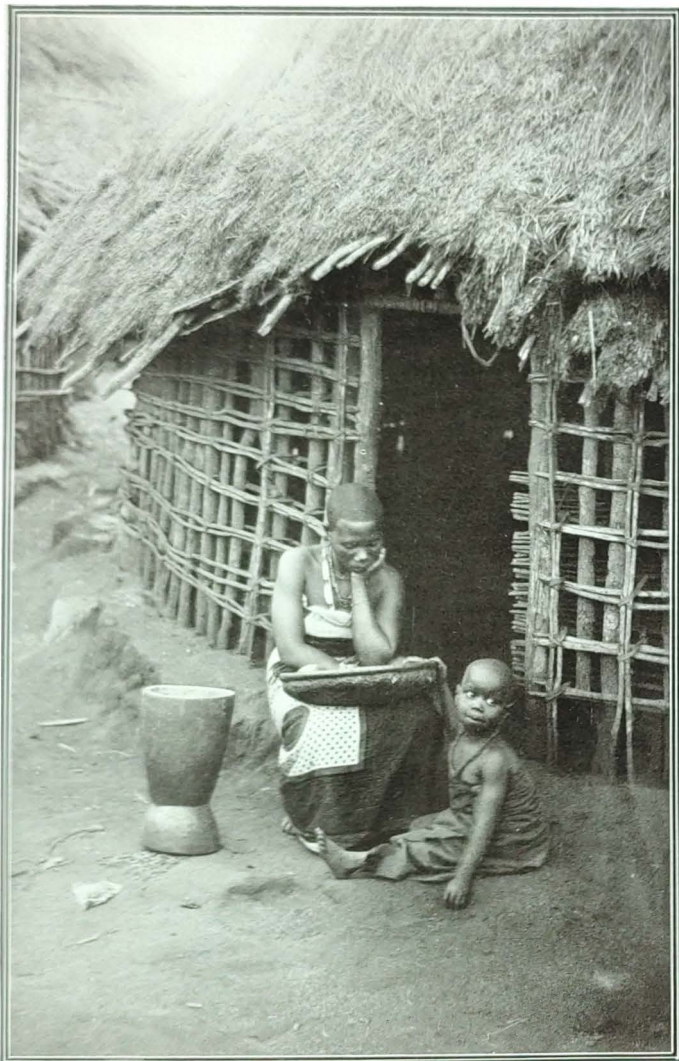


DARKNESS OR LIGHT



IN ZIGUALAND

DARKNESS OR LIGHT

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE
UNIVERSITIES' MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA
ILLUSTRATING
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MISSIONS

BY ROBERT KEABLE

MISSION PRIEST IN THE DIOCESE OF ZANZIBAR

WITH A PREFACE

BY THE Rt. REV. FRANK WESTON, D.D.

BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR

LONDON
UNIVERSITIES' MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA
9 DARTMOUTH STREET, WESTMINSTER

1912

*"The primary aim of Mission study is
the accomplishment of the enterprise."*

TO THE GREATER GLORY OF GOD

IN MEMORY OF

✠ WILLIAM GEORGE TOZER

(FIRST MISSIONARY BISHOP IN ZANZIBAR)

WISE IN COUNSEL AND PATIENT IN TRIBULATION .

WHOSE WORKS FOLLOW HIM

P R E F A C E

THIS book is written for the use of Study Circles of friends of the Universities' Mission in order to help them to accurate thinking on the principles of service and faith. It is in no sense a history ; it makes no pretence of collecting all the facts of the Mission's past, much less of arranging and explaining them. Rather it is written to expound principles, and to illustrate them from certain facts in our history. It is most important that this should be clearly understood, for it would indeed be a pity to waste time in complaints concerning missions that could better be spent in grappling with the ideas herein presented.

The principles that underlie missionary service and the missionary's confidence in his Lord may be illustrated in countless ways ; on this occasion the illustrations are taken from the past history of the Universities' Mission. The period that provides the most of the selected facts is that which lies behind the sub-divisions of the original diocese, and for this reason the diocese of Zanzibar may seem to the casual reader to have a prominence beyond its deserts. In fact, it is the original " diocese " or jurisdiction of Central Africa that is in discussion : the Bishop of which set up his seat in Zanzibar and worked on the mainland both behind Tanga and round Lake Nyasa. The period that dates from the erection of the See of Nyasaland will probably require a book of its own at some future date.

Personally, I am glad that the present book recalls us to our origins ; for as the Mission grows and is sub-divided, we need the more continually to emphasise its

unity. The staff, scattered over a vast area under three bishops, is one staff; and we desire that friends of one diocese or of one station may open their hearts to the whole Mission.

This book is indeed admirably adapted to unlock the heart; but we hope it will also serve to encourage and help many of that large band of friends whose large-heartedness is our continual ground of thanksgiving.

Personally, I must confess that my own knowledge of Study Circles is second-hand. In my English days we had heard of nothing of the kind. We did not study Missions scientifically; we went to listen to their heroes, and packed up our bags when they told us to do so. To-day men are wiser: they enlarge the possibilities of securing workers by extending the area of interest.

But without controversy, the chief fruit of the Study Circle is Intercessory Prayer.

Knowledge of the principles at stake, as seen in the light of local circumstances and needs, is necessary to intelligent prayer; and this the Study Circle exists to supply.

The members of each Circle are thus in the way to become real intercessors; and the result of the common prayer of a multitude of such Circles is a new atmosphere at home: an atmosphere in which self-sacrifice and self-denial are wonderfully produced and developed.

Prayer is indeed the first and chief contribution of the home Church to her missions. By prayer she offers her own corporate will to be knit with the will of our Lord JESUS in sacrifice to God; by prayer her offered will becomes, in and with His will, the avenue along which the Spirit passes to His conquests in the mission-field.

In prayer the soul finds the basis of service and hears the first whisper of the divine vocation; in prayer the eyes are opened to new ways of responses, to new heights of self-surrender.

Knowledge without prayer is a barren root; and it

were well to watch our English garden lest it be overrun thereby. For we have become a nation of talkers ; we meet, we hold congresses, we sit on committees, we interview specialists, we collect statistics ; in fact we talk, or we listen to others, until they give us our turn. And the result ? Well, it all depends on what kind of prayer lies behind the talk !

We have seen some extraordinary efforts at talk in the last four years ; I do not think that any mission can say that the results are in any fair proportion to the amount of the talk !

But wherever a small band of faithful people have concentrated their wills in prayer, quietly and in faith, there the results are evident and wonderful. Nowhere so much as in the mission-field does the power of prayer stand proven. And it is for this that the Study Circle ultimately exists.

Indeed, the times require prayer. For in this part of Africa the race grows hotter year by year. The Church and Islam have been rivals for over fifty years, but a new competitor is now in the field. The spirit of Commerce is making a bid for the leadership. Commercialism may kill the religious force in Islam ; but without doubt it is allying itself with the social side of Mohammedan life, while it kills what little spiritual desire Islam had left in the human heart.

Never was it more necessary to direct men's thoughts to the claims of the Christ. He calls us loudly both through the need and the opportunity.

The need is terrible ; for Islam and the World in alliance are practically irresistible in Africa. Grace and a Ministry of grace must be procured for Africa at all costs of self-sacrifice and service.

But the opportunity is ours. For in spite of the hostile forces in array against us there are evident signs of the presence of the Holy Spirit opening to us a door of approval to the Moslem and the heathen.

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PREFACE

That we may the better meet the need and seize the opportunity must be the purpose of the Study Circles in which this book will be read.

It is with real expectation of a deep and sincere response to the claims of Christ that I bid the book "God speed."

May God's best blessing rest upon author and readers. May He show us His work and give us grace to perform it.

✦ FRANK ZANZIBAR.

ZANZIBAR :

June 26, 1912.

AUTHOR'S PREFATORY NOTE

It is impossible for me to express individually my sense of obligation to all those who have helped, both in private and by their published works, towards the writing of this book, although they have been laid under contribution so heavy as to be only justified by our common service in a cause which does not admit of other personal ambition than a desire to serve; but I wish to mention the Rev. Canon Godfrey Dale, Chancellor of Zanzibar Cathedral, and Mrs. Dale, who, in addition to so much other help, have revised subject-matter and MSS. while in proof.

R. K.

KIUNGANI, ZANZIBAR :

*Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed
Virgin Mary, 1912.*

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DARKNESS OR LIGHT

INTRODUCTION

THE STUDY CIRCLE : WHAT IT IS, AND HOW TO WORK IT

I

Missionary Study.—It has become very nearly unnecessary to justify or apologise for missionary study ; but perhaps it is not quite so unnecessary to explain it. Nowadays the whole subject of missions has been lifted on to a plane totally different from that which it occupied in the last generation ; and, for example among the younger clergy, missions are at last a recognised and unquestioned branch of the Church's activity. When our fathers describe the past, we wonder and are glad of these things. But for all that, the very universality of the acceptance of the missionary position is a danger, for we tend to pass it over as one of those common activities which need no special consideration. The curate takes his " King's Messengers " one night and his " Band of Hope " the next, very much in the same spirit as the layman gives his shilling on one Sunday to the S.P.G. and on another to the C.E.T.S. It is good that one should be considered as reasonable as the other, if you think of fifty years ago ; it is fatal if you think of the world to-day.

But there is another great class of nominally convinced believers in the Christian Faith to whom missions are an

enthusiasm of some impossible missionaries and the delusion of single ladies. These people honestly think that all travellers and scientists are against missions; that missions are a failure, and a dull failure; and that there are better opportunities for evangelical zeal both socially and morally nearer home. As a matter of fact, these are the people to whom the future of missions belongs. A tenth of the Church is doing its best; but we can only double our incomes and our armies by enlisting the sympathies of the other nine-tenths who as yet are not interested.

Missionary study, then, is an attempt to remedy both these wrongs; and it is an American attempt, harshly named. One has to say this because it chances to be true; but it is rather a good thing when it is said and done with! For missionary study is also the finest weapon yet stored in the armoury of the Church at home by which she can help the Church abroad, as well as that which stands for the bravest recognition yet of the true value of foreign missions. To announce the Gospel is at once the primary work of the Church, and the one piece of work definitely committed by the Lord to men. *We cannot save* our brethren in England or in India; but neither is it the Divine plan that men should be saved without us. Our business is to provide God the Holy Ghost with lips and hands and feet; and missions are simply the politics of that provision. Missionary politics, then, are the primary politics of the Kingdom of God; and they deserve not indifferent recognition, not unworthy classification with smaller businesses, not contemptuous relegation to a few enthusiasts at the bidding of that spirit which S. John calls "the world"; but study. They saw this first in America. They saw that people did not believe in missions simply because they had never stopped to line them up with fundamentals of the Faith, or to think conclusively about them; that they were not interested in them because they did not know about them; and that they supported them half-heartedly because they had never been told why they were worthy of more con-

sideration. Missionary study was the remedy suggested originally to the student-world. But it soon outgrew that sphere when it was found that if only persons of any class could be persuaded to examine the story and question the *raison d'être* of missions, their enthusiasm and their support would be only limited by their love of the Master of them.

The ordinary missionary literature was not, however, adapted to ordinary people's study. A great deal—must be honest—was over-sensational and excited, and that offended those practical level-headed people it was wished to win. A great deal more was contained in heavy statistical and historical volumes not simple enough for some, and unattractive to more. Missionary magazines, on the other hand, for the most part took principles for granted and were too shallow for study. This unsatisfied demand then created a supply, and the bigger missionary societies have for some years, in England as well as America, issued annual volumes of a size and of a nature suitable for the large purposes of study circles. Such groups of studying people have proved of ever-growing importance to each society which has made provision for them. They have become the backbone of its supporters, the recruiting-ground of its missionaries, and the hope of its future. They provide people who *know*, and these are precisely the people of influence in modern life.

The Universities' Mission, from the nature of the case, has been slower to see its way in this direction. Our press has produced admirable histories, interesting descriptions of existing work, and some volumes of correspondences and memoirs invaluable to its keener supporters. But a study book is none of these things. Incidentally, if it were the present author could not write it. Rather it is a clothing of the principles which underlie missions with the garb of actual facts, those facts being selected and grouped with a view to the awakening of reasoned interest and the teaching of a definite story. The study book itself

is not a very advanced manual, or at least it need not be. It is meant to lead on to the histories and the statistics. Maybe it will be followed one day by advanced manuals and technical treatises, when, as in America, we too have Chairs of Foreign Missions, either at what were the Church's universities or at her universities yet to be. Meanwhile it is a kind of primer, adapted to suit the widest possible public because missionary presses are not very well endowed, and there are difficulties in the way of an extensive literature. We lay bare our souls in saying so!

II

The Circle.—So much at present for the scheme and its book; but we have also to deal with the mysterious "study circle," of which so many on first hearing are afraid. And now we must slip into detail and not apologise for it. After all, the whole thing is fundamentally practical.

A study circle begins with one "keen" person who says to himself (but more often to *herself*) after some missionary meeting: "I can't do anything!" But he goes home, presumably with a copy of the study book bought at that dangerous "stall" now found at most missionary meetings, and he may begin a simple campaign, which is to give the lie to that acknowledgment of impotence, by thinking of some half-dozen friends and by asking them to tea next week. As a real matter of fact, the success of study circles lies in the making use of the simple truth that we all of us have half a dozen friends—or a friend whose acquaintances added to ours make up half a dozen—who will accept an invitation to tea! It is a distinct advantage if these people are not "keen" on missions; indeed, it is best to have at least one frank antagonist. A "keen" antagonist is a magnificent acquisition, and ensures the success of any circle. The real point is that a little circle of friends be asked to meet in a friend's house, with the intention, at the back of the mind of the host, that he will at least intro-

duce his own circle of acquaintances to the claims of the missionary ideal.

Most people find it easier, in conversation with one at a time, to explain the reason of the little gathering; but in any case it is a simple request that is set out before one's friends. You explain your own interest in missions, and suggest that you arrange a series of informal gatherings to discuss whatever may be the subject of that branch of missionary politics with which the study book you have chosen deals. Insist that the meetings be informal, homely, and few. Of course, things vary with people. Most parochial bands are much more "orthodox" in plan, while the circle is not afraid if a priest be present; but some have been run by business men over whisky-and-soda in a billiard-room! It is impossible for us to consider every type; but we will imagine a circle formed among regular, but not enthusiastic, once-a-Sunday church-goers, and called by a person very much afraid, but not afraid to love the great Cause. That first preliminary meeting is only to break the ice. Most people are rather amused by the novelty of the affair, and if they are made to sit in a circle and write down their names on paper, they are only more amused still. Amusement is first cousin to interest, and interest may be stirred in many ways. At that first meeting find out if anyone knows anyone (who knows some one else, perhaps) who knows—in our case—Zanzibar. Find out if they can get a letter describing the cathedral or Canon Dale! Find out if anyone knows anyone who has seen missions anywhere and objected to them, and if a letter can be obtained from or an interview reported with him. Find out who belongs to local libraries and can borrow books. Find out who has taken in *Central Africa*, or any other missionary magazine, for some years, and might produce its illustrations. Find out if anybody can still draw a map, and egg them on by judicious praise to promise to draw one. In short, find out anything that bears whatever on the subject.

We shall deal with difficulties later; but first we will deal with something more nearly ideal. If possible, then, let everybody secure a copy of the study book, which is published cheaply on this account. When all have copies, the first of what is usually a series of eight little gatherings can be definitely planned, and the method of procedure explained. For the idea is, roughly, that all shall agree to read one chapter a week, and that the meeting shall be for its discussion. All read the same chapter, but each is given one special part of it (called an "assignment" technically) to specialise in. These assignments are suggested at the end of each chapter, and they can be very easily apportioned, or invented. We will suppose that the first chapter is to be read by all, and that the members each take one special paragraph or two for their peculiar treasure.

The actual meetings of what is now a Study Band vary enormously, as it is obvious they must do; but they will increase in freedom as the series goes on. Do not be afraid if you do not at once succeed in the plan here given. Come to it gradually. The wonderful thing is to see how soon apparent impossibilities become simple if the bull be frankly taken by the horns. And this is a universal discovery.

Each gathering ought not to last, in my opinion, more than an hour. If the members get enthusiastic over a discussion—as they very likely will—stop the circle at the end of the hour, and continue the discussion informally afterwards; but if the time be limited rigidly, ground can be systematically covered, no one is wearied, and each part of the meeting falls into place. For the plan of the circle admits of big divisions of study and prayer, and the more perfect the circle gets the more equal do those divisions become.

A model outline is, roughly, as follows: Once met, the chairman or leader suggests that a beginning must be made with prayer. Probably some are rather per-

plexed at the suggestion—I have seen men perplexed in a billiard-room, and boys in a form-room!—but that is because prayer, like so much of English religion, has been made unnatural and so impossible. But study-band prayers are not so. Begin by kneeling in silence, for *that* people are not expectant. Say simply—perhaps by quoting two or three of the sayings of our Lord—that missions are His work, and that prayer is an essential part of them; then ask that each may pray in silence. After a minute or two use, perhaps, the Collect for the Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, and ask all to join in the Lord's Prayer. How many of us have marvelled at the change so simple and quiet an opening makes in a circle! Opened, it is easy to proceed. The leader may briefly indicate the ground covered by the chapter and the object to be kept in view, and then ask the first member to detail his paragraph. Perhaps he questions something in that statement, and draws a third into its discussion. That discussion suggests, after a while, the matter in paragraph two, and so on. In the end, the leader summarises briefly, and propounds the question at the head of the chapter to be answered by every one present, but this answer should be made aloud or written down by all. Then the next meeting's assignments are briefly given, in order to finish the business, and the circle closes with prayer. This is best if introduced by the reading of the short scripture suggested, its bearing on the chapter being quite simply indicated; and very much better when conducted much on the lines of the opening prayer. It will be longer, however; and the leader will do well to bring up points raised by the chapter, to be prayed for silently in succession—each silence being, perhaps, concluded by "We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord." Then close with collects chosen in view of the need suggested by that chapter. The Prayer Book is, of course, a mine of rich prayer, but U.M.C.A., and other intercessory manuals, had better be laid under contribution.

The details of all this must vary enormously. For

example: reverent, short, and definite extempore prayer, either by the leader or one member or many, despite its enormous difficulty to some people, is beyond doubt infinitely helpful. Again, add praise to the intercession. Or, again—and this ought to happen at least finally in each band—ask every member to write out a short petition based on his own assignment, to be handed to the leader privately and offered by him as a kind of Litany. Or, again, the time allotted to each section will vary, although the following is a rough suggestion: Preliminary prayer, a few minutes; study and discussion, 25 mins.; discussion of the central question, 10 mins.; assignments and business, 5 mins.; scripture and prayer, 15 mins. That means just about an hour, and is a fair average. *Never omit individual answering of the central question. Never spend less than ten minutes in prayer.*

Many difficulties disappear in a practical discussion of the book before us. To begin with, it is based upon a definite idea, and every chapter has its own place in a scheme. Each chapter, as it were, drives home one point in the argument, and the whole leads up to a conclusion. The great thing to guard against is uncertainty, and the leader ought to be quite sure that he knows what is meant by the "objective" of each study before the study circle meets, and of his own answer to the "question" suggested. Not only is that (in this book) clearly stated at the head of each chapter, but also that part of the mission's story which is coming under review. The question, rightly answered, focuses the whole chapter; and the object of the circle is only obtained if each member goes away with its answer as the one solid conviction of that hour's study. To this end, the questions are shaped to meet common objections and sentiments with regard to missions. To be definite, members of the circle at the end of Chapter II. ought to go away entirely convinced that the Church *had* to do something in East Africa; at the end of Chapter III., convinced that a definite something was beyond doubt

thrust upon her ; and at the end of Chapter IV., resolute in the one conviction that God's present power clinches the missionary call. It is unnecessary to say that that conclusion, if attained, will have made every member of the study band a potential missionary ; for a missionary is a person who possesses the missionary spirit. But it cannot be done unless the study is quite direct and definite. Indefiniteness is the curse of English religion, and indefiniteness is the one thing that must go down before missionary study. This book has been planned on simple and straightforward lines, and we can fairly trust that if followed they will lead to a happy conclusion. Each discussion must be quite untrammelled : it is only that the leader must know the direction in which to guide it, and that he ought to get a definite Yes or No. It is better to have enemies that know why they are enemies and why they disagree with us, than enemies as ignorant as many of our friends. Only we believe that in the light of truth and faith we have a Victory that overcomes the world.

III

Assignments.—Something more must be said about assignments in an Introduction designed to explain study bands. It must first be remembered that the idea of a study circle is mutual co-operation and open discussion, and then it will be seen that what are called assignments are simply the machinery which produces this. They are a way of making every one take part in the discussion, and throw light on the chapter. Now of course bands will vary, from a Sunday-school teacher and her mill-girls, to undergraduates at a university ; and the assignments which do for the one will not do for the other. Also the method of conducting a study circle of mill-girls must differ from that of undergraduates. The more the leader is effaced the better ; but the less intellectual the circle, the more the leader will appear. This book provides a double set of

assignments to meet the two extremes. The first set can be used where the leader of the circle has to take a good deal on himself and direct simple people, or where the leader and the circle do not feel qualified for anything outside the limits of the book before them. The questions "A" simply cover the chapter, and can be answered from the chapter; and in the description of a circle given above these have been borne in mind. The second set are for use where all can read the chapter intelligently, and where all the members come to the circle knowing all the chapter has to tell. Then these "B" assignments illustrate and develop the position taken up in the chapter, as will be readily seen. They require additional books and much more thought; and it goes without saying that the ideal is for the second list to be used and not the first.

The author has had, however, two plans in his mind during their preparation. The first—based on the practical use of other study books—is, that to go through a study book once is not to exhaust it. One can get a very little way in a circle lasting an hour. What is suggested, then, to keen students, is that this book might be used twice: first by itself with the first set of assignments¹ only; secondly, with the second set, and as a kind of crutch to be abandoned as the circle finds its strength. Or, again, the two sets can be combined or subjected to selection; and this plan would probably be best where only one use of the book is possible. Neither set is any more than indicative of the kind of assignment that may be used, and experienced leaders will much prefer to draw up their own. And since in framing them respect must be had to the diversity of the readers of a study book, the author begs for a moderation of that searching judgment usually passed on suggested assignments!

There are an extraordinary number of practical difficulties and details which immediately confront a new

¹ In this case, however, the maps suggested in assignments "B" ought at least to be made.

circle ; and this introduction cannot hope to deal with them all. But some things may be said. In the first place, it is often a difficulty that some members of a circle cannot get the book. Now that difficulty *must* be overcome. A circle *can* be held otherwise, but it is not a study circle in the true sense. Various practical suggestions have been made, of which the best appears to be that where all arrangements of borrowing and lending among the members and their friends fail, then attempts should be made to secure parochial copies. Ten shillings would cover a sufficient set ; and it has proved possible to pass on sets from parish to parish. No doubt we may look to the editor of *Central Africa* to assist this loaning in the absence of a Study Band Department at Headquarters. Or, again, the parochial missionary library (which *ought* to exist), or the local Church Institute library, can sometimes be persuaded of the wisdom of obtaining a few copies. The great thing is to *determine* to get them, and not to start a circle without books out of pure slackness and lack of effort.

Other books and materials are the next difficulty. An Appendix to this work contains a list of useful books, such as may be found in public libraries, or borrowed from local clergy and others. The best plan is to begin early in the series of circles to find out what books each can get, so that the leader knows how to distribute the assignments easily and expeditiously. Many of the U.M.C.A. publications ought to be in the parochial or Institute library ; and, in any case, some parishioners ought to be glad to buy and loan them. A study circle—and better still a study circle committee—can, by its very needs, wake up a parish ; and if it only does that it will have done a great deal. There is nothing like being a nuisance to arouse missionary feeling ! Bother the people who take in missionary magazines and lay back-numbers under contribution for pictures, and don't forget that secular illustrated papers are nowadays often full of missionary illustrations or pictures !

It is quite extraordinary how interesting pictures, seen before, can become if they are produced at the right moment. Maps are easily obtained at libraries, in volumes of travel, or the missionary books; and it is because half the value lies in searching for and making copies of them that all the work has not been done in this direction between the covers of the present volume. Make a great use of the *rd.* outline blank maps to be obtained at most stationers—published by Longmans, for school use. Use many of these so as not to crowd names together. Colour them boldly and roughly to illustrate trade-routes, population, religion, and so on, each on its own map. Come down on Headquarters for post-cards, linen maps, curios, and every conceivable kind of illustrating object; and do not hesitate to try to force on them a special department for dealing with the requests of hundreds of study circles!

IV

Hints to Leaders.—The office of leader in a study circle is one from which most people shrink, and not unnaturally. It is, however, much less formidable than appears at first sight, and a few “Hints to Leaders” may make this clear.

1. The first great thing for a leader to remember is that he is only called a “leader” for want of a better name, and that his office scarcely requires any of those qualifications which we usually associate with leadership. His great duty is to make other people talk, and not to talk himself—which disposes of the objection: “I can’t speak.” His main object is to make other people study; to “educate” them in the proper sense of that word—that is, to draw them out and lead them on and make them find out things for themselves. With children, this requires personal knowledge; but the best study-circle leader is usually one who does not know too much himself. If he does, he will *teach*, which is precisely what he is not there to

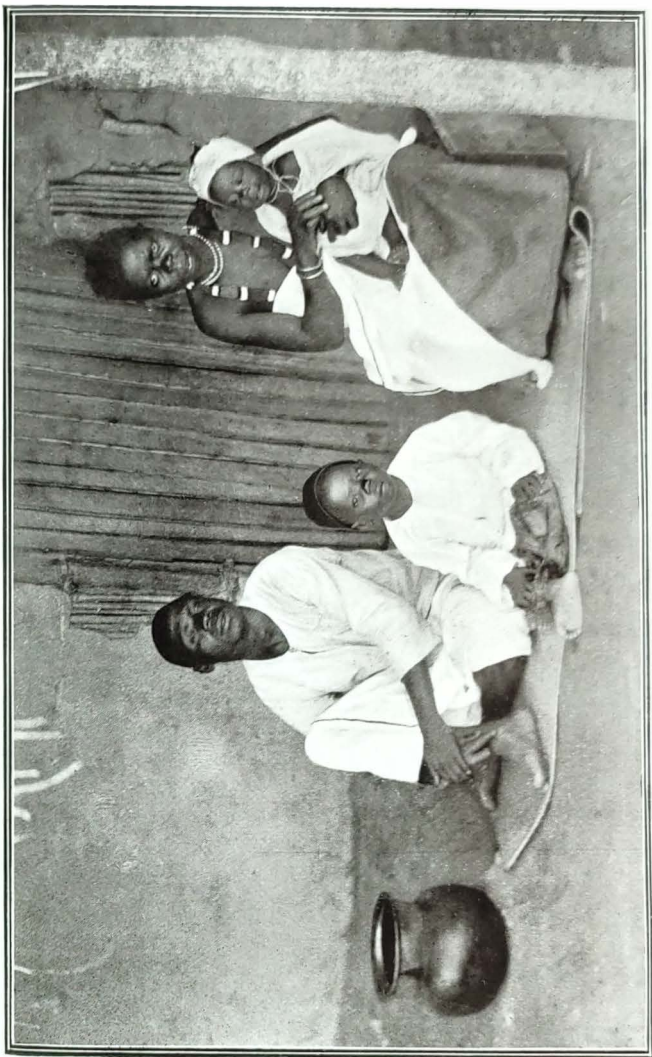
do. A study circle is not a class ; it is a temporary coming together of friends for mutual help and discussion. The leader is only required because some one must start, guide, and close a meeting of any sort, and be possessed of a chairman's authority. Yet even " chairman " is not a good word ; for the study-circle leader has accomplished his work only when he is chairman no longer. When the members are keen and decided, when they contradict him, when they wish to dominate the discussion with their own enthusiasms, then his work is done. He has stirred up the missionary spirit. He has helped in the making of half a dozen potential study-circle leaders. He has shown others the " Vision." And when that ideal is realised, and when each member of the first circle is " leading " a circle of his own, then the parish will be permeated by the missionary hope, and throbbing with the life of the Spirit of Christ.

2. The second great hint is : *Avoid side issues.* As we have seen, the leader's own wisdom counts for very little since all he needs is in the book ; but what he does want is the resolution to steer discussions out of side channels. I have seen a study-circle on China rent by a vehement discussion on Catholic devotions between two gentlemen of " High " and " Low " Church views, who had got there *viâ* Buddhism, Thibet, Buddhist monasteries, prayer-wheels and rosaries, Roman monastic orders, Spain, and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament ! Or, again, a circle on Africa, in a well-known university, reached a comparison of the glories of the Hudson Bay Company with those of the Indian Civil Service *viâ* savages, skins, hunting, poisoned arrows, and the archery of the Sioux Indians ! All things are illuminating and full of teaching, but all are not expedient. The leader, then, will see to it that the discussion is turned away from such side tracks before the entire circle is hopelessly " bushed." If he can, he will do it without his efforts being apparent ; and this is really the art of leading. But if he cannot do it delicately,

he must do it bluntly ; for he is there to do it, and it must be done !

3. Yet another piece of advice to a would-be leader is : *Select your circle with care.* It ought *never* to exceed ten in number ; and less than six is too small. Eight is undoubtedly the ideal, and as such is reckoned for throughout this book. It is a number small enough to make every one take part, and not too small to make that part a burden. Let the eight, then, as far as possible, be of the same social class and about the same age ; but let similarity cease at that. Of course, here—as in very much else in this introduction—personal opinions are those set out ; and some experts take a different line from that which my own experience has suggested. I should prefer a circle mixed in sex and mixed in view. No greater work is done by study circles than that of breaking down those dreadful barriers which divide the supporters of our various societies by means of a revelation (as it often is) of what a mission, other than that usually supported, is doing. The fatal thing about English missionary enthusiasm is this isolation. People who know the story of the S.P.G. in South Africa know nothing of the amazing miracle of the C.M.S. in Uganda ; and people who know of Uganda have no conception of the triumph of the Cross in Nyasaland and Zanzibar. **Mix** then—judiciously—men and women of varying views. I think parochial limits are no bar because they are not bars to our personal friendships, and a study circle is a meeting of friends ; and difference of outlook and secular occupation is admirable. The best circle I ever knew contained extremes of Protestant and Catholic thought, and numbered among its members clergy, junior dons, and very “ secular ” undergraduates. We were domineered by a “ fresher ” ; and in the end, we came to see that the love of God was wider than anything any of us had measured it by in our lives before.

4. *Duration.*—Do not forget that a study circle is not meant to exist for ever. A study circle committee may well



A FAMILY GROUP

be a piece of permanent parochial organisation ; it certainly ought to be of each rural deanery ; but a study circle in itself is not a new missionary society or a branch of one. If the members towards its conclusion want to work or find scope for new energy, close the circle, and open again as a working party or what not. Better still, draft the new recruits with their new zeal into old organisations, and make these live again. That drafting may well be the leader's care ; for, indeed, at the other extreme, a study circle ought not to fizzle out in nothing. Let the leader call a ninth meeting to see what the members are going to do ; or better still get a personal talk with each of them. Finally, *make a report and send it to your vicar.* You may well mark it private, but trust him, and let him know what you felt about the U.M.C.A. after reading its book, and if any member of your band is willing to work. If the circle is very friendly, it is an excellent plan to draw up that report together ; and, in any case, don't let there be any thought at all of "spying." Only do not let eight hours of prayer and study be choked, as they so easily can be, by "other things."

5. *Spiritual Atmosphere.*—The last great thing about a study circle is the subject of its spiritual atmosphere, and here, of course, we are up against what is always felt to be the greatest difficulty. Most of us dread that opening prayer. This is not the place to enter into a discussion about intercession and publicity ; but it must be said that among Christians it ought not to be so hard as it is. Yet there is a way to overcome it. Before ever the first invitation is sent or call made, let the leader go first into the quiet chapel or the private room, and shut out the world. Picture the Lord on His Tree, His thirst for souls, His expectancy. . . . Think how He must have loved to be willing to save the world at such a cost, and how He must grieve because so many other sheep are lost on the mountains and so few under-shepherds seem to care. . . . Then remember the

end of your study circle—not money, nor show, nor anything *human*; but only that the Heart of the Redeemer may glow with a new joy because of the deepened reasoned love in the hearts of a few of His servants. *That* is the end of the study circle, for we can leave all to love. Each week, pray that the Presence among the two or three may be increasingly real, and aim at lengthening the time spent in doing the only other missionary thing He bade us do besides going—"Pray." When the dreaded opening comes, begin with a secret vision of the little hill called Calvary, and open your lips only when your eyes are there. It does not matter if the words be few; let the vision be long. It does not matter if few speak; but let all *see*. If they see, you may trust all the rest to God.

So it comes about that the successful study circle ends, at least, in a little service. Probably most users of this book will find that a special Eucharist soon after the last day is what is needed; and most priests will be only too glad to arrange it. If possible, present to our Lord at the altar a series of contributed petitions, as suggested elsewhere in this book; very many parishes have found this the happiest plan. Our own book falls into two divisions; and a Eucharist *at the end of the first half* as well as at the end would be a very good plan. Of course, some definitely parochial circles might begin at the altar; but, again, others will prefer a quiet evening intercession, perhaps in a little side-chapel. The widest liberty must be expected to prevail. Two points, however, are essential to study bands as we have known them, and it is difficult to conceive of anything else. No Church service must take the place of prayer at each circle, and no such service must be anything else than the real desire of the members. You cannot force spiritual religion. If the leader is, as it were, superior to the circle—a Sunday-school teacher with elder children, perhaps—this must be especially guarded against. "The wind bloweth where it listeth . . . so is every one that is born of the Spirit." And that spiritual birth belongs not

to the will of another man, but to God, and must be left to Him. But it has been a universal experience that a circle is only fittingly closed when all is focused in a common service of prayer, and for most of us the Lord's own service is the service we shall choose.

V

The study-circle movement has had a success on lines such as these which warrants its enthusiastic support. It must not be supposed that what began originally among students, and what has been largely advocated by students in this country, is only meant for the top forms of big schools or undergraduate circles. Most successfully conducted circles have been among such different classes as Yorkshire mill-girls, London business men, and ladies who are disinclined for ordinary parish work. The only thing required about a study circle is to persuade a person to try it ; for that done, it recommends itself. A subject that has been considered dull becomes at once of vital interest ; for whatever one may think about missions, there is no question of the thrilling interest of their heroic story. It is this which study brings unquestionably forward, even in circles the least expectant of it.

Our present volume is limited in its sphere—more, perhaps, than most books put out for the purpose have been. It is even limited with regard to the work of the Universities' Mission ; for little is said about Nyasa and Rhodesia. Some supporters of the Mission may find in this a defect, and, consequently, a little justification is needed. To have provided an *exhaustive* survey of our activities would have been to traverse ground already covered in the History, and to have undertaken a task beyond the ability of the present writer. It would, moreover, have defeated its main object. That object may be said to be rather the presentation of the missionary problem, as represented chiefly in the Zanzibar diocese, and its extension, than any wider or

more ambitious scheme. The first two chapters are outside the direct history of missionary labour at all; the third dwells in detail upon a great deal of biography not actually connected with the Mission; and the fourth is obliged to cover a great stretch of years in a very small compass. But these four studies, it is hoped, will set in train those thoughts about the politics of missions which determine men to aid their interpretation into terms of life and reality, and at the same time awaken interest in the U.M.C.A. This should be the aim of a study circle thus far. The latter half of the book, again, has but two chapters directly chronicling mission history; and the second of these, dealing as it does with things as they are, has the *imprimatur* of high authority. The last two chapters focus home-possibilities and inspirations, and are meant to bring any circle to that conclusion which it is the primary aim of study circles to induce. A little has already been said about this plan, but a simple diagram will make it plainer.

It will be seen that an old definition of a missionary call—A Need, A Need Known, and Power to Meet that Need—has been amplified and illustrated by the chapters, and that in a two-fold plan. The Call of East Africa, it is true, may be said to have been directed to this country, considered as a Christian land; and in a sense it was open to any to answer it. It is hardly necessary to say that a like call was answered by the Church Missionary Society in Uganda—at the cost, also, of “the pouring out of blood and tears.” Similarly, the Scotch Presbyterian Church has done great things round Blantyre and upon the southern end of Lake Nyasa, just as the Roman Catholic Church has ringed Tanganyika with stations and won a far larger heritage than our own Church on the Victoria Nyanza. In applying the “Call,” then, to the U.M.C.A. we gladly recognise that it was heard also by others. But the second “Call” is more personal. It comes not only to our own Church, but to a certain part of that Church which, through the grace of God, has come to a larger sense of our catholic

A MISSIONARY CALL.

A. *East Africa calls Great Britain.*

	CHAPTER		
<i>A Need.</i>	{	I. "The Land of the Shadow," or The Country considered.	To impress a sense of the nature of East Africa's need.
		II. "Captives unto Death," or Its Religions considered.	
<i>A Need Made Known.</i>		III. "The Pouring out of Tears," or The lives of Bp. Mackenzie and Dr. Livingstone.	To impress a sense of the burden of definite knowledge.
<i>Power to Meet that Need.</i>		IV. "The Light Shined," or The Mission up to 1879.	To impress a sense of the power of God in modern missions.

B. *The East African Church calls the Church in England.*

<i>A Need.</i>		V. "The Fruitful Gospel," or The Growth of the Work.	To impress a sense of the work before the missionary in East Africa.
<i>A Need Made Known.</i>		VI. "White Fields," or Present Needs of the Church in East Africa to-day.	To impress a sense that the need of East Africa is at the Church's door.
<i>Power to Meet that Need.</i>	{	VII. "Riches in Smyrna," or The Resources of the Home Church.	To impress a sense of the "all things possible" to the Church of Jesus Christ.
		VIII. "The Christ in Need," or The Vision that renews our Strength.	

heritage than that of some of our brethren ; and it is a call made urgent by present opportunity and need. We want trained and picked men and women, content to play, perhaps, an-unpraised part in that foundation and development of a Christian Church in East Africa which neither we nor the next two or three generations are likely on earth to see perfected. Because it is an appeal for the best, at once, without reward, and in much sacrifice, we may be the more assured that it is of God.

It is hoped that this introduction will pave the way for the use, in eight consecutive weekly, or fortnightly, or even monthly, meetings, of the eight short studies which follow. Their author is conscious chiefly of the infinite possibilities of the Study Band Movement, and of what it may mean if it spread among us. It is just those possibilities which have made the writing of the studies a great undertaking ; for so much depends upon them, in spite of their weakness and poverty. And yet apology seems out of place in the work to which we are all called in our degree. We are proud to stand in the line of those who are willing at least to shoulder the yoke the Lord Christ put upon us ; we are ready to submit our judgment and our desires to the wisdom of the Catholic Church, who is the Mother and Mistress of us all ; and we are well content if somehow our earthly labour is quickened by the consecration of its acceptance by the Spirit of God, Who only worketh through human means. The Cross, indeed, stands by itself and needs no support ; but we are privileged to bring men to it. And there may be seen the Divine Will that no one of earth's millions should perish, and the Divine Love that found a way for their salvation, which Will it is the purpose of our work to make clear, in humblest tribute to that Love.

CHAPTER I

“ THE LAND OF THE SHADOW ”

Objective.—An introductory study of East Africa, politically, economically, and socially.

Time.—Prior to the foundation of the Mission in 1861.

Aim.—To impress a sense of the justification of enlightened Western interference in East Africa.

Question.—What benefits had Great Britain to confer on East Africa in these respects ?

Scripture Reading.—Micah ii. 1, 2 and iii. 1-6 (R.V.).

(A description of the social wrongs and misleading teachers in Palestine on the eve of the Captivity.)

SYNOPSIS

NOTE.—*The numbers of the Assignments at the end of each chapter do not correspond with the numbers of the Paragraphs of that chapter ; but in each case a Synopsis is prefixed to facilitate references to the chapter in the distribution of its Assignments.*

PARAGRAPH

- I. East African exploration and history : in the earliest times, under Persian, Portuguese, and Arab domination.
- II. The Arab Empire of Zanzibar : the city described, mainland tribes, alien peoples in the city itself.
- III. The Government of Zanzibar : the sanitation, administration of justice, and legal methods of the city, and the “ customary ” law of the mainland tribes.
- IV. Zanzibar considered economically : slavery, its cruelty, influence on labour and society.

PARAGRAPH

- V. Zanzibar, considered socially: the position of married women, divorce under Mohammedan law, immorality.
- VI. Mainland customs: a *higeo*, initiation rites, native marriage, slave-raiding and tribal war, social life, and the absence of a moral sense among many tribes.
- VII. The question of Western responsibility.

" The World sits at the feet of Christ
 Unknowing, blind, and unconsolèd ;
 It yet shall touch His garment's fold
 And feel the heavenly Alchemist
 Transform its very dust to gold."

—Whittier.

I

THE wonder of African exploration has become a commonplace to us in these days ; but it is impressed upon any student of early East African history. Only some twenty years before Dr. Livingstone's call, in 1857, to the universities of England, Zanzibar and its coast was declared by geographers to be " a more mysterious spot to England and India than the interior of Central Africa and the shores of the Icy Sea " ;¹ and it is not a little difficult to piece together a readable story of this part of Africa. And yet such an attempt must be made. It is quite impossible to form any idea of the problem before the Christian missionary and settler in the parts which we have set out to study, without realising to some extent the races whose intermixed descendants are with us to-day, and the story of whose coming and passing may be seen illustrated anywhere along the coast in the ruins of old buildings, in place-names and odd words in the language, and in the features of the people themselves.

Burton's *Zanzibar* ; as often, throughout.

Mysterious East Africa has ever been a bait to merchant, explorer, and soldier. It is perhaps the recognition of this, borne in upon us as it is by a study of what is really history, that has made inevitable the forcing of legend and tradition into the service of the historian. Dr. Krapf, the famous C.M.S. missionary, is so eager to link the Zanzibar coast with King Solomon that he even derives evidence from the very ape which that monarch probably sought there; and Pliny's inconclusive and debatable language is a pet contention with explorers. However, certainly as early as A.D. 200 the traveller Arrian visited "Sanguebar," and left an account of it, with recognisable details, in his book of the *Periplus*. By the fourth century the name is fairly common, and Arabic geographers of the period of expansion which followed the preaching of Mohammedanism and the setting up of the Prophet's Empire, describe it at some length. Marco Polo, in A.D. 1290, could not pass so sensational a city by, although he had never been there; and, misreading Arabic, he gave the island a circumference of 2,000 miles, and huge herds of elephant!

But at the present date East Africa is emerging into something approaching light, and we can trace successive waves of conquest. The Persian Empire of the seventh and eighth centuries, and, later, of the eleventh, played boldly for maritime supremacy in tropical seas; and traces of two distinct colonisations are preserved in East Africa. But, like all other empires, the Persian had its day; and the navies which once pillaged as far as Canton and Madagascar have left nothing behind them but a name. The growing power of Arabian supremacy forced back Persia; and "The land of Zinj," as Arab geographers call it, became a happy hunting-ground for the merchant and slave dealer. Indications of the settlements of Arabs from the Yemen province of Arabia bordering the Red Sea are still traceable in the dialect of their descendants; and the whole coast was under their influence until, in the sixteenth century, the great Renaissance movement had destinies to fulfil even here,

and the flag of Portugal, eager to outdo the new American discoveries of Spain, appeared in these seas.

The story of the Portuguese is a wonderful one. It is easy enough to criticise, and there was very much to blame ; but only the Westerner who has himself, even in these days, felt the sun at Mombasa or Zanzibar can do justice to the pluck and heroism of those early armour-clad pioneers. In tiny boats, and facing an almost certain loss of 50 per cent. of their men, these adventurers landed on the coast, built stations, planted missions, and explored countries into which we venture hesitatingly to-day with rifles and quinine. Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape in 1499, and is said to have made Zanzibar the next year ; while Pedro Alvarez Cobral, losing half his fleet before reaching Mozambique, was the first of many captains who obtained the allegiance of the Arabian governors, and gathered gold for Europe. D'Albuquerque was here too ; and by 1529 the whole coast was won. But what it meant can only be read as one toils in the sun to the foot of the grim old fort at Mombasa, whose mighty walls were the only hope of that little dauntless band, cut off from supplies whose very coming was uncertain, and hemmed in by sea and savage who were relentless alike. The Arab and the Turk fought them intermittently for fifty years, during which the pride and severity of the conqueror sowed bitter seed in East Africa. No doubt the rod of iron was a necessity ; but even modern travellers, like Sir Harry Johnston, have recognised how insidiously the Tropics teach white men to be very devils. Stories of massacre grow more frequent ; Portugal, weakened at home, had no more men to send or ships to send them in ; and when, finally, in 1688, savages from the interior, officered by Arabs from Arabia, stormed the last bastion of Fort Jesus in Mombasa, there was no longer a Portuguese station on the whole coast. The defenders died as they themselves had taught others to die, and the old stones in the sun have still a lingering horror on them.

From the province of Oman, bordering the Arabian

Sea and the Persian Gulf, the new conquerors had come ; for there a dynasty of rulers had founded an empire of no small importance, with its capital at Muscat. We need not follow the ramifications of Arabian history ; but it was in the time of Sultan bin Sayf bin Malik that the extension of this empire reached East Africa. This Sultan created a navy, and added the religious title of *imam* to his house ; and his son, Sayf bin Sultan, after reducing to submission many petty mainland chiefs, conquered Zanzibar, and only just failed at Mozambique, in 1698. For a century there was a nominal sovereignty of the *imams* of Muscat over the coast and islands, from Cape Delgado to that of Guardafui. And then with the accession of Seyyid Said in Oman, in 1804, a new era began.

Seyyid Said seems to have been a ruler of unusual ability and humanity ; while to personal gallantry and tolerance he added military genius and ambition. He was extremely friendly to Great Britain, and seems to have even welcomed schemes for the abolition, or at least the betterment, of slavery. He had, at first, much to do in Arabia ; but in 1828, with a considerable fleet and army, he appeared off the East Coast, and quelled rebellion in Mombasa. There followed a period of disquiet on his return to Arabia, during which several British ships visited Zanzibar and Mombasa, with the result that the country became rather less a *terra incognita* than before. In February 1837 Seyyid Said made another expedition to Africa, re-conquering as far as to Cape Delgado ; and Dr. Krapf sees in this a providential pacification, as it was in that very year that he started from Europe for Africa. However this may have been, it proved but the forerunner of a still more momentous event ; for in 1840 the Sultan moved his whole court from Muscat to Zanzibar, welcomed English, French, and American consuls, and began a period which has ended in our gradual ascendancy over much of his African Empire. Dr. Krapf would have seen in this, at least, the Hand

of God: and, beyond doubt, the trend of political events has proved of great advantage to the Universities' Mission.

II

We must now visualise, as it were, this Moslem Sultanate about the middle of the nineteenth century. The Sultan ruled the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba—of the which the former and bigger is forty-eight miles long by twenty-two broad, and contained in those days, perhaps, 60,000 people, though Lieutenant Burton quotes a possibility of as many as 300,000—and in addition a definite coast strip almost as big as that which had been before under Portuguese protection, with a more or less nominal sovereignty over great inland tracts. Dr. Livingstone found his representative, for example, at Ujiji; and quite late in the century there was another at Kota Kota. Zanzibar itself was, and is, a place of very great tropical beauty; and Lieutenant Burton, who visited the island in 1857, and to whose story we owe so much, speaks of its sensuous repose wrapping earth, sea, and sky; its sea of purest sapphire; the dull burnish of gold with which the sunshine lit every object, and the yellow sandstrip, backed by a bed of greenery, from which sprang the cocoa-nut palms. Undulating, and vividly green all the year, Zanzibar Island is still all that. The town, with a frontage of about a mile and a half, stood out white and bold against the trees, puritanically plain, for there are no minarets or domes here; instead, "a tabular line of flat roofs, glaring and dazzling like freshly white-washed sepulchres . . . did their best to conceal the dingy matted hovels of the inner town." In those days fever, and worse, made life difficult. It is not our place here to describe it; but Burton has a saying which is illustrative and amusing: "I am surprised," he says, "at the combined folly and brutality of civilised husbands who, anxious to be widowers, poison, cut the throats, or smash the skulls of their better-

halves. The thing can be as neatly and quietly, safely and respectably, effected by a few whiffs of African air at Zanzibar."

The mainland presented a series of untouched and almost unknown native tribes. Arab slave caravans constantly pushed through them, and, so far as can be gathered, tribal migrations were fairly frequent. Roughly speaking, though all belonged to the great Bantu family, the tribes were as follows. Krapf found the Wanyika round Mombasa, and, rather west and south of them, the Masai. The Usambara hills, inland from Pemba, sheltered the Shambalas; and, nearer the coast though slightly south, came the Bondeis. The Ziguas are south again; and somewhere about this period the Yaos forced themselves down from the west on to the Makuas by the Rovuma River. The Yaos had been driven out by the Angoni people, who, under the name of Magwangwara, have since proved a thorn in the side of the Mission. These Angoni, from the east of Lake Nyasa, are of Zulu extraction, and came north, as did the Matabele, when the Zulu race, reaching the sea in Natal and Zululand, turned back on their tracks to the lands they had left. These are the main tribes with which we are concerned, and to which we shall return again and again. It is well to get them fairly clear, and to picture this Arab coast-sultanate, fringed by entirely savage, and more or less continually fighting, Bantu tribes, who formed the stock for slavery and themselves traded with one another. Only the Waswahili remain undescribed; and these were a conquered people, made up of many races, speaking a polyglot language which was to be the *Lingua Franca* of the coast, and forming the slave population of the Sultan's islands.

There is, however, one element in the life of Zanzibar which has been important since the days of Seyyid Said, and which is interesting as it presents an ever-growing problem to the missionary. India has made her contribution to East Africa. When Lieutenant Burton walked through

the streets of the Sultan's capital, he noted the Banyan, or Hindi merchant, money-lender, and local Jew ; the mercenary from Baluchistan ; and the half-breed Persian and Afghan from the shores of the Persian Gulf. He was struck by these plump and sleek Indians, especially the unarmed well-to-do " Jew of the East," with his cotton coat, loin-cloth, and red slippers, sitting cross-legged in his shop—a mere hole in the wall raised a foot off the ground—reed-pen and dirty account-book close at hand. We have them to-day with their women and their children, in ever-growing numbers, and they bring the idolatry of India to the spiritism and Mohammedanism of East Africa.

And so it is to an East Africa with such a history that we come ; and the object of this chapter is to set out clearly the land and its peoples. It is not enough to know of the narrow picturesque Zanzibar streets, with high white houses and low dirty shops ; nor of the native villages with grass and mud huts set in palm, banana, and mango trees, and lit with tropical flowers and bright-hued leaves ; nor would it be sufficient to picture a journey from the high Shambala hills, cool and sweet, to the low dry plains of the Rovuma country, or to the shores of the inland seas. What we have to do concerns the life of the people. In a subsequent chapter we shall see their religion. In this, we must try to get a clear idea of things as they were under a Mohammedan Sultan about 1850. We can divide the chapter into three further sections, and consider East Africa politically, economically, and socially.

III

An Arab Sultanate is a kind of feudal despotism, more or less complete according as the Sultan is strong or weak. In 1850 the Zanzibar Empire was ruled on a patriarchal system—" a royal magistracy "—from the city of Zanzibar, and by chance had for its head a mild and beneficent

Sultan. He and his family were, however, only one of a number of Arab families, more his equals than his dependants, and his rule was really maintained by his own wealth. We have to imagine a system without any kind of political machinery as we know it. The revenues were paid to the Sultan's private account, and he met "national" expenses out of his own pocket. The army consisted of his own privately paid troops and slaves, and those of such sheikhs as were at the moment faithful to him. The navy was made up of his own privately bought vessels, armed and manned at his own expense. Laws, and the administration of final justice, were dealt with several times a week in an audience at the central palace; but each sheikh, with his own enormous household of wives, concubines, children, and slaves, practically lived an independent life. At one of the Sultan's palaces alone there were some 2,000 souls—his absolute property. Sanitation did not exist. "The East African Arab holds the possibility of pestilence and the probability of fever to be less real evils than those of cutting a ditch, of digging a drain, or of opening a line for ventilation." Lieutenant Burton, who actually visited Zanzibar personally, as we have said, in 1857, on his way to the interior for what was to be the discovery of the sources of the Nile, is a witness beyond dispute; and, after speaking of the abominations of the beach and of the "green and black puddles" in another quarter, he adds a description of the native town as he saw it when he walked through soon after his arrival. He says: "At both flanks of the city is the native town—a filthy labyrinth of disorderly lanes and alleys and impasses, here broad, there narrow; now heaped with offal, then choked with ruins. . . . During the day, sun or rain, mud or dust, with the certain effluvia of carrion and negro, make it impossible to *flâner* through the foul mass of densely crowded dwelling-places, where the slaves and the poor 'pig' together. The pauper classes are contented with mere sheds; and only the mildness of the climate keeps them

from starving. The meanest hovels are of palm-matting, blackened by wind or sun, thatched with cajan or grass, and with or without walls of wattle-and-daub. Internally, the huts are cut up into a 'but' and a 'ben,' and are furnished with pots, gourds, coco-rasps, low stools hewn out of a single block, a mortar similarly cut, trays, pots, and troughs for food; foul mats, and kitandas or cartels of palm-fibre rope twisted round a frame of the rudest carpenter's work. The better abodes are enlarged boxes of stone, mostly surrounded by deep, projecting eaves, forming a kind of veranda on poles. . . . The windows are loopholes, and the doors are miracles of rudeness. Lastly, there are the wretched shops, which supply the few wants of the population."

Justice depended, as always in the East, upon the honesty of the individual judge, but it was based, as in all Mohammedan lands, upon the Koran. This is worth examination. It means that the people of Zanzibar, in A.D. 1850, were ruled by provisions laid down in savage Arabia in A.D. 600, or deduced from them. Throughout the Moslem world, the true origin and fountain of all law is the Koran and the "Traditions," and no Moslem school of theology has ever rejected these "Traditions." They are built up upon three great pillars connected with the Prophet himself: (1) that which Mohammed himself did; (2) that which Mohammed said should be done; (3) that which was done in the presence of Mohammed, and may therefore be said to have been sanctioned by him. During many centuries an elaborate code has been constructed on this basis; but how arbitrary and primitive it is, is sufficiently evident. Jurisprudence in a Mohammedan country depends not upon fundamental principles of right and wrong, not upon the enlightened judgment of learned men open to the influence of a progressive civilisation, not even upon a Divine revelation intrinsically and convincingly true by the moral beauty of its precepts. On the contrary, the arbitrary opinion of a seventh-century prophet, and the



AN ARAB DHOW

(At least 100 slaves were formerly packed in a dhow of this size.)

example of his now beyond question lascivious life, provides a dogmatic and unalterable standard.

Punishment is set out in the Koran. For example, theft, if of sufficient value to make it a theft, is punished by the mutilation of the hands (Sura v. 42). Fornication deserves one hundred stripes (Sura xxiv. 2). For highway robbery with murder, crucifixion (Sura v. 37). For false accusation under certain conditions, eighty stripes (Sura xxiv. 4). And violence is dealt with by "an eye for an eye" principle or money payments (Sura ii. 173).

Or, again, penalties are derived from the "Traditions." For example, adultery means death by stoning; and a woman is to be buried for this purpose up to her waist, because Mohammed ordered such a hole to be dug for Ghandia. For drinking wine, eighty stripes, and for apostasy, death, are all examples of traditional penalties.

In like manner is deduced, or is built up upon such deductions, the whole framework of legal enactment with regard to great institutions such as Matrimony or Slavery. The former of these will be sufficiently dealt with later on in this chapter; but the latter does well for illustration. The example of Mohammed, as embodied in the Traditions, affords legal basis for the recognition not only of slavery, but of the right of the capturer to put such captives to death—for the Prophet himself acted with regard to the death of male prisoners, and the enslavement of female, after the battle with the Jewish tribe Quraizah. The whole horrible story is told at length by Sir William Muir in his *Life of Mahomet*. The Koran itself, further, is the legal basis for the worst features of Mohammedan slavery. In Sura iv. is set out in cold blood that regulation by which the chastity of a slave-girl was placed beyond her power of preservation; later, in the same Sura, the married slave-women are placed in the same position; Sura xvi. is the basis of the complete helplessness of the slave; and whatever humanity of treatment was ever meted out to these chattels is based upon Suras iv. and xxiv.

This has been detailed in order to make quite clear what law ran in East Africa prior to the introduction of foreign consuls and the recognition of the rights of British subjects. Cases were tried by the standards already indicated, adjudged to be comparable to such and such a saying or tradition, and punishment was meted out accordingly.

The tribes of the mainland knew no law at all other than the "customary." Certain things were right and others were wrong, not for ethical reasons, but because it was the fashion of people to do this or not to do that. The same sort of law rules little things—such as in the Bonde country, that a father may not eat with his daughters; and big things—such as that a slave cannot redeem himself, and must be redeemed by someone else. Again, what happens in the event of the breach of tribal rule is a matter of recognised custom, which may not be broken during centuries, but which, on the other hand, may be modified by the advent of some savage Napoleon who establishes a new order of things to become the rule of the next generation. So the Zulu race was reformed by Tschaka. It is interesting to compare this state of things with that of the Mohammedan. The inflexibility of Mohammedan law is its curse and its injustice; it is based upon a false view that the perfect is in the past, and that the world is not "rolling into light." But it is evident that the impact of a definite and written code upon primitive peoples of purely customary law must see the decline of the weaker before the strength of the former. It was to this that all East Africa lay open in 1850: as it still does to an extent dependent upon the advance of Western Christianity and civilisation. Zanzibar and the coast towns held the fate of the interior in their hands. To and from them went the great caravans to do more than trade merchandise or capture slaves. It is not too much to say that the shadow of the crescent lay across East Africa, and that in that shadow lay the blight of stagnation and decay.

IV

We turn now to consider East Africa of this date "Economically." Political Economy is the science which deals with the wealth of nations ; and a consideration of a country economically means that we try to see what may be said for the material prosperity of its people. Are they energetic, prosperous, growing in standards of living and thinking, better off to-day than yesterday ? And, after all, it is quite true that religion is much concerned with these.

It is of course easy to be unfair to Easterns who differ so enormously in their standards from ourselves ; but Zanzibar, like Africa everywhere before it met with Western civilisation, was at a low ebb in all these respects. The average negro is entirely content with his unsanitary hut, his high death-rate, and his precarious existence. He is content if his few yards of ground yield a good increase without much labour, and if the coconuts bear well. He is an inveterate beggar, entirely improvident, and incorrigibly lazy at his best ; and although there may be a certain primitive virtue about an absence of modern commercialism, still laziness can never be a virtue. He was content to remain in the moral and social state to which we shall refer shortly ; and we may feel pretty sure that, if left to himself, he would never have got out of it. And the Arab, who reversed this in one way, in another was as bad ; he aimed only at the ease of wealth and tyranny, and cared nothing—at least, in the majority of cases—for the country as such. No one built roads, or improved houses, or considered the arts of cultivation and development, in 1850. Education stood where it had stood a thousand years before ; and the Arab had not learnt in all his centuries that conquest involves a duty to the conquered, and that there is something nobler than personal aggrandisement.

The great economic problem is, of course, that of slavery ; for all labour was slave labour, and the number of his slaves indicated a man's wealth. Zanzibar was one of

the biggest slave-markets in Africa, and the island was a centre for the supply of Arabia and beyond. The main business of most Arabs was in some way connected with this traffic ; and no caravan from the interior, whether it had gone for ivory, skins, or gold, but brought back slaves with it. One must picture East Africa as threaded by slave caravans to and from the interior ; and, early in the century, slave dhows were in every port. In 1847, England and Sultan Seyyid Said had concluded a treaty forbidding the slave-trade between certain latitudes ; but even six years later Dr. Krapf saw twenty such vessels at one port within this limit ; and in 1876-8-9, although 116 dhows were caught in Zanzibar waters, it was estimated that the slaves which got through numbered 37,000. Ten years before, the import duties on each head show that they were coming into that island alone at the rate of about 18,000 per annum ; but as the average annual loss of males alone on the plantations was reckoned at 30 in every 100 each year, such a replenishing was needed. They were cheap too. You could buy a girl in the market for less than the price of a donkey.

The first question which springs to our mind in connection with slavery is its cruelty ; but nowadays even that is held to be a vexed question, or is becoming a forgotten one. Opponents of foreign missions usually deny it in great measure, and very many modernised Easterns can be found to support it. A Zanzibar princess of this period, who married a German and became a Christian, in a book in which she sets out with considerable interest the life of Arabian women when Seyyid Said reigned, maintains that the negro was better off in slavery, and that the Arab was not cruel. And there is something in this. Beyond question, slaves domesticated in Arab households often worked little, and suffered not at all ; but when that has been said, very much remains. On this ground of cruelty, for example, there was no check upon what *might* be. If the Arab was not always cruel, at least he was always

irresponsible, and utterly indifferent to human life ; and, as the slave was his absolute chattel, he was cruel whenever it pleased him to be. We have, fortunately, contemporary evidence. Burton, in his picture of the slave-market in Zanzibar, illustrates the "chattel" nature of the trade. He is not too long to quote. He says :—

"We walked into the partially walled compound or court representing the slave-market—a *bona fide* affair, not like the *caravanserai* which used to be fitted up and furnished by the Cairene Dragoman for the inspection of curious tourists. A wooden cage, about twenty feet square, often contained some 150 men, women, and children, who every day were 'knocked down' to the highest bidder in the public place. . . . Lines of negroes stood like beasts, the broker calling out *Bazar khush!*—the least hideous of the black faces, some of which appeared hardly human, were surmounted by scarlet night-caps. All were horribly thin, with ribs protruding like the circles of a cask, and not a few squatted sick on the ground. The most interesting were the small boys, who grinned as if pleased by the degrading inspection to which both sexes and all ages were subjected. The woman-show appeared poor and miserable ; there was only one decent-looking girl, with carefully blacked eyebrows. . . . They were not numerous, the transactions of the year being now concluded. The dealers smiled at us, and were in good humour."

Or, again, he writes :—

"Of late years the Arabs have begun to inter their slaves. Formerly the corpses were thrown to the beasts or tossed into the sea ; and from the windows of H.M.'s Consulate, I have seen more than one body bleached snow-white by sea-water, and stranded upon the beach where no one cared to bury it."

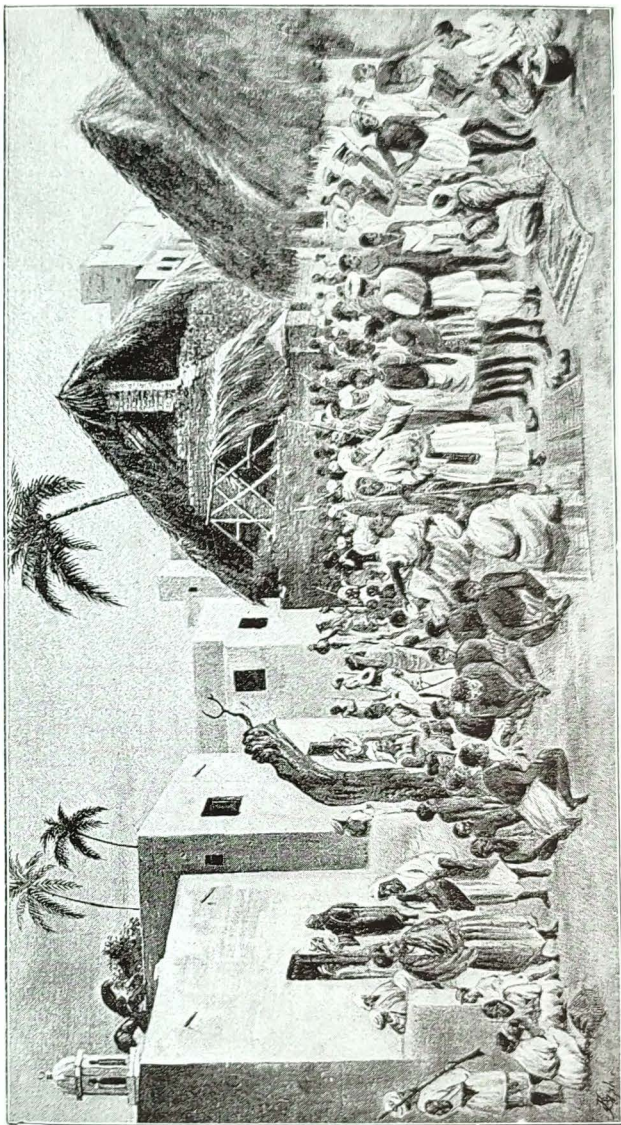
Their utter indifference to human life was seen on the march, in the necessary atrocities of the capture, and in the terrors of the middle-passage. Bp. Steere wrote in 1864 that he hoped that he might never see again the then almost

daily sights of Zanzibar when the remains of the great caravans rounded up in the city. A member of the earliest mission-party, under Bp. Mackenzie, after seeing the slave-trade at close quarters, wrote that it had been said that Livingstone exaggerated the horrors, but that he did not think you could do that. Not one of those early travellers but had not heard first-hand, or seen himself, unspeakable things, as when Burton instances one captain who decked his ship with crucified slaves and another who sewed them up to be fit for the bazaar. At Mbweni, to this day, the visitor can talk with men and women who were themselves sold in the market. I have heard one man tell how he saw the brains of children dashed out because their mothers could not carry them, and slaves abandoned to die of thirst because they could not march further. I asked Padre Cecil Majaliwa once if the cruelties one read of were true; and he, himself once a slave, touched his face in the expressive African way, and said: "I have seen it with these eyes."

And, finally, there is the testimony of David Livingstone, who has earned an undying right to speak. Writing in his Journal, with the shadow of his end upon him, he says:—

"When endeavouring to give some account of the slave-trade of East Africa, it was necessary to keep far within the truth in order not to be thought guilty of exaggeration; but in sober seriousness, the subject does not admit of exaggeration. The sights I have seen, though common incidents in the traffic, are so nauseous that I strive to drive them from my memory. In most cases I can succeed in time; but the slaving scenes come back unbidden, and make me start up at dead of night horrified by their vividness." (July 12, 1872.)

But there is more behind slavery than its cruelty, especially in this question of economics. Slave labour, in the first place, is notoriously bad labour. Beyond doubt, slavery was the ruin, morally, of the Swahili race in East Africa; and because of this, the Government of to-day is at its wit's end for labour. It has always been the case, from



THE OLD SLAVE MARKET, ZANZIBAR

(From a picture in the possession of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.)

the days of Rome and Greece until now, that slavery works two evils: the first, for the master, because he is demoralised by the absence of noble employment where all is done for him by others; and the second for the slave, because he only works under compulsion—lazily, unwillingly, and mechanically. Society becomes divided into two hard divisions: the greater composed of individuals who have no care or patriotism; the lesser of individuals who have lost stamina and a sense of obligation. An Eastern slave-state has no middle-class; and no honest, independent, working-classes either. Economically, it is rotten right through, and is bound to bring moral and social ruin in its train.

But in the second place, a yet more subtle evil has resulted from which Africa will take generations to free herself. The slave was drawn from a society in which his social relationships were of greater importance than his individuality. Among primitive peoples, the family is always considered before the individual: in technical language, the family or tribe is "the unit." Up-country, to-day, if a man steals, his family pays the fine, and never for a moment considers any other course; if murder is committed, the whole tribe is involved in the feud. Marriage is almost more the concern of the relations than of the parties marrying. And this fact, that no man ever stood in isolation in all the relationships of life, made for a steady-ing and humanising influence. A woman stayed with her husband when she would otherwise have run away, because the whole family was involved if she did so. A man refrained from outrage because he feared the vengeance of his own people as well as of the enemies he would thereby incur.

Now the system of slavery invalidated all this. An individual was torn from his tribe and family, beyond hope of return; and even on emancipation he is without the only sort of restraint which his stage of civilisation demands and with which he is familiar. The re-formation of these broken ties is almost impossible, and, in any case, the work

of centuries. The marriage tie is loose even to-day among Christian natives, largely because of this isolated and demoralising individuality; and the negro is thrown back upon himself just when his self is unreliable. It is like turning a child loose in the world. The Greek philosophers were right when they said that the greatest abnormality and horror in the human race was the "city-less" man. The man who had no ties was a Cain among men. And slavery has laid upon many of the negro race—which needed social ties more than any branch of the human kind on earth—the brand of Cain.

Thus, economically, Zanzibar was like some stagnant pool at the time which we are studying. Not only was its condition in respect to slavery "an open sore," but every year meant more widespread ruin and more sure decay. The slave who died under the lash in the market, and whose body was tossed upon the beach, was but a picture-parable of the state of East Africa.

V

We have now to consider East Africa, at this period, from a social standpoint; and here again there is abundant evidence of one sort and another. We will begin by viewing the condition of women in this non-Christian world; for, although that has been done so often, there are still many who are found to defend the conceptions of Mohammedanism in this respect. The key to the whole matter lies in the fact that Mohammedan law permits an arbitrariness in the behaviour of the husband to the wife, as of the owner to the slave, which makes the personal equation the determining factor. If the man were good, the lot of the woman might not, in one way, be bad. The diary of the Princess, to which we have already referred, is a perfect illustration of this. She sets out to paint a picture of Arab domestic life that is to shatter for all time European calumnies; and she tells of the joys of harem life at one

of the great palaces of Seyyid Said. The Sultan was a wise and generous prince: he was no less a good father and husband. The Princess, as a child, obviously loved him exceedingly, and enjoyed to the full the indolent, luxurious, and yet not overwhelmingly unemployed life of the palace. Seyyid Said was neither a tyrant at home nor abroad. Unquestionably, life for women in his care was as good as the East can give; and probably an Eastern woman would be quite content. But the Princess gives her own case away. The accession of her brother, Barghash, saw an Arab master of a totally different character, and she herself, hating him and embroiled in family feuds that aimed at no less than murder, is not at pains to hide his conduct. She tells how he flogged one wife to death, with his own hands, for merely smiling at a white man, and whipped a sister so brutally that she died as a result of it. The whole point is that Seyyid Said could have done the same as often as he pleased, had he pleased; and that Sultan Barghash, like every Arab lord of a harem, was entirely within his rights.¹

Mohammedan law permits a man to have four wives; but that number is rarely reached in East Africa: there is no need. In the first place, divorce is so easy that you cannot speak of sacredness in connection with the marriage bond.² A husband may divorce his wife without any misbehaviour on her part, or without assigning any cause.

¹ A learned Moslem jurist, Kasim Ameen, in a book recently published at Cairo, writes:—

“Man is the absolute master, and woman the slave. She is the object of his sensual pleasures—a toy, as it were, with which he plays whenever and however he pleases. Knowledge is his; ignorance is hers. The firmament and the light are his; darkness and the dungeon are hers. His is to command; hers is to obey blindly. His is everything that is, and she is an insignificant part of that everything.”

(Quoted in the Introduction to *Our Moslem Sisters*, in which each lady missionary tells absolutely plainly what is the condition of Moslem women in that part of the Moslem world in which she is working. There is no more straightforward statement than this book; which see throughout.)

² See, especially on this subject, Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam*.

If it is absolutely causeless, he must return the dowry and half her property ; but how completely this depends on the " goodness " of the man is illustrated by any consideration of what are considered sufficient causes for a divorce without such restitution. One such cause is known as *la'n*, or imprecation—that is, the husband charges his wife with adultery ; on examination, there is found to be no proof ; the wife swears she is innocent, and the husband that she is guilty ; *and a divorce must be decreed*. The angry words of a quarrel are a legal consummation of divorce. If the woman say : " Give me fifty dollars, and I will go," he gives it, and she is *legally* divorced, *ipso facto*. A favourite plan is to say " I divorce thee " three times ; often once a month for three months, in case the husband should change his mind ; and the woman is legally divorced. The Traditions allege Mohammed to have said : " Divorce in joke shall be considered serious and effectual " ; and the Traditions, as we have seen, are sound law in Islam. The consequence of this is that the looseness of the marriage bond in East Africa, especially among Swahili converts to Islam, is beyond all words. There are parts of Zanzibar in which it would be difficult to find a Swahili woman who had lived with the same husband for more than one or two years. Some women, who have lapsed from Christianity to Mohammedanism, are found living, in a few years, with their third husband.¹ In a word, the law of Islam means the social degradation of the poorest persons, even in the most holy relationships of life.

The better class Arab in East Africa had less traffic with divorce, for many reasons. To put it quite simply, Mohammed permitted an unlimited number of concubines to any man, and gave a religious sanction to intercourse with female slaves. Sultan Seyyid Said, for all his virtues,

¹ Readers, well acquainted with the Mission, will be interested to hear that these facts have been supplied to the author by Canon Dale and Padre Chiponde, to whom they are known from personal observation.

kept some seventy concubines, and exhausted his power by excesses in the harem; and if it is said that one awful feature of Western civilisation was absent in Zanzibar before the European came, Burton's cynical comment is answer enough. "The profession ranks low, where the classes upon which it depends can always afford to gratify their propensities in the slave-market." One has to remember that a girl cost less than a donkey. Bishop Steere deliberately takes up the challenge that the streets of Zanzibar are purer than those of London, and he writes:—

"The streets are empty of these women because the houses are full of them. A man can go to the houses where women are kept for sale . . . buy as many as he likes, and need not keep one of them an hour longer than he pleases. . . . These women have no choice or hope of escape. They have been taken as young girls, and whipped and starved into learning their lesson. . . . This is the kind of slavery which English officials are recommended not to interfere with. . . . It is not without reason that Mohammedan nations crush up like an apple with a rotten core."¹

This is a subject from which a writer naturally shrinks; but it can, and must, be dealt with. The Islam women of East Africa were, in 1850 (and, to a great extent, are still), mere chattels of the man. Enclosed in the harem, if their life was not a bitter slavery at least it was a purposeless existence in which indolence, vanity, sensuality, and ignorance were set before the women as virtues and ideals. Here and there a strong-minded woman won out to better things; but for a thousand years, if the East tolerated it when it happened, not a stone was lifted to encourage it. Nor would the Arab, left alone to-day, make any independent effort to ameliorate the condition of his women.

The Waswahili—*i.e.* the lower classes of Zanzibar and

¹ Memoir of Bishop Steere, p. 316.

the coast towns—in 1850 were quarrelsome, cowardly, sensual, and degraded, with self-indulgence of brutes. They would stake and lose their mother at play, and chastity was unknown. Seventy-five per cent. were diseased, according to Burton, from this cause. What chance had little children in East Africa in those days? What chance had womanhood of reaching a level that is admittedly its right, even to the non-Christian conscience of Western civilisation?

VI

The mainland presents a picture which demands separate treatment, and in some degree is perhaps better. We have already indicated the communistic, tribal life of the East African heathen or "shenzi": we turn now to see the social customs of "shenzi-ism" before ameliorated by Western government.

Canon Dale has made a considerable study of such customs, especially among the Bondeis; and we can gather much from him. All the tribes differ in their habits, but they differ more in particulars than in generalities; and a sketch of heathen life is possible in a short space if this proviso be remembered. It is, of course, our purpose here to lay stress on the sad and distressful elements; and this is done not to deny that there could never be a noble, pure-living heathen, or that the heathen were happy in their heathenism, but only to make that question possible with which we come to this chapter. The heathen, as a rule, wants nothing better; for he knows nothing better, and he has lost his ideals if he ever had them. But if ideals exist, if civilisation is better than savagery, ought we not to want that we *should* want something better?

Our plan will be to select points for the illustration of heathen life from the cradle to the grave. First, the baby is menaced by customs of infanticide at its birth. If its mother dies, it is a "*kigege*" (unlucky child), and is



A BONDE DANCER

strangled. If it is born feet first, it is a *kigego*, and is strangled. If the father or mother have not been through the initiation ceremonies, it is an offence, and it is strangled. If it is an albino, it is a *kigego*, and is strangled. If it cries as soon as it is born, it is a *kigego*, and is strangled. A cooking-pot in a hole among the brushwood covers another woe of God's prodigal world.

The child grows up and plays its games, and does without its school, and certainly enjoys its life—that is, unless it is foolish enough to allow its upper teeth to protrude first on teething, in which case it is a *kigego*, and an end of it is made. But if the under-teeth come first, the boy helps his father to till the ground, watches the rice, and plays the man until playtime is at an end. But at puberty, all children go through the initiation ceremonies, which consist in a period of isolation in the woods among teachers, who arrange a series of trials to prove their strength and to explain natural laws of sex. A boy, amongst other things, is introduced to the strongest tobacco, and to the fear of death! A girl has like experiences, one cruel one being to stand with feet astride a fire to prove her endurance of pain. These may all be savage, but it is not that element of which we need to speak. The point is that all these initiations include indecencies and immoralities, the worse for being secret. It is hard to worm that secret out of even Christian converts; but it has been done, and we may say that heathenism in East Africa deliberately set out to plant moral corruption in the life of the child. Christian lads of our day have had to face social excommunication when their conscience told them that a Christian could not submit to such rites. That they have done so, is the finest proof of the genuineness of many conversions.

Marriage among the natives is a complicated business, which consists mainly in getting someone else to do the business for you with infinite palaver! A wife is, of course, bought by the husband, who may not see her, once she has

been asked for, until the day of the marriage ; but this, at least, may be said, that pure heathenism knows stricter marriage laws than the religion of the Prophet. The married couple settle down to ordinary life ; but the ordinary life of the East African presented features in 1850 neither peaceable nor prosperous. It is a mistake to think that the Arabs were the only slave-raiders ; though they often encouraged tribal jealousies to promote raiding where it might not otherwise have been. Sir Frederick Lugard quotes a graphic description of a native slave-raid :—

“ Last Friday night, the Angoni came down to the lake shore in great numbers, and attacked the village of Kayuni. They entered the village silently, and each warrior took up his position at the door of a hut, and ordered the inmates to come forth. Every man and boy was speared as he emerged, and every woman was captured. News of this disaster soon reached the three white men stationed at Karonga's in the employ of the Lake's Company. One of their number set out immediately, with fifty guns, to recapture the women, who, to the number of 200 or 300, were being carried off. In the afternoon they met the Angoni, and opened fire. Taken by surprise, the raiders made off ; but, not being able to carry both the booty and the women, they began immediately to spear the latter. A horrible scene then ensued. In half an hour they were beaten off and the women rescued. I was at the scene of the disaster three days after, and counted forty-seven wounded. The others had either died or been carried off by friends. One man had fifteen spear-wounds ; a child of two years had seven. What impressed me most was the number of young girls and children (even at the breast) who were speared. The poor creatures were afraid to go to their village, and were living in the reeds lining the lake shore.”¹

Tribal war was, of course, a commonplace. Some tribes,

¹ *The Rise of our East African Empire*, p. 86. (Blackwood and Sons.)

like the Angoni, Yao, and Masai, were especially warlike, and the Masai raided huge districts with their great spears, merely as an outlet for their unquestioned bravery. A Central African traveller tells how he stumbled on the path of such a raid :—

“ On our return through the Mbé country, a most harrowing sight presented itself : what only a few days before were prosperous villages, standing amid fields of grain, were now smoking ruins ; bodies of old men, women, and children, half-burnt, lay in all directions ; here and there might be seen a few solitary individuals, sitting with their heads buried in their hands, hardly noticing the passing caravan, and apparently in the lowest depths of misery and despair. On questioning several of these unhappy beings, I was informed that the Masai had unexpectedly arrived one morning at dawn, spearing and burning all before them, and carrying off some 250 women and large herds of cattle. Only a few of the unfortunate people had escaped by flying to the mountains.”¹

This sort of thing was not the rarity that modern travellers through lands pacified by Western Powers imagine. On the contrary, among many tribes the killing of a human being was a kind of mark that a man had come of age, so that deliberate murder was interwoven with social custom. On the West Coast this still exists ; and Dr. Krapf found such a “ sport ” among the Wanyika. They had a coming-of-age rite, in which the person graduating to the rank of warrior, stripped nude, smeared his body unrecognisably with grey and white earth, and remained in the woods until he had killed a man. He then returned to feast and gloat. That this is a feature of savage life is abundantly illustrated by scientific study in such books as “ The Golden Bough,” by J. G. Frazer.

On the mainland, we have seen that all law was customary and tribal ; and this embraced equally social customs

¹ Commander Dundas, R.N., in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, March 1893 (quoted by Lugard).

and more strictly legal causes. The law of circumcision was as precise and binding, for example, as the law regulating theft or usury ; and this tribal system of jurisprudence is not a little interesting. Technical study is not our aim ; but it is interesting to notice a few things. Real regulations, usually wise, controlled the marriage of relations and the intercourse of husband and wife. The wife's family saw to it that she had rights of a very real nature. There was no divorce for nothing here ; and a wife could leave her husband for cruelty or on his making another marriage, retaining her dowry. Slavery was a real institution ; and a man would be sold by his tribe if he contracted impossible debts ; while equally he would become a slave for tribal offences—such as digging a pit and not covering it over to prevent accidents. But the slave could acquire property ; and among the Bondeis, at least, he was treated as a son and not necessarily beaten or tied. Witchcraft, which verges on the border-line of social custom and religion, was a very real and very terrible institution. " It is simply murder," says Canon Dale ; " an attempt to kill another person from jealousy or from a quarrel ; or if he has many children and you have none." There is the simple, and in a sense harmless, witchcraft by means of clay figures, bones, or sticks ; and there is the witchcraft in which naked and maddened natives tear up graves and devour the dead. The simple childish rite and the great devilish horror are equally a part of heathen life.

This leads us to the question of morality. The point to make in dealing with *uninfluenced* heathen morals is undoubtedly this : that *there is mainly an absence of all moral sense rather than deliberate vice*. A wife is protected because she is somebody's property ; and a marriageable girl, because she means as much as forty rupees in value to her father. But this is not always so ; and it is the little children that one weeps to think of. In his book, " British Central Africa," Sir H. Johnston, by no means a Christian faddist, writes :—

“ To give a truthful picture, it must be noted that the children are vicious ; . . . the boys outrageously so. A medical missionary . . . on the west coast of Lake Nyasa gave me information concerning the depravity prevalent among the young boys of the Atonga tribe of a character not even to be expressed in obscure Latin. . . . As regards the little girls, over nearly the whole of British Central Africa (except, perhaps, among the A-nyanja), chastity, before a girl becomes a woman, is an unknown condition. . . . It is a matter of absolute indifference what she does.”

Among the Masai, there is a custom of complete and absolute free-loving, even among married people, which is unique in East Africa ; but if it means less than it would in the West, it also means among them, as it would among us, a complete absence of married love, honour, uprightness, and nobility. It is the old women who are the worst offenders. Canon Dale tells us that it is they who contribute the indecent part to a Bondei marriage ; and the Rev. W. A. Elmslie, of the Scotch Mission, writes from “ Among the Wild Angoni ” a terrible account, which must be included that we may not be deceived by specious arguments for primitive simplicity.

“ The atmosphere seems charged with vice. It is the only theme that runs through songs and games and dances. Here, surely, is the very seat of Satan. It is the gloaming. You hear the ringing laughter of little children who are playing before their mothers. They are such little tots, you want to smile with them, and you draw near ; but you quickly turn aside, shivering with horror. These little girls are making a game of obscenity, and their mothers are laughing. . . . The moon has risen ; the sound of boys and girls singing in chorus, and the clapping of hands, tell of village sport. You turn out of the village square to see the lads and girls at play. They are dancing ; but every act is awful in its shamelessness ; and an old grandmother, bent and withered, has entered the circle to incite the boys

and girls to more loathsome dancing. You go back to your tent, bowed with an awful shame, to hide yourself. . . . And you know that, under the clear moon, God is seeing wickedness that cannot be named, and there is no blush in those who practise it."

VII

Such are the points of importance in a picture—although a necessarily incomplete picture—of East African life before the question of the coming of a Christian mission had been raised. It must be remembered, always, that the evils indicated in this chapter are largely evils which look black because of a certain Light that has shone upon our own path; but at the same time, cruelty and sorrow are the same the world over, and evil is evil wherever it appears. Because the black slave, who obtained his freedom, used that freedom to enslave others, he may not on that account be dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders. Because the Arab was content with a social and moral system, dating from A.D. 600, he may not on that account be left to his sins. Because the natives generally are satisfied with the low standards of their civilisation, they are not on that account to be at once abandoned. The question which we have to ask ourselves, is one settled every day when a father disciplines his child, or a benevolent government excludes little children from a public-house. The enjoyment of civilisation carries with it a moral obligation. The West could not shut its eyes to the East even if it were satisfied that the East had more of truth and righteousness than it possessed itself, for then the West would be morally bound to borrow from the East. But as it is, reviewing the situation, we ask ourselves if an obligation did not rest on the Western world which involved the sharing of its benefits with weaker and childlike races; if what we had been given did not constitute us, by Divine mandate, apostles to the Gentiles; and if the first stage of the

missionary problem was not inevitably reached when Englishmen knew of the internal concerns of the East African continent.

ASSIGNMENTS

A

1. Sketch the history of East Africa prior to 1857.
2. Who was Dr. Krapf, where did he work, and what does he tell us about the East African peoples? (*Besides this chapter, see also Chapter II., ¶ VI.*)
3. What do you know about Mohammedan law?
4. Enumerate the bad features of slavery. Which was the worst? Why?
5. How did women fare under the rule of Islam?
6. What is a *kigege*.
7. Give an explanatory list of the bad features of native life.
8. Is it a good argument against Christian missions to say that the natives want nothing better? Why not?

B

1. Fill in outline maps to show (a) the limits of the Portuguese Empire in Africa; (b) the chief stations of the Arabian supremacy; and (c) the positions of the mainland tribes.
2. How would you argue against slavery *at its best*?
3. Compare the basis and nature of British with that of Mohammedan law.
4. Summarise the Catholic teaching on Marriage, and throw it into contrast with the Mohammedan.
5. Mohammedan women are gradually being emancipated in Near Eastern lands. Illustrate this. How has it come about, and what support does it enable us to give to-day to the early argument which initiated Christian missions?
6. Collect pictures and curios illustrative of the common life of the East African, and be ready to describe his dress, appearance, home, etc.
7. It is said that in the absence of a moral law a man cannot

be held responsible for his actions. Consider this with regard to East Africa, and state your argument if this be urged against the introduction of Christianity.

8. How would you answer an argument against Western interference which is based on the view that East Africa would finally have reformed itself ?

CHAPTER II

“ CAPTIVES UNTO DEATH ”

Objective.—A study of the religious systems of East Africa.

Time.—Prior to the foundation of the Mission in 1861.

Aim.—To show the inadequacy of East African religions at their best.

Question.—Why—apart from the direct command of our Lord—is the Catholic Church compelled to be missionary ?

Scripture Reading.—Romans i. 18–25 (R.V.).
(St. Paul’s description of paganism.)

SYNOPSIS

PARAGRAPH

- I. The coming of Islam to East Africa and the spread of the Prophet’s creed.
- II. Culture in Arabia A.D. 570, Christian influence on Mohammed, Hanifism, the Prophet’s life and character, and the character of his religion.
- III. The “ Belief ” and “ Practice ” of theoretical Islam.
- IV. Practical Islam : exaltation of Mohammed, popular use of the Koran, prayer, spirit and saint worship.
- V. The monotheism; doctrine of sin, and place of Christ in theoretical Islam, criticised.
- VI. Heathenism in East Africa : its idea of God, conception of spiritism, doctrine of devils, and the *Afiti*.
- VII. A particular study of the Bondeis : considering *Mlinga*, *pepo*, *mzimu*, and the sacrificial system.
- VIII. Wizardry and witchcraft.
- IX. The union of social and religious life in East Africa, and the main characteristics of Islam and heathenism.

“ Deliver them that are carried away unto death,
And those that are tottering to the slaughter see that thou
hold back.”—*The Proverbs*,

I

ZANZIBAR and the Swahili peoples are a triumph of the Crescent ; for it was not until the end of the Portuguese Empire and the period of Arab dominance that they were converted to Islam. There is no record of how it happened ; but, judging by present events, the sword was not as necessary as in so many other lands. The native religion of East Africa is still of a sort little calculated to resist the impact of any organised system ; and such a system, backed by the wealth and influence of the conquerors, made irresistible progress wherever Arab supremacy went. The African native is essentially imitative. What happened in very many cases—such as that told in "The Life-story of a Slave," by Sir Harry Johnston—was that a negro who won either emancipation or some post of honour over other slaves in his master's employ, accepted Islam with his clothes and his civilisation. The "gentleman," as the negro knew him on the East Coast, was always a Mohammedan ; and the negro aped that with the rest. Moreover, Islam, as a faith, is content with a veneer. And, as a result throughout Zanzibar and on the coast, practically all the natives to-day are outwardly Mohammedan. Their Mohammedanism, as always, is mixed with heathenism : more here, less there, according as the old beliefs retain their hold ; and the strongholds of "*shenzi-ism*"¹ are, naturally, the little-known and unopened places.

It will be more convenient to deal with Islam first. Not only is it the religion which is by far the most formidable opponent to Christian missions throughout the world, but also, in East Africa, it is the religion of the conqueror, which we find coming with the dawn of our definite knowledge of the East Coast ; the religion which has a future still

¹ Heathenism : from the Swahili "*shenzi*" = a heathen. This word is used throughout, to distinguish the kind of heathenism found in East Africa.

before it ; and the only religion really worthy of the name among all the Bantu peoples. Also it is first met with by the traveller ; and we shall be passing in thought from the coast Arabs to the native peoples.

Every study of Islam has to begin with the Prophet Mohammed, because, as Dr. St. Clair Tisdall has truly said, just as Christianity is Christ, so Islam is Mohammed. We have already had occasion to see how great a part he plays in the Arab system of law ; and every one knows that that short and rhythmical creed—

“ La-ilaha - illa - 'llahu ; Muhammadu - Rasulu-'llah,”

which has inspired and maddened irresistible hordes since the Romans heard it on the borders of Syria until Gordon died with it in his ears on the steps of the palace in Khartoum, and which has echoed from the south of France to the China Sea, and from the Siberian steppes to the Congo forests, links the Prophet for all time with that conception of the deity which made his religion. To-day, Mohammed is “ The Name ” in Islam. “ One hears that name in the bazaar, and in the street ; in the mosque and from the minaret. Sailors sing it while hoisting their sails ; *hammals* groan it, to raise a burden ; the beggar howls it, to obtain alms ; it is the Bedouin's cry in attacking a caravan ; it hushes babes to sleep, as a cradle-song ; it is the pillow of the sick, and the last word of the dying ; it is written on the door-posts and in their hearts, as well as—since eternity—on the throne of God ; it is, to the devout Moslem, the name above every name.” “ There is no god but God : Mohammed is the prophet of God.”

II

Mohammed the Prophet, then, was born in Arabia, in an hour which gave his genius that same kind of chance that a like fortune gave such men as Luther, Oliver Cromwell, and Napoleon. The Arabian peninsula was ripe for one who could weld together its scattered elements into a

compact whole ; who could then animate them with a spirit of energy ; and who could hurl them upon the exhausted and isolated fragments of great empires and systems which surrounded Arabia. But Mohammed did not come to that Arabia which it pleased Carlyle to create for him ; indeed, he came to an Arabia for which there is a good deal of evidence to show that it had a higher civilisation, in one way, than that with which he left it. Monuments in the south prove that, under pre-Islamic, Christian, Jewish, and pagan dynasties, there was a higher stage of material culture than any the country has since seen ; and it is beyond question now, that on the whole the social position of women was superior. The veil and the harem were unknown ; and if female infanticide had been adopted to some extent by a barbarian people—as likely as not to balance the proportion of females to males in an age when so many of the latter were killed in tribal war—at least the survivors held an independent and honourable position. Khadijah, the Prophet's first wife, is an illustration. Wealthy, independent, and strong-minded as she seems to have been, her part in the development of Islam may have been even more important than many think.

Arabia, then, in A.D. 570 was the home of pagan tribes, who traced their descent from Ishmael, Abraham's abandoned son, and who had the fierce spirit of the desert in their blood. They were unconquered ; but attempts at conquest had allowed of the infiltration of foreign thought, very largely Christian ; for Christian Abyssinians ruled Yemen for two generations, and Romans the northern frontiers. There were Jewish inhabitants too ; for their settlements, close to Medina, were a political factor of importance throughout Mohammed's lifetime. The tribes had no centre of unity, except perhaps in the sacred spot at Mecca, where stood the Kaaba stone ; but there their own polytheism generated disunion simultaneously. The tragedy is that they were surrounded by Christians who had fallen away from the true faith preserved chiefly at Rome, and whose

heretical views as to the Person of our Blessed Lord had caused division which made them weak and ever weakening; by no strong Oriental power of first magnitude; and by a Roman Empire riding hard towards its fall—at least, in Africa and Syria. Of these Christians in Arabia a little more may be said. Six Arabian bishops attended the Council of Nicea; one from Bosra—a monk, Theophilus—had built churches in Yemen, in A.D. 342; two months before Mohammed's birth a Christian army was defeated outside Mecca; while Christianity in the kingdom of Hirah was under the protection of the Persian monarch. Mohammedan commentators themselves admit that the Prophet was instructed by learned Christians; and that it was on account of this that his enemies said: "It is only some mortal who teaches him." The Prophet's earliest converts found refuge at the court of Abyssinia, and one at least became prominently Christian when the others returned to their home; and Mohammed even possessed in his own harem, during later years, a Christian concubine. Pre-Islamic literature is undoubted; and although not learned, Mohammed possessed an intelligence able to assimilate and mould what he heard and read, and was by no means destitute of informal teachers.

There was one other striking religious phenomenon in Arabia when Mohammed was born into it, and an examination of "Hanifism," as this phenomenon is termed, helps us to see how little the Prophet had to originate in his teaching. These "Hanifs" bore an honourable name, even if to the Arabian it was not so, for it implied that they were "limping" after God. So, indeed, they were. They maintained that they had surrendered to God, thus using the very word "Islam"; and they set their face against infanticide and idolatry. They held out the hope of Paradise and the fear of Hell to men; and, more strikingly still, they based their faith on that return to a former purity, which was always Mohammed's justification of himself before his enemies. Abraham was to these men the father to whom the children

of Arabia must return. Arabian historians—especially Ibn Ishak, the earliest biographer of Mohammed—tell how they set out to other lands in the search after truth. Some, indeed, found it in the teaching of "The People of the Book," as the Christians are called; and, later on, it was a converted Hanif who first stood out for Christ against Islam in Africa. The Koran itself witnesses to them; and the Prophet so names Abraham himself: "Abraham was not a Jew nor yet a Christian; but he was a Hanif, and not of the idolaters" (Sura iii.). True Moslems would do well to follow the example of these men: "Be sincere in religion unto Him, as the Hanifs, and be steadfast in prayer" (Sura xcvi.). How much Mohammed heard of Hanifism may be judged from the fact that twelve of his companions were of this way.

Such were the elements, then, to which we may look as we seek the origins of Islam late in the sixth century A.D. Remembering them, Mohammed and his religion is no insoluble problem.

It is not our purpose to write Mohammed's life, except in so far as its details are necessary to an understanding of his religion. We begin, however, by noticing that, of his early years, very much was undoubtedly in his favour. He was bred under the shelter of the most influential man of the ruling tribe of the most important city of Arabia—Abd ul Muttalib, of the Koreish of Mecca; and he began life as the servant of a wealthy lady, whose commercial interests brought him into contact with the varied elements of Arabian life, and who finally bestowed on him her hand and her fortune in marriage. Khadijah herself was much influenced by Hanifism; and, judging by a comparison between her husband's moral life before and after her death, she must have been a powerful factor in his early religious development. It has often been told how, at the age of forty, his ponderings of religion and the mystery of the universe brought him to a troubled period, during which he sought the lowliness of the desert and of a cave on Mount Hira; and of how he came near, in his sorrows, to

suicide. He had the mind of a genius, beyond a doubt ; and through it surged all that he knew of purer faiths, stories of the prophets that had gone before, hatred of the idolatry about him, and the fire of a great spirit. He began to write down his thoughts in rhyming prose of no little beauty, to see visions, and to dream strange dreams. Maybe God did reward his prayers : he is not the only instance in history of a prophet whose Divine message was finally marred by human imperfection. Anyway, he stepped at last on to the platform of his world with his story of angelic visitation and his message of one God—swift to reward, sure in punishment, supreme in power.

For ten years, he won converts in negligible numbers ; wavered once in his pure monotheism, and, finally, lost his wife, was repulsed in his preaching at the town of Taif, and brought near the end of his hopes. But it is dark before the dawn. Swiftly came the adhesion of a band of Medina pilgrims ; fresh ecstasies and revelations ; the famous flight to Medina in A.D. 522 ; acceptance at that city ; a pose as an apostle beyond his former claims ; and, in 624, an appeal to the sword in the battle of Bedr, which gave him a victory of seeming miracle. The whole wonderful story now proceeds apace. There were ups and downs, but it is, in the main, the story of a steady triumph. The Prophet died, having established a religion and an empire, and having knocked, so to speak, upon the doors of Europe, Africa, and Asia. He had done that thing for which Arabia had waited ; he had gathered a hundred scattered units, in a moment of good fortune, into a people with a faith and a hope. And his successors were worthy of him. When Akbar exclaimed that he was stopped only by the raging sea, he said but the truth ; for there was hardly any human barrier that could check an army animated only by the spirit of Khalid's saying to a Persian general : " A people is upon thee, *loving death as thou lovest life.*"

Mohammed was essentially a religious, headstrong, and sensual man—elements that have been seen again and again

in men of genius. And, since Mohammed is Islam, Islam itself contains, principally, elements which correspond to all these. It is essentially a man's religion; and, more, it is essentially the religion of an unrestrained virile man. Nor can it be denied that these are the characteristics of Mohammed. He certainly believed in his message in those early days when he had nothing to gain and everything to lose by preaching it; and he certainly allowed his own masterly spirit to trade on his religion for political and personal ends as time went on. In those chapters of the Koran which were written before the Hegira, he calls himself simply "A Warner," "A Man like yourselves, working no miracles"; but in those which follow, he links himself with the Deity, as "God and His Apostle," with a claim which grows in proportion to his success. It can scarcely be doubted but that he incorporated the great national pilgrimage to the Kaaba into his system solely because of its value as a centralising agency; while if he were convinced that the archangel Gabriel brought him permission to break his previous most solemn enactments, then we have absolute proof that his own headlong spirit was master of his religious instinct. Now and again he blazed out in cruel and vindictive acts, just as the Koran is full of the like language. This was the man who gloated over the bloody head of his early enemy after the battle of Bedr, and who watched the cold-blooded massacre of 700 Jews before his very eyes. His sensuality, again, is beyond question. Pfander pointed out, years ago, that stories of the Prophet's home-life—such as are read to-day by Moslems—could not be printed in English; and he gathered his eleven wives and two concubines, some of them as David took Bath-sheba, but without Psalm 51 to follow, and one at least in cold-blooded lust—with the consent of her husband—at the special permission of Allah.

These elements are indeed all incorporated into Islam. There is religion simple enough to meet the religious need of man, and it is linked for ever with the other two. Islam

is the religion of the soldier : it is pious to fight ; and fighting is rewarded either way : with women and ease—either with the spoil of the field or with the *houris* in heaven. Slavery is in its very essence ; and, as we have seen, it is a slavery which gives a religious sanction to the most bestial elements in the traffic. The thrill of battle, the frenzy of religion, and the delights of passion—these are the offers of the Prophet ; who can wonder at his success ?

When we turn to this religion which the Arabs from Oman introduced into East Africa about 1700, we find that there is a great cleavage between theoretical Islam and Islam in practice. This is undoubtedly true of all other religions—even the Christian ; but in the case of Islam, these corruptions have received a sanction from which nothing but an enormous reformation could deliver the followers of the Prophet. It is best for us to treat Mohammedanism, therefore, in three ways : first, the religion which Mohammed promulgated ; secondly, a picture of Mohammedanism as it is, practically, among the peoples of the East Coast ; and thirdly, a Christian criticism of that faith in whatever purity it ever had.

III

Islam is divided into two great sections, the “ Iman ” and the “ Din,” which mean respectively Belief and Practice, and are incumbent on all orthodox believers. The first contains six articles, and the second five ; all based upon the Koran, which was written down by the Prophet himself on odd pieces of bone and wood, kept in a chest, and edited after his death. Of the six articles, the Unity of God stands first. “ There is no God but Allah ” ; and He is Living, Omniscient, Irresistible, Omnipotent, a Hearer, a Speaker, and a Seer. Indeed, He has ninety-nine attributes in the Koran, including The Merciful, The Compassionate, The Forgiving, The Generous, The Pardoner, The Kind, and The Patient ; and it is, of course, this idea of one God by

which Islam is best known. Secondly, the Moslem must believe in "The Angels," which article includes devils and "jinn" or genii. Angels, as we use the word, are very numerous, were created out of light, and go on God's errands from before His throne, as well as acting as the guardians of men. The jinn were created out of fire, good and evil, and are a kind of midway creature between angels and men. As in the "Arabian Nights," they play a great part in the destiny of man; and the Prophet himself had many *rencontres* with them. Sheitan, with an innumerable host of devils, seeks the destruction of men. Thirdly, come "The Books of God"; for many other books than the Koran have been sent down from God. All great prophets had books; but of these, Adam's ten, Seth's fifty, Enoch's thirty, and Abraham's ten are completely lost; while the "Law" of Moses, the "Psalms" of David, and the "Gospel" of JESUS of Nazareth are hopelessly corrupt. One great book—itsself a standing miracle attesting the Divine mission of the Prophet, brought down by Gabriel from where it is engraved on the throne of God, and verbally, absolutely and intrinsically, the Word of God—has superseded all other revelations and books, with its 114 chapters of supremely and magically beautiful language. Such is the Koran. Fourthly, a devout Moslem must accept "The Prophets," of whom there have been many thousand, but six greater and twenty-two lesser. The greater, in an ascending scale, are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, JESUS, and Mohammed; and the lesser include Æsop and Alexander the Great. "The Day of Judgment" stands next, known simply as "The Hour"—very much as the New Testament speaks of "The Day"—in which there will be a "resurrection of the body" into a Hell, and a Paradise whose description is in vivid material language. While, lastly, "Predestination" comes as the keystone of Moslem faith. "All things have been created after fixed degree," says the Koran, in Sura liv.; and again, Sura xiv.: "God misleadeth whom He will, and whom He will He guideth."

This has been accepted by Islam in its absolute sense, and involves all that "Wee Willie's Prayer" and "Omar Khayyám" have elsewhere expressed. Islam means resignation. Blind fatalism, riveting the chains of slaves, paralysing progress, encouraging a false Stoicism, rebuking philanthropy, and generating the frenzy of the dervish, is set for ever in the creed of the Prophet.

Five pillars of duty make up the Practice of a devout Moslem—and admirable pillars, theoretically, they are. The first is the living "Witness" that there is no God but God, and that Mohammed is the Apostle of God; the second is prayer five times a day; the third is the duty of alms-giving; the fourth is the lunar month's fast of Ramadan; and the fifth is the Meccan pilgrimage, or its equivalent.

Such is the positive Mohammedanism of Mohammed, set out in its simplicity. As a matter of fact, however, even regarded simply, its third article of faith carries with it in addition the same sort of necessary beliefs which a like article of faith once brought to certain Protestants. One was committed, as of faith, to a six days creation and a speaking ass; the other is committed to an incredible cosmogony and a primitive and sensual conception of society. The Moslem is bound to accept the principle of slavery and polygamy, even if he have only one wife and no slaves. But with this proviso, such is theoretical Islam.

IV

Practical Islam is so unlike the theoretical that it is difficult to know where to begin in its description. On the mainland of East Africa the thinnest veneer of Islam gives a man a title to that faith, and admits into a world-wide fellowship of common pride. We have seen why the negro is induced to join the faith of the Prophet; and it is undoubtedly this hasty inclusion of so many untaught followers which has lowered the standard everywhere—this and the fact that Islam is all too weak before certain

universal instincts of the human race. Thus it is not surprising that Mohammed has become a feature in the religion he founded, which makes good an otherwise insupportable loss. Despite the Prophet's promises, man is afraid to appear before God. And so the Prophet has become a demi-god, and a mediator. More than two hundred titles proclaim the honour of "The Light of God," "The Peace of the World," "The Glory of the Ages," and, "The Intercessor." He is sinless; miracles beset his way from the cradle to the grave; he was foretold in prophecy; his present place is in the highest heaven; and the endless prayers for him, offered daily by every devout Moslem, are a sure hope of eternal reward. His end is to be yet more glorious still. He who was miraculously washed pure as a child, and received up into the seventh heaven while on earth on a special visit to God, he is to be, on the Last Day, the Shield of the Faithful. Mr. Zwemer quotes the Arabic poem, which says—

" O Thou most excellent of all created beings,
To Whom but Thee can I flee for refuge
In that moment so terrible to every mortal ? "

Just as the Prophet has received so much more adulation than he claimed for himself, so his book is, as a matter of fact, a charm more than a revelation. In East Africa, by far the greater number of Moslems cannot read the Koran; and of those who can, but few can understand it. But if you cannot read it, at least it can be written for you on a bit of wood, and you can wash the ink off and drink it; or you can wear a little of it about your neck; or you can gain virtue by hearing it read in a monotonous sing-song by someone who himself understands not what he reads. It is a medicine in sickness; and with the song of it the dead are borne to burial.

Prayer, again, might well be an influence for good in a life so knit up with it; but it is doubtful how far Moslem prayer should be called prayer at all. The first necessity

is a proper direction—towards Mecca ; the next, legal purification of a most detailed description, which is far too long to repeat, but which includes washing some twelve parts of the body, each three times according to fourteen rules ; and “ Prayer after using a toothbrush is better than the prayer without, seventy-fold.” Then follow the amazing prostrations, each finger and toe in its correct place, and the endless repetitions of the prayer itself. Actual supplication is an addition to the whole set of legal prayers, during which a devout Moslem uses the same form at least seventy-five times in the day. Moral purity, or spiritual preparation, is nowhere hinted at. It is not an injustice to say, with Canon Dale, that this produces : “ Formalism, externalism, materialism of a most pronounced kind—the exact opposite of the spirit of love, of power, and of a wholesome mind.”¹ Popular religion consists in praying for and to the dead, and in making shrines of their graves ; in the observance of the feasts as a great holiday ; in keeping Ramadan with such legal exactness during the day and such excesses during the night that Mohammedans, rich and poor, spend more on food in that month than in any other month of the year ; and in the use of the mosque as a kind of club as well as for prayer. One ought to beware how one condemns any man’s religion. But when every authority agrees that it is a religion which produces a permanent habit of lying, sexual immorality, and the worst form of material religion, Schlegel’s summary is not too harsh : “ A prophet without miracles ; a faith without mysteries ; and a morality without love ; which has encouraged a thirst for blood, and which began and ended in the most unbounded sensuality.”²

One special feature, already hinted at, illustrates the development of modern Islam. Spirit and saint worship has

¹ Canon Dale’s letter to Mr. W. H. T. Gairdner, quoted in the *Reproach of Islam*, p. 215.

² Quoted by Mr. S. M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S., in *Islam : a Challenge to Faith*, p. 84.

become a main feature of popular religion ; and in this Mohammedanism has departed essentially from the reformation of the Prophet. That "Arabian Princess" to whom reference has been made has much to say about belief in the spirits of wells and streams with healing properties. in Zanzibar. As a child she was often taken to them ; and when older, tells how a visit to a peculiarly sacred spot meant a preparation of four weeks, the providing of a whole regiment of slaves of both sexes, and "a pageantry," in which "no expense was spared." The daughter of the Sultan went to propitiate the spirit, accompanied by the court, with feasting and entertainment ; and her offering was the blood of a bull and "immense numbers of fresh eggs dashed to pieces on the water's edge." The ceremony included a speech to the spirit, and humble prayers for health. Incense was offered ; and the magnificence of the performance "formed the main topic of conversation for many weeks after." The child of the slave would go too, but with less show and humbler offerings ; for the superstition pervaded all society. Near Zanzibar, at this day, there is the shrine of a descendant of the Prophet, who was drowned about a century ago, and buried magnifically by the Sultan. Miracles were proclaimed as happening at the grave ; and he was widely adopted as a patron saint, and enshrined, even on the mainland. To-day, the native offers at the spot ; breaking an egg at the door, throwing sweetmeats before the tomb, burning incense, and calling on the name of the holy man. The worshipper presents a petition, and promises, in actual detail, abundant offerings if the request is heard. So also the apparently abandoned tombs in the city are often found with little incense-jars in the corners—a pitiful sherd of pottery and ashes ; and on the very doors of holy places flutter rags offered by the faithful. Popular Mohammedanism is bound to revert to the instinctive faith of the world, but without check or guidance.

V

Our short survey gives us room to add a paragraph that is very necessary to a student of Islam. It is commonly said, even by officials of importance who have worked in East Africa, that the religion of the Prophet is suited to the African, and the next best religion to the Christian. Whether or not we ought to be content that any race should have a second-best religion seems to us to be a matter beyond argument to a sincere Christian; but it is worth while remembering how summary a criticism must be directed, even against the best that Mohammed offered.

His monotheism is commonly highly praised; but we must never forget two things: firstly, that pure unitarianism contains every element fatal to those attributes of God in which we put our trust; and, secondly, that the monotheism of Mohammed is not the monotheism of Christianity. That the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is vital to the love and life of God is something which we tend to forget in this age, nor can a detailed explanation find a place in the text of this chapter; but the Church of the early centuries did not fight so fiercely for the faith enshrined in the Athanasian Creed merely for a love of fighting, or of verbal hair-splitting. Our second point is more closely linked with our present study. Allah, to the Prophet, was possessed of a great impersonal character supremely beyond emotion or the possibility of self-limitation. He is all Will and Power—a conception of pitiless omnipotence. He may favour or He may not; but whichever He does, He does solely because the autocratic engine of His Will, so to speak, moves in that direction. It is this which has produced that deadly fatalism of which we have spoken; it is this which places the God of the Prophet in isolation from, or even opposition to, His world: a God above us, but neither in us nor with us.

And this is not a Western opinion only. An educated

Indian Moslem, Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, in a book of essays published this year (1912), writes as follows :—

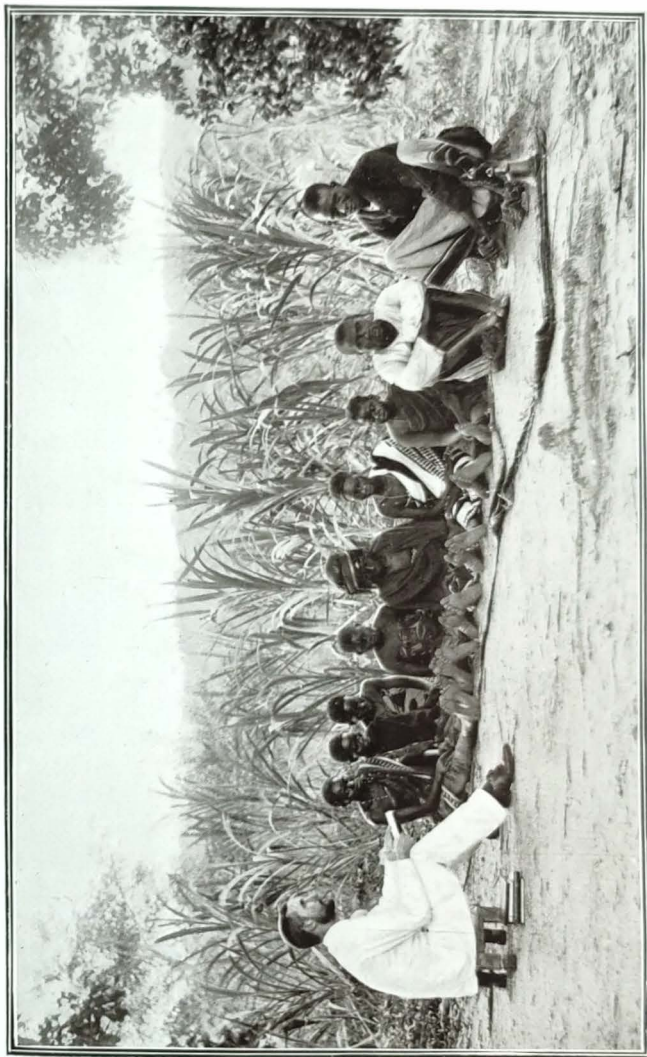
"God is conceived as vindictive, unmerciful, occupied in tedious matters, hostile to all gaiety and juvenility; totally uninterested in the human race except in so far that He regards their transgressions with morbid asperity and a kind of gloomy satisfaction, as giving Him an opportunity of exercising coercive discipline."

This is not the Father Who is seen in the Face of JESUS CHRIST.

Exactly what this comes to mean is, perhaps, seen best with regard to the Moslem idea of sin. Our own Christian thought staggers before this great mystery; but it is saved, inasmuch as it proceeds no farther than the threshold of the shrine. We believe that there is a definite standard of right and wrong: the one identical with God's whole Person; the other, antagonistic to Him. Right is right and wrong is wrong, because in the eternal life of God right is right and wrong is wrong; and God could not make what is a wrong, a right. Now this is exactly what God can do, to the Moslem. He does not conceive of sin as something intrinsically wrong, but only as something which God arbitrarily taboos, and which would be right if God did not taboo it. As Dr. St. Clair Tisdall pointed out at the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908, "Hallal" (permitted) and "Haram" (forbidden) are what the Moslems say when we say "Right" and "Wrong." Allah is Himself not bound by a standard of justice; He changes the moral law capriciously; He is not to be questioned as to His actions. A great illustration is Mohammed's own case; for Allah, in his favour and for him as distinct from all others, made sacrilege not sacrilege, and adultery not adultery.¹ Allah, however, can do as He pleases and is not to be questioned.

This arbitrary idea of sin has brought about an equally arbitrary classification of sins. It is a "Tradition" that

¹ In the case of the robbery of the Meccan pilgrims, and of Zainab wife of Zaid.



TEACHING A CLASS ON A ZANZIBAR PLANTATION

the Prophet said: "One dirham taken knowingly in usury is more grievous than thirty-six fornications." A lie is allowable in certain cases. The murder of an infidel is no breach of the sixth commandment; and a sin against ritual is as great as a sin against morality.

But, lastly, it must always be remembered that the necessity for Atonement, and the fact of that Atonement on the part of our Blessed Lord, are fundamental elements of the Christian Faith categorically denied by Islam. Were the religion of the prophet all that is noble and pure and true—except for this—it would still be unfit for any member of the human race in the eyes of any Christian who believes that our Lord was speaking the truth of God when He said: "No man cometh to the Father but by Me." The Koran teaches the Virgin Birth of our Lord (Sura xix. 16-21), and the Traditions add the Immaculate Conception of His Mother; while it is remarkable that to Him alone of the "Prophets," including Mohammed himself, is imputed still, "no sin." But it denies His Godhead: "JESUS is as Adam, in the sight of God. He created him of dust; He said to him, 'Be'—and he was" (Sura iii. 51). Again, it denies His Crucifixion: "They slew him not, and they crucified him not; for they had only his likeness" (Sura iv. 156). Surely it is unnecessary to insist that upon these two dogmas of faith turn the whole Christian position. Islam exists as a rival to Christianity. It is an enemy in open arms. In the long war with it, there can be neither truce nor compromise; and were it reformed of all moral abuses and ethical contagion, it would still be utterly irreconcilable with the religion of the Cross. So far as we are concerned, the Christian Church can have no other aim than its destruction; and we go into the battle sure that it is a kingdom of this world which, to prophetic vision, is brought under the feet of our Lord and of His Christ.

VI

Islam is not always a missionary religion in the sense in which we use that word. Had it been so, there would have been no heathen left in East Africa when that great missionary of the Church Missionary Society—Krapf—landed there in 1844, to whose labours the scientific world is indebted for the discovery of the inland lakes and Mount Kenia, and the religious world, for one of the earliest trustworthy accounts of the natives of the country. Krapf, indeed, saw visions and dreamed dreams; and he was the kind of man to see in a story the salient, coloured features rather than the rude drab and more useful background; but when we turn from the religion of the Prophet to the religion of the pagan, in 1850, he stands as a foremost authority. Krapf himself realised that Islam was less active on the East Coast than it was in North Africa—and unquestionably this was so. The Arab made converts wherever he went, or rather a hundred reasons made converts fall in to him; but he did not do much direct missionary work. He does it to-day, whenever a Christian mission opens up a new station; but had Islam been propagated with the zeal of early days, then there had been no heathen to evangelise in Central Africa, and the Universities' Mission had had a far harder task.

For the religion of the heathen presents as great a contrast to that of Islam as it is possible to imagine. Where the one is definite, the other is indefinite; where the one possesses theology and theologians, the other has neither the one nor the other; where the one is a reasoned attempt at the problem of the universe, the other is an unreasoned and blind fight against the gods of ill-luck and circumstance. In one sense, it is hardly fitting to call the religion of the Bantu tribes a religion at all—that is, if by a religion we mean a definite and apprehensible system. And yet there is enough to call out pity and enlist help.

Speaking generally, the heathen tribes of Eastern Africa possess in common only vague ideas, which become translated into particular forms as many in number as there are tribes. Krapf and his friend Rebmann, whose journeyings certainly entitle them to speak for great tracts of country, were much depressed by this; for they held that gross materialism was responsible for the absence of definite religion. They liken the savages they meet to those of whom it was written: "Their god is their belly." Krapf wrote, on his return to Mombasa from one long journey, as follows:—

"Most of all, I was grieved at witnessing the drunkenness and sensuality, the dullness and indifference, which I had observed among the Wanyika; the chief of Uamfe said openly: 'There is no God since He is not to be seen. The Wanyika need trouble themselves about nothing, except tembo (coco-nut beer), corn, rice, Indian corn, and clothes: these are their heaven.' . . . 'The Watsumba (Mohammedans),' he added, 'were fools to pray and fast so much.'" A great deal of this he repeats of other tribes, and it is no doubt a truthful picture. Krapf had a good deal of insight into people.

These vague ideas, however, can be formulated. In the first place, the idea of a Supreme Being, and not of many gods, is common throughout East Africa, and Him they usually distinguish by a name which means "Heaven" or by some like equivalent. But, like so many savage peoples, the very supremacy of this Being lifts Him out of the range of thought and life. Generally speaking, no worship, sacrificial or otherwise, is paid to Him; and the idea of His existence remains at the back of their minds without being correlated to life or duty. The early missionaries indeed found a good deal of dispute as to what His Name really denoted; and some of the Wanyika told them it meant thunder; others the visible sky; some even that every man became a "Mulungu" at his death. But it is something that they have no lesser gods, and make no idols—except

in one or two isolated cases, where it looks as if a relic of Portuguese Christianity had been so used. Krapf's "Journal" for December 15, 1848, has such an entry.

"In Great Rabbai there is said to be a Kisuka—a little devil—i.e., an image, probably of a saint, which the Portuguese left behind them after their expulsion from Mombaz [*sic*], which is now revered by the Wanyika as a kind of war-god, and is borne round in procession before the outbreak of a war to rouse the warriors to heroic deeds. This is the only idol I have heard of in Eastern Africa, and it, remarkably enough, comes from an idolatrous Christian church."

So fares some hapless St. George or St. Michael at the hands of pagan—and Christian!

The practical religion of the Bantu peoples is, however, spiritism—often of a most degraded sort; the spirits being both those of their ancestors and those unconnected with them. But the border-line seems very vague. Sir Harry Johnston thinks that the Bantu negro built up his idea of God by degrees out of ancestor worship, and quotes an authority who traces the word "Mulungu" to a Zulu word meaning "the great one," or, "the old, old one." The connection is possible, and might be supposed to have worked out somewhat as follows: A great chief died, and was buried by being thrust into a cleft rock, a hollow of the mountains, or a thick forest—whitened bones indicate such native sepulchres often in East Africa—and then his spirit or ghost was conceived of as haunting that particular spot. With the passing of time, and under happy chances, the chief's memory grows greater as bad or good luck becomes associated with the place of his grave, until at last the spirit is remembered and the man forgotten. Then identification with Mulungu may follow; and a tribe professing to believe in a Supreme Being is found practically worshipping the spirit of a mountain or a cave. We shall see, shortly, a good instance of this. Another appears to be worshipped by a tribe at the north end of Lake Nyasa who believe in a

spirit of evil that lives in a remarkable grotto of stalactites and stalagmites on a mountain there.

The second article of heathen faith, then, emerges as a belief in immortality of some sort. Some writers (among them Sir Harry Johnston) have maintained that they think these spirits fade away, and so cease; perhaps a more likely hypothesis is that, unless they attain to a semi-divine reverence by a process such as we have indicated, it is their memory which, growing dim, causes them to be forgotten, rather than that any definite idea of their personal diminishing occurs. In Nyasaland, some of the natives believe that the spirits of the dead flutter about in the form of insects, such as the praying-mantises with their uncanny appearance. In any case, the religious life of the East African savage is knit with these dead. They are propitiated with offerings. Here one reads of the sacrificing of oxen in a grove in which people have been buried for generations; there of that of a cock, over the grave itself. Dr. Krapf tells of a woman among the Wanyika who often ordained sacrifices for the dead, which might be of fowls or black sheep or a cow; and this she was believed to do at the instance of the *koma* or spirit of the dead person who appeared to her in a dream. The doctor, in another place, says that in his day, the Wanyika believed this *koma* to be now in the grave, now above the earth, now in thunder or lightning, as it pleased. He thinks this tribe ascribed a higher nature to the ghost than to the person while living; but although the ghost has undoubtedly greater and more mysterious powers, there does not seem evidence for anything more.

Spirits which cannot be traced to the dead, are the other great influence in heathen life; and these are mostly bad or, at least, inclined to be malicious. The whole paraphernalia of witchcraft and wizardry emerges from them. Some tribes locate spirits nearly everywhere, especially among trees; and Krapf found this again and again. He says that cocoa-nut trees, especially, were held to have

"spirits," who were injured by the destruction of the tree itself; and certainly trees played a large part in spiritism here as throughout the world. In Zanzibar Island, to this day, within a walk of the town, trees with little offerings about them are frequently seen. All ill is, of course, the work of spirits; and here, as everywhere, medicine and rough surgery is almost entirely directed towards driving them out. The sort of thing that happens has been often described; but Dr. Krapf's own account of such a witch-doctoring, on the mainland in 1848, is rather in place in a study of East Africa before our Mission began its work. He writes, under heading of January 28:—

"We visited to-day a Wakamba hamlet. On our homeward way, we came upon a band who informed us that they were bent on expelling an evil spirit from a sick person. In the centre of the throng stood a wooden mortar filled with water; near the mortar, stuck into the ground, was a staff—which they called *Moroi*—about three feet long, and of the thickness of a man's finger, painted black, and ornamented with white and blue glass beads and a red feather. The Wanyika believe that the evil spirit loves these beads, and that his attention becomes gradually drawn to them, until he at last completely forsakes the sick person and fastens upon the beads. From time to time a boy kept dipping twigs into the water, and sprinkling the head of the sick man; while the throng danced about him, drumming and making a frightful noise. It was impossible for me to attempt a word of warning to the maddened crowd; even when they were obliged at last to rest for very weariness, they tried to recruit themselves by drinking palm-wine, and then the shrieking, dancing, and drumming began anew, completely drowning every expostulation I essayed to make."

There is one other widespread heathen practice that must be mentioned—the more especially as it seems to stand for much in heathen faith that may not easily be told. From Lake Nyasa comes the oft-repeated tale that

spirits are ill-disposed to men ; that they cause madness ; and one of the greatest fears the native knows is of one sort of such madness—the madness of the witch-cannibals, the *Afiti*. “ The *Afiti*,” says Sir H. Johnston, “ are depraved persons with a craving for putrefying human flesh. The idea among the natives is that they will the death of certain people in order that they may eat their dead bodies. Supernatural powers are ascribed to them, and they are believed to be able to make themselves invisible, and to fly through the air.” The people imagine that your very brother who, but a moment ago, was eating his porridge by your side, may be creeping as a lion or a leopard, at nightfall, after the dead. And it is not all a superstition. From the Bondei country, we have news of persons who steal, naked, into cemeteries to dig up the graves, for ghastly purposes, and for witchcraft. It is not unknown nearer civilisation still ; but, for the present, it is enough to hint at a wickedness better known in 1850, when the “ dark places of the earth ” were more common than to-day.

VII

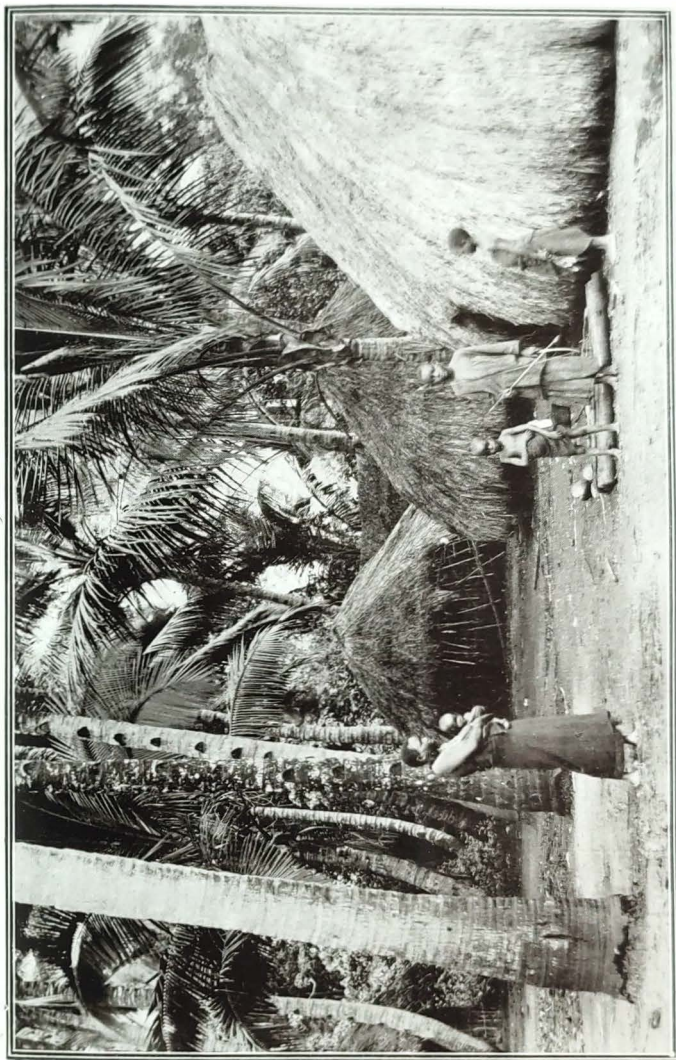
All this vague and less general information has, fortunately, been focused for us by the work of Canon Dale, who has written “ An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives inhabiting the Bondei Country,” and from which all that follows is drawn. We have in his paper a complete account of one tribe of East African natives almost uniquely detailed ; and, although a great deal of Bondei lore does not apply, say, to Yaos or Masais, still it will be easily seen how readily much of this particular information illustrates what we have seen more generally.

The Bondeis are found up-country from Tanga, between the Shambala hills and the coast. They identify their principal god with the spirit of a mountain (practically, the mountain itself), of a bold and striking outline in the near

neighbourhood of Misozwe. Mlinga is indeed a naturally remarkable object; and an eyewitness has told how, at sunrise on certain occasions, the sun strikes upon a great rock, rich in some kind of ore on its summit, which then glistens with a wonderful beauty. Behind those "golden gates" lives a powerful spirit, still identified with the ghost of a Shambala named Seketeke, who was buried there "long ago"—perhaps a century. Anyone who climbed Mlinga, or who spat upon him or pierced the ground, would die;¹ and very soon trackless and fierce jungle made ascent almost impossible, and surrounded the holy mountain with additional cause for reverence. Here, then, sat Mlinga, and gathered to himself the spirits of Bondeis as they died. Once, when many Bondeis died at the coast, the night was made terrible by the noise of ghost trumpets heralding a great host as their spirits passed to the brazen gates. When war came, ghost drums beat on Mlinga; and if the enemy were killed, then Mlinga fought for his Bondeis. At times, spirits pass from Mlinga to another country, and then all men can hear them go by in a strong wind, breaking trees and flattening grass. Sometimes Mlinga is angry, and holds back the rain; sometimes he comes in the night to a chief and issues commands, saying, perhaps: "Dance! war is coming." Whereupon the dance is danced by night, and people gather maize and banana-stalks carry them to the next village, knock up the sleeping folk, and pass on the dread news. Such is Mlinga, spirit of the Bondeis.

But he is, after all, more or less remote; and the great trouble is caused by "*pepo*" or devils. There are hundreds of these; though the witch-doctors say that "Shetani" is one, but he changes his voice, and so has many names. But the wise Bondei knows better. There is a *pepo* who comes after childbirth, and likes bananas, sugar-

¹ We write, of course, of 1850 (*circa*). Bishop Smythies (the first of many followers) climbed to the top in 1885, and so scotched a good deal of the superstition.



A BONDE VILLAGE

cane, and bread. There is a thieving *pepo* who comes after the milk ; but he likes water poured over his body, and he only eats chaff. There is a great swell *pepo* who likes white cloth and eats rice and fowls ; and he may come in sleep to children and their mother. If you faint by the roadside, a *pepo* comes who is fond of red cloth and will not eat chicken. There is a *pepo* whom you know by a cutting pain in the stomach ; and nothing pleases him but a spear and bells and a monkey-skin. There is another who sucks blood ; another who comes when you ache with work—a white-clothes devil this ; another who treads on fire (you feel it !) ; and another, fond of raw eggs, who comes with pains in chest and head. Yet another is a jolly devil and a strict teetotaler ; and another, very rare, is peculiar to the Bondeis, as he only talks their tongue. All these, and many more, are named and known, and are about the path and the bed of all Bondeis. They live in a large stone outside a village, or in a tree, and are often discovered by men in dreams of the night. A man acts in his sleep like a madman, and runs to the stone or the tree, crying : *Hodi ! Hodi !*—the common entrance-call. Others follow him, and listen while the devil speaks through his lips : “ How is it you do not know me in your town ? When people cough and get colds and die, I do it because you do not know me. You must bring a goat and two fowls (one must be white and a hen), and you must come and offer them. To-morrow, sweep a clear space, and always remember to burn incense for me.” In the morning, the man possessed officiates at the sacrifice, and, kneeling, says : “ Lord, we have repented. Till to-day, we did not know you ; and, behold, it is you who make us ill. We have come now to confess. Tell us when sickness is coming ; if a child is ill, heal him ; and everything you want, we will give.”

To be distinguished from devils are the spirits of the dead, although we are told that our authority cannot “ make out that there is much difference in the moral level of either.” Their spirits go to Mlinga, but they can

also wander about and cause dreams. They are invisible, and appear at night in the same guise as when alive. They chat with the dreamer, and tell him why they have come and what is about to be, and what propitiation must be made. Sacrifices to and for the dead are thus common, beginning from the highest and ranging to the lowest. One way of propitiating Mlinga is by the slaughter of a sheep at the grave of Seketeke. If there is a sick person, a spirit may come and say: "So-and-so is ill; take cold porridge and common grass and the skin of an old goat in the morning;" and on the morrow, if the sick person has a dead relation, the ghost will be propitiated with these. Spitting, they say: "Spirit! sleep; this child of yours is sick for ever so long, and by night you come and give me dreams; here is your meat, your porridge, and your skin." This happens at the grave of the dead person.

When the head of the house dies, he is washed and shaved by near relations, who take some of the hair and the nails of the deceased and wrap them up with mould in a piece of cloth, while a goat is slaughtered. This makes a *mzimu*, or spirit-haunted relic; and it is carried about the town to receive presents, with dancing and songs. The *mzimu* is then stored up, above the place of the chief in his house; and afterwards, if a man loses many children or if he is often ill, two black fowls have their wings and legs broken before it, and the *mzimu* is smeared with oil. In diseases like small-pox or leprosy a sheep takes the place of the goat, and is slaughtered over the grave in the forest. If a man who has died from such a disease appears in a dream, he is propitiated with what he asks at the crossroads, or the sickness would enter the town.

Such sacrifices are not limited to the time of death. Nearly every social relation is entered upon with them, and every activity of life is beset with them. When a boy is circumcised, for example, three sacrifices occur: one to this horrible *mzimu* of a dead ancestor; another which consists in moulding a cooking-pot out of clay, that the

art of pottery may flourish in the house ; and lastly, the preparation of medicine, with which the child is rubbed as "a sacrifice of the heirloom." Or again, if a hunter is about to set out for hunting, he will have a hunting-dance the night before, and then take a fowl to the grave of his ancestor in the morning. Feathers are plucked from the neck, with incantations and a calling on the spirit of the man's father, and finally the blood is smeared on the spears or guns. From the way the bird falls in dying, an augury of success or failure is made, and its flesh is left on a wicker framework until the hunter returns. Then there is another dance, offering of native beer to that little bag of earth and grim remains, or a like sacrifice. In like manner, solemn vows are made at the graves of the dead, and binding regulations may be put upon the conduct of wife or children. Before the hunter went to hunt, for example, he bound his wife over to good conduct for a few days and left her four commandments :

1. Don't wash.
2. Don't let anyone hoist your burden on to your head for you.
3. If your back is dirty, don't let anyone rub it.
4. Don't flirt !

So the humorous jostles the grave, and life death, in East Africa.

VIII

The practical outcome of all this is witchcraft, and that covers a great deal in East Africa. The witch-doctor has a finger in everything, from surgery and medicine to the making of pots and pans, and the details of social life. He makes the indispensable "medicine." The devil-doctor has a large outfit, consisting of five sorts of drums, books full of pictures of devils, fowls and doves, red and blue cloth, many bottles of strange mixtures, some peeled rods, monkey-skins, white cloth to exorcise in, and his incense.

When a man wishes to become a doctor, he first of all goes to a fully qualified medical man and expresses a wish to be his assistant. The practitioner will then tell him that he must look for a young cockerel that is just beginning to crow, and bring it. When he has found it, there is sacrifice made, and the novice is scarified all over his body, taught the names and contents of all the bottles, shown how to lay divining-rods, and taken with the doctor on his rounds. Finally, he may set up for himself.

His first work is the cure of the sick. This of course varies with the disease; but it appears to have common features. Offerings are made of live stock and goods, part of which remains the property of the doctor, part is sacrificed in various ways, and part (of the live stock) goes to the preparation of a feast which usually plays an important part in the business. Some medicines and remedies are valueless: it cannot do a madman much good to have his head shaved while a sheep is being slaughtered at cross-roads; but, again, the doctors do know of roots and herbs certainly beneficial. The doctor is usually an expert at "cupping"; but his ignorance of the anatomy of the body sometimes leads to dangerous treatment. Love-potions, and charms for finding lost objects, are all as fit subjects for "medicine" as stomach-ache or dropsy.

Secondly, he is the provider of charms, which are needed at every turn and twist of life—for market, against wild animals, to scare devils, to beget children, to bewitch your neighbour, to save yourself from the neighbour who has bewitched you. One thing at least must be said, and that is that the devil-doctor believes in his own charms, or appears to do; for he charms himself. The object of incantation is to drive away a devil: it probably is efficacious to a degree, since it drives away fear in those who believe in it. Charming ranges from the simple pot—placed under a stone supported by four sticks at the entrance to a village, into which every woman who goes to draw water puts a little

to ward off devils—up to the long incantation and the strange medicine of much greater value.

Lastly, the witchdoctor's duty includes the definite exorcism of *Shetani*, that supreme trouble to native life. Much has been written about devil-possession on both sides, just as discussion has ranged hotly over Biblical cases of the same; and perhaps this is not the place in which to enter upon it. However little there be of reality in devil-possession, the effects remain upon the lives of the people as truly as if it were all genuine; and it is at least noteworthy that missionaries (including medical men) who have been longest in the country are the most cautious in their pronouncement upon it. Even Christian native women—without known physical cause—sometimes exhibit those strange symptoms, which have been noted since the days of Luke the Physician; and often act in a way contrary to their known character and apparently beyond their own control. I suppose our *a priori* belief or disbelief in the personality of spirits of evil really determines our judgment.

Be that as it may, we may rapidly describe a heathen exorcism. Some woman has lapsed into a frenzy and run shrieking to the woods, or has dropped into a deadly trance from which she emerges from time to time to indulge in awful blasphemy and filth. The devil-doctor is now sent for. He summons his drummers, and in the evening they pay their visit, bearing lamps, other apparatus, and a trumpet. While the doctor rests on a bedstead, the women light a fire, put medicine in it, kill a fowl, and prepare food. Then wicker plates are fetched, and heaped with sugar-cane, rice, honey, bread, and bananas; these are then placed on two mortars and set beside the fire. The possessed woman is washed, smeared with oil, made to sit on a seat by the fire, and censured. Then the drumming begins, and goes on interminably, or until "the devil rises." Apparently, this is indicated by the woman showing readiness to speak, whereupon a hideous colloquy takes

place between the devil-doctor, who holds her head, and the woman herself in the character of the devil.

"You devil you (naming one of the *pépo*), what have you come for?"

"You have summoned me!"

"Yes, I have called you about this chair (*i.e.* the woman regarded as a seat of the devil). It is ill. Why are you hurting it?"

If it is the right devil, he gives his reason; if it is the wrong, the doctor says: "You devil you—go! we will call your friends!"

All is done again, until at last the right devil is found, who may say:—

"I was made a promise; I was told that I should have a goat found for me, and that I should be exorcised the whole night and in the early morning eat the goat. Well, my promise has not been fulfilled, and so I have come."

Then he is promised his goat, which the husband will fetch in the morning and tie to "the chair" until the night for exorcism comes. Then it is killed, the drumming and dancing go on again, and the blood is poured into basins, of which the devil drinks his share, and men the rest.

What does it all mean? Who can say? But set the picture where the red firelight throws dark shadows of hideously dressed men under the tall mysterious palms, and lights their mad dancing and their deliberate intention to talk with devils, and if there be a Satan where could he find a safer kingdom, or more deluded victims? "But no one can enter into the house of the strong *man* and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong *man*; and then he will spoil his house."¹

IX

It remains to sum up very briefly the study of this chapter. First, there stands out prominently what must

¹ S, Mark iii. 27 (R.V.).

be a most fruitful subject for further thought and investigation—namely, the union of religious and social life in East Africa. We have seen that Islam is knit with a treatment of women and a recognition of slavery which could only be expunged from the faith at the cost of its entire destruction ; and it must have been plain on every page, as we treated of *shenzi-ism*, that here, again, social life and religion go hand in hand. The social reformer in East Africa must deal with religion ; the missionary is inevitably mixed with social life. Any attempt to sunder the two is first a Western conception totally at war with that of the East ; and secondly, is doomed, if it succeed, to destroy both. Make an East African civilised and his old religion has gone. He may bolster it, as many do Mohammedanism ; and he may succeed, in a measure, if he is morally strong ; but there are not many morally strong in East Africa. More probably he will have no restraint upon his desires other than that of convenience or Western law. At the same time, the reverse holds true. A Christian is an alien from society ; but he cannot live without it. Such is the problem that besets the missionary ; such the burden which the pioneer of civilisation without religion has to shoulder and bear before his God.

Secondly, it is well to set clearly before us the definite character of those religions—if the latter can be called a religion—which we have been studying. The keynote of Mohammedanism is, No Love ; that of *shenzi-ism*, No Hope. Western defenders of Islam often maintain that love does enter into the Mohammedan idea of God ; but the answer from practical observation is that, although it might seem to do so, in fact it emphatically does not. A convinced Trinitarian knows that Unitarianism is bound, philosophically, to exclude love ; but that is a side-issue for the theologian. The case against Islam is simpler. In the first place, in it one idea of God—His omnipotence—has overshadowed all the rest ; in the second, it sets out no loving act of God and no kindly deeds of His, save those

which are arbitrary and whimsical. The result is obvious. A Mohammedan may love his friends, but he is *not allowed* to love his enemies, for his faith demands their death; and he is *not bidden* to love his neighbour. He knows nothing of the simple apostolic philosophy of that old man in Ephesus: "Beloved, if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another;" and as a matter of fact, love with him is scarcely a manly virtue at all.

And for the heathen life is one long fear. Fear stands haunting him at every stage, at every turn; and he looks across the grave into a shadowy future which does not offer rest even to the weary, and in which there shines no certain hope. It would be a mistake to suppose that either he or the Moslem desire Christianity because of the favourable contrast it presents; in the first place, all men are animal enough to content themselves, in time, with what they have; and in the second, their desire for better things requires awakening. A man born blind does not know what you mean by light, but that does not prove that darkness is better for him or for us. And the heathen and Mohammedan have been born blind; and they do not always believe you when you talk about the light, partly because you talk in riddles, partly because they meet many walking there who seem to find it no great gain.

Lastly, as we turn from East African religions with many conclusions, one is chief. It might be written at length, but perhaps it is better crystallised in the saying of a great missionary:—

"There are comparative religions, *but Christianity is not one of them.*"

ASSIGNMENTS

A

1. From what elements did Mohammed derive his religion?
2. What does an orthodox Mohammedan have (a) to believe; (b) to do?

3. For what reasons, do you think, has Mohammedanism spread so widely ?
4. On what points does Islam contradict Christianity ?
5. What does an East African heathen believe about God ?
6. How does the belief in devils affect East African heathen life ?
7. Compare the influence of Mohammedanism with that of "shenzi-ism" on the outlook of the individual.
8. Explain more fully the last quotation of this chapter.

B

1. Collect some more information about (a) the religion of the early Arabians ; (b) the Kaaba Stone ; (c) the *Hegira*.
2. Prepare a more detailed account of Mohammed's life, and fill in a map of Arabia to illustrate it.
3. Look up, to read at the circle, the following suras of the Koran : i. (the Mohammedan " Lord's Prayer ") ; cxii. (a chapter of the unity of God) ; cxiii. (a chapter used as a charm against evil spirits) ; lvi. vers. 1-56 (a description of the Last Day, Heaven, and Hell) ; xxxiii. ver. 49 (an illustration of the Prophet's private privileges). (*For editions of the Koran, see Bibliographical Appendix.*)
4. Bring quotations from Burns's " Wee Willie's Prayer " and from " Omar Khayyám " to illustrate the absolute doctrine of predestination.
5. Show how the dogma of the Ever-Blessed Trinity reacts on Christian life, pointing out what Islam loses without it. (*See Illingworth's " Divine Immanence," chap. iii. (last half) and vii. ; or, more simply, Gore's " The Creed of a Christian," chap. iv.*)
6. How would you compare (1) Moslem spirit-worship, and (2) heathen spiritism, with the Catholic doctrine of the Communion of Saints ?
7. Bring pictures and curios illustrating the craft of the devil-doctor (*A 6 may be substituted or added.*)
8. Do there seem to you elements in pure heathenism suggestive that God has not left Himself without witness, upon which anything that is Christian might be built ?

CHAPTER III

“ THE POURING OUT OF TEARS ”

Objective.—A study of the making known of Africa's need through the lives of Livingstone and Mackenzie.

Time.—In the history of the Mission, up to January 1862 ; Livingstone died May 1, 1873.

Aim.—To show how a knowledge of the need of Africa was brought to the Church, and that a definite answer could not be evaded.

Question.—How should I answer the objection that “ Missions are an unwarranted interference with other people's religion and national life—especially when there are so many heathen at home ? ”

Scripture Reading.—2 Timothy iv. 1-8.

(The last recorded words of a pioneer missionary, lonely in the shadow of death.)

SYNOPSIS

PARAGRAPHS

- I. The light which the characters of the pioneers throw upon the need of East Africa.
- II. David Livingstone's early life, South African experiences, first great journey from west to east of the continent, return to England, and appeal to the universities.
- III. Charles Frederick Mackenzie's character, Cambridge life, call, work in Natal, return to England, and acceptance of the headship of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.
- IV. Plans and prospects of the start.

PARAGRAPHS

- V. Initial mistakes, conflict with the slave trade, Magomero, privation and disappointment, death and failure.
- VI. The deaths of Bp. Mackenzie and David Livingstone viewed as a call to the Church of God.

“ It seems to me that the conquest . . . ought not to be attempted except in the way in which Thou and Thine Apostles acquired it—namely, by love and prayers and the pouring out of tears and blood.” *Raymond Lull* (A.D. 1235–1315).

I

THE aim of our first two studies has been a simple one ; and we have obtained some idea of the East African seaboard and interior, both socially and spiritually, in the middle of the nineteenth century. There is really not much question that *the need* was there. Some will estimate it in one way, some in another, and a very great deal turns on that estimation ; but we have a standard by which we can not only measure our own estimation of that need, but also decide on a true one. For the second half of the definition upon which we are basing our study is *the need made known* ; and we can learn a great deal by a study of how that was done. We shall see that the need of East Africa was estimated very highly by those who made it known ; indeed we cannot imagine a higher valuation.

“ Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.” And yet even this, great test as it is, is not the final reason for our judgment, or a final determination of the reality of the need. Those whose lives were given might have been fanatics—imaginative, impressionable, unstable people, whose judgment we could not trust. It is often true that missionaries are of this sort, and, more often still, that they are imagined to be. But if the advocate of missions were to search the world’s records through, he could hardly find men of a character more

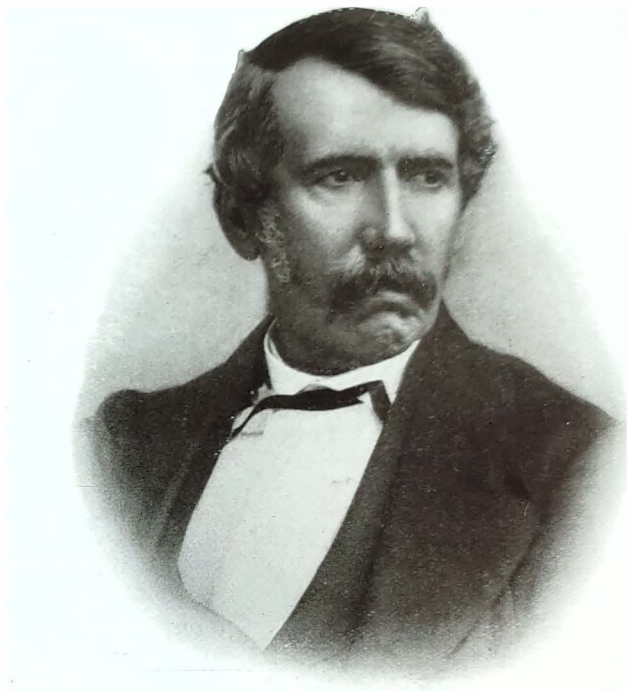
directly contrary to this than those with whom we have to deal. Maybe they are called fanatic by some—bearing that badge with an honourable company whose crosses are headed by One on Calvary. But in truth they were the very opposite. They were men not likely to be deceived nor to throw away their lives for a vain thing. They came of a hard-headed, common-sense race ; they were distinguished by the virtues of simplicity and humility ; and they were qualified by learning of a sound and scientific nature.

It is these points that we ought to bear in mind as we approach our study. We must weigh the need of Africa by the value set upon it by those who made it known ; and we must watch the characters of those who made it known in order to appreciate justly their valuation. In the end we shall be up against failure and defeat. Even this will help our criticism, and by this we may ask if the call was of God. For, as Bishop Tozer wrote when he looked back upon the period we are about to study and reviewed the future :—

“ It is an utter mistake to imagine that there is any way by which Africa can be won over to the faith as it is in JESUS, save that Royal one which His own blessed footprints traced from the cradle to the Cross.”

II

It must always remain as an inspiration that the Universities' Mission owes its existence in chief measure to David Livingstone—one of the world's great men, and it must always be one of the highest proofs of the nobility of Christian missions that such a man gave his life to them. David was the product of that rare breeding which seems the exclusive property of Scotland. He used to maintain that the poverty of his parents was as much a cause for thankfulness as their piety ; and certainly, when the thrift of the poor man is joined to that pride of race and love of art and culture which used at least to characterise the



David Livingstone

people of Scotland, there is found a combination from which the highest may be expected. David boasted a family that looked back to a hero of Culloden Moor, and which counted its greatest glory in the fact that no man of them had ever been dishonest; and at the same time he worked in a cotton-mill. He swept his mother's cottage for her, and scrubbed the floor, while with his first week's wages he bought a Latin grammar; and he used to prop his scientific text-book on the spinning-jenny. He was athletic enough to swim like a fish and join with the lads about him in their roughest play; but at the same time he read Culpepper's "Herbal" by way of recreation, and tramped the hills to find that sage's remedies. With it all, he was as modest and as quiet as only the really great man can be. When he permitted only six pages of his greatest book to be occupied with an account of his family and early days, and wrote that his own inclinations would lead him to say as little as possible about himself, he was not boasting, but stating a simple fact. From Blantyre to Ilala is a far cry, but this was ever the rule of his journey.

To trace his early life in any detail would be far from the purpose of our chapter; but we cannot introduce him without glancing at it. He was born in March 1813; and he added to those characteristics already mentioned a sense of religion which only needed quickening to become the motive of his life. It was not that he was outwardly peculiarly devout, and his father probably had many doubts when the rod was necessary to drive his son to theological literature, but when the young man discovered that the philosophy of religion admitted of close friendship with, and not antagonism to, science, he looked at the world in another light. He had great faith in the distinctive and basal tenet of Protestantism; and what dawned on the young man was the realisation that our Lord's Atonement was meant to have other than a detached reality, and to be related to the facts and fundamentals of ordinary life.

That discovery has been for many a conversion as real as that on the Damascus road. It was so to David; and when his father's missionary zeal threw his son into contact with the story of many devoted pioneers of Christian missions, the young Scotchman began to formulate the resolution of his life. The example of Charles Gutzloff, a Chinese missionary who had combined evangelical zeal with medical science, impressed him enormously; and in 1838 he offered himself to the London Missionary Society. That he knew nothing of the Catholic Church and could contrast, to her discredit, the sending of "Episcopacy" with that of the "Gospel of Christ" to the heathen, is only to be expected; to us, it is a proof of God's infinite goodness that it was such a man who inspired the Universities' Mission. David indeed had the Gospel deep in his soul. It did not matter that his early sermons were failures and his ministerial gifts not very evident. His zeal earned him acceptance with the London Missionary Society; his ability procured him a licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons at Glasgow; and in December 1840, having been admitted into the Presbyterian ministry, he sailed for South Africa, through the influence of Dr. Moffat, whom he met in London at the time of his admission. David was giving up much. Father and son parted on the Glasgow wharf, and never met again.

From 1840 to 1852 Livingstone was occupied directly in missionary work in South Africa—that is, he attained to what he afterwards called "the indispensable accomplishments of a missionary family in Central Africa—the husband a jack-of-all-trades without doors, and the wife a maid-of-all-work within." But he was by no means an ordinary missionary. Later in life he scandalised his clerical brethren by dressing like a post-captain, and in this, his earliest appearance, he set most of Cape Town by the ears. On the whole, intense admiration of Livingstone is compatible with sympathy for Cape Town! He had been fired with Moffat's description of the thousand

untouched villages which that veteran could see from the stoep of his station, seven hundred miles inland at Kuruman; the fascination of the ox-cart and the camp-fire seized upon him at once; and he felt that there were more missionaries than were needed in the colony itself. His independence of action was permitted by the home directors, although it reads curiously to-day. And so David "treks" into the wilds, with his hundred-pound salary, his great zeal, and his entire lack of experience; and comes out as he did because God was with him.

He began by visiting Moffat at Kuruman. Then he jogged round on a three hundred odd miles' journey, and discovered what a pull his medical knowledge gave him. Then he isolated himself for another six months among the natives, with indomitable pluck, and learned the language, as few had done before him. After this he prospected for two years among the neighbouring tribes, while he waited for definite permission to go and lose himself in the wilds. During those years he obtained a reputation for his medicine far and wide, and trekked as far north as Sechele's village—a chief of the Bechuanas, who was established on the edge of the Kalahari desert. Sechele was to be a great friend in the days ahead. Finally he got permission to settle beyond Dr. Moffat, and started his first station in the Mabotsa Vale, among the Bakhatla tribe of the Bechuana peoples. He was now two hundred miles from Kuruman, and about the latitude of Pretoria.

The next nine years were occupied in missionary work at station after station—three in all—each one being farther and farther north. Three times he built his house and his school and planted his garden, only to abandon them. It was at Mabotsa that he escaped, literally, out of the mouth of a lion through that devotion of his native followers which he always seemed able to inspire; and it was to Mabotsa that he brought Dr. Moffat's daughter Mary as his bride. He himself reckoned his work there a failure; but he looked for conversions, and they are often

denied to the most successful African missionary. When, after three years, a difference arose between him and his colleague, and he decided to move to the Bakwain tribe at Chonuane, the natives did all they could to keep the man to whom they attributed almost supernatural powers and whom they had learned to love. But Livingstone's decision was justified. At Chonuane the great chief Sechele was his first convert, who, with eager zeal, suggested that, after all, whips of rhinoceros hide would produce conversions quicker than even his favourite prophet, the great Isaiah ! But the chief's Christianity was genuine enough. He gave up his beer, pensioned off all his wives but one, and himself conducted worship on the lines of the old Scotch family-prayers in his rude hut. Then came the trial. A four years' drought eventually moved the whole tribe, at Livingstone's suggestion, to Kolobeng—always northward, if Livingstone had a say in it. He built his third house ; but the drought followed them ; and at last there was friction with the Transvaal Boers, who had no respect for British missionaries, and who were prepared to treat the natives as Israel treated the seven tribes of Canaan.

Faced with all these troubles, David's indomitable spirit knew but one remedy : On again ! But the great Kalahari desert blocked the way, with but a faint rumour of one native crossing thirty years before. That was enough for Livingstone. How they trekked into the unknown, and as nearly as possible died for want of water, only being saved by the providential discovery of an old bush-woman ; how they found Sebituane, whom Livingstone called " the best specimen of a native chief I ever met," and incidentally discovered Lake Ngami, on the other side of the desert ; and how the Royal Geographical Society voted him 25 guineas for it—all these are among the most romantic of modern stories. Sebituane had won a great kingdom for himself, and he invited Livingstone and Sechele to settle with him. The missionary returned for his wife, and might have settled, but

Sebituane died. Instead therefore, he and his friend Oswell prospected for a better site—farther north, as usual—and found themselves one morning, in June 1851, on the banks of the Zambesi. Livingstone seems to have made up his mind on the bank. He returned with his wife and the four children to the Cape, and saw them off to England, sending with them plans to be laid before the directors of the London Missionary Society. His “bowels yearned over his children” in Sebituane’s country, and he would not “orphan” them. His idea was to return and find a suitable site for a settlement in the interior, with a road open to the east or the west coast. Perhaps no man ever faced a more amazing task; but David Livingstone believed it to be the will of the Lord, and that was always enough for him. He wrote to those whom it is almost humorous to call his directors: “I will go, no matter who opposes.”

The story of the next five years has been told again and again—and certainly it does not lose in the telling. Here was a man who had been twelve years in Africa without a holiday—a missionary on a hundred a year, and a man to whom home-ties were a very great reality; and he is deliberating starting out—with inferior oxen bought on a year’s anticipated salary—on a journey into unknown regions for a quixotic end. He, who was the bitterest enemy the slave trade has ever known, was going to march, almost unprotected, through the slaver’s country. This little doctor, who had already been weakened by years of exposure and fever, could quietly talk of “visiting the parts where African fever prevails most, to try to discover if the natives have a remedy for it.” And yet the secret is clear. He had but one desire—“that the world may be filled with the glory of God”; and his trust was exactly what is best in Christian fatalism. He writes:—

“If God has accepted my service, my life is charmed till my work is done. When that is finished, some simple thing will give me my quietus. Death is a glorious event to one going to JESUS.”

Of course, the spirit of the explorer was in his blood, and he was never so happy as on the march. His Christianity not only beckoned him on : it gladdened every step of his way. A sentence from his diary illustrates this : " The universality of organic life seems like a mantle of happy existence encircling the world, and betokening the presence of our benignant Father's smile on the works of His Hands." And he looked on the natives with eyes alight with the love of God. " Somebody's bairn," he says, again and again, of a deserted slave or a quarrelsome woman ; and justifies his care and tolerance with that. And when, years later, that little band of incredibly faithful Africans swung out of the forest with his body, and with all his goods untouched, after a very Odyssey of travel, the world knew as it never knew before that Africans could be grateful.

This first journey, then, began in such a spirit, in June 1852. We hastily summarise it. He trekked north ; past Dr. Moffat, past Sechele—" undone by the Boers," who had also brutally gutted Livingstone's own house—past the Kalahari desert, past the Makololo tribe on the Zambesi—from whom he recruited porters to remain faithful till his death—past Sebituane's kingdom—whose son Sekeletu befriended Livingstone in his father's stead—and then to the sea on the West Coast, with a brief message back to England before he passed beyond the back of the beyond : " I shall open up a path to the interior, or perish." Through every sort of peril the great missionary traveller pressed on—now " almost a skeleton " through fever, and now almost a corpse through savages—until, as May closed, in 1854, his Makololo saw the sea for the first time. " We were marching along with our father," said they, " when all at once the world said : I am finished ; there is no more of me ! " But there was. Livingstone arrived reduced to the last gasp, and he found no letters waiting to cheer him at Loanda ; but he refused all passages home, and turned his face for the East Coast, literally unknown, thousands of miles away. He turned because he had

pledged his word to his native Makololo followers to take them home again! They took a year getting back to Linyanti, Sekeletu's village; but the passing of the Barotse valley was one long triumph. Sekeletu himself had made the journey possible with men and money; and his own personal care of Livingstone touched that traveller most deeply. However, he could not stay with him for ever; and in November 1855, he set out for the final stage eastwards. On his way, he discovered and named the Victoria Falls; and in January of the next year was as nearly massacred by natives as he had ever been. In his diary, speaking as he so often did to God, he wrote: "On Thy Word alone I lean. The cause is Thine . . . Thy will be done." But God had more before His servant; and at last, by way of Tette and Senna, he reached the sea; in these latter marches seeing those sights which made him long to save the East Coast from the curse of the slave trade, and which brought him back to the Nyasa tribes. In December he sailed for England, and he landed to find the country at his feet. Within a month he stood by the grave of his father—who had died while he was on his way home, comforting himself for the loss of Davie with Davie's own motto: "The Will of the Lord be done."

For eighteen months, Livingstone experienced the lionising of a really stirred and enthusiastic country; and the publication of his first book—"Missionary Travels in South Africa"—only added to the honours showered upon him. The Royal Geographical Society gave him a gold medal; the Universities, doctor's degrees; London and Glasgow, their highest civic honour of the freedom of the city; and numerous other bodies, rewards of all kinds. He was a rich man on the publication of his book. He was the most popular lecturer his country had. He shook hands with the Queen. Lord Palmerston placed Government resources at his command. And with it all, he never forgot the hundred savages who waited for his return by the waters of the Zambesi, and of the great country

for which they stood. His was the spirit which made him afterwards refuse an unrivalled offer from the Geographical Society on condition of his ceasing to put a missionary propaganda in the forefront of his work. "The same honest, true-hearted David Livingstone," said Sir R. Murchison, which was nothing but the truth.

Thus it was natural that, when he faced his big audiences, he did not omit to plead for missions. One of the most remarkable of such audiences was that which gathered in the Senate House at Cambridge to do honour to the Scotch cotton-spinner. As Livingstone stood upon the floor of the Senate House that day he saw before him more than a gallery packed with cheering undergraduates, more than an assembly of the intellectual leaders of England; for he saw a vision of hungry sheep who in East Africa look up and are not fed, and of possible shepherds for them. He told the Church of England that day that it shamed her to look to Germany for missionaries. He told Cambridge, as he also told Oxford, that he saw before him "the sort of men who are wanted for missionaries." "I beg to draw your attention to Africa," so run his oft-quoted words. "I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country which is now open. Do not let it be shut again. I go back to Africa to try to open a path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you."

The universities heard in those words the Voice of God, and the trend of events justified their view. At once there was talk of a scheme, and a man was already on his way to meet any proposals half way. Dr. Livingstone had spoken in the last month of 1857; early in the next year Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, with his heart on fire to establish a native mission, sailed for England. He promised, as Metropolitan, to aid the plans—already in almost definite form—to the full extent of his power. Livingstone's own preparations for a return to the Zambesi were completed by March 1859; and it was just about that time that the Rev.

C. F. Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Natal, sailed for England. On All Saints' Day what was to be known as "The Great Zambesi meeting" was held in Cambridge, in the place where Dr. Livingstone had made his great address; and, amid a stirring of the heart of the university such as perhaps had not been known before, the scheme for a mission to the tribes of Central Africa was launched. But there was one man in the audience who was "*afraid*"; and no wonder, for upon him rested the Hand of God.

III

Meanwhile, God was preparing an instrument through whom to call the English Church to the needs of Africa, and preparing him to give that call in the way which is, since Calvary, the Divine plan. He was another Scotchman, a Mackenzie of Peeblesshire, whose father had been knit by close ties of friendship with Sir Walter Scott, and whose mother was a Forbes of Pitsligo. He himself had a very typical Scotch character. He was simple, early distinguished for mathematical ability, quiet but firm, singularly devoid of imagination, and religious in an unostentatious and unaffectedly real way. It is worth while dwelling on these qualities. This was not a man to leap at adventure, and to be carried away by emotion and sentiment. A fellow-student at Cambridge writes of him that he never spoke at the Union Debating Society, never entered into the discussion of great religious questions, and struck people only by his "solidity of understanding" and "quickness of conception." Again and again he reveals himself in the same light. It was characteristic that he should write from Cambridge to a sister, of the sermons he heard: "I think that the preaching I hear is too much about the feelings—talking about love and faith and hope—without speaking of duty;" and entirely characteristic also that, when called upon unexpectedly to make a speech after his final university success, he should

have been surprised at the torrent of cheering which greeted his simple statement to an excited college, that he and his friends " had only done what was natural under the circumstances." This was the man who went out to Africa, finally, for exactly the same reason, and who did not fear to say that he was " afraid " at the enthusiasm which marked his call to a yet greater African undertaking.

The story of Charles Frederick Mackenzie's life is chiefly valuable as an illustration of this same simple devotion to duty ; and, as such, we shall review it. He was born in 1825, and in 1844 went up to S. John's College, Cambridge, with a scholarship and a school reputation for nothing in particular but mathematical brilliance. However, two terms later he migrated to Caius ; and we are fortunate in having a memoir of him from the pen of a fellow of his college who was afterwards a close friend. He seems to have settled down to an uneventful undergraduate life, and to have avoided the more exciting possibilities of Cambridge for which a biographer usually looks and which a reader is loath to miss. He seems always to have looked out on life with serious eyes. It was early, for example, that he sought some practical work which might train him for the ministry, and he found it in a sphere as simple and as free from display as his own character. He asked, and obtained permission, to visit the old people of some almshouses rather isolated from their parish church. Here, then, he went in the same spirit which we have noted ; and his description of his first Sunday is certainly worth reading. He writes :—

" It was so new a position, and I could not feel (what I imagine must be a great support in the pulpit) that I was God's appointed servant, only doing my duty in being His ambassador. On the contrary, it seemed as if I had undertaken it of myself, and I could not fancy that anything I could say would be of any use. I had spent some hours in preparation before going there, on the two previous days and on the Sunday morning itself ; but when I got there, though the number was small, yet I got quite red in the

face, and after reading the chapter (S. John xiv.), I went over it again, throwing in a few remarks where I could. Then we knelt down, and read some of the collects and prayers from the Prayer Book. On the whole, I should have felt perfectly miserable if I had not remembered that, lame and wretched as my endeavour had been, it was better than nothing ; for I had read the words of the Bible and used the prayers of holy men ; and that if I had not gone, no one else would, so that I was not stepping in any one's way."

His biographer remarks, with the utmost truth, that this little story contains the motive principle of Mackenzie's conduct later on : "*If I had not gone, no one else would.*"

Mackenzie graduated as second wrangler, in 1848, in a year which brought much success to Caius College ; and he settled down naturally enough when he was offered a fellowship. He seems to have found Cambridge life very pleasant, and entered determinedly into several dull-sounding activities. He was tall and active, fond of a "grind" and of a boat on the river, and he had already a few congenial friends. For seven years he made his influence increasingly felt in a quiet and unassuming way, and the young don, with his Scotch accent and vigorous work, gradually fulfilled his part in the various experiences of his kind at the university. All the while he kept on with his old asylum people ; spent a vacation or two in Switzerland ; and, finally, at twenty-six, received Holy Orders from the Bishop of Ely. He was ordained just when his Cambridge life was full of activities, and when he himself felt that he was influencing the undergraduates of his college for good ; and these things led him to accept what he calls a "sub-curacy" for Sunday work, in a village five miles from Cambridge. This work (at Haslingfield) meant some occasional visiting, and a little fairly regular preaching ; and Mackenzie soon found that college and parish work together were rather a heavy burden. Now and again he had to drop the latter on

account of the former; and this was no doubt a good deal responsible for his dissatisfaction with the arrangement. On the whole, it does credit to his sense of responsibility as a shepherd of souls. Church life at Haslingfield was, apparently, typical of the 'fifties; as, for example, when the curate writes to his sister that out of twenty-eight confirmation candidates he could "hardly hope for more than two or three" to come to the Holy Communion; and indeed Mackenzie's own views, although they developed in a sense of Churchmanship as he saw more of life, were of an unadvanced type. He received priest's orders, as far as his correspondence shows, in silence; and up to 1853 he seems to have done "no more than was natural under the circumstances." But with Mackenzie that meant a second wranglership, and simple wholehearted devotion to his duty.

But it was in 1853 that his eyes were lifted to other fields—white already to harvest. The story of Mackenzie's missionary call is a perfect illustration in itself of a need, a need made known, and a realisation of power to meet that need; and although he was dissuaded from going out at the first opportunity, it is in a letter which he wrote at that time that we discover the secret of his final offer for another sphere in the next year. The first offer came from a priest named Jackson who was about to go out under the auspices of the S.P.G., to found a mission in Delhi. This friend of his asked Mackenzie to look out for somebody of their college to be his companion; but when the search met with little success, Mackenzie writes that "I thought once or twice, why should not *I* go." Then Jackson came to Cambridge, and the two friends had several quiet talks, until at last Mackenzie, who had been reading a little of Henry Martyn's "burning out for God," reached that point which is the real missionary decision. We find him writing: "I determined for the first time to think what was best to be done, *and to do it.*" He adds that he thought chiefly of the plain command: "Go and baptize all nations"; and, to

his plain straightforward thinking, this meant simply what it said. He pictured our Lord looking down upon the world and watching the "one or two, or eight or ten," who were seeking those very many other sheep "who must be brought," and he determined that, as so few would go, there was no choice left but for those who could to do so. He faced the whole matter with the utmost common sense, and looked at it from many standpoints for some time. There is scarcely any doubt of his being appointed if he makes application, and, realising this, he sums up his whole argument in the simple logic of a man to whom duty stood highest and first.

"My own main argument is this—we may, it is true, serve God and show our love to Christ in one place as well as in another; and I am trying to avoid the notion that by going out I shall be free from weakness and sin; but no one else will go, so I will. There are plenty in England: there is grievous need there. . . . I confess, the feeling of my heart that most distresses me is that I cannot look forward with composure to the risk of Jackson's dying, and leaving me behind. But though in this I am otherwise minded, God will reveal even this to me.' "

That letter is the quiet heroism of truly great men who are moved by nothing as by duty, and who are not ashamed of being afraid. And God was about to reveal even more to Charles Frederick Mackenzie.

But he did not go to India after all. His friends were mostly against it, and his old tutor, afterwards Dr. Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle, especially so. They seem to have felt that his ability was not of a kind likely to facilitate studies in a curiously subtle heathen philosophy and difficult tongue; and they were probably right. But Mackenzie had set his heart aright, and a door was to open for him very soon. Jackson got another volunteer, who died in the Mutiny of '57. Yet Mackenzie was not to lose his crown.

It was late in 1853 that two South African bishops were

consecrated at Lambeth, and appealed for men to go to the Colony; and in October of the next year the Bishop of Natal proposed to Mackenzie that he should go out with him as archdeacon. The young don asked for time to think it over, and seems to have doubted himself overmuch at first. But in November an appeal from God was heard in Great S. Mary's in the voice of one of the greatest of modern missionaries. "I go from hence," said Bishop Selwyn, "to the place where God, in answer to the prayers of His Son, has given Him the heathen for His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession. There God has planted the standard of the Cross, as a signal to His Church to fill up the intervening spaces. . . . Fill up the void. . . . The Spirit of God is ready to be poured upon all flesh; and some of you are His chosen vessels. . . . The voice of the Lord is asking: 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' May every one of you who intends by God's grace to dedicate himself to the ministry, answer at once: 'Here am I; send me.'"

That was the last of four sermons which his friends noticed that Mackenzie had walked many miles from Haslingfield to attend. In it he heard "the voice of the Lord" to which the Bishop of New Zealand had given utterance, and it was not in him to hang back. "Without the advice of any earthly friend" he placed himself at the service of the Bishop of Natal.

It would not serve our purpose to dwell long on the three years which Mackenzie served in Natal; although they were years, undoubtedly, in which he learned lessons of real service for the greater task that lay ahead. The Archdeacon and his sister had a trying though prosperous voyage of about eleven weeks from Liverpool to Durban, during which he did much for the steerage passengers, whose lot was not enviable in the days of sailing ships; and he made some progress in Zulu. He understood that his work would lie among Kafir tribes, and be of a directly evangelistic nature. It was therefore rather a disappointment to be

left in charge of the parish of Durban with its thousand-odd white people, and perhaps as many more native servants. But the parish was fifty miles long and twenty-five broad, and there was scope for other than white work. He very soon had five churches in his district and good work on foot among the natives, and Miss Mackenzie writes in such a way that we can see his heart was in that. He was indeed far from sparing himself in any direction. His sister tells of her brother's severe work, his long rides, now in drenching rain and now in a hot sun, and how again and again his very life was endangered in perils by water and by fever. With it all he had peculiar trials of which mention ought to be made. We have seen that Mackenzie was very far from being an advanced Churchman, but he was a Churchman whose convictions grew throughout his life. "The more I try to obey the rules of the Church, the more of beauty and truth and reality I see in them," he writes. He tells an undergraduate at home what a help a daily Celebration proved to be throughout a trying Conference: "I don't think I could have got through the difficulties of the week without it;" and he adds that he is determined to offer the Holy Eucharist every Sunday in future. Perhaps he was all the more strengthened in these things because of the difficulties in which he was involved in Durban itself. In succeeding to a somewhat disturbed parish, he determined on such simple practices as the use of the surplice, a baptism at its legal place in the service, and the taking up of an offertory; but, incredible as this reads to-day, for that he was practically driven from his church. He was wise in refusing to make this other than a matter of principle by submitting, and he carried on his work for some time in a large building hired and licensed for the purpose. In it all he remained the old Mackenzie of Cambridge days, and his sister writes: "His temper is unvaryingly even, amidst provocations both great and small: it seems as if he could not fail there: he grows in holiness, and in devotedness, and such utter self-forgetfulness."

God was preparing the right chief pastor for the Universities' Mission.

Thus, in 1859, talk of a Bishop for the Zulu country led to arrangements being made for the Archdeacon to visit England, and when Dr. Colenso finally decided against this scheme, it was thought better for Mackenzie to take the opportunity already offered of a visit home. He returned in July of that year, saying, laughingly, that he had no idea why he had come. But his visit exactly coincided with the " Great Zambesi meeting," and the renewal of the Central African scheme. Within four months Mackenzie, who had been at that meeting as he had been preaching in the University on All Saints' Day, had been offered the headship of the Mission. He accepted within the week and wrote to his sister: " How wonderfully He has made our way plain before our face."

IV

It is not a little difficult now to see in missionary affairs with the eyes of our fathers in the middle of the nineteenth century; but we must remember that missions in the Church of England at that date were still but a feeble plant, and that difficulties beset them on every side. The vaguest ideas were entertained as to what Africa was really like; doubts were expressed as to the legality of consecrating bishops for places beyond Her Majesty's dominions; and the wildest plans were on foot as to what was to be done with the bishop when you got him there. The Mission had, of course, Dr. Livingstone as adviser-in-chief; but the Doctor, although he was almost the only living man who knew anything, really knew very little about East Africa, and his advice, as a matter of fact, was disastrous at every turn, as will appear more readily a little later. Convocation discussed a missionary bishopric in the light of the Thirty-nine Articles and of the Establishment, but finally permitted Mackenzie's consecration under obedience to the

Metropolitan of Cape Town. That also had to be undone when Zanzibar was found, for practical purposes, to be nearer England than Cape Colony. And lastly the expedition was planned with the idea of the foundation of a village on English lines in the centre of Africa which was to be the centre of light and industry all around. All these read to us to-day almost humorously. But what we have to remember is the inspiration responsible for a venture in such unknown waters, the heroism with which those who made it confronted possible disaster, and the debt which we owe to those who won for us an easier entrance at the cost of a personal experiment, which was the only way in which the Church could learn. Mackenzie himself faced all this. He was told that if he wished to insure himself, his chance of life would not be estimated at more than two years; but it was not that which frightened him. Rather the unimaginative Scotchman looked at it in a nobler light and found strength in other thoughts. He writes to a friend: "I try not to let my head be turned: but it is a little dizzy to be on what I believe is one of the highest Church pinnacles at this moment in England. . . . I feel a little like what you felt when you went to Ekukanyeni, expecting the time when people will *find me out*. But then the calming, sobering thought is: Be more and more conscious that the work is for One who has nothing to find out, from whom no secrets are hid, and who has called me to this work knowing that I am frail and foolish, and who expects, indeed, that we shall do all and give up all for Him, but who does not expect more."

His head might fairly have been turned, for it was on the crest of a wave of enthusiasm that the Central African Mission was launched. We have seen how Livingstone was greeted when he returned from his first great journey, and it was the spirit of this, together with a real breath of the Spirit of God, which moved the Universities and England. November 1, 1859, which had been the date of that enthusiastic Zambesi meeting at Cambridge that

Mackenzie had feared, was rapidly followed by many of the same kind. His " Memoir " is full of them. Across the Irish Channel, at great industrial centres like Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, as well as in the south and London, large audiences and immense enthusiasm greeted his appearance on the platform. Lord Brougham and Dr. Wilberforce (then Bishop of Oxford) are among the names of those who gave the scheme their hearty support ; and Gladstone and Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Town, had been at the University meetings. Soon the way was clear, and Canterbury chosen as the fitting place from which the pioneer band should go forth.

By this time Dublin and Durham had been asked to assist Oxford and Cambridge, and the " Universities' Mission to Central Africa " had taken definite form. It is well for us to know definitely what was intended. Livingstone had, of course, inspired it ; and Livingstone had very definite ideas as to what ought to be done in East Africa. Civilisation and religion with him went together ; and he had not only seen in South Africa how necessary was the teaching of crafts to the negro, but in his Scotch blood ran the old home ideal of culture and labour going hand in hand. The doctor's own religious views permitted an extremely secular life to a clergyman, and his religion was of an undenominational kind. Partly on account of these things, the original scheme aimed at the establishment of an English village in Africa, which was to be, so far as possible, a self-contained unit. The *personnel* of the party illustrates this. Finally it included, besides the Bishop, clergy and doctor, a lay superintendent, a shoemaker, a carpenter, and an agricultural labourer, all of whom carried with them a certain flavour of their own villages, so that Bp. Tozer afterwards found one " teaching Devonshire of the broadest kind," another " undoubted Lincolnshire "—which was " an unknown tongue " to the first—and yet a third propagating the most delicate Cockney. The " Association for the promotion of the spread of true religion, agriculture, and

lawful commerce," estimated the cost of establishment at £20,000, with £2,000 a year to support the Mission for five years, and a great deal of this had been raised before Mackenzie's first party of eight persons sailed. They took with them very complete supplies, which included seeds and agricultural implements, and it was understood that Livingstone was to plant the initial settlement in the highlands of the Shiré valley.

Tuesday, October 2, 1860, is a date to be remembered; for then it was that the Church of the English, which had been founded by a missionary bishop, sent forth, for the first time for a thousand years, a missionary bishop from the very seat of Augustine into a field as unknown as that which Augustine had entered. The actual consecration was in S. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, but the farewell was said at Canterbury. "Thou shalt see," said the Bishop of Oxford as he preached, with the calm face of the new Bishop-elect before him, "Thou shalt see, as men see not here in their peaceful homes, the nail-pierced hands, and the thorn-crowned brow," and, "when thy heart is weakest, He shall make it strong." That thought seems to have been in Mackenzie's mind as he said his good-bye in the hall of S. Augustine's College, and it was a message he was soon to need. His secretary and friend, who accompanied him to Southampton, reports that the missionary seems to have believed he would not return. "I place myself altogether in God's hands" he said the night before he sailed, and asked to be alone at the last that he might have "quiet thoughts with his own heart." Once at sea he had plenty to occupy him, and the party studied Sechuana, which they appear to have thought would have been of use. At Cape Town came a trying delay, while they waited for the necessary consecrating bishops, which was spent in visiting missions of the district. Here also they obtained three Christian coloured men for the expedition, out of twelve who volunteered from a liberated slave congregation to whom Mackenzie preached; and he spoke also at several meetings

in the Colony, one of which was saddened by the news of the deaths of another missionary band in South Africa. But the bishops came at last, and on the Feast of the Circumcision the Archdeacon was numbered in the apostolic line. He took the oath of obedience to the Metropolitan of Cape Town, and was given a rather vague jurisdiction over "the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Lake Nyasa and River Shiré." The sermon of the Dean vibrated with hope, and the new Bishop's own parting words rang with that true piety and courage that was always his.

"Let us pray for God's blessing on this and all such works: not for success for our own honour and glory, for that is no matter, but for the honour and glory of our Heavenly Father and of His Son, who came to redeem the heathen, . . . that they may have the blessing of God in His infinite mercy given to them, that they may lead Christian lives, may die Christian deaths, and may so be ushered into the presence of the Eternal King."

Most of the party had already sailed on H.M.S. *Sidon*, and now the rest followed on the 12th on board H.M.S. *Lyra*. She put in to Natal ports to wait for the mail, and Mackenzie saw again his old friends and old work. His parting seems to have been like to that apostolic scene on the beach at Miletus, and that notwithstanding his most outspoken utterances as to the treatment of natives in the Colony. He and his friends stood at last on the shore and "slipped away for a few last Collects" before the boat sailed. An eyewitness was struck by the peace in the Bishop's face—he who was to know so little more human peace on earth. Then the *Lyra* sailed for the Kongoni mouth of the Zambesi, where the rest of the party had already foregathered, and where Dr. Livingstone awaited them. God's two instruments for the evangelisation of East Africa were together there at last.

V

Looking back on the story of the next two years there seems to us to have been a series of unfortunate mistakes, inexplicable at the time, wonderfully overruled of God in the end. The best of men make mistakes, and certainly Dr. Livingstone made one which was disastrous to the Mission before ever it reached its destination. However, it is simplest to tell the story.

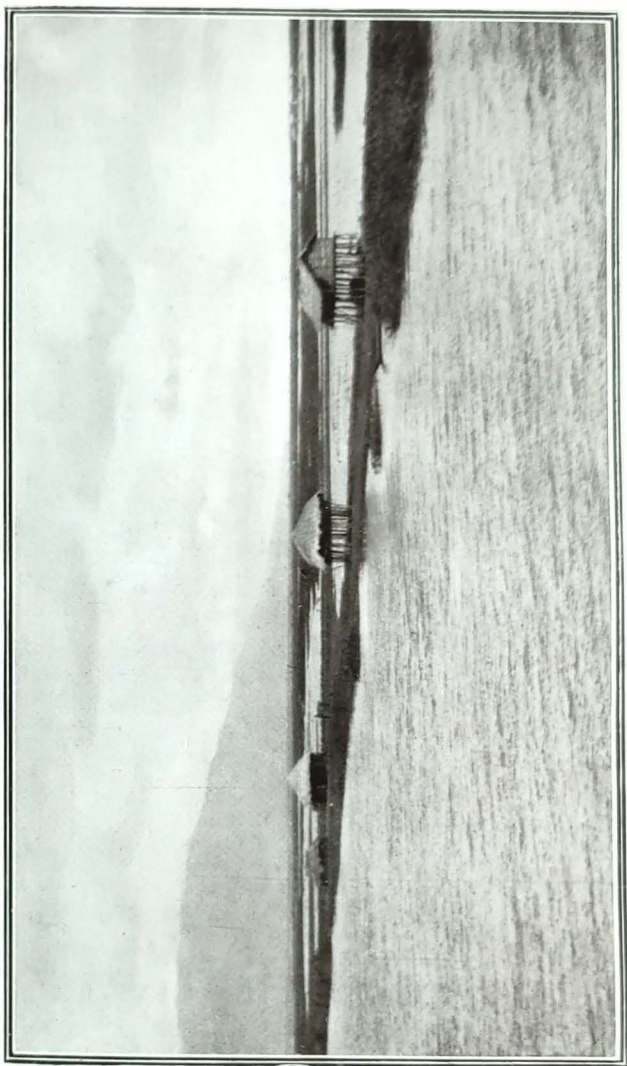
On February 7 all was ready for the ascent of the Zambesi, but the Doctor came forward at the last moment with another scheme. Urging the disadvantages of the season, the fact of Portuguese control, and the hostile appearance of the natives which he had quite recently seen, he suggested an attempt to reach Nyasa by the Rovuma river, 500 miles to the north, which was supposed by him to link with the Lake. The Bishop urged the original plan, but was overruled, as was natural, by Livingstone's experience. As a matter of fact the Doctor was not to be blamed for the unkindness of facts which did not agree with his theory, but the Rovuma was a terrible hindrance to the Mission. To begin with, most of the party had to be left at the Comoro Islands while the *Pioneer* attempted the Rovuma route, and then that stream, after inexpressibly weary weeks, was found impracticable. The Rovuma does not connect with the Lake, and at that time of year there is not water enough for an ascent at all. But it was April before they were back at the Comoros, and May before they finally crossed the bar of the Zambesi. They had had to abandon two-thirds of their stores, and they had picked up fever, both of which things would have been avoided if the start had been made as first planned. But there were no reproaches. Mr. Rowley tells us that the Bishop's "faith, hope, and charity were inexhaustible," and a true friendship had sprung up between him and Dr. Livingstone. However, it was on an overcrowded and odorous *Pioneer* that the expedition finally started.

They made a toilsome ascent of the river, over barriers of sand and through reedy banks, especially in the Shiré tributary, but at last, on July 8, they anchored at Chibisa's village where Livingstone had previously left his faithful Makololo followers. It was determined to strike inland from here. They were soon away, every one loaded with goods, " Livingstone tramping along with a steady, heavy tread which kept one in mind that he had walked across Africa," and the Bishop hung about with a can of oil and a bag of seeds and carrying a crozier and gun—the latter against his own wish, but at the strong recommendation of the doctor.¹ On that first day's march guns were used. The story is well known of their first encampment and of the sudden appearance of a slave-gang while the Bishop was absent bathing, and of how English blood asserted itself and freed the slaves. But though absent in body, the Bishop always wished to be associated with that action. Looking back at it now, we can see that it was the first step in a fatal policy; but even so it is hard to blame anyone. The day before this very gang had dashed out a baby's brains because the mother was too heavily laden to carry it, and had shot two women dead because they had tried to free themselves, as an example to the rest. But that day's work was but the beginning of several like. In the end the expedition had a couple of hundred freed slaves on their hands before they were half-way to the Lake. This decided the Bishop, with Livingstone's agreement, to make a first settlement at a natural stronghold named Magomero, where a bend in a river formed a peninsula easily made impregnable by a stockade across its mouth.

A long letter of Mackenzie's argues for his action.² Livingstone, as Her Majesty's Consul, could hardly have acted otherwise, and they, the only Englishmen near, who had been definitely sent to bring peace and blessing to the

¹ The Rev. H. Rowley's *Twenty Years in Africa*, p. 30.

² Dr. Livingstone's own justification of this action is interesting. It is printed on p. 317 of *The Memoir of Bp. Mackenzie*,



THE RIVER SHIRÉ AND MOUNT MORAMBALA

country, could not but help him. They had, as a matter of fact, come at an unlucky hour. The Manganja people were being raided by Yaos from the hills, and the whole district was in turmoil with native wars. Soon after that first deliverance, the expedition had actually to take up the offensive, and deliberately to attack a Yao camp in pursuance of their policy. Here again was a mistake made, which was, however, a mistake inevitable then. Both Livingstone and Mackenzie believed the Manganja when they pictured themselves as a poor oppressed people, and regarded the Yaos as aggressive and lawless enemies. The truth was that the Yaos were fugitives themselves from stronger tribes in the north; the Manganja had enslaved them when too weak and too few to resist; and now in greater numbers the Yaos, a much finer race, were turning the tables on their adversaries. In the long run the Yaos were more than magnanimous to the white men; and it was through their most dreaded chief that the poor folk of the Mission were in the end secured in that freedom which fever and distress prevented their white supporters continuing to guarantee them. Of course the Bishop could not know this at the time, and we shall not err if we see the Divine Hand in it all. God knew how the final call had to be given to England.

Thus, by the end of July a strange character had been forced on the Mission party. The Bishop was a veritable native chief with a village of some two hundred souls entrenched sixty miles from the Shiré River, and with a reputation for enormous courage in war as a champion of the Manganja tribes! It was struggling against that ever-growing reputation that Mackenzie wore away. They had hardly got up their huts at Magomero when a pitiful deputation came from a couple of chiefs, setting out their hopeless condition before the now enraged Yaos, and begging for help. The Bishop passed sleepless nights and hours in praying before he could make up his mind. He then determined not to go back on Livingstone's advice and on

their first action, but to go forward boldly in the name of God. He called a conference of all the chiefs, and like Moses on Ebal, set before them a blessing and a curse. He promised them aid if they would unite together in accepting certain terms which were (1) that all slaves found in Yao hands were to be set absolutely free ; (2) that slavery was to cease ; (3) that all were to unite to punish any chief who broke this agreement ; and (4) that any strangers who came for slaves were to be sent out of the country at once. Anyone who knows the African will not be surprised that the Manganja assented. With great enthusiasm they raised an army, which, led by the Bishop, who risked his life in a vain attempt to get a peaceable settlement at the last moment, defeated the Yaos and returned with yet more natives who gladly chose English hospitality at Magomero. It was on their way home that Mackenzie enrolled the first tiny member of the East African Church in the shape of a baby boy who shared the Bishop's blanket, and died, despite all efforts, in his tent.

Back at Magomero complications increased every day. It would be months before the crops just sown would ripen, and until then there was a huge family of released slaves entirely dependent on Mission stores ; and dependence is fatal to the African character. These people began their contact with missionaries by living upon them ; yet the Bishop could not turn them away to starve. Again, he was compelled to legislate against certain heathen customs and vices before the people had come to look at them from the Christian standpoint. It is almost amusing to read of the perplexed Bishop allotting wives, and trying, with his few native words, to settle disputes. His big family had to be taught to dress and wash, as well as to pray. The white men of the party were terribly unable to cope with the domestic troubles of the women and the children, and to add to their troubles, first the site was found to be pestilential, especially as it was crowded with negroes, and secondly food began to give out. And then their first

great eye-opener occurred. They found that very many of the people under their protection were actually Yao, and they learnt the true facts of the country's disturbed state.

But we must hasten to the conclusion of the sad story. The Bishop decided not to help the Manganja any further, but that aroused discontent among the chiefs. This showed itself soon after the arrival of a reinforcement consisting of the Rev. H. De Wint Burrup, Mr. Dickenson, M.B., and Mr. Clarke (a tanner—following the original idea of the Mission), who brought news that Miss Mackenzie and Mrs. Burrup were at the Cape and would soon be in the Zambesi. Procter and Scudamore from Magomero, setting out to try to find an easier and overland route from the Zambesi to the station, were attacked by a hostile chief and barely escaped with their lives. The Bishop decided that for the sake of example the chief must be punished, and, this accomplished, weakened as he was by fever, he set out with Burrup by way of Chibisa's and the Shiré to meet the ladies. At Magomero the remainder of the party faced dire want of food, and Mr. Rowley tells of the pitiful distribution of the last reserve of biscuits, "for it was impossible to see the children die of hunger." Disease, too, visited them again, and Rowley's journal became "simply an obituary." Without Dickenson the white staff would have died also, but they were reserved for a greater trial. At last, two months after the Bishop's departure, a Makololo man came in from Chibisa's who hid his face in his hands when asked for news. The Bishop was dead.

Before telling exactly how that happened, we must close the tale of Magomero. Burrup got back shortly after the Makololo, "only not dead," and died a little later. A month after, with all stores gone and the Yaos conquering everywhere, Magomero had to be abandoned for Chibisa's. There famine was devastating the country, and, what with that and war, unburied dead lay where they had fallen, and "the Shiré was literally a river of death." Before the end of the year Mr. Scudamore, the life and soul of the

party, had found the eternal rest of which he thought in his last moments of consciousness, and three months later Mr. Rowley returned from a search for food to find the invaluable Dickenson dead also. All the rest were now utterly prostrated, and the survivors knew that their attempt had failed.

VI

The Bishop stands in more than his office as the representative of this first missionary endeavour. He had hurried with Burrup down the river to meet the ladies, and when he left Magomero he was not really fit to travel. In the dark of a night on the reedy Shiré their canoe upset; and, drenched to the skin and tormented by mosquitoes, they passed long hours of discomfort, knowing that all spare clothes, powder, and medicines were lost. The Bishop, in a last brave letter, makes as light of it as he can, but he admits that Burrup "has not been well since." He himself was stricken. Fever overtook him a few days later and was followed by an utter collapse, and on the last day of January, his companion utterly exhausted, in a little, dim, native hut on the borders of the land he had come to save, the pioneer Bishop passed away.

Ten years after, David Livingstone was making those moving last entries of his alone and beaten in the centre of Africa, and at Ilala a day or two later his faithful Susi found his great master kneeling by his bedside—dead too. Between the two pioneers in death there is a connection as in life, for the tragedy of it is that both as they died believed themselves to be beaten men. Livingstone only knew of the failure of Mackenzie's first attempt, for Africa swallowed him up before a second had been made; and how he grieved his Journals show. Moreover, he himself died failing to reach the end for which he had set out, and even believing, with his strange though strong religion, that Satan himself had fought for his defeat. Mackenzie also, as he lay in that dim hut, so far as his poor overstrung brain allowed

him to do so, knew that the effort for which he had given his life was overhung with dark and ominous clouds. And thus two of the noblest of God's sons had stepped into the breach in the war against shame and sin in East Africa, had counted not their lives dear unto them, and had proved the truth of Raymond Lull's great saying of the tears and blood.

And the Church in England—what of her? She had given of her men and her money, and it has since been pointed out¹ that the first news which reached home of the party was that the Bishop and three others had yielded up their lives. Mackenzie had done well to be afraid. But the need was known in full at last, and God's great call had come, as it always must come, not by way of victories and enthusiasms only, but by the way of the Cross.

ASSIGNMENTS

A

1. Sketch the early life of David Livingstone. Do you admire it? Why?
2. Tell the story of Dr. Livingstone's early missionary travels.
3. Describe how Bishop Mackenzie heard and answered the call to missionary work.
4. What do we learn about Bishop Mackenzie from his work as Archdeacon in Natal?
5. Describe Bishop Mackenzie's dealings with the slave trade.
6. What disasters led to the abandonment of the station at Magomero?
7. Do you think the lives of the early U.M.C.A. missionaries were wasted? Why not?
8. Why do we say that self-sacrifice, like that described in this chapter, is God's own way of winning the world?

¹ By Miss Ward, in her Preface to Bishop Tozer's *Letters*.

B

1. Fill in outline maps to illustrate (a) Dr. Livingstone's South African stations and cross-continental journey; and (b) the early movements of the Mission party.

2. Illustrate from early Church history that the sending out of Mackenzie embodied a return to earlier methods.

(Any Church history may be used; but cf. especially "Maclear," chap. v., ix., xviii. § 4. See Bibliographical Appendix.)

3. Obtain further description of the Manganja and Yao tribes.

4. Compare the characters of Livingstone and Mackenzie, and show their importance in missionary apologetics.

5. Summarise reasons for the failure at Magomero. Might it have been avoided? If so, how?

6. Bring to the circle the following illustrative entries from Dr. Livingstone's late Journals. 1872: August 25, September 8, November 18; 1873: February 17 (a), March 19 (a), March 24, March 25 (a), April 10, April 18 and 19, April 27.

(These entries may be found in Hughes's short "Life," as well as in the "Last Journals." See Bibliographical Appendix. (a) Indicates that the first half of such an entry only is required.)

7. What is your solution of the problem caused by the union of social life and religious belief in East Africa, as illustrated at Magomero? *(See also Chapter II., Paragraph IX.)*

8. "Better far to have even a repetition of failing missions than that there should be a dead stagnation" (Bishop Wilberforce). Illustrate this saying, and explain.

CHAPTER IV

“ THE LIGHT SHINED ”

Objective.—A study of the early successes of the Mission in Central Africa.

Time.—The episcopate of Bishop Tozer, 1863–1873, and of Bishop Steere from 1873 until the Feast of the Nativity, 1879.

Aim.—To show that the evident power of God, manifested in East Africa, completed Africa's Call to the English Church.

Question.—What personal message does the fact that the Gospel is still the power of God unto salvation bring to us ?

Scripture Reading.—Zechariah viii. 1–8 (R.V.).

(A prophecy of the future glory of Jerusalem delivered while as yet hopes were faint and few.)

SYNOPSIS

PARAGRAPH

- I. The task before a new bishop, the character of the men chosen to reinforce the Mission party, arrival at Chibisa's, the situation faced, attempts to find new headquarters, Morumbala, retirement to Cape Town, and prospects there.
- II. The folk of Magomero, Kapene, the orphans at Cape Town, and Ann Daoma.
- III. Welcome in Zanzibar, the first Mission House, first slave boys, and the English chaplaincy.
- IV. Prospects in Zanzibar, the characteristics of Bishop Tozer's episcopate, growth of the school, rough material, daily life of the missionaries, the work of Dr. Steere, progress of the boys, the girls, Kiungani.
- V. Four scenes : St. Bartholomew's Day 1865, the Feast of the Purification 1870, March 21st, 1870, October 8th, 1872.

PARAGRAPH

- VI. To the mainland: the Rev. C. A. Alington at Vuga, Magila, the baptism of death, Bishop Tozer breaks down finally, the mission of the subdeacons, Archdeacon Farler, first baptisms, and Umba.
- VII. The Church of the Slave-Market.

" From that lonely grave upon that distant river's side, depend upon it, there will stream into many prepared hearts whole volumes of desire, of love, and of the elements of self-sacrifice, creating for the Church at home, and creating for the Church abroad, means of support which in no other way could be obtained for those who must labour in suffering, in loss, and in self-denial, in order to show their love to Christ and to their brethren."—*Bishop Wilberforce.*

I

THE power of God seemed strangely absent when, one by one, those earliest four laid them down to die on the banks of the Shiré River; but it is in this way that the tests of Moriah and Horeb are still presented to the children of God. So our present study is to watch for an exhibition of God's power meeting Africa's need; and thus to see the great call realised; and it is precisely because of those lonely graves in East Africa that we may expect to find it. Yet the second bishop of "the tribes round Lake Nyasa" would have no easy task. He would be faced with a broken and dispirited staff, would have to bear burdens not of his own lading, and face problems his predecessor had not had time to solve. And it is, after all, a sign of Divine providence that exactly the right men should have been found for the task.

Right men indeed they were. William George Tozer had already, in six years, proved his worth in an English parish, and was noted for downright energy, and a great



BISHOP MACKENZIE (1861-2)



BISHOP TOZER (1863-73)



BISHOP STEERE (1874-82)



BISHOP SMYTHIES (1883-94)

power of influencing others. "I am going," said his companion of Tozer, "to serve under a man who shrinks from nothing and succeeds in everything;" and that companion himself, Edward Steere, had been spoken of by one of the fisher-folk of his Lincolnshire parish, as "a downright shirt-sleeve man, and a real Bible parson." Both had uncommon gifts—Tozer, that rare ability to make up his mind definitely and honestly, with singular doggedness of purpose, combined with a forethought and quietness which was indeed his strength; Steere, the great intellectual powers and, above all, the linguistic ability, which made him, as an undergraduate, study Chinese for pleasure, and saw him now reading six other languages beside his own. The latter had been called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1850, and he brought his logic to bear even upon religion, always maintaining, interestingly enough, that there were only two possible religious views, the sacramental and the non-sacramental, and that they logically resulted, the one in "Quakerism," the other in what we should now call Catholicism. Tozer was a strong Churchman also, and the two men were firm friends.

Tozer was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the Feast of the Purification 1863, and arrived at Cape Town, with his party of eight priests and mechanics, in April, leaving almost at once for the Zambesi. The Bishop's first service in his sphere of jurisdiction was the consecration of his predecessor's grave, set deep in a thicket so that it was hard to find. Then they pushed up the river, to get the news of Scudamore's and Dickenson's deaths confirmed, and to find the survivors. The Bishop tells of that meeting:—

"I was standing with telescope in hand, when suddenly I saw a gabled roof ahead. The Mission station certainly is coming into view. It was not long before I saw some movement, and almost immediately the street had its little crowd, gazing with all their eyes at the strange white boat with the English Jack flying from the mast. They

stood thus an instant, and then rushed down to the water's side. We tried to make out white faces ; and, when we thought we were within hail, we began to cheer and they answered, until I was able to rush to the bows and jump on shore and grasp, and be grasped, all round. ' This is Waller,' and ' this is Rowley,' and ' this '—and a weak voice from a poor dear sick face said ' Proctor.' Alas ! alas ! I needed no one to tell me that he was very, very weak and ill. And then I found which was Blair and which Adams ; and ' I am the Bishop,' I said, which, by the by, was needful, for I had on only my blue sailor's jacket and holland trousers."

Bishop Tozer now entered on a period which, as a matter of fact, sapped for ever his life and strength. The Mission owes a debt to his insight and fearlessness which it can never repay ; and yet all that he went through will not be fully known " until that Day." Reviewing the situation, the Bishop came to the conclusion that, in a single phrase, it was necessary to *reculer pour mieux sauter*. His courage in facing the situation and his faith in not then losing heart, is worthy to rank with Smythies' later apostolic journeyings and Steere's evangelistic studies, in the annals of the Mission. Yet how hard it was is plain enough in his letters. He grasped, first, that scarcely one of the original band ought to stay longer in Africa. Secondly, that the mixture of clergy and mechanics in this stage of the work, was a failure—and, delicate as the matter was, he was not afraid to say so. Thirdly, he faced the fact resolutely that the policy of the Mission had made work in the highlands almost impossible as yet ; and that the present resting-place of the party was " more deadly than the valley of the Niger." And fourthly, he saw that for the most part the people of Magomero were merely trading on the white men's wealth, that missionary work had been disappointingly little, and that it was mere sentiment to burden the Mission further with the majority of them. In short, he determined, against the advice of Dr. Livingstone, whose Journals,

studiously moderate as they are, show how much he disliked it, and in the face of heated opposition within his staff, to abandon the Shiré Valley altogether. Add to this the consideration that he was really absolutely dependent on the decisions of the home committee, who could not fail to show the strong and ignorant home feeling on the subject, and that yet he had to decide without them, and wait in weary suspense from November 1863 to March 1865 for letters confirming his resolution; and we can gather something of the strength of his decision. It is inspiring to read his brave words to the Bishop of Cape Town. "The Zambesi has proved in every way a miserable failure, and the selection of it for English missionary work can only be due to the blindest enthusiasm. Of course, any departure brings down on us fierce wrath. . . . I need only add, in quitting the subject, that to have kept the Mission here against my own convictions, for fear of being called a coward, would certainly have entitled me to that imputation." We shall not be wrong if we see here the first exhibition of "power" to meet the need.

Tozer did not abandon the Zambesi without deliberation, however. First he tried another site, high up on Mount Morambala, where it was hoped the party would escape malaria. That step meant leaving all but the twenty-five orphan boys behind; for the Bishop saw that success must lie in the acquiring of the language in a way scarcely yet attempted, and in the training of native teachers, and that the boys provided material for this, although the women and adult men were an impossible problem at present. He had to face in this the reproaches of natives and Europeans; but he knew that he was right, and it was done. On Morambala, Livingstone's Journal tells us that the missionaries watched every element that made Portuguese East Africa hopeless for their work at that time and place—the valley thick with fever-mists, the slave gangs leagued and inspired by Portuguese officials, and the smoke of native wars. They fought hard to build huts for a station, and

succeeded to some extent ; but a continual damp mist beat them in the end. Tozer decided to leave even this. Finally, they did so—Livingstone, rather unwillingly, taking charge of the boys, and the former " dependants " of the Mission proving that their helplessness was not quite so great as it had been made out since they at once joined with the Yao and Makololo to raid their nearest Manganja neighbours.

In May 1864, then, Bishop Tozer faced the situation, from Cape Town. His heart was sore for the abandoned graves on the Shiré, and he grieved over the disappointment which the news would cause at home ; but he never lost hold of the call he had received and of the strength to be made perfect in his weakness. For some weeks, he considered a great diversity of fields from which a start at some future time might be made for Nyasa, and passed in review Madagascar, Johana in the Comoro Islands, the North-east of Natal, the West Coast north of Namaqua Land, Mombasa, and Zanzibar. Natal looked most promising at first ; but the Bishop had it clear before him that he had been sent to *Central Africa*, and that in Natal there would be a bishop nearer the Equator than he. He never forgot that Nyasa was the ultimate goal, and really abandoned Natal because of " the difficulties of pushing across the Transvaal." These varied plans reveal something of the turmoil that confronted the Bishop ; and yet God's Hand is very visible to us over it all. In the end, Zanzibar drew out as by far the best situation for the Mission. It was the capital of East Africa and the centre of a hundred trade-routes ; the island itself was much more open to European communication than the Zambesi, and there was a British Resident there ; assistance might be given to " the devoted Rebmann " of the C.M.S. at Mombasa ; the Swahili language spoken there was a passport to very many tribes, being a kind of common tongue to them all ; work lay ready to hand nearer stores and the sea ; and, above all, it was a starting-place from which

they could commit their future way "boldly to that dear Lord Who will in His own good time bring it to pass." So the lot was cast, and the whole disposing thereof was of the Lord.

II

There is one side-track, however, that is very well worth following before we go on with Tozer to Zanzibar. At whatever cost it had been accomplished, at least the "Central African Mission" had gathered some hundred and fifty to two hundred people into its sphere of influence; and we may well ask what became of them. The new Bishop had first to leave the adults, and then abandon the boys; and, as far as he was concerned, that was a necessary step. But in the providence of God, these few sheep were not to go straying back into the wilderness wholly unprovided for. The Rev. Horace Waller felt most strongly about their being left; and, when nothing could be done officially, he determined to save the remnant at his own charges. First there was the main body at Magomero. These had friends among the Yaos, but had lived for some time under the *ægis* of their enemies; so Mr. Waller's action was a brave one. He wrote to Kapene the chief Yao ruler in the highlands, and asked him to come down and speak with him. He came, with the savage might of fifty of his strongest men. Waller then set out at length the whole case against the slave trade, adding that the English had to leave the country, and asked Kapene to take the folk at Magomero under his protection. Kapene made that kind of answer which shows the true nobility of many an African chief. He said that he believed all that the white man had told him; that he would treat these people as his own children; that so long as he could defend himself he would defend them; and that when the white men returned they should find them unhurt. And he kept his word.

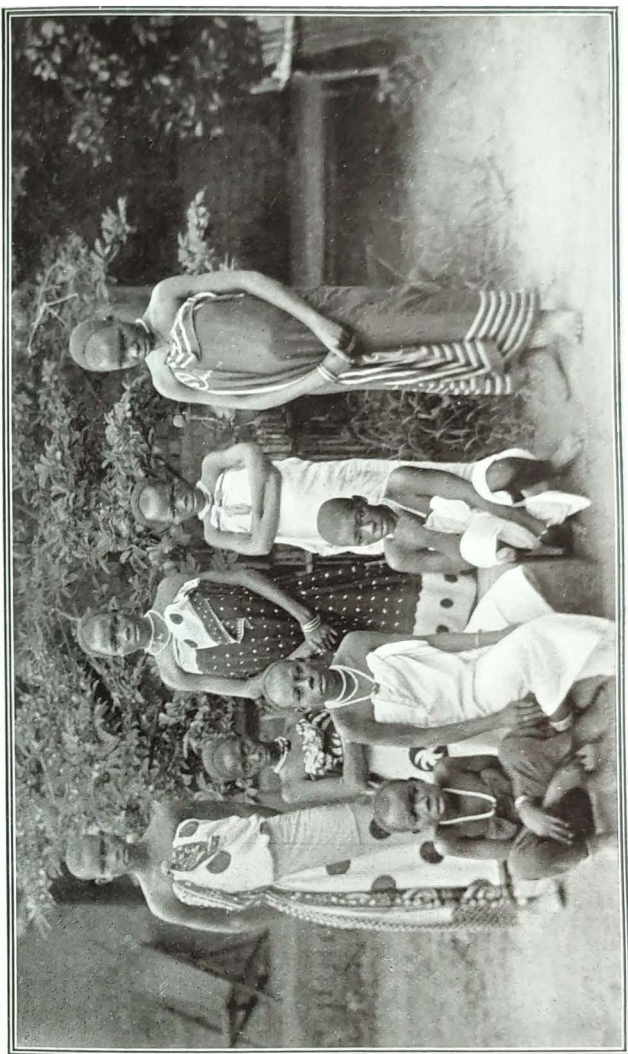
Of the rest, Livingstone and Waller brought twenty

orphan boys and one little girl down to the mouth of the Zambesi, together with as many more adults; and from there they were shipped, one or two to be educated at the Doctor's charge in Bombay, the children and others to Cape Town. Mr. Waller shepherded them all the way, and they found a home among that large coloured congregation which Bishop Mackenzie had addressed on his way north. They were adopted, says the historian of the Mission, "with that great and unselfish generosity which is one feature of the African character."

Of this party, the little girl was destined for a singular career. One of the saddest days of Mackenzie's life had been that necessary march against the Yao camp, with its victorious but so sad and weary a return. Yet that black day saw results only to be weighed in the balances of our Lord's judgment,¹ as more than the gain of the whole world. One little boy, who shared the Bishop's blanket, was the first in East Africa to be signed, before he died, with the cross of redemption; and one little girl found safety on the Bishop's shoulder during that last heart-breaking march. She was baptized under the name of Ann, and Ann Daoma was one of those who reached Cape Town with Waller. This very month (April 1912) *Central Africa* has an account of the visit of two of the present Mission staff to Cape Town, in which they write as follows:

"Our second visit was to S. George's Orphanage, where Ann Daoma has spent the last forty-nine years. She has never married, knows no language but English and Dutch, and looks as young as most African women do at thirty. For many years she has been second teacher (under a European lady) in a large day-school attached to the Orphanage. This school is known locally as Miss Ann's school; she herself is always called 'Miss Ann'; and the Principal of the Orphanage told us many stories of the great influence she has on the children in her school, even after they are grown up." "A miserable failure" wrote Tozer,

¹ S. Matthew xvi. 26.



YAO GIRLS

truthfully indeed of those early years ; yet even here too God would set the seal of His promise lest men should think His word could ever return void.

III

On July 28, 1864, Bishop Tozer and Dr. Steere sailed for Zanzibar—a smaller party than any which had yet set out in the name of the Mission, but both of them men who had seen with their eyes and made a bold judgment for themselves. They made Zanzibar on September 1, and landed at an Arab town scarcely altered at all from that described so vividly by Lieut. Burton. Place and welcome differed inconceivably from that first sailing up the shallow Rovuma and that apostolic tramp to Magomero ; but if it was less heroic, it was perhaps more wise. The Bishop writes to his sister :—

“ All Zanzibar was on the *qui vive* for our arrival. A little room on the flat roof of the Consulate was ready for us, where we both are at this moment writing away for dear life at one small table. . . . I must now say what the town looks like from the sea, as I have scarcely seen it from any other point of view. It stands on a complete promontory, and you scarcely observe the crowd of huts which cover the surface like bees in front of a hive at swarming time, for all along the shore is a fringe of tall, and for the most part stately, flat-roofed houses, as Eastern as possible. The chief of these is the Sultan's Palace, and three large men-of-war belonging to him are lying at anchor surrounded by large numbers of dhows and a few European merchantmen. The water is of a lovely greenish-blue colour, the beach of pure white sand, the *débris* of coral, the sky, of course, Italian. It is a very beautiful sight. We saluted the Sultan's flag on anchoring with twenty-one guns ; one of his ships immediately returned in very good style. Indeed, on reaching His Highness's capital you at once

perceive you are on the borders of civilisation, if not exactly at Paris or London."

Here then, in the midst of some 50,000 people, where the slave trade existed side by side with a British Consul, the missionaries entered to try to make that " open path for commerce and Christianity " which had been Livingstone's legacy to them. Every day strengthened their belief that Zanzibar was the right starting-place. They were astonished to find how completely Zanzibar was the centre and key of the whole of Eastern Africa, but finding it, they were the more determined that there should be a definite unlocking of the mainland, and no lingering over-long upon the coast. Nyasa was always before them. Steere, in later years, refused to have Christ Church styled a cathedral, for that, he said, they would yet build on the shores of the distant Lake. " I wish it always to be remembered," writes Tozer, " that I did not select Zanzibar as absolutely a very good or promising field for missionary labour, but as the *best* for ultimately reaching the Central tribes."

Meanwhile they were received with open arms. Col. Playfair invited them to the " white, clean, and wholesome " consulate, with " punkahs and everything else to match." The first service was held in the corridor there at a temporary altar which was shortly afterwards placed in the first chapel. The Consul conducted the two missionaries about the town, and sailed them in the cool evening to the islands of coral reef. They called on the already established French Mission, with its many works " all very simple and touching." Then they inspected the still-standing stone house, on the sea front and in a commanding position, which it was suggested they should rent for the Mission. Steere and Tozer went alone again in the evening to view it, and the Bishop has written a full description. It was " a square block of large size and great height, in the middle a square courtyard open to the sky, with a wide open cloister on the first floor ; from which various rooms opened with doors perfect wonders of

wood-carving." The whole looked "barbaric and rich," and, to men who had experienced the huts on Morambala, "almost an Alhambra!" They planned at once chapel and school, and in a few days actually moved in. The Sultan agreed to let it for 600 dollars, and of this the British naval authorities agreed to pay half, as rent for lower rooms to be used for storage. Nor was that all, for Colonel Playfair and the Hungarian Consul each offered the Bishop £50 a year without his asking for a penny. There were Catholics from America, Lutherans from Germany, and Presbyterians from Scotland in the city; but one and all were more than friendly, and the Bishop believed that they would consider themselves under his jurisdiction. It all sounded "too good to be true"—"Peace after war, sunshine after rain, the morning joy after the heaviness of the black night."

But even more was in store for them than these material gains, for their relations with the Sultan developed rapidly into a really remarkable friendliness. Seyyid Majid was always the model of a gentlemanly and courtly Arab; and when the Bishop called on him, he received his "unbelieving" guest with excessive humility, but with what the Bishop calls "a grace and ease which he never saw equalled." It was all very strange to the missionaries who sipped their coffee in the white-marble reception-room, while Colonel Playfair talked to his Highness in Arabic. On leaving, the Bishop told him that the Mission would pray for him every day—a custom since continued in Christ Church Cathedral. So happily did matters go, that the Sultan not only leased the suggested house to the Mission on very reasonable terms, but within a week sent round five little slave boys as a present to the Bishop. Of these it was found that three were Yaos, one a Nyasa, and one a Gindo; and the missionaries began at once to see visions. The Bishop had been sent to the tribes about Lake Nyasa, and here in Zanzibar were members of his flock in his hands who might be trained, at that admirable centre, for the

native ministry. " Morning after night ! " No wonder God's Hand was seen in the coming to Zanzibar.

Meanwhile, other matters were developing which call for passing comment. No sooner was the chapel opened than it was seen what a part it might play in the life of the growing white population of the island, and in that of the crews which visited it. The Bishop's letters are full of references to the reception which these whites gave to the priests of the Mission. The little chapel was quite full that first Sunday. On another " all the *Wasp's* crew came to church, and many of the *Orestes'* officers," the former asking and getting a week-night's service. Their offerings were quite substantial, and everything pointed to the Bishop's determination that Zanzibar must never again be left without at least an English chaplain. As no one can fail to realise, not only the duty which the Church owes to its members on the frontier of the Empire, but also the enormous influence which resident Christian officials must have for good or ill in foreign parts, it is a matter of profound thanksgiving and encouragement that the Universities' Mission, thus early, was able to take in hand that part of the Church's labours.

Thus the Mission settled in Zanzibar. The Bishop first made a visit to Mombasa and visited amicably the C.M.S. Mission of Rebmann, " of whom I must ever speak with the greatest respect " ; and also the Methodist Mission at Ribi. These confirmed him in his selection of Zanzibar as a starting place for Nyasa ; and, after many overwhelming months of delay, welcome letters from home confirmed his decision.

IV

These early days in Zanzibar might have been designed to illustrate that there was power in God to meet East African needs ; for not only did the Bishop's welcome afford him reason to expect great things, but the work of the next few years was of that deep and quiet nature which tells of seed

wellsown. Writing home about this time, Bishop Tozer begged that no false impression should be given of what they were and of what they had to do. They were two priests on the edge of the field of their labours, facing hard and uninspiring work which would take years to accomplish. There was no need yet to preach eager appeals in all English churches! And it was this singularly unusual, common-sense and practical spirit that God was going to stamp with the seal of His blessing.

Mention has already been made of the few boys whom the Sultan had given to the Bishop—boys picked by him from that great army that still landed every year from the slave-dhows in the harbour. From their windows on the sea-front the missionaries were daily sickened at the sights they were compelled to see; and yet this same traffic made possible the principal work that the Mission undertook during Bishop Tozer's episcopate. He saw at once that in the education of these children opportunities would occur for the learning of the language, for the translation of Bible and Prayer Book, and for the laying-down of the lines upon which the Mission might hope to proceed; and that then, with trained native Christian teachers of their own tribes, the white staff could hope to move forward with success to the peoples of the Lake. Bishop Tozer was exactly suited for this. Miss Ward writes of him in words worth quoting: "He from the first refused to depart from the lines that catholic tradition had laid down for missionaries from the earliest ages. He steadfastly declined to take any share in the politics of the country, either native or European; he insisted that the natives, while being Christianised, should yet not be Europeanised; and he established a rule of life for the Europeans which has been substantially maintained ever since. . . . No matter what the physical difficulties of climate or distance might be, he never would acquiesce in a standard other than the highest. . . . It was comparatively easy for those who followed him to maintain this high standard; but to him is due the honour

of having first established it and consistently maintained it." Such a chief pastor had God set in His Church in the hour of her need.

The two men thus turned themselves into student-schoolmasters, always saving the consideration that for a long time they had everything else to do as well! The story of how the staff grew—of the coming of the ladies, and of the breakdowns and furloughs—belongs to a history of the Mission; we have to make a comprehensive study of methods and results with a view to seeing the working of God. It must be borne in mind that the work begun in that old consulate house in 1864 has since proved a fruitful mother of children. Every now and again a fresh increase of scholars enlarged borders which have since reached as far as a training college on Lake Nyasa. There were five boys in September 1864. In the May of the following year, all Zanzibar was stirred by a sharp encounter between the boats of H.M.S. *Wasp* and a northern Arab Bedawin dhow packed with more than three hundred slaves and defended by some fifty Arabs whose desperate fighting with their long spears and guns made the victory a dear one. From this dhow the Bishop and his sister, who had now joined him, were given nine girls and five more boys in Seychelles harbour. And so the story goes on. Now H.M.S. *Nymph* brings them thirteen more of whom one is tattooed all over his face—" he may be exceedingly attractive and sensational hereafter in a surplice "; and now H.M.S. *Daphne* fourteen. Sometimes they are Bantu, sometimes Nyasa, sometimes Abyssinian, and once they had three Wanyika from Mombasa. By December 1868 there are fifty-five in the school, and a little later we come across a shriek from Miss Tozer at Dr. Steere's proposal to accept thirty girls at a sitting. " Heaven help me if they come in my time! I believe I shall get an Arab in and sell them at once! " And in the end her Majesty's ships were bringing adults as well to the wide arms of the Mission.

The material thus provided was of course of the roughest,



SLAVES TAKEN FROM A DHOW, 1884

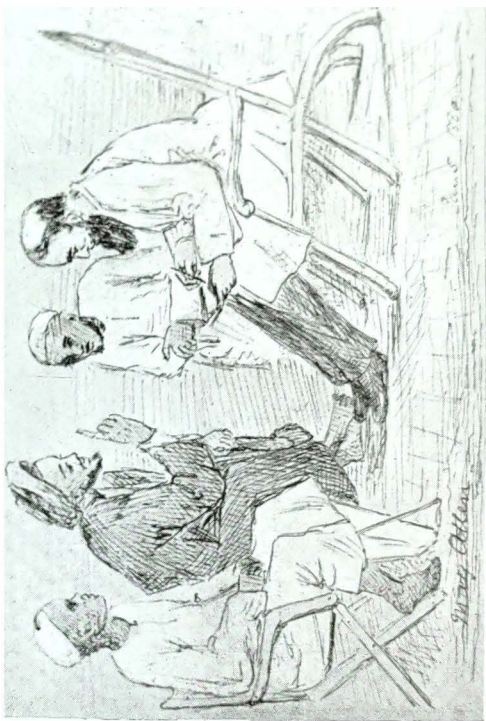
for not only were these orphans the savage children of savage centuries, but they had been brought to civilisation by the slave trade with its every accompaniment of demoralising influences. Miss Tozer tells of the party they received after the battle we have mentioned. She says of the children :—

“ How can I describe that landing ? Tenderly lifting the tiny baby things out with rough kindly words, the sailors set them down, and they squatted patiently on the ground, like little tired black lambs—some no more than three years, but the most about six. Then came a poor little girl wounded in the battle, lifted so tenderly in a carpet by the sailors, who put her down as if they had been nurses. Then I saw the Bishop handing out a mother and baby, the great tearful eyes looking wildly round as she clutched her child close, and he, in a few words, consoling, telling her ‘ No more slave—English ground now—no one hurt her more.’ . . . I think you would have done as I did—sit down and cry: it was the first realisation of slavery, the first coming face to face with it. . . . One of the officers told me when they took them out of the dhow they only had two feet of space to live in—I mean in height—packed in as close as if they had been logs of wood. Only fancy what the elder ones must have suffered ! and all they had to live on was uncooked rice. The Bishop brought me a little Indian girl of thirteen who is actually friendless. . . . They had no clothes, except the loin cloth.”

Later on Dr. Steere, in a speech at Oxford, tried to set out the task before the Mission in those days. He dwells on the fact that at first they had not a word in common with their pupils, whose impression was, the first night they slept in the house, that they were meant to be eaten. They had, of course, literally no manners, and no past generations fit to draw upon by heredity for moral or intellectual stamina. As Steere said : “ If you can imagine yourself standing opposite to five little black boys, with no clothing but the narrowest possible strip of calico round their middles, with

their hands clasped round their necks, looking up into your face with an expression of utter apprehension that something more dreadful than ever they had experienced would surely come upon them now that they had fallen into the hands of the dreaded white men, you will feel our work somewhat as we felt it ! " As a matter of fact it was in later years that the full burden of it began to be realised. As the African child changes into the adult, the centuries of moral and intellectual degradation assert themselves, despite, in many cases, all that has been done in childhood, and the promise of the early days seems unfulfilled. It is, of course, an inevitable law. But when the missionaries had to keep a prison in the school, and huge leg-irons in their Christian settlement, and when they had to face the grievous backsliding of the most hopeful converts, it was hard to keep faith and hope. This side of mission work is least talked of at home, but most influential in forming the average white man's opinion of the native Christians. What a superficial criticism his is, is obvious, but it is only to be met by those who are able to content themselves with " the patience of Christ."

The letters of those days give a many-sided account of daily life in Zanzibar with the children, and it is fairly easy to paint the picture. The waking-bell went at six, and at seven, prayers being over, breakfast was served without those European luxuries to which we have now grown accustomed. One would imagine that oranges must have been a staple food since we are told no one ate less than a dozen a day ! The children breakfasted after the white staff ; and then Dr. Steere had the boys in school, and a lady taught the girls. The Bishop took them for a walk in the evening ; and he seems to have been the first to introduce the now universal football, or rounders, on the *Nazi Moja*, described in the Government Guide to-day as " the finest stretch of turf-land anywhere in Africa between Port Said and Natal." The staff appears to have had " tea " at seven, which was a kind of repetition of breakfast, and the last meal of the



BISHOP STEERE COLLECTING SWAHILI TALES

busy day. Everyone was full of Dr. Steere's praises, from the Bishop, who found him a worker without whom he would have been "helpless," to the ladies, whose admiration was unbounded. Indeed it might well be. We read of that scholar and linguist taking class after class of small boys, and going over and over "Six, six—seven, seven," with the utmost patience. That done he is to be found at his perpetual Swahili, laboriously collecting words and building up the grammar. He is store-keeper as well, and practical printer; and, writes the Bishop's sister, "after a hard day of teaching the boys, and printing and writing, and accounts, he comes quite fresh to give me a Swahili lesson after tea, which goes on till Ali comes to give him a lesson in Arabic." Steere actually completed a Swahili handbook in little more than eighteen months! Under these circumstances the children's progress was rapid. In four and a half months, the Bishop reported that the first five could now read an easy narrative, write "remarkably," say with ease the Lord's Prayer and the *Gloria*; and that they knew something of our Lord's life, which the Bishop taught them by means of pictures on Sunday. Miss Tozer was amazed at their ability, even when she first came out. Their manners were those of "perfect little gentlemen"; they could speak a little English, and understand a great deal more; sing well, do simple arithmetic, repeat scripture history, and, best of all, "two of the boys are Christians in will." And some of us find it a distinct sign of grace when we read, in addition, that they had learnt to use their fists in "good earnest English fashion," although who taught them that noble art does not transpire.

The girls must have one passing paragraph. They were not quite so satisfactory as the boys; and indeed I cannot refrain from quoting the unconsciously humorous account of them from the pen of their lady teacher. Fayida has "the lazy slave already ingrained in her composition"; Anana is "not a pleasant-looking girl, as she was away two months with small-pox"; Kadumhili has "a fat little

short-nosed-terrier sort of face"; Kisa is "unfortunately fat"; Aliangu is "much disfigured by having her nose and ears pierced"; Kidogo, "very thin, with a small head like a monkey, . . . enlivens her duties by a perpetual, but not melodious, song"; Sikujua "tears her clothes, and is quite unable to repair them"; while Sulia is "often quarrelling with her playfellows." Another was an invalid, who was patient enough when ill, but very cross when well. However, Miss Jones saw their good points, and did not fail to bring them out. After all, it is the women of a heathen country who cling most conservatively to heathen customs, and whose century-long oppression leaves the most ineradicable mark. Yet Africa will not have another Augustine without a Monica, and her production is the work for which the Church is looking to the labours of the women of England.

Quite early the Bishop sought a site for a missionary college, and he bought what is now known as Kiungani, in November 1864. The building began in March 1866, and two years later the girls were moved there. However, a letter of the Bishop in April 1869 records his coming with their forty-one boys, and the girls returned to town. It was (and is) very beautiful out there; and soon we find letters telling of the building of the chapel. It was a tedious business—"a girl walking out two miles with a stone on her head no larger than a half-quarter loaf, and then returning for another. . . . But even this plan is cheaper and more profitable than using donkeys!" At length it was ready, however, and St. Andrew's College an accomplished fact. "I think I was never in better heart," writes the now wearying Bishop; and indeed it was a crown to his labours. He dwells lovingly on the details of the chapel—its white and black marble sanctuary floor, its little ante-chapel, and its pointed arches. Since then there has been a new chapel erected on the old site, to which Father Russell has given a handsome marble altar; Padre Mackay and Mr. Deerr, a teak screen and rood; while a chapel has

been built out for the Blessed Sacrament. This chapel was erected to the memory of Archdeacon Jones-Bateman. The College now fulfils all that Bishop Tozer hoped for it ; and sends out a stream of native teachers and clergy already carrying the good tidings whither that early Church-builder was not allowed to go.

V

It remains to see what God worked in the lives of the boys thus strangely obtained and taught. Mission histories set out at length the stories of many of them, but that does not come within the compass of a book which is rather to suggest thought than relate history. We will therefore allow ourselves to see, as in a picture, four scenes which summarise the work of these years.

S. Bartholomew's Day, 1865, has always been kept as the Anniversary of the Mission, for it was the birthday of the first souls added to our Lord in Zanzibar. They had long looked forward to the day, and Miss Tozer was up by five o'clock to see a gold and crimson sunrise such as portends the change of the monsoon. She heard the Bishop making the round of his boys and personally superintending their array in new white *kanzus*. Then they went down to the chapel to dress that humble little room as well as might be for the great occasion. Sailors from the fleet were as interested in decorating it as the ladies of the Mission, and there has come down to us a rather touching account of all that was done. Boughs of mango stood in all the recesses wherewith Arab architecture furnishes a room ; the simple little altar was resplendent with scarlet and purple and yellow flowers, as they could get no white ; and upon a white daïs edged with a much-prized fringe of red and gold stood the font. That was only a tin basin ; but they sank a gold offertory dish at the bottom of the water, lined the box on which it stood with fine linen, and banked it with tiny

double scarlet roses sent by an Arab in town. And so, in the presence of ten Europeans, Bishop Tozer gathered in the first-fruits. " Farajala was the first ; he came forward so gently, knelt down by the Bishop's side, shut his eyes and folded his hands, and then he rose, went back to his place, and knelt again to the end of the service, as they all did. I cannot remember their order, but the second was Francis Robert Feruzi (named after the Metropolitan), John Swedi (after our own dear Bishop), Samuel Kongo (after the Bishop of Oxon). . . ." The service seems to have been just a simple, quiet solemnization of Baptism, followed by the Eucharist. They sang three hymns, the fourteen heathen children leaving the chapel after that which preceded the Offertory, while the newly-baptized remained to see, for the first time, that great Commemoration wherein, in " the heavenly places " and on earth, the one eternal Redemption is pleaded for man. Not for nothing had Mackenzie linked himself to that Redemption by his life of sacrifice and by his death.

The Feast of the Purification, 1870, is our next date, being the seventh anniversary of Bishop Tozer's consecration. Five years' unremitting toil had gone on since that first Baptism, in weariness and sickness, " in labour and travail, in watchings often, in fastings often," and at last the Bishop was resolved on a great step. The Mission boys had always been destined in his mind for native ministers, but of course that turned not only on their fitness, but also on their sense of vocation. In two or three these qualifications seemed fulfilled. Still the Bishop would not hurry, but, as his letters show, he determined to revive the ancient office of the sub-deacon, and commit to these subordinate ministers the care of the sacred vessels, the service of waiting on the priest at the altar, the reading of Holy Scripture publicly, and the work, where necessary, of interpretation. These duties may not seem much, but nevertheless the little chapel witnessed great things that day. We have no detailed story of the service, but we can

picture the already "fainting" Bishop, worn out with his charge, bending forward from his seat before the little altar to call the first-fruits of our part of East Africa into the direct service of the Church. George Farajala, who had made a retreat of some weeks previously, and John Swedi, were the two thus set apart. "Brethren beloved," said the Bishop, "you are now presenting yourselves to the Lord . . . like Samuel of old time. . . . See, then, that what ye utter with your lips ye believe in your hearts, and fulfil in your daily lives. . . . Be blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation." And thus was lit that beacon light of African ministry which, please God, shall never go out.

I do not think we do wrong to select such a picture as the third which I have in my mind. Humanly speaking, it seems but little in the story of the Mission, but the Catholic Faith surely calls us to believe that it stands for a great deal. God was to set His seal on that ordination, and one of the two designed by the shepherd on earth for earthly ministry was required by the Great Shepherd for higher and heavenly. For a month we read of George busy in his vocation, and evidently very much the Bishop's joy—but for little more than a month. On March 20 after that February 2 we find him serving at the altar, reading the Epistle, and taking part in other services, and the very next day he is stricken with the cholera then scourging Zanzibar. The Bishop has left a vivid picture of that night scene at the old Mission House, set so close to the sea (the very gate of Africa) that the lapping of the waves must have come to the ears of the watchers through the dark hours. First the dread disease racked him with extreme pain for hours, but his own request bade them hold him down and prevent him from abandonment to the suffering. Then came quiet, and the Bishop tells how his black son in the Faith seized and kissed his hands, and said that he left all that was to come to the will of God. In the early morning

he set things right with God and man, and slipped away from the Church on earth to the Church above as the Bishop was saying commendatory prayers. Dr. Tozer was too weak to take the service at the grave, but in that same chapel that had witnessed the dedication of the soldier, he was given back to God. According to his own wish, he was robed in his sub-deacon's surplice, with a cross upon his breast, and the body, in African way, was wrapped in Zanzibar mats outlined with a large cross. It was then borne by sea to the grave, and the Bishop watched it go, covered with a pall of white bearing an outlined cross of red and gold, while in the prow sat Francis Mabruki holding aloft the processional cross. "So, as it were, in Christian state, he was rowed gently by another boat along the shore, the large bell tolling heavily at intervals and telling the town of our great loss." It must have been strange, that scene—the hot sun on the blue water and the white houses, and the boat with the body of the slave of Christ slipping by the rough-hewn Arab dhows drawn up upon a beach that had often been strewn with the discarded bodies of the slaves of men. The Cross was already winning victories of love.

The last scene is in Kiungani Chapel—not the present one, but the old one, which stood however on the same site. On October 8, 1872, between (in our English Kalendar) the feasts of S. Faith and S. Remigius—the youthful martyr, and the great missionary—that little chapel was the scene of a dismissal that stirs the blood. We have been unable to trace the story in detail of these early years; nor is it our office; although we shall come to a little more of it in a while. To sum it up, we might say that (in Dr. Steere's words) the Mission was come in 1872 "to the last extremity." The Bishop had gone home so ill that it was doubtful if he would live to reach England; death had passed through Zanzibar on the wings of cholera following a terrible cyclone which wrecked the Mission stores and premises; the mainland attempts had necessarily been abandoned; and

Dr. Steere was the only priest left at the front. On him fell every burden ; and he was faced not only with isolation, but with ruined Mission-premises, and the daily care of the Church which could not be eased for a moment. Just then, a native from the Shambala country came to beg that the Mission formerly opened, but now abandoned there for lack of men, might not cease. Was Dr. Steere to send this "man from Macedonia" empty away? If he had done so, he could not have been blamed ; but he refused. He turned to two of the Africans the Mission had been labouring to train, and to two white lads—Speare aged nineteen, and Hartley a young schoolmaster—and he asked these four inexperienced sub-deacons to step out in the strength of God. In the early dawn of that October day the little chapel echoed to a speech that has been rightly called "noble"; and at the Eucharist, which commemorates the obedience and sacrifice of Christ, the brave and saintly Steere called these four to a like dedication.

"Brethren, you are going on the noblest errand on which it is possible for men to go. You are sent as God's messengers to publish His acts and explain His counsels. The more completely you can forget yourselves and remember only Him, so much the better will your work be done. God has looked with compassion upon the sinful and the miserable, and sends you to tell them that He loves them. . . .

"If none will receive your message, still God's part has been done, and you will have done yours if you have faithfully declared it. . . . Do not expect immediate success. . . . Follow as far as you can the custom of the place and people. Quarrel with no one, however much you may be provoked. Treat no one with contempt. Never use violence or hard language. Be moderate in eating, drinking, and sleeping. . . . Do not be afraid to say all that you have to say. . . . If you find yourselves in danger from war or tumult, do not be in a hurry to escape ; if your people stay it will be best for you to stay with them. Set your faces steadily against

all superstitious fears: however strong evil spirits may be. God is stronger. . . . In any case, do not fear death.

" But our prayer for you is that you may have such success that you may be counted amongst those who, having turned many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever and ever."

Is it necessary to look to the end in order to make clear that here was power in our Lord to meet Africa's need? Set over against that beaten dying band on the Rovuma, those kneeling four that day. The sons of Africa were themselves being dismissed to apostolic duties with apostolic words; and the work of Charles Frederick Mackenzie was sealed of God.

VI

During all this Zanzibar development, Bishop Tozer never forgot the mainland tribes, or that he had come to Zanzibar in order to reach Nyasa; but at first this seemed impossible. However, as time went on the Mission began to form some idea of the mainland and its tribes, and to look forward to the day when a beginning might be made with those nearest to them. Right opposite Zanzibar Island is the Usambara country—a beautiful mountainous land of many tribes and races. First there is a rolling plain of grass and bush, with forests of giant trees and valuable woods, and here the Bondeis live. Then come the lower spurs of the hills, with rich red soil, luxuriant vegetation, many wild beasts, and the Zigua people. The mountains themselves, in four ranges running north and south, of volcanic origin, send up granite peaks 6,000 feet into the air, each covered with jungle to the summit, except where the bare granite shows through. The Shambala people lived on the first three of these ranges, and all were governed by the Wakilindi, a small adventurous and brave tribe which had come from the north and conquered the country, making Vuga, then forbidden to



MAGILA

white men, its headquarters. The chief Kimweri ruled the whole, and to him at last the Mission sent a representative.

The Rev. C. A. Alington, with native helpers, first pressed through this country in August 1867, and we have a detailed account of this journey. All was very new, and the missionary had to rely on bearers who did not take him the best way. He pushed up towards the hills, through villages which for the most part received him well, reminded as he proceeded of the Shiré country and the early days there. At last they sighted Vuga ; and, after a night in a banana grove, and much expenditure of gunpowder, Kimweri condescended to make his presence known. He was heralded by the gift of a cow which was roasted whole at once, and finally represented on a hill-top outside the town by his eldest son, a fat, good-humoured youth, who took his name. Mr. Alington made no bones about his mission. He told the chief that he had long wished to visit him because he had been sent by the true God to teach Kimweri's people that they might have satisfaction in life and peace in heaven. Kimweri objected that he must obtain the permission of his over-lord the Sultan Majid of Zanzibar, for this preaching, and despite gifts and persuasion he remained firm to this. In any case he would not have the white men in Vuga, and at length the weary ambassador had to return to the coast.

Alington, fever-stricken, reached Zanzibar to find one Mission worker dead and to watch another die, the Bishop being then invalided in England. But he did not hesitate. The Sultan gave a willing permission, and in January of 1868 he set out on his return. He found the Ziguas on the warpath, and all the natives mad to see him. He could not rest without being mobbed by an eager crowd, but at last the long delays were passed, and permission was obtained to build a mission station at Magila, some half-way between Vuga and the sea.

For a year Mr. Alington held the fort for God at Magila, even when the death of Kimweri rent the country with

civil war. He chose a little hill near the village, close to a stream of delicious water, for the station, and despite almost continual fever, set up the first post of a church on the eve of Trinity Sunday in the Name of the Ever-Blessed Trinity. But at length war temporarily stopped the building, and Alington, "in a lamentable state," went to Zanzibar to fetch the Bishop and reinforcements. These consisted of the Rev. L. Fraser, a layman, and some of the native boys. The Bishop was much struck with the natives and the scenery, and he has left an account of that journey through the then unknown country, with its little services at night which woke the echoes with the songs of Zion. They came wearily to Magila, however, outworn with fever and the well-meant reception of the natives, who, says the Bishop, regarded them as a kind of circus! They surveyed the villages about, nevertheless, and left Alington again in charge. He laboured on until January 1869, and then had to return to England.

Magila seemed for a while as if it must be deserted, but in March the Rev. L. Fraser, with two others a little later, took up that charge. For twelve months he worked steadily, building a better mission-house, much encouraged by the eagerness of the Magila Chief, itinerating among the villages, and teaching the children in such a way that it was found afterwards that they had remembered much. But God was preparing just that storm of trouble with which He seems to baptize most new endeavours. In December, Lewis Fraser visited Zanzibar for rest, only to be swept away by the terrible cholera visitation of 1869-1870. It was now that George Farajala died, and that Bishop Tozer, broken in health, was left alone with Mr. Pennell. In 1870, despite this, the Bishop made a hurried visit to deserted Magila, only to bury on his return a new priest who had but just joined the Mission. For two years it was only just possible to hold Zanzibar, and in 1872 the final blow of all came. The terrible hurricane of that year wrecked the city and made a scene of desolation, says the

Bishop, which was the most piteous sight he had ever seen. His sister tells of the utter ruin of the Mission property, both private and public, and her letters are full of references to the Bishop's failing health. His work indeed was done. In May Miss Tozer writes: "He is utterly shattered, knocked down, and out of heart;" in July: "The Bishop is in a state that breaks my heart;" in August: "I believe paralysis is threatening, or apoplexy—his hands paper-white, and his face so shrunk and old and withered;" and a little later that the only hope of life was "home immediately." On top of all, the heroic Reverend Lewin Pennell sickened and died; and by October Dr. Steere was left alone. Discipleship had led again to the Way of the Cross. . . . That very month Magila begged that it might not be finally abandoned.

How, in the face of every difficulty, Dr. Steere despatched his sub-deacons to the Shambala hills, has already been told; and it may be said that, from that act of faith, the Magila Mission never looked back. A succession of workers kept the flame aglow during the months of Dr. Steere's consecration to the now vacant bishopric, his campaign in England, and until his return with many helpers to Zanzibar. In 1875, having planted a colony of adult Christians at Mbweni, on Zanzibar Island, Bishop Steere began a series of journeys on the mainland, fired by his determination that the East African tribes must finally have each its own bishop, clergy and churches. Like the monastic pioneers of early European centuries, he chose sites for future cities and planted parties on them. In July 1875 he took four white men and eight native teachers to struggling Magila, and inaugurated an era of prosperity under Arch-deacon Farler. Two years later he landed at Lindi, journeyed across the Rovuma, through the Yao peoples, and viewed the land of the early attempts. Following this he planted Christians and teachers at Masasi; and the story of them, despite its shadows, is one of increasing success. By 1879 the tribes of the mainland had been reached.

The story of Magila may not be told here in full ; but Farler and his helpers laboured with apostolic zeal. Their position was very much that of Augustine at the court of Ethelbert, or Paulinus at that of Edwin. They appeared before native councils with their story of peace, and bore the Cross between armed war-parties. Men heard them preach, and spread their story ; so that they found villages ready to hear them when they came. At one place they publicly debated with the Moslem *imam*, and contrasted " the holy and blessed life of JESUS with the evil and impure life of Mohammed." The young sub-deacons showed zeal and love, and at last converts came in. Easter 1877 marked that wonderful time when heathen Magila watched a white-robed procession following the Cross to the river, a quarter of a mile away, for the baptism of fourteen persons. All was in Swahili ; a young African sub-deacon preached. Then back they came, through the green shambas, under the vivid blue sky, to the little church, where those first fourteen were taken into the visible Body of the Church of God.

Christmas Day, 1879, really ends this chapter ; but that Christmas was followed by a significant Epiphany on the mainland, with which we may well close. This year had seen the opening of a daughter station at Umba, under a devoted deacon not long in the Mission, the Rev. Charles Yorke, who had laboured unceasingly and successfully for some months. But Umba too was to have its trial ; for, on the Epiphany of 1880, Charles Yorke obtained that manifestation of the Lord he had served which only comes " across the River." He was carried to his grave by the side of his first and recent convert, by weeping catechumens ; and all Umba, heathen as well as Christian, mourned and wailed for him. Preaching at home on the anniversary of the Mission, the Bishop of Carlisle, who had been the tutor and biographer of Bishop Mackenzie, mentioned that Yorke's had been the first death on the mainland since those early sufferers on the Shiré River. Eighteen weary, struggling

years had gone by, but that comparison tells its own story. The first had died alone and beaten, in a heathen land; the second was laid to rest among native Christians by a Church which already had its training college, its native ministry, its out-stations, and its cathedral. It was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

VII

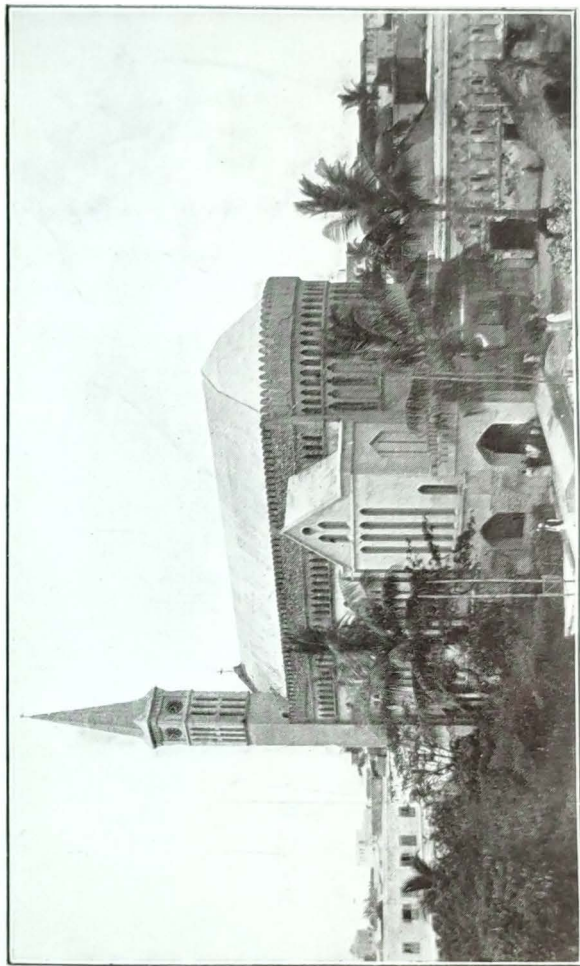
With all this expansion and growth, there still lacked a church in Zanzibar. Bishop Steere refused to wish for a cathedral: that was to be planted one day on the shores of Nyasa; and even he, at that time, could not foresee how soon the development of the Mission was going to make two dioceses, with two cathedrals, a necessity. It is, of course, well known now where that Zanzibar church was to be placed; but we have to consider it in the light of this chapter.

The weakness of that early mission to Zanzibar, and the strength of the kingdom it had come to displace, must have seemed almost laughable to the Arabs of the day. Their very interest was based largely on their absolute lack of fear. And yet Bishop Tozer and Dr. Steere stood for a direct challenge to the power that not only made slavery possible, but supported it with religious sanction. But the protest of Dr. Livingstone had been backed (as he asked) by the Universities' Mission; and in 1873 Sir Bartle Frere visited Zanzibar, interviewed the Sultan, and added to missionary persuasion the moral weight of British Government opinion. That opinion was backed by the appearance of a fleet of British, French, and American men-of-war; and one month after the death of Livingstone, the Sultan signed a treaty prohibiting the transportation of slaves, and, *ipso facto*, closing the slave market. Bishop Steere saw at once the Church's opportunity. "What place could be so appropriate for the preaching of the Gospel

of Liberty as this, where liberty had been so long unknown? " so Dr. Steere in that year designed for his Master the greatest of His visible triumphs.

The plan was no sooner formed than the way was opened. Only the year before—the year of the first general Missionary Intercession in the Anglican branch of the Church—the Rev. A. N. West, a curate of Buckingham, had joined the Mission, and he purchased and gave the slave depôt and the adjoining ground. The actual market was in the possession of a Hindu merchant, who most nobly presented it to the Bishop. There, on the first Friday in Advent, 1873, the first preaching took place in a mud hut. Light came in from the door and thatch and light-holes, and it streamed on a little congregation gazing at a picture of the Crucifixion nailed up between two poles, and on Dr. Steere preaching the liberty of the soul now that liberty of the body had been won. Their own children sang Swahili hymns and a Litany; some eighty townspeople gathered about; and at the door was the *imam* and others of a local mosque, to whom the Bishop's pamphlets were given at the close. Regular services followed; the congregation swelled to 150 of all races; and on Christmas Day the first stone of a permanent building was laid. A feeble little band gathered round the acting Consul-General, and Dr. Steere was asked not to preach publicly for fear of a disturbance; but with prayer and to the ringing strains of " Jerusalem the golden," Christ Church was planted in Zanzibar.

The church slowly grew with the Bishop superintending it day by day. It was built with an apse, Basilican in type, and Arabic features within and without commended it to Africa. No native believed that the 28½-foot span, sixty feet high, of the Bishop's own mixture of coral and Portland cement, would hold when the scaffolding was taken away, until one man remembered the foundation stone. Bishop Steere declared that had nothing to do with it, but his inquirer was not satisfied. " I know why the



CHRIST-CHURCH CATHEDRAL, ZANZIBAR

roof does not fall," he said. "It is the very powerful medicine you put in that stone!"

On Christmas Day, 1879, the exterior was complete. Boys from Kiungani decorated it thoroughly, and masked the scaffolding at the east end with palm branches, while a cross of white and red flowers stood high on the very spot where once the whipping-post had been. Apart from the European residents, some 250 native Christians were there, and as many more of the townspeople crowded in. In one way it was the crowning-point of Bp. Steere's life. In Swahili, native Christians sang out the Gospel story in our childhood's hymn: "While shepherds watched their flocks by night," and as they followed it with the significant: "Hark! the herald-angels sing," all present must have felt that here indeed the Church on earth was joining "with angels and archangels" in a triumph song. The Bishop preached. He looked out on black faces already signed with the cross, on others known to be "hearing," and, in the ante-chapel, on Arabs who had bargained for slaves and watched their punishment upon that very spot.

It is unnecessary to lay much more stress on all that this sets out in parable. Dr. Steere's own words bid us compare two pictures: the one, "rows of men, women, and children, sitting and standing, and salesmen and purchasers passing in and out among them, examining them, handling them, chaffering over them, bandying their filthy jokes about them, and worse scenes still going on in all the huts around"; the other, "the priest, the preacher, the physician, and the nurse, the children crowding to be taught, the grown men coming to hear of God and Christ, the sick and suffering finding help and health." The writer of that saw *both*. And what was his verdict?

"AFRICA IS READY—IF ONLY ENGLAND BE
READY TOO"

It is with that we close our fourth study. A mere handful has been garnered from the crowded harvest-field, and

of this much has been spoiled or lost. The native Christians are as poor in quality as you would expect ex-slaves and savages, without the strength of Christian centuries behind them, to be. Priests were to be broken-hearted at Mbweni, Kiungani, Zanzibar, and Magila in days to come. Enemies were to set the loss of men and the expenditure of money over against the few and poor sheep won, with worldly wisdom. Not all reckon one soul as of more value than the whole world. But we have to ask ourselves as yet but one question as we scan the record of those years, and, answering it, acknowledge that God had indeed called England to Africa: for can it be denied that there is evidence here of present power in the Name of Christ to meet Africa's need?

" Hope of men's bodies, grains both red and white—
Shrivelled and sere and void of speech and sight,
Is that blind Seed Who burst His way to light.
Alleluia ! "

ASSIGNMENTS

A

1. Describe the situation which Bishop Tozer had to face on his arrival in Africa.
2. What became of the natives who had been at Magomero?
3. Why did Bishop Tozer select Zanzibar for the next attempt made by the Mission?
4. What qualities made Bishop Tozer and Dr. Steere just the men required for the work at that time?
5. Sketch the nature of the work which opened up in Zanzibar.
6. Relate the early story of Magila.
7. What do you know of the " Church in the Slave Market " ?
8. Summarise what seem to you to be instances of the power of God in this chapter.

B

1. Consider and criticise Bishop Tozer's determination to leave the Shiré River.

2. Illustrate, by means of a map, the possible centres considered by Bishop Tozer after leaving the Shiré Valley, and explain the advantages or disadvantages of each.

3. Give some account of the Swahili language.

(For this, obtain, if possible, the Swahili " Handbook." See also " Where we live and What we do," chap. xxxiv. and Bishop Tozer's " Letters," p. 125 ff. Examine the structure of the language as exhibited by the Swahili " Lord's Prayer " in Appendix.)

4. Draw a map of Zanzibar Island illustrating this chapter. *(See U.M.C.A. " Atlas.")*

5. Illustrate on an outline map the advantages of Zanzibar as a centre for expansion. *(Show trade-routes, diffusion of Swahili language, accessibility of the mainland and lake-side tribes, etc.)*

6. What elements of weakness suggest themselves by a study of this chapter which would incline you not to expect the rapid appearance of a self-contained East African Church ?

7. Estimate the difficulties before the missionaries when considering expansion on the mainland.

8. For what specific results did the " Church of the Slave Market " stand, and in what respects is it a parable of the triumph of the grace of God ?

CHAPTER V

“ THE FRUITFUL GOSPEL ”

Objective.—A study of the Church in East Africa at work, in the person of a great missionary.

Aim.—To show the need of the missionary in the various operations of the Church in the field.

Time.—The Episcopate of Bishop Smythies, November 1883 to May 1894.

Question.—What gift do you feel most inclined to ask of God for a foreign missionary as a result of your study of this chapter ?

Scripture Reading.—Colossians i. 3-15.

(St. Paul's prayer for a successful infant Church of which he knew the need.)

SYNOPSIS

PARAGRAPH

- I. The call of the East African Church : the needs of its missionaries illustrated in the life of Bishop Smythies, personal opinions of him, his catholicity, and call to East Africa.
- II. The work of itinerating : the Bishop on village preaching, his love of Nature, food on his journeys, privations and dangers, “ deaths oft,” the death of Mr. Winckley, on *safari*, two typical Sundays.
- III. The work of a pioneer : Nyasa, the first work at Mataka's, the Rev. W. P. Johnson there, his journey to the lake, and the death of Charles Janson, the *Charles Janson*, Likoma Island, early days, the Bishop's visit of 1888, burnings for witchcraft, Bishop Hornby, and later days.
- IV. A missionary in danger : the German annexation, Bishop Smythies' rules and action.

PARAGRAPH

- V. The native ministry : its necessity, dear to Bishop Smythies, Kiungani in 1888, the history of Cecil Majaliwa as illustrative of the native minister, his work, and present life.
- VI. Problems of administration : early mistakes, synods revived to meet them, the Bishop's catholic standpoint, the problem of marriage in a heathen society, of Holy Orders, of services, of excommunication, and of fasting.
- VII. The strain of African life : first signs of weakness, work of the Bishop in 1891, his last visit to England, last ministry in Zanzibar, his final illness and death.

“ The Pilgrims then, especially *Christian*, began to despond in their mind, and looked this way and that, but no way could be found by them by which they might escape the River. Then they asked the men if the Waters were all of a depth ? They said, No ; yet they could not help them in that case, for said they, *you shall find it deeper or shallower, as you believe in the King of the place.*”—*John Bunyan.*

I

WITH our fifth study we turn to a new aspect of the missionary call. Hitherto we have watched East African needs, and those needs made known, and we have seen in what manner God set His seal on a work begun with small resources save those of hope and love ; but now we shall consider the missionary call which the Church in East Africa is giving in our own days to the Church in England. Here also we follow the three-fold plan, and turn first to the Need. But it is not the easiest task to set that out, for you cannot merely estimate a need in terms of unevangelised villages or of under-staffed stations. Each priest and layman in the field stands in need, though he be surrounded with Christian natives and Catholic privileges ; and how great his need is, none but the needy know.

But it is just they who do not like to tell, and the plan adopted here would limp a little if we rested only upon them.

It is for this reason that we have before us two studies : the one purely and simply the study of an individual— " a great missionary, one of the manliest of men, a deeply religious and entirely fearless Catholic bishop " ; and the other a study of things as they are. By the first we shall try to show, not exactly a normal missionary life, but by no means abnormal missionary trials, hopes and fears, disappointments and joys, and all of them inspiring because borne by a missionary whose feet followed closely the Divine footsteps. His life illustrates, too, better than most, the problems of the infant Church, and the greatest of all the works which she is called upon to undertake. And in the end we shall not find that limitation to one man has dwarfed our outlook, for his living personality gives life to a study which might otherwise be dull. You may learn a good deal about missionary work by ransacking the baggage of a score of missionaries, but you learn more by talking to one. And Charles Alan Smythies, being dead, yet speaketh.

He comes before us ¹ as the noble figure of a man whose " good example " stands high in the records of the Church militant. There are many still who knew him, but not one to whom Bishop Smythies is not a memory for which men draw aside to thank their God. This is no exaggerated language. Father Russell's words have been already quoted, but all say the same. Archdeacon Maples found his greatest characteristic in his burning zeal in every aspect of his

¹ For the whole of this chapter I am entirely indebted to *The Life of C. A. Smythies*, published by the U.M.C.A. It is nothing more than an adaptation for study purposes of that biography. Father Russell's beautiful 'Preface' ought to be read by all, in full; while I regret that I cannot give the entire story in Miss Ward's careful words. I wish thus to acknowledge my great obligation to them.—R. K.

work, and Archdeacon Jones-Bateman considered that his power and wisdom could only be summed up by the use of that much-abused word "Great." Canon Dale's appreciation is shown when he writes : " I think of him always as a magnificent man, of kindly face and courtly manners, of deep, ripe judgment, with a wise, discerning heart and a strong though disciplined will—a born ruler and leader of men ;" and this is not a surprise when we consider the quiet holiness of his life. His great care was to secure the first two morning hours for communion with God, day by day pleading the great Sacrifice and making offer of himself, his soul and body, and day by day in office and meditation striving to learn his Master's will. It was surely those hours which left that impress on him which all noticed. There was in him a courtesy and grace, " an imperial meekness," a love and a gentleness, which combined to make that manliness which sometimes seems at variance with these when taken separately, but which is compacted of them and of none other. " One of the manliest men I ever looked on," we are told that an American bishop testified, and it was this manliness which stamped his life.

Bishop Smythies brought to his diocese a Catholicism at once convinced and generous. Perhaps the virtue of generosity is contained in that of conviction ; but they are often found divorced. With him, however, there was never any question but that he held the faith of the Fathers with the love of a little child. He wrote to Père Acker, the head of the Roman Catholic community in Zanzibar, about the question of divorce, with a loyalty to Lambeth, a brotherliness to Rome, and a firmness to the Catholic Faith that well indicates his position. " The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church makes it exceedingly difficult for Anglican Bishops to be generous . . . [but I] rejoice in all the good that God is doing in the world by means of her . . . [although] the *rôle* of Protestant is one that I can never play." His biographer tells

us of his charities to the Salvation Army and to the Bible Society, on the other side. And perhaps more than all, we have evidence of his wisdom, in the true Biblical sense of that word, when we find the C.M.S. Bishop of Uganda, the heroic Dr. Hannington, writing from Magila, whither he had gone for the older man's blessing and advice :—

"Next day (Sunday) 6.30 A.M., the Bishop held a Confirmation. Mitre and cope. Address very good. . . . With all his ritualism he is strong on the point of conversion, and is very particular about baptism and communion not being administered before conversion, either to heathen or professing Christians." Of his own diocese Hannington had to write : "I want to see far more Church order" ; but indeed the two bishops had more in common than perhaps either of them knew.

No great speaker and no great scholar, Bishop Smythies came nevertheless to Zanzibar after ten years of work in the diocese of Llandaff that had drawn out those qualities with which he was to do so much for Africa. First curate and then vicar of a parish which grew to twenty thousand souls, he had won the respect and love of rich and poor alike, largely because, as the late Bishop King said in his sermon at the consecration in St. Paul's Cathedral, he had declared to them the whole counsel of God ; and he himself had judged himself unfit for the bishopric when first it was offered him. Characteristically, he thought his late vicar the best man for the work. After a delay, however, the post was pressed upon him again, and this time he gave himself, "not knowing, not questioning what the future of his life or death might be," because he thought that it was God's will that he should go. Every year of his episcopate he returned to the treasurers of the Universities' Mission every penny of that little-enough income they could offer him ; while on his part he spared nothing in the service to which he had been called ; and when at last it was told how in the cabin of a foreign mail steamer he had in very truth "fallen on sleep," it was left to one

who had known him well to write: "Bishop Smythies lived daily and hourly in the fear and love of God."

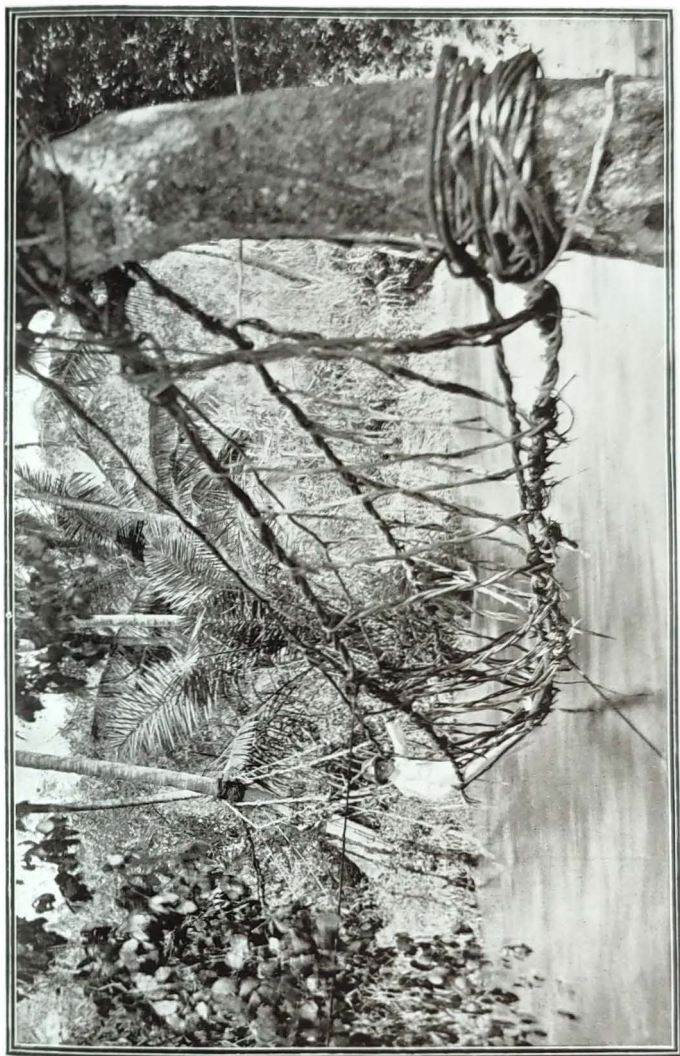
II

The new bishop was off Zanzibar Island by St. Matthias' Day 1884, and he received such a welcome as a missionary diocese widowed of a bishop for eighteen months can give to their new Father-in-God, especially when he brings with him a large band of reinforcements. Bishop Smythies, however, had not been one month in Zanzibar before he had decided to make a visitation of the Magila district, thus indicating, as it were, what was to be a characteristic of his episcopate. No bishop of our Church in modern days has travelled as he did. Five times he walked to Lake Nyasa, and ten times in all visited the Masasi district, while his activity in the Bondé country distinguished him from his predecessors in the see. The time had come, indeed, for expansion. It was because of the work of Bishops Tozer and Steere that Bishop Smythies could become a veritable apostle to the tribes round Lake Nyasa, and here we find our first illustration of the work of a missionary in his life. Nowadays Magila can be reached in a few hours by rail from the coast, and the walk to Masasi has changed its character entirely, while Nyasa, although still many weeks' journey from Zanzibar, is still becoming yearly more accessible. Yet, for all this, itinerating and 'journeyings oft' must remain for a long time the work of a missionary, and while there are unreached tribes in the Mission's sphere of influence, the priest on *safari* must be a familiar sight.

The Bishop's own journeys were often especially connected with his episcopal office, and arose out of the necessity of his passing continually from place to place "confirming the churches," but he also had a very clear view of the primary advantage and necessity of preaching the Gospel tidings far and near. He held that this prepared the way

for the coming of resident priests, and gave the tribes an idea of the purpose of the missionary as distinct from that of the other white men whom they saw. At the end of just such a preaching tour in the Bondé country with Padre Petro Limo, in which they preached in five villages one day, three the next, and thirteen within the week, he writes that although this doubtless requires an effort to begin, still "it must be often the only, as it is the divinely appointed way of stirring up a desire for God and holy things in the hearts of men. We do not want them to think we have only come to open schools for children." In this case he was circling round Korogwe as a centre. And for all his zeal, it is not a little interesting to note that the Bishop shared that *fear* which is one of the burdens of Divine service anywhere—the dread, that is, of bringing holy things to minds which cannot understand and may perhaps defile them. But he was not a man to hang back because the sword was sharp, and until the Day declare it we shall not know how many have finally reached the Kingdom because of a saving impulse towards truth which the Bishop thus implanted in them.

Turning, then, to his journeys, we can picture the big, well-made man passing day after day through forest or wilderness, river-valley or desert, to visit his scattered sheep, or to win new ones. He loved wild nature, and this love of his was not the least lovable thing about him. His letters are full of those quick appreciations that tell of the true artist—a solitary bunch of white flowers in a dark forest, or the wide banana leaves transfigured by the light of the setting sun upon their tender green, or the soft falling of leaves as in an English autumn, or the vivid scarlet of some little birds jewelling the reeds on a slow river's bank. He took note of all he saw, and his discoveries made valuable additions to geographical science. He was often in danger from wild beasts—once when his canoe scraped the back of a hippopotamus, and again when a lion raided the night encampment and by a



A BRIDGE OVER THE LUVU, NEAR KOROGWE

seeming miracle clawed at a pot of porridge instead of at the head of a praying native whose friends kept the whole camp beating empty tins all night to prevent the lion's return.

The provisioning of his expeditions was certainly as frugal as could be. The Rev. Petro Limo supplies an inventory of one such tour when the Bishop possessed two tins of biscuits, two of milk, one packet of tea, one of candles, a waterproof sheet, and a blanket. It was his custom to receive the native *ugali* (or porridge) and fowl, and to eat the thick white delicious stuff with his fingers by the side of the village chief. It broke down "a great deal of barrier," he said, speaking out of the depths of his large heart. At times indeed he stared famine in the face. Once on the way to Nyasa he lost his bearers, and for two or three days had nothing to eat but some lemon-drops and the wine for Holy Communion. Or, again, there was a grim adventure which is recorded in the words of the native reader with him :—

"On Wednesday afternoon we lost our way ; we slept ; there was not an atom of food. Thursday we travelled on our way till the third hour (9 A.M.), and presently we got to know that it was not the way to our place. We left the path we were on ; we were very thirsty ; the great master [the Bishop] was not able to direct us for hunger and thirst. But God gave us necessaries, for we killed a small animal and we were saved until we got water on Friday. God helping us to find the way, we reached the river in the afternoon and drank water. We arose, and directly after we arose there met us our people. We rejoiced to see them again and to get food for the Bishop, for we had fear for the life of the Lord Bishop from hunger." He indeed seems never to have had fear for himself—in all but one particular. He writes : "There is one thing I cannot manage yet, and that is sleeping in a native hut, stuffy with its perpetual fire, and, to say the least, not without terrors of unpleasant occupants—terrors of which S. Bernard and

S. Francis were probably unconscious, and which no doubt S. Francis Xavier completely overcame, but which to unsaintly persons present a difficulty!" This is not a bad indication of the thoughts of the Bishop's mind, for it shows in passing (as in many other places) what high missionary ideals he had before him.

There was a sad feature, too, of his journeyings which ought to be mentioned. In those days the mortality, not only of the Mission staff, but also of the white population in Zanzibar as well as on the mainland, was very high—this partly because so few precautionary measures were known, partly because the need for them was not sufficiently realised, and partly because it was not possible to take them. This last is a point worth making. In the days of scattered flocks and few priests it was often necessary "to count not one's life dear unto one's self"; and thus the Bishop is found writing of one such: "I do not see how anyone in England can say what such a devoted priest as Riddell might think *necessary*; probably one thing which he thought really *necessary* was that the Christians in the district should receive the Holy Communion, and it was in his journeys for that end that he was often obliged to get wet." And who shall say where the native Church would be to-day if the sacraments in those needful days had been withheld? But anyway, there it is, and the Bishop often arrived weary with a long journey, only to find crushing news awaiting him of stations to be filled up at a time when there were so few to fill them with. On one such occasion he walked into Newala to find both Mr. Riddell and Mr. Pollard dead; and he writes: "For me it has been a hard, hard year, and this is the heaviest blow of all." But on he had to go, with sadness and solitude for his companions. . . . More than once a rapid journey had to be taken to supply personally the need death had created, as when in 1889 Mr. Woodward was alone at Magila and the Bishop pushed out there to help him at Christmas. And once a yet more sorrowful march was his, of which the full story is

so full of inspiration, because of the pluck and heroism of it all, that it may be told in full.

It was early in 1886 that the Bishop set out from Tanga with a caravan of twenty-two natives and two white men, Winckley and Kerslake. Mr. Winckley, a Dorchester man, had been but some six months in the country, and the Bishop was taking him up to the Magila district. He tells how Winckley, not used to long marches, complained of fatigue early in the day, but as he turned aside with the Bishop to see a Wadigo village, they judged that nothing could be seriously wrong. They noticed, however, that he sighed once or twice as he walked, and that at last he dropped behind; and while they turned to look for him, a native called out that he had dropped. The little group gathered round, with two native women, only to do what they could, and with no medicine but a little brandy. They sent some travelling Bondeis for a doctor, but help was far away. After some hours they made an effort to carry him, but, still unconscious, he died in their arms. The Bishop sent for a native bedstead—a kind of litter—to put the body on; and writes: “When the *kitanda* came we fastened the body upon it and began our long and painful walk. I followed close behind all the time. . . . In one place we had to go through a thick forest, where the bearers had to crawl on their knees sometimes to keep the body clear of the boughs. Then the night came on very dark; the road was often bad and uneven, the grass was often above one’s waist, impeding our walking. Our rate of walking became slower till we seemed to creep along; the men were always stopping and wrangling, and we had to bribe and scold and implore them to get them on at all, and all over the poor lifeless body. I felt so tired at times I thought I never should get to Umba. There had been nothing to break the terrible strain all day, and we had not had time to cook a meal since 5.50 that morning. . . . In this climate everything must be done quickly [with the body]. If it please God, I hope we may be spared ever having

such another day." He did not have another experience exactly like this, but many of those early missionaries had to stand by stricken friends with grief as poignant, and helplessness as great.

On the march the Bishop was always seeking opportunities for "seed-sowing," but no itinerant missionary finds that an easy task. In one long letter he tells of a Sunday on the River Lujenda, and of how he felt about it all. The day before, they had arrived at a large town on the shore, and had been thronged with eager natives. The chief lent a hut, but it was "so infested with the most disagreeable kinds of disagreeable insects" that the Bishop had to have a tent pitched instead, the only possible site being a common open beach where there was a gap in the mosquito-haunted reeds, used by the town as a washing place. There were six Christians in the caravan, and the Bishop said he would celebrate the Holy Communion next morning as early as possible in his tent. Before the day dawned the sleeping-room had to be transformed into a church, and although the Bishop placed a man at the door to tell the people he wished for quiet as he was at prayer, the sacred vessels were not put away before the chief came in, bearing a kindly present of stiff porridge and stewed buffalo for breakfast, but very eager to finger red stole and purple cassock. Later their Matins was interrupted by a heathen dance in which the women dressed as men and coloured their faces in parody of beards and whiskers. When these had gone the Bishop had his service, trying to talk to the men and boys who remained peeping under the sides of the tent, and making friends with them by means of sugar-plums. His dinner he ate before an admiring crowd, and not until about five o'clock "escaped into the fields to get a little quiet and think over an evening sermon to the men." But on his return he found "an uncomfortable altercation" going on with the guides, who had profited by his absence to go on strike! It is no wonder, therefore, that he writes: "This does not sound a very profitable or evangelical way of

spending Sunday, as I am painfully conscious. . . . Others might do better ; I feel sure S. Francis Xavier and S. Francis of Assisi would. . . . [But] Bishop Patteson, I see, felt the same difficulty as to dealing with people religiously on a first visit."

This will illustrate well the difficulties of the missionary pioneer. But we will close this section of our study with the Bishop's own description of another Sunday, spent this time in a district which knew him better. He says : " I went to Umba on Saturday, had Evensong, and preached. —Sunday morning—Holy Communion, with a few words ; later on, Bondei service in church ; then to town with congregation, vested and preached under a tree to a fair congregation, took a class, visited two sick people, and saw several individually. In the afternoon, rode through the forest, about 2½ hours' ride, and visited a new town where four Christians have settled. In the evening, service in Bondei and sermon at Msaraka ; then to the large town near Mkuzi, and preached to the whole town I should think, or very nearly. We went straight from church with lamps and bell, and boys to sing hymns. I ended by reading the Commandments, and, as there had been a case of murdering a child for some one of the many superstitious reasons for which children are killed here as soon as born, I stopped after the Sixth Commandment, and, I hope, frightened them seriously."

So the missionary travels, finding the way often sad and mostly weary, while disappointment follows hard on joy, and hopes are few. And because it is " the whole Body " of the Church which maketh " increase of itself," pray ye therefore. . . .

III

All this itinerating work must have its practical outcome in the foundation of new stations and the extension of the boundaries of the Kingdom of God, or it is work not half

done. But it is hard to realise all that the opening up of a new district must mean of isolation, of labour without visible reward, and of "tears and blood." In the Bishop's episcopate, however, there was one great accomplishment which well illustrates all these. It will be remembered that Mackenzie had died on his way to the tribes round Lake Nyasa, that Bishop Tozer had moved to Zanzibar only because Zanzibar seemed to be the best starting-place for the Lake, and that Bishop Steere had founded Masasi and its stations chiefly as a stepping-stone to that end. It fell to the happiness of Bishop Smythies to be able to complete what others had begun in all these ways.

We must go back in thought to 1875 when Bishop Steere had followed the Lujenda River to a town called on most maps after its chief Mataka. He had been well welcomed there and honoured by a personal talk with the chief, and by the slaying of beasts; but he could only meet Mataka's request for a teacher by a promise, and set out again for the coast. But that was a promise hard to fulfil, and in 1877 a deputation arrived at Zanzibar to ask why no teacher had come. The answer had to be made that there was no one to send, and when three years later someone was found who could go, the old chief had died in his heathenism. That someone was, however, the Rev. W. P. Johnson, whose stay is knit with the foundation of what is now the Nyasa diocese. In this, the nearest point to the Lake possible then, he laboured alone for two years, years spent in acquiring new dialects and learning new native customs, in checking native warfare by encouraging strange blood-covenants between the chiefs, in illness with the Scotch in Livingstonia, and in longing both for a white face and a convert. After eighteen months, however, he cut crosses from an old biscuit-tin for nine men who declared that they wished to be Christians, which act seems to have provoked opposition, for when slavers stirred up the natives the mission station was looted and Johnson warned to escape. He decided that he must have help, and,

after a visit to Zanzibar, returned with the Rev. Charles Janson, not only to Mataka's, but even further to the Lake. And there, the goal of the Mission won at last, the plan of sacrifice appeared again, and the grave of Charles Janson "hallowed the Lake side." It is so easy, in writing of missions, to pass over the human side of it all; but let us picture Mr. Johnson utterly alone in savage Central Africa by the side of the grave of his dearest friend. . . . And then for two incredible years of interminable wanderings, preaching up and down the Lake and countryside from Magomero to Chitesi's village. He bears marks to-day of those years; but at their conclusion he determined that a boat was needed on the Lake, and he returned to England to get her.

This is not the place in which to tell with any detail the story of the *Charles Janson*, as she was called. She was a screw steamer, 65 feet long and 12½ in her beam, and was constructed in about eight hundred pieces, which had to be carried up from the coast, with other goods, in nearly four hundred loads. The £4000 necessary for the building was collected with romantic rapidity, and at last she was away, transhipped at the Cape, conveyed by the Zambesi past the Shiré rapids and over country in which there were neither roads nor beasts of burden, and finally put together and launched on Lake Nyasa largely through the energy of the lay helpers of the Mission. The Bishop was there for the launching, but not the priest to whom the scheme was due. At the mouth of the Zambesi he had been attacked by violent ophthalmia as a result of his trying years in Africa and had become totally blind. He had to return to England, but the Rev. G. H. Swinny, who had seen work in South Africa, went up to the Lake with the Bishop and was left in charge.

In the steamer the shores of Nyasa were visited in the search for headquarters and found to be very beautiful and dotted with large villages. At last the little island

of Likoma ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles by $2\frac{1}{2}$), rocky, and rather bare, with good harbours, and itself thickly inhabited because a place of sanctuary from marauding tribes, was decided upon; and there Swinny, with another priest, the invaluable mechanic Bellingham, and the true-hearted skipper, Sherriff along with the *Charles Janson*, were left by the Bishop. Swinny had his wife with him, and soon after their arrival Likoma received its first Christian grave in that of their infant child. To them came, however, Mr. Maples from Masasi, originally to supply Mr. Johnson's place, but afterwards to stay as archdeacon. The Bishop paid a second visit in 1886, and planned the pushing out of Mr. and Mrs. Swinny among the Angoni (or Magwangwara), while they were joined in November of that year by Mr. Johnson—not cured, but about to serve for twelve years without a furlough among the Lakeside tribes. By now a reed church had been built, and some twenty-five boys were boarding with the Mission and under instruction as teachers, of whom nine had been baptised. Six men and twenty-eight women were catechumens. Week by week the *Charles Janson* visited the villages, and soon Johnson was starting out-stations and schools. Then a blow fell, for Swinny died, and a year later his wife also, on the voyage home. So a whole family was given to the Mission on Lake Nyasa, and God, as in a thousand places, answered the sacrifice with the one thing for which the dead had looked.

This was what the Bishop found when he again tramped to the Lake in 1888. "The Bishop is here," writes Archdeacon Maples, "and more than ever pleasant, gracious, and kind. It gives us an immense lift, that is certain." But the Bishop was "lifted" too. He crossed the hills on the eastern shore opposite Likoma to see the Lake lying blue under the golden sun below him, and at Chitesi the Archdeacon and Mr. Johnson met him with a mission boat. There were ladies in the island now, and work had been begun on the island of Chizumulu, north of Likoma. The

Bishop had to visit all these new stations, while he baptised forty of Archdeacon Maples' flock on Likoma, of whom half were women—the first females to be baptised there. Most of the adults were confirmed, and between sixty and seventy could gather at the Lord's Table furnished in that wilderness. They began to plan a dispensary, a printing press, and a larger stone church; and Mr. Johnson could write: "The Church is becoming visible in the land and is weaving a thousand links around our hearts. I cannot explain all the hopes I feel in the baptisms and confirmations the Bishop has just effected." There throbs beneath those simple words something of what it means to be a pioneer missionary.

What Likoma still was, is, however, terribly illustrated from a letter of the Bishop. He says: "A terrible thing happened here the other day. Four women were burnt on a charge of witchcraft before it was known here that it was going to be done. Some of our party went by night and buried the remains of the bodies, and we have shown our horror of such deeds. . . . The Archdeacon has also tried to stir up the chiefs about it. It was followed by another outrage of the same kind, a nephew killing his aunt on the same charge of witchcraft, and the Archdeacon came upon the half-burnt body lying at the door of her burnt house, with people around and children playing about as if nothing had happened." Yet there is the other side. The poor Christians showed themselves generous in the extreme, and the offertories consisted of flour, beans, salt, fowls, and fish-hooks—once, as we read, to the value of 1s. 6*d.* and again to 2s. 6*d.* Canon Scott-Holland, in a speech of that year, mentions this, and also the eagerness and sincerity which was manifested by the boys of the island, and he says: "It is not wrong to remember those great kings who offered gold, and frankincense, and myrrh, and to believe that these offerings of Africa are just as valuable in the eyes of God."

And so, from every point of view, the Mission on Lake

Nyasa was ready for the coping-stone. Likoma is 600 miles even as the crow flies from Zanzibar, but, as man must walk, it is very much farther, and this, coupled with the increase of work and of opportunities for work, decided Bishop Smythies that there must be another bishop at Likoma. Within five months the necessary eleven thousand pounds had been raised at home, and, after the Bishop had paid a last painful farewell visit to this half of his diocese, Bishop Hornby was consecrated for Nyasaland. He made his way out by the Zambesi and Bp. Mackenzie's grave, to a diocese of unsettled size, with, by now, about 950 native adherents and a staff of fourteen Europeans.

Thus can we sketch, in connection with the life of the third bishop in Zanzibar, the kind of work which goes to the making of a new mission-centre. Nyasa had an heroic story before it in 1891, for the diocese was to be widowed of its first bishop in eight months, and to bury its second three months after his consecration. That year, too, Mr. Atlay was murdered by the Angoni, and Mr. Sim died at Kota Kota in his second year out. But to-day, on a Christian island, the centre of a busy diocese, the cathedral church of St. Peter stands where Steere prayed it might stand and where once burnings for witchcraft marked the ruling of another Prince.

IV

There is one episode in the life of Bishop Smythies which throws a stream of light on what must be the conduct of the missionary under exceptional circumstances, and in regard to European governments. It occurred when Germany awoke to that scramble for Africa on the part of Western nations which went on during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and made a bid for a foothold in the East. The true story of that bid belongs to political history. It is enough to say that a private mission, under the inspiration of a young " empire-builder " named Dr. Carl

Peters, arrived in Zanzibar in 1884 with a view to seeing how much he could secure out of the Sultan's possessions. This object was of course kept secret, but when Peters had penetrated beyond the coast, he began to conclude "treaties" with native chiefs (who had no kind of notion as to what they were doing), and to hoist the German flag. The energy and self-assurance of the German leader were admirable even if his ethics were not. He returned to Germany, persuaded Bismarck to make the first plunge for a German Empire across the seas, and obtained the first Imperial Charter of Protection that German history records. By this document 60,000 square miles of the Sultan's territory became German! At once, of course, international complications ensued.

If Dr. Peters had had his way to the full there would now be no British East Africa at all; but, though he failed in this, he did succeed in great measure. It was difficult of course to say how far the territory claimed was no-man's-land—native chiefs being "no men," for although the Sultan claimed it all, the Sultan's agents were only dotted here and there about the country and no one could quite estimate his power. Germany left him little room for argument by sending a German fleet to Zanzibar harbour, and in the end her Protectorate was acknowledged over most of what is now German East Africa, while with that Protectorate went the right of establishing trade centres on the coast towns of a ten-mile-wide strip of territory still left to the master of Zanzibar Island. Had things stood at that, there would have been little to say, and in any case there are not many European nations who could have said it with easy conscience; but the German Company proceeded to act in the coast towns with such a high hand that in 1888 the Arabs blazed out into revolt.

Archbishop Benson said in 1890: "We sometimes wish we could have but one minute's glimpse of the men who were the makers of England and the makers of Europe. . . [But] it impresses me that Bishop Smythies has a part in

the history of his own times." And indeed he had. It was he who first called the attention of this country to the action of Germany by a letter to *The Times*, and it was he who was now faced with a terrible problem. Converts of an English mission lay unprotected in a German territory agitated by a fierce revolt. What was to be done? Statesmen said that the Bishop, who was then in England, could not rejoin his Mission, and that the staff must be withdrawn; but if they had been obeyed, ideals worth more than life would have been sacrificed. Yet upon the Bishop's decision seemed to hang the lives of women and of defenceless people, and he might well have wavered. But it was then that he laid down three great rules which indicate with sure touch how far a missionary is dependent on a government, and what must be his conduct in time of peril. They are these:—

i. Missionaries must not rely in any way upon this or that civil government.

ii. It is fatal to missionary work for missionaries to attempt to gain for themselves any political power or any material wealth.

iii. Missionaries of the Catholic Church, whatever other missionaries might do, when they had once settled in a country and had gained the love of its people, would never abandon it. . . . They had only one answer to give: "If you remove us by force we shall return; and the only way to get rid of us is to take our lives."

It would be fascinating to show at length how the Bishop acted up to this, but it cannot be done here. It must be enough to say that he sailed for East Africa with the approval of foremost Anglican bishops behind him, that he declined the advice of the Consul-General in Zanzibar to leave the district, and that he went at once to the seat of war. His dhow was fired on in the Pangani River, but the Bishop would not draw away; and when he landed under the protection of the Arab leader Bushiri there was one exciting half-hour while a mob clamoured for his life at the door of

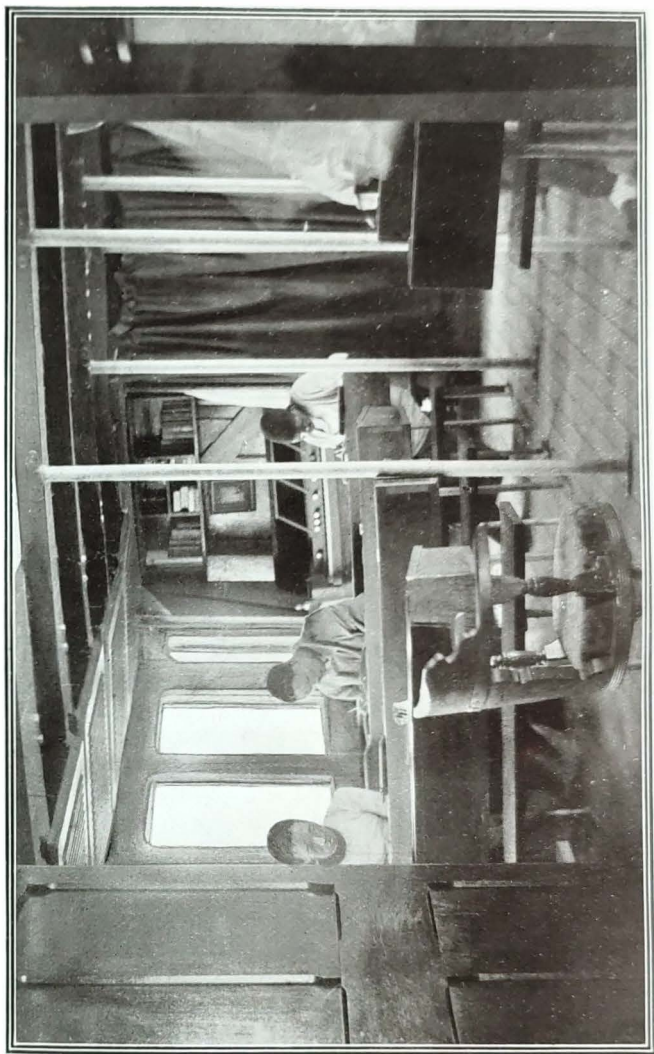
the house in which he was lodged, and were only stopped by the heroism of Bushiri, who stood in the doorway and said that no one should pass save over his dead body. By way of Mkuzi, the Bishop reached Magila at last. There he saw to the safe departure of the ladies out of the disturbed area, and himself sat down with his priests and laymen to continue building up the living Church. There were alarms from time to time, and when the Germans shelled the coast towns and landed troops the danger was perhaps more acute than we know. Of course there was never any doubt as to the political end. But when the war had blown over, and the country had settled down to hut-taxes and police supervision under the German flag, the Church of Christ was where it had been before the storm, and Bishop Smythies had preached a weighty sermon to a bigger congregation than that at Magila.

V

“ We are more and more convinced, as years go on, that if Africans are to be converted in any large numbers it must be by the ministry of Africans themselves.” These were the words of Bishop Smythies at the Church Congress of 1890, and they do well as a text for a paragraph on what was, in great measure, the chief consideration of the Bishop’s episcopate and missionary life. At that Congress he went on to justify his words. He said that it was “ at a very great sacrifice of life that we English missionaries work in that country ” ; that it was still to be shown if Europeans could live at all in some parts ; and that his own experience of Africans had been such that he had good hope of their capacity for Holy Orders. He told how an interpreter would listen to a twenty-minute sermon and then repeat it with earnestness and eloquence to the audience ; and that, from what he had seen of the young men then under training in East Africa, “ they will certainly preach with more vigour and more power than the ordinary English clergyman

when he begins the work of his ministry." Time has led us to modify something of the Bishop's view: for instance, it has been proved that Africa need not be so fatal to Europeans as he supposed; but a very great deal remains. It is certain that the pioneer missionary will always have to face conditions exceedingly dangerous to Western life, or else forfeit his influence by playing the part of the rich and luxurious European; and it is equally certain that only an African ministry can really appear to the natives to teach an African religion. And thus the work of an ordinary missionary must be largely educational. The training college is the heart of a missionary diocese; but not only here must the missionary keep in view the need of a native ministry. As he teaches his boys up-country he must watch for vocations; and as he comes into contact with his teachers he must try to lift them up to the ideal. If he does not do this, no one else can.

It is not to be wondered at, then, that Bishop Smythies, "the statesman-bishop," set this in the forefront of his work. His ideal was nothing less than to be one of the early instruments for the formation of that African Church that is to be, complete in organisation, native in all its sacred offices, rich and African in all its rites. He was happiest in his upper room at Kiungani, which looks out still over the exquisitely beautiful bay to the distant mainland hills, happiest here where the business of training students for the ministry was at its height. We have seen how the African readers, teachers, and clergy were the constant companions of his travel, and his life in Zanzibar was busied with them. One, at a public meeting in London, spoke but the truth when he said of the Bishop: "You call him 'My Lord': I call him 'My Father.'" It was Smythies who ordained the first native priest, and the first Bondei native priest, the latter ceremony being his last episcopal act by which he gave to East Africa one of the best of her native ministers. On the very morning of his departure on that last voyage whose home port for him



STUDENTS ON THE CHAUNCY MAPLES

was not on earth, he blessed in the hospital four natives who were shortly to be ordained, and surely, in them as representatives, a priesthood yet to be.

The Bishop found Kiungani established, but to him the college owes much for its present development. In old days the same building housed boys trained for trades as well as boys training to be teachers, but in his first few months he saw to it that this industrial work was separated and brought into town. He planned for those remaining a kind of graduation : for first the lads were to be taught ; then to divide their time, spending half of it teaching others under European superintendence ; then to serve as teachers in out-stations ; and finally, if in any there was a vocation, to return to Kiungani to be trained for Holy Orders. He insisted that the standard of education should be advanced, and decided emphatically against the idea of finishing the education of candidates for the priesthood at an English theological college. We find him collecting recruits for what was the exile and strict discipline of Kiungani on his mainland journeys, and one of his letters tells how the Makondes could not understand at first that his was not a caravan of boys going to the coast to be sold as slaves. In Mr. Jones-Bateman he found an admirable if a strict Principal for the college—but strictness was necessary in those days ; and in one of his letters he dwells with enthusiasm on the development of responsibility which was exhibited in the native teachers when they were found caning a boy on their own initiative ! One side of his ideal has been noted by Sir Harry Johnston : “ There is something very suggestive of the English public school about the Anglican missionaries. Athletics bulk largely and wholesomely in their curriculum. Their boy pupils are soon taught to play football and cricket, and to use the oar rather than the paddle.”

Mr. Madan, to whom the Church in East Africa owes so much for linguistic work, has left us a picture of Kiungani as it was in those days. The buildings were much as at

present—two linked quadrangles, the front surrounded by Europeans' rooms on the first floor, chapel, dining-room, vestries, and class-rooms below, the second and inner being given up to the boys and enclosed by the big school, the boys' rooms, and various offices. The staff aimed at then was seven or eight Europeans, and the number of the boys about one hundred, aged from eight to twenty years. Holy Communion was celebrated in Swahili only on Sundays and Holy Days, but there were other celebrations during the week in English. The daily routine was Mattins and Evensong at 6.30 A.M. and P.M. School hours were 7.15-8.30, 9.30-12.0, 2.0-3.30, and 4.0-5.0. The upper school had evening classes in addition. The course of teaching, beside religious instruction in all its branches, included Geography, Church History, English, Euclid, Arithmetic, Arabic, Writing, and Music. And although there have been changes since in many directions, that is substantially the course now.

Our study ought to have taught us already to expect many failures and few successes, for we know of what poor material the living temple has to be built and what storms break upon it. But Bishop Smythies was privileged to see that his work was not in vain in the Lord ; and although even the best of them, as of us, fall only too often, East Africa has already produced, for so early a period, devoted native clergy. It is always best to be definite, and with a picture of one such we will close our sketch of this side of missionary labour.

Cecil Majaliwa was one of the earliest of the slave boys given to the Mission, and he was baptised when six years old by Bishop Tozer. At Kiungani he showed what was in him, and he was placed at Mbweni as a reader, having married one of the Christian girls who had been trained there as a teacher. That was in 1879, but in 1883 he was one of the few natives to spend a year under instruction in England, after which he was ordained deacon by Bishop Smythies in the Cathedral at Zanzibar. Himself a Yao,

he was then stationed at Chitangali in the Masasi district. He was sent out first with a white priest—who was almost immediately invalided, and died, along with a priest at Newala, leaving him alone. What the Bishop had said at the Church Congress was now exactly illustrated. The African lived where the Englishman died, and more, he stuck bravely to his post with but one Christian in the village, despite a raid of Angoni before which the heathen fled. He, an old slave boy, and only a deacon, remember, writes to Archdeacon Hodgson as follows:—"I am left all alone in the midst of the heathen like a cottage in middle of a forest. The children are not like those at Mbwani. There they honour the bell; here it is not so. One has to hunt them up like wild beasts. I have church every morning at half-past six; but I only use the Lord's Prayer and a few collects, for here we have no Christians but Barnaba. . . . I have made it my custom to read by myself every morning from eight o'clock to nine; then I go my rounds to look up the school children. . . . But on Sundays I have a great deal to do. Prayers at nine in Yao. First I say the Ten Commandments in Yao, then the Litany, and, after the Litany, preach. When I come out from church I go to the Makonde towns to preach, and they are a long way off. Then I have Evening Prayer at five. For the Holy Communion I go over to Newala; but the two places are a long way apart, so I go once a fortnight. . . ."

Despite all this, after but a year and a half's work the Bishop found twelve candidates awaiting baptism at his hands, and a flock of twenty-two Christians in all. His own comment is worth giving in full:—

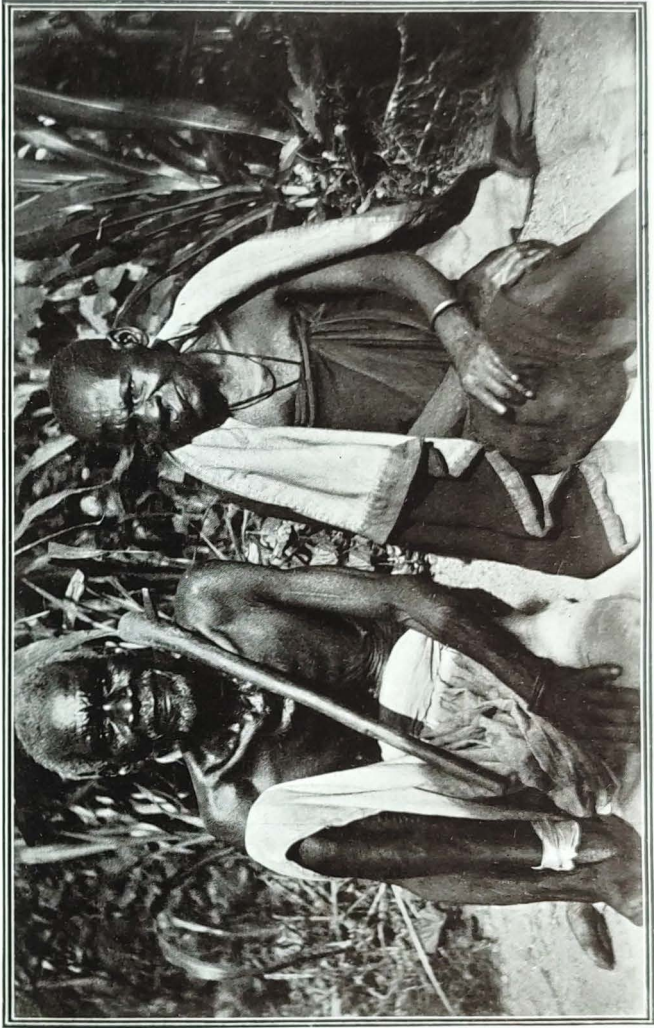
"When I went last year to the station up-country where I had sent [Cecil Majaliwa] to open a new station . . . I found that he had more converts prepared for baptism and confirmation than I should have expected from an English missionary in the same circumstances."

This young deacon had indeed proved his worth, and

it was the Bishop's joy to give him the priesthood in Zanzibar the next year. He was the first native to receive Holy Orders in full, and a crowded congregation witnessed his enslavement to the yoke of Jesus Christ on the spot which was linked in their memories with another kind of slavery. Back at Chitangali Cecil worked on as devotedly as ever, opening a sub-station and presenting to the Bishop for baptism the first Makonde convert in 1892. That Lent his Christians brought in kind their midday meal to the Church that it might be sold for the poor and for church expenses. And when, in the last year of his life, Bishop Smythies visited Chitangali again he found a Christian village. He rode into the place on a donkey, and was met by relays of cheering men, and by the women who made their peculiar cry of joy and threw dust on their heads in the native way as a sign of rejoicing. The chief came far to meet his spiritual father, and in a new church, built with the best materials that could be found, by their own efforts and at their own expense, the Bishop baptised thirty persons on that Ascension Day, and addressed about a hundred catechumens. It was at Chitangali, indeed, that he was most impressed with what religion could effect in an African. He writes :—

" It is extraordinary the visible change Christianity makes in some people. When I first knew [the chief's] father he was a stupid old man who seemed to be rather deficient in mind. At first he would have nothing to say to Christianity. Now he has been baptised and is most earnest, comes to church every day, and is interested in everything connected with religion, and has a real happiness in it. Though he is much the oldest man here, and has lost all his contemporaries, he seems to have quite renewed his life, which is full of new interests and a new joy."

Even so may new Africa bring light and joy to the old ! It is in such trained native workers as Cecil Majaliwa that hope lies, although it must never be forgotten that this is as yet but a weak people, with savage passions, and no steady-



AGED NATIVES OF MASASI

ing centuries behind. The priest whose work we have reviewed had days of great sorrow and penitence before him, but as he serves to-day the altar of the native church in Mbweni—he is becoming a “mzee” (old man) as he will tell you—surely there is a reward laid up for him that many of us may envy. And God will yet grant Africa a priesthood faithful and true—perhaps according to our faith as well as to our labour.

VI

Strictly speaking, foreign missionary work must always be experimental work, for when the Church has become settled in any locality, that locality becomes its “home,” and its foreign missionary work lies beyond, among unknown conditions. The difficulties of experimenting are the difficulties of a missionary, and great they are. Even thus far in the story of the Universities’ Mission we have seen with what inevitable ignorance the work had been begun, for against that “fascinating idea of a Christian village drawing people from all parts to live under the presiding genius of the missionary” which animated the early pioneers, we have to set the uncompromising statement of Bishop Smythies: “Such a system is an utterly false one;” and yet again we see what kind of considerations are before the infant Church in any place, when we remember the early U.M.C.A. indecisions as to authorities and governments. It had first been felt that a diocese in E.C. Africa must be under the Metropolitan of Cape Town. No such obligation however is required either by ecclesiastical law or precedent, and experience has abundantly proved the advantage of being provisionally subject to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury until the formation of the Province of East Central Africa is practicable. But it is obvious that the priest in Central Africa is confronted with a hundred overwhelming problems that no home authority is competent to deal with. This part of our

study is an attempt to lay stress on those problems. In reviewing the needs of an East African Church we must understand something of such difficulties. They constitute a very real burden to the men at the front which we ought to remember in our prayers. And here again the life of Bishop Smythies is itself an illustration of these needs.

He had not been a year in the diocese before he summoned a sacred Synod of all the clergy to meet for that taking of mutual counsel which had not been possible before. In 1893, when his course was nearly run, he held a second ; and in both the Bishop's own wise and catholic addresses, embodied as they were in unanimous Acts of Synod in almost every particular, provide abundant illustration of the problems before the Church. These Synods were a return to an ancient custom which has become very largely impossible at home, but the little companies of clergy in Zanzibar, opening with a retreat, and spending the three or four days of the Synods in much prayer, were convinced of the place of the Synod in the will of God for Christian people. " My reverend brethren," said the Bishop as he opened the first, " we are met together in the full belief that God the Holy Ghost will guide our deliberations." He reminded them of that great saying in the Acts : " It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," and, in the strength of the promise of the Paraclete, they looked for guidance into all the truth.

Before we turn to particular questions, it is interesting to notice the brave and loyal position which the Bishop asserted once and for all. He stated plainly that he held the Church of England to be a part of the Catholic Church, and that he would not " hamper the liberty of any priest who interprets her rules in the most catholic sense." The standard of interpretation was to be that of the ancient canon of S. Vincent, laid down in A.D. 434—" *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*"—that in the Church, doctrines and dogmas were to be referred to catholicity and to apostolicity, to what had been the

universal rule throughout the universal Church through all her days. The first Synod ratified his view. And at the second, a wise Act established the East African Church in a broad and brotherly policy, when it was written : " In all books or translations issued by the Universities' Mission in native languages, while our own positive beliefs are stated and taught, the object shall be kept in view of so putting them as not to reflect on the beliefs of other Christians who hold the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, so that our books may be read by them without offence."

One of the great problems of the infant Church, in a land where polygamy is permitted by all the non-Christian systems known, is naturally that of Marriage. The initial difficulty before a priest who insists that on baptism a man must put away all his wives but one, is that, too often, nothing is before such women but disgrace and infamy. Material support does not meet their need. Secondary difficulties are connected with cases in which one partner is a heathen, or in which there are not enough Christian women for the male converts. The anxious missionary who realises in East Africa, perhaps for the first time, that the Prayer Book was right in saying matrimony was instituted by God for the avoidance of sin, is forced to consider the possibility of his men marrying heathen wives who do not recognise the Christian theory, and, by their desertion, may strain the loyalty of the husband to breaking-point. And yet the man must marry. Or a Christian wife of a heathen man is placed in that awful position of a rejected woman, which the state of society in a savage land makes all too real, and he asks how far she is bound by the heathen marriage contract on which she entered previously. It is easy to say : " Not at all ; " but he has been trying to form and influence public opinion, as Christianity must do even while its converts are few, and it is a fundamental principle that even heathen marriage is part of a natural law, and that consent on the part of a heathen man and woman is

binding in God's eyes. And such are but a few of the hundred intricate situations which make up " the care of the Churches." Yet to them the Bishop addressed himself. The wisdom and moderation of his ruling is apparent to the most superficial reader, and it was as simple as the Church's rules ever are. It was of God that lawful marriage was indissoluble, and that there could be but one wife. Never, not for a moment, must the standard of that ideal be lowered in the eyes of the natives. If a man convinced of Christianity could not be sure of the future of his wives if he put them away, then he must not be baptised, but left to a God Who is not a machine nor tied to the means of salvation which He has Himself appointed. Priests were to insist on the sanctity of heathen marriages. Even where the marriage of a Christian and a heathen was a necessity, the office of the Church could not be used, just as its dignity must be maintained by strictly forbidding its presumptuous use on the part of a deacon. In a word, he stamped the conduct of the early Church with the courage of his own ideals.

We should expect to find clear pronouncements on the subject of Holy Orders, and perhaps this may be more easily dismissed. Yet there is the same wise and cautious policy here also. Dealing with the native ministry, whether of teachers or of men in Orders, after signifying what a care the matter would be with him, he puts his finger on a missionary problem when he states plainly that it must never be the necessity of a station but the fitness of the man which determines his title to Orders. A priest is " appointed by our Lord " and acts " in certain things as His representative." " If, for instance, a priest celebrates the Holy Communion, as it is really our Lord who is acting by him and using him as His instrument, whatever effect followed where our Lord used the words, ' This is My Body . . . this is My Blood,' that same effect follows now when those same words are uttered in His name by His appointed minister." It is the simplest theology, but, of all that he

might have said, how incomparably best is this! He sets before a new priesthood the highest ideal and the most sublime conception of that office, the conception, namely, that the Christian priest is no less than as it were Christ Himself in the performance of His ministry.

As he faces his scattered and isolated flocks, a hundred difficult questions confront a missionary priest in the administration of his "parish." When converts lived many miles away they could, at the best, often get to church for but one service. Many priests were asking themselves if it were good that these should hear only the Holy Communion Service when they came; and yet how could the celebration be withheld from healthier Christians nearer the centre? What sort of delay ought there to be between baptism and confirmation? men asked who had been used only to English usages. How stringent ought to be the regulations in the case of baptism of the children, perhaps, of a polygamous man but of one well-disposed to Christianity?

The Bishop ruled that the Holy Communion had ever been the central and often the only Sunday service of obligation on christened men. "Considerable experience," said he again, "has led me to believe that regular attendance at the celebration of the Holy Communion is a great means of encouraging frequent reception of the Blessed Sacrament. . . . No doubt these worshippers have a very inadequate realisation of the whole meaning of the service, but that surely may be said of all of us when we contrast our own conscious poverty of apprehension with the exceeding depth of the mystery." And again, the preparation for baptism must be so complete before a candidate is accepted for that regeneration, that confirmation ought to be able to follow rapidly. They must avoid "that contented acquiescence in the division of Christians into communicants and non-communicants which is such a painful anomaly in the Church at home." But there must be no hurrying even in the case of children. "Infants

are to be baptised as soon as possible, if there are any competent persons who will guarantee that they shall be brought up in the Catholic faith. But it does not seem that infants were ever permitted to be baptised without such guarantee, unless in danger of death." In less doctrinal matters he was prudent also. When it was found that converts from a distance had to leave for the return journey before Evensong then priests were not to be hidebound by English theories. Evensong must be advanced to two or half-past rather than that the Church should become content with an attendance but once on the Lord's Day. Preaching, too, must be prominent. "With us preaching must occupy, if we are to preserve the proportion of things, at least as prominent a place as any part of our work."

Another big subject, a "painful" one, was boldly considered by the Bishop. He was resolute that our Lord had given binding powers to His Church, and that neglect of her warnings carried with it the necessity of treating the offender as a "heathen man." In a word, Excommunication was to be revived in the African Church, and missionaries were not to shrink, however painful this action for the saving of the rest of the flock might be. His own experience confirmed his words. From Magila in March 1891 he wrote: "I have had one very pleasant work to do. About eight people, who had been publicly censured for gross sin—three having been excommunicated for many years—have given up their sin and have come to ask for restoration. Two of them received absolution publicly the Sunday before last, and three more, I hope, will come soon. In some cases their return was made easier by natural causes, but their desire for restoration and willingness to take shame for their sin helps us to realise the advantage of obeying the commands of our Lord and His Apostles in the matter. . . . Their excommunication weighed upon them, and prepared the way for their repentance and restoration." Thus wisely did the shepherd tend his flock.

One last and not unimportant subject, and we must leave this side of our study. The missionaries had often found that the health of a European would not stand fasting in Africa, and they had been inclined to shrink from imposing on natives what they could not do themselves. How true a touch the Bishop had, appears here as well as in weightier matters. It was not so much the fact of fasting that mattered, but that "our religion is a religion of self-denial for Christ's sake." In contact with Islam as they were, strict rules must be imposed and obeyed, and the money saved from food should be given, as at Chitangali, to charity. On the one hand he was wise to dispense the white man, and on the other to set the matter on its noblest basis. "Christian men will not eat meat on Friday," he says, "*in commemoration of the death of our Lord.*"

VII

It remains to bring the life of the missionary to its close, and to find our final inspiration where, sentiment or no, we do so often find it. And the end of Bishop Smythies was such a one as he would have wished who never spared himself, had no desire for idle days, and married his diocese without thought of a separation when he knelt in S. Paul's in 1883. He died because he was worn out, and for no other reason. That strong frame which at first toiled so heroically up hill and down dale in his many journeyings, was overcome at last by an Africa that will not permit such expenditure of energy for long; and before the end, like Bishops Tozer and Steere before him, Bishop Smythies had to face that heavy burden of bodily weakening growing daily upon him.

We note the first sign of weakness in 1889. The Bishop had set out for Nyasa, determining to walk through the Rovuma district and visit the churches by the way, and he had found it heavy going. He reached Newala from the

coast in eleven days, during which he had often been in water and deep mud up to his waist, and between Newala and Masasi night-cold following the wet of the day brought on fever ; but in seeming good spirits, he left this latter place on a walk which lasted a month and brought him by many dangerous ways. But from Likoma the Bishop, " ever pleasant, gracious, and kind " as he was, writes of " the weariness " he has been feeling, and that he thinks he must return by the easier and more expensive journey down the Zambesi. Even " writing is a great burden," and his friends were not a little anxious.

He returned, however, and spent a busy visit in England, talking over schemes for a lightening of the episcopal work which he felt necessary ; and on his return he occupied Magila for three months in the absence of Archdeacon Woodward. He worked, as a member of the staff wrote home, " tremendously hard " ; and on the return to Zanzibar he had to land from the rough Arab dhow at the north end of the island and tramp for eleven hours by night to the city. Padre Sehoza was with him, and on the way, when a halt had to be called, the Bishop was too tired either to eat or sleep. He wrote cheerily home, but acknowledged that he had " panted at every little hill " and had begun to think that he was " getting old and could walk no more," while a friend in Zanzibar tells us that he often had to rest while dressing in the morning and looked older since the Magila visit. For all that, in May of that year (1891) he was at Lindi to begin the last trudge up to the Lake. He faced the whole way of the Rovuma stations, the Yao forest, the Shiré hills, and the lake journey, but in the event it was a terrible experience and beyond doubt defeated the dauntless courage of the man before the end. Sometimes he was too weak even to sit a donkey ; now the utter loneliness of a week without meeting a soul, and now the " intense weariness " of a rough road broken up by elephants, is almost more than he can bear ; and it was somewhat in the sense of St. Paul's " as dying " that he

confessed to being "always miserable, always over-fatigued, and always ill." At Likoma he performed his work of retreat, confirmations, baptisms, and visiting, but only in the intervals of severe fever and after a compulsory rest of two long months. And to a friend, simply and bravely, but so pitifully, he writes: "Privately—please do not talk about it—I have never felt so *broken* as in the last two months."

Christmas in Zanzibar, and another walk to Rovuma, and he was back in London again. But he was not the same man. At the crowded annual meeting of that year, the audience was so shocked by his altered look that amazed silence greeted his first appearance, and he was too ill to appear at the farewell service arranged for January 9, 1893. His Memoir tells how his friends noticed for the first time "a strange unaccountable shrinking from action, a dread of starting, and a pathetic reluctance to say the farewell which he must have felt would be his last." But Africa called, and the brave man is he who goes forward knowingly. One last picture is left us, almost too sacred to tell, for when the cab drew up to the door which was to take him to the station, the strong man completely broke down and wept upon the shoulder of his friend. Surely, in the imagery of the Psalmist, God has scarcely more precious tears in His bottle.

And yet, in his diocese that year, the Bishop visited first both Usambara and Rovuma, then held what was to be his final Synod in Zanzibar, conducted yet another preaching tour round Korogwe with the newly-ordained Rev. Petro Limo, and finally revisited Masasi in the far south for Christmas. Painfully, in the turn of the year, he returned to Zanzibar and, that Easter, gave the priesthood to the first Bondei to reach that order. Then once more to the mainland, with a miracle of energy that could have but one result, and back to Zanzibar on April 3. At Kiungani he spent his last active fortnight, as, surely, he would have wished, to whom the native ministry was the hope of

Africa, and from the college he was carried to the hospital ill of the fever which ushered in the end.

" If only God of His great mercy will grant me some rest," he said to the matron one sleepless night, and it is she who tells us " how utterly weary and worn out he was." She says of him what everyone seemed to feel—that the kindness of a father, the simplicity of a child, and the dignity of a bishop never left him even when so ill. For three weeks he lay in hospital, and then a voyage to Port Said or Suez was suggested to restore his health. His friends had seen such wonderful recoveries on his part in the past that they do not seem to have expected the end; but he was prostrate with exhaustion when the Rev. Duncan Travers and the nurse who accompanied him were left with him on board. The French steamer sailed on the Friday, and the Bishop seems to have grown steadily weaker. On Sunday evening Mr. Travers was able to secure him a better deck-cabin, for which he was very grateful, but late that night his temperature began to rise higher and the nurse feared the worst. In the early dawning of the Monday Mr. Travers began a celebration in the cabin, and the Bishop was conscious enough to welcome his Lord in the Blessed Sacrament as he had often welcomed Him on " journeyings oft " before. The watchers " hoped against hope." But a few hours later, while the last prayers were being said for him, the stupor of sickness passed quietly into the rest for which he had longed. At set of sun, that night of a new moon over the brown and bare Somali shore, they left his body, almost half-way between Zanzibar and Aden, until the sea gives up her dead.

And so Charles Alan Smythies " burnt out for God."

It is surely unnecessary to summarise the story, or point out further how it tells the need of Africa's Missionary Church. Every page of the life we have reviewed, as if the resolute, bold-speaking Bishop were again before us,

brings its message to those who can hear. And if he reads their response one day in the eyes of God, he will have his reward.

ASSIGNMENTS

A

1. Give a description of the journeys of Bishop Smythies.
 2. Who were the early missionaries in Nyasa? Describe each shortly.
 3. What do you know about Likoma Island?
 4. Tell the story of the *Charles Janson*.
 5. What did Bishop Smythies say about the conduct of missionaries in time of war? How did he practise what he preached?
 6. "The training college is the heart of a missionary diocese." What do we mean by this?
 7. What do you know about (1) Cecil Majaliwa, (2) Petro Limo?
 8. What difficulties were discussed at the Synods in Zanzibar?
 9. Give a character-sketch of Bishop Smythies.
- (N.B.—No. 9 ought not to be omitted. Nos. 6 and 7 may be regarded as alternatives.)

B

1. What do you gather from the life of Bishop Smythies, as to the necessary spiritual qualifications of a missionary?
2. Fill in a map to illustrate Bishop Smythies' activities, showing especially the Nyasa stations and those opened around Magila. (*Use U.M.C.A. History to supplement this chapter.*)
3. How far do you think a missionary priest in pioneer days ought to risk his life in his work? (*Collect and compare if possible the views of some leading missionaries.*)
4. Try to imagine, and state, the kind of difficulties which would beset a pioneer work like that of the Rev. W. P. Johnson at Nyasa.
5. Assignment A, 6,

6. What must be the weaknesses and the strength of native priests in an infant Church? (*Try to learn by comparison with the early centuries of Church history, especially in England, as well as from other U.M.C.A. books.*)

7. Explain Bishop Smythies' conception of Catholicism.

8. Supply Biblical texts to illustrate what is said in this chapter of (1) the ideal of priesthood, (2) the right and practice of excommunication, and (3) the duty of fasting.

CHAPTER VI

" WHITE FIELDS "

Objective.—A study of the Needs of " The Army at the Front."

Aim.—To show what is the definite present Need of East Africa, and how it lies at the Church's door.

Time.—The present day.

NOTE.—From the nature of the case such facts as are given in this chapter may at any time become out of date, although, unfortunately, there does not seem any immediate prospect of their doing so. They are, however, at the time of writing (July 1912) entirely reliable. Section II has been taken down in main from the lips of the Bishop of Zanzibar and has been corrected by him; Section III has been written from facts supplied by the Rev. H. A. M. Cox while on his way home from Nyasaland in June 1912; and Section IV is drawn almost entirely from the personal letters of Bishop Hine. All study-band leaders should make this clear to their bands.

Question.—What do you think we might reasonably expect the home Church to do towards meeting the Need in East Africa?

Scripture Reading.—St. John iv. 31-38.

(Our Lord's teaching of our responsibility in the completion of His and His Church's work.)

SYNOPSIS

PARAGRAPH

- I. The Needs of the East African Church: (a) the Need of the native ministry, especially of the teachers, their necessity, they shepherd the Christians, teach in the schools, their social position, their temptations, prospects of their support by the African Church, and their need of prayer.

PARAGRAPH

- II. (i) The Need of more missionaries in Zanzibar diocese : its size, other missionaries therein, unevangelised portions, the remainder can be divided into districts, Masasi, Zigualand, the Bondei country, Eastern Usambara, Pemba, Zanzibar Island, the Hostel and prospects of its work in the Shambas, and Summary.
- III. In the diocese of Nyasaland : sketch of past history, its size, the insufficiency of the present staff, a review of the stations, Likoma, the Theological College, Kota Kota, Mtonya, Mponda's, Likwenu, the Lake Steamers, and Summary.
- IV. In the diocese of Northern Rhodesia : its size, its present staff, Dr. Hine's fruitless appeal, the Bishop's journeys; and Summary.
- V. (c) The Need of enlightened European feeling in East Africa towards missions : among churchgoers, among those directly hostile, and on the part of the Governments.

"The dawn of God's day is breaking everywhere ; beware how you linger in the dawn of such a day."—*Dr. Jays of West Africa.*

"All things are possible to prayer, faith, and *grind.*"—*Dean Butler.*

"For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace : the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree : and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off."—*The Book of Isaiah.*

I

OUR last study was concerned with the tasks which await a white missionary, and was directed towards making clear what is his need ; our present chapter is concerned more generally with what are commonly understood to be

the needs of a mission. We are concerned, that is, with seeing what the supply of men is for the work that is being attempted, what tracts of country lie within the boundaries of the dioceses but outside the possible influences of existing stations, and what ought to be done at once in view of any immediate crises. And yet a greater need lies behind that one of men and money, as is so often said on missionary platforms, and if we do not dwell for long upon it, it is only because there will be more to say in another place. For all this East Africa needs prayer, and prayer for a class of workers who are all too little prayed for. With them we can open our study.

The Bishop of Zanzibar has said again and again in many ways what is still little realised in England, namely that missionary work must eventually merge into pastoral. At first comes the preaching of what is a new gospel to those who hear, but acceptance of it does not bring about a situation like that which the Church has to face in a Christian land. For centuries native converts are intensely weak and liable to fall. They are the slaves of centuries past, of racial weaknesses, and of social conditions which largely militate against them, and the white missionary has got to face the necessity of shepherding them for long years yet to come. In the diocese of Zanzibar this is, of course, especially true. It is true also of Nyasa ; but in Zanzibar (island and mainland), where men have been Christian in places for a generation, it is in some parts a normal condition. It presents a great problem. The people of East Africa are not town dwellers for the most part, but are scattered over great areas and engaged in agriculture—a state of things most significant with regard to industrial missions and which, *a priori*, in some ways one does not want to change. The life of the agricultural labourer is purer than that of the artisan of the town, and the African is corrupted by the latter as he is not by the former. And thus not only does the Bishop of Zanzibar feel that in German East Africa it is most undesirable for an English

mission to have big industrial works which would be bound to compete with similar German industries, but also, since there are enough skilled native labourers, either under Government training or already in the country, and since the wise policy of Germany is largely agricultural, it would be a false step to attempt the education of the natives above that which is needed. Hence we must expect this dual problem to remain before the missionary in the diocese of Zanzibar—(1) that his work has become largely pastoral ; (2) that his people are scattered over wide territories, and that the work of a pastor is thus rendered most difficult.

The solution of this problem is along lines seen by Bishop Steere years ago. It is impossible even to hope for a sufficiency of English priests to shepherd so scattered a flock, and indeed—considering what is before the English communion in other lands and places—to provide East Africa with a sufficiency would be as wrong a balance in weight of men as at present it is in England. Rather it is the African that must learn to do his own shepherding. A native ministry must ever be the highest aim of our work. And yet even here we must make haste cautiously, for, as Bishop Smythies so wisely pointed out, the fact that a congregation needs a priest is not a sufficient reason for the ordination of an unsuitable and insufficiently trained man who will lower the ideal of the priesthood in the eyes of his countrymen. Thus it is that the African teacher comes to the front as the temporary solution of the problem—a trained man who has not, however, been trained sufficiently for Holy Orders—who perhaps is not capable of that, but a trained man who is able and willing to act as under-shepherd and as schoolmaster. His vocation to Orders is more likely to develop, too, during such semi-pastoral work than in any other way, and in any case he seems the key to the situation. It is these men, at present some four hundred in number, who need, as few in England realise, the support of the prayers of those who can do so little else to help them. A brief consideration of their life and temptations will make this clear, and we can hardly

attempt it better than by considering an article from the pen of the Rev. F. T. Stead which was printed recently in *Central Africa*. Mr. Stead is speaking of the archdeaconry of Masasi, but what he says is of universal application throughout the Mission:—

“ In England good Christians look to their parish priest for help and guidance in spiritual matters ; and if a priest is needed there is little difficulty in finding him, for in the majority of cases he lives, so to speak, just round the corner. But in Africa things are vastly different.

“ Here we have a district as large as Lancashire and Yorkshire, with a staff of six priests, two of whom are African, and with a large number of Christians, all of whom live in small groups scattered over the whole country. There are no congested areas and no villages. Then how can such a scattered population be shepherded ? Certainly not by the clergy.

“ The Archdeaconry is divided into parishes or districts, in which there are numerous small centres where the people have erected schools at their own charges, or rather by their own exertions. In this way the people show their readiness to help themselves, and for our part we supply a teacher who has been trained, in the majority of cases, at Kiungani.

“ And it is to these teachers that the people look for leadership, just as people look to the clergy in England.

“ The work of an African teacher in an out-district is one of the most difficult and monotonous imaginable.

“ His work is twofold.

“ He is responsible for shepherding the Christians living in his district—to help and encourage them as far as possible, and to keep his priest informed of the needs of his people. Each morning and evening he holds a short service in his school, and as a rule a fair number of people come to pray with him. There are weekly classes for hearers and for catechumens ; also a class for those who are preparing for baptism.

“ At least twice every month he has an opportunity of going to his church to receive the Blessed Sacrament.

On three Sundays in the month he conducts a service in his school for Christians and catechumens and preaches a sermon. As far as he can it is his work to be aggressive in extending the Kingdom of God amongst his fellows.

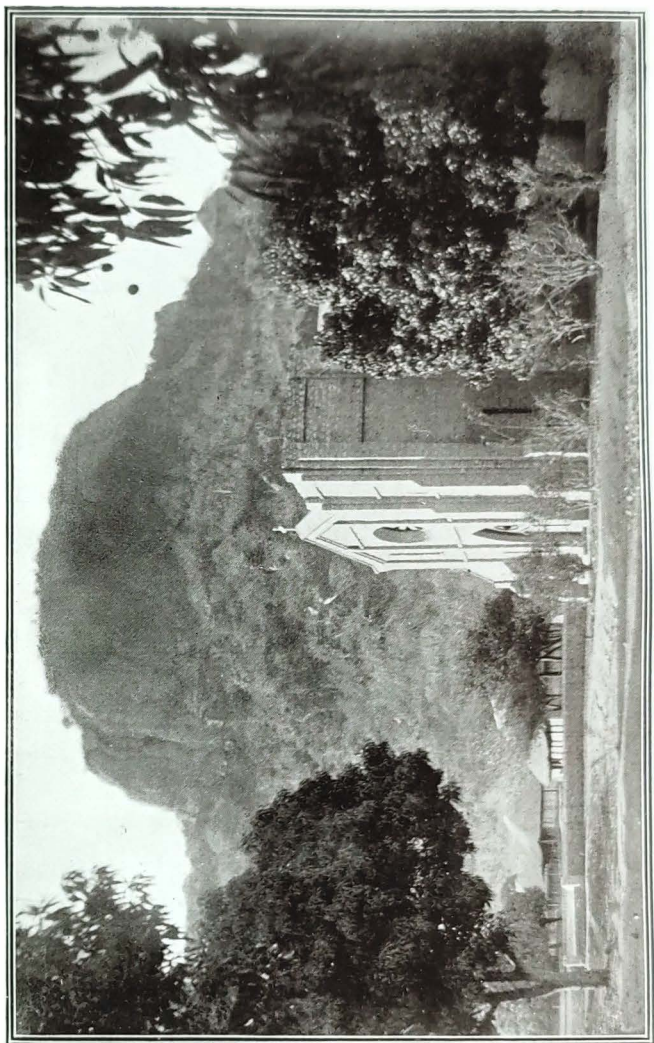
"During the week from Monday to Friday morning school is held from 8 to 11 o'clock for any who wish to learn to read and write. All kinds of people come to school, from babes to grown-up men. The instruction given is of the most elementary character.

"In connection with the day schools there are two difficulties which teachers have to face—irregular attendance and the constant change of scholars. During the time for sowing corn and the time of harvest the African family removes and lives in the plantation in order to protect it from the raids of animals, so that during these periods very few children go to school. Again, as soon as boys and girls are able to read and write they either go to the central school to continue their education, or they say 'We have finished to read now,' and their school days are over.

"It is just this constant change which so often breaks a teacher's courage after six or seven years' work. To go on day after day teaching the characters of the alphabet to a people whose most elaborate signs consist of more or less straight lines, and helping them to reproduce those characters in the sand with their fingers, and then for the pupil to leave just as he begins to be of interest, is a task few of us would care to attempt.

"I cannot wonder that teachers get tired of their work.

"Another great difficulty to a teacher is his social position. In every case that I am acquainted with—with no exceptions—the teacher is far and away the best educated man in his district, even including the native magistrates. He has read a little, he has travelled, he has been brought into touch with a far larger world than African life supplies (certainly sometimes to his undoing), and consequently he is isolated, having no one of his own standing with whom he can exchange ideas.



MASASI

“ The life of the African in this country is extraordinarily dull. He lives in a clearing in the forest, sees few people, talks of little else but his food, his health, and witchcraft. Nothing disturbs him but the visit of a lion or an elephant or a man returning from the coast.

“ Such is the position of the majority of our African teachers. We send him to a district to be the Church’s representative—there is no public opinion, nothing to keep him up to the mark, no one expects a certain standard of behaviour from him, and there are none to whom he can look for support and encouragement in time of difficulty. He is the man who sets the tone of Christian life in his district, and Christian men and women, boys and girls, catechumens and hearers all resort to him for leadership. He teaches them to pray, he instructs them in the principles of the Faith, and he should help them with advice and warn them when necessary.

“ Our difficulty is that at present we cannot give these teachers the support they need in order to carry this burden. What we need [for them] is not so much European support, but African—African clergy and readers or evangelists who will understand their difficulties and help them by mutual intercourse and constant visiting.

“ Another difficulty is that our supply of teachers is absolutely inadequate for our needs. We have a number of schools without teachers, and, consequently, people without a leader, so that in many places we have sent out teachers who are little more than boys.

“ In a country where drunkenness, adultery, and witchcraft are part of the everyday life, can we be surprised if some of our teachers, and especially the younger ones, prove unequal to the burden ?

“ Matters are improving in the Masasi Archdeaconry ; teachers are realising more and more that their vocation is not merely to teach a few small boys on five mornings in the week, but to win souls for Christ, to be a witness for our Lord in their neighbourhood.

" So these *three hundred and ninety-five teachers* are the front line of attack, 'wrestling against principalities and powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness.' "

It is unnecessary to add much to this article. It shows well what are the temptations and difficulties of these men, and that when we speak of prayer for them as one of our greatest needs we do not exaggerate the matter. Under prayer for the African ministry must go also, of course, prayer for the African priest and deacon as well as for the African teacher ; but his difficulties are more nearly akin to those of his white brothers, and we have no space to make special point of the African priest. It is worth noticing, however, what is the Bishop of Zanzibar's remedy for most of the trials of the African teacher, and how commonsense that remedy is. He would send two teachers everywhere, at least until such time as the village in which they work becomes Christian. But that is impossible in our present state. We have not only not got the men, but also we have not got the money for their training or their pay—for they must be paid. Nor can the native Church pay them. It must be remembered that no sort of comparison is possible between the Church in German East Africa and the Church, for example, in the Protectorate of Uganda in this respect, for in the former country the people are poorer and will remain poorer than in some other centres. They will not become owners of the land, and the independent peasant-farmer class is at least a dream of the future. The natives must remain for years yet as mere agricultural labourers who have not the money to give to the extension of their Church, however, in the future, they must support it when existing. And thus the need remains at this : prayer for that small army of native Christian teachers who are making possible the work of English priests in the face of great danger to their spiritual life. Pray that more such labourers may be found for the harvest field ; that men and women may be forthcoming to place two where

now there is but one ; and that the Spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind may be given to these who are as yet but children in the Faith. And pray, lastly, that the call to the priesthood may be given to more Africans, and with it the needed grace and wisdom: for not until East Africa has an African priesthood will East Africa possess an African Church.

II

We now turn to a review of the scope and prospects of the work of the English missionaries throughout the three dioceses in connection with the Universities' Mission. We want to see how things stand in the various centres, and at what we may fairly estimate the need for men and further money to support them at the present time. Each diocese must be taken in turn, and first that of Zanzibar.

There are still some people who think that the diocese is conterminous with the island, and that is the first notion which must be set right. The diocese of Zanzibar consists of (1) a district possessing a nearly, straight coastline of some 800 miles, with a breadth varying in extent from fifty to three hundred miles ; and (2) the islands off that coast. Like most other missionary dioceses, its limits are largely artificial, and will probably undergo a change when the tribal districts are clearer. It is obvious that it is unwise to have half a tribe in one diocese and half a tribe in another—as is at present the case in East Africa with, for example, the Zigwas, who are being considered from this standpoint by the authorities. Most missionary dioceses, also, are vague immensities even to their bishops, and to a certain extent this is true of Zanzibar. Nevertheless, Bishop Weston has his field before him, thanks to his clear judgment and breadth of vision, as perhaps few others have, and we are able to make a rough consideration of the whole with some ease. Placing the map before us, we may first rule out certain sections, and then divide the remainder into

districts for the purposes of review. With from Dar-es-Salaam to Lindi as its coastline, there is, as it were, a block of country running up to the extreme north of Lake Nyasa and to the south of Lake Tanganyika, which has been settled by agreement with their Bishop and left to those Roman Catholic missionaries who have long occupied it. In passing, one may say that they have a good-sized staff and large operations, although their methods are not entirely our own, and it is hoped that they will connect finally with their Tanganyika missions and thus possess a compact Church in that line which yet, please God, shall span the continent. About Vuga is settled in like manner a Lutheran mission to which, as unevangelised Africa stands at present, we leave again a certain district; while what is left of the diocese falls into five big divisions of worked territory, together with another as yet untouched.

This latter is that portion of Portuguese East Africa which lies between Cape Delgado and Mozambique, and which extends inland until it touches the diocese of Nyasaland. Here is a great land, its coastline as long as the distance from London to Edinburgh, and of which very little is known except that there are no Christian missions in it and that there is a large population. One important fact stands out about its people, to which the student of missions in general will assign the significance it deserves, and that is, that all those persons who have from time to time crossed the Rovuma River into the sphere of the influence of the Mission have proved themselves to be Mohammedan at least in name. What does this mean? It means that behind the Rovuma River there is proceeding that work of the conquest of the pagan tribes by the Crescent which is the most vital problem in Africa to-day, while the Cross halts by the river for men to carry it forward and money to supply the sinews of war. The Bishop plans a campaign over the border, along the Lujenda River, which will finally link up with our work on Lake Nyasa, and, with a bishopric at Masasi dividing the present unwieldy diocese

make another of those Christian churches of which we have spoken. He plans, but he can do no more. There is much to be filled up in districts of which the Cross has already taken nominal possession before any such forward step can be made, but meanwhile, with every year, Islam grows stronger and forges new chains. The Bishop waits and watches, sad at heart ; yet a Greater than he waits and watches with a sadness so great that it is Divine.

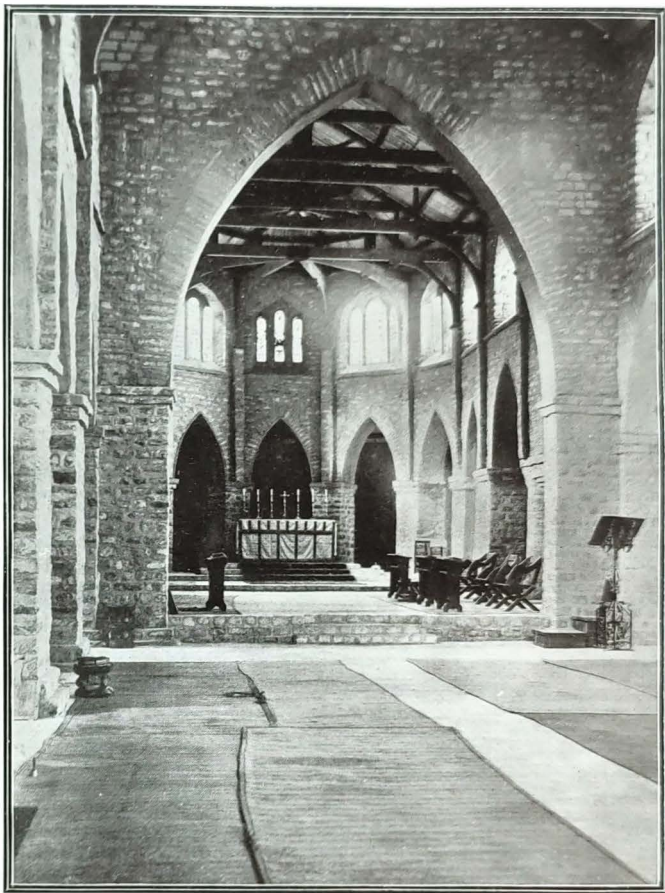
Five districts, however, can be reviewed in order, and the need of *already existing works* to some extent gauged. Before we begin, it is as well to remind ourselves how big is the extent of this work, even when one hundred miles has been knocked off the diocese south of Cape Delgado and three hundred more between that and Dar-es-Salaam. During the last year (1911-1912) it has taken the Bishop ten months to get round four only of these districts on a pastoral visitation—those, namely, on the mainland ; and in the course of that visitation he has walked, even in these days of a certain length of railway, very many hundred miles. As a kind of rough guess, he estimates that he must have walked on one occasion nearly 900 miles in the Masasi district alone, and from this it will be obvious that the diocese of Zanzibar is a little larger than the island of that name at least !

Working up from the south, then, we begin with this Masasi district, which includes such large portions of the Yao and Makua peoples as are settled in the Rovuma country, together with some villages of the Wadonde and the Wamatambwe, and the whole tribe of the Wamakonde. The early story of Masasi has been told already in these studies, and we know it as the scene of the labours of Archdeacon Johnson and Bishop Maples before they went to Nyasa, as the centre of Angoni raids, and as the place in which Canon Porter risked his life and spent his days in an attempt to set an apostolic ideal before the natives.¹ How then do things stand in the Rovuma archdeaconry ?

¹ See Appendix D.

Masasi wants another priest as soon as he can be obtained ; and Luwatala, with a communicant roll—nearly 500—as big as that at Masasi itself, and with only Padre Hudson there, requires one more priest also. If the Wamakonde people are to be efficiently reached, Newala, at present under a native teacher only, must be separated from Masasi at once, and given two white priests. Lumesule ought to have one priest now and another in three years, and if that priest were found for Lumesule, a layman would have to be found to go with him. More than this, the Bishop has prospected along the Rovuma River, and feels that another station ought to be opened at Mtwara's village, which will not, probably, be found on many maps until the station gets there ! That move would mean at once one priest and with him one layman, and as soon as possible ladies would be required there also. To sum up, existing work in this district requires at once three priests and a layman for it to be carried on efficiently, and for its proper expansion a similar number of men and more ladies. Even then, the Cross would not be effectively lifted over the Rovuma.

Coming north, our second district is that of the Zigua peoples, whose country would take you three or four days to walk its breadth and seven or eight days to walk its length. Here is Korogwe, round which Bishop Smythies preached so eagerly, and here also that native priest—deacon as he was then—who shared his Bishop's hut and porridge many a night. Archdeacon Birley is in charge of Korogwe, and his great pastoral abilities have done wonders. One striking thing was said recently of Korogwe which might be mentioned in passing, namely, that here you can see that joy over penitents which our Lord taught us to have when He spoke of the Prodigal Son's return. The priest in charge has made those under penance feel how glad it is to be back in the Father's House, and their place in church is no longer the place of dishonour. Korogwe, too, is fully staffed, and it is good to be able to write that. But the Rev. Petro Limo at Kwa Magome



A STONE CHURCH (MASASI)

ought to be reinforced by another native priest, and there is room for another native sub-station. The Rev. J. F. C. Fixsen is, however, to be sent out almost at once to open a new station on the hills, and he will need a second priest later, and a layman now. We must not revert to the old hopeless policy of leaving a man in isolation; and the Bishop is moving him out, as he must do, confident that England will find these two men at least for the Zigua peoples, as soon as Padre Fixsen has found his station.

North-east of Zigualand is our third district—that of the Bondeis, who have already figured largely in our work. Here is central Msalabani, “the place of the Cross,” which Krapf cut in a tree on one of his itinerations, which Alington reared as first mainland pioneer from Zanzibar, and which that little heroic band of sub-deacons surely bore in their hearts when Bishop Steere had faith to send them when the white priest had died. Since those days a generation has passed away, and real progress has been made. The Bishop hesitates to say that all Bonde land has been evangelised, but at least it is organised and surveyed. Very many native teachers occupy out-stations, and are visited by a priest (Padre Baker at present) on weekly “*safaris*.” Msalabani itself, Mkuzi—soon to be the centre of the work of the Society of the Sacred Mission—and Misozwe, all have full staffs of priests provided for, and the need of Bonde is not so vitally the need of men at present.

North of the Bondeis is what is known as the Usambara district proper—that part of the hills which form the eastern ranges out in the direction of Mount Kilimanjaro. In addition to the Washambala people there are a few villages of Wadigo and Wataita, and the work must be developed in this quarter. Kigongoi was first occupied by the Rev. W. G. Webster in 1905, but he was invalided, and an attempt was made to hold it by the Rev. Samuel Sehoza in 1906. At the end of 1908, however, the Rev. F. E. Pearse went up as priest-in-charge, the ladies following in the next year

for work among the women, and for the schools and dispensary. Padre Pearse's work has been growing very much, and he boasts in his out-schools more children than those of Magila, yet he has no priest to assist him. In response to his appeal the Bishop is anxious to send him a priest, and a layman to be the housekeeper of the clergy-house; nor can Kigongoi be considered as safely and effectively occupied until that is done. The most pressing extension is to Kizara, where a new station must soon be opened if the work is to go forward, and for that another priest immediately, and a priest and a layman and ladies to follow, are essential. With North-Eastern Usambara thus occupied, the top corner of the diocese will be in hand, with Mombasa and the C.M.S. as the next link in the chain round Africa. Yet the work must halt unless that extension be made, and it cannot be wisely made until Kigongoi is secured. Cannot England spare these tribes one priest and one layman directly?

Zanzibar and Pemba make the fifth working district of the diocese, and in Zanzibar itself conditions are doubtless harder than anywhere else. Pemba needs developing in connection with the already existing work, but although there is a layman on the station, and ladies, at the time of writing there is no permanent priest. Archdeacon Woodward has gone up to take temporary charge, but Pemba requires without delay two priests if it is to be at all adequately staffed. The work of the Rev. Sir John Key, in buying some little property and selling this off to Christian natives, has been the means of establishing a more independent and flourishing congregation than has been possible in some places; and this has been developed by Padre Frewer. Now an advance is necessary: but who is to make it?

In Zanzibar Island the Mission is confronted with a difficult problem that must, in any case, call out years of strenuous and apparently unfruitful work. On the island the training college of Kiungani, with its present full staff,

stands, as it were, alone, and must do so, as all of them have their hands full. Mbweni again, the ex-slave Christian village, is a unit by itself, for here there is pastoral work (sometimes heart-breaking) for the priest-in-charge. But the city itself remains a Mohammedan stronghold, with at least three different classes of people within it, all hard to win. There are the pure-blooded Arabs of the days of the conquest, their power gone with the passing of the slave trade and the coming of the European protectorate, but their prejudice and their religion scarcely touched. They speak and read Arabic as well as Swahili, and stand for the educated Mohammedan upper classes, who must everywhere be won by men specially trained in Arabic and the Koran. Allied with these are Indian Mohammedans, a class by themselves, with yet another difficult language, and the money-makers of the town. It is scarcely necessary to point out what an enormous work lies before the Christian Church among these. It must be slow, as was that gradual leavening of the upper classes of the Roman Empire in the days of the early Church; and converts, when they come forward, will have the bitterest persecution to face. "The first convert from Islam whom I baptised as bishop," wrote Bishop Weston in April 1911, "was cut off from his home-life; another who was baptised previously is prevented by his family from following his faith." And so it will be.

The Bishop designs to meet this—an extensive work which can only come into being as God the Holy Ghost directs it, but which, to human judgment, might be the beginning of an attack on Islam of wide-spreading consequences. In the centre of the city stands a large house known to the staff as the Hostel, in which is housed at present the High School. This High School has boarders as well as day-boys, many of the latter being Moslems, and it was hoped that Mohammedans of the upper class might board their boys there also. At first this was so, but it is only indicative of the kind of feeling in Zanzibar that the Turkish-

Italian war has been largely responsible for the loss of these boys. There are Christian boarders, but at present none from Islam. This school, however, can be taught by native teachers under white supervision, and the Bishop hopes that eventually a college of clergy may be placed here, its members themselves studying Arabic and Mohammedan theology, and engaged, by lectures, visiting, and the Press, in that grapple with Islam which must come if ever the Cross is to win the world. All that this "college" might do and be, we perhaps hardly dare say. We often speak of the "mission" of the English Catholic Church; could it have a nobler mission than this? We claim that our freedom has given us intellectual progress and scope denied to another branch of the Church, and our Western blood a zeal lacking in yet another: are not these exactly the weapons which might arm a modern crusading order against Islam, animated in this age, not by hate, but by love? It might indeed be so, but we have yet to find the men. They must be possessed of evangelical zeal and of intellectual ability, because the enemy is too strong for us to risk a conflict with other weapons than the best. It is true that with God all is possible, and without Him nothing; but He looks for us to do our part, and He is pleased to bless according to our faith and zeal. Here is opportunity for both. On the Nile the C.M.S. are already trying in their own way, but on these lines, to meet Islam, and with such a college at Zanzibar we should have a similar effort in the south. Ultimately its influence might not be confined to the island; yet it is absurd to look so far ahead when it has not as yet begun. But the Church in East Africa, as she is to-day, *cannot* do it alone.

The large population of the rest of the island is almost entirely nominally Mohammedan, and is scattered about among the shambas or cultivations. The people are prosperous and idle, and largely saturated with the vices that slavery brought in its train and freedom alone does little to eradicate. In Zanzibar city, this class of people

is hardened, and in any case must be reached from the Hostel and the Christian congregation of the cathedral ; but we need *at once* a central station in the south of the island where opposition would be found to be less strong. At once, because every year the Government opens up more of the island, and the "atmosphere" of the city extends. Already three native teachers have been trained by Canon Dale for work on the shambas, working from the Hostel as a centre, or at least from the clergy in charge of the High School housed there ; but like out-stations in the far south must have such a central station. One priest and one layman is the least the Bishop can ask for in this respect, and every year they are delayed means harder work in the future.

When the Bishop of Zanzibar thus outlined the need of his diocese, he began by saying that he did not intend to ask for more than the Church in England might reasonably give. He was well aware, he said, of other needs in other places ; and although, of course, what *might* be done is what every missionary must hope *will* be done, the striking thing about the Bishop's statement is how little, rather than how much, he asks for. The Bondei country is considered staffed, and below the Rovuma River we do not go. Tabulating what is left, we come to this :—

Rovuma.—Three priests and a layman for present work ; two priests and a layman for reasonable expansion.

Zigualand.—One priest and one layman almost at once.

Eastern Usambara.—One priest and one layman for present work ; one priest for reasonable expansion.

Pemba and Zanzibar.—Pemba, one priest at once, another only reasonable ; Zanzibar, one priest and a layman for expansion. And the needs of the Hostel.

Because less has been said about the need of ladies, especially of nurses, it must not be supposed that these are not required. It has been proved that to work with men

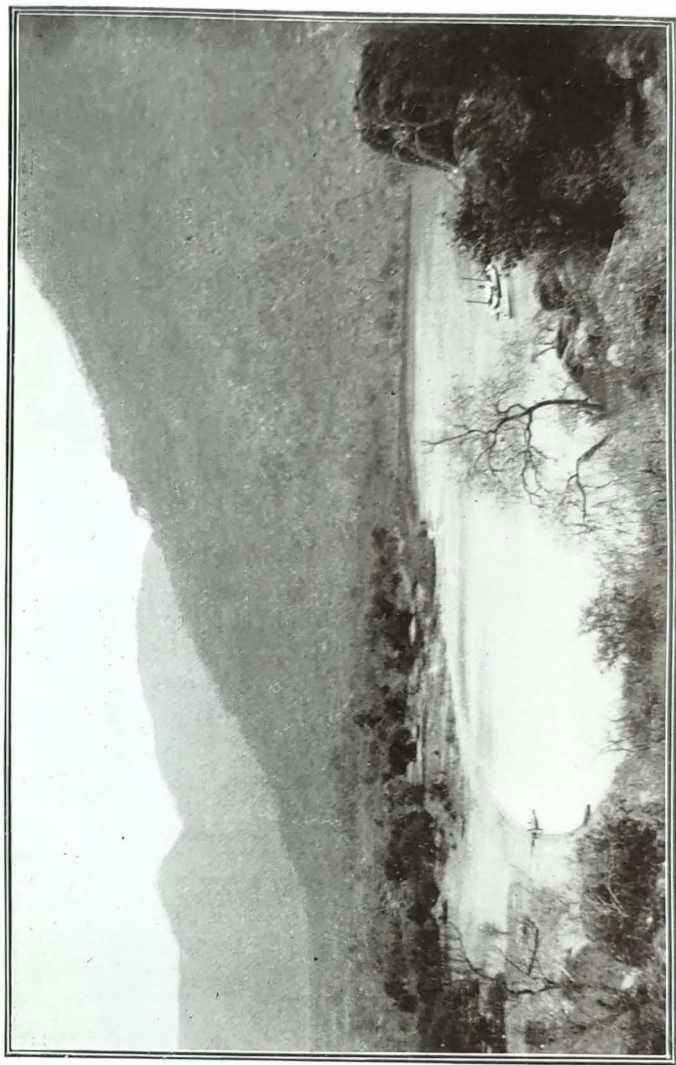
only in a new station is hopeless, as soon as the first start has been made. Christian native women are essential to a Christian native Church. Wherever, then, a new station is suggested two or three ladies will be required, and it becomes plain how welcome are lady volunteers.

This, then, is Zanzibar diocese as it stands at present, and no one can say that the need has not here been made known plainly. More, the past has presented, and the present presents, so many illustrations of the manifest power of God that our definition is complete even now. God is calling the Church of the English to build in German East Africa a Church of the Africans. Is He to call in vain ?

III

The scope of our study so far has not included very many of the interests of the diocese of Nyasaland, but something of its history has been sketched. We have seen how this, the first goal at which the Central African Mission aimed, was consecrated, as it were, by the death of one bishop at its gate ; by that of one of the two first pioneers to see the waters of the Lake upon the borders of that inland sea ; and by that of an early bishop, within those same waters, who had already given much of his life to God's work in the country, and of whom great things were hoped. It was thus not until thirty-one years after the sailing of **Mackenzie** that the bishopric of Nyasaland became anything more than a name—a period not long, after all, in the history of the Catholic Church. To-day, however, Nyasaland is one of those dioceses with which God has been pleased to own the desire of the English Church to serve Him, and it would be in double measure a sin and a disgrace if, having put her hand to the plough, our Church looked back.

And yet, What to-day is the condition of that diocese, itself territorially bigger than the Mother Church which bade it be ? It is very difficult to express its need ; for any



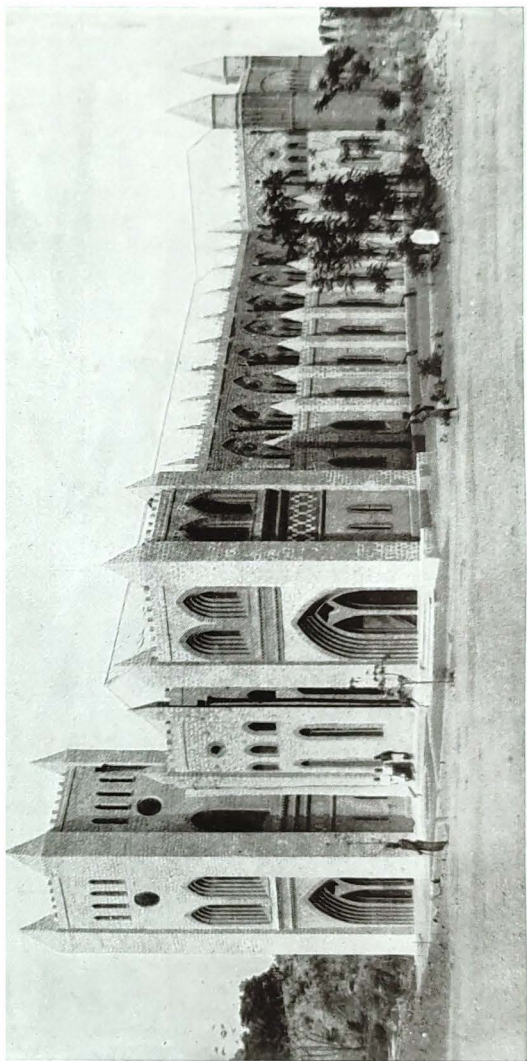
THE MISSION STEAMER CHAUNCEY MAPLES IN MONKEY BAY, NYASALAND.

estimate of what would be necessary to satisfy it adequately would be almost laughable. Think, however, of what is the care of Bishop Fisher. His jurisdiction extends, speaking necessarily in round figures, over a territory nearly eight hundred miles long, and varying from four hundred and fifty miles at its greatest, to one hundred miles at its narrowest, in breadth. The Lake itself is longer than the distance which separates Brighton and Edinburgh; and even after you have left the southern extremity you can walk in a straight line as far as from London to Newcastle without leaving the diocese. Nor would you walk through deserts. It is almost impossible to estimate the native population: but it is a big one, although scattered; and more than that, it is a growing one. For Nyasaland has a future before it. It is in large measure a British Protectorate, fertile and well watered; its lake system providing a means of communication denied to the sister diocese of Zanzibar. The Bishop's responsibilities are yearly being enormously increased by the growing number of white settlers, for the provision of whom, with Sacraments and the means of grace, the Church is absolutely responsible as a first duty. And it is well to remember what we mean when we speak about " + Cathrew Nyasaland." The Catholic Church of the days which produced the ideas of jurisdiction and territorial episcopacy did not shrink from a recognition that God had entrusted to her the peoples of the world; and when an Anglican Church assumed the responsibility of the creation of sees, it claimed participation in this responsibility for souls. He who says " I am the shepherd," is convicted, out of his own mouth, of responsibility for the sheep.

What, then, has the Church of England done for Nyasaland? The present staff consists of a bishop and sixteen priests, six deacons, nine laymen, and seventeen women, and in this enumeration we have reckoned native members of the ministry. There are not many rural

deaneries in the Church at home with a smaller staff than fifty paid workers—clergy, laymen, and women—yet that is the condition of this diocese. There are not many reasonably active town-parishes in England with a smaller body of helpers than fifty—clergy, church-officers, Sunday-school teachers and the like—yet that is the condition of this diocese. It is true that the population is much smaller than that of England, but it is very much greater than that of most of the units we have mentioned. Nor is there any proper comparison of the need of the souls contained in them; for if the first work of the Church be to preach to the heathen and her first duty to tend the sheep in the fold, neither are done adequately in Nyasaland, and both are done to a degree in England. Again and again, it must be said that whereas at home, next Sunday, anyone can hear the Gospel and anyone receive the Sacraments, there are thousands who cannot in Nyasaland.

This kind of comparison is, however, frequently blamed as chimerical and exaggerated; and we must of course recognise that it is not even God's will that very many of those at home should go abroad. How much margin, so to speak, may be allowed for this, I do not know, but we may turn from it to another kind of consideration. If it is chimerical to suppose the Church of England to be rich enough to supply Nyasaland with, let us say, one hundred priests—that is to say, if it be considered that the apostolic zeal which we ought to possess would not make such a supply possible—at least it cannot be chimerical to expect a more or less adequate support of those fifty odd workers who are now in the field. As there are nearly double that number of mission stations clustering about the Lake itself, we approach our study with feelings of apprehension; for ninety-six stations cannot be very adequately served by forty-nine workers, even if they are aided by native teachers but yesterday heathen. Yet the real need is incredibly great when we turn to it. A writer must feel at length that the grim responsibility of this need in the



LIKOMA CATHEDRAL

mission field sobers all enthusiasm with its naked weight. Let us go the round of the larger activities.

Likoma, short as is its story, is a word of cheer. Here, on a little island in the centre of Africa, stands a cathedral on whose actual building none but Christians or catechumens were employed, of a magnificence in stone and wood and glass that is an achievement of no little merit. Far better, the material temple is but the visible sign of the spiritual; and here, where heathenism with such terrible concomitants as that awful witch-burning, witnessed by Dr. Hine as late as 1895 near Unangu,¹ there is a Christian population of one thousand five hundred souls. The activities of this mission station are passed in review in the Mission history, and consist of schools for boys and girls and infants, of a store, of a hospital and dispensary, of a printer's office, of a carpenter's shop, and of "the preaching tree." We do not speak now of the work of the Mission fleet, whose headquarters are here. But for these the report runs as follows: "Archdeacon Glossop, after nineteen years' service in Africa, is not as strong as he was, and yet at Christmas he will be alone in preparing well over a thousand people for their Communions." Or again: "Our printing has been much handicapped since the departure of Mr. Willcocks, and its general oversight is one more addition to Glossop's work. He keeps the native printers up to the mark, but it is impossible for him to take on any more apprentices." And again: "We have only one builder and carpenter in the diocese, and he too, after ten years' splendid work, is about to leave for family reasons. This is all the more serious, as we are just in the middle of building the new college for teachers." And yet again: "Our treasurer [at Likoma as the centre of the diocese] is at present invalided, and it is very doubtful if he will be allowed to

¹ *What we do in Nyasaland*, p. 169. It is worth noticing that the last condition which it was necessary to insert into the terms of purchase of the station on Likoma Island runs: 'That no people should be burnt without these limits.'

return. A man who thoroughly understands book-keeping is needed urgently."

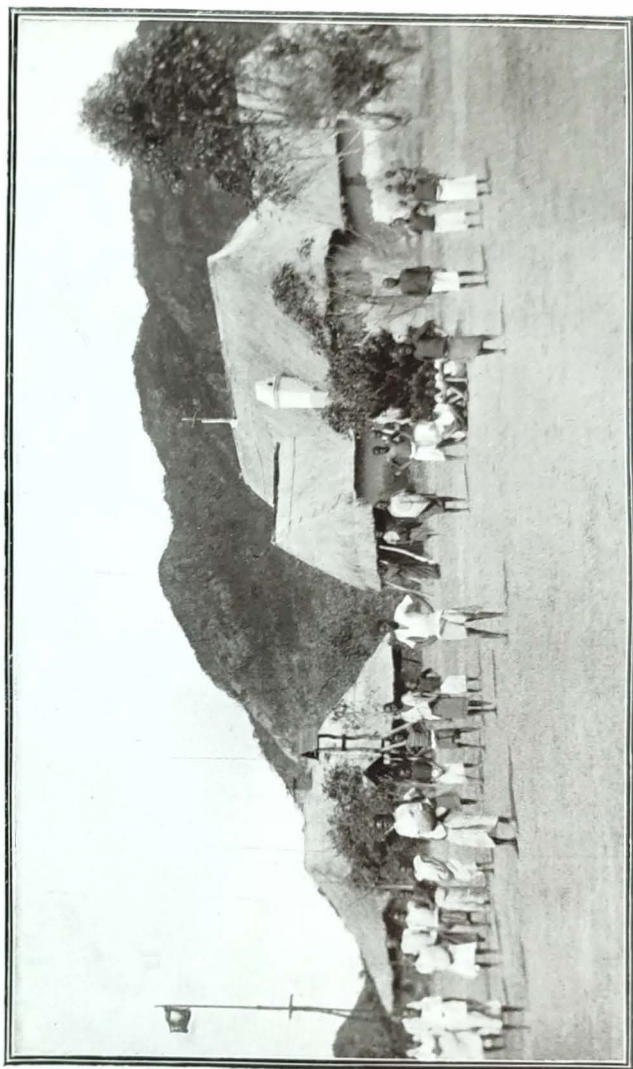
Nor is this all. Towards the end of last year we were all startled and grieved to hear of the tragic death of one of the most promising of the diocesan staff at the hands of one of that class of Europeans whose conduct is perhaps the greatest stumbling-block to the Christian Church. An official shot him dead in cold blood outside the Diocesan Training College at Kango on the mainland, opposite Likoma, of which he was Principal. Under his guidance, that "heart of the diocese" had been in the best of health. The October *Quarterly Chronicle* of that year reports: "The Annual Entrance Examination at St. Michael's College has been a big business; one hundred and fifty-four boys competed for the twenty-six vacancies;" and the history says that it is "always filled to overflowing with the most promising boys from the many stations." There is a four-year course of training, ending in a standard about equivalent, with the exception of Greek, to that for Deacons' Orders in the Church at home. So successful, indeed, has this work become, that the Bishop is determined to devote a Pan-Anglican grant towards its removal and enlargement on a British and more convenient site in Likoma itself. All these plans were the last interests of Arthur Douglas. A letter received after his death describes the new site, on a park-like stretch of ground, mosquito-free in great measure, and near to a good bathing-beach. He goes on to speak of its principal buildings, planned for one hundred students, and of the accommodation for the Principal, and "lay schoolmaster who is not yet forthcoming"; while another letter adds, as it turns out significantly: "*I am sure that you will all pray that we may lay our lines aright and as is best for the permanent work in this land.*" Was it, then, as some mysterious answer to these prayers, or to call them forth, that Arthur Douglas was called to lay down his life—dare we say other than "aright"—where his Master bade him? But there is no one yet to carry on his work.

That trained schoolmaster, who was a crying need even before November 1911, is still "not yet forthcoming." The work of building has commenced, but with what heart are the builders to build? In other days and places so great a need, following so notable a sacrifice, has called out worthy response from the Church at large; and surely in these days she will not be content to fail her Lord.

Kota Kota is the only large station on the western side of the Lake. It is a great village of some 5000 inhabitants, but attached to it is a large district which can be worked from Kota Kota as a centre. This lakeside door to a great background of native villages, with its constant stream of Europeans, Arabs, and Africans, will always be associated with the name of Arthur Fraser Sim, who was only able to put in two years of his earnest spiritual work, baptising but one convert and he a penitent murderer, before in great measure that same insufficiency of workers which we are now reviewing caused overwork and neglect which ended in death. Near here too, the last slave stronghold, in this part of Africa, fell in December 1897; and here stood the finest stone church in Central Africa before the cathedral was built at Likoma. Kota Kota was a Mohammedan centre in the days of Arab administration, and from it Islam has spread to the surrounding tribes. Chisote, but a little to the south, is a thickly populated and definitely hostile village; and only last October the official news ran: "Another brick mosque is being built at Kota Kota, making the third in the town. Mohammedanism is extending everywhere, and it behoves us to make use of every opportunity to get into outlying villages." Some effort has been made towards this. Sani, eight miles south, has a church, school, and native-teachers' buildings; and a little farther on is Ngombe with a flourishing school and a simple church. Chididi, fifteen miles inland, is a Christian village made up of released slaves come back to their homes from Zanzibar; and away to the west are three schools on the hills, with

teachers, having hardly another Christian to support them, who are nevertheless several hours' walk from one another. Then a little south of Kota Kota is Kasamba with flourishing Yao schools; and as far as thirty-five miles to the north extend a number of small stations with two comparatively new ones by the River Dwanga. There are thus some ten widely spread out-stations in a district 170 miles in circumference; while at the centre there is the work of a hospital, blind school, and six hundred communicants. This, too, is the *only* place which has a staff of more than one priest, so it is rich—it has two. It has two for all this existing work of supervision and teaching, to evangelise these big heathen populations, and to oppose this active Mohammedan propaganda. Is it any wonder that we read: "Four chiefs have definitely asked for teachers, but we have none to send; to-day the door is open, but a few years hence it may be closed and the opportunity gone"? Yes; there is need in Kota Kota, "the only central station that has, what the Bishop is anxious to see everywhere, two priests";—so runs the pitiable comment.

Crossing over the Lake, approximately opposite to Kota Kota but inland, is Mtonya—the name standing for a mountainous district rather than a mere town. Mtonya has had an exciting history since it was first prospected by Dr. Howard and the Rev. C. Davies in November 1904; and since then Archdeacon (then the Rev. C. B.) Eyre has taken charge, purchasing the site twice over from the native chief and from the Portuguese, since the latter do not recognise native ownership. It was for some time the centre of a disturbed district which witnessed several raids and a barbarous attack on a native teacher, and its priest has the oversight of Unangu, where Padre Yohana has done admirable work. Last year the Bishop paid Mtonya a visit and confirmed fifty-two candidates; and here Archdeacon Eyre holds the fort alone. He looks out across a stretch of country which takes twenty-eight days to walk through, and each one of those twenty-eight days' march



MTONYA STATION, NYASALAND

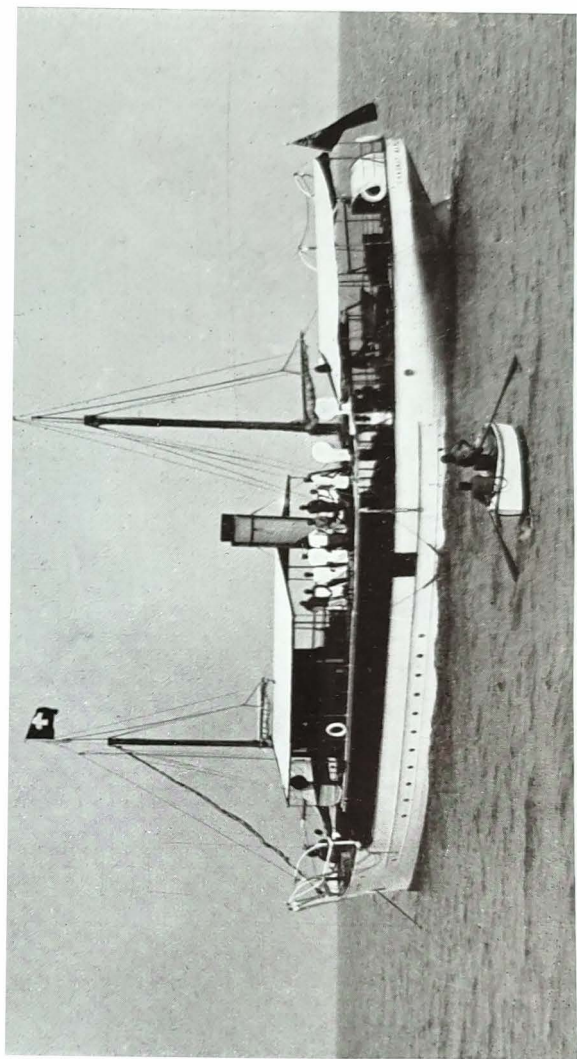
is through a district bare of Christianity.¹ With splendid optimism, Padre Yohana can speak of what might be done by an African crusade "consisting of thirty priests, fifty deacons, and three hundred teachers, facing due east to attack the Yao capital"; and there is no doubt that at least it is some such advance in force, led by white missionaries—for the African cannot stand alone yet, nor will for many years—which is what is needed. But the facts are that Archdeacon Eyre is alone, that there is no visible prospect of a successor, and that he has had no furlough for about ten years.

Coming directly south, we find Mponda's township on the right bank of the river Shiré, and about two miles from the Lake. Mission work was begun here in 1896, and there are at least three large out-stations, one twenty-five miles away. Here also the Mohammedan opposition is growing, and, with it all, the Rev. C. W. Ker is alone. He is due, too, to go on furlough soon, and he must go, yet there is no one to take his place while he is away. A few days from Mponda's is Likwenu, on the Shiré River itself, and responsible for no fewer than twenty-seven riverside villages, with a prospect of extension very nearly to the Magomero highlands and the site of Bishop Mackenzie's early station. In all of these villages there are little groups of Christians and catechumens isolated in the midst of a Mohammedan population with an Islamic policy of opposition and extension. The Rev. A. M. Jenkin speaks again and again of the enormous scope for work, and also of one feature, ever growing in importance, which at all costs must not be neglected: we mean the oversight of the European townships of Zomba and Blantyre. This white work, with the native work, is far too much for one man; indeed, the Rev. A. M. Jenkin writes: "I cannot do *either* work properly: it is quite impossible for one man." The most he could give was one Sunday a month among the Europeans, and the strain

¹ *History of the U.M.C.A.*, p. 309.

of the continual visiting of village after village was enormous. Yet it is fatal to leave the isolated African teachers without adequate supervision. The Rev. A. S. Austen, who took on Jenkin's work while he was on furlough, gives a brief sketch of his Christmas last year, and says: "I was baptising in the villages (all December), which means a good deal of work among individuals. I baptised ninety-three adults and thirteen infants. . . . Christmas morning I celebrated the Holy Eucharist at Blantyre, and after breakfast bicycled back, arriving at Ngaiyai in time for Evensong. . . . In the River villages there were 118 communicants altogether during the Christmas season. On the Sunday after I was in Zomba. . . ." And so the difficult individual work goes on, calling for much more help, presenting endless opportunities for extension, and all in the charge of a solitary priest. He too is almost due for the furlough he must have.

One other branch of the work must be reviewed despite our failing space, and that is the invaluable work of the lake and river steamers. In June 1910 the Rev. A. M. Jenkin wrote: "They are at it night and day on the *S.S. Chauncy Maples* among the natives, and yet the work is always ahead of them." This steamer has a regular monthly voyage which it takes her all her time to do in five weeks. She runs across to Ulandi and drops a priest to take services there and work through the next two or three villages, and, leaving him, goes on to Monkey Bay to drop another. Then she runs back to pick up the first, and so on. The *S.S. Charles Janson*, on the other hand, is invaluable for keeping the Bishop in touch with his diocese; for helping the Kota Kota clergy to get out to some of their out-stations, which are very difficult of access in the rains; for enabling the sacraments to be taken to the considerable number of Likoma Christians who have scattered along the west coast of the Lake; and for a hundred other odd duties. How invaluable both these steamers are is evident, yet



THE MISSION STEAMER CHAUNCY MAPLES

what do we read? On the *S.S. Chauncy Maples*, if the staff would allow, there should be two more priests; and for the two vessels, together with one for the big fleet of smaller boats, there are required four engineers where there are but two. The result of this is that the *S.S. Charles Janson* is now again laid up, and all her work cut off.

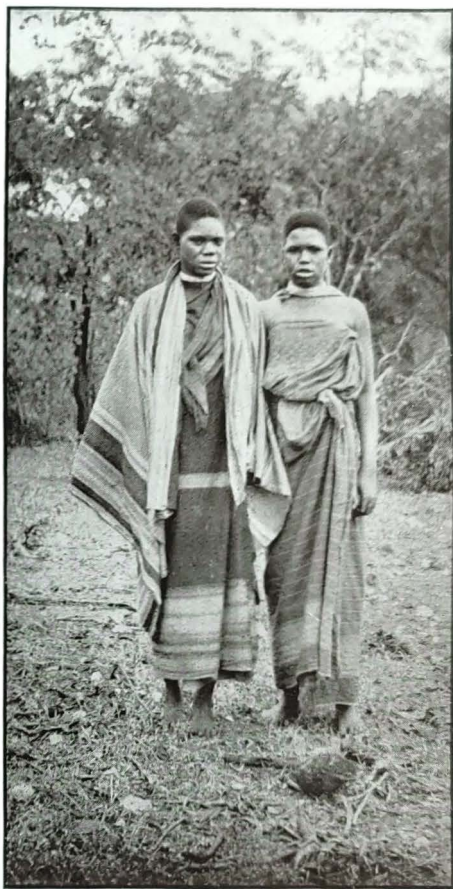
This has been but a hasty sketch of a great diocese where there are opportunities on every side—for more priests to open new stations, for men to stem the advancing tide of Mohammedanism, for ladies to work among the women without whom the Christian Church cannot be built up, and—perhaps above all, at present—for a bigger nursing staff to assist Dr. Wigan in a work of such vital importance that it is “hardly possible to estimate it.” But of actual, pressing, immediate needs we have found a long list. To summarise :—

1. *Priests*.—At Likoma, Archdeacon Glossop alone with 1500 communicants.
At Mponda's, the Rev. C. W. Ker due for furlough with no successor.
At Likwenu, the Rev. A. S. C. Austen due for furlough.
At Mtonya, Archdeacon Eyre alone, with no furlough, for ten years.
The Theological College, with no priest to re-open it.
2. *Schoolmaster*.—Required at once for St. Michael's College.
3. *Engineers*.—Two required at once for the *S.S. Charles Janson*—one as captain and another in the engine-room.
4. *Builder and Carpenter*.—To continue the work of building the new college.
5. *A Treasurer*—For Likoma as the diocesan centre, who thoroughly understands book-keeping.
6. *A Printer*.

Such is the summary of the Rev. H. A. M. Cox, who is himself well qualified to speak, and he adds: " All this is only mentioning our urgent needs to enable us barely to carry on work that is well established." Little enough too, is it not, for a diocese which would swallow England and Wales, and still be under-staffed for what was left? And as we think we remember that a Need Known, where there is Power to meet that Need, constitutes a call from God Himself. " See that ye refuse not Him that speaketh."

IV

The newly formed diocese of Northern Rhodesia comes before us as being in a need so acute that little is required to be said about it in this place. Here is an instance of an enormous diocese and an amazing opportunity and responsibility, and of a response from the home Church that is almost *nil*. The diocese has been roughly estimated by its bishop as equal to half Siberia, and, as this conveys but little to the average reader, it would perhaps be better to say that you might walk a distance as from John o'Groats to Land's End in the diocese, in a straight line, and still have far more left before you than could be adequately worked by the present staff of the diocese. It extends from the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika, past Lake Bangweolo, the spot where Livingstone died, and the head of the railway from the south, to the Victoria Falls—a walk, if you took it, of perhaps 1000 miles. You could follow the Zambesi for a similar distance and not leave the diocese. Great Britain would go comfortably into one-half of it, leaving, indeed, rather more outside. Over this vast area are scattered some 700,000 souls for whom the Bishop is the shepherd in the mind of the Church. And for this work the Church has provided *two* priests besides the Bishop, one of these an African, and exactly three helpers in addition—rather more, if it be divided up in imagination, than one hundred and fifteen thousand souls apiece.



WOMEN AT NDOLA, NORTHERN RHODESIA

Of course this is all so immense that it must be recognised as no real attempt at all as yet to found a territorial diocese. But on whom does that failure rest? In 1910-11 the Bishop (Dr. Hine) walked enormous distances in his diocese, reviewing and prospecting, and in 1911 he came home to appeal for the English colonists that they should not be left shepherdless, and for the natives that Christian England should not leave them unevangelised. The Bishop's whole heart and soul was given to that appeal, but he sailed at last for his enormous charge *without a man*. Since then he has had two recruits from England—a priest and his wife whose services at home and abroad entitle them beyond all question to rest at home, who left Africa only because the doctors forbade them to remain, and who return to Africa at personal risk for what years of work remain because the call to them is so pressing and real.

A writer in the *Church Chronicle* of South Africa has said all that we would say, and at the same time passed on that appeal of the Bishop. He writes: "We have read with the very deepest regret that the Bishop of Northern Rhodesia is returning from England to his diocese without a single recruit to cheer his heart and to strengthen his hands, although his journey to England was undertaken with the express purpose of obtaining more workers, clerical and lay. It is nothing less than a scandal and a reproach to the Anglican Communion that, with all the talk and stir, with all the manifold machinery of missionary organisations, time after time when an appeal comes for men for the noblest work, and withal for that which is in itself interesting and most attractive . . . the appeal is a failure. . . . We are 'case-hardened,' as the phrase is, so accustomed to the pathetic, that for us it has lost its pathos; so accustomed to the scandalous, that to us it is no scandal at all." He goes on to voice an appeal to South Africa: "In the present instance what a joy it would be to the good Bishop if he could find in South Africa what he has missed in England; if he could take up with him

across the Zambesi, we will say four men—two priests and two laymen—to assist him to inaugurate adequately the work of the Church in that vast region through which he has recently travelled more than a thousand miles on foot on a journey of missionary exploration." To England first, and then to South Africa, has come the appeal—with the same result : South Africa has not sent a man.

The diocese at present has three stations : Livingstone—where white work must be done in addition to the native, Mapanza, and Fort Jameson—where has recently been built the first substantial building for natives in the new diocese under the able direction of the Rev. A. G. De la Pryme. For this purpose they bought 30,000 "red lumps of earth," yclept "bricks," at the rate of 2s. 6d. a 1000, and finally had erected something past the comprehension of the local idea. One old heathen asked :

"Are the white people going to live in this big place?"

"No."

"Is it to be a big store for buying things from?"

"No."

"Is it, then, a large granary for maize, or perhaps cotton?"

"No."

Then his ingenuity failed him, and he was told it was for the worship of God. In utter amazement he turned away from the mad white people who thought that God cared enough for men to call out such an expenditure for His worship.

These three stations the Bishop supervises, travelling painfully from one to another over enormous tracts of country the need of which is so pathetically great. Now and again he finds missionaries of sects whose faith and practice would raise a smile if it did not cut a Catholic to the heart to think that Africans should be offered such incredible substitutes for the Faith as it is in JESUS. Last December he walked 370 miles in twenty-two days near Broken Hill, passed close under Nyanja, weathered a couple

of huge thunderstorms and a strike of all his porters, found a notice on a tree warning travellers that the way was infested with lions who had recently killed three men, and ate his Christmas dinner not far from the Murchison Mountains! There he gathered about him the six Christians of his caravan, and kept the Nativity of the Lord as we kept it indeed in Christian England, but surely with something of the heart-throb of the Mashonaland poet-priest:—

“ Heart of all good in men and beasts and earth,
 Here on the hill our hearts, we lift them up:
 Life—Blood and Flesh—White Cake and Red in Cup—
 We break and pour Thee for our drought and dearth.”

From Livingstone in January last, as the result of that journey, the Bishop penned his latest appeal: “ I WANT NOW THREE MEN FOR A MISSION UP NORTH—ONE PRIEST, ONE SCHOOLMASTER, ONE LAYMAN.”

There it stands, the need of the diocese of Northern Rhodesia in terms of men, plain to be read, simple to be understood. Cannot fifteen hundred English parishes find three men? Are we already so strained in our giving of men and money that we can look up into the Face of Him Who gave Himself, all unashamed? For what does it come to, but that? They are His sheep, unfed in Northern Rhodesia, and none other's; we are His witnesses in the Church, and there are none other; and the call is only that which echoed first on Olivet and has never ceased to sound. And somehow one is reminded of that fierce and relentless story which nevertheless we accept as reflecting some part of the mind of God, and of that denunciation which accompanied it:—

“ Curse ye, Meroz, said the angel of the Lord,
 Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof;
*Because they came not to the help of the Lord,
 To the help of the Lord against the mighty.*”

V

There is one last aspect of the need of the Church in East Africa which is none the less acute because it can find but little mention here and because its remedy is far to seek. Not to mention it at all would be, however, in a book of this nature, to pass over an important factor in the Christianising of the world. We may call it the "enlightenment" of public Christian opinion in East Africa, which is not less needful here than it is elsewhere.

"Enlightenment" suggests a spiritual conceit on our part that will probably be repugnant to some people, but it is difficult to know what other term could be used. In the eyes of Jesus Christ there was no missionary caste, for every Christian was a missionary since every Christian was, by necessity, "a witness." That is to say, to call oneself a Christian is to admit Christ's universal claim in one's own case, and to be in the possession of a knowledge which He called the light of the world. The man who found an oasis in the desert when his companions were dying of thirst, and who kept his knowledge from them, would not be more to blame than those Christians who live in a foreign land without witnessing to their Christianity. This being so, there are, for example, in Zanzibar some 120 missionaries in addition to those sent out by the Universities' Mission, and our need is that these should do their work. It is not meant that these Europeans are less "religious" than most at home; indeed they are more so, judged by ordinary standards. The percentage of Easter communicants at home this year was less than 8 per cent.; in Zanzibar it was 25 per cent. But it is of course simply not recognised that each white man has a duty towards his house-boys at least which is purely missionary, and there is no doubt that the inactivity of such Christians not only fails to increase the Christian prestige, but reacts harmfully on the missionaries themselves. It is only natural that the level of the people should be the level of the priest, however

much we try to make it otherwise ; and what would be the gain, say for example in Zanzibar, if the Mission had the encouragement and help of the Christian Church that is there, cannot easily be estimated.

But secondly—speaking generally of Eastern Central Africa—there is a directly bad influence, the removal of which constitutes another need. We want not only enlightenment but converted Christians. Dr. Weston said at the Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908, all that perhaps need be said here, and four " texts " from his speech must suggest the rest : (1) " In my experience of some ten years I have never found an African spoiled by the Gospel ; but I have met many—Christian, Mohammedan, and heathen—who have been ruined by life in coast-towns or by residence with Europeans. Bad cases are those of Africans whose masters are godless white men." (2) " A missionary who pets boys is a danger, but most Europeans of civil life have favourite boys who rarely succeed in pleasing a second master." (3) " Magistrates who ignore African ethics also do harm." (4) " The white woman is sacred ; the black woman is the white man's prey." Such men as these speak against missions at home invariably, and are usually totally ignorant because they never see them from inside. Most priests in England could show individual homes in the worst slums which, to a mere stranger who did not know where to look, would suggest the total failure of Christianity, and it is the same abroad. Others, of course, are " opposed to missions " on general principles, such as those of officers who allege that Christianity takes " the devil " out of their men, and others sometimes speak from an experience gained among converts or missionaries who have not been what they ought to be. But those who know anything of the straightness of the way that Christ pointed out, do not speak unkindly of those who fail therein, and men who are themselves making no great effort to live close to our Lord, cannot really understand a Christian mission any more than men can do who make no profession at all.

The attitude of Christian governments is a third problem which the Christian Church has to face in East Africa. Speaking generally for the Zanzibar diocese, one may say that the attitude of the German Government is distinctly encouraging, and that German officials have, on the whole, a clear understanding of what a Mohammedan Africa would mean, politically at least. In the case of a native state like Zanzibar Island, the attitude of the British Government is that a protectorate acts only in concert with the local power, and that if that local power be Mohammedan, the protectorate government will be to all intents and purposes Mohammedan also. What this means in fact is that, for example, the Koran is taught in government schools which are under the superintendence of Christian white men. Criticism would probably be impertinent, but two things may perhaps be said. Where the political interests of the British Crown clash with those of the Mohammedan State there is never any question which gives way; neither is there any question that to the thinking Moslem the spectacle of Christians in authority officially teaching Mohammedanism, is incomprehensible. Or at least he decides what many of us have reluctantly decided long ago, that the Kingship of Christ is not a reality to the English nation. But what dare one say? Reviewing African needs, it is impossible to refrain from asking how far that Kingship is a reality to the English Church. Her answer will show.

ASSIGNMENTS

A

1. Describe the life of an African teacher, and show what are his special temptations.
2. Describe the Diocese of Zanzibar by dividing it up into divisions. Which of these are being worked, and by whom?
3. What are the classes of people in the island of Zanzibar, and what is wanted in the way of missionary work there?

4. Compare the size and the staff of the diocese of Nyasaland with places and workers in England. (*Try to use the facts scattered throughout the whole of Section III.*)
5. What are the special needs of Likoma at present ?
6. Where is the River Shiré ? What sort of work is going on there ? Are there enough people to do it ?
7. Tell, as if you were speaking to a stranger, what is the condition of Bishop Hine's diocese.
8. How can Europeans in East Africa (1) help and (2) hinder the work of the Mission ?

B

1. State the problems of pastoral work in East Africa, and consider in detail the means by which their solution is being attempted.
2. Block out on a map of the three dioceses of the U.M.C.A. the divisional districts indicated in this chapter and the centres of missionary work. (*Use rough shading in colours and avoid many names.*)
3. What is meant by "Episcopal Jurisdiction" ? How far do you consider that the division of Central Africa into dioceses makes the Church of England responsible for souls ?
4. Detail the unoccupied territory within the sphere of the U.M.C.A., and estimate its chances of speedy evangelisation.
5. What do you think of the necessity for a college of priests such as the Bishop of Zanzibar wants in that city, the scope of its work when founded, and the possibilities of its foundation ?
6. Consider, as for some home committee, the sufficiency of the staff on already occupied stations in the U.M.C.A.
7. State the case for and against the Government's educational policy in Moslem Africa, and criticise it.
8. If a white man from East Africa told you that missions were a failure there, what questions would you ask him, and what would you try to find out about him ? Why ?

CHAPTER VII¹

"RICHES IN SMYRNA"

Objective.—A study of the resources of the Home Base of the Church.

Aim.—Accepting the world as one field for the Church's labour, to estimate the possibilities of the Home Base if awakened to our catholic duty.

Time.—To-day.

Question.—Could the world be evangelised in this generation? ²

Scripture Reading.—Philippians iv. 10–20.

(St. Paul shows the secret of riches and the blessings of liberality.)

SYNOPSIS

PARAGRAPH

- I. "A reasonable demand": the place of statistics in missionary study, the necessity of clear thinking, and the plan of the chapter following.
- II. *The Home Base compared with the Foreign Field in the matter of the distribution of Men*: some opinions, and places—Bombay, Burmah, the West Indies, Canada, East Africa—and summary.

¹ In order to insure the accuracy of this study, the facts of the chapter have been drawn only from sources as authoritative as they well can be, and the main references have been given throughout, as follows. The four *Annual Reviews of the Foreign Missions of the Church* which have been issued up to the present by the Central Board of Missions of the Church of England are referred to as *First A.R.* for 1908, *Second A.R.* for 1909, *Third A.R.* for 1910, and *Fourth A.R.* for 1911. *A.C.C.F.* stands for *The Report of the Archbishop's Committee on Church Finance* (1911); and *H.B.* for *The Home Base of Missions*, being the *Report of Commission VI. of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference*, 1910.

² The motto of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union is "The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation."

PARAGRAPH

- The Home Base compared with the Foreign Field in the matter of the distribution of Money* : general estimates, voluntary offerings of the Church of England, figures of the U.M.C.A. for Oxford and Cambridge, and summary.
- III. *The Home Base of the Church of England compared with those of other Churches*, in the matter of ministerial missionary education, in lay movements, in balance sheets, in average receipts per Church member, in general effectiveness throughout the world, and summary.
- IV. *The possibilities of the Home expansion of missionary support and “ Riches in Smyrna.”*
- V. *Plans for the improvement of the Home Base in general*, in the missionary education of the clergy, the necessity for this, the Society method considered, a changed standpoint (a) for the supply of men, (b) for the raising of money ; the Layman's Missionary Movement in U.S.A., in Canada ; results on the Church of England in Canada, the place of laymen's ministries in the Church, the effect of their revival illustrated, and the spirit in which all must be attempted.
- VI. *These schemes in the parish* : in missionary study, what study bands can do, assessment individually and parochially with illustrations, prayer, suggestions towards making this more effective, a contrast in prayer-meetings, and the quickening Vision.
- VII. Unity necessary in the Home Base for an adequate missionary enterprise.

“ However inadequate a Church may be to its own internal wants, it must on no account suspend its missionary duties.”—*Bishop Selwyn.*

“ At this present time there is nothing in the whole range of foreign missions more important than the home support of the missionary cause.”—*Central Board of Missions “ Review,”* 1911.

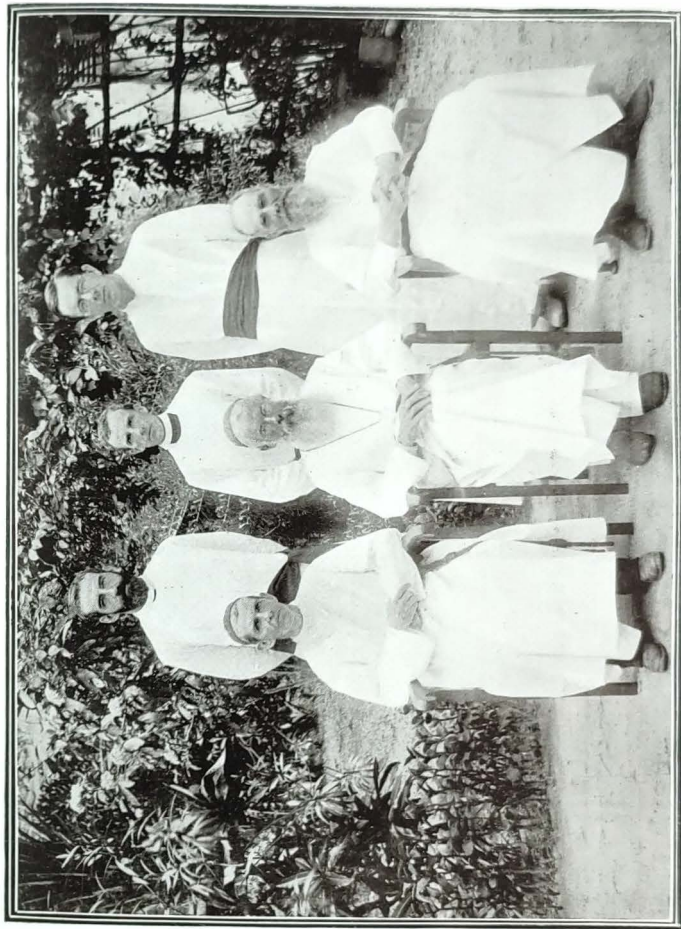
“ There has come to us a deeper realisation of the imperative

need that to the service of Foreign Missions we should offer of our very best. . . . The duty of evangelising Africa will not wait. The door is still open for the Christian Church ; but if she fails to press through it, in a few years it will be shut."—*Encyclical Letter, Lambeth Conference, 1908.*

I

The Bishop of Zanzibar, it will be remembered, has been already quoted in these pages as making use of a certain expression when he estimated the need of his diocese. He said that he would make only " a reasonable demand " of the Church of England for his work in East Africa. We saw that he meant that the fields open to the sowing and reaping operations of our Church were many, that it was obvious that the supplies were not inexhaustible, and that therefore he knew he should only ask for what seemed a possible and legitimate response to the need of his part of the world.

The man to whose lot it falls to make any sort of review of the mission-fields of the world, will be the least likely to dissent from the Bishop's view. There must always be a reasonableness in our proposals, too, if we are to convince men of our sincerity. And although it is difficult to keep one's head as one looks out at the black masses of heathenism which the world still presents and at the pitiably few labourers among them, or as one hears against the sometimes inarticulate cry of the world's despair, the laughter of a Christendom that does not care, still we ought to be level-headed and look facts in the face. The study before us is an attempt to do so. We are going to try to see what the Home Church, taken as a whole, is doing ; what she might do ; and how she might do it. We are going to be statisticians and business-men for once, or at least we are going to try to be. For this is a side of missionary politics which we too often shirk and even deride, but which must have its place if the world is ever to be won. There is an aspect of spiritual work which can neglect



THE BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR AND SOME OF HIS CHAPTER, 1904

Archdeacon Evans. Canon Dale. Dr. Weston (Bishop of Zanzibar).
Archdeacon Woodward. Dr. Hine (Bishop of N. Rhodesia). Canon Forter.

calculations, and a certain share in the New Testament's "divine indifference to numbers" is part of the necessary equipment of a missionary. But our Lord has condemned for us the king who, going to make war on another king, does not sit down first and count the cost; and we are ourselves the first to blame, in secular affairs, politicians who do not consider the real wealth of a country before they tax it, or the incidence of that taxation. Figures, of course, are easy to juggle with, and by no means adequate, especially in spiritual affairs. Nor are they easy to reckon in Church matters. But we ought to overcome our dislike to them, and read at least some part of the lesson which they teach. Surely it is a part of the heavenly meaning of the Incarnation that although spiritual reckonings must come first, for all that we ought not to forget that we are still in the world. We want business methods in religion, and we must not be ashamed of saying so. There is still a sound criticism of foreign missions possible, like that which Mr. L. P. Jacks put into the mouth of one of his characters, "Among the Idolmakers," when he says: "What's the matter with foreign missions is that they're not up-to-date. If we conducted our business as they do theirs, we'd be up the spout next week. They don't study the markets. They don't send out the right sort o' goods. They don't work together. They don't *think*."

There is a rich brutality about this which is what we want. We do not *think*. If we stopped to think fairly of what we are doing, of the values which we set on earthly things, of our neglect of eternal issues, of our country, like Dives at his feast with the Christ for a Lazarus outside, and of our answer to the appeal of Calvary—if we stopped to think of these things, there is little doubt but that the world might be evangelised in our generation. And thus, if in our next chapter we think almost entirely of spiritual issues, in this we will think of the practical. And as we turn to balance-sheets and reviews we will ask for that same Holy Spirit to be with us even here, Who of old was necessary to the Seven called to serve tables.

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The study before us is a study of the Home Base, and we shall conduct it on these lines. First we shall look at it as it is (1) by comparing the Home Base and the Foreign Field with regard (a) to the apportionment of men and (b) to the apportionment of money; and (2) by comparing our Home Base with those of other countries and Churches in these particulars again. Secondly, we will ask ourselves what we *might* do if we had the spirit which we ought to have. That will be a short section. Thirdly, we will try to see what should be done to bring this consummation to pass, widely, in the Church as a whole, particularly, in our own parish. And we will remind our critics and ourselves before we begin, in the words of Dr. Stalker, that "students are the chartered libertines of criticism," but that we shall have one day "to quit the well-cushioned benches where the spectators sit enjoying the spectacle, and take our place among the gladiators in the arena." Then we shall have "to put our shoulder under the huge mass of our Church's policy with some thousands whose shoulders are under it too," and as we go out to criticise, we will go remembering that day.

II

(a) First, then, we will consider the matter of Men. Here is our Church, called on to labour throughout the world, and recognising that the value of a soul does not turn on the colour of the body which sustains it; and we have a right to ask: Have we a proper proportion of men in the field to men at home? The question of the work of those at home will come later: at present we want to see fairly how the fields stand with regard to the distribution of men.

In the forefront we might put the conclusion of a great traveller and missionary, Dr. Zwemer, who knows of what he is speaking, and who said at Edinburgh: "It is very pathetic for some of us who are going back to, and for some

of us who have come from, the undermanned mission-fields of the world to hear this great convention sing, 'Like a mighty army moves the Church of God.' It does in the hymn-book, but it does not in Western Asia, not in Central Africa, not in Northern China."¹ And this conclusion of Dr. Zwemer is only the conclusion of our own leaders. Let us take a few. In 1911 Dr. Palmer, the Bishop of Bombay, wrote "*It is hard to believe that the English Church has ever considered the Indian field as one work with the home field.*"² The Bishop then goes on to give his reasons. He compares the diocese which he left with the diocese to which he went—both rural dioceses—Oxford with Bombay. Excluding the University, the Church supplies for Oxford one priest to 839 people; for Bombay, one priest to 322,268 people; and yet, "presumably, more clergy will be required to convert non-Christians than to shepherd Christians." In all, the Bishop's diocese, "equal in area to Great Britain and Ireland," and containing over 25,500,000 people, has eighty clergy, Indian and English.

Cross India proper to Burmah, and there another leader, Dr. Knight,³ in 1908, made the same kind of comparison. The Bishop contrasts England's 32,000,000 people and 20,000 clergy with his 10,000,000 people and thirty-two workers, and adds that the thirty-two includes wives. Quite apart from the heathen to be won, there are 10,000 definitely enrolled Church members to be shepherded, with thirteen white priests to do it—about the Oxford proportion—for far weaker Christians, scattered over a wider area, and without anything approaching the lay-help that England commands. Burmah does not seem to be one field with England.

On turning over the pages of the reports, one can take such a province as that of the West Indies,⁴ where a far larger number of definitely Anglican Christians are gathered

¹ *H.B.*, p. 309.

³ *First A.R.*, p. 33.

² *Fourth A.R.*, p. xi.

⁴ *Fourth A.R.*, p. 160 ff.

than we often remember. Here, then, is the record : the Diocese of Trinidad (with a Government census return of 132,000 Anglicans) has one priest to about 8,000 people ; the Diocese of Barbadoes, one priest to about 4,000 people ; the Diocese of the Windward Isles, one priest to 10,000 people ; the Diocese of Guiana, one priest to 7,000 people ; the Diocese of Jamaica, one priest to 9,000 people. Without considering the question of areas, of facilities for travelling, of buildings, and of the possibilities of friendship and help, set these against the Oxford calculation or even against a London calculation. The West Indies does not seem to be one field with England.

Or, once again, consider that need to which no less an authority than the Archbishops of Canterbury and York drew our attention in 1910. " In Western Canada, the two provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta alone are bigger than France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and the British Isles all put together." With England a little more than a week's journey away, and with (in 1909 alone) 180,000 new immigrants pouring into Canada, most of them bound for the West, " plainly the history of the world will largely depend upon what this multitude comes to be in character, in faith, and in life." Kootenay is one diocese, to which candidates answering that appeal have been directed ; there, in 1910, were 50,000 people scattered over 72,000 miles—with 27 clergy. Saskatchewan had 40 clergy to serve 106 churches, and we do not read that no more require to be built. There is no need to write more than this to indicate that, in spite of what the Archbishops named as an " unprecedented occasion " and " a manifest call of God," Canada is not regarded as one field with England.

In this connection nothing has been said—as it might be said—of East Africa ; but that is partly because we do not want to do so here. Nyasa has, indeed, been considered in this comparison before. The great fact which seems illustrated by these figures is, after all, not often doubted, however little it is allowed to weigh with us. But what is

this conclusion? Is it not that, judged by any comparison, the proportion of men is utterly wrong? A business which concentrated on one over-supplied town and neglected its branches like this, would go bankrupt. An army of a king which went out to do battle with another king on such calculations would court defeat. And a Church, whose definite object is to baptise the nations according to her Lord's commands, and which ought to look to baptismal figures, has no right to hold back before such opportunities nor allow her men to be crushed at the front by deserting them in the face of such odds.

Let us sum it up. There are estimated to be about 1,300 missionary clergy of the Church of England abroad there are about 20,000 clergy at home. There are about 1,500 lay missionaries abroad—men and women, including Sisters; and there are 217,000 Sunday-school teachers alone at home. And where has Satan set his battle in strongest array?

(b) After Men, Money, and there is much in England. What is the reasonable contribution of our Church in money to Foreign Missions? Do we give a proper proportion?

Let us put first the conclusion of the Edinburgh Conference on this matter; for that Conference, whatever else may be said of it, certainly knew more about missionary matters in general than any other body which has ever been constituted—unless it sit at Rome. The sober conclusion of Edinburgh was this: "The investigation by this Commission reveals the fact that there is not a leading missionary society in Europe or America that is properly supported";¹ and we shall not be far wrong if we find the reason as set out in a speech made at a dinner in connection with the Laymen's Missionary Movement in America, presided over by the Bishop of Massachusetts: "Two out of three people in all the world live in non-Christian lands; two out of three people in the non-Christian world are beyond the combined agencies of

¹ *H.B.*, p. 146.

Christendom ; and, in spite of these appalling needs, two out of three of the Church members are contributing nothing to Missions." ¹

How true this is of our own Communion we will see later ; at present, just let us think of the greater comparisons in passing. It has been estimated that more is spent in a year on golf-balls in Great Britain than on Foreign Missions ; and more still on Christmas cards. For every sovereign spent on missions, ninety-eight are spent on alcohol in this country. The building and equipment of a first-class modern battleship is about twice what the Church of England contributes to Foreign Missions in a year. More than thirteen times as much was spent last year on Old-age Pensions. Speaking at the Guildhall on June 30, 1908, the Bishop of London himself contrasted that year's income of the S.P.G. (£190,000) with the income-tax paid by the City of London—£40,000,000. Bishop Smythies said once : " I suppose the income of all missionary societies together is not more than that of one or two rich Churchmen. At least, it will be conceded that a man would hardly be considered extraordinarily rich, as things are now, if he spent an amount equal to the whole income of this Mission on his establishment and surroundings." ² And we know this is true.

But let us dare to do a little financial consideration for our own Church. The Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance averaged the voluntary gifts of the Church of England at £6,009,000 annually, which works out at 3·7 shillings per head of population. Now about half the population are members of the Church of England, which would double that percentage, at least in theory. Further, what is given by the Church to Foreign Missions is about one-tenth ³ of the whole voluntary offering, which shows

¹ Quoted in *The Churchman*, March 1912, p. 208.

² *Memoir*, p. 72.

³ It is interesting that the National Movements in U.S.A. have estimated already that their proportion ought to be two-thirds, approximately.

that the average contributions of members of our Church to Foreign Missions is about 9*d.* each in a year—less than most poor children even spend in sweets. It will be argued that what is given, is given by more definitely Church-members, and we will suppose that this is so. But if all that is given to Foreign Missions in a year be divided up among the Easter Communicants alone, it amounts to only 7*s.* each—roughly, 1½*d.* a week. How little this is we might well illustrate by the fact that a person who gave God His tenth out of an income of only a pound a week, and who gave to this cause of that tenth the proportion of one-tenth which the Church of England sets aside for Foreign Missions, would give even so in a year 3*s.* more than the present average per communicant. As a matter of fact of course one has only to take up the annual Missionary Report of any rural deanery in the Kingdom to see how utterly unreal is this division. It is thought that nine-tenths of the money given is raised by one-tenth of the givers.¹ One penny a week in a missionary box is 4*s.* 4*d.* a year, which in a congregation of one hundred adults is £21 13*s.* 4*d.* as a total; and every missionary deputation knows many churches in which he speaks which give less than that per year. Let the reader take a statement for the rural deanery in which he lives, and think things out on this average. It is said that half the parishes of the Church of England do nothing as parishes for missions, and it is certainly true that half of these do nothing adequately. And those which do most would be the first to admit that.

Take one illustration. In the "Annual Report" for this year of the U.M.C.A. there are two pages which, since nobody seems ashamed to see in print, none of us need be ashamed to investigate. They are a record of what the two leading universities did last year (1911) for their own special Mission to Central Africa. The whole of Oxford produced only eleven undergraduates giving 10*s.* or over as a subscription; the number at Cambridge is not printed. Only

¹ *H.B.*, p. 151.

three Oxford colleges were able to collect, apart from these, undergraduate subscriptions which exceeded in total the generous sum of £3, but Oxford beat Cambridge, for there, there were only two! Not a church in Cambridge, and only three colleges in both universities together, gave a collection of £10! Half the Cambridge colleges have, apparently, no undergraduate subscription list at all; and one great college, declared by Macaulay in a famous saying to be a third university, gives less than £4 10s. in college subscriptions plus the chapel collection. Some of the Oxford figures are more inconceivable still; but Oxford men may discover them for themselves. The conclusion is that under the headings of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, less than £760 were subscribed to the Universities' Mission last year, and there can be no question but that this could be quadrupled without anyone feeling a particular burden.

As one considers the money given by our Church to Foreign Missions, a verse of no particular beauty but of very considerable truth, seems a fitting commentary:—

“ ‘What can I spare?’ we say. ‘Ah! this and this
 From mine array I am not like to miss!
 And here are crumbs to feed some hungry one,
 Which do but lie a cumbrance on my shelf’;
 And yet we read the Father gave the Son,
 And JESUS gave Himself.”

Sum it up again. Surely it is not an exaggeration to say that out of every three members of our Church, two give nothing to Foreign Missions. And out of every £10 which the Church has given her to spend, £9 is spent on work at home. Yet where is there most to do? Where are there fewest to do it? Where does it cost most to get it done? And where has Satan set his battle in strongest array?

III

Yet another kind of investigation is open to us as we consider the Home Base, and that is by way of a comparison with other home bases. Of course any such comparison can easily be criticised on the ground of different environments, policies, and opportunities, and yet even so there is much left to provide us with food for reflection. We have no space to make anything like a detailed comparison, but take two or three points. Let the first be the place of missionary education in the colleges of the Church. If Foreign Missions are a primary work of the Church, candidates for Holy Orders ought to be instructed in them even if they themselves at the time do not expect to go abroad, for they are not likely either to support or to go if there is no kind of knowledge behind them.

The Edinburgh Commission inquired of thirty-four leading English theological colleges, including those of the Church of England, what was being done to instruct candidates for Holy Orders in missionary politics. It was not an exhaustive list, but of those thirty-four, only four were attempting to give definite and systematic instruction apart from incidental references and allusions.¹ "The general opinion," too, seemed to be that such teaching was "superfluous." That it is considered superfluous, indeed, by the theological faculties of our universities does not seem open to doubt. But in America 50 per cent. of such colleges make the study of missions an integral part of the required curriculum, and about 20 per cent. more have elective courses.² Seven large universities or seminaries have full or partly missionary professorships (one an Episcopal seminary), and two others have missionary instructorships. Yale University has a "Professor of the Theory and Practice of Missions," and Hartford provides definite courses of lectures on the science and methods and sociology of missions.³ College

¹ *H.B.*, p. 170.

² *H.B.*, p. 174.

³ *H.B.*, pp. 175-6.

after college has a missionary library or definitely organised voluntary classes ; and although much remains to be done there can be no doubt how far short we come. Even in Europe¹ things are far ahead of us at home. Students for the ministry of the Reformed Church of Holland have studied missions as a matter of course since 1877 ; the Free Church theological faculties in Switzerland arrange professorial lectures regularly ; it is the same with the universities of Copenhagen, Norway, Upsala, and the two faculties of theology at Paris and Montauban ; and at Halle University there is a professorship of missions. So much for men.

The result of all this is that new organisations have sprung into being in America and in Protestant Europe, which have not only revived the missionary question but added enormously to the missionary exchequer. Movements like that of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union (which has turned the thoughts of more than 3000 students on missions, and helped the sailing of a total greater than that of all the missionary priests of our own communion) of the Study Band Organisation, and of the Laymen's Missionary Movement (of which more later), originated in America. They have proved their worth by their effect on balance sheets. In Canada, for example, the increase in voluntary offerings has been as follows² :—

<i>Communion.</i>	<i>In Year 1907.</i>	<i>In Year 1909.</i>
Presbyterian . . .	£94,415 . . .	£133,193
Methodist . . .	£101,882 . . .	£126,751
Baptist . . .	£41,341 . . .	£52,400

The comparative figures for the Anglican Communion there are not to hand, but in 1909 the total was £65,677, " a most gratifying increase." The city of Toronto, alone, under the influence of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, provides the following wonderful example of improvement and growth³ :—

¹ *H.B.*, pp. 177-9.

² *H.B.*, p. 194.

³ *H.B.*, p. 194.

<i>Communion.</i>	<i>In Year 1907.</i>	<i>In Year 1909.</i>
Presbyterian . . .	£9,264 . . .	£22,322
Methodist . . .	£12,350 . . .	£20,550
Baptist . . .	£4,605 . . .	£12,175

And yet against this we have to set the official record for our own Home Base : “ *It would appear that for the last ten years the voluntary offerings of the Church have been practically stationary.*”¹

Or we may put it in another way. What our rather American report calls “the average receipts per Church member from living donors,” for the missionary work of the various Christian bodies, runs as follows² :—

		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>At Home.</i>	Wesleyan Methodist ³ . . .	5	9½
	The Baptist Union ⁴ . . .	3	5¼
<i>In Canada.</i>	Presbyterian . . .	3	5
	Methodists . . .	2	6½
<i>In U.S.A.</i>	Protestant Episcopal . . .	2	8
	Baptist . . .	2	7¾
	Congregational . . .	4	1¾
	Presbyterian . . .	4	2½
<i>In Europe.</i>	Moravian . . .	5	0

It is hard indeed to arrive at our own ; but a calculation based on the figures of the Church Finance Report and Supplementary Volume makes it difficult to think that the average adult contribution in the Church of England is as large as any of these. It is probably about 2s. 4d.

We have said nothing about Roman Catholic Missions here, because their methods are so different from our own ; but there can be no question as to their effectiveness. For it is when one considers, so to speak, the relative value of the Church of England at home and abroad that the effect of all this becomes apparent. At home there is no question that we play a large part in Protestant circles, and we hope much for our influence in Catholic circles too. Abroad,

¹ *A.C.C.F. Report*, p. 6.

² See *H.B.*, p. 152 ff.

³ England.

⁴ Great Britain and Ireland.

when we study (which we rarely do) comparative missionary figures, the reverse is apparent. Missionary supporters of our work at home have no idea what is being done by other bodies; but if they had, they would realise to what an extent our Home Base wants looking to. Here is a rough and necessarily short review. In Japan there are some 60,000 Romans, 30,000 Greeks, 45,000 Protestants, and 15,000 Anglicans.¹ In China the Roman Catholic is about three and a half times the Protestant total, and of this *latter*, the Anglican is about one-tenth.² In China there are more native Chinese Roman Catholic priests than in either the C.M.S. or S.P.G. throughout the world.³ In Korea, where there has been such a revival lately, in 1910 some 200,000 Christians were registered with U.S.A. Protestant missions, the Romans had some 100,000; and Bishop Trollope remarked sadly on our 6,000.⁴ In Burmah, in 1908, Bishop Knight compared his 32 missionaries with the 212 Roman and 177 Baptist, and the figures give 98,000 Protestants, 30,000 Romans and 10,000 Anglicans.⁵ In our own India, native Christians stand as seven Romans, three Protestants, one Syrian, and one Anglican in every twelve.⁶ Africa is hard to estimate; but beginning with Uganda, perhaps our most remarkable mission, we find 70,000 Anglicans, as many Protestants, and 181,000 Romans.⁷ Acholi-land has seventy Roman priests and not one Anglican.⁷ In Natal the Roman schools so outnumber the Anglican that, we are told, the choice before a parent, practically lies between Government or Roman. In the South African Province, Protestants and Anglicans are about equal⁸; but in West Africa, the Anglican Church with some 50,000 negroes, is touched by Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and Lutherans with 100,000.⁹ Speaking for the whole of Africa, the Roman Church is probably at least

¹ *First A.R.*, p. 42.

³ *Fourth A.R.*, p. 44.

⁵ *First A.R.*, pp. 31, 33.

⁷ See *The Churchman*, June 1912.

⁹ *First A.R.*, pp. 3, 11.

² *First A.R.*, p. 39.

⁴ *Third A.R.*, p. 135.

⁶ *First A.R.*, 31.

⁸ *First A.R.*, pp. 6, 11.

four times as strong as Protestants and Anglicans together.¹ Indeed, the conclusion of the whole matter is that of the Bishop of Singapore for his diocese : " It is sad to see our Church numerically far weaker than the Roman Catholics and Methodists."²

Of course it is true that figures count for little in spiritual things ; but reasons have already been given why they cannot be overlooked. And the conclusion seems about as clear as it well can be. As we look at our Home Base, we can see that the proportion of things is utterly wrong to begin with, and that the Foreign Missionary Cause has still enormous headway to make amongst Church of England people. As we look at other people's home bases, we can see that our support comes short in knowledge and in method, and that the results of these things in religion are what they usually are in secular affairs. We may thank God for all that is being done in the name of Christ abroad, and especially that the conception of the Catholic Faith through the life-giving Sacraments is being so universally propagated by the Roman Catholic Church ; but dare we stop at that ? What is our place in the Kingdom ? Has God given us our enormous wealth as a country and our enormous possessions as an empire in order that we may play a tenth-rate part in the Christianising of the world, or have we to confess that the English Church has not and cannot have an appreciable place in the wealth, spirit, and opportunity of the English people ?

IV

From the study of things as they are, we turn to the study of things as they might be, and here indeed there is hope. There is hope for every reason. There is hope when we think that, after all, the Church of England has not been alive to missions in any real sense for much more

¹ *First A.R.*, p. 12.

² *Fourth A.R.*, p. 103.

than the lifetime of our fathers, and that she cannot be said as yet to have even come in sight of the end of her resources. When we think that if we sent abroad as foreign missionaries the same percentage of our present Easter communicants only as that which the Moravian Church sends of theirs, and that if we supported them at the same rate as that now reached through the Laymen's Missionary Movement by twenty-three representative Churches of the Presbyterians in Southern U.S.A., we should put in the field an army of 37,000 persons supported by about £5,000,000; then, indeed, we cannot consider our present 2,800 and £850,000 the limit of what is possible. But the striking thing is that the need of the mission-field at present is nothing like so great as this at a "reasonable" estimate. In 1908, the United Board of Missions communicated with the Anglican dioceses abroad inquiring as to the minimum number of labourers immediately required for the efficient staffing of these dioceses; and although all did not reply by 1909 (or apparently later) the Lambeth Encyclical Letter¹ for that year calculated the men at 576, and the second Annual Report² the support for 500 of them at £55,000. We might take 600 and £65,000 as a working figure. Could the Church of England make this addition to her missionary forces? We think she could. The money alone *might* be raised with great simplicity. There are not very many Easter Communicants who *could* not give an extra $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a week to missions, and by far the greater number could do so and scarcely feel it. Yet reckoning this as 2s. a head in the year, we should increase our treasury by £223,000, or by about three and a half times what was estimated. And as to men and women, what then? Is it a case that we have not got them or that they will not go? Perhaps it is possible to decide if we ask reverently of ourselves, What would be possible if our Blessed Lord Himself were here to direct us, to call, and to inspire us? Yet is He not here? And as we realise

¹ *Lambeth Encyclical Letter*, 1908, p. 95.

² *Second A.R.*, p. ix.

this, we realise that all that our Church wants, after all, is a vision of the Master and His Cross. Let the fact be deeply engraven on our hearts that there is material in the Church of England alone to evangelise the world in this generation. Dare anyone deny it? It is the spirit only that we lack.

When the Church was young, the Lord Himself, walking then as now, amid the candlesticks of the churches, sent a message to Smyrna.¹ Smyrna was "the ornament of Asia," one of the fairest and noblest cities of Ionia, commanding the trade-wealth of the Levant. The Church in the city had been trodden down and her Master knew her "tribulation"; but as the message dwells on her poverty, there comes the striking reminder: "*But thou art rich!*" We might well say the same to our own communion: "Thou art rich!" There can be no doubt, says the commentator, that "rich" here means "rich *in grace*," but that is precisely all the riches required for the winning of the world. Rich grace means rich gold as well. Cast up your accounts in the light of that valuation which reckoned a widow's copper as gold pieces,² and you will see how rich you and your parish or our Church might be.

V

To turn to the whole Church and ask deliberately "What are we to do?" seems indeed like presumption; but we must remember that the spirit of God dwells in the whole Body and that no earthly head, any more than the great Head, can say to the least member, "I have no need of thee."³ The great movements of the past towards faith and love have come about when the whole body stirred, and not when the head only was moved; and each of us is concerned to bring this about. It is after all *public opinion* that is the dead weight in the Church of England. We most of us blame the bishops for our ills, but the

¹ Rev. ii. 8.

² St. Mark, xii. 42, 43.

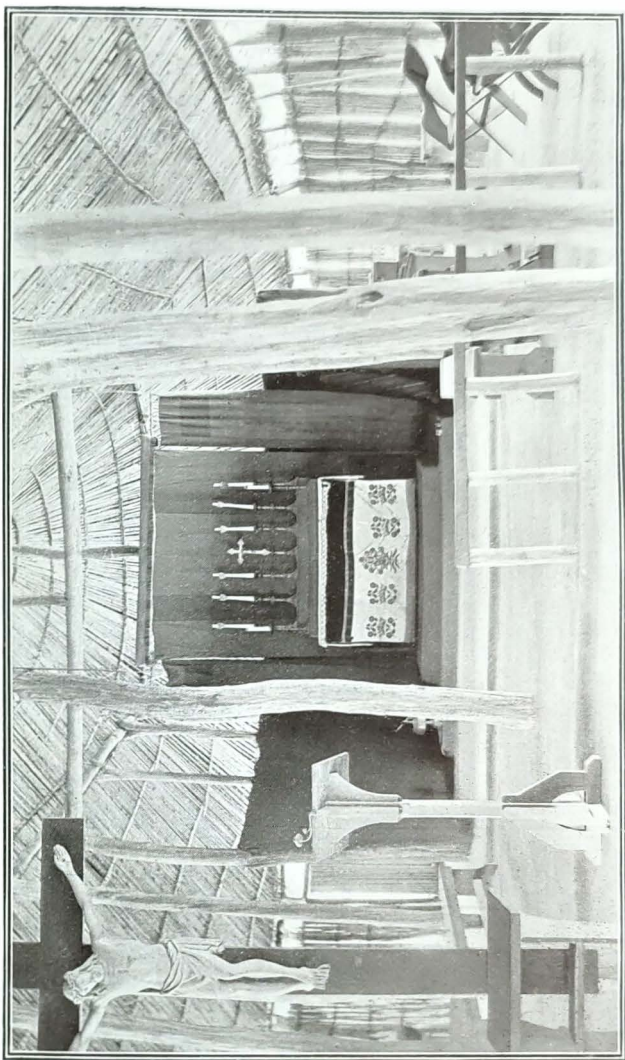
³ I Cor. xii.

bishops as a whole are hampered by the people behind them. It is we—*we*—who have got to think, and speak out our thoughts, and act. We can trust them to guide.

We will turn, then, to our Church as a whole, leaving the parish for another section, and consider what seems to need doing among us. First, the missionary education of the clergy stands right in the foreground. It was, of course, but the other day when candidates for ordination passed from Varsity to parish scarcely hearing of Foreign Missions. We may thank God that that is past, but we have got headway to make up. The science of the Missions of the Church ought surely to have a prominent place in the curriculum of every theological college. Not only does the story of foreign missionary effort make up the new Acts of the Apostles, providing illustration of every Christian virtue, and offering encouragement as no other to Christian living, but also a Church is only alive when it is keen on Missions. An artist, asked to draw a poor church, drew the picture of a magnificent building, decorated richly within and without, with a box at the door marked "Foreign Missions" and a *spider's web over the slot*. Giving is the law of getting in the kingdom of Christ. It is a practically invariable rule that where you find an eager, working, zealous congregation, with money for all its funds, there you find a missionary congregation.

But there is this other rule too. The half-dozen pages of the Edinburgh Conference Review of the Home Base which deal with the missionary training of candidates for the ministry are among the most interesting in the book. There is every sort of testimony that a keen missionary Church turns on the possession of keen missionary priests. One bishop writes¹: "Almost without exception, real leadership upon the part of the priest arouses the congregation;" another: "I can follow the trail of missionary pastors, as they have moved, from congregation to congregation, by aroused missionary effort and zeal." But

¹ *H.B.*, pp. 162-168.



A REED CHURCH (LUWATALA)

we do not need bishops to tell us what we have seen with our eyes. Nor do we need anyone else to tell us that priests who do not know about missions are not keen on them, and that there are plenty of priests who do not know. We have got to pray and work to bring about that condition of affairs which surely ruled the apostolic Church, when the spread of the Gospel was realised as the primary work of the Church, when men counted it glory to be called to exile or death in witness to it, and when it was difficult to imagine a member who was not a missionary too. Times and conditions have changed. But when a priest and his people see always the vision of their Lord in the distant fields, he does not lack for helpers nor they for means. And "the Church never fails to respond when the minister gives due attention to the cause of Missions."

Secondly, the next thing for which we must work and pray is the getting of some better method into the missionary organisation of the Home Church. The great outstanding feature of our Home Base is, of course, the existence of societies through which the Church is said to work, and we do admit that "if every member of the Church realised personal responsibility for extending the Master's Kingdom at home and abroad the present situation would not have arisen in England. It was the lack of it that brought the societies into existence, for else Foreign Missions would have been neglected."¹ But despite this, we, who are of to-day and have to look to the future, must recognise that the societies have got to pass. Every competent authority admits that they stand for "overlapping," and that money is wasted in society organisation and society campaigning which would be spent far better by one superintending authority.² More than this, missionary effort is placed on "a wrong footing in the estimation of too many, as though it were simply a matter of choice and a response to the efforts of rival agencies rather than a fulfilment of a plain command from our Lord JESUS

¹ *Lambeth Encyclical*, p. 118.

² *First A.R.*, p. 55.

Christ." And yet worse, the societies tend to play within the Church the part which sects play outside her. We cannot but admit that the Church of England stands for something other than a rigid uniformity in religion, and that she admits a humility in the presence of the Christian mysteries that accepts and adores without seeking to probe and lay bare. The only lessons which our diversity as diversity can teach the world are those of love and sympathy and submission, and the giving of these to the world is possible only when we work as a Church together. Now the societies have conserved in great measure those very elements which the Church of England exists to suppress ; and the danger is eminent all over the world in national churches which are growing into being as the work of societies, and which tend to wear the dress and breathe the spirit, not of the Church, but of parties within her. Because of these things, we welcome the saying that " the age when missionary societies worked more or less in watertight compartments has passed away never to return ; " and may that day soon come " when there will be a unification of societies, and when these, acting as one body, will form the Foreign Office of the Church." ¹

What remains for us to set right, working from below, to produce that change of viewpoint that shall compel a reform above, is the whole conception of the Church's attitude to missions. We will see this, practically, in regard to the two divisions of men and money.

(a) In the past, various selected preachers or writers have endeavoured to move individuals to that pitch of enthusiasm which will take them to the office of the society which the preacher or writer represents, cap in hand, saying " Please send me ! " There is a certain charm about such voluntary effort ; and if Christ had said to the societies, " Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all the nations," and if His Church consisted of some thousands of pious individuals scattered up and down

¹ See *Second A.R.*, p. x.

the nation without unity or organisation, then, indeed, there would be nothing to say. But men do not become Christians and then join a Church ; they become Christians by being baptised into the Body of the Lord, the Bride of Christ, the living unity of the Church, herself commissioned as a Prophet to prepare the way of the Lord. It is the Church which should first take stock of the task before her and of the resources within her, and should then herself detail her members for the work she feels that they should do. What a muddle we have got into is only too clearly seen if we remember that for some generations our priests have been drawn almost entirely from one class, that they have passed from the classical and exclusive atmosphere of public school and university to the parishes they have themselves selected, and that for the most part they would have resented their bishop's considering where they ought to go, or what they ought to do. This has been partially set right, but not entirely. The way to the front is still through a training which at the best, except in perhaps one or two missionary colleges, is the kind of training considered necessary for England, and the money required for it is still a personal matter or one dependent on private charity. Every keen missionary priest knows that this is so. Up and down our country are men in mills and shops and trades with the hearts and desires of missionaries, and who, because they themselves have met the Lord on the shore, are the kind of men the world beyond is wanting ; and yet they are absolutely daunted nine times out of ten, because of what must be. The road to the normal priesthood is still by way of traditional studies they cannot perform, involving also the expenditure of a sum utterly beyond them, and the way to the missionary priesthood and lay service in addition, is by way of subscription to the party views of this society or that. Until we recognise that it is neither necessary to be familiar with the kings of Israel and Judah nor to read the New Testament in Greek in order to witness for

JESUS Christ to a heathen world, we shall remain a tenth-rate force at the front and a paralysed Church at home.

Yet what might be done even under these conditions is illustrated by the work, for example, of Father Murray at Longton, Staffs., a pottery parish of 5,000 people. Three lads from that parish are ordained and two are laymen in the mission-field, while seven more are in " The Vicarage Hostel." These boys came literally and absolutely from the mine and the shop, and the beginning of the Hostel was in the vicarage stable. It has cost and is costing about £70 each per year, but its collection is undertaken as a parochial business, and that poor parish feels itself to be a missionary centre as it gives and helps to train its own boys. And Longton is only one illustration of hundreds which show that a missionary congregation is a flourishing congregation, for in addition to this, Father Murray has raised and spent some £10,500 on church buildings, increased the endowment and the clerical staff, changed a communicant roll of 60 to 600, and a Sunday-school of 100 to 900, and altered his church collections from £26 per annum to £300 !

(b) The raising of money has been on similar lines. Hitherto our method has been to ask people of their charity to support this or that mission ; instead, the Church herself ought to look at her own wealth and say : " This proportion *ought* to be given to this work." The Province of South Africa has already adopted this principle, and each parish is assessed at a rate proportionate to its wealth ; but what has been already referred to as the Laymen's Missionary Movement in Canada and the U.S.A. is the best illustration of it. This began in a growing feeling, which manifested itself during the years 1902-1906, that missionary methods were wrong, and that *the laymen* of the Churches were the people who ought to say themselves what their part *ought* to be in the evangelisation of the world. This feeling was focused in November 1906 at a great intercession service in New York, which called into existence a central board,

to be not a new missionary society, but simply a laymen's convocation "to emphasise everywhere that mission work is the supreme *business* of the Church, urging the clergy, as the recognised leaders of the Church, to assume their rightful place of leadership," to promote an "adequate missionary policy" of assessment in all local Churches, and to encourage laymen of position and influence to visit mission centres, study mission politics, and advocate in public and in private the cause of evangelisation. The outcome of this has been, in the States, the acceptance of a National Missionary Policy by a National Missionary Congress of 4,000 registered delegates representing twenty millions of Church members, which has deliberately faced, nationally, the evangelisation of the world, set itself to quadruple its workers, and to raise £9,000,000 annually.¹ It is quite impossible to do other than recognise in this a movement utterly beyond parallel in the history of Christianity.² Whatever we think of it, and whatever comes of it, it is a landmark in the history of religion.

In Canada, our own communion has organised its own Laymen's Movement with the same principles and on the same lines. We read that "instead of the time-honoured missionary sermons by the incumbent and the deputation, there have been heart-to-heart talks of laymen; instead of the ineffective canvassing by women and children, there have been the vigorous and fruitful canvasses by men; and instead of the annual collection, to be shunned by the uninterested, there has been the regular weekly or monthly offering for missions. . . . By these means *the general missionary income of the Church has quadrupled in the last ten years.*"³ And we can examine this closely. Each diocese set itself to estimate what, considering its wealth, it *ought* to give, and a review of four years shows that *the vision* grew in each centre, and that, if not realised in full, an enormous advance, *even over the first estimate*,

¹ Instead of £2,200,000 as before.

² See for this, *H.B.*, pp. 182-191.

³ *Third A.R.*, p. 5.

was made. So Algoma in 1906, apportioned itself at £360, and got it; but by 1910 the apportionment had been doubled, and the sum obtained was £625; Caledonia began with £40, and ended by estimating £120 and getting £122; Columbia did the same with figures £200, £400, and £486; Toronto began with £4,935, of which she got £4,743; but in 1910 she apportioned herself at £6,760 and got £7,003.¹ Of course it is not always done as well as this, but the result is practically always a great advance. So Qu'Appelle which apportioned herself at £200 in 1906, and now aims at £800, falls far below that figure; but her £448 of 1910 is two and a quarter times what she gave in 1906. There cannot be much doubt that if some sort of a like plan were adopted at home, a great increase in our giving would appear.

To sum up this second point, then, we want to wake the Church to take cognisance of her own missionary affairs. We must work and pray for the time in which each diocesan synod shall recognise that it has a primary duty in the evangelisation of the world, and that it must administer its own diocese on practical and reasonable lines. The Church as a whole must be moved to form, support, and order missionary training colleges in which any man or woman may realise his or her vocation, and above all, though we have said but little of it, to encourage the formation and rule the activities of missionary orders like those of the past, which are the legitimate expression of individual characteristics in the Catholic Church. Let us be bold and say that we want our Benedictines, our Redemptionists, and our Jesuits. God, indeed, alone can give the call, but the Church has to see to it that she makes easy its expression, and encourages men to listen for it.

Thirdly, as we look at our Home Base, we must see that there is one great hampering fault at the bottom of most of our infirmities. A good deal has been said about laymen already, but there still remains more to say, for a big step

¹ *A.C.C.F. Supplement*, p. 136.

towards the solution of the missionary problem lies in the making use of laymen. The gross phraseology of Hanoverian religion actually spoke of the reception of Holy Orders as the "going into the Church"; and as the spirit of true Catholicism increases among us we have got to remember that this is not set right by merely teaching what is meant by the Sacrament of Holy Baptism. We have to follow that up by teaching that "the going into the Church" at Baptism means the reception of a real kind of "orders." The whole body of the Church is priestly, *i.e.* is called upon to serve, and although the priesthood has certain ordered functions which the layman cannot fulfil, the layman has duties with which the priest ought not to be occupied. We hear a great deal about the shortage of clergy at home, but what we ought to hear about is the scandalous use of clergy for lay purposes! It is probably not untrue to say that the greater number of the clergy of the Church of England spend three-quarters of their time doing work which laymen could do. It is no doubt ideal to have priests taking mothers' meetings, directing boy scouts, and smoking at night in men's clubs, in addition to the administration of the Sacraments and preaching of the Word; but so long as the Church faces an unevangelised world it must not be. A parish of 600 communicants in the mission-field is lucky if it has one priest; at home such a parish often has four. If the 20,000 English priests confined themselves to distinctly priestly work, the overseas dioceses would not have long to wait for their 600. With *laymen* visiting from house to house and running clubs and guilds, priests would be set free. It is true that if laymen did these things the sacramental life of our Church would increase manifold—but so would the numbers of candidates for Holy Orders. Let us preserve the Divine order, and the Divine command will be fulfilled.

The Rev. Cyril Bardsley of the C.M.S. gives an illustration of what is meant. He tells of a Bible-class which had been administered for many years by a priest towards

whose stipend the class contributed £35. That class saw the Vision of a needy world ; met, prayed, and, acting deliberately, agreed to do without the luxury of a chaplain and to give double the amount to mission work. In the event their self-sacrifice has been repaid spiritually over and over to the men themselves, while they now support a man in the field with a salary of £135. And that is but a parable of what we might do. Mr. Bardsley adds : It is the Church in a very real sense that loseth its life that shall save it.

It is of course an old dispute whose fault the inactivity of so many laymen is. But we are men of to-day, and we are not concerned with old mistakes. We keep several universities of technical scholars to preserve history for us, and there is no need for us to interfere with their vocation. What concerns us is the present need, and the gate leading into the city that seems open as if by angel hands. The Laymen's Movement taught our brethren in the North-West to say not only : " Will Canada evangelise her share of the world ? " but, " Canada can, and will." A like task lies before us, to see that at least no part of that which is England's Empire lacks the Gospel of the Catholic Church in England. But only the whole Body can do it.

And as we finish thinking of what might be done in the Church as a whole, let us remember in what spirit it must be attempted. If the riches of England permitted her to give liberally without self-sacrifice, England would be poor indeed. As it is, it is that spirit of self-sacrifice for which we must pray and work in our Church. A girl in a mill at Liverpool last Lent, who was accustomed to receive 2d. a day to buy a relish for the bread given her for meals, gave it all to missions and walked on that dry bread backwards and forwards her many miles daily in the spirit surely of the saints. A poor umbrella-maker and his wife, in another northern town, who have often looked the grimmest poverty in the face, fastened a missionary box

to their counter last year and dropped in the money for every ferule put on a stick or umbrella, and a penny for every umbrella covered. It was a great resolve to make ; but when the writer was surprised at the amount obtained, the woman said that they had done the best business they had ever known that dry year. Here is the faith that overcomes the world. When the Church has learnt thoroughly the lesson of self-sacrifice, the evangelisation of the world in this generation will be more than a hope.

VI

How does all this affect the parish ? As we look at our own, we must remember that although we may play but a small and unimportant part in it, that is no reason why we should not, first reforming ourselves, work and pray to influence our parish. Remembering this, let us review our wider thoughts with an eye to their expression in the smaller unit.

First, study stands out, as it must do, in all our calculations. The existence of the very band which is reading these lines is a possibility of great things to come, for this band ought to spread the study principle, as has been already indicated in our " Introduction." More than this, the study band itself may become a standing committee to form other bands and to help forward the spread of missionary knowledge in the various parochial organisations ; and since the people who know, and the people who *can* study, are the very people for it, this study-band committee ought to be able to undertake many other missionary adventures in the parish. Let them set themselves to see that their parish gets convinced that its primary work is to help to evangelise the world. They can organise missionary meetings not to hear a tired-out missionary deputation, but to look the missionary problem in the face in a practical spirit ; or work for adequate instruction in the Sunday-school ; or watch over the missionary literature of the

parish ; or obtain permission to have a notice-board in the church illustrating missionary progress abroad week by week. And still more, they can begin to push for the recognition of that principle we have discussed so much—namely, that each parish ought to assess itself at a reasonable rate instead of collecting for missions haphazard.

The first step towards that is to assess oneself. A poor woman in the States used to give a dollar a year ; but when asked to assess herself at 5 cents weekly—about two and a half times as much in the year—she said at once that she could give 10 cents. A Sunday-school which began to work on those lines, increased its giving to missions from £80 to the splendid sum of £387. Let each of us decide on a like principle, and we shall be surprised at what can be. Then work for its introduction into the parish. One Church called a missionary council and decided at once that they ought to give about twice what they were in the habit of giving, and began at once to work towards it. One way is by the envelope scheme, in which all Church-members are invited to contribute a fixed sum of money, proportionate to their means and determined by themselves, as a subscription towards the support of Church and parish. Those who respond receive a packet of specially provided and numbered envelopes (52, 12, or 4) in which they place weekly, monthly, or quarterly offerings.¹ The amounts received are known only to the secretary, the giver, and God. The envelope may be made double, one division for foreign and the other for home work, and it may be presented at some special Eucharist. This is only one of many ways before us in which we can fulfil the duty of obedience to our Lord's last command.

But none of these things can come about until the parish is at prayer—real prayer—for missions. Surely no parish ought to be without a weekly offering of the Holy Eucharist for *Foreign Missions* ; and it is well to remember that if a

¹ The effect of this on the ordinary collections is discussed in *A.C.C.F.*, pp. 75, 76.

parish has not got that Celebration, it lies within the reach of most study bands to get it. If the eight members go to their parish priest and ask for it, pledging themselves to be there, not many parish priests will refuse. Could not this be done fortnightly or monthly, if not weekly? It is a most striking thing that the Edinburgh Report, coming as it did from many men in no sense Catholic in practice, nevertheless contains this comment on missionary prayer: "The Holy Communion has from apostolic times formed part of the weekly, frequently the daily, worship of the Catholic Church, and the liturgies of East and West which enshrine this Holy Sacrament, abounding as they do in petition, supplication, adoration, and intercession, have reared up countless souls in the habit and practice of prayer."¹

Certain days might be consecrated in the parish to missionary prayer. S. Andrew's Day will surely have its place, but we hear, for instance, of one Anglican Society whose Girls' Movement sets aside three half-hours on Good Friday for missionary intercession. The feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary might well be so kept throughout the year, and surely we could not honour Her better who gave Her son and Her life, in a real sense, for the world. But prayer must not stop at this. The S.P.G. already circulates quarterly 113,000 copies of its little Intercession paper; but even if like papers attain with it to a circulation of 250,000 that does not reach one in eight of our Easter communicants. Here is work for a study circle to do. And yet we might do more. Formal prayer, in the good sense of that word, must be the backbone of the Church's life; but when we are really living it does not stop at that. Let little groups of praying people be formed among the lay-folk, to pray with the simplicity of apostolic days, in the strength of the promise to two or three. Why should not our churches be used for this? There are many convenient hours of the

¹ *H.B.*, p. 11.

day when a reverent little band might meet, with permission, in the quiet of the Lady chapel, or of a side aisle, with a leader voicing the silent petitions of the rest who respond with the familiar: " We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord." If we are to win the world we must get rid of our formality, and fall back on our need and our God.

But there has already appeared in print¹ a contrast which is worth quoting here. Is it not true?

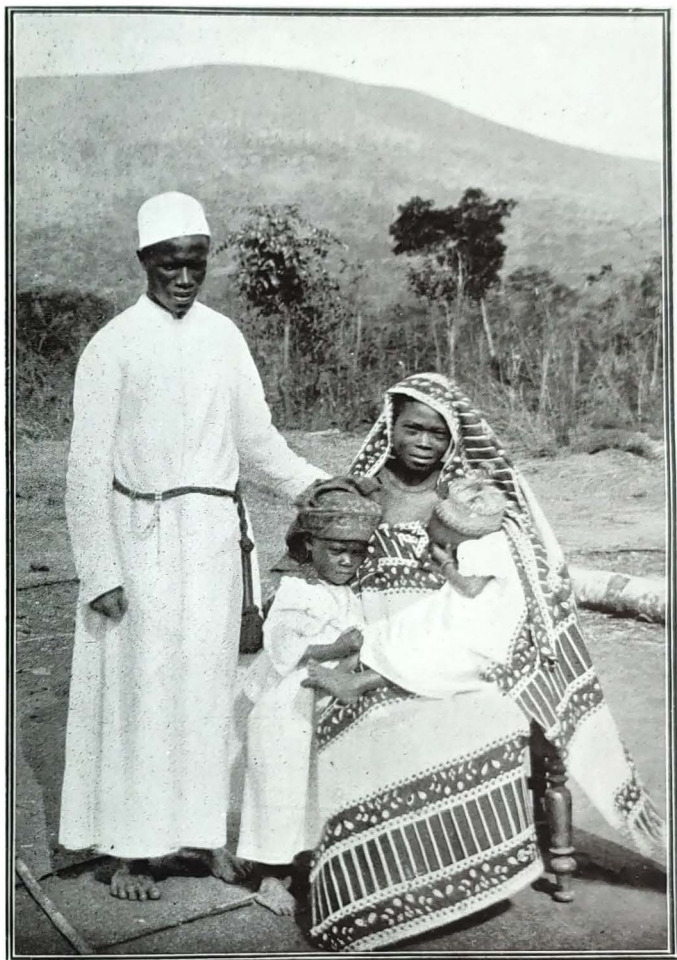
" Twelve o'clock sounds from the grey tower of the parish church—the Litany is over and some of the scanty congregation hurry away, but a faithful few stay behind for the missionary intercessions. They are scattered over the nave and only a faint murmur is heard in response to the clauses in the Cuddesdon Manual of Missionary Intercessions read by the Rector, and yet this small congregation represents the 11,000 parishioners of the parish church. They have done their best, but it seems a feeble attack on the principalities and powers and rulers of the darkness of this world.

" It is the last Monday of the month at Msalabani; the church bell rings and in a few minutes the quadrangle and upper and lower schools are absolutely deserted, but the church is full of boys—out-school teachers, Hegongo pupil teachers and mission workers, because it is the day for intercessions and no one is willingly absent. One of the cantors starts a metrical Litany (A. & M. 468) and all join in the refrain:—

' Twakuomba, twakuomba,
Tulinde na maovu
Utupe neema yako!'

" After the first verse the priest-in-charge offers thanksgivings and every voice responds. ' We thank Thee, we bless Thee, O God.' Groups of petitions and prayers follow each successive verse of the Litany for the Church Catholic, for Christians, for sinners, for catechumens and hearers,

¹ In *Central Africa*, September 1911.



REV. KOLUMBA MSIGALA AND FAMILY

and for the heathen and Mohammedans. The responses come with much of the fervour of the early Christians described by Justin Martyr ; for the Africans realise to the full that it is a hand-to-hand struggle between Christianity and heathendom and that only prayer will help them to win through."

It is perhaps hard for many at home to see heathenism as some see it who have been but just brought out of darkness into light, or as others who have come from light to look that darkness in the face. But true prayer takes us to the throne of God whereon is the "Lamb as It had been slain." And as we look on that slain Lamb there may pass *into* us a love which can mingle with that offered already for the sins of the whole world, and there can pass *out* of us a spirit not our own to purify, to quicken, and to pave.

VII

As we close this study, there is one thought, linked easily with our last, which must not be omitted. Perhaps the greatest barrier to the development of the reorganisation and revivification of the Home Base, and hence to the accomplishment of the Church's missions, is our disunion. Something already has been said about it ; but the great fact is that if Christianity is to be world-saving, Christianity must be world-wide, and to be world-wide, Christianity must be one. The accomplishment of this unity ought to lie nearest the heart of Catholics since it lay nearest the Heart of their Lord ; and the possibility of its realisation has been shown to us increasingly as bound up with the missionary cause. Movements like those we have been advocating tend to this. For the Laymen's Movement in Canada it has been said : "The far-reaching importance of the real missionary problems which it has set itself to solve . . . has revealed a unity among us that was not otherwise apparent, and has opened up channels of

co-operation that would otherwise have remained closed. East and West, high and low, have thus been brought together in the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace.¹ A lay movement among our University undergraduates, full of encouragement as it is, has no greater promise than that revealed in the fulfilment of the hope in which it started, a hope expressed in these words: "The Campaign Movement launched itself because it was believed that in this, the primary aim of the Church, there was no real disunion among Churchmen whose eyes were on the Cross of their Lord." As we read the history of the past it is not hard to find the cause of disunion; as we look into the future we can see that that disunion must disappear. We who are Catholics in practice have most to trust to as we look out across the world. If our Lord is in the Blessed Sacrament, will He not draw if He be lifted up, and will not the eyes of the child-nations, turning to the Father, see Him there? We are not going to compromise our position nor deny our faith, but we ought to bid our brethren come out with us where the fight is fiercest, content that in the stress of the battle the Lord will show, in and through us, the truth about Himself. We can prove that the Cross is best by putting on the badge; we can prove that the Sacraments are best by exhibiting the supernatural life; and we can win our brethren best by a policy of love. Nor is it only to be done in the foreign field; we must begin at home. This is the victory that overcomes the world; and in the day of certain triumph that is to be, the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church shall go out to meet her Lord with the old cry and none other:—

"NON NOBIS, DOMINE, NON NOBIS, SED NOMINI
TUO DA GLORIAM."

¹ *Third A.R.*, p. 6.

ASSIGNMENTS

A

1. Compare the proportion of priests to people at home and abroad.
2. What illustrations would you give a stranger to show that we spend too much money on ourselves and too little on carrying out our Lord's last command ?
3. Compare the home support of the missionary cause in England and America.
4. Explain what might be done to increase the number of missionary priests in the Church of England.
5. What is the Laymen's Missionary Movement, and what has it done in Canada.
6. In what ways do you think lay people might help the priests in your own parish more than they do ? Show how this kind of thing would affect the missionary work of the Church as a whole.
7. Describe an African Intercession Service. How do you pray for missions in your parish ? Do you think more might be done in this respect ? How ?
8. Why should missionary enthusiasm make towards unity among Church-people, and how does a true Catholic work for it ?

B

1. What is meant by saying that “ the foreign field is one with the home field ” ? What changes would require to be made among us to convert this idea into a reality ?
2. Consider theoretically what proportion of the Church's income ought to be given to Foreign Missions, stating the arguments that determine your opinion ; and criticise our present distribution of money in view of it.
3. What is the importance of the education in missionary matters of candidates for Holy Orders ? How far is it realised either at home or elsewhere ?
4. Criticise carefully “ the Society method ” of conducting Foreign Missions.

5. What principle does the idea of assessment stand for? Explain the schemes suggested for the adoption of this principle.

6. What is meant by " the priesthood of the laity " ? Test its reality among us.

7. Discuss the work suggested in this chapter for a study-band or a study-band committee in a parish, and improve on the schemes for local adaptation.

8. " To be world-saving . . . Christianity must be one." Discuss this.

CHAPTER VIII

“ THE CHRIST IN NEED ”

Objective.—A Study of the Divine Plan for the Evangelisation of the World.

Aim.—To present our Lord as in pain until satisfied by the surrender of the hearts of men.

Question.—Lord, what wouldest Thou have me to do ? ¹

Scripture Reading.—S. Matthew xxv. 31-46.

(The parable of a hungry, naked, prisoned Christ.)

SYNOPSIS

PARAGRAPH

- I. The place of this last study in our Course, the simplest “ philosophy of missions ” based on a plain command : reasons for that command, the exclusiveness of truth, and the Christian Faith “ The Truth.”
- II. A Plan of God considered : “ *Consummatum est*,” a purpose fulfilled when the Cross was reached, that purpose shown by the Sacred Name, the meaning of Sin, the salvation possible in Christ, and a parable of the Bridge from death to life.
- III. The Cross considered as marking the cessation of one aspect of God’s work : the silence of God, illustrated in the Mission Field, its difficulty of belief, the question of unevangelised heathen now dead, no ground for escape, the Witnessing Church its inevitable corollary, and a parable of our Lord’s dependence on men.

¹ If the plan suggested in the *Introduction* has been followed, and members of the Circle are used to answering these questions publicly, it would be better perhaps for this one to be asked by each in heart silently during a time of silent prayer, or written, unless the members are very friendly. It is not we who have to give the answer, and we can only write or say what we hear Him tell us to do,

PARAGRAPH

- IV. Christ's incarnation in the Body of the Church: His Need there—(1) of adequate expression, (2) in the person of those who want, an illustration from India of the latter, of the former in medical missions, and in the quality of missionaries.
- V. The argument that this is true of England as well, and "home heathen first" considered.
- VI. The share of the individual in the Plan: four considerations respecting it, and summary.
- VII. The Christ in Need found only in the place of the Cross, seen in the vision of the Cross, and heard in the call of the Cross.

"Thou sayest this sad day 'I thirst' again,
 And I, remembering how to ease Thy pain
 Some harsh-faced Roman stained and seared with war
 Gave Thee his vinegar
 (And earned a fuller comfort than he gave),
 Go forth to seek for Thee at Thy behest
 Not only such suave souls as please me best
 But rough, sour souls that Thou didst parch to save!"
 —*Arthur Shearly Cripps.*

I

OUR last three studies have been concerned with a presentation of the Need of the Church in East Africa, and with some attempt to estimate the resources possessed by the Church at home; but it does not do to end there. We have still one more chapter. The story of what has been done is heroic, viewed from whatever standpoint, but it still remains to inquire a little into the ultimate theory of Christian missions. And for this reason—that although there are many methods of proving the case, there is only one which will ever set in motion on an adequate scale those forces and potentialities which we reviewed as possibilities in our last chapter.

It is very necessary to arrive at this supreme argument, especially as it is so much more than an argument ; but it is as well to remind ourselves first how plain and simple is even the ordinary "philosophy of missions." To begin with, they are based on a command so definite, so oft repeated, and so authoritative that it alone is ample reason for the Church's missionary enthusiasm. This, and this by itself, sent out Bishop Mackenzie. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation"—so S. Mark gives the words ; and S. Matthew likewise : "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you." S. Luke records more fully a final conversation in which, like the widening circles in a pool disturbed by a stone, the preaching was to spread from Jerusalem to Judea, from Judea to Samaria, and from Samaria until it had reached the uttermost part of the earth. That it reached at least to the limits of the then known world within a century is the mere fact. By then the earliest Christian writer not included in the Canon of Holy Scripture had spoken of it as passing the mysterious bounds of the civilised world, and men were worshipping in a wattle-and-daub church on the site of Glastonbury. Other apostles had been swallowed up in the dim East. To them, to men who were slaves of Jesus Christ, there could be no argument against that plain command. They did not stay to ask if a heathen religion might not be good enough for heathen men ; and if the Gospel appeared anywhere to fail, the only possible conclusion was that it must be sent out again in the lips of better men. As Professor Armitage wrote¹ the other day : "The prow of Paul's ship, as he crossed the narrow Ægean that separates Asia from Europe, rent to tatters all the coward arguments against Christian missions that half-hearted disciples have framed from that day to this. There was every weighty argument save one against

¹ In the *Hibbert Journal*, July 1910.

his course, but that one outweighed them all : for he had been bought with a great price, and he accounted himself the bond-servant of Jesus Christ."

Why it is that the Gospel must be universally proclaimed is almost self-evident, for it claims for itself that it is a unique and universal Gospel. It is undoubtedly true that truth has many facets like a well-cut diamond, and that a number of men may see truth in at least as many ways, but even so it remains that the Gospel way of looking at truth is announced to be the only adequate way. " I am the Way, the Truth and the Life : no one cometh unto the Father but by Me," said the Christ Himself, and His Apostle is but echoing that saying when he preaches : " In none other is there salvation : for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved." It is Professor Harnack who says of Christ that He speaks " like a man who has rest and peace for his soul, and is able to give life and strength to others," and yet : " *He offers men an inexorable alternative.*"¹ For the moment we are not at all concerned with any question as to what happens to people who do not get a chance of hearing, for even if that were unanswerable, it would be no justification for our not doing what we could to let them hear. It is because we forget what " truth " means, that we can even consider for a moment the possibility of not passing it on. Anything less than the truth is not the truth. There is no escape from an English Archbishop's famous dilemma : *If your religion be not true you must change it ; if it is true you must propagate it.*

What perhaps is obscured among us is the fact that our religion is " true " ; or, if we may so say, how truly true it is. This forgetfulness makes it almost startling to read S. John nowadays, for his assurance is exactly what we are inclined to miss. Who dares look out to-day at the world of men and of thought, and say : " We KNOW that we

¹ *What is Christianity?* p. 37.

are of God, and the whole world lieth in the evil one. And we KNOW that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son JESUS Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life." There lies hid the secret of Paul's ship and Nero's garden, of Columba, Aidan, and Augustine, of Blandina, Agnes and Agatha—of strong missionary and virgin martyr; "We KNOW this is the True God, and eternal life." And S. John has a significant conclusion: "My little children, guard yourselves from idols." "You men and women of a newer age, watch lest any lesser conviction steal the worship and allegiance of your hearts."

It is not out of place, then, to conclude a missionary study book by a study of the nature of our Faith, for it is there and only there that the mainspring of missionary thought and action can be found. We turn from the white fields to Him Who saw them first, and from cross-bearers to the Cross.

II

The philosophy of missions begins at an end—when, in the words of the Evangelist: "Jesus said: It is finished; and He bowed His Head and gave up His Spirit." For thus a King came by His own. Francis Thompson has expressed it when he says:

" Golgotha—

Saw Breath to breathlessness resign His breath
And Life do homage for His crown to death."

It was in some sort a coronation, but a coronation amazing to us equally because so unlike the conceptions of men and so like the behaviour of God. We feel it to be like God because as one watches the progress to the throne one is irresistibly impressed by the quiet dignity, the surpassing courage, and above all the complete assurance of the King's

Son. Bound before Pilate, yet unhesitating ; serene in the Via Dolorosa ; brave, with a tender humility of bravery that shames the word, while the nails tore His Hands ; and so royally silent in His pure white robing on the Tree, that one at least was won by this alone to admit His sovereignty. Thus the King came by His own. However natural the words, it is hard to feel that the Evangelist had not a deep meaning in his dignified language : " He gave up His Spirit." It is an echo from that winter scene in Solomon's Porch : " I lay down My life. No one taketh it away from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again." Bishop Pearson very rightly speaks of the Resurrection as " an eminent act of omnipotency," but the Death was no less regal. "*Consummatum est*," cried the King ; " I have brought all things to their fitting end ; " " and gave up His Spirit." O Grave, where is thy victory ?

For all this, it is hard for us to withhold our wonder at that expression when we think that the words do not mean : " Everything is over and done for," but : " Everything is completed." There is no need to review at any length the situation at which our Lord looked from the Cross—it is so often done, but we must notice that Christ cried that His life's work was consummated while as yet no steps had been taken towards the restoration of order in what seemed chaos among His disciples, and of victory in what seemed defeat. This is the reason for the humiliating pity of Swinburne's phrase : " Pale Galilean ! " It was as a matter of fact when the people were alienated, bearing " palm-shaped spears "—who had borne " spear-shaped palms," as a modern preacher puts it—when the disciples had fled, and when the political and religious authorities had seemingly nipped any pretensions of rebellion against any established order in the bud : it was then that Christ in satisfaction announced the completion of His Work and went to His own place. And so we are taught to see that the value of what He had been doing is

not to be gauged by earthly standards. The Cross must be the consummation of some plan of God's since it assuredly was not a consummation of any human work of man's on man's earth. And so it is. The Incarnation of God on earth, in the flesh taken of the Blessed Virgin, was brought to an end on the Cross, and that Incarnation was a deliberate scheme, if we use the word reverently, on the part of Almighty God. It is true—infinately true—that the Empty Tomb and the Heavenly Throne are essentials in the working out of God's purposes, for if Christ be not risen and ascended we are of all men the most miserable, but, so to speak, these were inevitable when the Divine Lord had endured to the moment of that cry. In a period which stretches from the angelic Annunciation to the Divine Death, a Plan was elaborated and finished.

The gospel story opens with the bestowal of a Name that was to be the key of the whole: JESUS, for He shall save His people from their sins. He Himself declared His mission unmistakably when He said that the Son of Man had come to seek and to save that which was lost. Again and again, now in the crowded courtyard, now to the guilty woman in the Temple, now in the Pharisee's house, He sought and saved. With His marvellous serenity He made it plain to a wondering world that The Son of Man hath power to forgive sins; and beyond question the later Church is but following the earlier and St. Paul, when the life and death of JESUS Christ is insisted upon as primarily an atonement, full, perfect and sufficient, for the sins of the whole world. But what is Sin? Sin is no arbitrary decision of Allah that this is right and that wrong because it is His whim that it should be so, and its forgiveness does not lie in any necessity to make God forgiving. The nature of God is forgiveness; the problem is to make man forgiveable. For sin, an act of a man's free will, builds by its very nature a barrier between man and God. It is not that God hides His face from the sinner, but that, as light cannot be together with darkness, so God cannot see

sin. Sin came between the world and its God like the gulf between Dives and Lazarus. And once there, the dilemma was nearly hopeless. God in giving man free will, that creature and Creator might rejoice together in a holiness otherwise unobtainable, could not take away sin by force without man ceasing to be man, or act as if it were not there without God ceasing to be God. And thus sin is itself rebellion, and breeds rebellion grosser with every fall ; it is a barrier built by man between earth and heaven, God smitten to the Heart with love on one side, and Man in open arms of pride and self-will on the other. And did he turn, his old sin unremovable was still a barrier between. As in the story of the Argive Helen, unseen swords preserved the shrine inviolate. Or, in the words of a familiar tale : " A flaming sword turned every way to keep the way to the tree of life." " As I walk'd through the wilderness of this world," says John Bunyan, ". . . I saw a man cloathed with rags. . . . And a great burden on his back. . . . And he brake out with a lamentable cry, saying, *What shall I do ?*"

That this is any sort of complete explanation of the problem of sin, of its nature and of its consequences, cannot of course be pretended for a minute. At the best it can be but one aspect of the truth. But if it be but, as it were, one shaft of light of the many that are reflected from the many facets of the diamond, still all such shafts point back to the Heart which sent them out. " God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son," is the heart of the diamond, and that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. All that He did willingly and gladly, in continual union with the Will and Love of the Father, may not be comprehended by us, but it is true that He is the Light of the World. The wine-press was trodden alone. One set His face back to the garden Who had chosen to be born among the thorns and pain of human sin for that very end. Then it was that the very antipathy which blocked the way of man to God, fell at length in all its horror upon the Son of Man. That sin was rebellion, they showed when

they fell upon the One who had not rebelled ; that sin was scorching pain and dread disease, was seen when the One Who had no sin put out His hand and touched it. Then God watched Man suffer willingly for men what He had suffered unnecessarily at the hands of men, and at last the sword bit deep into the heart of One whose sinlessness forbade Him, not to die, but to be bound by death. Jesus by His obedience cut a way through to God. He slew the enmity through the Cross. He did more : He lent His strength to any who would step into the breach after Him. Clinging to His skirts, men may pass the sword of God's purity which keeps the way, for " if any man sin we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins." And that touch of His garment means that life throbs in veins poisoned with the germs of death, for men are not saved by sitting still, but by receiving the new life, by being transformed, by being united to the Beloved. And it was this that was the Plan consummated on the Cross.

A modern novelist¹ has said something of that plan which is worth quoting. He puts into the lips of one of his characters these words : " I am not a Christian, and so I put it that a man who was as infinitely above the rest of mankind as Shakespeare is above the child which is idiotic from its birth and has never felt the warmth of the slightest spark of reason, found it necessary to die and believe that his death atoned for the sins of the whole world. Ah ! if I only believed that he was right, how instinctively I should believe that he was God ! *No one but God could have thought of that.*"

We can make a picture of what it is so hard to express otherwise, and the picture is more adequate than words because it contains more than one idea. There is a gulf fixed between two cliffs, only to be passed if spanned by a bridge. That bridge is planned, and its building assured by the architect when the foundation-stone has once been

¹ Mr. E. F. Benson, in *The Angel of Pain*. The italics are mine.

laid. The work of Christ on earth was concerned with the building of that bridge. God was the architect, and He sent His Son to clear the way of obstacles, to choose materials, to indicate the design, to guarantee the work, and to lay the foundation-stone. Nothing could be begun until that was laid, and the laying was in tears and blood. To-day a fair Bridge spans that chasm between earth and heaven. It is compacted of living stones, its spans are Sacraments, and its name is the Catholic Church—that divine way by which souls may travel up to God. But the foundation-stone was Christ Himself, and although (as it were) the Bridge has to be renewed by every generation, that Stone is its guarantee for ever. The price of its laying was the Blood of God. But, laid, the Master-Builder had but one cry: "It is finished;" and He gave up His Spirit.

III

The fact that the Cross was in a great and true sense the completion of the Plan of God, makes it true also for us to say that it was in one sense a cessation of God's work. Of course it is true that the work of the Divine Son and of the Father is eternal and infinite, and that, through the Holy Spirit,

" Every vict'ry won,
And every thought of holiness,
Are His alone."

as also it is true that the great "Body of the Church" is the "Fulness of Christ," and its action is His action. But it is even here that we come up against the supremely great truth that, since the Cross, there has been in one sense a real silence of God. When Christ was upon earth God was acting as it were independently of men, for it made no difference in a sense to the work of Jesus Christ whether men believed on Him or whether they did not. He had His great Work to do, and as a matter of fact He

did it—alone. The Incarnation hung for a moment on Mary's word, but after that our Blessed Lord presses steadily toward His goal, alone in the dark nights of prayer, "Jesus only" on the Mount of Transfiguration, and alone under the Gethsemane olives and when all His disciples forsook Him and fled. That solitary figure stands before Pilate, is bound in silence to the pillar, seems to move in isolation down the Via Dolorosa, and is most supremely alone against the blackening sky on Calvary. His loneliness is perhaps the most striking factor in our Lord's life on earth, but certainly the silence of Christ has been the most striking factor ever since. For God is silent. Not only has no one of us ever had exactly the experience of Nicodemus, or of the woman with the alabastron of ointment, or of the man sick of the palsy, but more, no one of us is ever likely to have. We seem to shrink from the complete recognition of God's silence, with all that it involves, but the truth is that although there is a ministry of angels, and although there is a continual work of God, the normal method of man's salvation is not through these agencies. A great bishop, whom we associate more with cold logic and weighty arguments than with missionary addresses, preached a missionary sermon in which the full weight of his common-sense Christianity was brought to bear upon this. "God," he says,¹ "if He had so pleased, could indeed miraculously have revealed every religious truth which concerns mankind, to every individual man; and so He could have every common truth, and thus have superseded all use of human teaching in either. Yet He has not done this, but has appointed that men should be instructed by the assistance of their fellow-creatures in both."

These rather dry eighteenth-century words state the too often forgotten truth that the Cross marked a consummation, and that God has never normally worked

¹ Bp. Butler: Sermon at the S.P.G. Anniversary in St. Mary-le-Bow, February 16, 1738-9.

alone since then in the affairs of this world. Simple as it is, it is profound and startling. There is a tribe in Central Africa, let us say, sunk in superstition, savagery, and heathenism. Now it is only a matter of fact and experience that that tribe will remain so until it come into contact with Christian men; for although it attain even to a high measure of civilisation through the production within it of some black Socrates or Lycurgus—or (better as an illustration) of some Odin as he was conceived to have been by the genius of Carlyle in his "Heroes"—still a knowledge of the Cross of JESUS CHRIST could not come to them by such means. They must remain heathen and non-Christian. Plainly, straightforwardly, and in honest English, they cannot be Christianised without us. God is silent. You may think it an inscrutable mystery, but the thunders of Sinai and the lips of God moving visibly are past. It is not His Will now to make revelation either through another Incarnation or through an angel of the Lord. God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son Who . . . when He had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high. Once He walked on earth. Once He preached to men. Once He planned sacraments and founded a Church. But He climbed up on to a Cross. He was nailed there, with outstretched arms of welcome, but arms nailed immovably to the wood. His Heart, breaking with love, was acceptable in the eyes of the Father. He died there. And I do not wrong Him if I say, having regard to the eternal unchanging propitiating love of that ever-wounded Heart, that it is as if He hung, white on His black Cross, silent, irremovable, up between man and God—His perpetual sacrifice man's perpetual plea.

But plain and simple as it is, men do not believe it. There is something horrifying about the naked truth of it as there is about all truth put nakedly. It was said but

the other day upon a public platform in a big city of over three hundred thousand souls that had contributed only some £900 to a well-known missionary society (supported in that city by the very great majority of Churches) as a result of a year's work, that if the Church would not evangelise the world, God would use other means. It was the local treasurer who spoke, and he tried to draw satisfaction out of that. But the experience of nineteen hundred years gives it the lie. Old Mataka who died ignorant near Masasi because Bp. Steere could not send him a teacher,¹ is only one of millions more who have given it the lie. Christ did not cry "Consummatum est" for nothing. What further purposes may be hid in the mind of God are beyond our speculation; and even if we have a right to speculate, we have no right to be lazy as a result of speculation. What we do know is what God has left His Church to do; and every soul that has gone out into the dark without Christ ever since He came a light into the world, cries aloud in his passing that God expects the Church to do it.

It is of course often argued that God will never suffer to be lost the heathen who have not heard, and from that seemingly invincible argument we arrive at a kind of unexpressed content that what we neglect to do the tender mercies of the Father will somehow set right. As a matter of fact such a chaotic philosophy has dulled the conscience of many Englishmen; but it can be nothing less than the apathy of selfishness that is content with such excuse. That apathy never stops to inquire if there is not such a thing as conscious sin, even to an unevangelised heathen, or to ask if that same merciful Father, knowing all, would have been so emphatic in His commands, and so inscrutable in His counsels, if all was to be well in any case. We do not indeed know that the heathen is lost eternally who dies without hearing of the Cross. Probably the more Christian we are, the more certain grows the conviction of

¹ *History of U.M.C.A.*, p. 130.

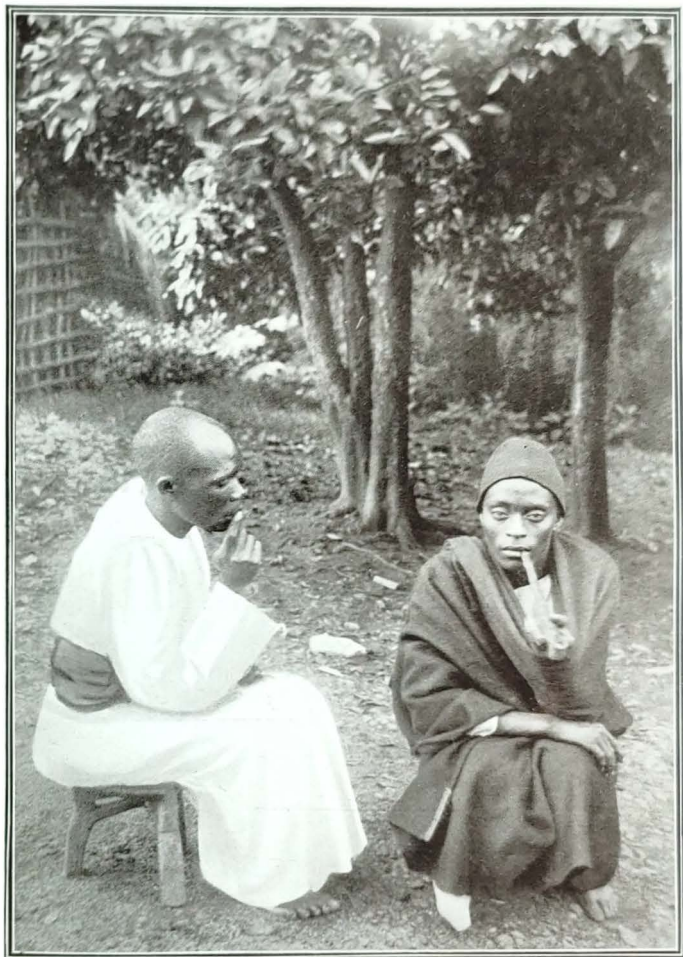
our hope. But that does not lessen the terror of their loss. There is but one standard by which we can measure it. The world before Christ came into it was precisely in the position of the world that has never heard of Him ; and God knew that the loss that world incurred, even so, was awful enough to warrant Gethsemane and Golgotha. And we may be sure that it is in no less terms than those of the Blood of His Son that God values whatever loss to any soul is due to the negligence and apathy of His Witnesses.

And thus the other side to the silence of God is the activity of man. You may say, if you like, that the Plan of God for the salvation of the world was " a Sufficient Saviour," and " a Witnessing Church " ; but as we say it, we must remember that His plan in that case is not complete without the second part. In so far as we consider all those benefits which Christ means to confer, and is able by His Cross and Passion to confer, upon the souls of men here and now in this life, the Cross of Christ is useless and valueless without the co-operation of men. The very knowledge of Christ would have perished from the world if the generation of His witnesses had determined neither to tell of it nor to act upon it in any way ; and if any one generation were to do the same, obliterating what had been raised in wood or stone or printed page as His monument by generations before it, then in like manner the knowledge of Christ would die. He has, as a matter of fact, given us a guarantee against that contingency as well as an assurance that our present knowledge is accurate,¹ but upon every generation it does depend whether or not the light of Christ illuminate some heathen nation's world.

An American writer has drawn upon his imagination to illustrate the truth of this in a way which, if it be read reverently and sympathetically, does do so as few other sermons or writings can do.² He pictures our Blessed

¹ S. Matthew xvi. 18 ; and S. John xiv. 26, xvi. 13.

² Mr. S. D. Gordon, in *Quiet Talks on Service*. I have ventured to re-tell the parable.



REV. CANON SEHOZA TEACHING A BONDE CHIEF

Lord after the Ascension, welcomed back to the glory of Heaven by the Father and the angels and archangels of the heavenly Court ; and he allows himself to express in human language something of what, after all, must happen when the angels try " to look into " the mystery of the Incarnation. The archangel Gabriel is made to speak. He looks up wistfully into that holy Face still bearing traces of that " bruising," which was His more than any man's, and at those Hands still scarred, and he whispers :—

" Master, you suffered much down there ? "

" Yes," comes the low reply.

" And Master," persists the angel, " do they all know down there about what you did for them yet ? "

" No," answered our Lord very quietly.

" Then, Master," says S. Gabriel wonderingly, " What is Your plan ? "

" Well," our Lord must answer, " I told some of them. There are Peter and James and John and Andrew, the fishermen, and one I called from the receipt of custom, and a few more. They will tell others, and these will tell others, and so on, until all know."

Gabriel, says our author very quaintly, knows men rather well, for he has been down here on several errands for God, and it is with a kind of pained and dawning apprehension as he thinks of what it will cost his Master if they do *not* tell, that he says :—

" But, Master, suppose that some forget. Suppose that away in the distant centuries—the twentieth century—they get so busy about other things, quite good things in themselves, but still *other* things, and they forget to tell.—What then ? " His eyes grew big as he thinks of it ; but from the Lord and Master of angels and men comes the low and steady reply of the Truth and the Life :—

" Well, Gabriel, I have no other plan. *I'm counting on them.*"

Yes, He is " counting on them " ; waiting so silently, so resolutely, so sorrowfully, far more than one can think

of those who bear His Name to do His bidding. . . . Is His expectancy so strange ? " I also am a man having under myself soldiers ; and I say to this one, Go, and he goeth ; and to another Come, and he cometh." So said the Latin centurion who could not but imagine, in his simple heart, that so great a Lord as this JESUS would have His servants too. He Himself must not be troubled to come to the house. And what a wistfulness there is in the answer : " I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." No, not in Israel, *the new Israel*, although He is counting on them. . . .

" He expecteth ! He expecteth !
Down the stream of time
Still the words come softly ringing
Like a chime.

" Shall we, *dare* we, disappoint Him ?
Brethren ! let us rise !
He Who died for us is watching
From the skies ;

" Watching till His royal banner
Floateth far and wide,
Till He seeth of His travail,
Satisfied."

IV

But it is the inner, deeper significance of all this that lies at the heart of any enthusiasm and love for missions that the world has ever seen, and without knowing that, we ourselves shall be little stirred. Go back to that silent God. Why is He silent ? Is it because He does not care ? Or is it because He is not able to speak ? And if He is not able to speak, and wishes to do so, what must be His grief ? There will still be no sorrow like unto His sorrow.

That " I thirst ! " which fell from the Cross of Christ, is often taken to mean more than human, temporal need ;

and indeed in any case it cannot be denied that He Who desired the souls of men as a great Lover, Whose love stood the greatest test while on earth, still desires them. He would still stretch out quick hands to the disciple sinking in the sea ; He would still point the bewildered student, as in the dark of that night visit, to a revelation of the Truth ; and He would still gather the travailing and heavy-laden, along with the lambs of the flock, into the Bosom of His Rest. And He has made provision for the doing of it. "Ye are the Body of Christ," leaped to the lips of S. Paul as he realised it, "and members in particular." Christ came to preach good tidings : "He that heareth you, heareth Me. Go. . . . Preach. . . ." Christ came to lift the burden of sin and save the sinking sinner : "As the Father hath sent Me even so send I you. . . . Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven." Christ came healing our sicknesses and bearing our infirmities : "Lay ye hands on the sick and they shall recover." In other words, Christ looks to the Church to present Him to the world. And it is more even than this. S. Paul often speaks of our Lord as Head of the Church, the Body ; but he also has passages in which "Christ has, if possible, a more impressive position still : He is no part, but rather the whole of which the various members are parts."¹ This is what that very early Christian writer, S. Clement of Alexandria, means when he says : "Even as through the body the Saviour used to speak and heal, so . . . God clothes Himself with man for the salvation of men . . . now, with the Church."² Indeed, it is not untrue to say that the living Christ is not presented to the world otherwise ; for not only is it true that the mere knowledge of Him depends on human agency, but also it is true that the quality of that knowledge depends on the quality of the Church. This is what we mean in the first instance when we say that the Lord Christ is in need :

¹ Dr. Armitage Robinson, on Ephesians i, 22, 23 (*St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*).

² Clem. of Alex., *Eclog. Proph.* 23.

He is in need of adequate expression. He will win souls if only He be expressed. The pulsing burning power of the Gospel is as great to-day as ever it was—yes, and greater; for, slow though it be, we *are* growing up into the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. But meantime, He is in need. He is limited in the extent of His work. Speaking at Liverpool in January of this year (1912), Mr. Holland, the well-known Warden of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel in Allahabad and Fellow of the University of Allahabad, said: "We know that God will only work for the revelation of Christ JESUS through the Church: which means that the Church, by the exact extent of its missionary operations, is daring to set the limit beyond which God shall be powerless to work for the enlightenment and redemption of men through Christ." And He is limited, too, in the beauty and love that He would exhibit towards the world. "It is plainer than ever," says Dr. Armitage Robinson, "that without the Church the Christ is incomplete: and as the Church grows towards completion, the Christ grows towards completion; 'the Christ—if we may so use the language of our own great poet—that is to be.'" It is no exaggerated language, nor any impossible disparagement of the infinite perfection of the glorified Lord. But—for a reason that we can well understand, even we—it has been the Divine order that the world shall learn of Him from the lips and in the lives of His servants; that the satisfaction of His throbbing Heart shall lie with us; and that we shall have it in our power to drive Him dumb, hungry, outcast, and impotent among the sons of men. "Christ is lacking!" cried a great heart in North Africa seventeen hundred years ago; and the thought of it led him to devotion and love as great as it well could be. "Christ is in need!" we cry who look on Africa and the world to-day—and shall there be less result? And here, as ever, there is but one eternal symbol of His need. "Look into Christ's eyes on Calvary and see the great speechless agony of God." In the vision of the medieval saint, the

dead Christ on the Cross was quickened into life by the tears of the penitent at His feet. Then the Hands held fast by sin are loosened by love, and the arms of God can be about the sinner as He bends forward to clasp him from the Tree. And wherever sinners do not know or do not care, there the Lord hangs slain; and the Lord hangs slain in countless heathen lands because the Church by her silence has denied Him the quickening balm of sinner's love.

"Am I a stone," cries Christina Rossetti—

"That I can stand, O Christ, beneath Thy Cross,
To number drop by drop Thy blood's slow loss,
And yet not weep?"

Let us look a little more closely into this conception of the missionary work of the Church. Mr. Holland, already mentioned, gives us an illustration of one aspect of it that is too modern and too complete to be passed over. The quite recent creation of Hindu and Mohammedan electorates in India has brought into prominence sixty millions of the outcast pariah class in that empire. They have become a political factor, and both Hindu and Mohammedan parties seek to claim them because they will give a big majority to the party that can win their support. They had been thought to be Hindu, but their political situation has urged the Mohammedan party into the bringing forward of a claim that they are not Hindus at all. And why? Because the Hindu world regarded them as such scum that they were forbidden to enter a Hindu temple; no Hindu priest might minister to their need, and their touch defiled a co-religionist. Was there ever a parallel to those sixty million souls beyond the pale of their own faith—the poor, the weary, the burden-bearers whom Christ came to save if He came to save a soul! And for a century those people have been eager to become Christian. "Give me the men," said the Bishop of Madras five years ago, "and I can see my way to the baptism of ten million in my own diocese

within ten years, and of thirty million in very little more." " Since I came," said a man to Mr. Holland who had done three years' work among them, " I cannot recollect the day on which I have not had to say ' No ' to villages asking for Christian teachers. Why, I am doing it all the time ! " But what does that mean ? It means that in every one of those villages Christ has been thirsting for souls, and dying of thirst. It means also that sixty millions of the very kind of men, whom He especially loves, have been asking for light and dying in darkness : going starving when there is a Bread of Life ; and that no one of them has died or starved but Christ has died and starved in him. He has been in need in India, and He had been in need at home. There, He has gone naked and we have not clothed Him ; here, He has longed to visit the prison, and we have held Him back. And now, for a political contingency, they are in the hands of Moslem and Hindu. But it is not a government action that has made their spoiling possible, nor is it they who are spoiled. Only once again the Lord has been betrayed by the friends who claim to kiss Him.

But it is not only that a mission-staff too small means a confinement of the Christ within bounds too narrow for His Love ; for a mission-staff inadequately furnished means a presentation of Christ no less inadequate. For example, the command of Christ was to heal ; and perhaps it is only in this century that we have realised that that supernatural power of healing, which He gave at one time so abundantly and which is still in operation in Unction and in the prayer of Faith whether of saints or of men, has been supplemented no less divinely by medical and surgical science. Impregnable Jerichos are breached in the mission-field by the doctor where the priest and the evangelist seem hopeless. Many a Mohammedan has seen the features of Christ in a doctor's face from a hospital ward who would scarce have seen Him in any other way. This becomes an expression of our Lord ; and instruments in the

hands of the doctor are as it were fingers with which Christ stoops to heal. Then how have we served Him here? We have sent out men as His representatives who are forced to make use of makeshifts and who are cramped for room. Again and again pitiable tales come from mission hospitals reduced to straits which, in a London hospital, would flood the daily newspapers with indignant letters. The Lord is in need again. Here, where the need is greatest, where He is least known and yet more critically read in the "Members" than anywhere else, we cramp His action, or send empty away the lame and the halt and the blind whose appeal to His Compassion is no less than of old.

And yet again, what sort of men have we sent to missionary work? Have we selected our best men for this the most important work, or have we kept the best at home? China needs an expression of the wisdom of God such as England has had these ten centuries; but where do we place our divinity professors? India needs an expression of the poverty and humility of Christ; but have we given her brethren of St. Francis? We are a Society, and every one of us is responsible for the tone of the whole. If the Church at home makes light of the apostolic virtues of poverty, obedience, and chastity, she cannot expect to breed priests who hold them dear. Good men and noble have done Christ-work in the foreign field, but they have for the most part done it independently of the Church. For the rest we have too often sent out second-rate men: men whose degrees do not promise high honour at home, or men of a class we dare to think good enough for the colonies but not good enough for England. Many indeed of these have been worthier representatives of their Master than those who sent them out; but it is the spirit that matters. We were called to show the Face of Christ to the heathen world; we knew He would be judged not by the thousand clergy at home, but the one abroad; we thought, if we stopped to think, that His very activity depended on the material that we placed at His disposal; and what

have we done ? As a Church, what have we done ? Is it a day in which to recall what little there may be of which we may be least ashamed ? Is it not rather a day in which we should weep because we have done nothing as we should ? The weight has been in the wrong place. Our eyes have been turned in instead of out. Our Lord has wandered along the highways of the earth in rags and poverty and shame. The world, too often with justification, has laughed at our missionaries and in them has laughed at our Lord ; but it is we who have sent Him out to mockery. " Ye despise My Name, saith the Lord of Hosts. And ye say : Wherein have we despised Thy name ? In that ye offer the blind, the lame, the sick, and polluted bread upon mine altar, saith the Lord of Hosts."

V

It may be urged that all this is true of the home field as well as of the foreign, and that we ought to save the home heathen first. So common an argument is this that it is perhaps worth while dealing with it all by itself : at least, if only to show how glad we would be if we could deal with it once and for all. It is true that Christ is in need at home, both in the person of those who suffer or who sin without knowing Him, and of those who fail to act for Him as He wishes them to act. But the argument " home heathen first " is the argument of people who either do not think, or who stand upon another platform than our own.

In the strictest and truest sense there are no home heathen at all. Curiously enough the word heathen is derived from an Anglo-Saxon root which means " remote country," or " foreign," as we should say ; and a heathen is properly a person who has not heard of the truth. He does not know the true God. But there are scarcely any such in England. There are very many people who will not be Christians after the manner of Christ, and there are some

who have been brought up in such ignorance that they are actually unaware of the Christian claim upon them; but these latter require a great deal of searching for; and if our objector knows one, he ought to be utterly ashamed that he has not witnessed to that person long ere this. The simple truth is, that if people are starving spiritually in England it is because they *won't* eat; whereas millions are starving abroad because they *can't* eat. It might be true that if we could save people by force we ought to remain in England; but since our business can only be to tell the story of the Gospel and leave the rest to God, it is obvious that we ought to go where people have not heard rather than where people will not hear. It is not untrue to say that no one next Sunday in England need go without hearing the Gospel, since whatever exceptions there are, are abnormal; and there is scarcely a person so poor that he has never been able to afford a halfpenny Gospel. Even such a one could get one given to him without the least difficulty.

And again, not only are there no home heathen in the sense that there are foreign, but the representation of the Christ that has been made is so unequally divided. May we suggest it in the form of a story?

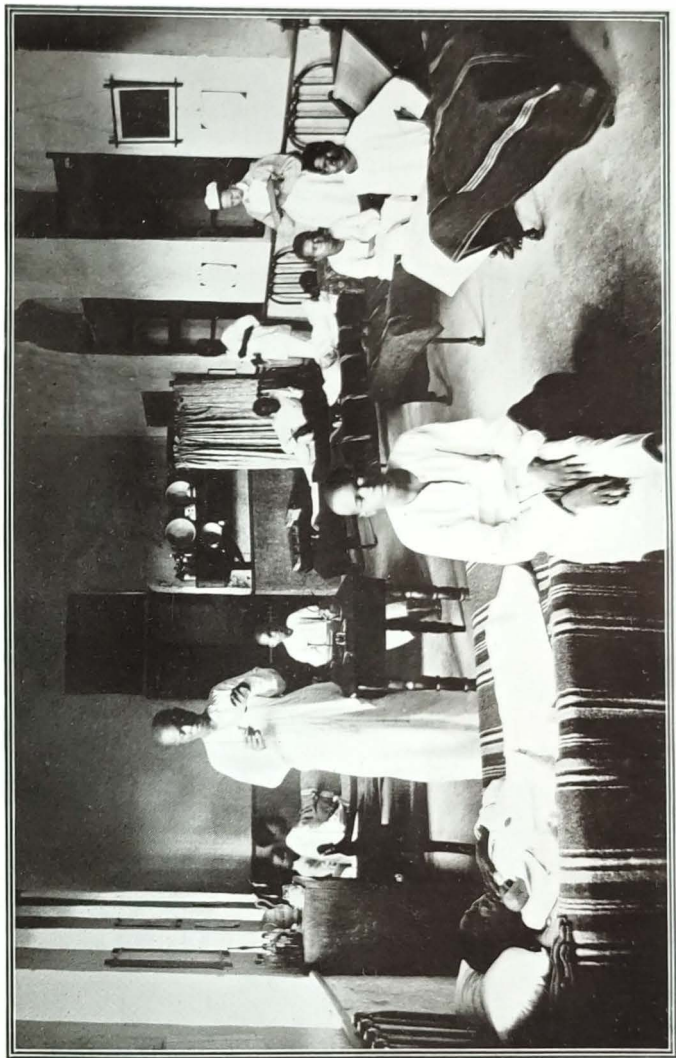
The Black Death had broken out again in England, and people were dying by the thousand in every city every week. At first no remedy was known; but at last a doctor in Newcastle discovered a certain cure, and one within the reach of all who knew it. He called an assembly of Newcastle doctors, told them of it; ordered them first to open dispensaries in Newcastle, and then to carry the news of it throughout England. He further, being a rich man, left ample means for his scheme; and went on business to America. On his return, he landed in Liverpool, and discovered to his utter amazement that people were dying there of the plague as wholesaley as ever. The Liverpool doctors had heard of no remedy, and were hopelessly trying old methods. He hastened to London: there it

was the same. Up through the Midlands the same ; but in Yorkshire and Durham just a few scattered villages had dimly heard of his discovery left to Newcastle. There he went at last, only to discover that dispensaries had stood for months in every street, that the drug was accessible to every soul, and that the doctors were worried to death and ever planning new attractions by which they might persuade a few people to swallow their medicine who had as yet refused. His money, too, had hardly been drawn upon ; and but for the folly of those doctors all England might at least have had a chance to be saved.

And what will that Physician say ? " Inasmuch as ye did it not . . . ye did it not to Me . . ." And I cannot bring myself to write the end of that parable lest it also should be true of us.

VI

This Plan, then, of a consummated work of God and of consequent activity on the part of the Church as the means whereby Christ would express Himself to the world, carries with it an individual message. The very greatness of God means that, in our language, He must give infinite attention to detail ; for He is too great, too omniscient, too omnipotent, to pass by the least unrecognised, or to suffer anything to happen without Him. The very hairs of your head are all numbered, and not even a sparrow falls to the ground without our Father knowing it. That Mind which planned before the foundation of the world the slaying of the Lamb, so that the Lamb was slain from Eternity though not yet in Time, minded also the least part in the fulfilment of His Plan. Although His is no blind power forcing its way to its own end, irrespective of human will and co-operation, still He looks for such co-operation, and we must meet Him in it, or deny Him. If we deny Him, then there will be tedious years, and a readjustment on a scale so mighty and so incomprehensible to us that it is only



MEN'S WARD, MISSION HOSPITAL, ZANZIBAR

possible to God, to whom, being God, it must be necessary. "The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small." We may help or we may hinder, but we cannot finally prevent; although it must be true, difficult as it is to reconcile it with the Eternal, that there is something which corresponds in the life of God to what we mean when we say that we can add to and protract "the great speechless agony of God." And yet, with it all—

"God is working His purpose out as year succeeds to year,
God is working His purpose out and the time is drawing
near;
Nearer and nearer draws the time, the time that shall surely
be,
When the earth shall be full of the glory of God as the waters
cover the sea."

Each of us may ask, What part shall I have in that glorious consummation?

This individualism, then, comes to us as a personal question not to be shirked, but to be answered as we must one day make answer when the thoughts of every heart shall be revealed. A personal question calls for its expression in personal language, and it seems to me that we may say four things about our own part in God's Plan.

First, *each one of us has a part in God's world-wide Plan.* We admit, of course, that individuals have had parts before of eternal destiny. There was that breathless moment when angels and God waited for the answer of the Maid of Nazareth; for God as surely would not have forced the necessary consent of Mary any more than He forces our consent to a score of things in everyday life. There was that other moment, in the Capernaum synagogue, when many had heard our Lord set out so solemnly that which was to be formulated later by Him in the Holy Communion and had turned away with their "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" And when another of God's weighty questions was heard on earth: "Will ye also go away?" We

are unable to think, even, what would have happened if Mary had refused or if the Apostles had declined to be foundations in the City of our God ; but this is certain, that for each of them God had planned a definite part. Some men's parts were great, and some were few. Some men's parts seemed great, and were small ; others seemed small, and were great. Pilate, lording it in his curule chair, believed that the destinies of his little world turned on his decision ; but the Christ set a lower valuation on him. Ananias, the obscure disciple in Damascus City, had only half an hour's sick-visiting to do, so far as we know, in God's Plan, but to this half-hour fell the baptism of an apostle to whom God wished to entrust the evangelisation of Europe and the shaping of the Christianity of the world. A hundred questions surge up in us as we think these things, but we refuse to obey the modern fashion of permitting what we do not know to paralyse our use of what we do, and the great fact remains that each of us has a part in God's world-wide Plan. Black squares or gold in the mosaic, at least He plans us all to be there.

Secondly, *if you do not do your part, no one else can.* We are less disposed to grant this, perhaps, than what has gone before, and yet possibly it is more visibly true than the other. We have seen already that every one of the years of the Church's neglect has proved that it is not God's inscrutable Will to hand over the work which He entrusted Her to do to some one else. He has made men, and He is not going to turn them into machines. That determination has already cost Him the Cross ; He is the willing Lord still Who bore it once, and if need be He will bear it still. And thus when God gives a man a work to do, He gives him a chance of refusal, and He does not make that refusal insignificant by immediately providing another workman if the first refuse. We know it in the hard facts of everyday life. We cannot say of the influence which we bring to bear upon another, that we will not bring it to bear, but rather pass the object of it over to someone else,

You cannot find another who will exert the same influence which has been given you to exert ; and if you could, the moment would have gone by, the person to be influenced would have changed, however imperceptibly, without your influence, as he would not have changed with it, and the thing become irrevocable for good or for ill. The intense pathos of " what might have been " is precisely that it never can be *now*. And what *you* might have done, what you ought to have done, just then, when it was required, can never be done by anyone else if you do not use your opportunity. Every day men look back on life and say what they would do now, if they had the chance they had then. Half the trouble of the world is caused by men trying to do for others what others ought to have done previously for themselves ; but try as they will, the moment is past, and just that work, with all that it entailed of influence and importance, can never be done at all. And so it is true in the affairs of souls. Men are for ever regretting that they did not speak that word or do that deed, which might have saved a brother. But it was only they who could speak it, only they whose actions counted at that time with that man, and they know now how true it is that if you do not do your part, no one else can.

And so, thirdly, we are left with one conclusion that *the salvation in this life of some other soul turns on whether you do or do not do your part*. I am well aware how we shrink from this ; but of all the truths graven deep across the world this is the most obvious, that God has not scrupled to place the control of His law of life in the hands of men. We ourselves are letters in the inscription so graven, for we have had parents who in very truth bade us be. And if God in so great measure has left the control of the life of the body in the hands of men, is it a wonder that He has left the control of the life of the soul in our hands too ? Of course it is true that no man can save his brother, because salvation is a matter of a man's own will ;

but, on the other hand, man can withhold from his brother that which would give him the chance of his salvation. We have seen that the evangelisation of the world rests on the Church; it is just a corollary that the salvation of individuals rests on individuals. There are an infinite number of strands in the rope which draws each soul into the City; but in God's Plan there are never more strands than are required, and if one snap, the rope may break. It is your shilling which God may require to save a soul in China, and He wants it at His own time and not before or after. It is your son whom God may require to bring the Gospel to a village in Africa, and He waits for your "Behold the handmaid of the Lord!" It is your life that God may require—ah! what for? perhaps only to inspire another or to pray another into strength for work, but it rests with you to give it.

Mr. Gordon has another one of his stories about this.¹ He pictures a soul passing into the streets of Jerusalem that is above, and being welcomed by a Chinaman within. "Oh!" says the Chinaman, "I have been waiting so long to thank you for what you did for me!" "But I was never in China," says the newcomer.

"No," says the Chinaman, "but I was. I lived without the knowledge of our Lord until a missionary brought the knowledge to me, and he left the Book with me that led me to the Truth. Since I came here, I learned that I owe that Book to your money given in England, and I think, next to our Lord, you are the best friend I have."

It may be American and perhaps a little overdrawn, and very simple, but it reveals a truth. The salvation of some other soul turns on whether you do or do not do your part.

Only one thing remains to be said, and that is this: People often say, "But I do not know what God wants me to do!" and it is very frequently true. Again, advisers and confessors often have to say, "I do not know what

¹ In *Quiet Talks on Service*.

God wants you to do!" and that is even more frequently true. But God *knows what He wants you to do*. God knows what He wants each one of us to do, and He is, as a rule, quite willing to tell us. There are very many more people who will not do what they are told than there are who have not been told what they should do. It is not often that God refuses to speak; it is more often that we refuse to hear. We begin by saying: "Well, in any case, I shan't do this;" or, "In any case, I can't do that;" and God does not speak then. Those of the King's servants who are ready to do whatsoever their Lord the King shall appoint, are those of the King's servants who know what He wishes them to do. And all our worries fall away before this: we cannot refuse to be willing to do God's will, if we hear it, without knowing that we refuse; and it is to that He looks. God knows what He wants you to do: are you willing to do it, if you know it, whatever it be?

"Each one of us has a part in God's world-wide plan;
If you do not do your part, no one else can.
The salvation of some other soul turns on whether you do,
or do not do, your part.
And God, Who knows what your part is, is looking to see if
you are servant enough to be willing to do it if you knew."

VII

There is only one place in which God thus speaks to men, and that is the place of the Cross. It does not follow that He is going to call a man into a sacrifice which we would compare with that, but He calls no man who is not willing at least to bear the uttermost and who does not recognise that the Cross is the eternal badge of God. "God never hides His scars to win a disciple," says a modern preacher. "It seems to me," wrote Pascal, "that Jesus Christ, after His resurrection, allowed His wounds only to be touched; we must unite ourselves to His sufferings only." All

through the Scripture it is the same. "When He had shown them His Hands and His Side . . . He said unto them, As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you." "There went with Him great multitudes, and He turned and said unto them . . . Whosoever doth not bear his own cross and come after Me, cannot be My disciple." When, later, He was about to call one of the chiefest of His disciples, it was this that He said: "I will show him how great things he must suffer for My Name's sake. And we think instinctively of many more, of the eager young man offered the prospect of the homeless JESUS, of the aspiring apostles offered the fellowship of His sufferings as the price of His crown, and of the wavering disciples shown clearly that broken Body and spilled Blood was the cost of entering into life. The greatest of all causes was inaugurated by the Cross, consists in the preaching of the Cross, and involves the bearing of the Cross. It has set a thousand other crosses beginning in Jerusalem and extending wherever yet discipleship has taken men; and it will win "the uttermost part of the earth" only when crosses have been set there too. Suffering is one of the conditions of life, and pain the environment in which the noblest virtues grow. Suffering is the cost of sacrifice, and sacrifice is the cost of love. Love, poured out by God, drunk in by men, is the purging of sin and the atonement of the world, and Love is generated in the Heart of JESUS. Coming there to be saved, men go out thence to save. And the Heart of JESUS is eternally shown to men, only when they look towards Calvary.

" O Cross that liftest up my head,
 I dare not ask to fly from thee;
 I lay in dust life's glory dead,
 And from the ground there blossoms red
 Life that shall endless be."

And at the place of the Cross, we get the vision of the Cross; but what vision? It is of JESUS Who is inseparable from His Cross, and it is the vision of JESUS laden with His

Cross that we see. It is the vision of a Christ constrained and bound, of a Christ wounded and weak, of a *Christ in need*, that we see first of all. You cannot pass through a Cross from which JESUS has gone in order to reach the throne where JESUS reigns, for JESUS is inseparable from His Cross, and it would not be the Cross at all if He were not on it. It is the heart stabbed by the sight of the Christ in pain that dies, and rises again to the power of the Christ who rose.

We can see why this is so in the story of S. Peter's Call. He was called first by the lakeside in Galilee, and he was ever being called during the months that followed, but his last call made the man. His call by way of a vision. It was after the night of betrayal and the hours of growing demoralisation as he crouched over the fire in the courtyard, and in the dim light of the early morning had denied again, while the cock crew. But his questioners were on their feet now, forgetful of the servant as the Master was led out from what had been the first inquiry of the high-priest. "And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter," and Peter looked at Him. And what did S. Peter see? They had but just been spitting on his Lord; a rain of furious blows had fallen upon that bowed and patient head; and the disciple must have seen in His eyes the soul of a man by whose side Death is walking. Months before, when he had been sinking in the waves of the sea, S. Peter had seen a strong face bending over him to save. Now it is all the other way. The Lord is bound and helpless, the Lord is sinking into death, the Lord is silent already, Who will speak so rarely again, and all the work is yet to be done! If S. Peter fail Him, who was to strengthen his brethren, what must not His passion be? And the Christ in Need cries out across the gulf of man's hate to the one faithful heart in all that throng lest it, too, fail.

And the Lord has never ceased to look like that on His would-be disciples. When they see Him so, the love that has loved Him for serving is quickened into the love that would serve, and the flame of it burns out into self-sacrifice

that saves the world. But sometimes His disciples fail to catch His eye even though they have come to the place of the Cross, and the Christ in Need goes out to a double rejection, and to wounds in the house of His friends as well as the spears of Pilate and the taunts of Jews. Yet it is by this look that He calls us to service. And it may be ours to look back into the eyes of that stricken Master with a glance that gladdens the very heart of God, for by it He knows that the price of His love has been well paid since it has bought a slave but made a son.

" A Man of Sorrows amongst us came,
An outcast Man, and a lonely ;
But He looked on me ; and through endless years
Him must I serve, Him only."

ASSIGNMENTS

1. Show from Holy Scripture what is the simplest reason for supporting Foreign Missions.
2. Explain what it was that was made possible by the death of our Lord on the Cross.
3. Explain the parable of the Bridge at the end of Section II.
4. What do we mean by saying that God is silent ? How does He speak to-day ?
5. Who are the Indian " pariahs " ? What does S. Matthew xxv. 31-46 say about them ?
6. What would you say to a person who told you that " home heathen ought to be saved first " ?
7. How do we know that we have each got a part in Christ's Plan ? Does it matter if we do not do it ?
8. What was S. Peter's last call, and what has it got to do with us ?

B

1. " Christ offers men an inexorable alternative." What bearing has this on Foreign Missions ?
2. Explain the phrase " God was forgiving, but man was

not forgivable,” and show how the Catholic doctrine of the Atonement illustrates this. (*A good deal more will be found in Moberly's "Atonement and Personality."*)

3. How would you deal with a person “ content to leave the heathen to the tender mercies of God ” ?

4. What do we mean by the Incarnation of Christ in the Church ?

5. There are no valid arguments against Christian missions ; why not ?

6. What are the two aspects of our Lord's present need ?

7. Show how what is said about individual responsibility is illustrated by the life of some great missionary. (*E.g. Take one of the missionary bishops spoken of in this book.*)

8. (a) Explain what is meant by saying : “ The Cross is the eternal badge of God ” ; (b) or Assignment A, 8.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

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- YOUNG (E. D.) . "Nyasa: a Journal of Adventures"
(Murray, 1877).

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- DALE (G.) . "The Contrast between Christianity and
Mohammedanism" (U.M.C.A., 1s.).
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(C.M.S., 5s.).

- *ZWEMER (S. M.) . " Islam : a Challenge to Faith."
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 and S. M. ZWEMER } " Our Moslem Sisters " (Revell).
 HUGHES . . . " Dictionary of Islam."
 SELL (E.) . . . " The Faith of Islam " (S.P.C.K.,
 12s. 6d.).
 " . " The Historical Development of the
 Koran " (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.).
 GAIRDNER (W. H. T.) " The Reproach of Islam " (C.M.S., 2s.).
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 " . " Mahomet and Islam " (R.T.S., 2s. 6d.).
 Best and exhaustive English
 authority.
 KOELLE (S. W.) . " Mohammed and Mohammedanism
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 biography, from a missionary stand-
 point.
 MARGOLIOUTH (D. S.) " Mohammed and the Rise of Islam "
 (Heroes of the Nation Series, 5s.).
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 TISDALL (W. ST. C.) " Original Sources of the Qu'ran "
 (S.P.C.K.).
 " " . " The Religion of the Crescent "
 (S.P.C.K., 4s.).
 WOLLASTON (A. N.) " Religion of the Koran " (Wisdom of
 the East Series, 1s.).
 *THE KORAN . " Everyman's Library," 1s. (Trans. Rod-
 well). Suras arranged in chrono-
 logical order.
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 Introduction very valuable.
 BURTON (R.) . " Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage
 to El Medina and Mecca," 1857.
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 subject.
 DE REGLA (PAUL) " Theologie Musulmane " (Paris, 1906).
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 pletely revealing Moslem morals.

BOOKS OF OTHER MISSIONS (OR GENERAL) OF INTEREST
TO THE STUDENT OF EAST AFRICA

- *" Dawn in the Dark Continent."
 " The Life of Bishop Hannington."
 " The Wonderful Story of Uganda."
 " The Life of George Pilkington."
 " George Mackay of Uganda."
 " A Doctor and his Dog in Uganda " (DR. COOK).
 " Among the Wild Angoni " (ELMSLIE.)
 " The S.P.G. in South Africa " (S.P.G.).
 " Missions of the Community of Resurrection in S. Africa."
 " Life of Dr. Moffat."
 " Africa Waiting " (D. M. THORTON) (S.V.M.U.).
- } C.M.S.

BIOGRAPHIES OF LEADERS IN THE U.M.C.A.

- *HUGHES . . . " David Livingstone " (English Men of
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 BLAIKIE (W. G.) " Personal Life of David Livingstone."
 GOODWIN } " Memoirs of Bishop Mackenzie."
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 HEANLEY (R. M.) " Memoir of Bishop Steere " 2s. 6d.
 (U.M.C.A.).

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WORK

- ROWLEY (H.) . . . " Twenty Years in Central Africa."
 *" The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa."
 2s. 6d. (U.M.C.A.).
 *" The Atlas of the Universities' Mission." 1s.
 *" Where we Live and What we Do " (detail of life in
Zanzibar). 1s. 6d. (U.M.C.A.).
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 " The Building of the *Chauncy Maples*." 9d. (U.M.C.A.).
 " Life and letters of Arthur Fraser Sim." 1s. (U.M.C.A.).
 *" Letters from East Africa " (1895-1897). By MISS G. WARD.
 2s. 6d. (U.M.C.A.).

A FEW BOOKS OF GENERAL BEARING ON MISSIONS

- WILBERFORCE (DR. S.) "Speeches on Missions." (Contains several speeches for U.M.C.A. and illustrates policy and outlook of early days.)
- MACLEAR (G. F.) . "A History of Christian Missions."
- *"Don't Support Christian Missions!" DR. EUGENE STOCK. (C.M.S.) 6d.
- *"The Evangelisation of the World in this Generation." (S.V.M.U.).
- "Mankind and the Church." Edited by Bishop Montgomery.
- "The Interpretation of the Character of Christ to Non-Christian Races." C. H. ROBINSON. (Longmans, 1911.)

N.B.—This Bibliography is not in any way exhaustive, and is rather intended to indicate the sort of books which might be looked for in a public library as bearing on the subject. Those given are all of them useful in this connection. The volumes marked with a star (*) are those which will be found most useful in working on the Assignments in this book. Only a few have been thus starred to avoid confusion, and also as some kind of guide towards the purchasing of books for a missionary library.

APPENDIX B

THE LORD'S PRAYER IN SWAHILI

Baba yetu, u-li-ye mbingu-ni, Jina lako li-we
 Father our, Thou-art-Who heaven-in, Name Thy it-be
takatifu. Ufalme wako u-je. Mapenzi yako ya-timizwe,
 holy, Kingdom Thy it-come. Will Thy it-be done,
dunia-ni, Kama ya-timizwa-vyo mbingu-ni. U-tu-pe
 earth in, As it-is done-which heaven-in. Thou-us-give
leo riziki zetu. U-tu-samehe makosa yetu, Kama sisi
 to-day bread our. Thou-us-forgive sins our, As we
tu-na-vyo-wa-samehe wa-li-o-tu-kosa.
 we-are-which-them-forgive They-have-who-us-sinned against.
U-si-tu-tie majaribu-ni; Lakini u-tu-okoe
 Thou-not-us-lead temptation-into; But Thou-us-deliver

maovu-ni : *Kwani ufalme na nguvu na utukufu ni wako*
 evil-from : For kingdom and power and glory is Thine
mitele. Amin.
 for ever. Amen.

NOTE.—In the above, the Swahili words have been broken up with a dash (-) in order to illustrate the meaning of each part of the compound word ; the English below in like manner. There are, of course, no such breaks in common writing :—

E.g. *u-tu-pe*. *u* = pronominal syllable, 2nd Pers. Sing.
tu = objective pronominal prefix, 1st Pers. Plu.
pe = root-stem of verb *kupa* (" to give ") ;
 the " e " being sign of subjunctive.
 So *utupe* = " give us."

APPENDIX C

THE FOLLOWING PRAYERS ARE SUGGESTED FOR
 USE AT STUDY CIRCLES



I

Let us pray for our own and other Missionary Study Circles.

Antiphon. If any of you lacketh wisdom, let him ask of God, Who giveth to all liberally and upbraideth not ; and it shall be given him.

V. Make me a clean heart, O God.

R. And renew a right spirit within me.

ALMIGHTY God, the Lord and Giver of Life, through Whom the whole Body of the Church is governed and sanctified, increase in us Thy manifold gifts of grace ; the spirit of wisdom and understanding ; the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength ; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness ; and fill us, O Lord, with the spirit of Thy holy fear that we may not disobey the last commandment of Thy Christ, but be used of Thee, through our study, for the increase of His Kingdom, Who livest and reignest with Thee, ever One God, world without end. *Amen.*

II

Let us pray for the Heathen.

Antiphon. Make their faces ashamed, O Lord, that they may seek Thy Name : and they shall know that Thou art only the most Highest over all the earth.

V. Ask of Me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance.

R. And the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

O GOD of all the nations upon earth, remember, we pray Thee, the multitudes of the heathen, who, though created in Thine image, are perishing in ignorance ; and through the propitiation of Thy Son Jesus Christ, grant that by the labours and prayers of Thy Holy Church they may be delivered from all superstition and unbelief, and brought to worship Thee. Through Him Whom Thou hast sent to be the Salvation, Resurrection, and Life of all Thy faithful, the same Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

III

Let us pray for Mohammedans.

Antiphon. The Lord our God is one Lord : and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart.

V. A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren.

R. Unto Him shall ye hearken.

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, have mercy upon the Arabs and all others who in the blindness of Islam are strangers to Thy redeeming love ; and grant that Thy Church may so powerfully exhibit to them the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, that they may be brought to confess Thy Son Jesus of Nazareth as their Prophet, Priest, and King, and to share with us the fellowship of the same Spirit, to the glory of Thy Name. Through the merits of the Death and Passion of the same Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

IV

Let us pray for the Oppressed.

Antiphon. The cry of the children of Israel is come unto Me : and I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them.

V. O Lord, be a Defence for the oppressed.

R. Even a Refuge in due time of trouble.

O LORD Jesus Christ, Who didst shed Thy blood for all men, have compassion, we beseech Thee, on all who are in the bondage of slavery, especially in Africa ; remember the groans of captives, the distress of widows and orphans, the needs of the weak and helpless, the hunger and thirst of the starving, the weariness of the sick and aged, the temptations of the young ; break the power of cruelty, and let Thy Kingdom come in righteousness and peace, to Thine honour and glory : Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost livest and reignest one God, world without end. *Amen.*

V

Let us pray for European Christians in East Africa.

Antiphon. Ye are the salt of the earth : but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted ?

V. O think upon Thy congregation.

R. Whom Thou hast purchased, and redeemed of old.

ALMIGHTY God, we beseech Thee for our brethren who are placed in heathen countries, that Thou wouldest supply them with the means of grace, and protect them from the dangers which surround them ; make them steadfast in Thy ways, pure and holy in their lives ; preserve them from the sin of offending Thy little ones which believe in Thee, and from causing Thy name to be blasphemed among the heathen ; grant that they may shine like lights in the world, and adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

VI

Let us pray for Catechumens.

Antiphon. With joy shall ye draw water : out of the wells of Salvation.

V. According to His mercy He saved us.

R. By the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.

REMEMBER, O Lord, all who are receiving instruction for Holy Baptism (esp. . . .) ; have mercy upon them, and confirm them in the faith ; remove all remains of idolatry and superstition from their hearts and minds, that being convinced of Thy truth, devoted to Thy law, and filled with Thy fear, they may grow to a firm knowledge of the Word in which they have been taught, and may be found worthy to be made temples of the Holy Ghost by the laver of regeneration. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

VII

Let us pray for Native Ministers.

Antiphon. I will take of them for Priests and Levites : saith the Lord.

V. I will raise Me up a faithful priest.

R. And I will build him a sure house.

O GREAT Lord of the harvest, ascended Saviour, we pray Thee to raise up faithful bishops, trustworthy priests, holy deacons, from among native believers in lands which as yet own Thee not (esp. in . . .) ; that so Thy people may be all knit together in one Body in love, and Thy Church grow up into the measure of the stature of Thy fulness : Who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Ghost, now and ever. *Amen.*

VIII

Let us pray for our Missionaries.

Antiphon. I must work the works of Him that sent Me while it is day : the night cometh when no man can work.

V. Ye shall be witnesses unto Me.

R. Unto the uttermost parts of the earth.

ALMIGHTY and Everlasting God, we commend to Thy Fatherly care all men and women Whom Thou hast called to labour in Foreign Missions (esp. . . .); give them comfort and sure confidence in Thee; pour upon them abundantly Thy Holy Ghost; endue them with the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind; prosper mightily their work; cheer and encourage them in all difficulties; keep them steadfast in perseverance; and give them a rich increase here, with a blessed reward hereafter. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

IX

Let us pray for the Departed.

Antiphon. Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.

V. Eternal rest grant unto Thy people, O Lord.

R. And let light perpetual shine upon them.

WE commend unto Thy mercy, O Lord, our brethren, workers in the mission-field, who have gone before us with the sign of faith and do sleep the sleep of peace (esp. . . .). Grant to them, O Lord, we pray Thee, with all who rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and peace. Through the same Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

X

Let us pray for the Quickening of Missionary Zeal.

OLORD our Saviour, Who hast warned us that Thou wilt require much of those to whom much is given; grant that we, whose lot is cast in so goodly a heritage, may strive together by prayer, by almsgiving, by fasting, and by every other appointed means, to extend to others what we so richly enjoy; and, as we have entered into the labours of other men, so to labour that in their turn other men may enter into ours, through Thy merits, O blessed Lord God, Who dost live and govern all things, world without end. *Amen.*

APPENDIX D

THE WORK OF THE REV. WILLIAM C. PORTER

The following is of peculiar interest as it is from the pen of an African priest, the Rev. Samuel Chiponde, and is translated from the Swahili magazine, *Msimulizi*, for February 1910.

“ Mr. Porter is called the ‘ Old Man of Masasi,’ for he lived at Masasi from 1881 until his death, and when he came he was not a young man, but older than all his European companions who were there at that time. The Yaos called him ‘ Chipiti ’—that is, ‘ the corn of the year before last,’ because of his age. The people of the whole district of the Rovuma owe a great debt to Mr. Porter which they could not pay him—no, not if he lived for two hundred years. His reward will be given him by Almighty God. He and Bishop Maples are the great ‘ names ’ which cannot be forgotten in the land of Rovuma, for these are the two pioneers who broke up the soil and planted the seed. Those who came after have weeded and watered, but ‘ Mepo ’ (Maples) and ‘ Pota ’ (Porter) were like Yao names. There is not one among the chief padres of Rovuma who was not taught by Mr. Porter ; and all of them he taught himself from A B C, because in those first days there was a famine of teachers, and he himself had to teach even the beginnings. Nearly all the Yaos were baptised by him or Mr. Maples, so if we reckon all the Christians baptised by or through him, Who can give him his reward but God only ?

“ He went first to the old station at Masasi ; but after it was broken up by the Magwangwara raid, he and Mr. Maples were ‘ leaders of the host,’ who started the new station at Newala in 1883, and made it flourish. Mr. Porter taught the hearers, and he used to travel round and explain carefully to the people the work for which they had come. If there was a rumour of war, he was the guardian of the station, telling all the people to sleep while he himself watched, going round with a stick all night.

“ After four years his heart remembered Masasi again where there were still a few Christians, and he asked leave from the Bishop to live there once more. First he gathered the

Christians who were scattered and got some others; Mr. Taylor was sent to help him and died there; then he saw it would be good to move from there, and he built on the place of the present station of Masasi. And he made it his own home. many days. But near the end of his life he wanted to start work in another place, for he used to say that the people of Masasi had been given their opportunity of hearing the Gospel and he would leave others to carry on the work and go on himself. He loved especially the Wa-Makua. He saw they had not had the opportunity the Yaos had had, and that was why he wanted to cross the Rovuma and teach them. And because he had this great desire to go on, when he heard that the Bishop wanted another station begun on the Rovuma, he asked leave to be sent himself. The place is Lumesule, but he only began to work there, for his twelfth hour had come, and he was called by his Lord to receive his wage. May he rest in peace!

“ All he did in the Rovuma would fill a volume, but I will only tell the things I saw myself. The people were so used to him that they made him a Yao, one of themselves, and they did not count him at all among the Europeans. When he went home and returned with two Europeans, the people who met him said: ‘ There have come two Europeans and Pota.’ Or when he was journeying in the villages, if he appeared suddenly, the children would run away at first, saying: ‘ A European! A European!’ but when he came near they would say: ‘ Oh! it is not a European; it is Pota.’ Even now the old people do not believe there is another European like Mr. Porter, perhaps because he worked so long that he reached perfection. Many Yaos call the work of a priest, ‘ the work of Pota,’ and if you want to explain a priest’s work you must say ‘ the work of Pota.’ If an African is given priest’s orders they will say he has been given ‘ the work of Pota.’ This is the great ministry to the Yaos, the best and last, to be like Mr. Porter.

“ Of all he did, there is one thing which makes his name sound like a drum through all the land, and that is what he did in the Magwangwara raid. In those days, as far as I recollect, he lived with Mr. Maples at Masasi surrounded by the Mbweni people, and when they heard that the Magwangwara were coming, Mr. Maples went a journey of two or

three days to meet them to prevent their raiding. But he was not able, and they wanted to kill him, so that he must fly to Newala, and Mr. Porter was left alone. The enemy entered the town and seized many people, but they found Mr. Porter¹ in the gate of the Mission. They thought nothing of him, but he stopped them. He would not let the people inside fire, but brought out cloth, and thus, though the town was burnt, very much of the Mission goods were saved. The people hid in the forest for three months and I myself who write was one of these. But Mr. Porter went to the camp of the Magwangwara, and ransomed twenty-nine people. Some, however, remained, for he had not enough cloth to rescue them, and they were carried off to slavery. But Mr. Porter would not be beaten, for he got goods from the coast and started off to the Magwangwara country, one European alone with his porters, a journey of a month with trouble and danger, not like a journey of these days on the road; but because he was seeking the sheep that were lost, he did not think anything of it. He arrived safely, and ransomed all but those who had died on the way. After this, his name was known in all the land.

“ But Mr. Porter was not known most for the great things he did—no; but for his everyday life. First he was a true missionary. They say he was ‘ a man of pice ’ (*i.e.* money), but you would not believe it by seeing him. He cared nothing about his clothes, and it is not known where he slept (*i.e.* he slept anywhere). I never saw him sleep on a good bed, but on a travelling bed or oil-boxes; what he ate nobody knows. When he set out he had no food-loads, he put a piece of bread and cheese in his pocket, that was all. While journeying, he ate whatever it was that the people were cooking, anything at all. Everywhere he went, his work was to seek for the souls of men, nothing more than this.

“ Secondly, he was a man who feared God. All who lived with him saw nothing else but that he was a servant of God, body and soul. I can say without doubt that his life of holiness converted many more than his words, although he was always preaching.

“ Thirdly, he was humble. I said in the beginning that

¹ He was unarmed, but utterly fearless.—ED.

he was middle-aged when he came (to Africa), but Mr. Porter was not chief when he lived with another priest. He was always 'just a man': the work was all. In nearly every place he began the work himself, but when it was settled he wanted another to come and be chief, and he himself under him. He always took care of other people, especially when travelling, wanting others to have all their needs (supplied), but not caring about himself. This was his character. He followed truly the footsteps of his Lord and did not turn aside to look at any other."

NOTE.—In translating, the native idiom has been kept as far as possible; but some abbreviation has been necessary. We desire to thank Padre Chiponde for his permission to make it.

R. K. and M. M.

APPENDIX E

The following speeches at Edinburgh, illustrating the Laymen's Missionary Movement, have been omitted from Chapter VII. on account of lack of space.

The Rev. Canon L. Norman Tucker (Toronto, Canada): "I have seen in the Dominion of Canada, from one end of it to the other, especially in connection with the Laymen's Missionary Movement, assemblies, in some cases composed entirely of men, thrilled and moved to their deepest depths by the missionary cause. When all the great appeals are brought into one from the different mission-fields they constitute what you, Mr. Chairman, have so well called a synchronisation of opportunities and crises, and this has appealed to the imagination of men irresistibly, and placed a burden on the soul and conscience of men which they are unable to cast off. Now, side by side with that aspect of the question is its counterpart. The Church of the living God arising among all the nations of the earth and arising as a great missionary society. This idea, the Church itself a missionary society—not missionary societies within the Church—I take for granted. Now see how that idea will pervade all the life and operations of the Church. The Church

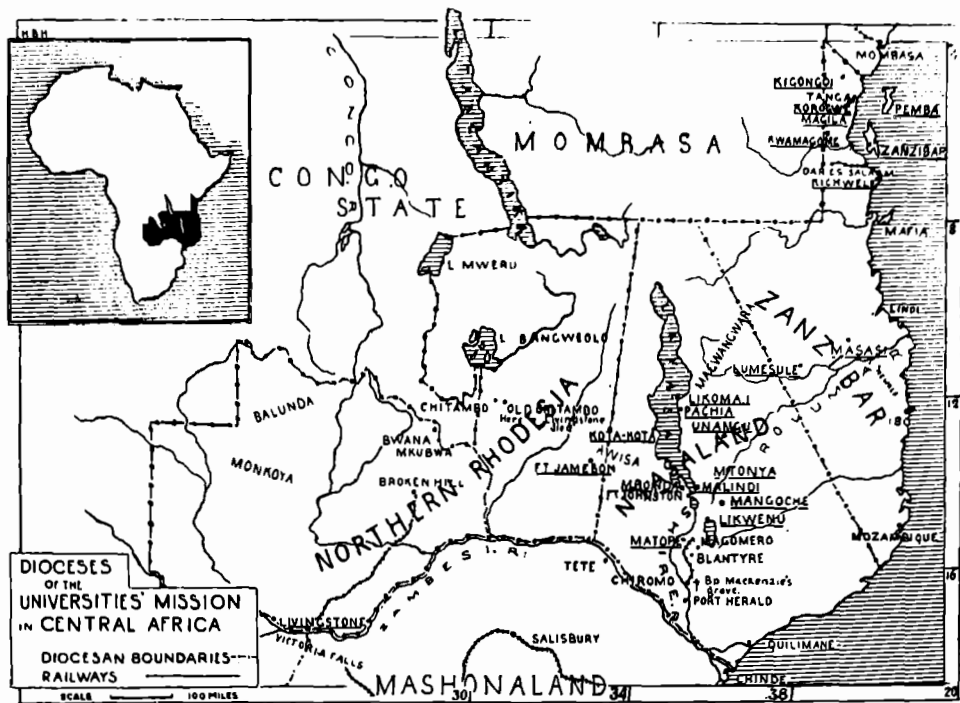
a missionary society, all members of the Church called to be missionaries and to help in missionary work, and if all members, then first and foremost the clergy. It becomes their duty to preach missionary sermons, give missionary information to their people not as something extra and optional, but as part and parcel of their daily administration. The time is past when clergymen may write to the secretaries of their societies and say: "Send me your deputation to make an appeal for your society to my people, and I will give you the collection," as though the people and the money belonged to the clergymen, and the need and the appeal belonged to the society. Then, as the clergyman is and must ever be the centre of the position, and congregations will never rise much above the spiritual level of their pastor, we recognise the need of missionary information and training in our theological colleges, of professors of missions, or at any rate missionary lecturers, so that the rising generation of the clergy may go forth filled with that idea to fill their congregation with missionary information and missionary enthusiasm. If the clergy lead, then the laymen will follow. Men will learn to pray and deny themselves, and so giving will become part of their very lives. So a new life will come into the Church, and the Church will arise confronting this great opportunity as the army of God, living, united, militant, under the Great Captain of our Salvation, to enter that open door, and advance to the spiritual conquest of the world."—*The Home Base*, p. 297.

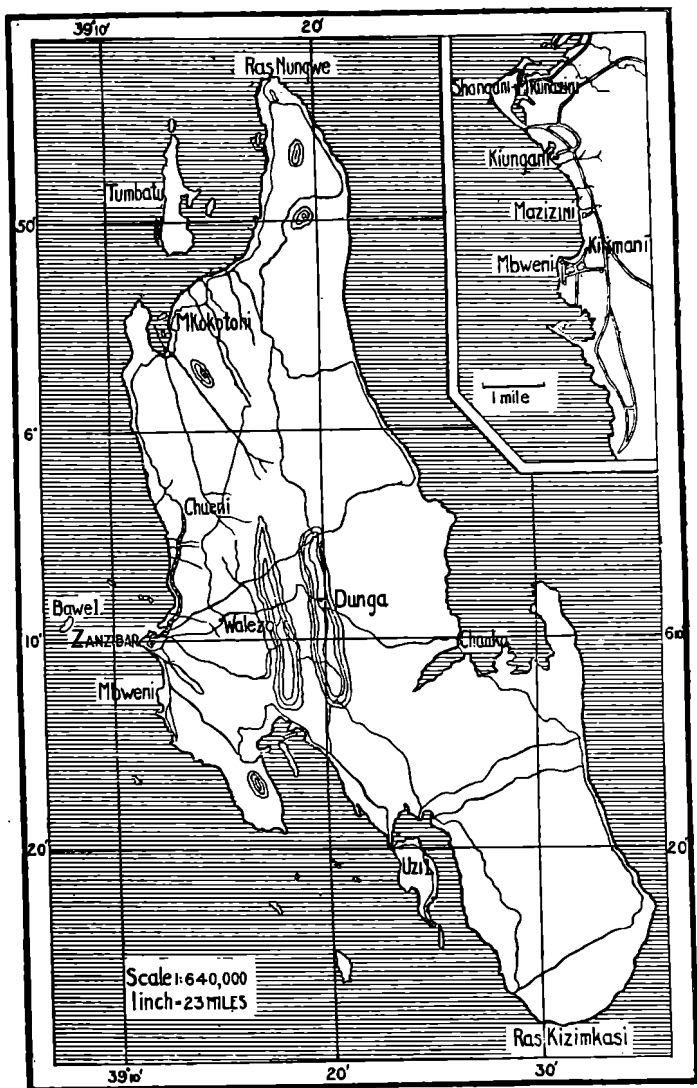
Sir Andrew Fraser: "I only wish to speak very briefly about an experience that I had in Canada. I went to Canada over a year ago to see something of the Laymen's Movement there. There had been a great campaign conducted all over Canada, the principal places of Canada having been visited by deputations. The chairman of the Campaign Committee was our friend, Mr. Rowell, and he was the chairman of the great conference in which that campaign culminated. At that conference there were four thousand laymen gathered together from all parts of Canada, from the most distant, as well as from the nearest parts of Toronto. They met together for nothing except to consider the affairs of the Lord Jesus Christ and His kingdom, and I never saw in all my life such enthusiasm, and never felt in my own heart such contact with Christ and with His work. They found out what figure

was required to carry the Gospel all over Canada, and then they said to themselves, meeting as business men, What sum is required for us to meet the obligation that rests upon us in regard to that portion of the heathen world that lies to our hand? They fixed that sum also. They added up the two sums, and it came to £900,000 a year, and they said: That sum must be raised. They set before them, as business men, that goal, and you have heard what has occurred since, how they are striving towards that goal, and how, with the help of God, they are going to reach it. The great points that seem to me of immense importance are these: the consecration of the Lord JESUS CHRIST of the business capacity of the great business community; secondly, the distribution of responsibility for this work that has got to be done; thirdly, the systematic giving, no temporary enthusiasm, no mere sporadic effort, but a steady business determination, week by week, to give what can be given of money and energy and labour to the cause of our Lord JESUS CHRIST at home and abroad for the evangelisation of the world, and the winning of His world for Him.—*The Home Base*, p. 319.

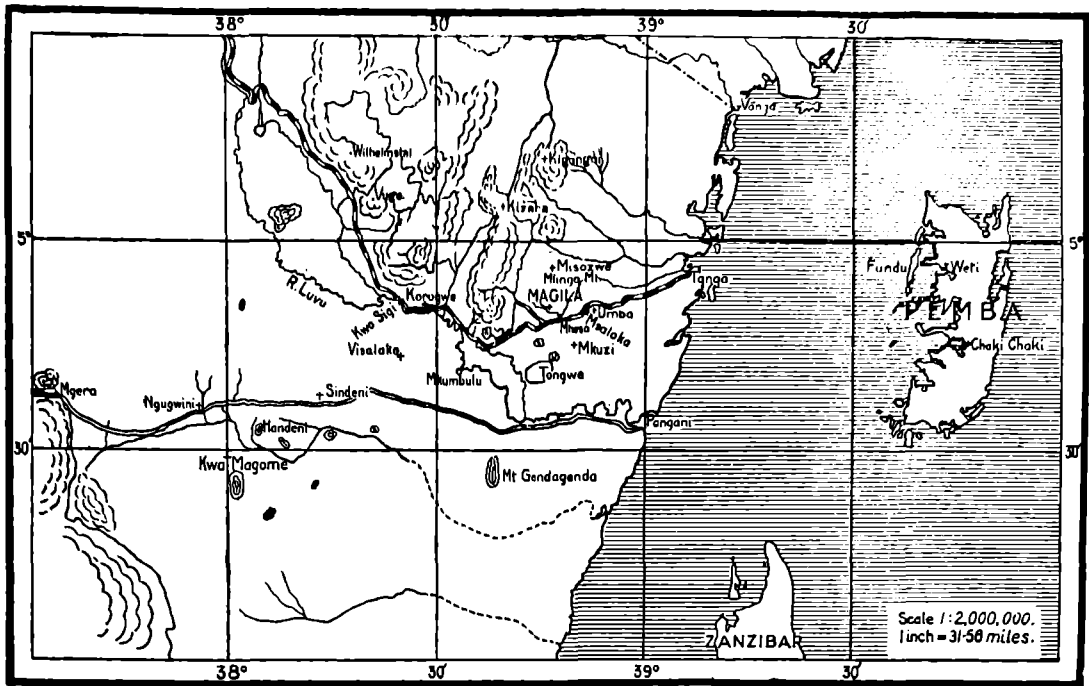
Mr. Samuel B. Capen (President of the Laymen's Missionary Movement): "The reason why there is a Laymen's Missionary Movement was told us practically by the Chairman of the Commission this morning. There is but one man out of five in our Churches who is practically interested in this work, and it is certainly the part of the men who are interested in it to get hold of their fellows. How are we going to do it? Men are not interested in missions not because they mean to be uninterested, but because they are ignorant. It is not more exhortation they need, but more information, and we have tried to give them that information. Mr. White has told us how we have done it through the conventions, by putting before them the statistics of their own neighbourhood. We also go further, and show how little they are giving abroad as compared with what they are giving at home. Our parishes at home are 50 millions, and we are giving 275 millions for them; our parishes abroad are 600 millions, and we are only giving 11 millions for them—in other words, our parishes abroad are twelve times as large, and we are only giving one twenty-fifth part of what we should be giving. The United States, with a population of

20 millions of Protestant members, could furnish all these missionaries, and then it would not take one out of 1000. It is not too much to ask that we should ask one man out of 1000, and it is not too big a proposition to ask the other 999 men to furnish that man with the necessary money. During the last year we have sold 1,600 books, we have sold 3,500 charts, we have sold 360,000 pamphlets, and 500,000 addresses delivered by Mr. Mott and others, and there has been a call for half a million leaflets besides. Information is the first word round which we gather. And the second is organisation. The women are gloriously organised in our country, and the men are gloriously disorganised. We have agreed to form a committee, secondly to have a missionary plan—that every Church should take up its own objective and see what its duty is. We have also agreed that we shall have a missionary pledge, and fourthly, a personal canvass for weekly offerings, men going two by two and asking every man in the population what he is proposing to do about it. And, fifthly, we give a large place to prayer in the Church. It is a man's job, and it cannot be financed by mite boxes and pennies. We have found out in the United States and Canada how to forget our denominations. I am glad to say that there are sixty-two out of sixty-five Bishops in the Episcopal Church in that movement, and the Bishop of Washington, after he had raised the sum needed in his Church, went out to the Wesleyans to help them. What are the results? Thirteen Canadian cities which two years ago gave £421,000 are giving £708,000, and twenty-one South American cities which gave £201,000 have pledged themselves to give £433,000. It is easier to finance them, and Churches are doing more at home than ever before in the atmosphere which has been created. Further, we are making Christian men who have been neglecting their work come back, and have laid hold of their souls. Finally, we have been winning men who have been away from the Church. When the need of the Church across the mission-field has been presented to them, and when they have seen their duty to that Church, they have seen their own duty to God and have come to Him."—*The Home Base*, p. 320.

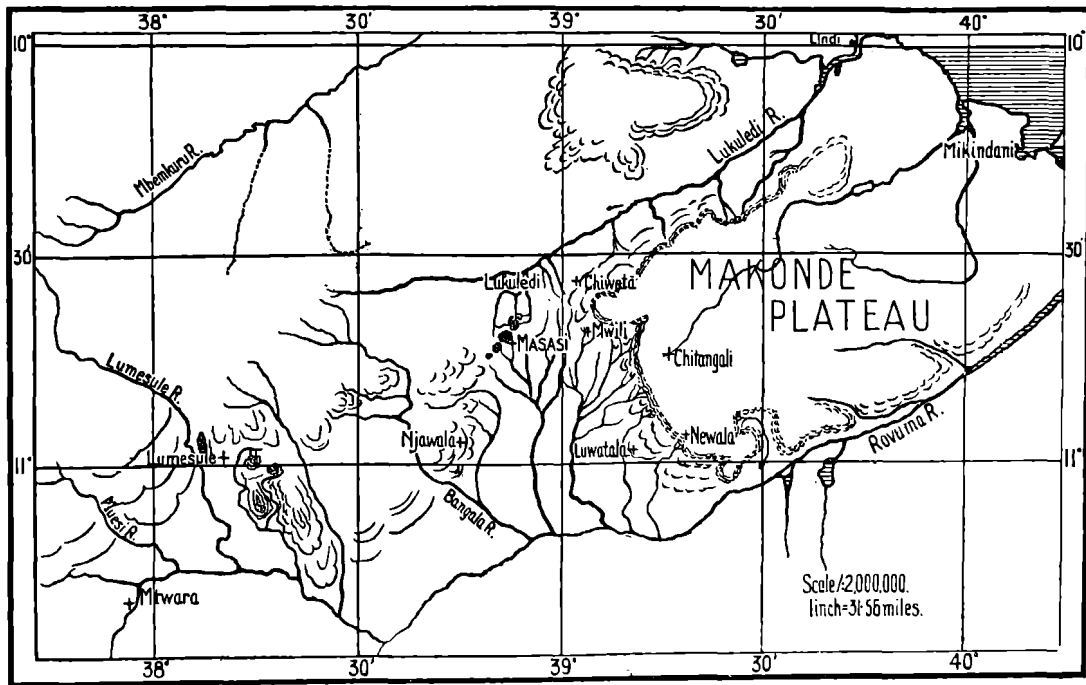




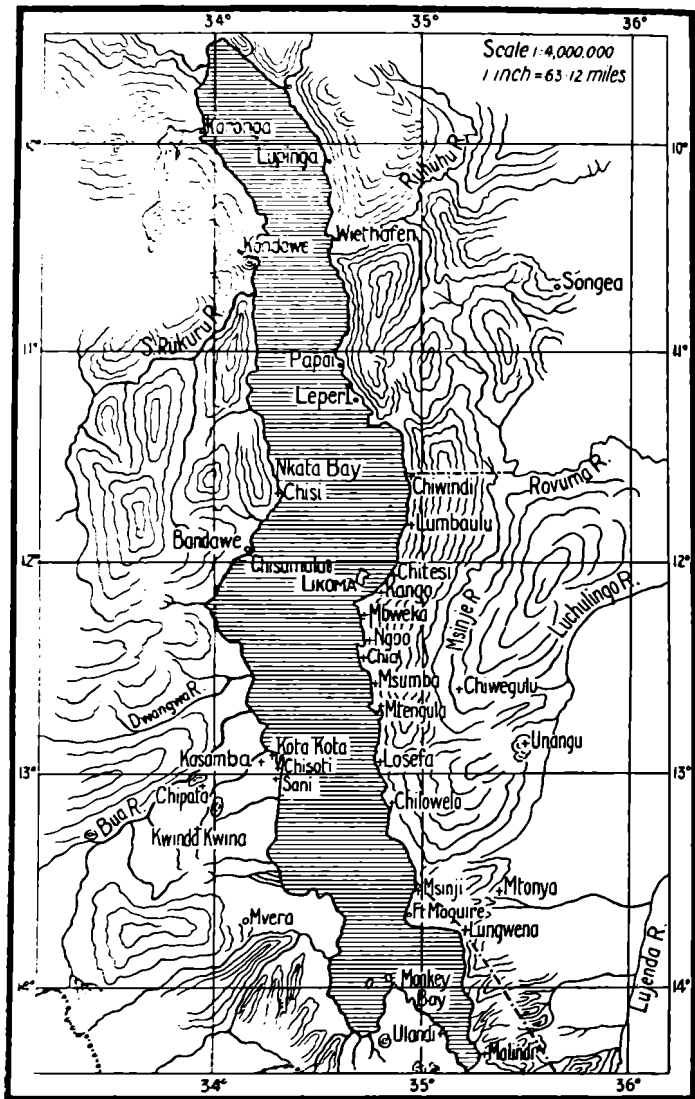
ZANZIBAR ISLAND



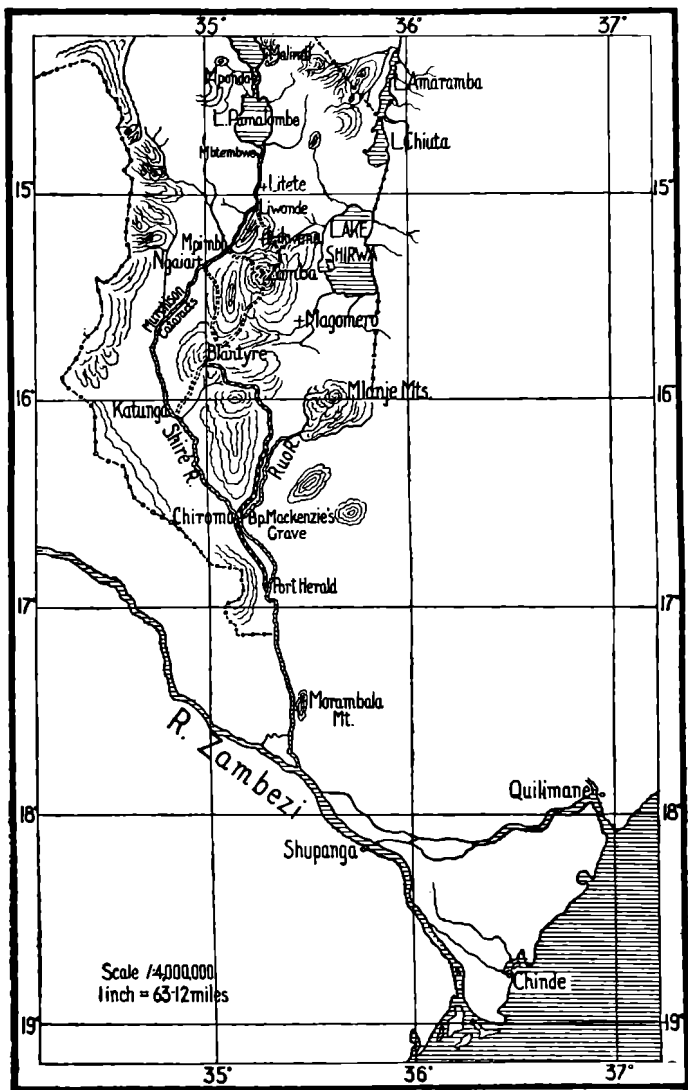
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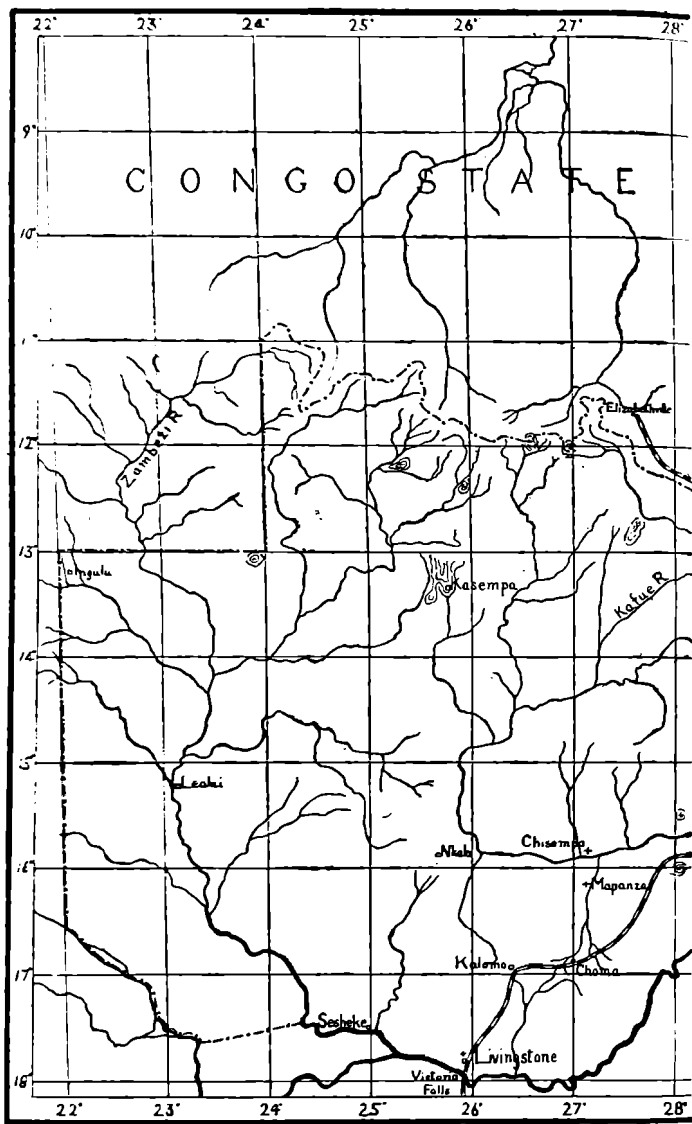
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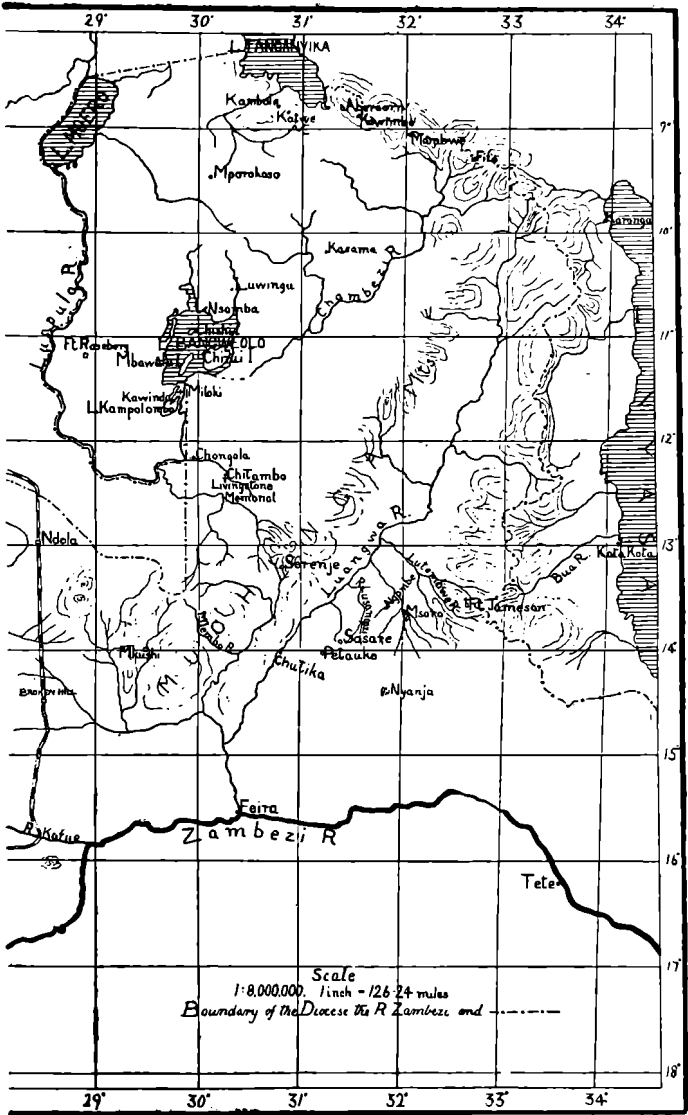
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RIVER SHIRÉ



DIocese OF



NORTHERN RHODESIA

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