he reserved to himself the right to take part outwardly in the Lord's Supper, if it should seem to him that the situation in Madagascar made this desirable. He was very anxious not to take any course out there which would lead to division, or make needless difficulties for the missionaries of the L.M.S., whom he desired to help in every way. Some members of the Committee felt they could not serve any longer when once they understood this point. Their resignation was brought to the next Meeting for Sufferings on the 1st of March. The party for Madagascar were due to leave Southampton just a week later. Their goods were packed, passages taken, and every arrangement made.

Thus, at the eleventh hour, a rediscussion of the whole question was entered upon. Undoubtedly some members of the meeting were under the impression that the Friends who were going out to Madagascar intended to go much farther in their acceptance of the views of other Christians than was the case. Many, however, felt that even to conform in the least degree to the practice of others, where it was contrary to that of Friends, would be a surrender of principle. J. S. Sewell, on the other hand, contended for liberty to act under the guidance of the Spirit. He was going to new conditions, and he was determined not to be fettered. He stated his case with breadth of vision and with deep conviction. It was no hurriedly-reached conclusion. He was prepared to accept the consequences, and to see the hand of God in all that was done.

The Meeting for Sufferings rescinded its previous decision. Great sympathy was expressed with the Friends who were going out, but it seemed clear that the Meeting could not undertake full responsibility for
them. The proposal to defer a decision until the Yearly Meeting could consider it was negatived on the ground of their impending departure. A contemporary account says: "R. Alsop was greatly pleased with the spirit manifested at the Meeting for Sufferings, nothing but hearty sympathy with J. S. S., notwithstanding the resolution the Meeting came to. Some were moved to tears. After Meeting, Friends flocked round him and L. Street to offer sympathy and help. W. Bennett seems to have offered J. S. S. his purse."* The writer adds, as a reflection upon the whole proceedings:

"9th March. I have much pondered the position and duty of the Society towards J. S. Sewell. Friends (many of them) cling to the old terms of Church Fellowship and unity . . . What a loss it will be to us, and what a loss to the messengers in all that may befall them to be cut off from the Church!"†

Thus, almost without warning, the Society was called upon to decide whether it could, in its corporate capacity, send out missionaries who might, under the utterly different circumstances in the Mission Field, adopt, for the sake of Christian unity, practices which at home they had felt it right to discontinue. On the answer hung the question as to whether the Church was to be

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* Extract from the private journal of Charles Tylor, 2nd March, 1867.

† J. S. Sewell thus states the broad principle that dictated this action: "I told the Meeting that I could not go out simply as a representative of the Society of Friends. I owned a higher Master, and I must follow Him. I felt very strongly that it was not a matter of present interest only, but that, if our going out should, as I hoped it would, be the prelude to much work by our Society in foreign countries, it was very important that, from the commencement, those so going out should have large liberty to follow such a course as an enlightened apprehension of surroundings and frequently varying circumstances might dictate, unfettered by the ordinary customs of the Society in England." From J. S. Sewell's own account in H. S. Newman's manuscript history. See also "The Friend," 1868, p. 30.
the Missionary Society, or to allow one to be formed outside its organisation. At the time it seemed to many that a great blow had been struck to the cause of missions. The Society had been unwilling to grant this liberty to its messengers, and had lost the privilege of sending them forth itself. Looking back, however, we can scarcely doubt that the cause of foreign missions progressed more rapidly among Friends because of this decision. Into the hands of a small body of men of faith came the direction of a task calling for all the faith and courage which they could command. In the hands of the whole body it is scarcely conceivable that so bold a policy would have been taken or so large a work attempted. Granted that the ideal is for the Church itself to send out its missionaries, it is still possible to regard the step taken fifty years ago as the right and only possible one under the circumstances.* Whether it is well to perpetuate such a state of things is another question which merits the earnest thought of our own generation.

It remains to be added that J. S. Sewell never actually exercised the liberty for which he fought and suffered. He placed his position fully before the L.M.S. missionaries, and they advised him to attend communion services without himself partaking outwardly, letting it be clearly seen that he was one in spirit with those who did. This broad-minded action on the part of both sides has, after fifty years, had results which we shall consider in a later chapter, but which may at once be characterised as of the utmost importance in helping towards

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* Although the vast majority seem to have felt that no other action was then possible, some felt quite differently, e.g., John Thirnbeck Grace, of Bristol, who wrote in April 1867, "I am still of the opinion that the Meeting for Sufferings made a great mistake, and has not acted according to its true place in the constitutional appointments of our Society." Quoted by H. S. Newman in his manuscript volume.

J. T. Grace was father to Watson Grace, who later became Secretary of the F.F.M.A. J. T. Grace married J. S. Sewell's sister.
a solution of the stupendous question of Christian unity.

The momentous decision of the first of March, 1867, gave to the Provisional Committee another opportunity of showing what it was made of. J. S. Sewell and Louis Street wrote to the members, putting the whole situation before them. A meeting was called for March 5th which "heartily united with the religious concern of our dear friends, and willingly accepted the responsibility of rendering the necessary assistance." Within one week eleven Friends offered £100 each towards the expenses of the mission. On the date arranged, 8th March, the missionaries set sail for Madagascar, Robert Charleton, a member of the Provisional Committee, adopting the two children whom Louis and Sarah Street felt it best to leave behind. Again, when the need arose, the Committee was ready to step into the breach. He who had called His servants to their new and difficult work had also prepared the instrument which was to be the means of enabling them to obey the call.

A PERMANENT ORGANISATION.

It now became evident that a permanent organisation would be necessary. The Provisional Committee had been anxious to do what was required of it, but willing to stand aside if the Society of Friends, through its properly constituted channels, was prepared to take up the work. Before putting the work upon a permanent basis, the Committee waited to see whether the Yearly Meeting would reopen the question on receiving the report of the Meeting for Sufferings. By mutual consent, however, on the suggestion of J. S. Fry, the report was passed without discussion. The following year a constitution was finally passed and published in "The Friend," and
THEOPHILUS WALDMEIER.
In Syria, 1873-1915. Founder of the Syria Mission.
(Block kindly lent by the Lebanon Hospital for Mental Diseases.)
WILLIAM AND LUCY S. JOHNSON.
In Madagascar from 1871. Murdered by the Malagasy at Arivonimamo, 1893.
thus there came into existence, on 26th May, 1868, the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. "Its object is to aid the spread of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and Mission work abroad, chiefly by assisting such members of the Society of Friends, or those in profession with them, as are believed to be called of the Lord to this service."

Before passing altogether away from a consideration of the processes which led to this step, we may well pass rapidly through our minds the series of incidents which combined towards this end. We see, in this little piece of history, how the Guiding Hand of God was placed first on one and then on another; how various influences working independently were converging to produce one result; and how the faithfulness of one here and another there, the aged and the young, the well known and the unknown, was the means of leading at last to the taking of that step which has resulted in the establishment of Christian communities in various lands, and the calling of many out of darkness into light and liberty. We can scarcely fail to gain some fresh sense of the slow, sure way in which the purposes of God mature, of the value of individual faithfulness, and united faith, and of the majestic sweep of the great design that, through apparent defeat and in unexpected ways, is finding its fulfilment in the affairs of men.
CHAPTER III.

(1866–1878 circ.).

MISSIONARY PIONEERS.

Having traced the development of the missionary idea in the Society of Friends, and having seen how it finally found expression in the formation of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, it will now be possible to give attention rather to the growth of the work in the various fields entered by that Association, and by other organisations which have been created for a like purpose. The object of the present chapter is to watch the early beginnings in each field, to see how the pioneers were led from step to step, to consider the conditions and the problems they were called upon to face in the initial stages of their work. In order to gain a clear conception of the subject, we shall first treat each field separately, and then deal with the problems which might be regarded as common to all, or susceptible of fruitful comparative treatment.

INDIA.

It has been seen how important a part the needs of India played in the processes which led to the inception of regular missionary work in the Society of Friends. The Indian Mutiny, the incorporation of this vast population in the British Empire, the consequent sense of responsibility towards...
our fellow-subjects, the unlooked-for discovery of a group of Indians who had adopted the views of Friends, the visit of some of them to London Yearly Meeting and their call to English Friends to send some one out to help them, the journeys undertaken by two Australian and three English Friends, and the publication of their full and interesting report—all these circumstances had combined to fix the attention of those who were promoting missionary interests in the Society upon this great field of labour. When Rachel Metcalfe came forward it seemed as if the answer to much prayer and sympathetic interest was beginning to be given.

The only wonder was that no one was found to go with her. It is not surprising that a missionary "felt it laid upon him, wherever he met Friends, to ask them if the whole missionary spirit of the Society was to be confined to that devoted woman."* Alone she went forth with a strong sense of call, with a firm faith in Him who had called her, but in a real sense "not knowing whither [she] went." Certainly she had the immediate prospect of work in Benares, in connection with the Church Missionary Society, but she seems clearly to have seen that this was not her final goal. She recognised that she was but blazing the path, and that others must come out to stand by her if the Society of Friends was to take its share, in any worthy way, in the great task of evangelising India. Repeatedly she writes home urging anyone who may feel the call that they shrink not back.

It was not until 1869 that help was forthcoming. Even then it was not from Friends in this country. A letter had been sent to Charles F. Coffin, of Richmond (Indiana), mentioning the need. Whilst it was still lying on his desk two unknown Friends from the South, who had been working among the freed slaves, came to

him to ask his advice. They had felt a call to work in India, and knew no way by which their concern might be fulfilled. Charles Coffin handed over the unanswered letter from England, and so, by another chain of events—but surely not by any mere chance—it came about that Elkanah and Irena Beard, "feeling religiously drawn to labour in the love of the Gospel among the Hindoos," were "liberated by Cherry Grove Monthly Meeting, Ind., to take up their abode in Southern Asia."* They came over to England, and, after seeing the Committee, left for India in September, 1869.

Meanwhile Rachel Metcalfe continued her work in Benares, undertaking the management of the industrial school, which she regards as "without doubt a sphere of usefulness, if not exactly what I wished." When the American Friends arrived she opened an industrial school of her own, but even this was only regarded as temporary, and as soon as Elkanah Beard had obtained a sufficient knowledge of the language, he undertook a considerable journey with the object of finding a favourable opening for mission work. It was the settled policy of the Mission to find, if possible, new ground, and not to enter into competition with other Missions. The Narbada Valley seemed to present such an opening, and, at the close of 1870, the little staff of Friends removed to Jabalpur.† After rather more than three years' work at this centre, a second move was made, a hundred miles or so further down the river, to Hoshangabad,‡ which appeared to be a favourable centre for work in an area which was not being touched by any missionary society. Before

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† Jabalpur is situated near the Narbada, some 500 miles from the coast, and is the centre of a large district containing 3,647 square miles, with a population (in 1870) of over 600,000.
‡ The name is probably derived from the second Malwa king, Sultan Hoshang Shah Ghori (1405-1434 A.D.).
this step was taken, however, E. and I. Beard were compelled to retire on account of ill-health, R. Metcalfe being again left alone for a period. A little more than a year after their withdrawal the Mission was reinforced by the arrival of Charles Gayford (February, 1873), and it was as a result of his further inquiries and journeys that the location was finally determined.

The area thus selected as the centre for the work of Friends lies in the very heart of our Indian Empire. It includes three administrative areas, Hoshangabad, Sohagpur, and Seoni Malwa, in the British district of Hoshangabad, Central Provinces, and the large Mohammedan State of Bhopal, with three smaller Native States (Narsingarh, Rajgarh, and Khilchipur). The population is largely agricultural (over sixty per cent.); and the soil being remarkably fertile, great quantities of wheat are produced in this part of the Narbada Valley. It should be clearly understood that the vast majority of the people live in villages, with an average population of two hundred odd, of which there cannot be less than 5,000 in the entire area. The only large town is Bhopal, with a population of 60,000. Hoshangabad has about 15,000 inhabitants, and Sehore about 17,000, whilst no other town in the area has a population of 10,000. Friends entered a virgin field, the larger part of which was not even open to regular missionary work. The people were ignorant even beyond the average in India at that time. They are described, however, as "far less trammelled by priests and superstitious observances than those who live in the large cities."*

A considerable proportion (sixteen per cent. in the Hoshangabad district) belong to the aboriginal tribes, and a simple animistic faith is often met with even among those who are classified as of the Hindu religion.

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The sacred river Narbada divides the district into two unequal parts, the northern (more than three quarters of the whole) containing many Mohammedans and governed by Indian rulers, while the southern part is mainly Hindu in religion and is under the direct rule of Great Britain. The total population of about one million two hundred thousand is divided roughly in proportion to the division of area. Travelling in this great tract of country one passes, every few miles, through a little group of rough mud and wattle houses, surrounded by the cultivated area, or jungle land, belonging to the village. In the winter many a dry river bed tells its tale of the foaming torrent that, in the rainy season, will carry all before it. As the road rises and falls one can catch glimpses of the wooded slopes of the Satpuras to the south or the Vindhyas to the north. In among the hills and valleys, nestling by the sides of watercourses, clustered round the spreading banyan-tree, lying in the midst of fruitful plains, almost lost in the heart of dense jungles, we come across the countless villages where live the men, the women, and the children among whom God has called the Society of Friends to work in India. Here and there we find the learned man of philosophic mind; in the cities we see the new young life of this land of contradictions; in the markets we may meet the prosperous merchant or money-lender; but the great bulk of these people are ignorant, superstitious, and poor. As of old, those who went out in the name of Christ could say, “the poor have the Gospel preached to them.”

In the heart of this country the first Friend missionaries planted their standard. Hoshangabad was regarded not simply as a station in which to live and work, but as a centre from which to reach out to the villages. Schools were started, and most necessary they were when even the rudiments of knowledge had not been acquired by these
simple folk. But the great burden was to reach out to the multitudes and bring to them the good news of a Father's love. Elkanah Beard’s chief work, however, seems to have lain among the more educated. He spent the bulk of his time in personal conversations and visiting. The first Indian received into membership by Friends was a Brahmin, Bal Mukand, who, in 1875, openly confessed his faith in Christ. He came over to Sohagpur, to which place Charles Gayford had temporarily moved, as his house in Hoshangabad had been destroyed by fire, and there in public the sacred thread and the chutiya (the tuft of hair that is left to grow on the crown of the head) were removed. His father came over to plead with him. “To-day he has died to me,” he said. “To-day I feel too as if I am dead.” But the son, before a large crowd of people, proclaimed his faith, saying that of his own free choice he had become a Christian, and that he “would confess Christ now if thousands of people were added to those already present.”* Within a short time his school friend had followed his example, and thus, in the midst of prejudice and opposition, was laid the foundation of the Church in India under the care of the Society of Friends.

During these years there was no lack of difficulties. In addition to all the problems necessarily connected with opening up a new work in a country like India, Rachel Metcalfe fell ill with severe rheumatism, and had to leave for Agra, finally becoming so crippled that she could only get about by the use of a bath-chair. The Mission was left with one or, at most, two workers. Stanley Pumphrey, in 1874, wrote: “Can the Society of Friends be satisfied to leave their Indian Mission as it is—Charles Gayford single-handed and Rachel Metcalfe alone and with enfeebled health?”† and yet it was not till four

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more years had elapsed that any reinforcements went out.

Surely the faith of these brave workers must have been sorely taxed in those early days. We understand a little of the trial and of the courage in reading such words as these from Rachel Metcalfe: “Joseph Sewell’s visit to England will create great interest in the Mission cause; their labours have been so abundantly blessed in Madagascar. It always felt to me as if it would be much easier to work among the more impressible Africans; but their glowing account in contrast with our discouraging ones, and even the long dreary prospect before me, does not lessen the assurance I have been so often favoured with, that my coming to India was a right thing. . . . He who leadeth us on step by step, when the path seems dark and drear, with His Own Presence lightens the gloom.”* The after-events were to show whereunto this sure guidance was leading. When our thoughts are carried on to the larger growth of later years, however, let us not forget the faith and perseverance of these pioneers, with so little human support and help, facing the great field with its intricate and perplexing problems. To them was given the high honour of stepping out first into the unknown, and thus calling the Church at home to a new venture of faith.†

**MADAGASCAR.**

A greater contrast could scarcely be imagined than that presented by the conditions and the history of the Mission in Madagascar during the early period. The attention of Friends was turned in this direction not so much by national events and responsibilities as by the thrilling

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† For a fuller account of the early days of the India Mission see “Samuel Baker of Hoshangabad. A Sketch of Friends’ Missions in India” By Caroline W. Pumphrey. Headley Brothers, 1900, pp. 11-21, and 37-42.
experiences and splendid steadfastness of the infant Church. Just fifty years before the formation of the F.F.M.A., the first missionaries* had landed in Madagascar. After less than twenty years of work the great persecution broke out, and all the missionaries were compelled to leave. During the years of darkness the work done by those pioneers of the Gospel was put to a severe test. Never, perhaps, in the history of the Church has the work of so few men in such a short period stood a more searching test or emerged more triumphantly. When the missionaries returned after a quarter of a century, they found a Church ten times as strong as that which they had left, and with a record of martyrdom and persecution bravely borne which will ever shine radiantly in the annals of the Church Universal.

It might be said by some that a Church with such a history needed no more missionaries, and even seemed to do better without them. No one who has had practical experience of work among a primitive people would give assent for a moment to such a proposition. In the first place, the Church was still very small and weak in the midst of a population given up to idolatry. In the second place, it was largely uneducated, and had by no means shaken off the hold of superstitious ideas and practices. It needed, moreover, a wise, strong leadership to save it from many new dangers that threatened it, and to help it to reach a position of independence. In addition to this, there were, and still are, large unevangelised areas in different parts of the island. The missionaries soon found themselves overwhelmed with work. Changes of Government ensued, and, with the reign of Ranaváloná II., idolatry was publicly renounced, the palace idols were burned (in 1869), and Christianity became as popular as it had previously been despised.

* David Jones and Thomas Bevan landed at Tamatave at the close of 1818, the former being welcomed two years later in the capital by Radama I.
It was, as has already been shown, through the action of the London Missionary Society and some of its representatives that Friends were first called into this interesting field of work. It was not long before the changes last referred to that J. S. Sewell and L. and S. Street arrived in Antananarivo (now Tananarive). They felt it their duty to work in the closest possible harmony with the L.M.S. They did not regard themselves as having gone out to establish a separate Church organisation. Their primary aim was to strengthen the work which already existed, especially by helping to establish first-class schools. At one time it was even suggested by the L.M.S. that all the educational work should be taken over by the F.F.M.A. and superintended by its missionaries.* Events, however, were shaping themselves which were to lead Friends into a much more all-round effort, and greatly to modify their original plans for work in Madagascar.

It was decided to form a “General Assembly” of the Churches connected with the L.M.S. These had been established on the Congregational principle, each individual Church being autonomous. It became clear to all, however, that some kind of link was necessary, and so the Half-Yearly Meeting (or Isan Enim Bolana) was set up, as a consultative body, which also acts as the Missionary Society of the Malagasy Church. In December, 1868, the first of these meetings was held, and one of the four subjects under discussion was the division of the central province of Imerina into districts, each one of which should be related to one of the big Churches in the capital, and under the general superintendence of a particular missionary. This had been roughly done before, but in a way which gave rise to some inconvenience and difficulty. Joseph

S. Sewell had felt it right to connect himself more particularly with one of these Churches, viz., that of Ambohitantely. In the discussions on this subject it was proposed that this Church should take a large district, the result of which would be that Friends would come into direct responsibility in relation to it. Joseph Sewell did not feel that it would be right to refuse this offer, and he, with the Church at Ambohitantely, made himself responsible for a district stretching out some four days' journey to the west and south-west of Tananarive, in the form of a triangle with the capital as its apex. The base rested on the belt of largely uninhabited land between the province of Imerina and the Sakalava country.

In all this great stretch of territory there were but seven Churches when Friends took it up. Large parts of it had never been visited by a missionary, or by any other foreigner. Degrading customs were prevalent. On his first visit to Arivonimamo J. S. Sewell found a bull-fight in progress which was, he estimated, being attended by some 1,500 people. In all but a very few places there was the densest ignorance. Mutual suspicion and fierce jealousies separated the people into discordant factions. To-day the country still testifies to such a past, and to the unsettled state of things under the Hova rule. Each village is surrounded by a deep moat, sometimes by as many as three, and in many places the old stone gateways can still be seen, and the circular stone which was rolled into its position on the approach of an enemy or at nightfall. These villages frequently contain less than a dozen houses, and, in some cases, lie within a stone's throw of one another, showing how much distrust there was, and how far the people were from enjoying a stable state of society. The main occupation of the people was agriculture or cattle raising, the plain which surrounds the capital being very fertile.
FRIENDS BEYOND SEAS.

Tananarive itself stands up in a commanding position, dominating a great sweep of country. Few cities in the world have a finer situation. Looking westward the eye can see a far-off peak within a day's journey of the edge of the Friends' district, and south-west there stands out sharp against the sky the rugged edge of the Ankaratra mountains, among and beyond which lie the most distant villages in that direction. Nor does the capital take a less unique place in the life of the island than is suggested by its striking physical position. Streams of good and evil radiate from it. There is no place in Madagascar which can at all be classed with it in importance. The danger is lest all one's thoughts for the work of the Kingdom of God in Madagascar be too largely centred in the capital, and coloured by conditions there.

When the first Friends went out they found the capital having all the appearance of a Christian city. Huge congregations filled the churches. Little more than a year after their arrival Sunday was proclaimed a day of rest, the great national idol was burnt, and the Queen was sending members of her own household to church.*

A year later the Government issued a stringent order for the burning of all idols and charms of every kind. It might almost seem as if the only need were to make good these gains by patient educational work.

In undertaking this country district, however, Friends were saved from concentrating too exclusively on one branch, however important. Already they had begun to help in the widespread evangelistic work of the L.M.S. and to hear the

* "The Government works have been stopped on the Lord's Day, and a representative of a foreign Power on his way to the capital to obtain a ratification of a commercial treaty, having reached the last station on a Saturday night, instead of finding the usual escort, was informed that he could not be received at Court until Monday." Letter to "The Nonconformist" by the Home Secretary of L.M.S., quoted in "The Friend," 1868, p. 227.
call of the wild tribes in the West.* Now, however, they must form their own policy, and do their own work, still in the closest possible harmony with the sister society, but no longer as a mere adjunct to some one else's work. Undoubtedly this was a good thing for the F.F.M.A., and largely accounts for the rapid growth of interest at home, the fresh offers of service, and the free flow of money for this purpose. The Society had a difficult and a definite piece of work to face, and that fact called forth help and enthusiasm.

One development followed another. In 1868, Joseph Sewell began his school in the capital, charging fees for the first time, and finding his accommodation taxed to its utmost limit almost at once. In 1869 Helen Gilpin sailed for Madagascar, and nearly £500 was subscribed for the erection of boys' and girls' schools. The following year the former contained 200 and the latter 170 pupils, and already a place was being thought of as a residence for a missionary in the country. Henry E. Clark and his wife, with William Johnson, set sail in the spring of 1871. Every letter speaks of the wide-open doors. An urgent appeal was sent home for a printing press.† J. S. Sewell returned in the autumn to England, bringing two Malagasy boys for training in this country.

The congregations in the country rose in number year by year to twenty-seven, forty-two and fifty-nine (in 1872) with, by this time, some 15,000 persons worshipping God in the Friends' district. This rapid growth was largely due to the fact that Church-going was encouraged

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*The Sakalava are expressly mentioned for the first time as early as 1867, and are referred to at frequent intervals during the following years.

†One had already been purchased by Friends and given to the L.M.S. The appeal here referred to is for a second for the use of Friends themselves. Very considerable literary work was opening out before Friends, Bible revision, preparation of school books, etc., etc. This has always figured largely in the Madagascar Mission.
by the Government, advice from that quarter being tantamount, in the eyes of most of the people, to definite instructions. The next year two more Friends sailed, Samuel Clemes and his wife; the printing press was supplied: Abraham Kingdon and his wife went out to take charge of it. In 1874 a new station was opened at Antoby, in the far south-west of Friends' district, under the slopes of the Vavavato range, whose bare, jagged outline forms so striking a landmark for many miles round.

Although the great rush to the Church, on account of the Government attitude, began to lessen even before the end of 1872, the work continued to develop at a pace which must have seemed at times almost alarming. The printing office was worked to its utmost capacity. In looking at the list of books and the number of copies issued one can scarcely understand how so much was accomplished. The demand for new schools, the number of pupils flocking to those already established, and the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of qualified teachers, created problems of many kinds. In regard to the latter, it was felt best to establish a Training School for Teachers in connection with the Boys’ High School, and soon forty scholars were enrolled in it. In four years (1870-4) the number of children under instruction had almost trebled (reaching 1,619 in 1874). The Medical Mission, which had been put under the joint control of the two Missions, was developing so quickly that a new hospital was called for in 1875 and a medical school was opened in connection with it. The cost to the Association went up so rapidly that in 1876 a Special Committee was appointed to examine how it could be that nearly £5,000* had been required during the financial year. In

* It is a noticeable fact, as showing progress in self-support and the consequent greater return for money subscribed in England, that a much more extended work with nearly twice the number of missionaries is to-day actually costing a less sum annually to the F.F.M.A.
the following year another teacher, William Wilson, joined William Johnson in his work at the High School, becoming responsible largely for the training of teachers.

Through all these years, again and again the call of the West was sounding in the ears of the missionaries. Their eyes turned with intense longing to the degraded tribes beyond their borders.

Surely the Gospel was for these Sakalava too! In 1875, J. S. Sewell took an extended journey to the borders of this country, the report of which is full of interest. In concluding it he writes: "Perhaps some will say, 'Is it wise for us who have already so much on our hands in teaching the Hova and Betsileo, and who have to leave undone so much we would most willingly do for want of time and means—is it wise for us to be attempting to extend our work among the Sakalava? Whilst so much remains to be done in other parts of the island is any one warranted in running the risks that must be run by those who live among the Sakalava? Who is there that can undertake this work?' Questions like these will certainly be asked by many, not only here, but in England, and we cannot deny that they are worth considering. And yet, when we remember that the work of evil is progressing among the Sakalava, and is, apparently, decidedly increasing in power; when we remember, too, that many whose object is simply to gain money, willingly run the risks that a missionary would have to run, and that the influence of such is generally on the side of evil; when we look also at the blessings already received by the Hova, and the rapid development of their power to help themselves, we ought not to be blind to the present condition of the Sakalava, but carefully consider where our duty lies with regard to them."

It is a wonderful picture. The startling growth of the work at the centre, the demands made on every hand

* The teaching of the Betsileo was in the hands of the L.M.S.
FRIENDS BEYOND SEAS.

for more help, the large district with its pressing claims—and all the time the eager heart of the missionary pioneer not content unless there is fresh ground to be broken, new worlds to conquer in the name of the Lord of Hosts. One seems to catch the echo of the great missionary’s words: “When therefore I have accomplished this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will go on by you unto Spain” (Rom. xv. 28).

SYRIA.

The missionary interest of Friends in Syria may be said to date from the visits by two American Friends, Eli and Sybil Jones, who were liberated for this service in 1867. It was during the first of these visits that they made the acquaintance of Elijah G. Saleeby, who later came to England and “was supplied by Friends at Darlington with money and maps for a day-school which he opened at Brummana and called ‘Darlington Station.’”* This little village was destined to become the centre of a flourishing work carried on by the Society of Friends on the Lebanon. Great interest was aroused in England by the journeys of Eli and Sybil Jones, and one result was the opening of a fund to which Friends were asked to contribute. Several objects are specified, among them being a Lepers’ Hospital near Jerusalem,† a school for Mohammedan girls, Beyrout, and other Schools under the care of Elizabeth M. Thompson,‡ as well as a new school

* F.F.M.A. Annual Report, 1878, p. 31.
† This Hospital was under the care of the Moravians, and is only one of several instances of the great interest taken by Friends in the Missions of this remarkable Church. Note also I. Sharp’s visits to their Missions, and S. Pumphrey’s effort to reduce their debt in 1874–6.
‡ E. M. Thompson was the founder in 1860 of an educational Mission in Syria now known as the British Syrian Mission. She was a Friend by birth, being a sister to Augusta Mott. The work was commenced after the terrible massacre of Maronite and Greek Christians by the Druses and Moslems, when 11,000 men and boys were killed, and the women and children left desolate.
MARY J. DAVIDSON.
In China from 1886.

ROBERT J. DAVIDSON.
In China from 1886.

JOSEPH MALCOMSON,
Founder of Ceylon Mission, 1896.

THEODORE BURTT.
In Pemba from 1896.

PIONEERS IN THREE FIELDS.
MISSIONARY PIONEERS.

in Baalbek District; funds to aid the American Press in furnishing juvenile reading in Arabic, and funds to supply religious reading in modern Greek. The moving spirits were Hannah Stafford Allen, Ellen C. Miller (afterwards Pearson), and Alfred Lloyd Fox. It is clear that the original intention was not the establishment of a fresh mission, nor was it only to help schools, although the fund soon became known as the Syrian Schools' Fund, and was devoted exclusively to this object after 1875.*

During a second visit to the East in 1869, E. and S. Jones, accompanied this time by Alfred Lloyd Fox and Ellen C. Miller, again visited Beyrout, where they held a meeting in the large hall of the British Syrian Mission. Among those present was one who had already been through many strange experiences. Theophilus Waldmeier was brought up a Roman Catholic, and was led into a definite religious experience when quite a young man through the influence of a Protestant student. He entered a Protestant Missionary College in his native country, Switzerland, and, in response to an appeal from Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem, went out in 1858 to Abyssinia. The story of his many experiences there is far too long to tell here. His ten years of life in Abyssinia ended only after a prolonged imprisonment, and, the way being closed for returning there, he accepted Syria as his second field, and was appointed inspector of the schools of the British Syrian Mission.†

* The report of the fund, published in 1870, speaks of sums having been forwarded to thirty different points in the East, including Athens, Cairo, Alexandria, Jaffa, Bethlehem, etc.
† Theophilus Waldmeier's Autobiography (published by the Orphans' Printing Press, Leominster, in 1886) gives a vivid story of his remarkable career, and should be read by all who wish to become more fully acquainted with it. For a short account, covering the whole of his eventful life, see "Theophilus Waldmeier," by R. Hingston Fox, M.D., in the F.F.M.A. Biographical Series, 1916.
While at Beyrout he heard about the Quakers and attended their meeting. "I had never in my life," he says, "heard such messages preached by a mortal. All that she (Sybil Jones) said took hold of my soul and left no room for other thoughts. After these Friends left us and went to their hotel, I went in the night to see them. Next day they left for Jerusalem, but their spiritual teaching remained in my heart and took hold of my soul."* In 1872 T. Waldmeier came to England, and after returning to Syria he felt led to sever his connection with the British Syrian Mission, as his "heart’s desire always was to go to an unoccupied mission field."† With this in view, he decided to open work in that part of the Lebanon known as the Metn, and went to reside at Brummana. He took over the boys’ school at this village, and he started a girls’ school there and another not far off. All this was done in faith, and without any assurance of support, beyond some help he was receiving from personal friends in Switzerland and Sweden.

Two years later, however, he visited England again, where he joined the Society of Friends and addressed the F.F.M.A. Annual Meeting. The Friends who had been collecting money for the Syrian schools felt that they ought to give him regular help in the undertaking on which he had thus embarked in faith. The Committee was reconstituted and enlarged, during the meetings of the Friends’ First-Day School Conference at Darlington, in August, 1874, "with a view of strengthening the hands of the two or three on whom the home charge of this interesting enterprise has hitherto rested."‡ The new Committee of what was now called the Friends’ Syrian Mission, in its first announcement, assumes responsibility for T. Waldmeier’s personal

* From a manuscript by T. Waldmeier, in F.F.M.A. Office.
† F.F.M.A. Annual Report, 1874, p. 34.
expenses, informing Friends that the sum of £100 had been received from America, and further help was likely to be forthcoming. They anticipate, however, the discontinuance of grants to schools such as receive their support from other organisations, but express their intention of concentrating on T. Waldmeier and J. Hishmeh (see below).

The connection was further strengthened in 1875 when Eli Jones again visited Beyrout, in company this time with A. Ll. Fox and Henry Newman. They spent several months on the Lebanon, and made a thorough study of all that was being done, organising a Monthly Meeting* among the little group of Christians (six in all) who were associated with the Mission. On this visit the Boys' Training Home (now the Boys' High School) was opened in a hired house, with ten pupils.

On their second visit to Syria and Palestine Eli and Sybil Jones had been recommended to an old scholar of the C.M.S. School at Jerusalem, who acted as interpreter for them, and who, on his part, was much impressed by their messages. This man, Jacob Hishmeh, lived at Ramallah (the ancient Ramathaim Zophim), a little town lying to the north of Jerusalem, and nearly 3,000 feet above the Mediterranean Sea level. One day Eli Jones was stopped in the narrow streets of Ramallah by a slender girl of fifteen who asked him, in broken English, if he would start a school there for girls. "And who will be the teacher?" he asked. "I will," came the quick reply. And so it came about that, with this mere child who had received three years' education in a German school in Jerusalem, the first Friends' School in Palestine was opened. Four others followed, and Jacob Hishmeh was left to superintend them, and to act as Scripture reader

* It is an interesting fact that A. Ll. Fox acted as the first Clerk to this Monthly Meeting.
in Ramallah and the neighbourhood. By 1878 other schools were being opened, a second helper had been secured, and the Committee were realising that there was need for a Friend to go out and reside there permanently. It was not, however, until five years later that this desire was fulfilled by Dr. George Hessenauer and his wife taking up their residence in Ramallah, in December, 1883.

In this volume it is not possible to trace the further history of the Ramallah Mission. The two fields under the care of the Syria Committee, and jointly supported by Friends on both sides of the Atlantic, really constituted two entirely separate missions. In 1887 it was decided to leave the full control of one with the Syria Committee in England, while New England Friends undertook the management of the other. The work at Ramallah thus passed out of the hands of English Friends, there being at that time ten day schools, two boarding schools, and a small native monthly meeting. Since then it has continued to make steady progress under the care of New England Yearly Meeting.*

In this way it came about that two very similar organisations existed side by side in the Society of Friends, the Friends’ Foreign Mission Association, with work in India and Madagascar, and the Friends’ Syrian Mission Committee. They were in close touch with each other, and several Friends served on both. The anomaly was early recognised, and even when the formation of the Syria Committee was only in contemplation the editor of "The Friend" queried "whether there would not be an economising of power in placing all these foreign efforts under the care of the F.F.M.A."†

† "The Friend," 1874, p. 211.
It was not, however, until nearly thirty years after the first organisation of the Committee for helping schools in Syria and elsewhere that these two efforts were finally brought under one common control.*

The Mission thus started is one which many Friends have visited, and the situation and conditions of work are, perhaps, more generally familiar than those in the other fields. This volume would not, however, be complete without some reference to them. On reaching Beyrout the traveller’s eye turns instinctively not only to the beautiful harbour and busy port, with its mixture of Eastern and Western buildings, but upwards also to the slopes of Lebanon, crowned, if our visit be in the winter or spring, by the snow-covered heights of Sunneen. In the near distance the eye can easily distinguish the villages of Brummana and Beit Meri standing at different points on a prominent ridge almost due east from Beyrout. The district occupied by Friends lies mainly to the south and east of this ridge, the villages lying chiefly on the slopes of this and two other ridges running down from the heights of Lebanon to the sea. Between these ridges lie deep ravines carved out by the fierce mountain torrents. Where not too steep, the sides are terraced for mulberry trees and cereals. Although the famous cedars are now only found in a few small areas, the hills are, many of them, well wooded in their lower parts, especially with firs, olives and sycamores.

Again we have to deal very largely with a village and agricultural population. They are a hardy people of considerable intellectual power, and with some of the qualities that make for leadership. They do not take kindly to the Turkish rule, and many have pushed out into other lands to find fuller scope for their ardent

* The Syria Report for 1878 says: “The way has not yet opened for an amalgamation ... but it is hoped that at some future time such a junction may be effected.”
natures. A large proportion of these people belong to Christian Churches, Greek or Maronite, while the Moslems are scarcely represented in this particular section of country. There is, however, one very interesting and peculiar group of non-Christians—the Druses, whose founder was originally a Moslem. These people are found in no other part of the world, and number in all less than 100,000. Between them and their neighbours who belong to the Eastern Churches there has sprung up the most bitter hatred, and in 1860 this found expression in the awful massacre of Maronite Christians by the Druses. It was this which led to the intervention of France and other Powers, and to the establishment of the Lebanon Province under international guarantee—a factor of no small importance in the development of missionary work. Among the Druses, only a small inner circle are instructed in the tenets of their religion, and great efforts are made to preserve its secrecy.

Working day by day in this beautiful spot, the early missionaries had much opposition and ignorance to break down. Theophilus Waldmeier was opposed by Bishop and Patriarch when he first went to Brummana. People who were nominally Christians asked of him, "Who is Jesus? What is He doing? Where does He dwell? " In doing simple medical work, in showing kindliness by life and word, in offering to them an education of which they soon came to understand the value, he quietly won his way into the hearts of the people. The fact that by 1878 there were some 300 boys and girls in the various schools of the Mission is in itself a testimony to the changed attitude. The previous year he had been joined by Dr. Beshara J. Manasseh, who first became teacher at the Training Home and later gave his whole time to the medical side of the work. Owing to the conditions of work in the Turkish Empire, some methods employed
in other mission fields were not possible. This partly accounts for the large concentration on schools and hospital, not only in the early days but through the whole history of the Mission. A great deal was also being done in quiet visiting in the homes of the people, and very many were hearing for the first time the story of the love of Christ.

Of these only an insignificant proportion were associating themselves with the Friends' Church. Some preferred to remain in their own Churches and work from within; others could not break away from family and other ties; while quite a large proportion of those who became Christians were among the more ardent spirits who could not endure the suppression and uncertainty of life under Moslem rule, and were driven to seek a wider field for their activities in Egypt, Africa, or the New World. It needed, and still needs, great faith to work on under such conditions, where the fruit comes slowly and the gains are hard to count. Such faith was given to these early workers, and, amid difficulties and discouragement, they continued steadfastly in the work to which they had put their hands.

EARLY PROBLEMS OF MISSIONARY WORK.

We have traced in outline the stages which were passed in the first twelve years' work, seeing something of the widely differing conditions in the three fields which Friends had now entered. We have seen our missionaries in India, few in number, in a vast untouched field, facing one of the oldest civilisations and one of the most rigid social systems on the face of the earth. We have followed the amazing growth of the Mission and the Church in Madagascar, where the strong influence of the Queen and Government on a primitive people was
creating the opposite dangers to those seen in India, and where the missionaries were confronted not simply with the task of winning individuals, but with the still harder one of helping to shape the national and social life into Christian moulds. In Syria we have watched the growth of work in a much more restricted area, and among a people many of whom suffered from the blight of a nominal Christianity of a pre-Reformation type, and were under the influence of an ignorant priesthood. Before carrying the story farther, let us try to grasp for ourselves some of the problems faced by the missionary pioneer, at any rate sufficiently to have sympathy with these men and women who led the way for the Society of Friends.

First there comes the very practical question of guidance. It is not easy to know the path for oneself, even when others have led the way. For these first missionaries the perplexity must be vastly greater. To go out alone into untrodden ways, to venture untried experiments, to make decisions which will determine the policy of a mission for generations, to be left to solve many of these questions without the counsel of those on whose judgment one has learned to count—these are things which call for a clear sense of divine leadership and the quiet courage of strong faith. We have seen in what different ways the pioneers were led; we have traced the steps which resulted in the opening of missions, the determination of localities and lines of work. In it all we cannot fail to have come close to the human problem, to have realised in measure what these decisions cost, and to have seen the golden thread of a divine purpose being woven into the fabric. It is worth something to us to study this history if we gain a clearer conviction that the work is not ours in its initiation and control.

Plunged into the midst of an unknown life, among
people of a strange tongue, and with an outlook on life utterly different from their own, the first missionaries are faced with the stupendous task of presenting a whole new set of ideas in terms intelligible to the common people. The casual observer thinks at once of the language difficulty. No doubt it is a serious one. Far more baffling is the reading of the mind. Think of it as it concerns men and women belonging to an ancient civilisation, with a philosophy and religion of their own, built upon a pantheistic view of life, imbued with the illusoriness of all outward phenomena.

Picture, further, the approach to those who have no history and no literature, who are without any notion of the ideas which are fundamental to all our thinking, whose religion seems to centre in a blind dread of evil spirits constantly lying in wait to do them harm. How is the Gospel to be made a living message? How shall ideas be communicated for which there is no word in the language? How shall confidence be established where suspicion and even hatred hold the field? Where we are members of a ruling race, how shall we establish relationships that are natural and brotherly and show in action that we come to serve and not to rule? Where the least word or wish of the white man calls forth the deference due to the command of a prince, how are we at the same time to let our views be known and understood and to draw out the initiative and self-reliance of the native, which are so essential to true success in missionary endeavour?

The problem of adaptation is one which calls for an infinitude of sympathy and patience, of insight and tact. Those who enter into the labours of the first missionaries can scarcely realise this. They find a body of persons already imbued with Christian and with Western ideas. They find a literature which helps them to understand the
native mind, and, better still, men and women of their own race who can help them in this all-important study. They are able to do much of their work through those who are used to working with foreigners. The whole process is more easy, but often may not, on that account, be carried so far. The pathfinder does a work which no other is called upon to do in quite the same way.

There is another whole class of problems which the missionary is called upon to face very early in his work. He finds himself in a social order which is utterly hostile to the ideas he is seeking to inculcate. Its structure is such that it is scarcely possible for his converts to remain within it and be consistent Christians. His message means more than the conversion of individuals: it involves also the transformation of society. Very early he has to think out his attitude to these questions. The problem presses in individual cases. What is he to do with the convert who has several wives? What about members of a vegetarian society whose vows are regarded as a means of winning heaven?

These and similar questions are difficult enough. But as regards the relation of the young Church to the social order: shall they accept, in the meantime, customs which are contrary to their ideals, in order to remain within and leaven the whole? Or shall they come out and be a separated community? In India the caste system to some extent solves this problem, but it creates others. What is to be done to save the Christians who come out from caste, and therefore lose their employment, from becoming dependent on the Mission? How are we to save the Church from becoming merely another caste? What, again, is the missionary to say to the un-Christian customs which seem to be woven into the life of the nation? J. S. Sewell aroused great opposition among
the missionaries of other societies in Madagascar by an outspoken address on slavery, just before he left the Island for the last time in 1876. They felt it was calculated, at that time, to raise political issues which would be prejudicial to the work. He felt that it was a burning moral issue and must be faced by the Malagasy Church whatever the consequences.

An interesting comment on the whole problem in Madagascar was made by Frederic Seebohm at the Annual Meeting in 1880. "In Madagascar," he says, "the question is being decided as to whether a half-civilised country can be civilised and Christianised without the extension of empire over it. In our own and European history civilisation has almost always been effected through conquest; but here in Madagascar we have an instance of a country and a people being gradually civilised and Christianised without any attempt at conquest by those who are devoting themselves to the work. If it succeed, we shall have a most important fact of vital consequence as regards the whole question of the treatment of uncivilised nations. . . . Either the country must come under the empire of civilised and Christian nations, or under the influence of those who have no temporal influence or empire to seek, but who are devoting themselves, by the exercise of their Christian influence, to the work of civilising and Christianising the country. And we have really, at the bottom of our Christianity and our Quakerism, a principle that fully justifies such a course as this."

We have touched upon a few of the problems, which our missionary pioneers were called upon to face. We are not to be content merely with following them in a record of their work. What is embodied in a report and summed up in a statistical table is a mere fraction of the real work of the missionary. Amidst circumstances which tax his utmost resources of mind and heart, overburdened physically with a volume of work which is
far more than any one man should undertake, beset by the temptation to discouragement, or roused to indignation by the folly and sin of those upon whom he has lavished his best, we see him steadily holding on, shaping the course of men and nations to higher destinies, building, silent and unseen, the walls of the New Jerusalem.
CHAPTER IV.

(1879-1889).

THE WIDENING HORIZON.

We instinctively think of the early days of foreign missions in the terms of great personalities. William Carey, Henry Martyn, Robert Morrison, Adoniram Judson, Alexander Duff, David Livingstone—these are some of the names which are inseparable from the story of modern missions. Their vision, their faith, their courage, their singleness of purpose, their achievements stirred the Church to undertake her neglected and almost forgotten tasks. They not only did their own duty; they created a new conscience in the Church as a whole. Only gradually, indeed, did she realise her responsibility and seriously attempt to discharge it. Meanwhile the missionary programme was assuming a more definite shape, under the guidance of such men. It was inevitable that their ideas and opinions should take a predominant place in determining the character of the work and the methods to be employed. The home Committee is dependent upon data received from or through the very persons whose judgments it ought to be in a position to check, and, if necessary, to modify. On the field there is not, as a rule, the opportunity for consultation with more than a small body of persons who may easily be largely dominated by one of their number. Missionary work has thus often
developed along the lines not of any preconceived plan or policy,” but has, in the main, “expressed the work of outstanding individualists.”

As fresh elements are introduced into the mission circle, and as the home Committee becomes better informed, there is a tendency to widen out, to see things in larger perspective, to shape a clear and well-thought-out policy. We have already seen how, among Friends, these same lines were being followed. The formative influence of certain personalities can be clearly traced. We have now to see how the missionaries were led out into the rich and varied operations of a well-proportioned work.

**INDIA.**

Let us first picture these little groups of Friends faced with such large tasks, living and working together, meeting their perplexities with faith and courage, growing in spiritual stature, as men and women always will when they attempt great things for God. In India we see Rachel Metcalfe now crippled by rheumatism and going about in the bath-chair which had been sent out from home. She is living in the midst of the native quarter at Hoshangabad, where the Indian women can easily slip in to see her, and whence she can be wheeled out to attend the meeting next door.

Here is a description of her when in Sohagpur:

“Learning there was an English lady living in the town by herself, and carrying on mission work, we called on her, and were very deeply impressed by the spectacle of Christian devotedness that met our eye. This lady was an invalid, unable to walk, and otherwise disabled, and was moved from place to place in a wheeled chair. Under all ordinary circumstances she would have been surrounded by sympathising friends, seeking to anticipate her every wish and spare
her every effort. Yet she had come out to this country to spend her days in making known Christ to those whom she might persuade to come to her. She had a school of native girls to whom she had greatly endeared herself by her endeavours to give them useful instruction."

Her great heart goes out to the orphaned girls, children, it may be, of some who have been her near neighbours, and she opens her own house to them (1881). "Very great," she says, "is the change in these little waifs... there is no time more enjoyed by them or myself than our evening reading, when the whole group, including my servants' children, gather round the table to read the Scriptures, repeat hymns, etc."† Very small beginnings—a very simple work—yet one which in itself was great for the rich measure of love poured into it, and was to lead to one of the most fruitful efforts undertaken by the Mission in later years. Towards the end of 1883 Ellen Nainby joins her in this effort, and the numbers in the orphanage increase in the following year from five to seventeen. Little did they imagine that sixteen years later the Mission would be dealing with over five hundred girl orphans at one time!

In 1879 Charles Gayford had come home for a time in order to take up medical study. In his place we see Samuel and (after December, 1881) Anna Baker, and John H. and Effie Williams completing the little community, which was not to have any further additions to its numbers until 1883. We have a picture of Samuel Baker as one who never spared himself in the work to which he felt called. We see him going in and out among the people like one of themselves, using the language and quoting the proverbs of daily life with a familiarity and ease that would even deceive those who

† F.F.M.A. Annual Report, 1882, p. 20.
did not see the speaker into thinking him an Indian. We see him consecrating the business side of his work and the uncongenial keeping of accounts no less than the preaching and personal conversations in which he delighted. We see him taking up each detail of the boys' orphanage work with thoroughness and good humour, teaching each one both how to support himself and how to lead an honest and fruitful Christian life. Wherever he goes he calls forth the loyalty and love of old and young.*

By his side, no less devoted, is John H. Williams, who in 1881 re-opened the work in Sohagpur. Here, by his consistent Christian life, he wins European and Indian alike. Going out into the villages and bazaars with magic lantern and a little band of helpers, he gathers round him the people, and tells to many for the first time the story of the love of God in Christ. An evangelist through and through, he, like Samuel Baker, gives away a few doses of quinine to sick folk, soon to find himself overwhelmed with patients for whom he has to set aside a regular hour every day. Very early in their life in the Central Provinces J. H. and E. Williams were called upon to suffer deeply in the loss of first one child and then a second, while the one remaining boy had to be sent to England. To Samuel and Anna Baker there came like sorrow, both families being thus early called to face the cost of their service in its severest form. The true missionary faces with joy any sacrifice he may be called to make himself. When, however, his children suffer illness or die, when they are deprived of home life for long periods, unable, perhaps, to enter themselves into the meaning of the sacrifice, it is at times almost more than he can bear. Only in the consciousness that he is doing the will of

CHUNGKING: THE CITY STEPS.

This crowded scene of active life in the great Treaty "Port" of the West shows the approach to the "Gate of Peace," with the city Custom House at the head of the steps.
CLOVE CULTURE IN PEMBA.

Clove cultivation is a special feature of Friends’ work in Pemba.

MAKORIYA MEETING HOUSE, INDIA.

Building erected entirely from funds contributed by the Indian Church.
God can he hold on in the midst of the perplexing thoughts which come to him in such circumstances.

Nor must we for one moment forget the Indian fellow-workers who were already taking a very large share in the burden of the work. Some of these had been won direct from Hinduism through the preaching of the Friend missionaries, and others had been drawn in through the schools. Filled with a deep sense of the difference Christ had made to them, they were giving themselves with zeal to the proclamation of the Word. Their own accounts are full of graphic touches—scraps of conversation with men of high and low caste, fakirs, headmen, pundits, and priests. "The priests," says one of them, "think that the new missionaries and Christians are very busy in preaching, teaching and distributing tracts in this city (Hoshangabad). Some of the men, both Brahmins and others, come to us and acknowledge Christ as God, and we hope a great many will join us."* Far and wide the seed was being sown by men who believed intensely in their message, and who had a great assurance in their hearts that the work would not be in vain.

The Mission may be said to have had its birth in a great burst of evangelistic work. This does not mean that there were no schools. These, however, seem in the early days to have been only an incident, as it were, a means of getting hold of a few children and, through them, perhaps of reaching the parents. Only gradually did it become apparent that the educational work must be greatly strengthened if the future of the Mission was to be assured. The large place which it came to occupy later was due to a recognition of the fact that the future of the work in India rests not with the missionary but with the Indian, and also

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to the practical problem with which the Mission was faced in dealing with the hundreds of famine orphans who were the result of the terrible famines of 1897 and 1900. On the part of some it can truly be said that it was entered upon with a measure of reluctance, in the fear that it would call the missionary away from the work of preaching. This subject will come up for treatment in a later chapter. All that we need to do here is to note the comparatively small place taken by the educational work in the early days of the India Mission, in marked contrast to the predominant place which it occupied in the other Missions.

The development in India was similar to that in most mission fields. First there was a wide-spread evangelistic work. This was accompanied, in quite the early stages, by simple medical work and a few elementary schools, the girls being an especial object of the care of Friends. In 1887 a fine new building was erected as a Girls' Orphanage, and, in the same year, the first orphan boys were received. In various directions the ground was being prepared and the foundations were being laid. Until 1889, however, the Mission was too small to build largely upon these foundations. They were waiting for the rising tide of life in the Church at home to fill the channels that had been digged, and to make possible the advance which was so urgently called for.

MADAGASCAR.

As we have already seen, the conditions in Madagascar differed widely from those in India. Only one of the early missionaries, and he an American, can be described as primarily an evangelist. Our Mission in Madagascar may be said to have been founded mainly by schoolmasters as a Christian educational enterprise. There was already
a large Christian Church. Very soon after Friends began their work the number of nominal Christians was greatly augmented. They were as sheep not having a shepherd. The outstanding need was careful training and wise handling. For such work the group of Friends living in the Capital during the year 1876 and onward was peculiarly well fitted. Joseph S. Sewell was then about to leave the Mission.

In far more than a technical sense must Joseph S. Sewell be counted the father of the Friends' Mission in Madagascar. He has left his mark on all the work, and his spirit still seems to be incarnated in it. He looked upon the field with the eye of a statesman, and laid down lines of policy whose wisdom has been amply justified by the development of later years. At the same time, he showed infinite patience in dealing with the Malagasy. He was never too busy or too tired to listen to what many would have turned from as wearisome stories of their difficulties or successes. Such patience was born of true love, and brought its own reward in remarkable insight into the Malagasy character and the deepest affection from all. His visits to lonely places were remembered long years after as the time when the first ray of hope came to brighten dark lives; while his work in the Capital laid strong and sure the foundations on which the whole future of the Mission has been built.*

In Henry E. Clark and his wife the Mission possessed two devoted missionaries, warm-hearted, sympathetic, and hard-working. Henry E. Clark was, in some ways, a contrast to Joseph S. Sewell. Punctual, almost to a fault, impulsive and full of energy, he, in his own way, won the respect and love of all. He devoted himself largely to preaching.

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and to translation, especially Bible revision, to which J. S. Sewell also gave much time. Coming out at a later age than many, H. E. Clark gained, by sheer hard work, a quite remarkable knowledge of the language, a knowledge which he used constantly for bringing home to all the truths of the Gospel.*

William and Lucy Johnson, who, for a number of years, were responsible for the large boys’ school in the W. and L. Johnson. Capital, made their home a centre to which missionaries and Malagasy were always welcome. During the school holidays, William Johnson would take long journeys into the country, often accompanied by some of his older boys. A close observer of nature, a man of wide interests, gifted with a rare sense of humour and, withal, of a very practical turn of mind, he was one whose personality impressed itself on all. In Lucy Johnson he had a partner whose gifts were also varied, and who gave her full share to the missionary cause. Her heart went out especially to the children, and to the poor and needy. William Johnson’s handiwork can still be seen in a number of buildings which he planned, and still more in the lives that have been shaped under his gentle influence.†

Although his period of service was but short, Samuel Clemes also left his mark, being one who very quickly acquired an idiomatic knowledge of the language, and who enforced the truth he loved to proclaim by apt illustration and well-chosen proverb. His wife is spoken of as “one who presented Christianity in a bright and cheerful aspect.”


Another of the early workers must be mentioned before passing to a consideration of the work. Helen Gilpin also went out somewhat late in life, and to her the Malagasy language was always a difficulty. She did not, however, allow this, or her uncertain health, to prevent her from rendering invaluable service to the Malagasy. Her chief work lay at the Girls' School at Faravohitra, which she built up with loving patience, and in connection with which she opened a small home for girls from the country.

Although no more than a passing reference can be made to some of the men and women who were the founders of Friends' work in Madagascar, enough may have been said to show what a gifted and devoted group they were, and how their varied personalities contributed each in his own way to the vigorous and well-considered development of the Mission. They were ably supported by a small group of Malagasy, some of whom came from the country districts, late in life and at great personal sacrifice, and, after training in the Capital, returned to their homes to teach and lead the little Churches they had frequently been the means of gathering together. To their self-denying and quiet work the Mission owes a very great deal, and it is good to know that others in their succession are still doing a like work.

The very rapid development of the Madagascar Mission sketched out in the previous chapter necessarily created fresh problems. The task which needed the especial care of Friends during the period we are now considering was one of consolidation. The large apparent gains must be made good. The Church must be built up and fitted to carry the heavier responsibilities which had been thrust upon her. To this task we find the missionaries bending their utmost energies. After two years' trial it was clearly seen that Antoby was not the best place for foreign residence. Samuel Clemes and his wife
returned to the Capital, their help being needed on account of temporary shorthandedness, and the district was surveyed afresh with a view to determining on a suitable place for the establishment of a mission station. It was felt that the many young Churches which had sprung up needed more supervision than could be given from the Capital. The stupendous task of looking after so large a parish (or should we say, rather, a diocese?) demanded more than the occasional visits of men closely occupied with scholastic and other duties. It was felt, too, that the station opened should also serve as a point from which to reach out to the Sakalava. It was not, however, until 1887 that any of the missionaries actually got established in regular work in the country.

During these years a slow but unmistakable change was taking place in the conditions of life and in the moral standards of the people. Joseph Sewell, on leaving the Mission in 1876, was able to say that, in regard to idol-worship, polygamy, divorce, and Sunday trading, there had been a complete change in the nine years of his residence in the island, and that the number of churches had increased from ninety-two to about one thousand.* In 1880 it was possible to say: "Ideas of moral purity are growing and are increasingly appreciated. Social and moral questions are beginning to call into existence that powerful and useful potentate, public opinion."† The Churches were realising more keenly the importance of a high standard of membership, even where it meant smaller numbers. It had been possible to plan and carry through a simple form of Church organisation in the Friends' field, with a Yearly Meeting held in the Capital (for the first time in 1881), and Four Months

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* "Remarks on Slavery in Madagascar," published by Elliot Stock, 1876.
Meetings in the various districts. This was a great help in strengthening the weaker Churches and in preventing the indiscriminate admission of new members. It is a noteworthy fact that the idea of setting up this Yearly Meeting first occurred to a Malagasy, Andrianony, at that time pastor of the Ambohitantely Church.*

Among the means used to strengthen the Churches scarcely any was more important than the regular teaching of the Bible in the various districts, chiefly through monthly or fortnightly classes to which teachers and other Malagasy came together from a wide area. Some idea of the scope of these classes may be gathered from the account given by Samuel Clemes of one such:

"After the purely educational business has been disposed of, the little groups are broken up and all join together at a Bible Class. This has always been the most lively part of the day's engagements. The conversation soon becomes general, and very few indeed have nothing to say. Old traditions of the country, fragments of old songs, native customs and proverbs... are contributed in elucidation or confirmation of what has been read, and the missionary has to contribute as his share results of modern criticism, recent inventions and improvements, lessons from history or science, sidelights from Scripture, anything and everything that will make the meaning clearer or drive it home on their memories and hearts. It is interesting in this way to notice the proofs of our common origin and find confirmation of the fact that 'God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.'"†

In 1882 the problems confronting the Mission were rendered still more difficult by the immense increase in the number of scholars. The Government issued

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stringent regulations as to school attendance, and sent men down into the country to see that they were carried out. The visit of one such is thus described by William Wilson: "The results of his work utterly astonished me, and these were obtained only, I am sure, by the most determined refusal of all bribes. Several cases I know of where the parents were willing to pay considerable sums as bribes—one actually brought fifty dollars in hard cash—in order that their children might not be enrolled as scholars. . . . At the thirteen schools where he intended going, I had estimated that the total number of new scholars would probably reach 800. I was not a little surprised, therefore, when I heard that no fewer than 988 boys and 742 girls had been compelled to enter our schools." In the whole district under Friends' care the number of scholars rose from 5,000 to 12,000. The difficulty of dealing with the situation can be more easily imagined than described.

A difficulty of quite another kind was just appearing on the horizon at this time. Towards the end of 1879 a dispute arose between the Government representative at St. Augustine's Bay in the north of the island and a French trader. This led to the French Government taking action and demanding the cession of certain lands. A long series of negotiations followed into the details of which we cannot enter. The French had long regarded Madagascar as their sphere of influence, and these difficulties were made the occasion of sending out a force to attack the island and to strengthen the hold of France upon it. The war dragged on from 1882 to 1886, during a considerable part of which time the French held the chief ports. The result was inconclusive, each side having to surrender some points. It was not until nine years later that hostilities again broke out, and the French captured the island. This first war, however,
had several serious consequences in relation to the work of missions and the problems the missionaries had to face. In the first place, it was a severe test of the Christianity of the people. It is small wonder that many said: "The Vazaha (foreigners) told us to pray—that we did; then they told us to burn our idols—that we also did; then they told us to free the Mozambiquesthat we also did; and now they come to take our land."*

Many feared that the Church would not be able to stand such a test, and that numbers would turn away disgusted from the religion which they could scarcely fail to associate with the national disaster. What we read, however, shows the extent to which true Christian principles had gained a hold upon the people. "The effect of this war upon the people, especially upon the Christians of the capital and neighbourhood, has been striking. Never, surely, was there a war about which so much prayer has been sent up to God. In the weekly gatherings on Sunday, at special prayer meetings, has God been again and again asked to change the hearts of the French and take them safely back to their own land. Very seldom have I heard a harsh or revengeful word against the French in prayer."†

The Church in Madagascar was again facing a crisis and again emerged the stronger for it. In the country districts, it is true, there was a temporary set-back. This was particularly noticeable at the time of the Queen's death, which occurred about a year after the commencement of the war. The school work was interrupted by scholars being requisitioned for spear drill in the afternoon, and in some cases by teachers being called to the front. The medical missionaries noticed "a manifest lowering in the regard

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† H. E. Clark, in F.F.M.A. Annual Report, 1884, p. 53.
for human life and compassion for human suffering. . . . The people get callous, and so many of them do not take the trouble to bring their sick.”* Nevertheless, in the following year, and while the war was still in progress, we have a record of large increase in the medical work.

The second result of the war to which reference must be made was the great change which began to take place after the treaty had been signed. Now, for the first time, numbers of foreigners who were not missionaries began to enter the island. There was a great increase of foreign trade and far closer contact with European nations and, of course, especially with France. “It is plain,” says the Report that year, “that the time for the simple reception of the Gospel of Christ, as opposed to idolatry, has practically passed by, and that now, in addition to the force of old superstitions and customs which still remain, our missionaries will have to grapple with the temptations and inconsistencies always incident upon the closer contact of native races with European civilisation. This will be almost a new feature in their work.”† Of the various tests which the Church in Madagascar has had to face this has proved in many ways the most searching. It must be confessed that not a few individuals gave way under it, but as a whole the Church has once more stood the test, and has come through “purged as by fire.”

SYRIA.

When compared with the complex situation and the extended field of operations in India, or even with the rapidly growing work and the national crisis in Madagascar, the position in Syria might appear to be

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* F.F.M.A. Annual Report, 1884, p. 87.
relatively insignificant or even uninteresting. As we come to look into it, however, it assumes an interest not less than that of other fields, and we realise the significance of what was being done during these years in building up the missionary work on the Lebanon. What we see is not a great reaching out into fresh spheres of labour, nor an attempt to grapple with social and national problems. At the little village, Brummana, overlooking the Mediterranean Sea a small community is being gathered in, a piece of intensive work is being attempted, a light is being kindled and a warmth engendered which will have its effects later in the lives of hundreds and thousands who have come under this uplifting influence.

The centre of the community is Theophilus Waldmeier, already rich in experience of missionary work, and ever watching for fresh openings so that the Gospel may reach those who have never heard it. He is a man of winning personality, making his way by gentleness and tact in the midst of opposition, prejudice, and ignorance. He has gathered round him a few kindred spirits, mostly Syrians, who are uniting with him in the daily teaching, visitation, and helping of the sick. These men have caught something of the character and enthusiasm of their leader, and are already seeking to bear the spiritual burden of the Mission. Out of this work there has grown first a boys' and then a girls' training home, a dispensary and small hospital under the care of Dr. Beshara J. Manasseh, and a technical school for teaching carpentry and other occupations to the older boys. In these enterprises, and especially in the hospital, there was, from the beginning, a considerable measure of self-support.

Towards the end of 1880 Maria Feltham and Ellen Clayton paid a very acceptable visit to Brummana, and not long after both of these two Friends settled down
there, the former being largely responsible for starting the Girls' Home, over which she presided for eight years. She exercised a notable influence in the building of the Mission, contributing to it both her means and her personal qualities in loving and able service. The Boys' Home, meanwhile, had been put under the superintendence of a Syrian, Lotfallah J. Riskallah, a Christian teacher of merit, whose steadfast character and labours were much valued, until his early death. He was joined in 1887 by Thomas Little, who had heard the call to take part in this service, whilst engaged in lonely studies in Germany. He was a man of great simplicity of life, of a fearless, independent spirit, patient and persevering in all to which he put his hand. He was very dearly loved by his pupils, among whom his memory is still warmly cherished.*

Slowly but surely these manifestations of practical Christianity, and, perhaps more than anything else, the continued work of the Medical Mission, were removing the obstacles and winning a place for the missionary and his message. Here, again, out of the small beginnings, indeed in this case largely out of the concern of a single individual, there was growing a complete if small centre of missionary activity. Its influence was spreading in many directions. “A general change for good,” says the Report for the year 1883, “is taking place amongst the people, they no more beat each other so much; have less fighting in their Churches; they live better moral lives, and begin to respect the truth and speak about the salvation of their souls. They are not so ignorant, superstitious and fanatical; the power of their clergy is diminished, and their outward circumstances are much improved. Thus many are acknowledging with gratitude

the blessings of the Mission."* J. B. Braithwaite, visiting Syria the same year, was able to write: "The impression left upon my mind was one of comfort and encouragement. We have here the materials of a living Church."†

Probably the agency which was having the widest influence was the Medical Mission. The doctor's reputation spread to far distant parts, and, when he visited the outlying villages, the people would go on to the housetop and shout: "The Doctor has come!" which would be the signal for people to flock together from all sides for relief. The patients coming to the dispensary increased steadily year by year, over six thousand being thus treated in 1889, while about seventeen hundred visits were paid to the homes, often of those who could not be reached in any other way. A useful branch of this work was the wide distribution of little pamphlets on such subjects as "Diet," "Cleanliness," "Nursing."

While the main work of the Mission continued to centre in Brummana, it must not be forgotten that a considerable section of country was being touched, not only indirectly through patients and scholars who came to Brummana, but also more directly through day schools which had been established in six other centres with over three hundred scholars, the majority of whom belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. These schools have been the means of establishing friendly relations with the people, of showing, in a practical way, the service the Mission could render, and of bringing very many children and their parents within the circle of the Mission's influence.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

The record of this period would not be complete were reference omitted to the starting in 1881 of a small Mission in Constantinople. This Mission also arose, in the first place, largely out of the concern of an individual, Sukias Dobrashian. He was one of a small community which had adopted the views of Friends as a result of John Yeardley's visit to Constantinople and Asia Minor, in 1858. Fourteen years later they were visited by J. B. Braithwaite and became organised into a regular Friends' meeting. Gabriel S. Dobrashian, the son of Sukias Dobrashian, came to England to study medicine and then joined himself in membership with English Friends. He went back to Constantinople and started medical practice for his own support, a small committee of Friends in England undertaking to help him in his Mission work. It was soon found impracticable for him to combine private practice and the work of the Mission, and the committee became responsible for his entire support. A day school for girls and an industrial school were also opened, the latter at an Armenian village on the other side of the Bosphorus. A small Friends' meeting was gathered together in Stamboul, about forty to fifty meeting week by week, some of whom had felt drawn to Friends even before the Mission was established.

Most of the workers were Armenians, until Ann M. Burgess went out in 1888. In her able hands the work developed greatly, especially on the industrial side. If space permitted it would be possible to write much of the way in which this Mission has stood for a pure type of Christianity in the midst of much superstition, of the confidence reposed in it by Christian and Moslem alike, of the large number of women and girls who are coming daily under the influence
of the missionaries there. Perhaps there is no Mission carried on by Friends which has been called upon to face so many serious difficulties, persistent Government opposition, massacres of Armenians, the Turkish revolution, fire, earthquake, plague, and war. Its history is the long story of difficulties bravely faced and overcome, often by women alone and unprotected. The story of their heroism and their triumphs is one of which Friends may justly be proud.

In so small a volume as this it is impossible to do justice to this fine piece of work. It can only be referred to here as one instance of the way in which the missionary spirit was breaking out in the Society, finding expression not only through one or two organisations, but also through various smaller efforts.

Were it possible, one would also wish to dwell on two other individual Missions, viz., that at Rock Fountain, Natal, established by Elbert and Emma S. Clarke in 1879, and that in Japan by Dr. Willis N. and Mary C. Whitney. It seems necessary, however, to pass these by with a mere mention in order that we may concentrate our attention on the larger questions which can be more easily discussed in relation to the main missionary work undertaken by Friends.

SOME LATER PROBLEMS.

Two interesting questions are suggested by the foregoing account, and seem to call for a little fuller treatment. The Society of Friends has, perhaps, found a larger place than most religious bodies for the individual concerns* of its members. In the first chapter we saw how many such there were in the early days, and how far afield Friends went in seeking to carry them out. During

* See note on p. 59.
the lean years of the Society there were still many such religious concerns which, in a measure, saved the Church from decay and helped to draw out the sympathies of members into wider channels. The concern of George Richardson was a prime factor in the movements which culminated in the formation of the F.F.M.A. Each Mission in turn sprang into being in order to further such concerns. It needs no demonstration to prove that the Society would have been infinitely poorer without them. It is clear that this is one of the chief ways in which God reveals His will to His Church and leads her on to larger service.

As the Mission develops, however, it becomes clear that two processes are needed. In the first place, the concern of the individual must become that of the Church if it is to be permanently fruitful. Continuity and well-proportioned development cannot be secured unless this is accomplished. One great weakness of the early missionary activities of Friends was in just this matter. The Church was glad enough to further an individual concern, but she did not take over the concern and make it her own. Much good may be done by such sporadic efforts, but something more is needed if the Kingdom of God is to be established on earth. The history of modern missions shows that there are grave dangers in free-lance work. Not infrequently such work leads to misunderstandings, jealousies, and division. At best it is liable to fall into an early decline, being unrelated to the larger whole and dependent on the lives and support of a few persons.

In the second place, the concern of the individual must be related to those of others, and may have to be greatly modified in consequence. It is very hard for one who feels a definite call to certain work to accept the judgment of his friends if that means relinquishing it and turning his hand to something different. If, however, the work is not to be one-sided, if the contribution of
MADAGASCAR  THE LAST "KABARY" IN ANTANANARIVO BEFORE THE FRENCH OCCUPATION.
DR. CHARLES RANAIVO, OF MADAGASCAR.
One of the best types of instructed Malagasy Christians. Educated at Ambohijatovo, and received first part of his training in our Medical Mission. M.D. (Paris). His parents are members of Friends' Church, and he has given frequent help in our Medical Mission and to members of our staff.
(Photo kindly lent by Hannah H. Wilson.)

EMMA ALEXANDER, OF INDIA.
A school teacher at Sohagpur, and said to be "the first woman who ever spoke in meeting in India."
(Photo, taken 1886, kindly lent by Caroline W. Pumphrey.)
many different minds is to be made, there must be a readiness to yield the individual judgment to that of the group. This is, of course, part of the larger question of the relation of the individual to society, but it is complicated by the sense of divine mission which seems to give a peculiar sanction to the view of the individual. In the Society of Friends the tendency is to give a relatively larger weight (perhaps too large) to this individual sense of duty, and, therefore, to put into a lesser place the judgment of the Church. No doubt, in some religious bodies the Church has suppressed the individual concern to such an extent that new springings up of life have been crushed, or turned out of the Church. The missionary work of the Society has turned the attention of Friends to this whole question. It has thus had a stimulating effect, and has probably led to a juster balance being struck than was the case fifty years ago.

The relation of evangelistic to educational work is one that has a perennial interest to the student of Missions. It is worthy of note that the early calls to Friends to take up missionary work were rather for teaching than preaching. While this was largely due to an almost morbid dread on the part of Friends of anything that could possibly be called a "paid ministry," it also shows that Friends appreciated the vital place which Christian education must have in the evangelisation of non-Christian peoples. In India education was undertaken, mainly, it is true, in the early stages, as a means of reaching those who could not be reached in other ways. If they could be got into the schools they would at least hear the Gospel. In Syria this aim may be said to have been supplemented by the thought of breaking down the very strong prejudice against the Mission. The schools provided a point of contact and showed the friendliness of the supposed enemy. In both fields they
were, of course, also seen to be a means of removing ignorance and winning, while still young, those with whom the future lay.

It was in Madagascar, however, that the larger aims of the educational work were more clearly recognised from the start. The situation was one which helped towards such a vision. The missionaries were the type of men to see and understand them. It was perfectly clear, from the history of the Malagasy Church, that the future lay, as it must always lie in the end, with the native and not with the foreigner. The former must be trained to bear his growing responsibilities. Otherwise there would be left an ignorant Church, which is necessarily in bondage to others.* Christian character must be developed in people fresh from heathenism and of an emotional and volatile temperament. The Church needed stamina as well as faith and enthusiasm. The schools were not needed to break down prejudice and disarm criticism. They were vital, however, to the right development of the Church.

Moreover, great social changes were taking place; the nation was entering upon a new life. If Christ was to take His right place in this national and social life, it was not enough to have well-trained foreign missionaries; there must be Malagasy leaders of like education who could guide the destinies of the nation. Thus, while the educational work in India could be described by Samuel Baker as a branch, and "*only a branch,*" † in Madagascar it seemed to be the very centre of the missionary work. This is not to say that it stood out in any sharp contrast with the work of evangelisation. It was evangelistic through and through. Only thus could it have been undertaken by these men. Only thus can it take its right place in the work. The spirit in all the work is

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† Darlington Conference Report, 1896, p. 145.
one, the difference is but in method. The history of the Mission has clearly shown how truly this is so.

Even so, however, the question of a just balance between these two methods is one which deserves periodic reconsideration. It is very easy to lose a sense of proportion in the effort adequately to respond to the urgent demand for education. The institution draws men in and holds them to it, for its work cannot be laid down and taken up again at will. The evangelistic work seems to suffer less when dropped for a while; but it is not always taken up again as soon as was expected. In tracing the history of the F.F.M.A. in its different fields of work we can see both the splendid results which flowed from the work of the schools, and the loss which has at times been felt by too large a proportion of the staff being absorbed in them or in other institutional work.
CHAPTER V.
(CIRC. 1890–1902.)
FRESH FIELDS AND LARGER TASKS.
The period to which we now give our attention is characterised by a great advance in every direction. During the previous twelve years there had been steady growth and consolidation. Foundations had been well laid. Various branches of work had been started. All was ready for a strong forward move. In this chapter it is not our purpose to consider how this move originated and what made it possible for the Society of Friends to enter into new fields and carry forward with vigour that which had already been started. We have rather first to record the actual facts, and to show how this forward policy worked itself out in each field.

In 1889 there were thirty-eight missionaries connected with the F.F.M.A. and the Friends' Syrian Mission, the number having more than doubled during the previous twelve years. By the end of 1902 there were no fewer than ninety-three missionaries,* including six in Pemba, five in Ceylon, and eighteen in China, all of which fields had been opened up during the period, although, in the case of China, three missionaries were actually on the field in 1889, gaining experience and looking out for

* These statistics do not include the workers in Japan, S. Africa, and Turkey, nor, of course, do they include Friends working under other Missionary Societies.
FRESH FIELDS AND LARGER TASKS.

a suitable opening for work. During the previous fifteen years the net increase had been twenty-one; from 1889 to 1904 it was sixty-five. A corresponding increase had taken place in the amount of money given by Friends for missionary purposes. Dealing only with the work of the F.F.M.A. and the Syria Mission, and omitting all special gifts for buildings and all legacies, we find that the average for the five years 1888–92 was about £10,080 per annum. A similar average for the years 1898–1902 works out at approximately £13,310. It will be seen that the financial growth is not proportionate to the increase in the number of missionaries, but it certainly indicates a steady advance in missionary giving, and, therefore, in interest, throughout the Society. It is a notable fact that this period was one of very rapid expansion also in the Adult School movement, which may be regarded as a fair index of the home activity of the Society of Friends.

It will readily be seen that, with so large an addition to the missionary staff, changes were bound to take place on the field. Some part of the increase is, of course, accounted for by the work which had been opened up in fresh fields. In all no less than sixteen new stations for missionary residence had been opened, the number of such stations being thus increased more than threefold. Exclusive of Madagascar, for which the value of statistical comparison is vitiated by the great political changes which had taken place, the membership in the field had increased about tenfold. In every direction Friends were building on the foundations which had been laid; they were beginning to see the result of years of patient toil.

CHINA.

Before taking up the further development in fields already entered, some account should be given of the new field which was entered shortly before the
Friends had been deeply stirred by the iniquitous opium traffic between India and China, which had been protected by the British Government, and whose continuance had been secured only at the point of the sword. This terrible stain upon the national honour was one which Friends, in common with many Christian people, were not content to accept as inevitable and irremediable, and for many years they had been working to remove it. The first definite suggestion, however, that the Society of Friends might find a sphere of missionary service in China appears to have been made in 1876 by William Hancock, a descendant of Friends though not himself a member, and at that time Inspector-General of Customs in Peking. Writing to "The Belfast Morning News,"* he points out that the preaching of vital Christianity and not "speculative and debatable tenets," is required by the Chinese; and also that the "practical exhibition of the Christian religion naturally has most weight with the Oriental; he is ever on the watch to see how far the teacher and his practice agree." On these and other grounds he urges "a full and free infusion of the Quaker element."

This plea does not appear to have met with a response among Friends. It was not until 1883 that there was any further public mention of the idea.

A Clear Call. In July of that year a letter was written to "The Friend," stimulated by a recent pamphlet, issued by the China Inland Mission, with the title, "Shall the Gospel be Preached to this Generation of Chinese?" It had been read at a small meeting of Friends, and had called forth promises from those present of £60 a year towards the support of a Friend missionary in China, if such were forthcoming. About

the same time several Friends were being called to offer themselves for service in that country. Henrietta Green and R. J. Davidson made definite offers to the Committee, and another Friend also approached them in reference to work in China. The Committee was compelled very seriously to consider whether it could be right to undertake so large an additional responsibility. Already they were being criticised for going too fast. There were many who felt that the limit had been reached. It was by no means easy to make both ends meet, and this process was not always accomplished. However, there were men of faith on the Committee who were prepared to take risks where they felt satisfied that God was leading them forward. They decided to enter the China field, realising that, in doing so, they were not merely furthering the concern of one or two individuals, but taking up an enterprise to which the Society, as a whole, was being called of God. It was clear that, once begun, work in this new field would have to be pushed with vigour, and that large demands must be made on the home Church if it was to be adequately carried forward. Even after taking this step, however, the Committee was called once more to face the whole situation.

Henrietta Green was accepted and sent out in 1884. Her destination was to be the immense Western Province of Szechwan. This goal she never reached. The British Consul refused her permission to go west of Hankow, on account of the war then raging between France and China. While staying there, her views became changed in regard to some of the leading principles of Friends, and she decided to resign her position with the F.F.M.A. and join another Mission. When this news reached London it might well have been taken as a final indication that the path was blocked. What use was it for a little Society, with some 18,000
members, already burdened with a growing work both at home and abroad, to think of entering this vast territory and trying to help the immense population of China? Would it not be better to do well what had been already begun? Could any one suppose that duty was being shirked if this project should now be abandoned?

The counsel of timidity did not prevail. Within three months of receiving news of H. Green's action, the Committee decided to accept two other Friends for service in China, and to send them out to "the large western province of Szechwan, where there is a population of about twenty-seven millions of people [variously estimated; this is a minimum; others say forty-five or even sixty millions], and hitherto only two mission stations, and where there appears to be some openness to receive the truth."* Robert John Davidson, who thus, with his wife, went out to China in September, 1886, had for several years felt the call, and had, three years earlier, inquired whether Friends were likely to enter upon work in China. His father had taken part in the destruction of the "Summer Palace" by the allied French and English forces, at Peking, at the time of the Taiping rebellion in 1860, but had afterwards come to see the evil of war, and, in particular, the wrong done to such a nation as the Chinese by the European Powers, who used force of arms to extract concessions from them. His great desire was that some members of his own family might become the ambassadors of the Prince of Peace in the very country where he had served as a soldier. Four sons of his and one grandson are now working in the Friends' Mission in West China.

There were still many difficulties to be overcome before the Mission was established in Szechwan. Riots at

Chungking prevented the Davidsons from fulfilling their original intention at once. After a few months in Hankow they took the tedious journey of some three months up the Han to Hanchung, on the north-eastern border of Szechwan. There they waited over two years, undertaking some simple medical and other work, and making careful inquiries as to conditions in Szechwan. One of the assistants in the Mission came from Tungchwan, an important city nearly one hundred miles north-east of Chengtu. He was eager to see missionary work commenced in his native place, and he accompanied R. J. Davidson on two tours of inspection, when friendly relations were established with a number of people in Tungchwan, and other centres in the Province were visited, including Chengtu. In 1889 a house was rented, and R. J. Davidson took the journey once more, bringing his wife and infant son as far as Paoning.

Within three days of his arrival the Mandarin had ordered his landlord (a Mohammedan) to turn him out, and even put the poor man in chains. The attempt to open a station in Tungchwan was temporarily abandoned, and, by the beginning of 1890, the Davidsons and Caroline N. Southall (now Wigham), who had come out to join them, were established in Chungking, and had decided to commence work there without spending any more time in knocking at closed doors. This was certainly a wise decision. During the next two years missionaries of other Societies attempted an entrance into five more cities in the province, only to meet with a like reception. Meanwhile Friends were laying the foundations of their work, and the way was being prepared for them to return in due time to Tungchwan, and receive a welcome from the city which had refused them admission.

The district for which Friends became responsible, in
consultation with other Missions in West China, lies in the very centre of the richest and most populous province in China. Its shape resembles a dumb-bell, Chungking lying to the south of the southern end, and Chengtu to the west of the northern one. These two cities are not included in the area, but are also occupied by Friends. Under the agreement to which reference will shortly be made, they are included among a group of large centres which are considered open for the operations of all Missions. One route between these two great cities takes the traveller through a large part of the Friends' district. During such a journey he will gain some idea of the fertility of the soil and its close cultivation by the thrifty and industrious population. Probably in no part of China is this so noticeable. As the rivers recede after the summer rise, the farmer plants his crops down to the very water's edge. The road, seldom more than four feet in width, is encroached upon by the planting of beans and peas. No wasteful hedges separate field from field, but narrow strips of raised land, themselves frequently planted with rows of beans. Every foot of ground, every ounce of manure, every trickle of water, is turned to good account in order that life may be sustained by the millions who are crowded together on one of the most densely populated areas in the world.

Day by day you meet men carrying loads of rice, of paper, of salt, or of tea, and are never out of sight of human life. In one little valley you seem to be comparatively lonely, when, turning out of it, you are suddenly in the midst of a busy market town, and can scarce push your way through the throngs of men and women who fill the narrow street. You sit for an hour at an isolated wayside tea-shop, and mark the hundreds who pass in that brief space, or who, if your way be off the beaten path, stop to crowd round you and watch the "far-come-visitor" eating his rice. Happy fellows they
are, with a word of friendship and greeting for you as you pass, busy but not hustled, peace-loving and law-abiding, keen men of business, and the best of friends.

At the time when Friends started work there, Szechwan was one of the chief opium-growing provinces of China; and in travelling through the country you were constantly reminded of this fact, and of its terrible results, by the gorgeous fields of poppy, by the sickening stench of the opium den as you passed the hanging curtain over its ever-open doorway, or when stopped in the middle of your journey by the insistent craving for opium which your chair-bearers must satisfy before they could carry you another mile. It was a day when the women hobbled across the street with the aid of a long pole, crippled not by accident or disease but by fell purpose, because of the cruel tradition of foot-binding to which every family that aspired to social standing must meekly bow. Then, along the banks of the Yangtse, or in the streets of the city, the child would yell the fierce "Yang Gwei" (foreign devil), which constantly reminded you that you were an unbidden and unwelcome guest. Never could you be sure that some chance word or act would not rouse the fury of a mob which might be misled into attacking you, while at heart friendly and kindly enough. The wild shout of "sha sha" (kill kill) has sounded in the ear of many of our early missionaries. It is a sound, once heard, never to be forgotten. In 1899 A. Warburton Davidson was attacked in this way by a crowd in the Tungchwan district, and narrowly escaped with his life.

Here it is impossible to describe in full the amazing change which has taken place: the poppy stamped out, the feet unbound, the honour done to the once despised missionary, the confidence placed in him, the protection given to him by all parties and all sections of the
community. In Szechwan there cannot be the smallest doubt that this is a genuine and deep-seated change due above all else to the life and example of the missionaries. During these early years the Friend missionaries, as well as those of other Societies, gave themselves to the people in every possible way. They opened schools and led the students into the wonderland of modern knowledge; they sent out their literature and introduced the people to great minds in other lands; they started hospitals and dispensaries and held out the healing hand in sympathy and love; they proclaimed day by day a message of hope for the fallen, of brotherly love, of purity and truth, of the grace of God to all mankind. Prejudice gave way slowly but surely before such an assault, and doors opened on every hand.

During the first two years in Chungking boys' and girls' schools were opened. Permanent premises were secured in 1893, and, in the same year, the few who had already joined Friends were organised as a regular Monthly Meeting. Others came out to join in the work, and it was found possible, in 1897, to open a new station. This was at She Hung, a town in the Tungchwan prefecture, and within a day's journey of that centre. After making a number of tours through the district, and finding a readiness to receive his message, Isaac Mason succeeded in renting premises here, and in opening out-stations in some neighbouring towns. When, three years later, they decided to move to Tungchwan, the way had been made clear, and the officials made welcome the successors of the man to whom, eleven years earlier, they had refused so much as a roof to cover him.

Later in this year (1900), the whole province had to be vacated for a while owing to the Boxer uprising, which had such a serious effect upon the whole empire. In
Szechwan, indeed, there was very little trouble, and many stations could have been occupied all the time without danger. It was clearly the duty of missionaries, however, to obey their consuls and go to the coast. The wave of reaction swept over the country, and, in doing so, it spent itself, carrying, indeed, devastation and sorrow with it, but leaving, as its abiding legacy, a greater openness to the Gospel than had ever been known before. This was certainly a time of testing to the Church. Those who were left behind in charge of the work were in many cases young and comparatively untried Christians. The temptations to which they were exposed were very great. Yet it can be said that the Church stood the test and emerged the stronger. As a matter of fact, greater disturbance had been caused to the work two years previously by a purely local rising under a bandit called Yu Man Tsz. This assumed such serious proportions that at one time the missionaries were living on houseboats on the river, ready, at a moment's notice, to go down to the coast should occasion arise.

Perhaps the most notable event during this period was a conference held at Chungking in 1899, at which a large proportion of the missionaries in the three western provinces were present. It was here that an Advisory Board for West China was formed, that has brought the Missions together in the closest harmony and mutual understanding. One of its first tasks was the preparation of a map of the province that showed the areas in which each Mission was working, and that was accepted by all as a working agreement to secure occupation of the whole field and prevent unnecessary overlapping. At this conference a missionary paper was also established that has been a most useful link between the Missions and missionaries, and a Tract Society was founded that has already done a great work throughout West China.
It is not too much to say that one of the chief features of the work in West China has been the close co-operation between all the Missions, so much so that it is impossible to write the history of any one without reference to that of others. The missionaries have been able, as one united body, to face the great problems that confront them. They have united in many of their most important enterprises. In other cases one Mission has undertaken a piece of work which is recognised as required by all, and from which all have benefited. An instance of this occurred during the period we are considering in the opening of the School for Missionaries' Children, where, under a member of the Society of Friends, children from all the Missions were received, and thus enabled to stay in China and have home life with their parents to an age impossible in many fields.

The further striking developments in this and other directions which followed the return of the missionaries in 1901 must be left till the next chapter.*

**INDIA.**

In no field did larger changes take place, during the period we are considering, than in India. The number of missionaries increased from twelve at the beginning of 1890 (of whom six had gone out in 1889) to thirty-one in 1902. Five new stations were opened.† Large increases took place in the number of scholars, adherents and members. In 1889 a strong plea by Frederick Sessions was issued in "The Friend," in which he urged that Friends were

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* For further information as to the establishment of Friends' work in China, see "Life in West China," by Robert J. Davidson and Isaac Mason. Headley Bros., 1905.

† This includes Lahi, which was opened as a colony in 1900, although no missionary resided there regularly until 1905.
not alive to their heavy responsibilities in India, both as citizens of the British Empire and as members of a religious society which had undertaken responsibilities for a definite piece of country. During the next few years the Mission more than trebled in size. The writer of the letter was able to pay a visit himself to the India field in the following cold season (1889-90), and very opportune it proved to be.

Thought was concentrated upon certain important problems. There was the great need of training the orphans in some means of earning their own livelihood. This led to the establishment of Industrial Works near Hoshangabad in January, 1892. The urgent necessity of reaching the better classes in the community, and the call for a well-educated Christian leadership, led to the establishment of a High School in the same year. This was called for, in the first place by some of the leading Hindus in the town, and the plan was warmly encouraged by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Mr. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Mackenzie. This School suffered the grievous loss of its first headmaster, George O'Brien, three years after its commencement. Samuel Baker then carried it on until J. Douglas Maynard was able to take over responsibility for it. Unfortunately the health of the latter broke down, and he was compelled to return to England in 1899. For two years the School was continued satisfactorily by its Indian headmaster, under the superintendence first of Joseph Taylor, and subsequently of Edward J. Butler. Upon the death of E. J. Butler, in 1901, it was reluctantly discontinued. It is a matter for sincere thankfulness that it was possible, in 1914, to reopen it under John S. Hoyland.

While F. Sessions was in India an urgent request came from Col. Wylie, the British Agent in Bhopal, for Friends to open a Mission in Sehore, where a Leper Asylum was being erected by the Begum. This request led to
Charles D. and A. Mabel Terrell being appointed to live there. Thus, in 1890, began regular work in that large Native State to the north of the Narbada. Friends were brought in this way even more definitely to face the Mohammedan problem. Although this extension had long been in the minds of Friends, it is interesting to note the circumstances which led to its being actually taken. The closed door had been opened in an unexpected way, and Col. Wylie himself did all that was in his power to help forward the work which had been taken up at his suggestion.

While these developments were taking place, the evangelistic work was being vigorously prosecuted.

"As we go about preaching the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to these people," says Samuel Baker, "we get large companies to come together. . . . We go generally into a large crowd of men and boys, and sometimes there will be a few women standing at a little distance listening to the Gospel. As we seek to set before them the truth of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, we frequently have a very ready assent, and we find people willing to acknowledge to a very large extent the truth of the Gospel of our Lord. We pass on, and perhaps that is our only visit during the whole year, and these people are again left to all the heathen influences round about them. . . . We come again next year. Yes, they can tell us what we said—a good deal of it—but the impression has largely been taken away, and they have practically relapsed again into their old ideas."* The same story may be heard from so many quarters—a wide open door, readiness to hear and to receive, but inability on the part of the missionary to follow up what has been begun. The birds of the air have devoured the good seed.

HOCKEY TEAM, BOYS’ HIGH SCHOOL, HOSHANGABAD.
Winners of the Divisional Cup, 1915.

GARDENING AT THE GIRLS’ HIGH SCHOOL, BRUMMANA.
Note the Principal, Charlotte J. Clark, who resigned in 1915, in the background.
RASULIA INDUSTRIAL WORKS, NEAR HOSHANGABAD, INDIA.

Group of staff and workmen, at corner of main workshop and storeroom. Note Roland D. Priestman (left), Joseph Taylor (right).

(Photo taken March, 1915, by Francis Kilbey.)
In order to strengthen this side of the work, two young evangelists were sent out in 1890, George Swan* and C. Ernest F. Munnings. They felt a special concern for the aboriginal tribes, the Kurkus, the Gonds, and the Ojhas. They travelled long distances by lonely roads to reach these peoples, sometimes arriving in a village only to find the inhabitants all dispersing in different directions for fear of the white man. One result of the wide-spread evangelistic work by these and others was the coming in of several communities of Indians, who were willing to renounce their idols and put themselves under Christian instruction, though knowing very little of the religion with which they thus identified themselves. One little group of Ojhas went out into the jungle and there set up a small Christian community under the leadership of their caste chief who had embraced Christianity. Another group were weavers at Itarsi, who, on coming out as Christians, were organised by George Swan into a self-supporting community.

So, little by little, sometimes by ones and twos, occasionally in bands, men and women were coming into the Church, many knowing very little, but at least willing to take the great step of separating themselves from their non-Christian fellows, and risking the financial loss and social ostracism that were sure to follow.

In 1895 and 1896 the need of fresh workers was again keenly felt. The work was growing to an extent which taxed those on the field to the utmost limit. Its very success was creating some of the most urgent problems. The few following years were to add to these problems even larger and more perplexing ones. The winter of 1896-7 brought with it the horror of a wide-spread famine. The missionaries at once came to the rescue. They threw

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* See “George Swan,” by Frederick Sessions, in F.F.M.A Biographical Series, 1916.
themselves whole-heartedly into measures for relief. A large amount of money, amounting, in all, to nearly £9,000, was subscribed in England and elsewhere and put into their hands. The orphanages were enlarged to receive the many destitute children; the industrial works were utilised for the direction of relief work; the missionaries who possessed any medical knowledge were pressed into the service. No effort was spared, very many lives were saved, and much suffering mitigated as a result of these timely efforts.

Scarcely, however, had the effects of the first famine passed off before a second and still more serious one followed upon its heels. Over large areas in India the crops failed altogether. Another fund was raised, amounting this time to nearly £30,000, and the missionaries once more took the lead in organising relief. While a great deal was done in both cases by Government, very much could never have been accomplished had it not been for the aid of the missionaries. The relief works included the making of reservoirs, widening of streams, building of bridges, constructing new roads. At one time no less than 11,000 persons were receiving relief from the Mission. In many cases grants were made to enable farmers to sow fresh crops, and so to save them from a permanent state of pauperisation and debt. The result on the orphanages was to send up the numbers at the close of 1900, to 932.

For a time it seemed as if all other work would be overshadowed or swamped by the legacy of these famines. Fortunately the experience gained enabled the missionaries to deal with the crisis. That the machinery of the Mission was not thrown out of gear even by this immense influx may be seen from the Government report on one of the orphanages in that very year. The Inspector-General for Education writes: "The accommodation is good, everything clean; bathing, cooking arrangements, etc., excellent. The
girls are clean in person and tidy in dress, and no attempt is made in food, accommodation, or dress to raise the girls above the humble walk in life they will probably have to tread, or to fill their heads with ideas imitative of European life and manners. . . . I note that the discipline of the place is excellent, and I can see that Miss Dixon, by her sympathy and kindness, maintains authority in pleasant ways."

Among other results of this piece of philanthropic work was the wider opening of doors, a greater readiness to listen to the message of the missionaries and a larger number of those who were prepared to make open confession of their faith in Christ. In 1898 there were 149 such professions in public, and in 1899 nearly 100. A great deal of prejudice had been broken down. The Christian spirit had found expression on a large scale at a time of national calamity. The Mission, however, was to pay heavy toll. One after another those who had borne the strain fell under the hand of disease. Several were invalided home. Three of the most valued workers were called into a higher service.† The new opportunities could not be fully seized by the weakened staff, and thus the Society failed to take full advantage of the possibilities which were opened up in this unexpected way. There is no doubt, however, that some solid gains were the result, and that the name of Christ is better known and loved in the district to-day because of this truly Christ-like piece of work.

One other result of the famine needs to be mentioned. The need very soon arose for dealing with the boys and setting them up in life, so that they would not be dependent on the Mission. Not all were suited to become carpenters or mechanics. The parents of most

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† Samuel Baker in 1899, Edward J. Butler and George Swan in 1901.
of them had belonged to the agricultural class. It was, therefore, only natural to look to settling many on the land. This can scarcely be done, under present conditions in India, by any other means than by the establishment of Christian villages. A village in the jungle was, therefore, bought, and work begun at Lahe. Since then a second such village, Makoriya, has been acquired; and probably, as these villages become self-supporting, need will arise, unless conditions in India alter very materially, to establish others also.

Another effort for India that has been independently managed and financed, and that has been conducted on broad interdenominational lines, "Bombay Guardian," though mainly by Friends, since the death of the founder, George Bowen, in 1888, is "The Bombay Guardian," published weekly from 1851. It has done a useful work not only in relation to missionary endeavour in the narrower sense of the term, but also as a consistent advocate of every moral reform, notably the destruction of the opium trade and the combating of State regulation of vice in India.

MADAGASCAR.

It will not be necessary to deal quite so fully with the other fields of work so far as their development during this period is concerned, although certain outstanding events remain to be chronicled. In Madagascar the first few years saw a steady progress in all branches of the work. In 1891 the beautiful new hospital was opened just outside Antananarivo. Medical work was also carried on at other centres, notably in Mandridrano, where Dr. Wilson, with Dr. Ramorosata, a graduate of the Mission Medical School, were doing an increasing work. A Girls' Home was established in new premises in the Capital, and was the means of making the advantages
of the school available for a large number of country girls. The schools were filled, indeed, to overflowing. At the Boys’ High School twice as many applied for entrance as could be accommodated. The fees were increased, but this scarcely checked the flow of scholars. Even the military measures undertaken by the Government, which drew a number away from the school, hardly affected the totals, although making the education more difficult.

The Printing Press was worked to its limit. A magazine, “Church and School,” was issued, and numerous text-books, translations, commentaries and tracts were put out. Its influence penetrated to the limits of the Island. Temperance work took a prominent place, and a strong women’s temperance society was organised, whose members travelled about in small companies preaching Christ and winning recruits for the temperance cause. In 1891 and 1892 there was a wave of revival which spread over the whole Church, affecting notably the high schools for both boys and girls. Very many, both older and younger, received fresh light and were brought to a deep sense of sin; the life of the Church was quickened and strengthened. This and other causes led to a steady rise in the ethical standards in the Church. The Court still favoured Christianity, and, no doubt, many were only nominal Christians. But the quiet work in Church and school was converting the outward gains into spiritual assets. The Church was being prepared to meet the next great crisis in its history.

The first sign of the impending storm was seen in 1894, when it seemed as if the political situation were again in danger of becoming serious. In the autumn of that year an ultimatum was presented by France to the Malagasy Government, and, as the terms were not acceptable to the Queen and Prime Minister, diplomatic
relations were broken off and the French prepared an expedition to seize the Island. The following September the Capital was stormed, and fell into the hands of the French, who were able to dictate their own terms. From that time French rule was practically established, although it was not till 1897 that the Queen was dethroned and exiled, and Madagascar proclaimed a French Colony.

Two months after the French occupation, an event took place that stands alone in the history of the Mission. An outburst of ill-feeling against the foreigners who had snatched away their liberties culminated in a raid upon the mission station at Arivonimamo. An infuriated mob swept all before it, sacked the compound, burned the houses, and murdered William and Lucy S. Johnson, with their five-year-old child, little Blossom (22nd November, 1895). They knew that danger was near, but refused to leave their post, although they urged their Malagasy friends to do so. One or two stood by them to the last, but could do nothing to stay the fury of the mob. The feelings of vengeance against the foreign aggressors were wreaked upon those whose life had been one continual outflow of love and helpfulness towards the people of Madagascar, and who, even at the last moment, only met angry words and looks with gentleness and calm. It was the act of a moment of madness, altogether unexpected by those who knew them best, and quite unworthy of the kindly and affectionate nature of the Malagasy, bitterly repented of by some who took part, utterly disowned by all the best people in the Island.

Once again, through the steadfastness of His children in the hour of death, God was showing to the people of Madagascar what His grace can do for those who wholly follow Him. Dr. Wilson, who tried to come to their rescue, was unable to reach
Arivonimamo in time, and only just escaped a like fate himself. The full story of their death and of his danger is one that cannot fail to stir our hearts still, as showing the quiet bravery of those whose confidence is in God.*

The rebellion which led to the death of W. and L. S. Johnson was soon put down. The next year it was followed by further disturbances. There was a fierce outburst of heathenism. Chapels were burnt and schools broken up.† As law and order became re-established, the advantages of the change of Government became apparent, even to many who had bitterly resented it. The condition of the common people steadily improved; oppression and injustice were largely brought to an end; stringent laws were introduced against the sale of intoxicants; full religious liberty was proclaimed; roads were built; resources were developed; the slaves were liberated. In the Church it was soon evident that many who had been only nominal Christians would no longer add a dead weight to the membership. Roman Catholic propaganda was the means of drawing away a number who believed that their joining that Church would give them a better standing and more chance of promotion under the new Government. The prevailing sentiment among the officials was one of indifference or even antagonism to Christianity. The British Missions were, at first, distrusted, as they were felt to have a political influence contrary to that of France. With the Malagasy respect for authority, the strong tendency was to make less of religion, and in not a few cases the result was that

† In all, no less than 750 chapels were destroyed, and a good many Malagasy Christians lost their lives.
the people came once more under the influence of superstition and idolatry.

The Church as a whole, however, stood firm. Indeed, the loss of numbers left a purer and more united body to withstand the new temptations and to apply the faith to new conditions. Once more, under a different kind of trial, the Malagasy Church showed that its roots had struck deep, and that its profession was no empty form of words.

Many changes took place in the work of the Mission. The hospital was requisitioned by the French, and restrictions were put upon medical work which resulted in its taking a far smaller place in the missionary programme. The French language was introduced into the schools, and, at six months' notice, all the schools had to be adapted to meet this requirement. One of the romances of the Mission was the lightning adaptation to deal with this situation. From all over the wide area teachers were rushed up to the Capital. Schools were temporarily closed. A six months' course in French was prepared and given to hundreds of teachers. The concentrated work put in during that period can be more easily imagined than described. The schools emerged triumphant, and for some years continued to hold their own, and met with the warm support of the Government. Since then, however, the Government has opened a large number of purely secular schools, and has, in various ways, discouraged and put down missionary education. One of the most serious blows struck at mission work was the decree forbidding the preaching of the Gospel in the open air. These and other changes due to the French occupation must, however, be reserved for a later chapter.
SYRIA.

No such striking changes marked the progress of the Mission in Syria. Just before the close of the period we are considering, indeed, the work was amalgamated with that of the larger organisation, and thus economy and efficiency of administration were secured. This did not, however, affect the Mission itself to any great extent at the time, although ultimately it was the means of introducing important and useful changes into it. The staff underwent considerable alteration, and a larger proportion of those undertaking major responsibility in the Mission were, at the end of the period, missionaries sent out from this country. The most notable event was the retirement, in 1896, of the founder, Theophilus Waldmeier, who felt called again to go out, as it were, into the wilderness. He left the Mission only to put his hand to new work which has since developed into one of the most efficient and useful pieces of philanthropic work in Syria, viz., the Lebanon Hospital for Mental Diseases, at Asfuriyeh, near Beyrout.

About the same time the Boys' Training Home lost by death its devoted Principal, Lotfallah Riskallah, who was succeeded by Thomas Little. It continued to do excellent work, and both for it and the Girls' Training Home the applications year by year far exceeded the number of vacancies. It was possible to charge small fees, and, in paying them, as well as in other ways, the parents showed the increasing value they set on the work carried on there. Nothing that was done by the Mission did more to remove prejudice and to win sympathy than the extended medical work under Dr. B. J. Manasseh and (after 1897) by his brother, Dr. Antonius J. Manasseh. Going in and out among the villages, or camping in the mountains of Anti-Lebanon, they met constantly those who looked back with deepest
gratitude to the days spent in the hospital, and who would always keep a warm place in their hearts for the devoted workers.

One curious incident may be quoted as showing the kind of emergency which the missionary must ever be ready to meet. In 1892 a large number of the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, Baabdat, asked the Mission to supply them with regular Christian instruction. They had, it appeared, quarrelled with their priest; and they wished to break off relations with him and enrol themselves as Protestants. While no one supposed them to be acting from disinterested motives, it was thought well to take the opportunity. A school was opened and a meeting for worship started. Over 650 people in all thus became temporarily associated with the Friends' Mission. There was bitter opposition from the Maronite priest, who on one occasion attacked T. Waldmeier as he was returning from a meeting there. The movement lasted for about ten months, after which time they were persuaded or intimidated into a return to the Roman Catholic Church.

Perhaps the most noteworthy result of this period of work was the steady development in character on the part of some who were associated with Friends. Such fruit is of greater value than the accession of large numbers who have little knowledge of the step they take, and yet it shows but poorly in the statistical returns of the Mission. Fresh stations were opened also at Ras-el-Metn, Beit Meri, and Abadeyah, and a number of visits were paid by Friends from England. Just at the close of the period a Deputation went out from the Board of the F.F.M.A., and its report led to a number of changes in the work of the Mission, which opened a further chapter of usefulness for it. These changes cannot be said to have taken full effect until the period which we have reserved for the following chapter.
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CEYLON.

Two other new developments need to be touched on here, as originating during the period under discussion. The years 1896 and 1897 saw the opening of fresh fields in two of the island possessions of the British Empire. Joseph Malcomson felt it laid upon him to go and reside in Ceylon, with the primary object of carrying on missionary work. He brought his concern before the F.F.M.A., and it was arranged for him to pay a visit to the Island, in company with a member of the India Mission. The advice of missionaries was taken, and several places were visited, with the result that a section of country to the north of Matale was selected as an area in which no mission was being carried on. Joseph Malcomson acquired an estate in this region, and settled down there with his family. The main work was among the Sinhalese inhabitants of that region, but some work was also begun among Tamil coolies from South India working on J. Malcomson's own estate at Clodagh, and on some of the neighbouring ones.

The district thus entered lies to the north of Matale, a small town in the central province of Ceylon. The main north road of the Island connecting Trincomalee with Kandy and Colombo runs right through the district. It is one of the great arteries of the country, and a scene of constant traffic, both for traders and tourists. Save in the extreme north, where we enter the jungle country that stretches away to that part, the district is mountainous. Among these wooded hills and valleys the planters have settled, growing tea, coffee, rubber and other tropical produce, and gathering round them their Tamil coolies in villages or "lines." Here, too, are the many native villages where the people carry on their own simple cultivation of rice or cocoanut. They live in
windowless, mud-walled huts thatched with plaited cocoanut leaves or straw, though not infrequently one may now see rising the stone or brick house that speaks of increasing prosperity and higher standards of living.

A second district has since been entered, lying near the railway that connects Matale with Colombo. The centre is Mirigama in the Western Province, which is at once the smallest in size and the largest in population. The Mirigama district is low-lying and less healthy.

The population of Ceylon is strangely mixed. In addition to the Sinhalese, who form about two-thirds of the four million inhabitants, and the Tamils, who number about one million, there are Moormen or Arab traders, Malays, Burghers*, Europeans, and a few Veddahs†. On arrival in Ceylon, the stranger is at once arrested by the variety of race, colour, physiognomy and costume among the men and women who throng the busy streets of Colombo. They are, on the whole, a progressive race, though, in the country districts especially, one realises what a strong hold superstition and fear still have upon them.

It is among these people that Joseph Malcomson felt called to labour, and, in doing so, he undertook, in the first place, the financial responsibility of establishing the Mission. The General Committee, however, decided to "accept the responsibility of this work on the same lines we have already taken in our other mission fields," and, in this way; it has gradually grown into a flourishing piece of work. It was not until the autumn of 1900 that any reinforcements could be sent out, and the main developments of the Ceylon Mission come within the last period into which we have divided the half-century.

* The Burghers, or Eurasians, are of Portuguese, Dutch, and English descent.
† It has been suggested that the Veddahs (or "hunters") may perhaps "represent the aboriginal pre-Aryan population of Ceylon."
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PEMBA.

The other Mission commenced about this time sprang into existence in an entirely different way. It was the outcome of Friends' principles on, and continued interest in, the cause of the freedom of slaves. They had taken a leading part in the abolition of slavery and of the slave trade on both sides of the Atlantic. The triumph of freedom had seemed complete, at least on British soil, but events had shown the need of fresh work in the cause. When the British Government, in 1890, took over the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, slavery was firmly rooted in them, and was generally regarded as a sine qua non of their economic independence. The practice was continued for seven years under British rule, and the attention of Yearly Meeting was, on several occasions, called to this serious state of things. In 1894 the Yearly Meeting issued an address on the subject of slavery, making special mention of this fact, and commending to Friends' generosity a fund for the purpose of aiding the anti-slavery movement "in Africa or elsewhere, as may be entirely consistent with our well-known views as to the unrighteousness of all war."

During the following year a campaign was carried on throughout the country with a view to arousing public opinion on the question, and the matter was brought to the attention of Parliament on more than one occasion. A considerable sum of money was also contributed by the Society in order to enable the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to send out Donald Mackenzie to investigate conditions in Zanzibar and Pemba. He reported that, out of a population of 400,000, more than 250,000 were slaves, and he pointed out the fallacy of supposing that financial disaster would follow their liberation. No doubt this report largely contributed to the action of the British
Government in April of the following year (1897), by which the legal status of slavery was abolished. The true solution of the problem, however, could not be secured by legislation only. Friends felt that the Government needed some practical support in working out the scheme of emancipation.

Shortly before the decree of liberation was issued, Theodore Burtt, under a strong sense of religious concern, offered to go out to Pemba and establish there an industrial mission, with the objects of showing what could be done in carrying on a plantation with free labour, of helping the manumitted slaves to rise to the position of free and useful citizens, and also in order to reach them with the message of the love of Christ. He received a certificate for religious service from his Monthly Meeting, and the Meeting for Sufferings entered very heartily into the question. On the last day of 1896, he sailed for Pemba with Henry Stanley Newman, who, from the first, had been one of the chief movers in the matter.

The Island was, at this time, little known; it had a thoroughly bad reputation for malaria and other tropical diseases; the only white residents were one or two Government officials. The two Friends stayed for a while in a small house in Chake-Chake, near the centre of the Island. They found the people in a terribly dark and degraded condition. Slavery, witchcraft, immorality and disease held them in bondage. A formal and debased Mohammedanism stood in the way of the acceptance of the Gospel. The task of freeing the slaves was but the beginning. They needed homes in which their own family life was possible; they must be taught that work is no disgrace; they must be delivered from these other forms of bondage no less enslaving.*

* For further information as to the commencement of the work in Pemba see “Banani: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Zanzibar and Pemba,” by Henry Stanley Newman. Headley Bros., 1898.
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H. S. Newman returned to England and laid the matter before the Yearly Meeting. It was eagerly taken up, and the working out left with the Anti-Slavery Committee under the Secretaryship of that veteran worker in every noble cause, Edmund Wright Brooks.

A suitable site (Banani) in the Island of Pemba was chosen and purchased, there being, at that time, no other Mission at work in the Island. The presence of Theodore Burtt and of those who joined him in the work proved to be of immense value in making the new decree effective, especially in bringing to the knowledge of the former slaves the fact of their liberty. They were also able to watch the whole situation, and make valuable reports upon it, which led to the taking of more effective measures for carrying out the intentions of the Government.

The further work of the Mission, its rapid development and present position, will come up for treatment later. A matter of special interest in considering its origin is the way in which it was, from the first, the outcome of a definite concern felt by the Society of Friends as a whole. It is still carried on by the Yearly Meeting, although the clerical and office work is performed by members of the F.F.M.A. staff and at its central offices.

In closing the record of these crowded years, during which such large advances were made in the missionary work of the Society of Friends, we cannot do more than remind ourselves of the great variety of work undertaken and the very different situations that were being faced. In such rapid advance it is no easy matter to steer a clear course, and keep always in view the main principle underlying missionary work. It is easy to be deflected by circumstances from following well-considered plans. All this advance meant also an enlargement of vision at home, an added knowledge of and sympathy with the
conditions of others, and a more hopeful outlook on the future. When a Church once puts its hand to the missionary task it cannot look back; it can scarcely even call a halt. This branch of its activity, at least, is an ever enlarging one. Year after year greater demands are made. New doors open, and the Church cannot be true to her vocation and refuse to enter them. One development leads to another, from which we cannot turn back without striking a blow at the very heart of the work. How little the pioneers guessed whereunto this thing would grow! Had they seen all that was involved in what they did, even they might have feared to go forward. It is not only the forces of evil which have a way of accelerating.

There are some, indeed, who even now view with dread the rapid growth of foreign missions. It seems to them to drain the Church of her best life, to be a movement which must be checked before it grows altogether too large for us to carry. It is certainly one of those great tasks that throw men back in their weakness upon God. The very rapidity of the growth compels us to say at the same time, "Surely it is the Lord's doing!" and "Who is sufficient for these things?" While we strive in faith to answer "Our sufficiency is of God," we are yet haunted, perhaps, by the fear that so small a Church cannot stand much more than it is now undertaking, and that somewhere there must be a limit. The task before the Church still seems unspeakably great. At home the calls are more insistent than ever. How are we to send forth more and more men to meet the varied and growing needs?

It will be ours in the next chapter not only to trace the further development of the various Missions, but also to consider one factor in the situation too long and too often forgotten. In such a study we may find some relief from the fear referred to above. In the meantime, let us remind ourselves that the growth
The striking feature of the University Buildings is the courageous attempt by the Architect, Frederic Rowntree, to meet modern educational requirements in a building typically Chinese in style.
The scene since 1904 of the work of Elizabeth F. Gibbons, Laura A. Elsy and Annie E. Clayton. A far-reaching centre of influence in the Mission, fruitful developments are taking place there at the present time, and the School was never so full.
abroad has brought back to the Church untold gains, and that we are still very far from having reached that level of consecration at home which no longer needs the call of a great world's need to remind it of the all-embracing demand of our Lord Himself. If His Spirit were in us all, if His love dominated every member, we should not consider ten times the work we are doing too much. And how are we to get more of His Spirit and His love? Certainly not by turning away afraid from the tasks to which He calls us. Shall we not rather say, by facing them and undertaking them, by rejoicing to find them even greater than we dreamed?
CHAPTER VI.

(1902-1915 CIRC.)

THE CHURCHES IN THE MISSION FIELD.

When missionary work is commenced in a new field the whole burden of it falls upon the foreign missionary himself. He has to organise the mission, to build his station, to teach in his school, and to preach in street chapel or market. As time goes on he gathers round him a group of natives, whom he trains to be his helpers in various directions. At first they may only be able to dispense medicines, to teach secular subjects in the school, to attend to the material side of the mission. As they come under the influence of his message, however, the missionary finds what efficient helpers they can be in every department of the work. He begins to base his calculations for the future development of the mission not merely upon the number of men and women and the amount of money which can be supplied from the home Church. He takes into account the large amount of help which will be given by willing workers and voluntary contributions in the field. He realises that this help will be given in larger measure year by year as the work progresses, even if the Church at home cannot do all that he would wish to support him in it.

There is a further stage in this evolution of a mission which is even more momentous in its implications, and
more full of promise for the future. This stage is reached when the missionary no longer looks upon the native Christians as his helpers, enabling him to carry on his work, but sees himself, rather, as the helper of the Church in the mission field, taking his place as her servant in helping her to fulfil her mission. He can then conceive of his work, not in the terms of a never-ending demand upon the home Church, but as a temporary establishment preparing the way for the Church that is to be. Moreover, the size of the problem ceases to appal him. If Christianity is truly indigenous it will spread. This spreading quality in true religion gives hope and confidence. "It may be hard to get the first converts, but once the spiritual fire is alight it does not really matter whether the country consists of ten or ten hundreds of millions, it does not matter whether you have five or five hundred missionaries, it will propagate itself from one end of the country to the other till it has consumed all."*

If this be a correct interpretation of the missionary’s task, it becomes us to examine the work of Friends in the mission field not merely from the point of view of the multiplication of agencies and the number of converts and scholars. We have to look more deeply into the character of the work, and see whether it is producing this kind of indigenous, self-propagating Christianity. What steps are being taken to develop the Church in the mission field in self-reliance and self-support? What signs are there of its being able ultimately to take over from the foreign missionary the work which he has started? These are questions which only emerge after a considerable period of work in the fields; and in some of those under Friends’ care it is still too early to be able to give satisfactory answers. This

* Lord Wm. Gascoyne-Cecil, in “International Review of Missions,” Vol. II., 1913, pp. 726-7. The whole article should be read. It is most suggestive.
chapter will, in the main, look at the progress of the work from this standpoint. It must also bring the record of work in each department up to date.

INDIA.

Since the beginning of this century, the work in India has been seriously handicapped by lack of workers. In the period immediately preceding, there had been a large influx of missionaries. New stations had been opened, new work commenced. The large additional burdens resulting from the famines were bravely taken up, but, as the mission staff diminished, the supply of new missionaries was not adequate. It is a disquieting fact that there are fewer Friend missionaries in India to-day than there were in 1902. Yet the openings multiplied, and it seemed impossible not to enter them. Bhopal City was occupied in 1903 by two women, and thus an entrance was obtained into the heart of the Mohammedan State. Visiting in the homes of the people and the steady influence of Christian life are all that has been possible there. How much that little means cannot be measured by any human standards. In the same year there was a severe epidemic of plague, a number of Christians being striken down by it. This, with the relapse of some who joined too hastily during the famine time, accounted for some reduction in membership.

A very happy incident in 1905 was the completion of an arrangement with the Independent Methodists,*

* The Independent Methodists (formerly called Quaker Methodists) originated as a body in 1797, the first members being Friends and Methodists who had left their respective denominations on conscientious grounds. The new organisation was a re-action alike from the extreme quietism of the Quakerism of that time, and from the formalism of the Methodists. There are now about 9,000 adult members in England, chiefly in the north and west. They resemble Friends in their view on the ministry and war; but most of them think it desirable to partake of the Lord's Supper in an extremely simple way, as a mark
whereby they sent out their first missionaries, Dr. Joseph and Jessie Robinson, to work in the Friends' Mission with a view to re-establishing regular medical mission work. A section of the Christian Church which had not hitherto been represented on the mission field thus commenced work without adding another to the many missionary societies already in existence. A perfect understanding was reached, and has been maintained, with the Foreign Mission Committee of the Independent Methodists, although, unfortunately, their missionaries were compelled by ill-health to retire from active service in 1913. The connection, however, is still maintained in the expectation of other missionaries going out in a similar way.

In 1908-9 a deputation from the Board, consisting of Albert J. Crosfield, John William Hoyland and Dr. William Wilson, visited India to study the needs of the field with especial relation to the future policy of the Mission. In consultation with the missionaries, a policy was framed which it has been possible in large measure to carry out, at any rate so far as the first stages contemplated are concerned.

A careful review of all the operations of the Mission was the basis for future plans. In 1905 a class for the training of evangelists had been started, the Indian Church being in part responsible, deciding upon those who should enter, and making a contribution to their expenses. This was now put upon a permanent basis.

of fellowship. Having no Foreign Mission work of their own, and feeling that it would be unwise to start a separate organisation, they approached the F.F.M.A. upon the matter. They felt that they could most easily unite with Friends because of the similarity of the views and practices of the two bodies as to a free ministry. Further particulars of the Independent Methodist Churches will be found in "A Short History of Independent Methodism," by Arthur Mounsfield; published by the Independent Methodist Book Room, Warrington.
and a Bible School was built at Seoni Malwa, where a number of Indians have since been trained. The Farm Colony at Lahi had not been so valuable as had been hoped, largely on account of its unsatisfactory situation. It was decided to purchase a new village, and now at Makoriya a very hopeful colony has been established, and already the young men and their wives who have been settled there form a Christian community of over one hundred persons. In addition to settling the colonists on the land, experiments in intensive cultivation and in other directions are being carried out, and practical help is being given the young families in order to assist them to develop an independent spirit.

It was clearly seen how much the Mission had suffered by the abandonment of its High School, and the reopening of this was regarded as a vital necessity if the Church in India were to be established on sound lines and be in a position of independence. The new High School has now been opened, and bids fair to be a thorough success in every way. Great attention has been given to two aspects of the work, viz., the Bible teaching and organised athletics. The School is already coming to take a satisfactory place in the educational life of the community. Much attention was also given by the Deputation to the medical work, and the erection of a hospital was agreed to. Circumstances have not made it possible to carry this out on the scale intended, but a small hospital for women has at last been set up at Itarsi, and the medical work has thus been put upon a more satisfactory footing.

A scarcely less important result of the Deputation's visit was a wide-spread increase of interest at home, resulting in fresh contributions, a new conception of the task of Friends in India, and some offers of service. "We believe," says the annual report, "that the Society of Friends may have a real contribution to make to the
CHURCHES IN THE MISSION FIELD.

developing religious thought of India, by remaining true
to its standard of simplicity in life and in worship, and
teaching the deeper spiritual significance of that which
finds expression in the sacramental systems of our Western Churches.”* As time goes on it is likely to become increasingly apparent how much the India Mission really owes to the work of this deputation, and the far-seeing statesmanship which helped to disentangle the complex issues and to define a clear goal for the work in the Central Provinces.

In point of fact, the circumstances of the last fifteen years have made it particularly difficult for the India Mission to pursue a consistent policy. Some of these circumstances may be named, as they will bring to the reader a better realisation of actual conditions.

1. There were very large changes in the staff. In 1904 there were thirty-seven missionaries, of whom no less than twenty-one have since left the Mission, chiefly on account of ill-health. Of the twenty-seven now on the staff eight have gone out during the last six years.

2. During most of the time the Mission has been seriously understaffed. This means that there is little time for looking at the larger issues. Time and thought are heavily taxed in doing more than one man’s work.

3. The famines brought about abnormal conditions, with a tendency not only to make very severe demands on the missionaries, but also to overbalance the work in certain directions.

4. New work had opened up somewhat too rapidly, and it was difficult to assimilate it.

5. It was a very serious calamity for the India Mission when the Secretary, who was so largely responsible for the policy of the deputation, died within a few months of his return to England, and before it was possible to

carry into effect many of the plans which had been formed.

In spite of all these and other difficulties, there has been a steady development, and the Indian Church is growing in a sense of its position and responsibilities. It is well known by missionary students that there is no field in which there are greater difficulties in the way of establishing a truly indigenous Church. The caste system means, among other things, that a very large number of converts lose their means of employment, and there is a tendency for them to become dependent for material support upon the foreign missionary. This inevitably induces a similar tendency towards spiritual dependence. There is also a serious danger of the Church itself becoming merely one caste among others—a position which leads, as shown by the history of the Syrian Church in South India, to the loss of aggressive zeal and the evangelistic spirit. The people of India have long been a subject race; and, while the spirit of independence is beginning to be felt, it is by no means found, as yet, in the whole community, and where it is felt it tends to manifest itself as a revolt against all authority. There is a grave liability to cleavage between the Indian and the English; and the position of the latter as the ruling race makes an intangible barrier in the way of those relations of mutual sympathy and good-fellowship which ought to subsist if the development towards full independence is to be on healthy lines.

The encouraging fact remains that there is genuine progress. In 1899 fresh arrangements were made "with the object of deepening the sense of direct responsibility on the part of the Hindustani Christians towards the Church organisation and discipline."*

The *panchayat,* a committee of five, had already been found to be a useful way of dealing with cases of Church discipline. At the other end of the system the annual *mela* had also shown how a distinctively Indian idea could be usefully adapted as a means of developing the spiritual life of the Church. It was now sought to knit together the whole Church and to give it a fuller sense of its corporate life and its right functions and responsibilities. Monthly Meetings were established on lines similar to those of the Society of Friends in England, and an Indian was appointed clerk (or presiding officer) of the General Meeting. One of the missionaries writes that "affairs are managed in a business-like manner, and our short experience shows that, when our native brethren have control of the incidental funds, they are administered more economically than when in the hands of missionaries, and the feeling of responsibility makes them more ready to give. Questions of discipline, too, are settled more in accordance with native ideas, and, to that extent, more satisfactorily."†

More recently the Church has taken a definite share in evangelistic work, having appointed and sent out workers to an isolated station (Bhilsa) in the Gwalior State. The contributions of members for some years have been fixed at a certain definite rate, being about one and a half pice per rupee of income (\(\frac{1}{2}r\)) for Church purposes. Anyone who realises the poverty of many of the members will appreciate the fact that this means real self-denial. The people often have such small incomes that they would be passed by in calling for a collection at home. The principle of self-support is of such great importance, however, that this method of

† J. D. Maynall, M.A., in "Our Missions," 1900, p. 36.
tithing was agreed to by the missionaries, though the idea is entirely an Indian one. Collections are also taken at the Sunday morning meeting. Four years ago, when the new Farm Colony was opened, the Church undertook to build the Meeting House, which promise has since been fulfilled. A recent movement in the Church towards purifying the membership, and helping those who are in need, especially through a co-operative bank, is further indication of a healthy spirit of independence and initiative.

There are many indications that profound religious changes are taking place in India to-day. Large numbers who make no outward profession are followers of Christ in secret. Many others who have not themselves yielded obedience to Him acknowledge that He alone can save India. Even in remote villages people will say, "The religion of Jesus is coming, we know that; when the others become Christians then we are ready to do so too." It has been largely through mass movements that Indians have been brought into the Christian Church.

To some this may seem to be a poor way. The individual is not strong enough to take a line of his own. When the religion is popular, then, and not till then, will many come out openly as its adherents. Our individualistic ideas are almost shocked by such a position. But we must remember that the family, or even the village, is the unit in India. This communistic basis of life is a very precious thing. It must not be too lightly destroyed, as it may easily be by men and women coming out singly from it. At any rate, there ought to be a community with a warm, living fellowship into which the man who leaves his caste can come, and where he may find a new home. Yet more, there needs to be a strong, living Church, with a rich corporate life, in order to deal with those who come in large numbers, whole villages or castes together.
These thoughts emphasise the vital importance of building the Indian Church aright. It would seem to need for its best development some outward organisation which will bind it into one, and help it to realise its unity, and to act together. But above all else it needs to be knit together by spiritual bonds of love and loyalty. A greater loyalty than that to the caste should be developed within the Church itself, deeper in its hold on men as it is based on devotion to one common Lord and Master, and on mutual love and service, wider in its sweep as it cuts itself off from no other man or group of men, but reaches out in love to all classes and nations. A Christian Church built on such a loyalty, and it alone, can replace the far-reaching caste system, planting in its place a truly indigenous growth, welding the nation into a true and enduring unity, purifying the springs of its life, and lifting it into the place where it can make its noble contribution to the whole human race.

MADAGASCAR.

The recent history of the Madagascar Mission has been very largely influenced by the various acts of the French administration. During the first few years after the conquest, as already stated, there was a general improvement in the work, accompanied by a diminution in the actual number of members. Several reports refer to the Mission as being in a very encouraging state. The early distrust on the part of the authorities gave way to a cordial recognition of the value of the educational, moral and civilising influence exerted by the Missions. Among some of the people, indeed, there was a loosening of moral restraints and an open avowal of agnostic or atheistic belief. The former strict observance of Sunday was replaced by laxity in some quarters, and a certain amount of regular Sunday labour.
The Mission schools were thronged. In 1898 over 17,000 pupils were attending them. The standards of education were being steadily raised, largely as a result of Government regulations, and certain improvements were introduced, notably technical and agricultural training in the High School and, after 1904, some form of manual work for all boys over fourteen. This last regulation involved another very speedy adjustment of curriculum, and also the special training, at short notice, of scores of teachers. This was again carried through with success. The Government agreed to give a certificate to all boys passing a final examination from the Mission schools, and for two years gave subventions to missionary education.

This liberal policy was not to last. A very great change began about 1906, when it became apparent that obstacles were to be placed in the way of missionary education. Vexatious regulations were introduced, and the law began to be administered in a less liberal way. With one stroke of the pen a large majority of the Mission schools were disqualified. Nearly every country chapel or meeting-house had, up to that time, been used during weekdays as a schoolhouse. The large city churches had, in the same way, served as primary schools.

It was now pronounced illegal to use the same building for both purposes. Some of the new regulations certainly had the desirable effect of further increasing the efficiency of the schools. But even this could not compensate for the very large numbers who were now deprived of getting even the rudiments of education. Along the roadside could be seen many children of school age spending their days in play who, under the old system, would have been gaining at least some preparation for their life work. While the Government built some schools of its own, it by no means made up the deficiency,
nor has it yet done so.* By 1910 the number of children in Friends' schools had fallen to 1,600, and all through the district children were growing up whose parents had had educational facilities which they themselves could not enjoy. This policy has struck an unspeakably heavy blow at the Church, as well as having injured the progress of the people generally. It was dictated by that extreme fear of religious influence on the children, and dislike of all positive Christian effort, which has characterised the action of the French Government at home during recent years. It was carried through in a way which left no doubt as to the ultimate goal before those in authority.

Nor were the schools alone affected by this policy. Very stringent regulations were brought into force in relation to the opening of new Churches, the authorisation of evangelistic journeys and other matters. An excuse for some of these restrictions was, unfortunately, provided by dissensions in some of the Churches, and quite recently a further difficulty has arisen through the discovery of a secret society whose object is supposed to have been the overthrow of the French Government. Some leaders of the Church have not been able wholly to clear themselves of complicity in this movement. There can be no doubt, however, that the great mass of Malagasy Christians are loyal and law-abiding citizens. This has been freely recognised by some French officials; and in the case of others besides General Galliéni, a very marked change in their attitude towards Missions took place as a result of closer acquaintance with the work.

Happily, a change in the administration a few years ago modified, to some extent, the spirit of antagonism to Christianity, and more recently the authorities have

* The total number of children in schools of all kinds is still less than when practically all were in Mission schools.
shown a far more friendly attitude towards British missionaries, traceable, no doubt, to our comradeship in arms. The results of the previous policy, however, still remain in many cases.

This brief outline gives but a faint idea of the way in which the patience, the wisdom, and the tact of the missionaries were taxed during these years. The present writer, in his recent visit to the Island, was amazed to see with what ability and courage the situation had been faced. It was perfectly clear that, if the Church allowed the children to grow up in ignorance, or lost its hold upon them as they learned in schools whose influence was strongly anti-Christian, it could only look to the future with dismay. It certainly could not hope to progress towards healthy independence and a vigorous growing life. Only gradually has the Church come to grasp the full significance of the problem confronting it. One notable result has been a very great increase, both in numbers and efficiency, in the Sunday Schools in the Island. A Sunday School Union was formed in 1910 in which the three sister Missions (L.M.S., F.F.M.A., and Paris Mission) joined, and this has proved to be a most useful organisation.

In 1913 the same three Societies sent out simultaneous deputations which co-operated with each other, with the missionaries, and with official representatives of the other Protestant Churches. They faced together the main questions which pressed for solution. The unevangelised portions of the Island were mapped out, and allocated to the different Missions, so as to secure the speedy occupation of all and avoid overlapping. The educational situation was fully discussed, practical suggestions made, and a Joint Consultative Board was constituted. Arrangements were made for the gradual devolution of larger responsibilities upon the Malagasy
Churches in the mission field. 159

Church, and the F.F.M.A. deputation and missionaries together framed a policy of a far-reaching character.*

In this case the value of such a deputation was demonstrated because it gave the opportunity for a careful survey of the whole position and unhurried thought with regard to some of the larger issues. Unique advantage was derived from the large amount of united discussion and action rendered possible by the cooperation of all the Missions in the effort. In the whole history of Missions no piece of work has been undertaken on exactly the lines of these simultaneous deputations, and the Joint Conference which was held at the close of the visit.† The impression made upon the Malagasy by the united action and mutual harmony manifested was a very deep one. It is still too soon to speak of the permanent results, but, judging by experience in other fields, these are likely to be of great value.

In Madagascar the first Friend missionaries went out to an indigenous Church which already had behind it a history of steadfastness and martyrdom in the face of persecution and danger. Thus the problem was an altogether different one from that which was faced by the India Mission. Their attitude was, from the first, that of helping the Malagasy Church. It was already on the field, asking for the help of the missionaries it is true, but able to do, and actually doing, much of its own work. A Church organisation was already formed, and

† The Deputations consisted of three representatives of each of the following Societies:—London Missionary Society (commenced work in Madagascar in 1818); F.F.M.A. (1867); Paris Missionary Society (1896). The other four Protestant Societies at work in the Island are:—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (1864); Norwegian (Lutheran) Missionary Society (1866); United Lutheran Church of America (1888); American Lutheran Board of Missionaries (1888). The whole of these seven Societies were represented at the Joint Conference.
the first Friend missionaries made little, if any, change in it as they took over certain responsibilities.

The peril of the Malagasy Church was to rely too much upon this outside help, and not to progress in independence and self-support. This is the more so in a people who are, by nature and tradition, ready to accept authority, and who take advice from a supposed or actual superior as tantamount to instructions. On the whole, the missionaries were successful in saving the Church from this peril. At one time it looked as if the Malagasy Government would take over the management of the Church. This disaster was, however, averted, and the Church continued in its independent life, under the gentle leadership and with the kindly and firm advice of the foreign missionary. It was early imbued with a missionary spirit, and evangelists were sent by the Federation of the Churches to all parts of the Island, and by the Friends' Yearly Meeting to the borders of the Sakalava country.

The attitude of the missionaries at this time is clearly seen by the following extract from a report for the year 1880:

"It has been from the first a leading thought with us how best to make the people independent of our help; and I think as years go on there are more and more signs that they are becoming more self-reliant and less inclined to lean upon the Europeans for everything. This year a notable advance has been made by them with regard to Church monies. Formerly the missionaries kept all the accounts; but this year they have appointed four men from among thedeacons to keep account of all monies received and spent. It was quite a pleasure, on Christmas Day last, to hear the business-like way in which they gave account of their stewardship."

It would scarcely be too much to say that the missionaries are continually engaged in a fight to thrust

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* Samuel Clemes, in F.F.M.A. Annual Report, 1881, p. 56.
MADAGASCAR: CONFERENCE OF WORKERS HELD AT ARIVONIMAMO, APRIL, 1907.
JAMES HACK TUKE.
(First) Treasurer of the F.F.M.A., 1868-1896.

HENRY STANLEY NEWMAN.
Hon. Secretary of the Provisional Committee, 1865-8, and of the F.F.M.A., 1868-1912.
forward the Malagasy leaders into taking larger responsibilities, and so to organise the work "that, when European help shall, from any cause, be withdrawn, the Church will not be in any sense disorganised."* Since the French occupation this policy has been even more difficult to pursue, both because the Hova then lost their political independence, and because negotiations with the Government needed the skill and experience of the foreign missionary—and he has perforce had to act for the Church in many emergencies that have arisen. The recent deputation thankfully recognised, however, a growing desire for complete independence on the part of the Malagasy Church. This has never threatened the least rupture with the foreign missionary, who only wishes the time for such independence would come more speedily. The most intimate and friendly relationships are maintained. A real advance is being made after the temporary set-back, and the Churches generally show a healthy spirit which should surely produce the desired results before long.†

SYRIA.

The history of the Madagascar Mission during this period may be said to have closed with the visit of a

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† It may be asked in what way the Church is not yet independent. A full statement of the present position will be found in the "Report of the Deputation," pp. 27–32, 92–99, etc. Briefly stated, it is as follows: (a) The Churches in Tananarive are self-supporting and self-governing, the missionary being one member among many, but generally being given, in spite of himself, in practice, a somewhat disproportionate voice in Church affairs. (b) In the country, while the Churches are nominally self-governing, they practically accept the advice of the missionary or evangelist (who is appointed by the missionary). The support of country work is drawn, in part, from the Mission, but the Church buildings are erected and maintained almost entirely by the people themselves, and considerable help is given in school work and in support of evangelists, etc. As compared with the Friends' Mission in India there is an undoubtedly larger measure of self-government, and a considerably larger amount of self-support.
deputation. That of the Syria Mission practically begins with one. Shortly after the amalgamation with the F.F.M.A., it was felt necessary to overhaul the whole work. It had grown up, as has been seen, very largely out of a personal concern. Arrangements had been made which were suitable to the special circumstances of the Mission, but not ideally the best. It was felt to be desirable to bring the work on to a footing similar to that of the other Missions of the F.F.M.A. Any such readjustment must be difficult, especially in a work which has already been carried on for a number of years. It was, therefore, thought best to send out a strong deputation. The Secretary, Watson Grace, took a leading part in the work, and so spent himself in it that when, almost immediately after the completion of it, he was attacked by typhoid fever, he had little resisting power, and was unable successfully to fight the disease. Elizabeth B. Backhouse and Jonathan B. and Mary Anna Hodgkin were the other members, and Dr. William Wilson, then a missionary on furlough from Madagascar, co-operated with them.

These Friends went into all the affairs of the Mission with the utmost care. They made arrangements for the thorough correlation of the various branches of work, and for a system of government similar to that pertaining in other fields. They paid great attention to the organisation of the Native Church, and drew up a constitution for it which has since been followed with success. This will be referred to later. Watson Grace especially went very fully into the legal status of the Mission, and the laws in reference to the holding of property, several important changes resulting from his recommendations thereon. Though the carrying out of these and other matters involved considerable difficulties, it is clear that a new and more fruitful era was entered, and that the Mission, prior to the
disorganization brought about by the war, was, in consequence, in a more flourishing condition than ever before in its history.

The few years which immediately followed the visit were years of serious difficulty. The Mission lost by death and resignation some of its most valued members. The number of missionaries fell from eighteen in 1901 to only ten in 1908, the few who remained being, of course, seriously overtaxed to keep things going. In fact, when the greatest opportunity that had ever been presented to the Mission suddenly opened out, the Mission was smaller than it had been for eighteen years.

This occurred in July, 1908, when the old régime in Turkey came to so dramatic a close, and the tyranny of the Sultan Abdul Hamid was, in a moment, replaced by what appeared to be a thoroughly democratic form of government. While, in many ways, the change has proved less drastic and less satisfactory than was hoped in those early days, there is no doubt that an entirely new atmosphere was created, and it is unlikely that Turkey can ever again be quite what it was in the pre-revolution days. Liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice were proclaimed as watchwords, and many a pulse in Syria quickened at the thought that the long, dark night of Turkish misrule was at last to end. A measure of freedom in public speech and press which had never been dreamed of was now given. It seemed possible that popular education would be seriously undertaken by the new Government, and that it might be some use for Syrians to stay in the country and try to open up its resources.

Alas, that round the neck of the new state was hung the heavy chain of militarism, and that not a little of the old corruption and intolerance was carried over into new forms and methods! What the new Turkey might have been had she not been surrounded by
jealous "Christian Powers" it is impossible to say. The fact remains that much of this bright promise was never fulfilled, and that Syria to-day is still a land of disappointed hopes and thwarted ambitions. Perhaps, through the dark era of European war, a new day for the land of our Lord is even now dawning!

So far as the Mission was concerned, the new spirit of inquiry did help the work, and there has been a distinct improvement in friendly relations with the people. Happily, it has been possible very considerably to augment the numbers of the missionaries, and now once more there are seventeen missionaries connected with the Mission. At the moment of writing, only two are able to continue at their posts, but the others are waiting with the idea of returning at the first possible moment after the declaration of peace with Turkey.

The main event in the life of the Church in Brummana and the district was, as has been already recorded, the new constitution prepared during the visit of the deputation. A curious feature of Turkish law is that every man, woman, and child must be enrolled as a member of some religious community. The children are considered to belong to the Church of their fathers unless they deliberately join some other. Thus all who were in association with the Mission were given the status of member, and the obvious difficulty was met by constituting within the membership an Administrative Body. The members of this Body were the only persons entitled to speak in business meetings of the Church, and the number was only increased by persons who were considered to be truly converted and living lives in accordance with their profession. This plan has now been superseded, and a method of associate membership adopted that secures the same result in a simpler way. The Church has steadily progressed along these lines. Great interest is taken by the Syrians
themselves in the work. Self-reliance is being developed, and a small group has been gathered together who may be said to be of one heart and mind. Their steadfastness has recently been shown by their action during the present war, and their continuing their meetings and much of the regular work under peculiar difficulties.

Under the special circumstances of the Syria Mission already referred to, it is clear (and this is even truer here than in fields where the work is among non-Christians exclusively) that the membership of the Church is not any true index of the growth and value of the Mission. Many are living transformed lives within their own Churches who owe everything to the influence of the missionaries, to the time spent in school or hospital, or to the word spoken by some member of the little Friends' Church on the Lebanon.

One striking indication of the growing value set upon the work of the Mission by the surrounding villages may be quoted. The demand for schools is everywhere insistent. This is not in any way lessened by the fact that these schools are conducted on Christian lines, and the Bible is freely taught and explained. There is rapidly growing confidence in the work Friends are doing. Parents are willing to put their children under the care of Friends, and to pay well for the privilege. It has not been possible recently actually to extend the work of education, though it has been greatly improved in quality. There were actually slightly fewer scholars in the schools in 1913 (the last complete year before the war) than in 1902. In that time, however, the fees and contributions paid in to the Mission from Syrian parents and friends rose from £376 per annum to £1,404! And the children thus sent and paid for have gone back into villages and homes over a wide area, or out into the world, with new ideals, with a truer faith, with,
in not a few cases, a real sense of the high vocation to which they are called, to give to others what has meant so much to them.

**CHINA.**

In China the period which followed the Boxer uprising in 1900 has been probably the most eventful of any in the long history of that great nation. Events have moved with a rapidity that astonishes and even alarms the student of that history. The changeless Empire, whose institutions had remained for thousands of years the same, has been suddenly transformed into a modern republic. A people who have found their inspiration only in a glorious past have discovered, in less than a generation, that the future may be still more glorious. Their mental and spiritual attitude has been profoundly altered. Even if to-day the outlook seems less brilliantly hopeful than in the early days of the new order, every one who knows China realises that she can never be the same again.

During this period of change the missionary societies have been called upon to adapt their work in many directions. Some idea of what this has meant on a large scale can be gained by studying the history even of a quite small mission such as the F.F.M.A. in China. When the missionaries returned to Szechwan after their enforced absence at the time of the Boxer outbreak, they found not only that all had been going well in their absence, but also that a new door of opportunity had been opened. Not only did the reactionary movement fail; it produced a rebound which even the Empress could not resist. Schools were opened in hundreds of walled cities and market towns. Temples were transformed into school buildings. There was a readiness to hear the message which had been unknown before. The missionary force at once set about taking measures
to meet the situation. They multiplied and improved their schools; they opened new stations; they sent out fresh workers. Friends were not behindhand in this effort. The thirteen missionaries of 1901 had become twenty-four by 1905.* In the same period the number of Chinese workers and adherents greatly increased, whilst there were large additions to the number of schools and scholars.

An important factor in this development was again the visit of a deputation from the Board (in 1903–4), consisting of Albert J. Crosfield, Dr. Wilson, and Marshall N. Fox. In this case, also, the whole work was investigated and a strong case for advance was made out. New stations were opened at Tungliang, Suining, and Chengtu. The capital of the Province which had, from the first, been the objective of the Mission was thus entered by the senior missionaries, Robert J. and Mary J. Davidson. Medical work had been begun in Tungchwan in 1900; it was now decided to build a hospital there.† This has been the scene of much good work, and a second hospital has recently been opened at Suining. At this hospital the first Chinese qualified doctor under the Mission has taken up work with Dr. W. H. Davidson. A boarding-school for girls was commenced in Tungchwan in 1904, and a new building opened in the following year. Here many girls have been trained for useful life service. A high school for boys was started on the hills opposite Chungking, under far more favourable conditions than could be obtained in the city, and a fine building was erected for the purpose on a commanding site. Much good work has been put into this school, and already its graduates are taking a place of great usefulness in the Mission.

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* There are now (April, 1916) thirty-nine.
† The Women's Hospital was opened in July, 1905.
In 1906 the demand for more and better teachers in the country schools led to the establishment of a normal training school at Chengtu. This was part of a wider scheme for meeting the new conditions, another being the establishment of regular training for evangelistic helpers in Suining. This has since been moved to Chengtu, largely with the object of getting the mutual stimulus of united work with other Missions. The enlarged educational opportunities led to many discussions between the members of different Missions, and in 1906 an Educational Union for West China was established which unites all, and is doing an extremely useful work. It has recently appointed an educational secretary who serves all the Missions, and it has been the means of creating a common system of education, with examinations, certificates and grading similar to those in the Government schools. The status of missionary education in the eyes of the Chinese has been greatly raised, and the work done is now of a far better quality than it was before the Union came into existence.

Growing out of this union has sprung what is undoubtedly the most ambitious and far-reaching piece of educational work participated in by the Society of Friends in any part of the world. The time seemed clearly to have come when nothing short of the best Western education should be given to the students of China. These men were facing problems of stupendous magnitude. The remaking of any nation is a great thing. When it is a nation with a civilisation more ancient than any other in the world, and with a population more numerous, emerging from the trammels of ancient tradition and hide-bound conservatism and entering into a new world of thought, and into contact, for the first time, with other great nations and
civilisations, there is need of the strongest and best trained men the nation can produce.

These problems, moreover, ought to be faced in a Christian spirit, and the Churches of the West are thus given a chance to-day to help in a movement of the greatest significance for the future of humanity. Moreover, the development of the Church in China called also for the finest minds which could be enlisted in her service. The situation she was facing was without parallel. The adjustment of old and new, the fashioning of a truly Chinese type of Christianity, the influencing of the nation in a way worthy of the greatness of the ideals for which she stood, all these tasks called to her. Where were the men? In the Mission schools there was material. But how was this to be dealt with? The missionary body could not be content to see this splendid material put to a second-rate use for lack of first-rate training.

The call came in the nature of the situation. As the old examination system was passing away, as the Government, on its side, attempted to grapple with the problem of educating the children throughout this huge province, the missionary societies were found ready to step in and take their share in the undertaking. Just outside the city of Chengtu, the educational and political centre of West China, with its fifty or sixty millions of people, four Missions* united in purchasing a large plot of land, and there already stand the first buildings of what will one day be a complete Anglo-Chinese University, with its various departments of work and its large student body. Already some two hundred and fifty students are at work under thirty or more Chinese and foreign teachers on the University site, although many of these are not yet doing full University work. What

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* The Missions uniting with Friends in the University are the American Baptists and Methodists, and the Canadian Methodists.
no one Mission alone would have dared to undertake, several acting together have been able to do.

A more recent united movement in the same centre is the Normal School for Women, in which a very useful piece of work is being undertaken for the training of teachers for the girls' schools.

Whilst in these ways provision was being made for the students who came into the Mission schools, another effort was set on foot in order to reach out to that larger body who were being trained in the Government schools. The F.F.M.A. co-operated with the International Committee in New York in inaugurating a Young Men's Christian Association in Chengtu which, in the first place, aimed to reach the University and other students in the city. This has since developed along fruitful lines, and has now a membership of upwards of 1,000. Other Missions have participated therein.

Chengtu is the city of students and officials. Chungking is the city of merchants. Here a different adaptation of missionary effort was decided upon in order to meet the entirely different situation. There was the same spirit of inquiry and friendship in the air. It was found that a number of the leading business men of the city would welcome the opening of a club which should be run upon Christian lines and be international in its membership and management. Such a club was, therefore, started under the name of the International Friends' Institute. It has brought together as friends and co-workers the merchants of different nationalities and the missionaries. During the troublous times of 1911-13 this club has proved to be of great service in promoting good will and removing misunderstandings. Lectures, games, conversations, common work for the betterment of conditions in the city, these and many other things have characterised the work, which has already proved
a most fruitful line of service, and has led to the adoption of similar methods in other centres. Considerable sums of money have been forwarded to Europe for the relief of sufferers during the war in Poland and elsewhere.

The movement for closer co-operation received a fresh impetus at the second West China Conference held at Chengtu in 1908. Here plans were set on foot for increasing the usefulness of the Advisory Board, and for developing along lines likely to lead ultimately to the establishment of one Protestant Christian Church for West China. Already much time has been devoted to the discussion of this theme, and a tentative constitution was drafted by a representative committee in 1913. Its opening statement is: "Our bond of union consists in that inward and personal faith in Jesus Christ as our Divine Saviour and Lord on which the Church is founded; it consists also in our acceptance of the Holy Scriptures as the inspired source of our faith and the supreme standard of Christian truth. We humbly depend on the continued guidance of the Holy Spirit to lead us into all truth." The movement has the enthusiastic support of Chinese Christians, who generally adopt the attitude described by Chang Ching-Yi at the Edinburgh Conference when he said: "Denominationalism has never interested the Chinese mind.”*

This is not the only direction in which notable progress is being made by the Church in Szechwan. The Chinese are keen men of business, and they take up the business of the Church with a zest and skill not often seen in other lands. Already in the shorter history of the F.F.M.A. in China, a condition of self-government is found in advance of some older fields. In reference to

the Yearly Meeting in 1908, R. J. Davidson wrote: "The remarkable features of the gathering were:—

1. The delightful spirit of brotherliness. . . .
2. The earnest effort after a pure and true Church. . . .
3. The avidity with which the meeting took hold of the democratic methods of the Society of Friends, and, at the same time, how the liberty and freedom given were not abused. . . .
4. The large part taken by the Chinese. [The missionaries,] with the exception of the Clerk, took very little part in the whole proceedings, except by our interested attendance. . . .
The work fell on the Chinese themselves, and they did it admirably."*

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Church in China will do great things. Already it is entering into its task with a thoroughness and enthusiasm which may well be a lesson to us in the West.†

It is almost too soon to speak of the effect produced by the Revolution in 1911. This caused a temporary interruption of all work in Szechwan.

**Relations with Chinese Officials.**

It was, in fact, in that province that the first spark was struck, and the spirit of independence has always been particularly strong among the hardy Westerners. One thing may, perhaps, be noticed, as it has already had a noticeable effect upon the work of missions. The relations with the older type of officials had, at first, been purely formal, and latterly a little more cordial, though, generally speaking, always rather stiff. With the republic a new type of man has come to the front. Many of these men are old scholars

† As a practical illustration of the co-operation of the Chinese Church in education, see an interesting account by H. T. Silcock in "Our Missions," April, 1916, p. 54.
of mission schools. They are, as a class, friendly and even cordial towards the missionary. There is a very general recognition that the missionary is there to help, and that he is seeking to represent the higher side of Western life and the things which we believe can be of service to China to-day.

Few things have stood out more during recent events in China than the absolute need for high character in the public servant. The Chinese are coming to see that the missionary is making a contribution, in this particular, second to none, and of incalculable value to the nation. The intimate relations now established in many cases between missionaries and officials in West China have been the means of removing prejudice, opening the way to co-operation, and vastly enlarging the reach of the missionary's influence. In plans for the University, leading officials have been in friendly consultation with the Senate, and their full help and sympathy are given. In the institutes the officials have taken a warm interest as members and subscribers. The day seems to have dawned when the missionary has changed, by sheer goodness and love, the cold indifference and bitter hatred into a warm friendliness and glad co-operation.

CEYLON.

Almost the whole development of the Missions in Ceylon and Pemba comes within the period now under consideration. The story of the Ceylon Mission is one of rapid growth amid many difficulties, of development in various directions under a sense of divine leadership, or curtailment in some directions owing to reduction of missionary staff and financial limitations. During the first five years many doors opened, and work was commenced in a number of centres. In most places where there was any regular
work a school was opened. Several new missionaries joined the staff, among them being Sidney J. Long, who had been working among Tamils in South India. He found his work hindered by the use of outward rites in which the people so easily came to place a trust similar to that put formerly in their heathen customs. He felt convinced that an inward religion could be more easily preached if no outward rite were used, and his later missionary work was among the Tamils on the estates in Ceylon with the Friends' Mission. In 1903 the new station at Mirigama was opened, and a fresh district was thus entered. The following year the deputation which had visited China spent a short time in Ceylon on their way home, and looked into the work. The 1909 Deputation to India also visited Ceylon, and, besides reviewing the policy, were the means of directing fresh attention to the importance of that field.

Very early in the history of the Ceylon Mission some responded to the call to follow Christ, and all through there has been an amount of visible result which has been denied the workers in some of the Mission Fields. The missionary spirit, moreover, has entered into the young Church, and already it is reaching out to draw in others. Its Home Missionary Society began its work in 1903 by supporting a colporteur, and is, year by year, taking on larger responsibilities. This has often meant very real self-denial, and the giving is not confined to cash payments, which many would be unable to make. "One rather usual way was, when the family daily meals were being cooked, the mother of the family would take a handful of rice out before boiling and put it in a bag till the end of the month, and then, when it was all brought in from different households, it was sold for the benefit of the work."

It was not until 1908 that a regular Quarterly Meeting was organised after the manner of Friends. This has
now forty-five members, but the total number of adherents who have openly professed their faith in Christ is over 300, and nearly 1,300 children are enrolled as scholars in the twenty-three schools under the care of Friends. A recent visitor to the Field thus sums up her impression of it: "In Ceylon, where 'the insolence of colour' is obvious enough to strike even the most casual observer—our Quaker teaching of the divine worth and dignity of every man would seem to be specially needed. The difference between the happy faces of the native Christians in our little meeting-house at Matale, and the downtrodden, hopeless sadness on almost all the other native faces that we saw, is in itself the most convincing argument, to my mind, as to the worth of our Mission."

The Mission has been severely handicapped, first by the loss of missionaries and consequent short-handedness in every department, and recently by the fact that the Board was reluctantly compelled, as a measure of economy, to put a definite limit on expenditure in this field. The possibility of retiring from it altogether has even been under discussion more than once. In spite of all this, the work has gone forward. The Girls' Boarding School has come to fill a very useful place. A large and valuable work is carried on by means of day schools in different centres. A strong sense of independence is seen in the young Church. Even when the support of the Home Church has lessened, the blessing of God has continued without intermission. It is the earnest hope of all that a large forward movement may now be possible, and that all uncertainty as to the future of the Mission may speedily be removed.

*Quoted in "A Plain Issue," a pamphlet containing the Findings of a Special Commission appointed to survey the work of the F.F.M.A., 1911.
As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Mission started in Pemba was mainly of an industrial character. Friends desired, on the one hand, to watch the working of the decree of emancipation, and to secure full liberty for the slaves, and, on the other hand, to raise their condition so as to enable them to take on the larger responsibilities of freed men, and to develop in character. Each of these objects has been greatly furthered by the efforts of the missionaries. In the early days it was disappointing to find that the decree of emancipation was largely ineffective, both because of the ignorance of the slaves themselves, and because of the obstruction or indifference of many who were more or less interested in preserving the status quo. Friends were able, however, to secure liberation for many slaves, and to help them in settling in homes of their own. After twelve years, during which various difficulties were overcome, a further edict was promulgated (9th June, 1909), which completed the work of the previous one, and left all free even without the necessity of claiming their legal rights. This aspect of the work has, therefore, been crowned with complete success.

A much more difficult task was involved in seeking to fulfil the second object. Plantations have been opened on which many of the freed slaves have been employed; industrial work has been carried on, chiefly carpentry, at the town of Chake-Chake, and boys’ and girls’ homes have been opened. Medical work of a simple character has also been undertaken. Thus an all-round Mission has come into existence, the emphasis still being largely on the industrial side, but evangelistic and educational work coming to take a place of increasing importance.
JOHN HORNIMAN, 1803-1893.
The Quaker Philanthropist, who endowed the Missionary Training Home for young men Friends, first located at Chester House, and now the Kingsmead Hostel.
(Photo kindly lent by Isaac Sharp, B.A.)

JOSEPH STORRS FRY.
Member of the Provisional Committee, and the F.F.M.A. Board from the beginning.
Treasurer of the F.F.M.A., 1896-1913, and benefactor of its work.
(Photo kindly lent by Claude B. Fry.)
Tennis party attended by Oriental students from Birmingham University, as well as by students and lecturers from Woodbrooke, home and foreign missionaries and candidates and the principals of Kingsmead and Kingsmead Hostel.
An outside observer, Commissioner Railton, of the Salvation Army, who visited the work in 1900, was able to write: "No one appears yet to have realised the greatness of the work you have in hand in Pemba. It is really the foundation of a model village. . . . All the labour on the Banani estate has been on the principle of teaching the people to earn their own money, and pay their own way. It is the exhibition of well-ordered life . . . You are raising up, it may be, a great missionary force of the future." Standards of living have been raised, and the people have come to look beyond the immediate needs of the body, and the incessant toil of former days has been lightened for very many.

For the missionaries it has been a costly undertaking. The hand of death has removed three; almost all have suffered more or less severely in health.

Results. At times portions of the work have had to be closed down owing to the fewness of those left. But the rewards have been great, in the simple confidence and affection of the people, in the steady improvement in their conditions and in their lives, and in the gathering together of a small Native Church that has now been established, and is undertaking increasing responsibility. In addition to the abolition of slavery, a good deal has been done towards checking the evils of drink and opium. This very condensed account of the years of patient work devoted to the slaves and ex-slaves of Pemba may fitly close by a few words from a recent visitor. M. Catharine Albright, who visited the Island as one of a deputation in 1910, writes:

"About 120 souls live on the plantation round the Mission House at Banani, but this bare fact gives little idea of the varied work devolving on the resident missionary, who must, if possible, be father and mother, teacher and doctor, employer and friend to any man, woman or child in the neighbourhood who happens to appeal to him. There is a tendency for men,
trained on the plantation, to want to move out and acquire land and houses of their own; given a little capital, which they can and will repay, they can readily develop into peasant proprietors, independent and self-respecting. . . . In the open country a little community of Swahili will grow up, who, while keeping to their natural work and surroundings, may gradually absorb the higher ideals of Christianity, and develop a true family life. . . . It is little communities such as these which are the chief hope and desire of the Mission."

Thus, in each Mission carried on by Friends, there are already signs of a healthy, independent life in the Native Church. Each has been developing in its own way: some very slowly, others with amazing rapidity. Keeping steadily before ourselves the goal towards which we work, the establishment of a truly indigenous Church, we may have yet many years of work in each field before the missionary can withdraw. It is, however, this end that is always in view. He does not regard the foreign staff as an army of occupation. They are rather the heralds of the dawn. As the dawn brightens, as the religion of Jesus Christ enters into the lives and the thought of the people, it will be the missionary's joy to say, with the herald in the Judean wilderness, "I must decrease." Let it not be thought that even this would mean at present a decrease in the missionary service of the Church, for there remain yet many regions where the glad tidings have never been heard. But it would and will mean that the Church at home can take up some of this fresh work, and will have, for colleague therein, the Church that has arisen, under the blessing of God, in the Mission Field.
CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS AT HOME.

In the second chapter we traced the growth of missionary interest in the Society of Friends, and the various influences that contributed to the formation of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. We have followed the results of this action as seen in the multiple activities of Friends abroad during the half-century that has followed. These activities were only possible because of an enlarging sympathy and support at home. We may now turn back to the home side and trace this growth, both in the life of the Society as a whole, and in the development of the Association's activities in particular.

RELATION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS TO YEARLY MEETING.

The year following the formation of the Association, the first Annual Meeting was held at 3.30 in the afternoon of Monday, the 24th of May, 1869, during Yearly Meeting, in the large meeting-house at Devonshire House. Isaac Brown, after describing the steps that had led to the formation of the Association, "concluded with observing that the time might not be far distant when our Yearly Meeting, or its representative body, might take the matter into its own hands." The following morning the attention of the Yearly Meeting itself was
drawn by Josiah Forster to the "peculiar position of the Association as an imperium in imperio. He hoped the Committee would seriously consider the irregularity which its existence involved." The Yearly Meeting thereupon considered whether it should take the work into its own hands. While some few expressed strong disapproval of the work, regarding it as "another proof of our declension," many were in sympathy; but it was decided that the time had not yet come for any closer union.* The Editor of the "Friends' Quarterly Examiner" (W. C. Westlake) thus describes the situation:—

"The semi-recognition of the Foreign Mission Society, by the use of the Meeting-House, and by the identity, to a large extent, of the names of its Committee with that of the Meeting for Sufferings, proves an entire harmony of feeling between all; but we believe the time has not yet arrived when the Society at large could advantageously take under its control either the First-Day School Society, or that of the Foreign Missions."†

Quite a strong current of opinion, however, regarded the movement in an unfriendly light. One writer in "The Friend,"‡ speaks of the formation of the Association as "an anomaly, an irregularity, and unconstitutional."

The following year saw a further discussion of the problem. It was by no means confined to the activities of this one organisation, as is shown by a particularly interesting note in the "Friends' Quarterly Examiner."§

"Nearly all our Society legislation, after the first half-century of its existence, has had relation to the welfare of its own members, and the perfecting of

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† "Friends' Quarterly Examiner," 1869, p. 323.
‡ 1869, p. 243.
§ 1870, pp. 314, 315.
that ‘fraternal bondage’ which has become with us so strong a tie of personal union. Whilst often encouraging its members in their individual capacity to labour for the good of others, there has been no Church provision for the outside services of any, except of recorded ministers travelling with a certificate sanctioning their Gospel labours amongst those not of our religious profession. During the 18th century this would appear almost the only description of religious labour practically open to the Friends. The Sunday-school movement was then unknown to religious communities; Foreign Mission Associations had no existence; Home Missions, Temperance Societies, Mothers’ Meetings, Bedford Institutes, and a host of kindred institutions were unthought of. But, whilst most Christian denominations have, since that period, embraced these various corporate movements and adopted them as distinct branches of their Church systems, we have kept conservatively to the ancient mode alone. It thus comes to pass that, at this moment, we have a ‘Friends’ Foreign Mission Association,’ in complete working order, with an expenditure of some £1,600 per annum; a ‘Friends’ First-Day School Association,’ comprising about 14,000 scholars and 1,000 teachers; a large and energetic organisation at the ‘Bedford Institute’ for religious labour amongst the London poor and ignorant; besides a great variety of semi-organised Home Missions, Cottage Readings, etc., in all parts of the country, but none of these societies are at present affiliated to, or embraced by, our Church itself. When we reflect that those of our members who are enlisted in these various Christian services are principally amongst the young and serious and energetic, to whom, in future years, the Yearly Meeting must naturally look for help and strength, it appears to us that the proper connection of the whole body with these spontaneous movements is one that can no longer safely be delayed.”

The following year we read that “these so-called ‘extraneous movements’ have become practically so
intrenchant that we can hardly anticipate their exclusion in any future year.”*

Matters were pushed a stage further in 1872, when, after a keen discussion, it was decided to hold a special conference in order to thrash out fully the question of the relation of Yearly Meeting to the separate organisations carrying on Christian work. William Pollard, writing of this discussion, says:—

“The effort on behalf of Foreign Missions was, in some sense, the offspring of the Yearly Meeting, though it has been driven, by stress of circumstances, to find a temporary shelter for itself. Is there any conceivable subject more truly the business of the Yearly Meeting than those undertaken by these two [including the First-Day School Association] organisations? We have no hesitation in saying that the separation and isolation hitherto so jealously maintained is both unreasonable and unnatural, and that both the Church and the respective efforts are suffering from it.”†

H. S. Newman urged that any such recognition “should not shackle the healthy liberty of action at present existing, which is so essential to success, and which our members so highly appreciate; and, on the other hand, that [it] should not commit the whole Church to responsibility for the action of individual workers, or implicate the tender conscience of some of our members in our own individual liberty.”‡

The Conference was held towards the close of the year (13th and 14th November, 1872). It was constituted by representatives sent up by all the Quarterly Meetings, and a very full and interesting discussion took place. There were those who “could not be a party

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† “F.Q.E.,” 1872, p. 419.
to recognising any of these extravagancies," and who "went mourning on their way" because of them. The great mass of opinion, however, was in favour of some forward step. It was seen by many that no mere detail of recognition was involved, but rather that it was a question "whether the Church is to live or to die."*

Looking back at the results of this Conference, they may seem to be quite small. Yearly Meeting was recommended to allow the holding of annual meetings by the Foreign Mission, Temperance and Tract Societies, and one on Home Missions, at the time of Yearly Meeting, and to receive a report that such meetings had been held. A second minute suggested the occasional holding of conferences, by Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, to receive reports of Christian work carried on by their members. As a matter of fact, these were very notable decisions. They involved a quite definite, if slight, connection between the Church in its organised life, and this "extraneous" work.

The suggestions were forwarded to the following Yearly Meeting (1873), and were only adopted after a very full discussion. Some thought that even the taking of this step threatened the unity of the Society. John Bright, while not sympathising with Friends who "seemed to be getting up a kind of divorce between the Society and what was called Christian work," definitely opposed the scheme. A compromise was arrived at by dropping the proposal that the reports submitted to Yearly Meeting might contain a reference to any subject that had claimed the interest of the Society reporting. The reports were, therefore, limited to the bare fact that the meetings had been held, and were to be put on the minutes.

This practice was continued without change until

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1881. In the meantime, the Church was showing its continued interest in the work, and in the problem of reaching the non-Christian peoples. In 1876 the Meeting for Sufferings issued an "Appeal on behalf of Uncivilized Nations." It refers especially to the opportunities created by "the great increase of commerce, and the steady progress of geographical discovery," and to the need of showing Christian principles in business. "The uncivilized often appreciate Christian conduct, even when they have but little knowledge of the truths upon which it is founded. The heart that is steeled by oppression may be melted by kindness. Love will often prevail where fraud and deceit would only provoke irritation and conflict." In the same year an epistle was received, read and minuted from the little company of fourteen Friends in Brummana.* The following year a letter of sympathy and encouragement, addressed to Friends engaged in mission work abroad, was adopted by the Meeting for Sufferings. The Yearly Meeting Epistles not infrequently referred to foreign missions.

In 1880 the subject came up in Yearly Meeting again, this time arising from the growth, in some of the fields, of little groups of Christians who followed the practice of Friends, but had no connection with the organised life of the Society. The problem was a new one so far as the Mission Churches were concerned. It has not yet been solved.† It served to bring home, from a new point of

* This epistle asked London Y.M. "to acknowledge us as your fellow-brethren and fellow-sisters in Jesus Christ." The Meeting for Sufferings was asked to forward a cordial reply. In later years epistles were received by the Y.M., or the Women's Y.M., from Friends in India, Madagascar, China and Ceylon, as well as further epistles from Syria.

† This problem is closely connected with the larger problem of the inter-relation of different sections of the Society, constituted, as they are, in different autonomous Yearly Meetings. There is, for example, no organic connection between Friends in Ireland and in England, while the Society in Scotland, in Australia, and in New Zealand is an integral part of London Yearly Meeting. See Appendix, p. 243.
view, the relation of the Church to a separate Association whose activities were creating these new communities of Friends. The next year the matter was advanced a stage further by the adoption of a suggestion from a special committee on the arrangement of the business of the Yearly Meeting that a brief report of the Association's work (as well as that of other kindred organisations) should be submitted annually to the Yearly Meeting. Members of the Churches on the fields were also to be admitted to Yearly Meeting on producing a letter signed by the Clerk of their Meeting abroad. At the same time, triennial reports were ordered from all Quarterly Meetings on the work within their own borders. The following year (1882) saw the formation of the Home Mission Committee. Ever since 1882 the Yearly Meeting has received an annual report on foreign mission work. These reports were, at first, very brief, and were spoken of as summaries. As the work grew, and as interest deepened, they became somewhat fuller, and frequently considerable time has been given to their discussion in Yearly Meeting.*

In 1892 the headquarters of the Association were moved to London from Hitchin, and place was found for the accommodation of the work at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate.† Frequent references in epistles also serve to show the growing unity of Friends generally with the work.

In 1896 a proposal was brought forward and endorsed by Yearly Meeting, for the holding of a Conference on Foreign Missions at Darlington. Quarterly Meetings were asked to

* Since 1912 Yearly Meeting has allotted a full regular session to the discussion of Foreign Missions, in place of the separate Annual Meeting. The latter is now held at a different time, and sometimes at a different place.

† The headquarters of the Society of Friends in England.
appoint representatives, and the arrangements were left with the F.F.M.A. The records of Yearly Meeting, from this time forward, show such a wealth of reference to the wider work for the Kingdom of God that it is impossible even to enumerate the bare names of the subjects dealt with. It is perfectly clear that the whole outlook of the Society upon the world has been modified, if not revolutionised, during the years from 1869 to 1896. It is a quarter of a century of amazing change. The timorous first steps, taken in spite of the strong opposition of a few, have brought the whole Church into a new atmosphere.

The reading of the memorial from the Student Volunteer Missionary Union (1897) "has introduced us," says the minute, "into much exercise with regard to the spiritual needs of the world, especially of the Mohammedan and heathen nations, and of the loud call of the Lord to the Church of Christ for labourers to proclaim the Gospel message." This same year witnessed, as previously mentioned, the establishment, by the Yearly Meeting itself, of the Industrial Mission in Pemba. In 1898 the relation of the Society in England to the Christian Churches formed in connection with the F.F.M.A. was again considered, though no definite action was taken. There are several references to the visits of Friends connected with these Churches, whose presence has often been most stimulating to Yearly Meeting. The triennial reports* constantly refer to growing interest in foreign missions, and to the work of the Missionary Helpers' Union.† An Epistle from the General Assembly of the Society of Friends in Szechwan, China, was received in 1903, and in this year the needs

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* These are reports sent up once in three years by each Quarterly Meeting giving an account of the activities of Friends and the state of the Society in the area covered by the Quarterly Meeting.
† For information as to the M.H.U., see p. 193.
of the work were commended to the Quarterly Meetings, and a suggestion was sent to Monthly Meetings as to the appointment of foreign missionaries on Meetings on Ministry and Oversight. The next year the Epistle refers to the "great opportunities opening before us in the mission field," and to "the adaptability of Friends' principles to this work." The Yearly Meeting at Leeds in 1905, the first that had been held outside London since the beginning of these meetings in 1672, was naturally a time of widened outlook. There was much discussion of the larger service into which Friends felt themselves to be called. "We believe," says the Epistle, "that God has called us to be instruments in meeting the deep world-hunger for reality. Not in recent times has our Society had such opportunities for spiritual work, for social service, and for the promotion of national right-doing."

The ten years that have followed show a very considerable answer to this call in various directions familiar to many who will read this volume. In these stirrings of new life there has been, as was natural, an increase and deepening in the missionary movement. It has involved, moreover, fresh thought on how more effectively to give, through the foreign missionary movement, that message which Friends believe to be their special contribution to the bringing in of the Kingdom of God. This is reflected in the minutes passed at the time of the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910. The Yearly Meeting, in 1911, sent an Epistle to "the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ who are associated with our Missions throughout the world," in which the following passages occur:—

"We desire to express to you our sympathy in the responsibility which rests on you in your efforts to extend the Kingdom of God amongst your fellow-
countrymen, to whom the name of Christ has been unknown. For you, as well as for us, the duty has arisen of stating, in the language and thought of our own country, the eternal truth of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. We recognize that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him; and that, even before the coming of Christ, God had revealed Himself to men at different times and in many ways, having never left Himself without witness.

"We reverently believe that to us, as Friends, has been given a responsibility in showing to the world how true religion is not a method of ceremonies or creeds, but the right ordering of our whole life and conduct in conformity with the will of God, and under the influence of His Spirit.

"It is our prayer that you may be faithful to the truth as it is revealed to you. As the light of God shines deeper into your hearts, may it bring to you a fuller knowledge of the Divine glory in the face of Jesus Christ. It is by what they see in the disciples that your fellow-countrymen will judge of the Master. You are called to be evangelists, teachers, thinkers and leaders of your own people. Upon you rests the responsibility of saving Christianity from being stigmatized as a Western Faith, and in your difficult task our sympathies go forth to you."

Any one who reads such a statement and compares it with the record of the discussions of forty years before will feel at once that he is breathing an entirely different atmosphere. Foreign missions are no longer viewed with suspicion as a breach with the past, an innovation full of danger, each timid step being taken only after years of thought and deliberation. They have come to their own. They are seen to be a vital interest of the Church. It is clear that, by this means, the living message of Quakerism can be given, and is being given, to the world. Already there are many with whom
we have spiritual fellowship in these distant lands. By taking the step fearfully, and yet in faith, new doors of opportunity have opened, a larger sympathy has been called forth, the little family has already extended its borders far beyond anything that could have been foreseen.

We have given a very brief outline of the development of the missionary idea in the Society itself during the half-century under review. This shows how great is the advantage to be reaped by the Church itself, as it seeks to enlarge the scope of its work. We have traced the growing appreciation of the missionary enterprise by the Church. This is very necessary if we are rightly to appreciate the particular problems that open out before us in the future. With some of these we shall deal in the closing chapter of this volume. It is now well for us rather to concentrate on the growth of the Association itself at home, as it sought to adapt itself to the rapidly growing work abroad, and to the immense new demands that were being made upon it with each succeeding year. The story of this growth shows how, under the Divine leadership, the Friends upon whom fell the heavy burden of guiding the home side were able to meet pressing claims and sudden emergencies, and how, as new fields were entered abroad, there was a continual expansion at the home end.

THE GROWTH IN HOME ORGANISATION—
THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM.

It is quite clear that those who were primarily responsible for the formation of the Association realised that a large work was being commenced in this small way. It seemed a great deal to find that, by the year 1873, fourteen missionaries were in the field, and that the income had risen to over £3,000. But this rapid advance was only
the call to further effort. Annual reports are often thought of as very dull reading. To go back to the reports of the F.F.M.A. during these fifty years, and read one after another in rapid succession, is to see, as it were, a remarkable panorama pass before one's eyes. Even accounts become instinct with life and meaning. Behind the array of figures one can catch glimpses of the quiet faith and courage with which, year after year, the Friends who bore this heavy responsibility went steadily forward in the path of duty. Let us try to capture the romance from these bare records.

The first report, published in 1869, shows an income of £950. Some £500 are spent on work in Madagascar, and about £160 in India. A goodly balance is carried forward. The Committee is much encouraged by the hearty co-operation of Friends, especially in the formation of the Irish Auxiliary, which thus early began its important service to the Association, a service that has continued to the present day. “Many thoughts,” we read, “have turned towards Syria and Spain, but it has been felt best quietly to await the opening of Divine Providence.” The following year sees the expenditure more than doubled, and the balance seriously reduced. In another year it is doubled again, and the balance is some £300 on the wrong side. 1873 finds a thousand pounds added to the deficit. The Treasurer, James Hack Tuke, calls for an income of £4,000 a year, and, in doing so, speaks of the sum as “large in proportion to our numbers,” but adds that he “can hardly entertain a doubt that the funds for carrying on a work which has hitherto been productive of a remarkable amount of good will be cheerfully forthcoming.”

The confidence was justified, for in 1874 we find a balance in hand of nearly £500. The next year the work still grows, and the Secretary tells us that “the lot that has fallen to a good many of the Committee is that we have felt bound to double our subscriptions.”
By 1876 the £4,000 mark for annual subscriptions has easily been passed, the total receipts being over £6,000. Even this large sum, however, was insufficient for the growing work. The rapid increase in expenditure led to the appointment of the first of what, by this time, seems a long series of special committees to overhaul very thoroughly the whole situation, and see where economies can be effected. The expenses in Madagascar alone almost reached £5,000.

At this time very serious attention was directed to the more thorough cultivation of the home field. From the beginning local correspondents had been appointed, the first list, published in 1870, containing the names of some seventy persons, of whom four have continued in close connection with the F.F.M.A. up to the present time.*

* Thomas Barrow, Henry Grace, Isaac Milner, and Frederick Sessions.
carried on with success for a number of years, especially on "Missionary Sunday."* Friends' schools and meetings were visited in the interest of foreign missions, Isaac Sharp taking a large part in the effort. The Committee was evidently appreciating that it had a duty to the Church at home, as well as to the non-Christian world, and that the one could not be properly discharged if the other were neglected.

In 1877 there is again a balance, but the demands of the work are seen to require an additional £1,500 of income, and this in spite of the fact that the receipts for the year are the highest on record. Probably there were many who looked askance at this alarming growth, but the pioneers themselves were not afraid of facing the still larger demands that would be made upon them in the future. Joseph S. Sewell says, indeed: "We require now about £6,000 a year; we may go on till we need £10,000, we may go on to £20,000, and further still, if God calls others to go out to preach His word in distant countries, and we may have to sacrifice far more than we have yet done. But are we ready for this? Are we willing that our sons and daughters should go out and engage in this mission? Are our young men and young women willing that the Lord should call them?"

Following this effort we find a steady advance, and for several years the needs are met without any special appeal. By 1882, however, another urgent call has to be made, as the Association is faced with a deficit of nearly £2,000, which even the magnificent response at the annual meeting (£740), led by J. Fyfe Stewart, cannot wipe out. By this time the number of subscribers has risen to the goodly total of 2,500. But for several years the Association is again faced with grave difficulty.

* The first systematic collection on one Sunday was made on 13th March, 1898.
† F.F.M.A. Annual Report, 1877, p. 27.
ELIZABETH B. BACKHOUSE.
Chairman of the Syria Committee, 1901-11.

ELLEN BARCLAY.
Founder, in 1883, of the Missionary Helpers' Union.
WOMEN'S HOSPITAL AT ITARSI, INDIA, OPENED IN THE AUTUMN OF 1914.

View shows Administrative Block. There is a separate Ward Block, and also a Bungalow for the Nursing Superintendent, Lydia Fox, the central one of the three figures.
The work continues to grow. Fresh demands are made. The call comes for work in China. Can a new field be entered by a society already unable to face its current liabilities? Yet there are Friends coming forward who have heard the call to work there, well fitted, it appears, for such service—an opinion amply proved by years of fruitful work. Again and again the acute question must be faced. To go forward seems reckless and unbusinesslike; to refuse seems like treachery to the Divine Leader and want of faith in His power to supply the need. The answer can only be found in waiting upon Him for guidance.

During these critical years of rapid development, disaster was repeatedly averted by the large gifts of George Sturge, who came forward with sums of one, two, or even five thousand pounds to meet special emergencies, or to provide for disabled missionaries and meet other liabilities. The Association has never been without some who were able and glad thus to help largely in times of need, but it has always been recognised that healthy development demands a steadily enlarging circle of givers, and the continual rise in the general level of giving.

In 1883 a very significant development took place on the home side in the commencement of the Missionary Helpers' Union. Eight years earlier, J. B. Braithwaite, speaking at the Annual Meeting, had suggested the starting of some special society for the children. It was left, however, to Ellen Barclay to move in the matter, and she, with several others, started a small society in order "to bring children together to listen to the stories of our Missions in India, Palestine, Madagascar and other places, and then set them to work."*

Beginning in a very simple way, this organisation has

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spread to every part of the country, and has enlisted the sympathies of many thousands of children. Year by year parcels of clothing and toys have been sent abroad, which have been very greatly appreciated by children in the Mission schools and others. A number of those whose interest had first been aroused in the M.H.U. meeting are now serving in the Mission Field, and many more have been made, by this means, into lifelong supporters of the work. Prayer has been stimulated both by direct suggestion and by the increased knowledge which brings added sympathy.

While little may be thought of such an effort by those whose eyes are only on large movements, any who wish to understand the real causes of the present widespread sympathy for Missions among Friends must take into consideration, as a prime factor, the vast amount of painstaking, unnoticed work done by hundreds of secretaries and helpers in the M.H.U. In these branches all over the country the foundations were being laid for future advance in many directions.

The real difficulty arose through the fact that the superstructure had to be erected just a little before the foundation had been fully laid. Once start a new thought or a new movement, and it is difficult indeed to check its progress. Any attempt to do so may kill it. It soon becomes your master. The ferment of missionary enthusiasm cannot be controlled even by those whose instincts are all for caution. Such a wave of missionary interest as that described in Chapter V. makes great demands on the exchequer. These were bravely met. The M.H.U. grew rapidly in numbers and usefulness. In five years from its start it was able to report eighty-four branches and over 3,000 members.

In 1889 the F.F.M.A. annual subscriptions for the first time pass the £5,000 mark. In 1891 we are told that the income must reach £10,000 if the work
is not to be curtailed. J. H. Tuke, reviewing the progress of the work in twenty-five years, and faced with an actual deficit of £700, only so little because of large special gifts, dares to say: "It is an immense pleasure for me to witness this constant progress, but I do not think we have reached the goal of our idea—of that which is to be done. I look upon it that we are yet in our infancy."* In order more fully to support the Treasurer in the very arduous and responsible work that fell to his lot, the Committee at this time decided to appoint a Finance Committee.

The question of special missionary preparation also received emphasis at this time through the gift of £5,000 from John Horniman as a trust for the medical and technical education of missionaries, and through the subsequent gift of £20,000 to found a home for missionary candidates. This was commenced in London at Chester House,† and was subsequently removed to Birmingham, where the training is carried on at Kingsmead, the Hostel for men students representing the original Horniman Home.

The large additions to the personnel of the Mission taking place at this time involved, as a necessary consequence, a corresponding increase of work, and in 1894 the financial demands made by this increase had become very serious. Frequent transfers from legacies alone enabled the Committee to continue the work. The Treasurer repeatedly urged the Committee to face the difficulty, and was "met by the reply that the wants of the Mission have, from time to time, always been met hitherto in a remarkable manner, and that it augurs

† 77, Downs Park Road, Clapton, N.E. Opened on 1st July, 1893, under the superintendence successively of Watson Grace and Dr. Hubert L. Rutter, until William and Mary Allen Baker entered upon their duties in October, 1893.
some want of faith on the Treasurer's part to doubt this for the future. All this," he adds, "I cannot deny, but gratefully acknowledge the liberality of our Friends, and the ever-increasing interest taken in the work of the Mission throughout the Society."*

In 1896 the Treasurer was no longer able to lift up his voice on behalf of the work that had claimed so large a share of his thought and effort for more than a quarter of a century. He had heard the summons to a higher service. James Hack Tuke was one of those rare characters who combine in one personality deep enthusiasm, wide sympathy and unusual sagacity. The work for which he will, perhaps, be most widely remembered is that which he rendered, during many years, on behalf of the poor in Ireland, at the time of the famine in 1846-7, and, after 1880, in distribution of relief and help towards emigration. His long and faithful service on the Congested Districts Board, and in reference to Irish affairs, was appreciated by men of all parties and shades of opinion. His cultured and refined spirit gave distinction to all that he did. His large heart went out to suffering humanity in all parts of the world.† With quiet courage he led forward the Association during some of its most critical years, accepting cheerfully the heavy burden laid upon his shoulders by his colleagues in the office he was called upon to fill. The Committee, in referring to his loss, says: "We record our conviction that the present position of the Association is, in no small measure, due to his wise counsel and Christian service."

Further attention was being directed, during the nineties, to the cultivation of the home field. "The

† For an account of his public work, especially that in Ireland, see "James Hack Tuke: a Memoir," by the Right Hon. Sir Edward Fry. Macmillan & Co. 1899.
Children's Missionary Paper" and its successor, "The Friend of Missions," were devoted to the interests of Foreign Missions—not exclusively Quaker Missions—and were written in a popular style, with plentiful illustrations. "The Friend of Missions" was started with the approval of, but not financed by, the F.F.M.A., and was continued until 1891, under the editorship of Caroline W. Pumphrey. Ever since 1869 a magazine, known as "The Monthly Record," had been published, giving its attention to the development of aggressive Christian work by Friends, both at home and abroad. This paper was used by the F.F.M.A. for the publication of news and accounts, though it was not the official organ. It also was discontinued in 1891. In January, 1892, "The Friend," which had hitherto been published monthly, became a weekly magazine, and began to publish much more missionary news, H. S. Newman himself becoming editor. For two years no special missionary periodical was issued by Friends. In 1894, however, the Association commenced the publication of its own magazine, "Our Missions," under the able editorship of Caroline W. Pumphrey and Jane E. Newman.

In 1896 the Yearly Meeting, as already mentioned, arranged a special conference on foreign missions, which proved to be an important gathering. Papers were contributed on such subjects as "Our Attitude to Other Religions," various missionary methods, "The Development and Organisation of the Native Church with its Relation to the Home Church," "The Influence of Foreign Missions on the Home Church," and "Home Organisation." One of the most notable results of the Conference was the opening up of the negotiations that terminated in the union of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association with the Friends' Syrian Mission. No doubt the fact that such a conference could be
arranged, its representative character, the range of the subjects treated and the subsequent attention given to these questions by Friends, indicate a very definite advance in missionary interest among Friends generally, and a more thorough grasp of the far-reaching problems involved in the work that had been undertaken.

The following year (1897) witnessed the death of Isaac Sharp. This remarkable man may be said to have formed a personal link between the earlier and later methods of missionary work in the Society of Friends. While he thoroughly identified himself with the organised work of the F.F.M.A., visiting its fields of labour, and acting (after 1871) as a member of the Board, his own special call was to itinerant service such as was rendered by the early Friends, and by their successors, during the days of comparative inactivity. His life cannot even be summarised in these pages; but his buoyant missionary enthusiasm continuing to a ripe old age, his many arduous journeys to Greenland, Western China, Madagascar and many other parts of the globe, and continued almost till his death, his unshaken courage, and his remarkable experiences of divine leading, have come as an inspiration to many a young life. The present writer well remembers, when a small boy, sitting spell-bound for hours after Isaac Sharp's return from some long journey, while he recounted, with his keen sense of humour, the dangerous and exciting incidents of missionary life and travel. In him we have an illustration of what can be done by one man wholly devoted to the service of his Master. He was one in whom the missionary spirit of Quakerism seemed to be incarnate.*

The last years of the century were again years of considerable financial stress. The income continued to

* See "Isaac Sharp, an Apostle of the Nineteenth Century," by Frances Anne Budge. Headley Bros., 1898.
increase, reaching, exclusive of legacies, over £16,000. But the work was going forward in a way that made even this large sum insufficient. Repeatedly the income from legacies had to be turned wholesale into the current account in order to avoid disaster. Year after year large payments were made by the executors of the late George Sturge, whose help was thus continued for many years after his death.* At the commencement of 1902, the Board was faced with an accumulated deficit of £10,700. The previous year, however, a payment of £20,000 had been received from the source named, and, after much heart-searching, the Board decided to draw upon this large gift in order to meet the need. It was, however, increasingly evident that nothing short of a very large increase in annual subscriptions would really remedy the situation.

Over £1,000 in additional subscriptions resulted from an urgent appeal, but it seemed as if the Society could not awake to the magnitude of the work to which it had set its hand. It therefore became necessary for the Board, in the following year, for the first time to cut down the estimates for work in the field, a process always extremely painful to those who realise what is involved, as well as to those actually affected, though appearing easy enough to the casual observer. Even this reduction, however, did not meet the need, 1903 closing with a deficit of nearly £5,000. Men and women kept coming forward for missionary service. They seemed in every way suitable. They felt the urgency of a Divine call. To refuse them seemed impossible to those who heard the story of their dedication, who knew them personally, and who were

* By a Deed of Settlement executed by George Sturge in 1883, in favour, amongst other things, of six Institutions or Societies, of which the F.F.M.A. was one, the Association benefited altogether, between the year named and 1901, to the extent of about £42,000.
aware of the pressing need of more workers in the field. To accept them only added to the extreme embarrassment of the financial situation.

By 1906 the situation had reached a climax. So rapidly had the work grown that, in the previous year, there were over a hundred missionaries on the field, of whom nearly half had sailed in the previous five years. Between 1891 and 1905 the total number of missionaries had more than doubled. One sign of this growth was an adverse balance of £4,000 that had been carried forward from 1905. By the middle of 1906 there was a bank overdraft of double that sum. A Retrenchment Committee was appointed to see how the expenditure could be reduced by £5,000. Friends became aware of the difficulty. Letters poured into the office offering help, and expressing the earnest desire that this curtailment might be avoided. Many, in doing so, expressed the desire that the Board should overhaul its financial policy, which had been to accept all offers and take all openings to which they felt clearly led, believing that funds would always be forthcoming. With this view the Board concurred, and a statement of policy was adopted, from which we give the following extracts:

"The policy of the past has involved the constant issue of special appeals to meet adverse balances. The Board holds that this course cannot rightly be continued, and that deficits of so serious an amount as those which it has recently had to face ought not to be incurred again. With the growing interest in Missions, it believes that it is now both possible and desirable to avoid this.

"The Board has... endeavoured to take every precaution to ensure strict economy in the application of the means provided. The missionaries are required annually to furnish estimates of the cost of their work."

* Estimates were first prepared for the year 1893-4.
These are checked by the Committees of the Board responsible for the respective fields, and are further reviewed by the Finance Committee before presentation to the Board for approval. By this procedure a fairly accurate estimate of the expenditure for the ensuing year is obtained. There is much greater difficulty, however, in estimating the probable income. The annual receipts of the Association depend on considerations which do not apply to ordinary commercial undertakings, and are subject to wide variation.

"The Board is determined that, in the future, the expenditure sanctioned shall closely accord with the estimated income. This is not to depart from the Policy of Faith which does not give primary consideration to financial matters. In fact, the Board affirms its belief that, when the finger of God clearly points in any direction, means will be forthcoming. The Board, however, feels it must refuse to sanction increased expenditure unless correspondingly increased income can be foreseen. In some cases this may mean waiting; but, when the need has been made known, the responsibility for providing funds will rest upon the Church as a whole, and not solely on the Board. . . .

"May 'God give us hearts that will care more till we feel as we never felt before the overwhelming enormousness of the work that is not being done, in places where souls are sitting in a darkness which does not pass.'"

Closely following on this action, the Board adopted the principle that "extraordinary income" should be applied to meet "extraordinary expenditure," thus removing the legacy income from the constant calls made upon it during previous years, and liberating it for buildings, provident fund, etc.

This policy was welcomed by Friends throughout the country. The immediate proof is to be found in an increase of annual subscriptions, in two years, from just over £10,000 to almost £18,000. This large sum has not, it is true, been fully maintained, mainly on account of the
death of several very large subscribers. Undoubtedly the confidence thus established has been maintained. It has been far from easy to follow the policy; heavy demands have been made on the fields; and at times the Board

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income from gifts at home excluding Legacies. (Nearest £100.)</th>
<th>Balance or Deficit on Year's Working. (Nearest £1.)</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>£18,000 (a)</td>
<td>£6,594</td>
<td>(a) A special thanksgiving fund was raised also in this year, amounting to £5,389.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>19,700</td>
<td>- 3,979</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>21,700 (b)</td>
<td>+ 4,163</td>
<td>(b) Exclusive of £12,500 raised specially for the crisis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>25,300</td>
<td>+ 266</td>
<td>(c) A special effort was made in this year to avoid a threatened deficit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>25,800</td>
<td>+ 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>26,900</td>
<td>- 635</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>27,900</td>
<td>- 1,206</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>29,400 (c)</td>
<td>+ 1,284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>27,100</td>
<td>- 380</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>24,300 (d)</td>
<td>- 2,178</td>
<td>(d) This year and the following one show the loss of very large sums from the death of several most liberal subscribers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>23,500</td>
<td>- 1,499</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>27,700 (e)</td>
<td>+ 3,113</td>
<td>(e) This includes result of a special appeal to clear all deficits, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for 10 years</td>
<td>25,960</td>
<td>+ 333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
has been in doubt as to how the Society would wish it to interpret the policy. Year by year, however, the income and expenditure have been made to accord closely. When special appeals have been made they have met with a ready response. Responsibility must still be shouldered by the Board, but the aspect of the problem has changed, and the ten years’ working has justified the step. The preceding table will demonstrate this fact.

A careful examination of these figures will show that very great pains have been taken to follow the policy, even though it has involved some serious limitation of work, and also that the following of this policy has given increased confidence in the work of the Association. No doubt to some readers these financial details seem a wearisome catalogue, with meaning only to one trained to think of money matters. At the outset we spoke of capturing the romance from these dry details. Is it not already plain that, behind all these figures, there is a deep human interest? This is not the mere record of a business house. It is one aspect—and a vitally important one—of the transaction of the work of the Kingdom of God. Viewed from a business point of view, the administrators of this great enterprise may justly be accused, in the light of the facts here related, of a reckless and unwarrantable management of the affairs of the Association. They have landed it, again and again, in the most serious financial difficulties. They have gone forward when all the counsels of prudence bade them call a halt or retrench. They seem to have plunged, as it were, with other people’s money.

Is this a true judgment on the men and women who have shouldered so grave a responsibility? Before accepting it without reserve, we do well to remember that, year after year, in one way or another, even these huge deficits have been met, that to-day the Association is in a more
cannot be stated in the same glowing words. But there it is—a romance worked out on hard, cold benches, face to face with the dullest and most discouraging of financial statements. We can argue in each case that a very foolish step has been taken. In this volume we are seeking to bring the clear light of history to bear upon the facts before us. What we actually see is a very small movement begun fifty years ago by men and women of a certain type, let us say. Within half a century we see that movement grown until it is scarcely possible to make a comparison with the early days. If our judgment bids us say that people who make the kind of choice referred to are fools, at least we are compelled to pause a moment longer and ask ourselves, "Was God with the fools?"

PROGRESS SINCE 1900.

We must now return to the year 1900, and briefly refer to the events in the life of the Association that mark its progress during the first fifteen years of the new century. Two years previously the Australian Auxiliary had been formed, an organisation that has proved of great service, both in stimulating interest in that country and in giving support to the work of the Association in its various fields. Missionary interest among Friends in Australia is, at the time of writing, beginning to find a new outlet in work undertaken on behalf of the aborigines in the north.

In 1901 the Board suffered a grievous loss in the death of Watson Grace, at the age of thirty-nine, after a short illness following his visit with the deputation to Syria. As already mentioned, the secretarial work at the commencement of the Association was undertaken by Henry Stanley Newman in an honorary capacity. As the work
grew, it became evident that some one would have to be found who could give his whole time to this service. While the Honorary Secretary continued to devote a good deal of time to the work, Charles Linney was, in 1883,* appointed as full-time Secretary, and, for eight years, until compelled by ill-health to resign, he gave loyal service to the Committee and to the missionaries. He was a man of genuine missionary spirit, who entered into the service from a deep love of it and belief in it.

Watson Grace, who succeeded to the position in 1891, after serving for one year as Assistant Secretary, devoted the ten best years of his life to unremitting work on behalf of the Association, in whose service he met his death.† The period, as we have already seen, was one of rapid growth, placing serious burdens on those to whom the leadership was committed. Forty-six missionaries were connected with the F.F.M.A. and F.S.M. when Watson Grace entered on his labours, eighty-two when he closed them. The income had risen from £9,200 to £15,000. The office had been moved, early in his secretariat, from Hitchin to London, and in many other ways the work had become more intimately bound up with the life of the Society. The Darlington Conference and the amalgamation with the Syria Mission had been carried through. The work for the preparation of missionaries had been placed on an entirely different footing by the formation of the Candidates Committee (in 1897), following the opening of Chester House. The Home for Missionaries’ Children was first established in the same year, and has been a real boon to many who have passed through it as well as to their parents.‡

* Previous to this appointment Charles Linney, and, earlier, Arthur Latchmore, had held the position of Assistant to the Honorary Secretary.
‡ The present Home, Lavender Croft, Hitchin, was the gift of Elizabeth B. Backhouse. It was first occupied in 1910. The site was presented by Alfred Ransom. For a short account of the history of the Home, see “The Friend,” 1911, pp. 627-8.
In all these movements Watson Grace had taken a leading part, contributing to them not only a sound business judgment and untiring industry, but a missionary zeal and a devotion to Christ that were evident to all who knew him. He piloted the Association through this period of rapid development when the calls upon resourcefulness, patience and foresight seemed at times almost overwhelming. "His life has been a continual recommendation," said one who knew him well, "not of virtue alone, but of Christ: a growing testimony to the power of Christ, a life increasingly full of the love of Christ, and upon which could be plainly seen the unmistakable sign of the Cross." Such are the men the missionary movement needs, not simply for its work abroad but no less for the routine at the home end. The F.F.M.A. has not failed to discover such men, not only in its major offices but also in its subordinate ones.

In Dr. Wm. Wilson, who succeeded Watson Grace, another such was found.* He was, in many ways, a different type. Very early in life he went out himself as a young teacher to Madagascar. Seeing the urgency of the need of medical help, he returned and qualified as a doctor. In all, he devoted some twenty years of his life to the Malagasy, his wife sharing to the full in his many-sided service. He won his way into their affections as few can. He was never too busy or too tired to listen to their stories. With infinite patience, gentleness and tact he dealt with one after another, smoothing away difficulties, overcoming prejudice, mastering the broad outlines of a situation when others would have been overwhelmed in the multiplicity of detail. With a fluent Malagasy style and a rich vocabulary, with medical knowledge and experience, possessing in a rare degree the confidence

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A. Warburton Davidson and Mr. Ten, the Chinese evangelist, at an evangelistic service in the principal Chungking jail, as representing the International Friends' Institute. Over five hundred prisoners were found crowded into one room.
alike of Malagasy, of French officials and of fellow-missionaries, still in the possession of unabated vigour, it seemed a strange thing that he should be called from the service abroad to that at home.

The fact that the Board could even propose such a course indicated its keen sense of the high functions which might be fulfilled by its Secretary. Dr. Wilson, not without very serious questionings, accepted the post. For eight short years he devoted to the home side those same qualities that had stood him in such good stead abroad. His far-seeing statesmanship, his genius for friendship, his steady pursuit of definite aims, and his undiscourageable optimism, enabled him to guide the Association through a time of peculiar stress.

This period is not marked by the rapid growth of the previous one, although the work was by no means stationary. It was rather a time for the working out of old policies and the thinking out of new ones, the laying of firmer foundations, the consolidation of the whole work on well-thought-out lines. During his term of office Dr. Wilson visited each field. This resulted in the adoption of policies that have been, to a large extent, carried out as he and those who worked with him planned them. His visits to the fields have already been mentioned, and their effects noted. Following that to China came the call to participation in the West China Union University. It is characteristic of Dr. Wilson that he was able to see the possibilities in this proposal, and to urge the Board to join in it, even when the gravest financial crisis in its history was at its height.

A consideration of the many developments abroad resulting from these visits, each of which owed much to Dr. Wilson's personal thought and leadership, might lead one to suppose that he gave less than its due attention to the home problems. On the contrary, the period is found to be one of large home development.
The careful reconsideration of the Association on its home side led to the adoption of new rules in 1903 and 1904, including the establishment of the F.F.M.A. Trust Corporation for holding property, to the adoption of a Code of Missionary Practice, and to other important changes. Largely owing to Dr. Wilson's efforts, the institution for training missionary candidates was moved from London to Birmingham. He faced and overcame the many difficulties in the way of this change. It has proved its value both in the training of candidates, and as a means of bringing the missionary interest into closer touch with the life of the Society.* His period of office was also marked by the first serious attempt on the part of Friends to take up organised missionary study. Dr. Wilson made large contribution to the financial development referred to above. That one who had, for twenty years, been giving himself to the wholly different life of the missionary abroad could have so adapted himself to the work of Secretary, and made, in this brief time, so marked a contribution in all these and other directions, may be taken as showing the wisdom of the Board in the choice made, and the quality of the man whom it had called to this service.

* Kingsmead, the Training Institution of the F.F.M.A., was opened at Selly Oak, Birmingham, in 1906, under the superintendence of John William and Josephine Hoyland. It is within a few hundred yards of three other Institutions: the Woodbrooke Settlement for Religious and Social Study; Westhill, the National Training Institute for Sunday School Workers; and Carey Hall, the United Missionary Training Hostel for women candidates of the London Missionary Society, the Baptist Zenana Mission, and the Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church of England. In close proximity to these Institutions is a Furlough Settlement known as "Kingsmead Close," where furnished houses are available for missionaries on furlough. The purchase and adaptation of Kingsmead as a Training Home for F.F.M.A. candidates was rendered possible through the generous gifts of a few friends of the Association. The adjoining Settlement also owes much to the generosity of Friends.
PROGRESS AT HOME.

Dr. Wilson's loss was followed, in 1912, by that of Henry Stanley Newman. Although unable, during the last few years of his life, to give much personal attention to the work of the Board, he continued to watch every development with the closest interest. He maintained to the last his wide sympathy and almost boyish enthusiasm. He never seemed to be an old man. To him the cause of foreign missions among Friends owes, perhaps, more than to any other man. From the first he saw the duty of the Church and the possibilities of the work. With never tiring zeal he gave himself to its advocacy. With great joy he watched its progress, never asserting himself, always eager to draw others into the service. His spirit has surely entered into many of the younger men and women to whom it has now fallen to follow where he blazed the way.

Of the years that follow it is less easy to speak, both because they are so near, and so little time has elapsed in which to judge of any results achieved, and also because of the writer's own association with them. Perhaps the most notable feature of the period is a larger entrance, on the part of the F.F.M.A., into those movements towards co-operation and unity in the Mission Field that are so characteristic of the present missionary epoch. Abroad in Syria, China, and Madagascar, there has been a definite advance in this direction. At home, through the Continuation Committee of the World Missionary Conference, the Conference of British Missionary Societies, the Missionary Study Movement, the Board of Study for the Preparation of Missionaries, and in various other ways, the Society of Friends has been entering more fully into that common wave of interest in and understanding of missionary problems that is bringing together both the leaders and the rank and file in all Churches in a common endeavour to
fulfil the missionary obligation laid upon the whole Church.

Deputations have visited Syria (1911), India (1912), and Madagascar (1913). During the visit of the last-named, a conference of all the Societies was held, and at one session each Mission stated, in the frankest way, its deepest thoughts on union, and the kind of contribution that it sought to make to the ideal united Christian Church of Madagascar. The statement made by Friends on the occasion mentioned was adopted by the Board when the Deputation returned, and sent to Yearly Meeting, where it met with very general approval. It may be said to mark a stage in the growth of Friends towards an understanding of the problem of unity on the Field. When we compare the action of the Yearly Meeting on this document with the attitude taken fifty years before by the Meeting for Sufferings to Joseph S. Sewell, we can well see the vast change that has taken place. The question still remains, "What part are Friends to take in any movement towards unity among the Churches abroad or at home?" The point of view from which the answer will be given has been profoundly changed in half a century.*

One or two other special features of the period may be mentioned:

(a) The widening of outlook following the Edinburgh Conference and the F.F.M.A. Conference at York, one result of which was the appointment of a Commission jointly by the Friends' Central Education Committee and the F.F.M.A., in order to overhaul the educational work in all the fields.

(b) A further improvement in missionary training, including more attention to the further training of

* For further thoughts on this question see the closing chapter of this volume.
missionaries on furlough, and the erection of “furlough houses” near Kingsmead in order to facilitate this.

(c) A careful investigation of the subject of self-support, and the preparation of a full report, in which the experience of other Missions has been largely drawn on.

Some of the problems suggested by this chapter must be left over for fuller treatment in the closing one. Certain points may, however, be briefly mentioned in seeking to gather up the main thoughts.

1. What is the duty of a Foreign Mission Board in relation to the Home Church? Does it exist simply to spend the money entrusted to it, or to send out the men and women who may offer for service? Certainly the Board of the F.F.M.A. has not so narrowly construed its functions. On the Board will be found those who have special knowledge of the Field, and a certain experience of how to deal with the problems that arise. This involves them in a certain responsibility. Must it not be their duty to bring this knowledge as vividly as possible before the Church in order that it may hear the call to wider service and respond? The Board may have a function of spiritual leadership in relation to this particular problem. The Church may easily look with fear or suspicion on an aggressive Board until it be fully awakened to the larger claims. But it would have reason to look with absolute dismay on a Board that could never go faster than the slowest member of the Church. It is easy to criticise the almost reckless policy of a Board, but we may well ask ourselves where the Church would have been had the Board been timorous, and how it would to-day be discharging its service to the non-Christian world.

2. What is the proper relationship of the Church to Foreign Missions? Is it satisfactory that an organisation independent of the Church should be carrying on
FRIENDS BEYOND SEAS.

this work? Such independence may even lead to a sense of rivalry. But, more serious still, it may lead members to feel that Foreign Missions are not their concern, that they are the work only of those specially set aside for this service. It is becoming increasingly clear that the missionary obligation rests on the whole Church and on every member. Yet, where this is not recognised, it may easily be that the attempt to commit the whole Church to the missionary movement would be to cripple it, and to deprive it of just that courage and initiative that are seen to be so vital to its success. Are we to wait till the whole Church is roused to the point of undertaking this service? If started by some independently, are we to be content with such an arrangement, or seek to work towards something more ideally satisfactory? If so, what conditions must be fulfilled before the change is made?

3. What are the true principles of missionary finance? Must we always wait until funds are definitely in sight before deciding upon advance or taking any action that makes larger calls on the supporting constituency? Still more difficult is the problem of the duty of a Board when funds suddenly fail through the death of large givers. Is it then necessary to cut down work until the shortage is made good? There is certainly a duty towards work and workers in the Field, and towards those who come forward with a sense of missionary call, as well as towards the Church from which they come. How are these various obligations to be fulfilled? Such questions are to be answered in the light of missionary history, in which are revealed to us the ways of God in leading forward His Church on earth.

4. We cannot turn from this brief review without pausing a moment to think of those men and women
who have made possible, by their largeness of heart, their steadfastness of purpose, and their triumphant faith, the progress of the work abroad.

It has only been possible to refer to a few of these. Space alone precludes extended reference to a number of others whose work has been of almost if not quite equal value. One is constrained to mention some, while scarcely daring to omit others, in the long roll of honour. Alfred Lloyd Fox, Henry Newman, Frederic Seebohm, Alfred and William Ransom, Samuel Southall, John Edward and Catharine Wilson, J. Fyfe Stewart, Joseph Storrs Fry, Caleb R. Kemp, William C. Allen, Elizabeth B. Backhouse, Thomas P. Newman—these are some of the names that come at once to mind. Each one gave richly of his best, each had special qualities that were of peculiar service to the Association.

For these and many others we thank God. We are right in thinking much of those who leave all to obey the Master’s call in the far places of the earth. We are gravely mistaken if we think little of many who toil at home, with equal devotion, for the same ends. Often, indeed, both at home and abroad, we see how the men and women who have responded to the call have grown in spiritual stature as they have faced tasks larger than they dreamed of. In all sections of this great army there must be one spirit manifested, in the humblest member of the Missionary Helpers’ Union, in the least recognised correspondent, in the giver of what men may count a mere trifle, no less than in the missionary pioneer breaking new ground in some distant Malagasy village, or preaching the Gospel in an Indian bazaar. The Lord of the Harvest has uses for all. There is no servant who may not find his fit place in the great scheme. It is ours to find the place in which we may give just that which He asks at our hands. So doing we shall have great joy.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS AND FOREIGN MISSIONS.

HAVING completed our brief outline of the growth of missionary interest and endeavour in the Society of Friends, we are now in a position to discuss some fundamental questions suggested by this study. The Quaker movement stands for a certain very definite type of religion. It may be regarded in essence as a direct challenge to traditionalism and formalism, to the institutional and the sacramental type. Its origin was in the failure of earnest souls to find a full answer to their need in anything less than a first-hand experience of God.

Quakerism has been called a mystical religion, not in the sense of being identified with any of the formulæ of mysticism, but simply in the broadest sense of the word. "The term 'mystical' is properly used," says Rufus M. Jones, "for any type of religion which insists upon an immediate inward revelation of God within the sphere of personal experience."* This revelation is not dependent upon any outward rite, or on the assistance of any particular person claiming his authority from a certain type of ordination. Outward forms may help, but they cannot be regarded as

* "Beginnings of Quakerism." Introduction by R. M. Jones, p. xxxiv.
FRIENDS AND FOREIGN MISSIONS.

essential, and may even prove to be a hindrance, deceiving the individual into thinking that these things are the substance. The true substance is to be found only in direct personal intercourse with God, in the welling up within the soul of the springs of eternal life. This intercourse, according to the Quaker view, must manifest itself in right living, which is the surest outward test of the reality of the experience.

It has frequently been maintained that this type of religion is only for the very few. Some there are, we are told, who may be able to dispense with the outward, but for most these helps are essential, and our Lord Himself provided for this by leaving with His disciples two simple rites for universal adoption. Thus He recognises human frailty and our need of reaching to spiritual realities through material means.

This is not the place in which to discuss the value of these rites, or the purpose of our Lord in regard to their use. The reader who wishes to understand the Quaker interpretation must look elsewhere.* What does concern us, however, is the suggestion that only a certain type of person is to be reached by the Quaker type of religion, that Friends are outside the main stream of Christian thought and practice, or, as others would suggest, that their message is only for those who have already reached a certain degree of spiritual maturity. If any of these positions can be maintained, either there is a very limited sphere for the Society of Friends in the foreign mission field, or its only function is in following where Christ has already been preached, and giving its peculiar message to the few selected or advanced Christians capable of responding thereto.

It must be clear that the answer to this question is of prime importance in considering the relation of the Society of Friends to Foreign Missions, and it is worthy of very careful consideration. In giving an answer, we need to get back into the atmosphere of the early Quaker movement. The present generation of Friends has been brought up under the conception of the Society as one among the various sections of the Christian Church, and that among the smallest numerically. Quakerism is a recognised element in the religious life of the country. Its principles are accepted by a certain number of people. Some, indeed, regard the whole movement as a danger to true religion, and as leading men away from certain elements in the religious life ordained by Christ and distinctive of His message. With these we cannot deal here. There are many, however, who are willing, generally speaking, to grant to Friends a right to their own opinions, but who assume the limited scope of application for such a view of life. Some may draw inspiration from the past of the Society, from the thought of a Quaker ancestor, or from the fact that such a group does exist in our midst. But of these only a few seem to desire a more intimate association. It is quietly concluded that this type of religion is for the select few.

When, however, we breathe again the atmosphere of the early days everything is changed. There is no thought of forming a new sect. A living fact has been discovered, a great new experience has been given, and it must be communicated to every one. Had George Fox, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, and their contemporaries been told that their spiritual progeny were to become a small sect among other Churches, they would not have believed it. They had no doubt but that what they had received was of universal application.
The principle of the Light within was meaningless unless it applied to every human soul. The rich experience of God that had been given to them must be for all who were ready to receive it. What they had found was the very essence of true religion and nothing less.

It would be a grotesque misunderstanding of their message if we were to regard it as applicable only to the selected few, or to the spiritually advanced. When the early Friends spoke of their movement it was in terms that may seem greatly exaggerated, if judged by events, but that were to them the only terms big enough to convey the greatness of their message. When they tell us that "England is as a family of prophets which must spread over all nations," we are to judge the value of the utterance not by the small communities of Friends to be found in different parts of the world to-day, but by the greatness of the revelation that was given to these pioneers. To them it was nothing less than primitive Christianity revived, and, as such, it must embrace the whole human race.

The message became clothed in a sect. In course of time formalism, not less deadly than that against which they had protested, froze the very life blood of the Quaker movement. Survivals of Quaker testimonies remained as mere separatist signs when the spirit that compelled to such testimonies had departed; and the passion for souls was replaced by a pitiable anxiety lest the purity of the stream should be sullied. The movement, begun as a universal message, at one moment threatening to outstrip all other religious movements in the country, lost its momentum, and became but a city of refuge for the few who might fail to find satisfaction in other Christian bodies. The change was only brought about gradually. There were those who maintained a true Christian life and witness, but the point of view was changed. In its original essence, however, the Quaker
message could not be conceived, and, indeed, was not conceived, as anything less than a world-embracing one.

It may be granted at once that the opposite conception, referred to above, is, in large part, due to Quakerism itself. Its later development, or lack of development, so altered and covered over the original essence as to give every justification to the outsider for such a judgment. It was perfectly obvious that only the select few would maintain certain antiquated forms of speech; clothe themselves only in certain out-of-date garments, abstain from the use of all musical instruments, and so forth. These are not the marks of a universal religion!

Further, when we consider the deeper questions in regard to which Friends had a message of permanent value, we find that the truths for which they stood were held in a negative and exclusive way. The Friend maintains that true religion is not dependent upon certain outward rites. It is quite a different thing when that view is so proclaimed as to make such rites appear absolutely sinful. The positive message was obscured behind a mere denial. Friends held that a university degree did not in itself make a man a minister of religion; but they missed the point of their own testimony when they regarded education as an actual danger, and thought that the only true type of inspiration was received on the spot, and that the prepared address must of necessity be merely man-made. Friends had a true word to say when they saw the grave danger of "creaturely activity," of the haste to do before the inward fire had burned. They deprived that word of its power when they spoke of all aggressive Christian work in the same way, and when they quenched the Holy Spirit's striving in the hearts of their own younger members because the methods they wished to use were not in accordance with time-honoured practice.
Exclusiveness and negations are not the marks of universality.

Admitting, then, as we are compelled to do, that Quaker history and practice, after the first generation, gave warrant for the view that the message of Friends was only for a limited number, what answer are we to give to the question in the light of our present study? Certain positions may be laid down at the outset in order to clear the ground.

1. The Christian religion being essentially universal, any Church which sets out to represent Christianity in the world at all ought to have a universal message. If it has not, it stands self-condemned. One of the criteria of truth, moreover, is its universal applicability. The more fundamental the truth, the more possible should it be of general application. Any religion that definitely excludes certain races or types of men, or that does not boldly claim all, which is virtually the same thing, has a less wide sweep than the fundamental message of Jesus Christ. He gave His word to the world in terms that go to the root of human nature as such. Only in such terms can we give a message that can truly claim to be in accordance with His will.

2. A living religion is essentially missionary. When it ceases to call forth the missionary spirit, the seeds of decay have already been sown, or it has at least entered upon a dormant stage. Life seeks expression and expansion. A movement that no longer goes forward very soon begins to go backward. The thought of fresh worlds to conquer is one of the most stimulating to religious development, no less than to imperial ambition.

3. In the light of both these considerations, the middle period of Quakerism stands condemned. Yet, all through those generations, there were some who were keeping alight the flame of a true faith, until
it could once more shine forth with brightness. We may further admit that bodies of persons, and even Churches, are right in seeking to maintain their corporate existence, even if they feel that their message is only, or mainly, for the select few. It is true that certain aspects of many-sided truth are maintained and emphasised chiefly by such groups, even when they do not display any considerable missionary enthusiasm. The movement towards Christian unity in our own day recognises the distinctive contribution of each group, and that all are required for the perfect expression of the Christian life on earth. Even when the missionary spirit was lowest, there was, we may surely feel, some good providence preserving a group whose peculiar message was yet to be given in a fuller and better way.

Even granting this, however, as we most fully do, it is maintained that any Christian body, even in order to give its own distinctive message, must have the universal spirit. The ground covered in this history shows that the early Quaker movement had this spirit, and that, when fresh life began to fill the old channels, it at once sought expression in world-wide activities. While reaching out to the ends of the earth, the Society has grown in this country, it has entered more into the life of the people, it has been able to give its message to ever larger circles. And this was inevitable. What really happened when the modern missionary movement began in the Society was that Friends were getting back to the true inner meaning of their own faith. They were breaking once again with traditionalism and formalism, only this time with that of the Society itself, instead of with that of the Churches outside. It was not at once clear that this was what was happening, and it is perhaps true that some of the pioneers had not seen some aspects of Quakerism as clearly as their
critics. The latter did a certain service in calling attention to these, and helping the movement towards a true presentation of the message. The fact was, nevertheless, that the real old spirit of Quakerism was breaking out again. It expressed itself differently. The exclusive and exaggerated way in which certain truths had been stated drove some of the younger spirits to extremes on the other side. But Quakerism could never have come to its own, and given its message in these days, if it had not responded to this movement. The inrush of life made new channels. The old were blocked and insufficient. As the movement has grown, it has increasingly found itself in a deeper expression of the ancient Quaker message given in the terms of to-day. And this message is the Everlasting Gospel.*

It has been frequently said that Quakerism is not a sect. In the religious life of to-day it figures as one, and a very small one at that. But it began as a universal message, and as nothing less can it be worthy of that great beginning. It is true indeed, in a certain sense, that no part of the Christian Church is a sect. We are not cut off from one another, but united in one Body. The real message of each must be a universal one. We have all to claim with John Wesley the whole world for our parish. We only become sectarian when we seek to exclude, when we say no one else may come into our parish. The fact that any body of Christians claims to have a universal message is in fact a claim to partnership in the Divine plan of campaign. If the Society of Friends has any part in that fellowship with all saints that constitutes the true Church, it cannot admit that it has only a sectional message to a particular type.

* For further development, see the author's Swarthmore Lecture on "The Missionary Spirit and the Present Opportunity." Headley Bros.
The actual achievements of Friends in very different fields of labour justify this contention. We have seen these missions growing from their small beginnings to large communities gathered out of heathenism and superstition. To have met the leaders in the Churches abroad is to realise how deep and transforming an influence the message has had upon them. If the earlier type of Quaker evangelism was all of which we had record, we might be driven to confess that the message was only for the few. The itinerant preacher, passing from place to place, might stir in the hearts of men and women some new hope, or lead them into a living experience of God. But he did not stay long enough to see much fruit for his labour, or to judge whether it were suited for the many or the few. The experience of these fifty years of settled missionary work is, therefore, of peculiar value and significance. It is supplying an answer, not merely from *a priori* argument, but from the hard facts of contact with differing types of men and of religions. It is showing Quakerism as a working faith, universal in its efficacy and appeal.

We thus find, along various lines of approach, that we come back to the same answer. The Society of Friends is called by its deepest principles, and by the lessons of its own history, to a universal mission. It cannot fulfil its service to humanity unless it responds to this call. The very simple heart of the early Quaker message is needed as much to-day as it ever was. To every human spirit there is possible direct personal intercourse with the Divine Spirit. "There is One, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." This One is made known to us in the innermost sanctuary of our own soul. No creed, or rite, or book, or priest, or building shall stand between the soul and God. That glorious sense of the presence of the Father that filled the whole
consciousness of our Lord is for every one of His children. Sin-stricken, torn with doubt, the slave of evil habit, sunk in ignorance though he be, there is still for every man a Saviour to be known to him, not by looking far afield, but by listening to His voice in his own heart.

Perhaps this is only to say, in a slightly different way, what every Christian body is trying to say. Let us then take courage, for this means either that the message of Quakerism has already permeated far beyond the narrow borders of sect, or that there is a true drawing towards the centre on the part of all sections of the Church—possibly both. We have no desire to emphasise the distinctive at the expense of the universal element. Far otherwise. The distinctive element may, after all, only affect the form, the phrase, the method. The really universal thing is a living experience. It is reached in varied ways, and expressed in very different language. With Paul, who came to his experience in one never-to-be-forgotten moment on the Damascus road, we may say, "I have been crucified with Christ, yet I live"; or with John, who learned to know his Lord in the growing intimacy of the shared life, we may say: "Hereby know we that we abide in Him, and He in us, because He hath given us of His Spirit." But the common bond is in the thing itself, the actual inner knowledge of the grace of God. Quakerism can only have a universal message if it brings men and women into this transforming knowledge. The early Friends certainly had this knowledge, and were the means of bringing many thousands of seekers into the way of discovery. In virtue of this central experience, the Quaker movement can only be true to itself by being a missionary movement.

When we examine further into the outworking of this central experience, we find that the Society of Friends has
expressed itself in a way very considerably different from that of most Christian bodies. What is to be the place of these "distinguishing principles," as they are sometimes called, by which the Society has come to be known? Are they simply to be shed as we try to give a world message? Are we to get back to the centre, and leave these circumferential truths to look after themselves? There is a great deal to be said for this position, and it is one that has been followed by a number of Friend missionaries.

If there is truth in the view that Quakerism was simply primitive Christianity revived, getting back to the early simplicity, and shaking off certain traditions that fettered life rather than made for stability, ought not the Society of Friends to be able to do just the precise kind of work that is needed in the mission field? We are coming to recognise on all hands to-day the need for a growth of indigenous Christianity. Our task is not the reproduction of exact forms, however valuable these may have proved in the West; still less of elaborate credal statements, mediæval to begin with, and almost impossible of translation into a simple language. It is clearly to give the fundamental and permanent essence of the Christian message in its very simplest form, and let it work. We are to lead men into a living experience, and to believe that the Holy Spirit will fall on them "as on us at the beginning."

Is not much of the failure of missionary work due to the fact that we have overloaded the message with non-essentials? We have expected those to whom we go to receive the message just in the form in which we found it most suited for ourselves; and we have toiled and spent ourselves in trying to reproduce a fully-developed Western product in Eastern soil. The result has been that growth has been forced into certain artificial
shapes, and that the free action of the Spirit of God has seldom been really trusted.

If this is any true diagnosis of one of the chief dangers of the modern missionary movement, it should be abundantly clear that the Society of Friends has a standpoint of extraordinary significance in relation to this problem. Quakerism, in its essence, is not a system: it is a spirit. If we could get back to the living experience of the early days, all that would be needed would be to go out and communicate it, and leave the results with God. This is exactly the point of view from which we ought to work in a mission field, planting a seed, not setting up a system. The creed, the ritual, the organisation, if needed at all, would develop normally in order to clothe the living organism, to give stability or coherence, a totally different thing from their being superimposed as part of the essence of a "foreign religion." The prophetic type of religion is just the type that should be most powerful in calling into being an indigenous Church; the institutional type is that which is in gravest danger of failing in this particular.

If we add, further, the thought that the Quaker approach to any man, or to any system, assumes that God has been there before him, we seem to have just that further element that is needed to meet another well-recognised danger. To attempt to overthrow the whole structure of non-Christian religious thought, to seek to start de novo, regarding every religious idea and practice as opposed in toto to truth and to God, is to make obstacles that are not really there. There is enough of sin and perversion in these systems which must be actively opposed and overthrown without our adding to the difficulty. We are on a far more hopeful quest if we seek to discover in them, also, some proof that God has not left Himself without a witness, and to appeal to all that is pure and true in the thought and practice of
non-Christians. The Quaker message, in its original simplicity, gives exactly this starting point, and should reach most directly to the conscience of the hearer. Many missionaries of all denominations are coming more and more to see that this is the true line of approach.

Having, then, brought to our Animists, or Buddhists, the one central message that Christ can and will and does speak in their own souls, and having shown them how He has actually been speaking to them in some of their own customs and beliefs, had not the Quaker missionary better leave the method of application alone? Is it not better that he should refrain from entering upon those questions of worship, the ministry, the sacraments, peace, and so forth, that mark him off from his fellow-Christians? This is a question of very large import, not to be answered without much thought. It is clear that Joseph S. Sewell held some such view when first contemplating missionary service, and it was his doing so that led to his not being sent out by the Society itself. Generally speaking, it may be said that, in the early stages of missionary work, this line has been followed by most Protestant missions. Each has given, in his own way, what he believed to be the vital essence of the Gospel message, and very little indeed has been said of those things in which Christians differ. As missions have become more developed, the distinctive elements in the particular denomination have been emphasised, and the dividing lines have become clearly marked. Quaker missions cannot be regarded as any exception to the rule.

The result seems to be that, with each succeeding decade, it becomes harder to form a united Christian Church in any mission land. When the seed is first planted, growth may take almost any direction. After the young plant has been trained in a certain way, it becomes less and less able to adapt itself to new
conditions. In chemistry we speak of a nascent stage in the life of an element, when it has just been liberated from combination with some other element. At such a time it is peculiarly ready, even eager, to enter into new combinations. It is regarded as holding out a hand to find some ready companion. The Church in the mission field, in its nascent stage, just liberated from the grip of an old-time and evil system, is peculiarly ready to lay hold of like-minded groups. During this stage the chances of a united Church seem rosy. Then the missionary comes along with his ready-made system. He suggests certain lines of development. The connections should, he thinks, be made with the parent Church in the West. The new life should be directed into similar channels. And thus the supreme moment is lost for the gathering into one of these different nascent groups, and for an object lesson in a united Christian movement that might induce even us at home, with our hoary traditions of division, to seek a spiritual unity in which there is freedom for the full expression of all.

This is one side of the problem. On the other hand is the view that the Church in the West has, after all, acquired a vast mass of experience. It has met various threatened dangers not dissimilar from those that the young Church abroad is now facing. It has found out what deadly heresies may sap its life-blood. It has found how to express itself without falling into errors on the right hand or on the left. It would be a dereliction of duty were it not to give the benefit of its experience to these young Churches. It would be as bad as a mother who never warned her child against any danger, or who left it to fall into fire or water; or, to change the metaphor, the young Church might be wrecked almost before it is fairly launched on its way unless we build all these lighthouses for its safety. Therefore we must
bring the full message we are seeking to embody in our Church, and its regular forms and methods.

What is the Quaker answer to this problem? Has not the working out of the central message of Friends during two and a half centuries brought certain gains which should be handed on to those among whom they work? Their experience of the actual leadership of the Holy Spirit, in individual life, in united worship, in Church management, is something of very real value. Their testimony in regard to war is not a mere non-essential, but the outworking of an inner truth. The place they have given to women in the ministry, and in their Church government, is no mere accident; and here, too, the experience is part of their gift to the Church universal. Can these and other things be handed on without either denominationalising the young Church and hindering its chances of consummating a union with other sections, or fixing upon it foreign ideas not an essential element in Christianity?

The only answer that seems to be satisfactory is that these testimonies and this experience must be given in a purely positive, constructive and inclusive way. The conditions of the mission field force us back to what we should all have seen long ago—that truth is not to be established by negation, by destruction, by exclusion. Let us state positively all we have to give, and allow it to take root; and then let us leave the results in absolute confidence with the Holy Spirit, who will be the guide of these young Churches as He has guided us.

Let us take, as an example, the Quaker testimony with regard to worship. This may fairly be regarded as a central thought in the Friend’s view of life. Worship is not dependent upon any particular form, or place, or priest. Its essence is to be found in the direct communication between the soul and God, and united worship is only
possible where a group of persons experiencing such communication have fellowship with one another. Such worship ought to provide full opportunity for the voice of God to be heard by all, and for His Spirit to speak to others through anyone whom He may choose and call to this service. This has often been stated negatively in denying certain rites, or in refusing to use certain methods lest they should become a mere ritual, and deprive worship of its true meaning. But need we deny the actual experience of united worship, even on the part of those who seem most conservative in their ritual? Surely the true Quaker message is not bound up with any such denial. It is rather the enunciation of a great truth in a living and positive way. It is possible to say that worship "on the basis of silence" is a method containing untold possibilities in the spiritual sphere, without denying the value for many of a set form, liturgical or even sacramental.

Again, in regard to war, Friends have too often stated their message in a negative way, as an opposition to all war. In going to the non-Christian world, we may well emphasise rather the nature of a redemptive life, working out into every relationship, and that has the inherent power of replacing the war spirit by something far better. The message is not one that leads to controversy, but rather that produces the kind of life that infects others with overcoming goodwill. Thus stated and lived, the Quaker message should be a factor in drawing together all who sincerely desire to follow the truth. Christ should be exalted as the Prince of Peace, and He is not the author of discord. In this way the truth may be given without erecting denominational barriers.

The Quaker missionary ought always to be drawing men together as they get nearer to the centre. The heart of the message being a living experience of Christ in the
soul, all should be welded into one white-hot unity in absolute devotion to Him. "He is our Peace." The unity of race with race is finally only to be worked out in the religious sphere. The Church that stands for peace ought to be the great missionary Church. No word of greater moment for the peace of mankind can be given to the world than the word that calls men to find God for themselves, to break through the shell of the outward, to break with the selfishness within, to break into the glorious life of a redeemed soul. In this elemental experience men and women find their unity. The hour of illumination is the hour in which the brotherhood of man becomes an actual reality. The experience of God unites where nothing else can.

What is it that breeds wars and rumours of wars? At the root of many of our national disputes there lies not, indeed, an inevitable and radical difference, but rather a deep-seated misunderstanding. Prejudice and ignorance form the atmosphere in which such misunderstandings arise and flourish. No small part of the missionary's work is to remove these evils. He goes with sympathy and love. He seeks to interpret the best life of the West to the East. He seeks to discover and understand the best life of the East. It is his high privilege to be a mediator between East and West—between white and brown and black races. "The missionary is building a temper. Wars come out of tempers, not out of circumstances. Two men in a good humour will not fight about anything; two men in a bad humour will fight about anything. As with individuals, so with nations. The Christian missionary is building a temper out of which the thunders and lightnings of war do not come."* The Quaker missionary, with a passion for peace, will see that he is placed in a most favoured position in seeking to

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* "Missions and International Peace." By Rev. C. E. Jefferson, D.D.
promulgate those views which he holds to be so vital a part of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.*

In like manner we may take each of the distinctive elements in the Quaker faith. Each comes from the working out of a central principle. Each can be stated in positive terms. Each has often been stated in a negative way. There is no hope for unity if we continue the latter method, if we erect fences and excommunicate our brethren in Christ. We are building a structure vaster far than any sectarian view, of wider proportions than any human plan. For this structure we need every item of truth held by any section of the great fellowship of the sons of God. It should be the part of the Friend missionary frankly to recognise this fact, and to build his part truly, and in the utmost love to all. Thus alone may he subserve the wider interests of the Kingdom of God.

It would seem, then, that the Society of Friends has a peculiar call to be a missionary Church. It is sad to look back on those years in its history when this fact was only seen by one here and there, and practically ignored in the life of the Society as a whole. When once, however, the thought began to take possession of Friends again, it laid hold upon many, and to-day there is scarcely any section of the Christian Church which, in proportion to its size, gives more largely in men and money to the work of world evangelisation.† With this larger sense of mission has come a growth at home. New life pulses through the Society to-day. Once again Friends look out upon the whole world, and press into the distant parts of the earth to deliver the message that brings life and power.

It is quite true that the Quaker missionary movement has been late in the field. To this we may trace the

† See the tables given in Appendix, pp. 244 and 245.
fact that hitherto the missions of the Society of Friends have largely followed the path taken by the pioneer societies. In doing this, they may not quite have found their true place in the missionary movement. Fifty years is a small space in the history of God’s Kingdom. There may well be a development ahead which will lead to an adaptation of method in order more fully to express the essential spirit of Quakerism. To discuss the lines of such a development would take too long, and would be a dangerous experiment in prophecy. This much, however, may be said. If we are right in maintaining that the message of Friends has a peculiar significance in relation to two of the most urgent problems of missionary statesmanship—the growth of a truly indigenous Church, and the unifying of the Christian movement in non-Christian lands—it is also clear that on neither of these problems have we yet had all the light we need. Missionary leaders are plainly baffled in both directions. Some fields have shown wonderful progress towards the development of indigenous Christianity; but have we yet learned the true secret of working towards this end? In the matter of unity, our path seems always to be blocked by insurmountable obstacles when we really get towards the heart of the problem.

The little body whose missionary endeavours seem so small and weak compared with those of older Churches that preceded it in the field has, as a matter of fact, a certain standpoint of its own on these vital questions. It is for the next fifty years to show how that point of view can be worked out, and whether it may not prove of real value in finding the true solution.

This may be illustrated by considering the question of the ministry. It has been assumed that the same system of paid ministry that pertains at home must be introduced in the Churches on the mission field.
This system has been the outcome of conditions in the West, and was only gradually adopted by the Christian Church. In the beginning of the Christian movement, when they had all things in common, and when a missionary like Paul wrought at his own trade, it was not thought necessary to establish a system of salaried and highly-trained ministers. When we seek to introduce Christianity into a new country, are we right in beginning with this system? Friends have seen the danger of a professional ministry, and have eschewed it at home. Perhaps they have not found the final solution to the problem of the Christian ministry, but may not the practice of Friends be the right model in the early development of Christianity in a non-Christian country? We might thus avoid the double stigma now so often cast upon Christianity that it is a religion supported by foreign money paid to natives as evangelists and pastors, and that preaching religion is simply a matter of being paid for it. Quaker missions have, in most cases, adopted the method of paid evangelists and pastors. It has seemed to be the only thing to do. The question that has frequently forced itself upon the writer is whether the true Friend contribution to the problem of raising up an indigenous Church might not have been better made by maintaining abroad the same principle that has been worked into the life of the Society at home. This would mean taking a bold and original line, and might, at first, be extremely difficult. It is, however, one of the questions that must be fully re-discussed in the light of fifty years’ experience.

And, so far as the missionaries themselves are concerned, it may be that more thought should have been given to the question of method. The early Quakers gave themselves to itinerant preaching, and established no settled mission stations. The modern missionary
movement has planted stations all over the world, with many institutions that tie missionaries down to settled work. The touring evangelistic missionary had a larger proportionate place in the early stages of Protestant missions than to-day. Have Friends thought out the relation of one to the other in connection with the distinctive contribution they ought to be making to the whole enterprise?

There are a number of similar questions that arise for consideration. It is not, however, needful to discuss whether in any one particular the Society of Friends should have adopted a method more fitly expressive of their central message. The point is that the methods chosen should, in all cases, be harmonious to the message. It may be that old weapons will be discarded and new weapons forged as the nature of the problem becomes clearer. It is very easy so to concentrate attention on the end to be attained that the nature of the means is more or less lost sight of. If, however, there is anything in the method that is opposed in principle to the aim, we may be assured that no true success will be attained by its use. To many, for example, it seems that the use of war as a method of advancing the cause of humanity stands condemned for this reason. The contradiction between the means and the end is not always easily seen, and, as it is revealed, we often find ourselves so far committed to the means that it is difficult and painful to make any change. The future opens out with large problems facing the Society in its work abroad, and with a great need for clear thinking.

If, however, there are certain problems waiting for final solution, that is no reason for holding back the work. *Solvitur ambulando*. Only as we press on in answer to the call of duty can we see the path opening out before us. Already the Society of Friends has been used to perform a large service in many fields. The work grows
Its success creates new demands. We look back with thankfulness to see how the hand of God has prospered His faithful servants in the past. The call comes not to the few who are specially interested, but to all who call themselves Friends, and who care for the extension of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

Among the varied and complex problems which confront the human race to-day none is more far-reaching, or likely to take a larger place in coming generations, than what is known as the race problem. However much we may shrink from facing the consequences the fact remains that the human family includes men with black and brown and yellow skins as well as white, and that we are being brought every year into more intimate contact with one another. The best minds seem to be utterly baffled by the problems raised by such contacts. The policy of exclusion may be tried for a while, but it can, at best, be only an expedient. What is the real solution? We cannot be content, as we gaze into the future, with a long vista of disputes and conflicts, race hatred, bitterness and strife.

Surely there is a better way! Is it not time that the fundamental concepts of the Quaker faith were construed in a larger way, and applied with more courage and conviction to meet the world’s need? Is there an underlying unity in which the discords can be resolved? The early Friends saw it and felt it as a deep and all-pervading faith. They had the courage of their convictions. They taught men to throw themselves fearlessly on the actual presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit in Meetings for Worship and Discipline; and that faith has been justified times without number.

Our age calls for men and women who, with a like daring, will face the apparently insoluble problems of the mixing races the world over. There is need for those
who are filled with a resolute determination to find a right way out of this perplexing situation, and who believe so sincerely in God as "the Author of Peace, and Lover of Concord" as well as the supreme active force within His own world, that they will throw themselves into the breach, and lead mankind into a new and better way of life.

The missionary message of the Society of Friends should find expression in some such direction. What has been done is but a fragment of what it is called to do. The task is not to be measured merely by the numbers who are in religious fellowship with Friends. Let us rather measure it by the greatness of the truths for which they stand, and by the urgent need of these truths in our own day and generation.*

Two hundred and sixty years ago a little handful of men and women came, by a new and living experience, into direct relation with the living God. Their lives were flooded by joy, their hearts expanded with a universal love, they were driven forth by the Spirit into strange places and far corners of the earth. To them was given a message which they felt must come to all peoples. Wherever they went they called men to a like experience. The years passed; the flame died down; fear took the place of hope, tradition replaced first-hand experience. But the life, though confined in narrow bounds, had not departed. After years of timidity and traditionalism a new spirit began to work. Various movements came into being expressive of that spirit. They were viewed by many with distrust and aversion, but, looking back, we can see that they have been the means of enlarging the outlook of the Society, deepening its message, bringing it into contact with the life of our time, and preparing it to face the still larger service to which it is

now being called. The missionary spirit that then broke through the crust of conformity has gathered in volume and power. The fears have not been justified; the hopes have been more than fulfilled.

To-day we see the Society of Friends, small though it be, grappling with great problems in China, in India, in Madagascar, in Constantinople and Syria, in Pemba and Ceylon. Its missionaries number upwards of 120. They are working among populations certainly not less than one hundred times as large as the entire membership of the Society in Great Britain and Ireland. Most of the people are in areas where no other Protestant mission is working, and a very large proportion would have no means of hearing the Gospel if it were not proclaimed by Friends. The Christian community already gathered together is almost one-fifth of the home membership, and, if the number of adherents be added, the total is nearly as large as that of the members and attenders of London Yearly Meeting. In seeking to provide for the education of this large community, over 200 teachers are engaged in teaching some 7,000 scholars in about 120 schools. Something like 20,000 patients are being treated annually in hospitals and dispensaries. In order to maintain this widespread work, gifts, reaching an average of upwards of £1 for every man, woman, and child in the Society at home, were received last year.*

The variety of the work is not less striking than its extent. Preaching by the spoken and written word, and by the lives of missionaries and native Christians, everywhere takes precedence. In meeting-houses and chapels, in the market and bazaar, camping among the villages, visiting in the zenanas, in Sakalava huts, in prisons and in yamens, to rich and poor alike the good news is made known. By training the people for simple

* See Appendix, p. 245.
handicrafts, by teaching them to till the land, by gathering the women together to sew, by preparing students as doctors and teachers—many are being fitted to take their place as useful Christian citizens in their different countries. The prejudiced official is having his eyes opened, the cramped mind of the girl-wife is being enlarged, the ex-slave is being uplifted, the worn body is being set free from pain and disease, the child is being led out into new worlds of knowledge, the sin-bound soul is being redeemed.

All this work is but a beginning. Far beyond all that has been done stretches the work that still awaits the Society of Friends. Words cannot do more than hint at the heart-cry that arises in the fields of service where Friends have been called to labour. In China an ancient people pressing out into a new life call for the best thought of the young men and women in Christian lands. In India and Ceylon our fellow-citizens in the Empire summon their brethren and sisters to help them to fulfil the deep longings which, through the long centuries, have remained unsatisfied by Vedic philosophy or by Buddhist ritual. In Madagascar and Pemba primitive peoples open their simple and affectionate natures to any who will come to them in true friendliness, and lead them out of the bondage of fear into the liberty of the sons of God. In the Turkish Empire peoples long downtrodden await the message of hope and victory that can only be given by those who come in the name of the Saviour of the World.

All the world over, strange things are happening in these days. New hopes are quickened; new fears arise unbidden. Must the world be dragged down into an ever lower depth of militarism and materialism, where self-interest rules, where the weak are crushed, where suspicion and hatred triumph? Shall it not rather be lifted to a higher plane, where the things of
the Spirit come at long last to their rightful place where deep joy is found in mutual service, where liberty is only checked by love?

A community like the Society of Friends may seem to have but little chance of affecting these great issues. If, however, at every point where it touches the problem, the touch be in the spirit of an all-pervading love, even such a community may have a far-reaching service. In the providence of God the Society touches the problem to-day at some of the most vital points. It has been called into a service greater than it knew. Let it take up the burden with quiet courage. Let it fare forth to greater conflicts than any it has yet faced. Let it see its largest service to mankind not in the dim past but in the bright future.

Thus shall the triumphs of yesterday be as nothing to the conquests of to-morrow. If the family of nations is to be a reality, "the family of prophets which must spread over all nations" is a prime necessity. Can the Society of Friends be such a family once more, and enter upon its new and larger world-service to-day in the spirit of the early Friends?

The answer to this question will be given not in some moment of enthusiasm in a crowded meeting, but by the response of each in his own heart to the call of God. The outstanding lesson of this brief history is the lesson of individual faithfulness on the part of old and young, rich and poor, ignorant and learned. Given a like faithfulness on our part to the call of to-day, there may be added in our generation a new and more wonderful chapter to the record of Friends beyond seas.
APPENDIX.

ON LONDON YEARLY MEETING AND ITS ANNUAL EPISTLE.

NOTE ON CHAPTER I., p. 22.

London Yearly Meeting consists of all the members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, also of Representatives from the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland (known as Dublin Yearly Meeting). The Yearly Meeting meets in May of each year, usually in London. In order to provide for due attendance of the annual gathering, each of the Quarterly and General Meetings, composing the Yearly Meeting, appoints Representatives, but the Yearly Meeting is open to all Friends belonging either to London Yearly Meeting or to a Yearly Meeting with which it is in regular correspondence.

The Epistle, which is based on the deliberations of the Yearly Meeting, is prepared whilst the Yearly Meeting is in session by a Committee specially appointed for this purpose. It is finally approved by the whole Meeting as its collective message.


ON MINISTRY IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

NOTE ON CHAPTER II., pp. 25 AND 51.

The Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland has not a separate class of ministers in the same sense as other religious bodies. Monthly Meetings are at liberty to record on their Minutes the fact that, in their judgment, certain Friends have received a gift in the ministry. Such persons are then recognised as "Recorded Ministers" or "Acknowledged Ministers." There is no ordination service, and no salary attached to this office. Beyond the fact that they become ex-officio members
APPENDIX.

of the Meeting for Sufferings, and of Committees on Ministry and Oversight where such exist, Recorded Ministers have no special privileges. The practice of recording has fallen into abeyance in some districts, and the number of Recorded Ministers in London Yearly Meeting has decreased from 394 in 1904 to 314 in 1915. The membership of the Y.M. in the same period has increased from 18,332 to 20,007.

To quote from the preface to a volume entitled "Christian Practice," adopted by the Yearly Meeting in 1911:—In the Society of Friends: "The inquirer after truth may see that, without the intervention of a human priesthood, and without any provision either for the appointment or for the payment of a stated ministry, public worship may be maintained, and the free exercise of spiritual gifts may be secured, in a manner which long experience has proved to be in harmony with the apostolic injunction, 'Let all things be done decently and in order.'"

ON RELATION OF FRIENDS IN AUSTRALASIA AND BRITAIN.

NOTE ON CHAPTER II., p. 49.

When Friends from Great Britain first went out to reside in Australia they retained their membership in their Monthly Meeting in the Homeland. As time went on, Monthly Meetings were formed in Australia, and in 1861 it was suggested by Friends in England that these Monthly Meetings should unite in forming a General (or Quarterly) Meeting. Friends in Australia, however, thought that the time was not ripe for taking such a step. In 1902, at their own suggestion, a General Meeting for Australia was established. This comprises three Monthly Meetings, one Two-Months' Meeting, and one Six-Months' Meeting. The General Meeting has similar powers to a Quarterly Meeting, and may appoint Representatives to attend London Yearly Meeting.

In 1913 a General Meeting for New Zealand was established. This comprises one Monthly Meeting and two Six-Months' Meetings.

The Meeting for Sufferings appoints an Australasian Committee to keep in touch with Friends in Australia and New Zealand.

### Friends Beyond Seas.

**The Relation of F.F.M.A. to the Society of Friends Showing Growth at Home and Abroad.**

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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Number of Missionaries F.F.M.A. and F.F.W.</th>
<th>Membership Abroad.</th>
<th>Membership of Friends' First-Day Schools in Great Britain and Ireland.</th>
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<td>1891</td>
<td>18,738</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3,161</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>1896</td>
<td>19,283</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2,639</td>
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<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>20,004</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2,046</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>21,198</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>2,419</td>
<td>401</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>22,009</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>2,820</td>
<td>565</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>22,317</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>3,607</td>
<td>590d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.**—Where statistics are not in existence for the year stated, those for the nearest year available have been inserted.

The membership in Ceylon in 1901 and 1906 was not reported; it has been estimated at 15 and 22 respectively. The decrease in membership in Madagascar was due to the unsettlement in the years following the occupation of the island by the French. In India the membership rose from 46 in 1898 to 470 in 1899. In the latter year there was a great famine in our district, and much relief work undertaken by our mission. The membership gradually decreased to 398 in 1901, and 183 in 1906. In 1915 it stood at 215.

(a). The tabular statements for Dublin Y.M. commence with the year 1863. An estimate has been supplied for 1861 (2,864, being the average membership for the years 1863-4-5).

(b). Friends had no permanent centre of work in India until the opening of the Mission Station at Hoshangabad in 1874.

(c). Since 1907 the F.F.D.S.A. has ceased to collect statistics of adult schools, and its work has been chiefly on behalf of children’s schools.

(d). Excluding Syria, for which no returns have been received on account of the war. (In 1913 there were 35 adult members and 34 children.)
COMPARISON OF CONTRIBUTIONS. 245

Amount Given per Head of the Membership of London and Dublin Yearly Meetings, Compared with Contributions from Members in the Mission Field:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Members London and Dublin Yearly Meetings</th>
<th>Income (Subscriptions, Donations, etc.)</th>
<th>Average per head Approx.</th>
<th>Local Contributions in the Field for Church Expenses, House, and Other Mission Work, etc.</th>
<th>Average per head of Membership</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>16,708 (a)</td>
<td>£ 1</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>16,663</td>
<td>£ 1.496</td>
<td>0 1 9</td>
<td>82 (b)</td>
<td>0 0 10 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>16,915</td>
<td>£ 3.058</td>
<td>0 3 7</td>
<td>151 (b)</td>
<td>0 1 1 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>17,385</td>
<td>£ 5.727</td>
<td>0 6 7</td>
<td>121 (b)</td>
<td>0 9 9 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>17,955</td>
<td>£ 6.401</td>
<td>0 7 1</td>
<td>191 (b)</td>
<td>0 1 3 (b)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>18,227</td>
<td>£ 7.280</td>
<td>0 7 11</td>
<td>204 (c)</td>
<td>0 1 3 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>18,738</td>
<td>£ 9.727</td>
<td>0 10 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>19,283</td>
<td>£ 10.957</td>
<td>0 11 4</td>
<td>579 (e)</td>
<td>0 4 8 (e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>20,004</td>
<td>£ 12.315</td>
<td>0 12 4</td>
<td>898</td>
<td>0 6 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>21,198</td>
<td>£ 18.483(f)</td>
<td>0 17 5</td>
<td>860</td>
<td>0 5 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>22,009</td>
<td>£ 25.679</td>
<td>1 3 4</td>
<td>1,833 (g)</td>
<td>0 8 9 (g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>22,317</td>
<td>£ 23.560</td>
<td>1 1 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* In some cases where returns are not available for the year stated, those for a year earlier or later have been taken.

† This is not by any means a complete record of the sums given for church expenses. Large amounts are given, especially in Madagascar, which do not pass through the Mission accounts. Large sums are also received as school fees (see separate table).

(a). The tabular statements for Dublin Y.M. commence with the year 1863. An estimate has been supplied for 1861 (2,864, being the average membership for the three years 1863-4-5.)

(b). Madagascar only.

(c). Madagascar and China only.

(d). Returns too incomplete to be of value.

(e). India, Madagascar, and Syria only.

(f). Excluding special donations £12,449 (to clear off 1905 deficit, prevent a deficit for 1906, and obviate retrenchments in 1907).

(g). India, Madagascar, China, and Ceylon only. No returns available for Syria on account of the war. (£21 7s. 6d. received in 1913,)
GROWTH OF EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE F.F.M.A.

For the earlier years the returns are very incomplete. In preparing this table estimates have been supplied where material for forming such was available. In other cases the figures for an earlier or later year have been inserted in order to supply a deficiency. It is clear, also, that the returns have not been made upon a uniform basis; for example, in 1875 the number of native teachers in connection with our schools in Madagascar is given as 204 (for 2,384 children); in 1882 the numbers are given as 133 teachers and 12,541 children. 1906 and 1911 are the only years, of those given in this table, for which complete returns for all the columns are available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
<th>No. of Scholars</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
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<td>37</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>1,011</td>
<td>£2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>3,150</td>
<td>£7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>13,036</td>
<td>£83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>15,980</td>
<td>£119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>12,591</td>
<td>£145 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>19,352</td>
<td>£543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>17,475</td>
<td>£547 (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>11,924</td>
<td>£1,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>148 (d)</td>
<td>249 (d)</td>
<td>6,706 (d)</td>
<td>£1,938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915 (e)</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>7,054</td>
<td>£3,313</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(a). No returns.
(b). Excluding Madagascar.
(c). In 1902.
(d). The French Decree prohibiting the holding of day schools in buildings used for public worship, in Madagascar, came into force in 1906. A large number of schools were thus closed.
(e). In the case of Syria, the figures for 1913 have been taken, the last complete year for which statistics are available for that field.
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