

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

OUR EMPIRE'S DEBT TO MISSIONS

THE DUFF MISSIONARY LECTURE, 1923

BY

J. N. OGILVIE, D.D.

MODERATOR, GENERAL ASSEMBLY, CHURCH OF SCOTLAND (1918)
CONVENER, CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FOREIGN MISSION COMMITTEE

Author of "The Apostles of India" (Baird Lecture, 1915)
"An Indian Pilgrimage" "Afric's Sunny Fountains"
"The Presbyterian Churches" etc.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
LIMITED LONDON

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY MORRISON AND GIBB LTD., EDINBURGH

Preface

THIS book is an expanded form of the DUFF MISSIONARY LECTURE, which was delivered in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, in November and December 1923. The Duff Lectureship, which commemorates the great Scottish missionary Dr. Alexander Duff, was instituted forty years ago by his son, Mr. Pirie Duff. It provides for the delivery every fourth year, in leading Scottish cities, of a course of six lectures on a theme "within the range of Foreign Missions, and cognate subjects." To the Trustees, who honoured me with an invitation to deliver these lectures, I tender here my grateful acknowledgments.

For the subject of the lectures it may be claimed that it is, at least, timely. At the present hour, Empire interests and developments occupy so large a place in the Nation's thoughts, that the position and power of Christian Missions in the Empire may with much advantage be considered. But in choosing the topic I had also peculiar satisfaction in remembering its congruity with a

marked feature in Dr. Duff's own life. He was a great missionary, but he was also a great patriot, and ever insisted on the high place of Christian Missions as an asset of the Empire.

The lectures were delivered, and these chapters have been written, *not* for the man who is steeped in missionary literature and knowledge. He does not need them. They are designed rather for the ordinary citizen, who prizes the great heritage known as "The British Empire," who keenly desires its well-being, but who hardly realises how much of its present worthiness has been due to Christian Missions, nor how essential to its future progress and highest prosperity are the services of the Missionary. The book supplies but an outline of a large subject, which no doubt will one day receive exhaustive treatment. Yet I venture to hope that this outline may be of some service in commending Missions to loyal Sons of the Empire, and in leading them to accord to Missions that place in their Empire-thoughts which is so abundantly due.

J. N. OGILVIE.

EDINBURGH, 1924.

Contents

CHAPTER I

THE ADJUSTMENT OF RELATIONS—RECOGNITION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS BY THE EMPIRE

	PAGE
Sixteenth Century Beginnings of Empire—Eighteenth Century Beginnings of Missions—Two Forces within same Areas—Desirableness of Adjustment of Relations—Missionary Attitude of Earlier European World Empires—Missions recognised and supported—England follows suit with Recognition of Duty, but is sparing in her Support—Early American Colonies Missionary on their own Initiative—Growth of Empire and Missions compels Adjustment of Relations—A Twofold Process required—Recognition of Missions by the Empire, and Recognition of the Empire by Missions—India the Scene of Former Process—East India Company—Changing Attitude to Missions—Indifference, Mild Approval, Open Hostility—Twenty Years Conflict at Home—Victory in Parliament, 1813—India opened to Missionaries—Later Developments—Present Adjustment—Empire welcomes Missions—Co-operation in Non-religious Activities	1

CHAPTER II

THE ADJUSTMENT OF RELATIONS—RECOGNITION OF THE EMPIRE BY CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

This Complementary Process chiefly in Early Nineteenth Century—In Lands where Missions were first to enter—Missionaries Pioneering for Christ become also Pioneers of Empire—Polynesia—Captain Cook's

	PAGE
Voyages—Arrival of Missionaries—Williams—Island Theocracies the Ideal—No Entangling Political Con- nection with Britain—Difficulties compel Change of View—Security found in Annexation—New Zealand— Pioneer Work by Marsden—Like Political Action compelled—New Guinea—Chalmers—Annexation ulti- mately welcomed—Africa—Nyasaland Scottish Mission —Portuguese Encroachments and Threats—Protector- ate sought and secured—Uganda—Missionary Heroism —Country saved for Empire and Progress, through Missionary Determination—Bechuanaland—John Mac- kenzie—Question of possible Destiny of these Lands apart from Missionary Agency—Fact remains they are in the Empire through Christian Missions 24

CHAPTER III

THE CIVILISING WORK OF MISSIONS AMONG THE CHILD-RACES OF THE EMPIRE

Missions Christianise and Civilise—From Empire Stand- point Civilising Work impresses most—Details vary with Stage of Civilisation reached by Each People concerned—Fullest with the Child-Races—Six Leading Developments—(1) Education, largely Elementary— (2) Language Work: Translation and Literature— (3) Industrial Training: for Adults, and in Schools— (4) The Ministry of Healing—(5) Elevation of Home and Family—(6) Amelioration of Social and Tribal Life—Four Typical Examples of Process and Results— Fiji—Basutoland—Blantyre in Nyasaland—Uganda —Missions, as a Civilising Agency alone, a Great Asset of Empire 58
--	--------------

CHAPTER IV

MISSIONS AND EASTERN CIVILISATION

For the Empire Eastern Civilisation means India—Problem offered to Missions contrasts markedly with that presented by Child-Races—A Mediæval Civilisation in

	PAGE
full Vigour faced Earlier Missionaries—Yet Two Indias—An Underworld as well as an Upperworld—(1) <i>The India of the Underworld</i> —Sixty Millions of “Untouchables”—Missionaries strangely slow in dealing with this Element—Now Intense—Educational, Industrial and Social Uplift—Indian Efforts in same Direction—Question of their Endurance—(2) <i>The India of the Upperworld</i> —Caste India—The India that counts supremely—Limits to Missionary Interference with an Alien Type of Civilisation—Accepted Policy is to present Christ and let the Leaven work the Inevitable Changes—Education the Chief Approach to the Upperworld—Duff’s Great Innovation—Seconded by Government—Beginning of Process for Purifying, Modifying and Improving India’s Civilisation—Three Leading Developments—(a) Removal of Glaring Moral Offences from Public Life—(b) Rise in Public Opinion on many Moral Questions—(c) Political Developments of Today—Part played by Christian Missions in these Changes—General Missionary Attitude—Comparison of Indian Developments with Evolution of Civilisation in Europe	108

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE AVERAGE MAN OF OTHER FAITHS

The Spiritual Service the greatest which Missions render to the Empire—Concerns the Character of the Men of the Various Peoples—Many who approve of the Civilising Work of Missions, doubt concerning the Spiritual—Religions of the Non-Christian Peoples said to be sufficient for their Needs—This best answered for considering the *Average Man* of Each Faith, as he is found in the Empire, and noting what his Religion gives—and fails to give—(1) The Average Pagan—(2) The Average Hindu—(3) The Average Neo-Hindu—(4) The Average Buddhist—(5) The Average Mohammedan—Every Faith as apprehended by the Average Man comes short of Human Needs—Christ alone is All-sufficing 189

CHAPTER VI

CONCERNING CRITICISMS

	PAGE
Serious Criticism of Missions is decreasing, Superficial Criticism still frequent—Test the Qualifications of the Critics—Sober Criticism makes Three Statements which demand Consideration—(1) <i>The Alleged Failure of the "Human Product" of Missions</i> —Particularly in Africa and India—Examination of Statement and the Facts adduced in support—Some Foundation exists in Particular Cases—A Wide Survey results in Other Judgment—Main Causes of much Adverse Criticism are a Faulty Time-view, and the Use of a Defective Measure in testing Success—(2) <i>The Alleged Disruptive Effect of Missions on the Community</i> —Life of Primitive Peoples—Examination of Statement in Connection with the <i>Social Life</i> —Individual Cases admitted, as also an Initial General Tendency of the kind—The Ultimate Influence of Missions is in the Opposite Direction—Consolidates and does not Disrupt—Responsible Testimonies to this abound—Much of Disruption due to Other Causes—(3) <i>Alleged Hurtful Political Effects of Missions</i> —Isolated Outbreaks of African against Europeans—Ethiopianism—Missions exculpated on Official Enquiry—Political Disturbances due to the World-Unrest and the Increasing Racialism—Both in Africa and in India, Missions a Powerful Healing Force—The Main Hope of Peace	179

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS—THE EMPIRE'S
CONSCIENCE

World-Empire brings Dangers—Supreme Temptation is to exploit the Weaker Races for the Gain of the Stronger—Evil Record of Former Empires: Spain, Portugal, France—British Empire not exempt—Need for a *Conscience* in the Far Parts of Empire—Missions have supplied the Need—Act along Three Main Lines

	PAGE
—(1) As a <i>Leavening Influence</i> they foster Higher Moral Ideals in the European Community—And in the Governments—(2) As <i>Crusaders against Wrongs</i> —Abolition of Slavery the Outstanding Historic Instance—To-day Crusades are against Three Leading Evils connected with (a) Liquor, (b) Land, and (c) Labour—Action taken by Missionaries—(3) As a <i>Stimulus for the Right—Liaison Service</i> of Missions between Empire Authorities and Native Races—In Social Sphere—In Political Sphere—Examples from Africa and India—Conscience still needed—Specially called to uphold the Ideal of the Empire as a <i>Trustee for the Native Races</i> —Kenya Controversy—Duke of Devonshire—Great Declaration of Empire Policy—Value of Missions to the Empire—Very evident from this Detailed Examination—Rapidly and convincingly realised by picturing the <i>British Empire without Missions</i> —Happily only a Dream-picture—Never to be realised—Relations of Missions and Empire To-day at their Highest and Best	209

CHAPTER VIII

IN PAYMENT OF THE DEBT—A POSTSCRIPT

The Debt not on one Side only—Missions owe much to the Empire—Empire Services Threefold: Protection, Co-operation, Appreciation—(1) *Protection* the Fundamental Service—Immunity of Missions within the Empire, from External Foes—Security for Missionaries and their Converts—Question of the Continuance of this Security in a Non-British India—The Tolerance of Hinduism—Its Limits—Empire Rule gives Protection impartially to all Religions—(2) *Co-operation* of Empire with Missions is of two kinds, Financial and Administrative—India Chief Scene of Former—Educational Co-operation—Extent of Aid—Criticisms of Minorities—African Prospects—Administrative Co-operation—Spiritual Aims helped by Stoppage of Religious Crimes—Nigerian Experience—(3) *Appreciation* of Missions by Empire Authorities—A Real Asset

	PAGE
to Missions—Analysis of British abroad in regard to their Missionary Attitudes—Hostility, Indifferentism, Convinced Approval, and Active Sympathy—Testimonies of Indian Officials—The Christian Statesmen of the Panjab—Elsewhere in the Empire the Type less prominent but seldom absent—Treasured Conviction of our Fathers that the Empire's Expansion served in Some Real Way the Kingdom of God—To-day less assertively proclaimed but quietly and justifiably held—Acknowledged by many Unprejudiced Men of Other Nations—American Tributes—Despite Faults and Failures, still to be cherished—Hold high the Ideal and give it Increasing Justification—The Maori's Figure—The Lamp of God and the Lamp of the World	255
INDEX	275

CHAPTER I

THE ADJUSTMENT OF RELATIONS—RECOGNITION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS BY THE EMPIRE

A FEW years hence the British Empire will reach its three hundred and fiftieth anniversary, seeing that its beginning may fairly be assigned to the year 1578. It was in that year that Queen Elizabeth gave her royal authorisation to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "to take possession of all remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by any Christian prince or people." To-day, this frank disregard of the eighth commandment, when dealing with lands or peoples beyond the Christian pale, amazes us, but it is entirely characteristic of the international morality of the Europe of that time. Spain, Portugal and France, each in turn, had followed this loose moral code in their overseas expansion, and had done so with the express sanction of the Pope. England now only followed suit, though without any ecclesiastical endorsement, except so far as Queen Elizabeth's position as Head of the Anglican Church might be regarded as giving spiritual countenance to the royal command. Little permanent foothold resulted from Sir Humphrey Gilbert's daring enterprises, but the idea of an overseas expansion of England got rooted in the English mind; and

from the beginning of the seventeenth century until now, the steady growth of the British Dominions beyond the Seas has been one of the most striking features of national and international history. To-day in the political maps of the world, the red tint, which marks the lands where Britain's supremacy is acknowledged, extends over a total area of approximately 7,600,000 square miles, one-seventh of the whole world. The people occupying these territories number 443,600,000 forming one-fourth of the population of the globe. It is true the cords which link the various parts to the old Island-mother differ widely in texture, in visibility, and even in durability, but they tell of a unity that is real, and witness to a common allegiance to the British Throne.

Not so very long ago this far-flung Empire of Britain was a cause of complacent satisfaction to the ordinary British citizen, and it is still a source of legitimate pride. But of late into the Empire-thoughts of men there has entered increasingly the note of responsibility. To whom much has been given, of him much is acknowledged to be required. In the mind of the average Briton to-day the Use of Empire is displacing the Glory of Empire from the first place; and the highest glory is increasingly felt to be dependent on the noblest use. It was about two hundred years ago that thoughts of this kind began to stir the minds of a small minority of Englishmen, and led them to take definite action; so that the Expansion of England might mean

something also for the Expansion of the Kingdom of Christ. Small at first, this seed-thought got planted increasingly in the minds of Christian citizens; and to-day we see its fruits in the Christian Missions that permeate all the non-Christian portions of the Empire, claiming the lands for Christ, and seeking to win for Him the allegiance of the peoples. Throughout the eighteenth century such Empire-service was practically confined to the Churches in England, but with the advent of the nineteenth century, the Scottish and Irish Churches added their forces; and now allies from the larger British Dominions, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, from the United States of America, and from the Continent of Europe, are all co-operating in an endeavour to win and hold for Christ the non-Christian races of the British Empire. In number the missionaries of all kinds and nationalities, at work in the Empire to-day, approximate 9000.

The study of this twofold Expansion, political and spiritual, is intensely interesting; and it is also of high importance for all who wish well to either of the causes concerned. Two Empires confront us, extending over the same area—the Empire of Britain, and the Empire of Christ. Two bodies of men are engaged in furthering the rule of their respective monarchs—the servants of the Crown, as well as, consciously or unconsciously, the mercantile community; and the missionaries of Christ. Two contrasted ideals, in the main, lie behind their service—the extension

of the Empire, and the advancement of the Native Races. Between these two forces there is no essential rivalry. The legitimate aims of the one do not exclude those of the other: indeed experience has demonstrated that both gain greatly by working in alliance. Yet this conclusion has not been easily or quickly reached. Christian Missions have had to win their place within the Empire, and the Empire has had to become willing to be won. Mistakes in seeking a right relationship have not been few. Experiments have been tried, and modified or even abandoned. Prejudices on both sides have had to be fought and overcome. Sometimes pressure from Britain has had to be applied to those Overseas, while at other times it is from Overseas that pressure has had to be put on those at Home. Yet slowly and steadily the process of adjustment has proceeded, and to-day the right relation between Christian Missions and the British Empire may be regarded as having been evolved. Mutual recognition of each other's place and work has been reached. It has been the result of a double process, one portion of which is dealt with in this chapter—the *Recognition of Missions by the Empire*.

I

The first stage in the long process of adjustment is seen taking place in the seventeenth century, when the Empire's development was in its infancy. In that early period *missionary* duty on the part of

Empire pioneers, though occasionally acknowledged in theory, seldom assumed any practical form. The allied question, however, of the place due to Religion in the life of the growing English settlements overseas, received much consideration—often indeed more than was accorded it in later days. In part, this definite recognition of religion's place was due to the fact that England's earlier oversea enterprises were mainly organised by the State: and in all previous strivings of the kind after world-dominion the standard of the State's religious duties had been already set. England was late in entering the race for world-territory. Spain, Portugal and France had all been before her, and with each of these European Powers, among their avowed aims the advance of the Church of Christ had figured almost as prominently as the extension of the territories of their respective rulers. To build churches and furnish them with priests, in every foreign territory that might be annexed, was recognised as a duty as binding as that of erecting barracks, and garrisoning the new lands with military and civil representatives of the State. Nor was this merely lip-service. Its reality was proved by the lavish expenditure of money in the cause of religion, and by the devoted life-service of consecrated men, in North America, in South America, in India and along the farthest coasts of Africa. The Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation stimulated European Sovereigns of the old Faith to make up, by victories of the Cross overseas, for the losses of their Church at Home: and in many

of their intrepid voyagers and pioneers the same spirit burned. Columbus was as much a pioneer for the Church as he was for the Spanish King. To the first island which he discovered he gave the name "San Salvador": on his second voyage he carried with him to Hayti, Benedictine priests, who would "bring the dwellers in the Indies to a knowledge of the Holy Catholic Faith lovingly": and never a new shore did he touch without holding thereon a divine service of "immense thanksgivings to Almighty God." Again in the Far East, when Francis Xavier journeyed to India, the orders of the Portuguese monarch to his Viceroy at Goa were as insistent on the duty of giving every aid to the Church's missionary, as they could have been had Xavier been a high officer of State. And so it also was, in varying degree, with all the enterprises that created the older European world-empires. There was associated with them a large endeavour to further the Empire of Christ—as they conceived it.

It is true that inquiry into the precise nature of the work done, and the quality of the fruitage borne by these endeavours, may and does engender regret that, on so large a scale, there should have been so great a misdirection of both material and spiritual forces. And there is no doubt either that the zeal of the monarchs, and of some of the voyagers, for the advancement of religion, was not the main motive that urged the majority to efforts for world-expansion. Lord Bacon's caustic criticism of the Spaniards in America may be accepted as indubitably correct, and applicable

to other enterprises besides those of Spain : " It cannot be affirmed, if one speak ingenuously, that it was the propagation of the Christian Faith that was the adamant of that discovery, entry, and plantation, but gold and silver and temporal profit and glory ; so that what was first in God's providence was but second in man's appetite and intention." Still, when all this is said, it remains to the lasting credit of those earlier European attempts after world-Empire, that the place of Religion, and the place of Christian Missions, in such enterprises was definitely recognised.

* * *

When England entered the race for Empire she found this the accepted tradition of Christian nations. It agreed with her own convictions and best desires, and she adopted it in her policy. Though never on the large and generous scale of the Roman Catholic Powers, yet recognition of religion as a needed element in her world-expansion was repeatedly emphasised. Had her practice only kept pace with her professions, there would be nothing to regret to-day ; but it must be admitted that too often there were lamentable divergences. Still, the principles laid down in those early days were unimpeachable, and in the earliest days the practice was not inadequate. The words of Edward VI. to navigators can hardly be bettered : " The serving of Christianity must be the chief interest of such as shall make any attempt at foreign discovery, or else what is builded on the foundations shall never obtain happy success or continuance." Sir Humphrey

Gilbert gave as his leading motive in securing "so ample and pleasant countries for the Crown and People of England,—the honour of God and compassion of poor infidels led captive by the Devil." Sir Walter Raleigh's gift of £100 to the Virginia Company in 1588, to aid in the introduction of Christianity to that Colony, is evidence of his Christian outlook, and has besides a permanent interest as being the first missionary contribution recorded in Protestant England. Official expressions of concern for the religious advancement of the newly founded colonies in America were not lacking in warmth. To Massachusetts Charles I. in 1628 gave a charter which stated that the "principal end of the plantation is to win and invite the natives of the country to the knowledge of the only true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian Faith." Most definite of all the missionary actions taken by the State was the passing by the Long Parliament in 1647 of a declaration that "the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, having received intelligence that the heathens in New England are beginning to call upon the name of the Lord, feel bound to assist in the work." And assist they did, by granting a charter to the New England Company, the first of all English missionary societies, and ordering a general collection to be taken in all the churches of England and Wales—which resulted in a sum of £12,000.

Across the Atlantic, in those young Colonies on the American seaboard, which with Newfoundland and Hudson Bay Territory remained through-

out the seventeenth century practically the only evidence of a "Britain beyond the Seas," this interest expressed at Home in their spiritual growth bore visible fruit; but the richest fruit of all came not from any home impulse. It sprang from the spiritual fervour of the Puritan Colonists of New England. In Virginia and in Maryland, where the Church of England was dominant, fair provision was made for the spiritual needs of the colonists; but it was in the Northern settlements, among the Pilgrim Fathers and their descendants, that the *Missionary* duty of an expanding Empire found strongest expression. There the life-long labours of John Elliot, the "Apostle of the Indians," were of a kind to win for the labourer a place among the immortals of missionary history, and to absolve the Puritans of New England from any charge of having cared nought for the souls of the original people of the land. In missionary initiative these New England colonists have never been approached by the early settlers of any other British Colony.

Nevertheless it cannot be claimed for the expanding England of the seventeenth century that Christian Missions presented themselves to her conscience as an urgent duty. What may be legitimately claimed is that Missions were recognised as a consequence of Empire, which could not honourably be passed by. The place of Missions in the Empire was officially acknowledged, and decorous assistance was with fair frequency afforded by the civil authorities at home, and by their representatives in the settlements abroad.

If the help given was small, it was seldom that any hindrance was offered to missionary work. A passive benevolence might at least be counted on. It was not a great deal, yet the wonder is that so much was done rather than so little. The Churches at Home had not as yet been at all gripped by the missionary idea ; indeed, they had scarce been touched by it. Not till the eighteenth century was far advanced did the vision of a world won for Christ begin to move the souls of chosen men. All that century until its closing years, while more and more of the world was being won for Britain, so far as these new-won lands were concerned, the Christian forces of Britain stood idle in the market-place. Towards the end of the century came the great missionary awakening, and with it an endeavour to recover lost ground, and to prevent any newly-acquired ground from being lost. Empire and Missions grew steadily greater and stronger, and it became incumbent on both to have their right relation to each other decided. Decision came through practical experience, gained under two different sets of conditions, which led in each case to the same conclusion. The one condition occurred in areas where British control had been established prior to the arrival of any Christian Mission ; the other was found in lands where Christian Missions were first in the field, and Empire control came later. In each case there had to be an adjustment of relations between the power already in possession and the new organisation. India in the eighteenth century was the chief scene of the

one process ; Africa and Polynesia in the nineteenth century offer the leading examples of the other.

II

Britain's connection with India dates from the year 1600. Then it was that Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to "one Body Corporate and Politic . . . by the name of the *Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.*" The scope of the activities of this celebrated Company was clearly defined : "That they at their own Adventures, Costs and Charges, as well for the Honour of this our Realm of England, as for the Increase of our Navigation and Advancement of Trade of Merchandise, with our said Realms and the Dominions of the same, might adventure to set forth one or more Voyages . . . in the Countries and Parts of Asia and Africa . . . to the benefit of our Commonwealth." The aims of this charter are of importance, if a fair judgment of the East India Company's early attitude to Missions is to be reached. In the charter it has been pointed out that "there is no element of religion," such as occurs in many of the State pronouncements which concern the early settlements in America. This is true, but it is hardly a cause of reproach to the Company of Merchants ; rather does it serve to emphasise the essential difference between them and the settlers in Virginia and New England. Those latter were colonists, men who were to permanently

settle in the land of their choice. That land was part of England overseas ; and those who settled there were expected to serve their new land and its inhabitants in higher as well as in lower things. The voyagers to India, on the other hand, were merchants, and from the Crown's point of view, as well as from their own, nothing but merchants. There was no thought of territorial gain, or permanent settlement, or imperial expansion, when they embarked on their Eastern journeyings. Trade, commerce, profitable business was their sole concern, and remained their sole concern for a century and a half. That a missionary duty devolved upon them, as a result of their business contacts with India's people, would no doubt come to be realised—at least by individuals. But at the beginning such duty was as little considered as it is to-day by the average mercantile firm that starts operations among any of the non-Christian peoples of the far parts of the world. It may also with all justice be said, that to expect a Trading Company of the early seventeenth century to be moved by missionary impulse is to forget the non-missionary character of the Christian Church in England of that day. Farther down the centuries, as will be seen later, when missions had become a recognised activity of every living Church, many British merchants engaged in foreign enterprises have not been indifferent to their missionary duty. But in 1600 business was business, and nothing more. The East India Company was a Company of Merchants, and not an enterprise of the State. The spiritual

outlook that befits a State when planting colonies overseas was entirely alien to those British Merchants who sailed round the Cape to do business with the traders of the East.

Yet if Christian Missions found no place in the Company's plans, regard was paid to the propriety of making some provision for maintaining the Christian religion among the Company's employees. Chaplains were provided for the chief trading centres, Madras, Bombay, Surat and Calcutta; and the correspondence between the Court of Directors and their Agents contain many devout expressions of religious sentiment that sometimes surely were more than formal. Such men as Streynsham Masters, their chief agent at Madras, who in 1681 built in Fort St. George the first Protestant church in India, and Aungier his contemporary at Bombay, who raised money for the building of what a little later became St. Thomas Cathedral there, were samples of English merchants of a very different type from Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta. Charnock's marriage to a Hindu wife, and his yearly offering of a cock upon her grave, are facts so well known as to have coloured somewhat unjustly men's thoughts of the average Englishman in India in those early days. There were very few saints among them, and large numbers were no credit to Christianity; but the average man was just an average Englishman *of that day*.

As regards Christian Missions, however, for a hundred years there was no thought of any such thing. The only missionaries then in India were

Roman Catholics, with whom the Company had no intercourse. Missionaries of the Reformed Churches there were none, nor was it till the eighteenth century had opened, that in 1706 Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant Missionary to India and one of the very noblest, landed at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, under the direct favour of the Danish king. With him began the famous "Coast Mission," which in the hands of Ziegenbalg, Schwartz and others gradually extended its work over a large part of South India, and so came into contact with the British Company of Merchants at several of its outposts, as well as at Madras itself. This was the Company's first touch with Christian Missions; the contacts were entirely peaceful, and the servants of the Company proved most friendly. They still were merchants first, though the rôle of Empire-builders was beginning to take shape. Yet not so markedly as to cause the question to be raised of the influence of the missionary on territorial expansion. Schwartz lived to the end of the century an honoured friend of the Company, ministered to the Company's soldiers at Trichinopoly with much acceptance, and when he died had a great marble memorial in St. Mary's Church, Madras, erected by the Company to his memory. As in Madras so too was it in Bengal. It was Clive himself who in 1758 invited Kiernander, a fellow-missionary of Schwartz, to come to Calcutta and start a mission there; so entirely free from suspicion of missions, or antagonism to them, was the East India Company for the first

hundred and fifty years of its existence. Benevolent approval of the missionaries, a friendly indifference as to their work for the Indians, and a ready acceptance of their services for the Europeans, is a fair description of the Company's attitude—so long as it continued to be primarily a "Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies."

* * *

By the middle of the eighteenth century, trading had ceased to be the chief concern of the Company, and by one of the most amazing evolutions in history the "Company of Merchants" had become the master power in all India. The victories of Arcot (1751), Plassey (1757) and Baxar (1764) had left them in an unchallengeable position alike in the politics and the government of India. For India, torn through centuries by the cruel wars of conflicting dynasties and antagonistic faiths, the change was fraught with many advantages, but for what may be called the higher life of the Company it was disastrous. Christian Missions were now regarded from the standpoint of what was safe for the new-won rule; and, without any regard for their bearing on the life of the Indian people, they were pronounced to be dangerous in the extreme. The old tolerance, and even friendliness, vanished, and in its place there developed that active hostility to missions which forms one of the darkest stains on the record of the Company's Indian rule.

But there were changes in Britain also, and of a very different kind, as a consequence of these great alterations in Indian politics. The advance of the Company to power had not been achieved without the help of the British Parliament and the British soldiers; and now the responsibility of Britain for the right administration of these Eastern territories began to be asserted, and increasingly applied. In many quarters the missionary duty of Christian Britain towards the Eastern peoples, now brought under British government, came to be keenly felt, and more than one urgent proposal for the definite initiation of mission work in India were made. But the Company said No. Such of its chaplains as cared to do a little evangelising among the natives, as did the saintly Henry Martyn, were not seriously interfered with. But missionaries, men definitely commissioned to such work—against them the Company closed the doors of British India. Carey in 1793 had to flee from Calcutta to the friendly Danish settlement of Serampore, Judson in 1812 had to turn aside to Burma, and so far as the Company's rule extended all missionaries were contraband. Between Empire, as the Company conceived it, and Christian Missions there was no such thing possible as a right relation.

To the Christian Churches of Britain this position was a direct challenge; and the challenge was accepted. In the British Parliament battle was joined, and after a contest which lasted for twenty years it was fought to a triumphant finish. For Christian Missions, not in India alone, but

throughout the Empire, those years of contest, 1793 to 1813, must ever be of supreme importance. The dates selected for the main conflict were those when, according to its constitution, the East India Company had to present its charter for renewal by Parliament. Every twenty years this had to be done. Any amendments or even radical alterations had then an opportunity for being considered, and in 1793 Wilberforce led the pro-Mission attack by moving the following Resolution: "That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means, the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India; and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually lead to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral advancement." The Resolution was carried, but, alas! as has not infrequently happened with Parliamentary resolutions, when the practical consequence came to be faced of inserting the provisions of the resolution in the new charter of the Company, many fell away and the religious clauses were rejected.

Other twenty years had to pass before the next opportunity came. They were years of religious progress both in India and in Britain. Carey from Serampore had served the Company well by his daily visits to Calcutta in his capacity as professor of Sanscrit and translator to the Government; not a few missionary-spirited chaplains had lived and worked in India; Governors-General of a positive Christian spirit had ruled;

and the old opposition was largely weakened. At Home, too, the advocates of missions had been active. Charles Grant, leading member though he was of the Court of Directors of the Company, was yet the keenest propagandist of its missionary responsibility; Carey's reports of his Indian work had helped to rouse an ardent missionary zeal in many of the Churches; and in Parliament the advocacy was bolder and more general. Still, when in 1813 the battle was resumed, the anti-mission forces were strong. Evidence for and against the policy of the proposed "pious clauses" in the renewed charter was taken by a parliamentary committee. The clauses, besides enacting freedom of entry for missionaries, made provision for the creation of a small ecclesiastical service, by which one bishop, three archdeacons, and a number of Church of England chaplains should minister to the English residents in India; and three Church of Scotland chaplains to the residents of Scottish ecclesiastical preferences. This met with some opposition, but the missionary element in the proposal was the great cause of conflict. Strong evidence on both sides was forthcoming. The aged Warren Hastings, then in his eightieth year, came forward to denounce the proposed clauses. By retired Anglo-Indian officials the virtues of Hinduism were extolled in language of such extravagance as few Hindus would care to endorse. "Pure and unexceptionable," were the adjectives applied to it by Sir Henry Montgomery; while Mr. Charles Marsh, an old Madras lawyer, delivered an eloquent panegyric on the beauties,

the achievements and the benign influences of the Hindu religion, his address culminating in an impassioned recognition of it as "the means ordained by Providence of making the people of India virtuous and happy." Other retired Indian statesmen and soldiers, still wedded to the ideas of their past days, were lurid in their warnings of the disasters that would follow, should missionaries be allowed to enter the land. The philo-Hindu forces mustered their full strength.

Happily there were many counsellors of a wiser kind—men whose religious discernment while in India had been far keener, and who longed with their whole soul that Britain should do the very best for India that was possible, such men as Lord Wellesley in the House of Lords, and Charles Grant in the Commons. To them it was inconceivable that the free entry of the Christian message into India could be other than an inestimable boon. Petitions in favour of this policy poured in from all parts of Britain, and when in the House of Commons, Wilberforce, the great protagonist of the cause of right, summed up the whole case in a speech of marvellous knowledge and persuasive power, the long-delayed victory was gained. In a House of seventy-two members, by a majority of twenty-four, the British Parliament declared India to be open to the missionaries of Christ. The words of the Resolution have a rare importance in the Empire's history, and cannot be left unquoted: "Resolved that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British

Dominions in India, and that measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs."

For Indian Missions, and for the cause of Christianity in the East, no other event connected with Britain's Indian relations can compare in importance with this. Its consequences reached far beyond the sanctioned entry of Christian missionaries. There was sanctioned also, by implication, the place of Christianity as one of the religions of India, whose followers, of whatever race, were entitled to the protection of the Government in the exercise of their religion. It took time for such consequences to be realised and accepted, but little by little the new-found place for the Christian religion was recognised. "Liberty of Conscience, and the protection of Christian converts against injury, in respect of property or inheritance, by reason of change in their religious belief," was guaranteed by law in 1850; and the principle was enthroned in British administration to which Lord Lawrence gave this noble expression: "We will not force any man to be a Christian; we will not even tempt any man to be a Christian; but if he chooses to become a Christian, it would be shameful if we did not protect him and his, in those rights of conscience which we have been the first to introduce into the

country, and if we did not apply to him and his those principles of equal dealing between man and man of which we are in India the sole depositories.”

Yet other consequences, of importance to missionary enterprise, flowed from that memorable action of Parliament in 1813. A new spirit entered into the administration of the Company. Responsibility towards the governed got a larger place in its policy, and was interpreted more and more according to the standards of Christian ethics. As will be seen more fully in later chapters, a new moral courage began to be displayed, in dealing with the many public immoralities and cruelties from which India had suffered for long centuries. In 1857 there was a danger that these forward developments might be checked by the Sepoy Mutiny, which many attributed to India's fear of an advancing Christianity, but happily this danger was averted by being ignored. The Royal Proclamation issued in 1858 (when the British Crown took over control from the Company), as it was first drafted, emphatically declared the new Government to be impartial towards men of all faiths: but it kept silence concerning the Government's own faith. To Queen Victoria was due the rectifying of this strange timidity. With her own hand she inserted the prefatory clause which declares the faith of the British Government in India to be Christian: “Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of our religion, We disclaim alike the Right and the Desire to impose Our convictions on any of Our subjects.

We declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances; but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law."

For Christian Missions this was another step in the adjustment of their relations with the Indian Government. Freedom of entry had already been granted. Now there was added an explicit recognition of Christianity as being the religion which the Government of India itself acknowledged; and coupled with it a disclaimer of any intention or desire to interfere with other religions, as well as an assurance of freedom to men of every religion in the exercise of their faith. One further step went far to complete the adjustment of the relations of the Government to Christian Missions. Among the various responsibilities which after 1813 the Government had sought to discharge, was that of caring for the education of the people under its control. But so vast was this task, and so great the cost, that it was compelled to seek an alliance in the work with any religious or philanthropic bodies that would link education with their more purely spiritual activities. To all such bodies, provided their educational work in similar subjects was proved to be of a solid kind, Government grants-in-aid were offered, irrespective of the religion inculcated. Christian Missions were the readiest to enter this alliance, and from 1834 until now, to the great gain of India, they have co-operated with the State for the educational advancement of the people.

At present this is the stage in the adjustment of the relations of the Empire to Missions which holds the field in India. Probably it represents the farthest point to which a Christian Power, charged with the oversight of a non-Christian people, may rightly go. The position thus reached may with advantage be categorically defined. It includes : (1) The frank acknowledgment by the Government of its own Christian Faith ; (2) freedom for Christian Missions to enter the land and carry on their work ; (3) the impartiality of Government towards all religions and their adherents ; (4) the right of every man to choose his own religion, without sacrifice of any civil privileges ; (5) the ready co-operation of the Government with Christian Missions (or any similar agency of another faith), in educational and philanthropic efforts for the welfare of the people.

India has happened to be the sphere where with much striving this feature of Empire has been evolved ; but the result there attained has affected all the British Dominions beyond the Seas where non-Christian races are to be found. Throughout the Empire, with one or two exceptions, the authorities are to-day increasingly facing Christian Missions in the spirit—though as yet not often with the fulness of practice—which India has pronounced to be right and worthy ; and their doing so has facilitated, in many another mission field the development of an *entente cordiale* between the Empire and Christian Missions, similar to that which now happily prevails in India.

CHAPTER II

THE ADJUSTMENT OF RELATIONS—RECOGNITION OF THE EMPIRE BY CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

INDIA will always be regarded as the land where the British Empire first learned the secret of its right adjustment to Christian Missions. It was elsewhere that Missions best learned the secret of their right adjustment to the Empire. This parallel and complementary process took place chiefly in the nineteenth century, and had as its scene those portions of what is now the British Empire into which Missions were the first to enter, and where, for longer or shorter periods, they did their work untrammelled and unhelped by the British Crown. There influences were at work, equally constraining with those which in India had led the governing Power in India to hold out the hand of friendship to Missions; but the constraint was now exercised on the other side, and Missions in these areas were led to hold out the hand of welcome to the Empire. Their experience of what political independence meant for Missions—its difficulties, its dangers and the limitations it put to fullest progress—led the missionaries, in one field after another, to seek for the peoples whom they had made their own some closer contact with the Empire. So it has come about that in

not a few instances missionaries have indeed been *Pioneers of Empire*.

By most men, especially by most British citizens, this is counted to them for righteousness; but by some it has been reckoned to them for guile. Without any sufficient examination of facts or consideration of their meaning, British missionaries are depicted, by those who are of this mind, as having been of set intention emissaries of Empire, quite as much as ambassadors of Christ. They are classed with the Roman Catholic missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who, with all their heroic devotion, yet admittedly in many parts of the world lowered the name of Christian Missions by their persistent political propaganda. Surely never was a sweeping generalisation less justified by facts. As has been already indicated, these early missionaries of the Roman Church were, in many cases, avowedly the servants of the State whose honoured subjects they were. While loyal to their Church, and devoted to its extension even unto death, yet they acknowledged it their duty to further the imperial cause of Spain or Portugal or France, as the case might be. India, Japan, South America, North America all afford abundant evidence of this in the earlier days, and in later times China, Siam and parts of Africa have shown some lively survivals of this old attitude of mind, and this double allegiance of spirit. British missionaries have never had any temptation to walk in that doubtful path. The State has never been their patron or their employer. Quite frequently they

have not only received no State backing, but have had to go forward in the face of its strong discouragement. Their impelling motive has been concern for the peoples of the lands to which they have gone, and little else. The extension of the Empire of Christ has been their honest aim, and not in any conscious way the aggrandisement of the Empire of Britain. Yet one need not hesitate to say that in seeking the one great aim, when the control or the protection of some European Power has become a plain necessity, British missionaries have naturally chosen the control of Britain in preference to that of any other nation. Only it is the simple truth to add that in thus desiring for their people the sheltering *ægis* of Britain, they have felt quite satisfied that they were pioneering for the Empire of Christ.

The Mission Fields where this development has been most prominent owed their inception to the remarkable missionary upheaval that took place in the British Churches at the close of the eighteenth century and in the first half the the nineteenth. It was a true outpouring of the Spirit. Pentecostal impulses in the hearts of men moved them to hear and to obey Christ's great missionary command. One after another, Missionary Societies and Churches took action, and messengers were sent forth into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature. Some areas found greater favour than did others. To a large extent India was passed by, and at first for a very good reason : it was still a closed land to the missionary. But there was also the special attraction of lands and

peoples that were new. These were years when new worlds and new peoples, far down in the scale of civilisation but full of the witchery of the unknown, kept continually floating into view. Captain Cook's voyages (1769-1779) had revealed the Southern Seas and the great territories of Australia. By the middle of the nineteenth century David Livingstone had begun to unveil the vastness and the richness of Africa's interior. Romance, compassion, and the absence of any barrier save savagery, which to many served rather as an additional attraction, all drew the missionary; and into areas hitherto untrodden by the foot of European or Christian he entered before ever Britain's political expansion had touched them. Pioneers for Christ these missionaries were: pioneers of Empire they became, often not willingly but in the end whole-heartedly and effectively. The record of this Empire Service is one of the romances alike of modern history and of modern Missions. Some of the most outstanding instances are here recorded. They are illustrative of a process that took place in many other and smaller areas on a lesser scale, and they make plain the motives which give to missionaries of the Cross a place in the roll of Empire Founders.

I

IN POLYNESIAN SEAS

On the mind of Britain, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Captain Cook's voyages

operated very much as did the voyages of Columbus on the Spain and Portugal of an earlier day. Men felt that they had been supplied with new worlds to conquer, smaller truly than the great America, but possessed of a charm and attractiveness all its own. The beauty of the thousand palm-ringed isles that dotted the South Pacific, the reported simple innocence of many of the islanders, the certified savagery and cannibalism of others, and the great possibilities of a profitable trade with these children of nature, drew men of very different natures and aims to the new-found islands of the Southern Seas. The British Government was largely inactive. Yet it had given Captain Cook a commission to "advance the honour of the nation as a maritime power"; and by secret order it had authorised him "to take possession, in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient stations in such countries as you may discover, that have not already been visited or discovered by any foreign power." But it was not anxious to go beyond this flag-planting assertion of sovereignty unless compelled by circumstances, and was characteristically hesitant in taking practical steps to make good many of the claims made on Britain's behalf by its adventurous sailor son. The British trader had no such hesitancy. Commerce rushed into the field with an army of keen, and too often not over-scrupulous, pioneers of trade. Simultaneously the Christian forces of Britain, then beginning to be moved by the missionary impulse, found in the unveiling of these long-hidden territories

a call from God to evangelise the peoples, and they obeyed. The newly formed *London Missionary Society* led the way, and in 1797 planted a mission at Tahiti. Other societies followed in its train, and in no long time the South Pacific became one of the best-known and most-talked-of mission fields of the Churches of Britain.

To the missionaries it was virgin ground, both in a political and in a religious sense. On island after island they were the first European settlers, and their essential aim in every island or island-group was simply to deliver the people and their chiefs from paganism, and bring them under the sway of Christ. Politics, or any political relation of their newly acquired flocks to Britain, was not in all their early thoughts. How their original attitude in this respect came to be changed is well seen in the case of John Williams, who lives in history as the martyr-missionary of Erromanga. Williams was one of the first and also one of the noblest of the missionaries of Polynesia, and when starting work in Tahiti (which Cook had formerly claimed for King George III.), he declared his aim to be, "To take possession of Tahiti and other islands in the name of the King of kings." A purified and exalted rule of native chiefs, guided by missionary advisers in the early stages, was his general idea. Yet he did not abandon his loyalty to his native land, or cease to think fondly of the same. His book, issued in 1837, in which he gave an account of the work of the mission, was dedicated to the King, and in the dedication he states that "in prosecuting

the one great object to which their lives are consecrated, the missionaries will keep in view whatever may promote the Commerce and the Science as well as the Religious glory of their beloved country." British Commerce, Science and Religion were therefore admittedly in their thoughts. Yes, but not British territorial expansion. This omission from Williams' dedication is a true reflection of the writer's mind, and of the general missionary mind in the South Pacific at that time. Their idea was Island Theocracies, with native chiefs as rulers, and themselves as counsellors.

Yet it was all a "devout imagination," reminiscent of Old Testament days when there were ruling Kings and powerful Prophets; entirely honourable indeed to the missionaries, but quite unattainable. This Williams and his companions speedily learned. That attractive island paradises each ruled by a petty chief, with authority and power fairly adequate to the needs of the island, but entirely inadequate for warding off strong hostile forces from without, or for dealing with insidious foes within—that such idyllic island communities could, in this wicked modern world, secure a continuance of untroubled calm and progress, apart from the Protectorate of some strong modern Power, became painfully clear. As time went on, Mission after Mission in the South Pacific area found itself driven to recognise this fact, and in consequence to encourage and even to entreat the practical exercise of sovereign power by Britain, over those islands to which

priority of discovery had given her some legal claim. By far the most potent agencies in developing this "Imperialism" on the part of the missions were the evil lives and the nefarious practices of the traders who trafficked in these seas. Missionaries found their work often nullified, their attached peoples abused, island populations decimated, by the undisciplined and lawless doings of these men. How clamant became the need for British intervention may be judged by the following description of the evils, written by Dr. J. G. Paton of the New Hebrides: "The sandal-wood traders are as a class the most godless of men, whose cruelty and wickedness make us ashamed to own them as our countrymen. By them the poor, defenceless natives are oppressed and robbed on every hand, and if they offer the slightest resistance, they are ruthlessly silenced by the musket or revolver. Few months here pass without some of them being so shot; and instead of their murderers feeling ashamed, they boast of how they dispatch them. Such treatment keeps the natives always burning under a desire for revenge, so that it is a wonder any white man is allowed to come among them. . . . Thousands upon thousands of money were made in the sandal-wood trade yearly, so long as it lasted; but it was a trade steeped in human blood and indescribable vice, nor could God's blessing rest on the traders and their ill-gotten gains. . . . Sandal-wood traders murdered many of the islanders when robbing them of their wood, and the islanders murdered many of them, and their servants, in revenge."

One does not wonder, in the light of these words, that Dr. Paton was a leading protagonist in the cause of British Annexation, and that he urged it, with all the power of a devoted heart, in the interests of the islanders. From 1862 until 1882 successive petitions descended on the Home Government requesting annexation—from missionaries, from natives, from the Australian Churches ; but all was in vain until the increasing rivalry of France in the South Pacific compelled the reluctant Government of Britain to move. Then, alas! the move was only a half-move, resulting in a system of joint-control of the New Hebrides by the two European Powers, which satisfies nobody. Still, even this would not have been attained but for the initial work and the sustained push of the missionaries. "It was chiefly due," wrote Sir William MacGregor, "to the Presbyterian Missions in that group, and to the Victorian Government, that Great Britain was not edged out of these islands." Elsewhere in the South Pacific better results were attained, and missionaries in Fiji, in the Solomon Isles, and in other centres have seen with glad satisfaction the tightening of Empire control over the fields of their operations.

* * *

Of the larger islands of the Southern Seas, *New Zealand* and *New Guinea* are the two whose inclusion in the Empire is most directly traceable to missionary pioneering, and with each of them a great missionary name is permanently associated.

TO SAMUEL MARSDEN and the Church Missionary Society was due the bold pioneer effort in 1814, which resulted finally in the Christianising of *New Zealand* and its incorporation in the Empire. Marsden was a chaplain at the convict settlement of Botany Bay in New South Wales, and there he came in contact with some of the dreaded Maoris from New Zealand. Their physique, their intelligence, their willingness to learn, impressed him greatly, and he sought the aid of the local Government to get himself conveyed to their island home. The Government authorities thought him crazed. New Zealand had been shunned by sailors ever since Captain Cook had last visited it in 1777, for its people were notorious for their fierce savagery and their cannibalism. But Marsden would not be stayed. With his own means he purchased a vessel, got together a small crew, and sailed away to the land of the Maoris. With him went three lay missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, a schoolmaster, a carpenter and a shoemaker; and on Christmas Day 1814, five days after landing, Marsden preached his first sermon from the very suitable text: "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy." What the representatives of Empire in Australia did not dare to attempt, this envoy of Christ dared and did.

As was natural to one who was a Government chaplain, but possessing a missionary soul, Marsden felt that he was doing a bit of Empire-service, as well as pioneering for the Kingdom of Christ. The Union Jack was run up, when he

held his first service, and writing later he made no secret of his hopes. "I never viewed the British colours with more gratification, and flattered myself they would never be removed till the natives of that island enjoyed all the happiness of British subjects." But for long there was no request from the missionaries for annexation. Here, as elsewhere in the Pacific area, the ideal for which they worked was rather that of a purified native rule conducted under missionary auspices ; but here as elsewhere it proved unrealisable. Missionary influence tamed the Maori, expelled his cannibalistic tendencies, won him to Christianity, and in consequence the barrier of fear which had long kept traders at a distance broke down. The usual inrush followed, when the proximity of Botany Bay only helped to lower the class of European intruders even more than usual. Demoralisation of the native, obstruction of missionary work, and continual conflicts between traders and Maoris, made intervention by the Australian Government a necessity. This Marsden clearly recognised, when he paid his final visit to the Mission in 1837. "Some civilised Government," he wrote, "must take New Zealand under its protection, or the most dreadful evils will be committed by runaway convicts, sailors and publicans. When I return to New South Wales I propose to lay the state of New Zealand before the colonial Government." The missionaries themselves took longer to convince. They felt the pressure of circumstances, but would fain have avoided full annexation. Their preference

was for a British Protectorate over a land ruled by Maori chiefs, and the Church Missionary Society supported them in their view. Yet, when in 1840 annexation was decided on by the British Authorities, it was loyally accepted. The political turmoil and fierce fightings that followed the settlement, until such time as the British and the Maoris adjusted themselves to the new conditions, need not here be adverted to. There were great errors committed on both sides; but now that the era of adjustment is long past, one sees New Zealand an honoured Dominion of Britain beyond the Seas, and also a land incorporated in the Empire of Christ. To both achievements the primary contributor has been the Christian missionary.

* * *

With *South-East New Guinea*, no name is so permanently and splendidly associated as that of JAMES CHALMERS. One of the early missionaries sent by the London Missionary Society to this vast island, Chalmers gave his whole great strength to serving the Papuans of New Guinea, from 1877 to 1901, when he died a martyr's death at their hands upon her shores. As with New Zealand so, too, was it with New Guinea; until the missionaries arrived (which they first did in 1871), the whole of the interior was a *terra incognita* to the European. British naval men had roughly surveyed the coast-line, but all beyond was mystery, and no white man had dared to lift the veil, much

less to settle in the mysterious territory. "A country"—so Dr. M'Farlane, one of the first missionaries, described it—"of *bona fide* cannibals and genuine savages, where the pioneer missionary truly carries his life in his hand. . . . A land of promise, capable of maintaining millions of people, in which, however, the natives live on yams, bananas, and cocoa-nuts. . . . A land of splendid mountains, magnificent forests, and mighty rivers; but to us a land of heathen darkness, cruelty, cannibalism and death. We were going to plant the gospel standard on this, the largest island in the world, and win it for Christ."

Fortunately, it happened that Chalmers and his companion Lawes, as well as others of their number, were imbued with the Livingstone spirit, and from the start combined with the work of missionaries the daring of explorers. They were equally successful in winning the hearts of the savage inhabitants, and in lifting the veil from the mountains, glens and rivers of the interior. Papua and the Papuans became known to the outer world, and the usual consequences followed. Traders descended on the land, trading centres sprang up, white men appeared in growing numbers whose aim was not as that of the missionaries—to *give*. It was to *get* as much as was possible out of the land and the people. Not all were of this type, for there were honourable traders among them, but there were many more of quite another kind. Land difficulties with the natives increased, and strifes leading to violence between white man and brown man grew frequent. From Australia

came a cry for annexation, as the only means of peace. Twice Britain refused to listen to any such appeal, but when in 1883 it was raised for the third time it could not be altogether disregarded. New Guinea had now been unveiled to the whole world by the success of the missionaries, and by the same hands the savagery of the people had been considerably lessened. The attractiveness of the territory began to be realised by other nations than Great Britain, and complications threatened. Something had to be done, in the interests of both internal and external peace; and in 1884, not annexation but a Protectorate was proclaimed. Once again the British Empire began to build on foundations laid by the Christian missionary.

Chalmers' attitude towards these developments was intensely interesting, and from the point of view of the British authorities it was also exceedingly important. By this time he had come to be the accepted and honoured Prophet of the Papuans. He loved his adopted people with a great love, and his one desire was to do what would be best for them. He did not want annexation—if it could be avoided; he did not desire even a Protectorate—if it could be done without. But once he had satisfied himself that, in the best interests of the people themselves, a Protectorate was desirable; that under that Protectorate the principle of "Papua for the Papuans" was to rule; and that by law and ordered might all land-grabbing and deporting of native labour were to be forbidden—then he accepted the change, and did his utmost to see that it was carried

through in the best possible way. He held out the hand of welcome to the Empire, and the era of co-operation began. "Let us begin," he wrote at the time, "by recognising all native rights, and letting it be distinctly understood that we govern for the native races, not for the white men; that we are determined to civilise and raise to a higher level of humanity those whom we govern; that our aim will be to defend them, and save them from extermination by just humanitarian laws—not the laws of the British nation, but laws suited for *them*. It will not take long for the natives to learn that not only are we great and powerful, but we are just and merciful, and we seek their good." It was in this spirit that the Protectorate was proclaimed by Admiral Erskine at Port Moresby in 1884, when the preamble of the proclamation set forth that a Protectorate had "become essential for the lives and properties of the native inhabitants of New Guinea, and for the purpose of preventing the occupation of portions of the Country by persons whose proceedings, unsanctioned by any lawful authority, might tend to injustice, strife and bloodshed, and who under the pretence of legitimate trade and intercourse might endanger the liberties, and possess themselves of the lands of such native inhabitants."

To proclaim a Protectorate was one thing; to get it understood and willingly accepted throughout a far-stretching territory of savage tribes was quite another thing. But this, too, was accomplished, largely by the help of the mission-

aries. Accompanied by Chalmers and Lawes, Admiral Erskine proceeded on a "tour of proclamation" along the coast, and at every point the missionaries were invaluable as interpreters, expounders and persuaders. Their very presence was a certificate to their native friends that this thing was good. A few weeks later a similar tour in other parts was carried out by Admiral Bridge, and both the admirals have recorded their warm sense of the debt under which they lay to Chalmers and his fellow-missionaries. Writes Admiral Erskine: "It would have been impossible to have carried out the delicate and important duty, with which I was entrusted, with any degree of reality or thoroughness, had it not been for the able and willing assistance I received from Dr. Lawes and Mr. Chalmers, in making our communication and intercourse with suspicious and treacherous savages, and in some cases the cannibal tribes, with whom we had to deal, feasible and effective." In like strain testifies Admiral Bridge: "His (Chalmers') vigilance, cheeriness, readiness of resource, and extraordinary influence over native savages made his help quite invaluable. I can honestly say that I do not know how I should have got on without him."

Later expeditions of a like kind took place in 1885, when Sir Peter Scratchley was appointed special commissioner for New Guinea, and again in 1888, when annexation followed under Sir William MacGregor. To both these administrators Chalmers was simply invaluable, and they have used no stinted terms in acknowledging

it. But of all the official recognitions of the service rendered to the Empire by these missionary pioneers, probably the very best is the terse message which was cabled home to the Admiralty by Admiral Erskine, reporting the Proclamation of the Protectorate in 1884: "The Protectorate has been proclaimed by H.M.S. *Nelson*. British Flag hoisted at nine places. Received everywhere with satisfaction. The confidence of the natives wonderful. *Success due to influence and assistance of Missionaries.*"

II

IN AFRICAN FIELDS

It is, however, to Africa that we turn for the major instances, where Christian Missions have felt the need for some Empire connection, have sought it, and have adjusted themselves thereto; with the result that an *entente cordiale* has been established beneficial to the territories and their inhabitants, and satisfactory alike to Missions and to Empire. Two of the most prized Empire territories in Africa have a history in this respect of exceptional interest. The narratives of their early missionary tutelage, and their ultimate inclusion in the Empire, are among the romances of Modern Missions: and they possess the additional charm of being true.

Of these two territories the first, in order of

time, to enter the Empire was *Nyasaland*; the missions mainly concerned in the development being those planted by the Scottish Churches at Livingstonia, and at Blantyre, in East Central Africa. The call of David Livingstone, coupled with the spell he laid upon his countrymen by his heroic life and his strangely moving death, were the impelling causes of the Scottish Churches' entry on this new mission field. The Shiré Highlands and the African uplands round Lake Nyasa had fascinated the great explorer, as a sphere for Christian Missions and also for Christian commerce; and when he was dead, Scotland remembered his desire, and sent both missionaries and merchants. Livingstone died at Ilala in 1873. In 1875 the United Free Church Mission (quite truly so called, for the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church, which became one in Scotland only in 1900, had become one in Central Africa a quarter of a century earlier), was established on the western shores of Lake Nyasa. In 1876 there was planted the Church of Scotland Mission at Blantyre, in the Shiré Highlands. And in 1878 Scottish Christian merchants combined to form the *African Lakes Corporation*, "with the distinct object of opening up and developing the regions of East Central Africa from the Zambesi to Tanganyika, making employment for the natives, and substituting for the horrible trade by which ivory was formerly brought to the coast, a legitimate trade, conducted in a Christian spirit, excluding rum and so far as possible gunpowder, and strengthening by all its influence the hands of the Missionaries."

It was a notable combination of Christian Missions and Christian Commerce, and it worked with notable success. "The African Lakes Corporation," wrote Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, "as a whole comes nearer than any other similar association to the ideal of a Company trading with natives of the African Continent."

East Central Africa, where the missionaries and merchants settled, was a no-man's-land, so far as Europeans were concerned. Away at the mouth of the Zambesi on the African coast slumbered the Portuguese, as they had slumbered for two centuries. Hundreds of miles to the south the adventurous British were pushing northward in Rhodesia. But around Lake Nyasa, and up the Shiré River, African tribes were living their ancestral life of fighting, hunting, slaving—and degradation. The instructions given by the Church of Scotland to its early missionaries bore eloquent witness to the condition of the country. "Remember," the missionaries were told, "that as the field of your labour is at present beyond the immediate and even indirect protection of any European State, you enter it carrying your life in your hand. If plundered of your property there is no hope of redress; if detained in bondage, liberty can only be hoped for through friendly interference; if you die by the hand of the heathen, no demand for reparation can be made. Nothing less is expected of you, therefore, than a spirit of self-sacrifice and patience." It may be questioned if any more stimulating recruiting appeal for Christian missionaries has been made

in modern times. Despite the dangers and the difficulties the missions moved steadily on, unchecked by initial misadventures, errors and deaths. Both at Livingstonia and Blantyre, fruit became evident in growing communities of Christian Africans, the extension of habits of industry, the erection of schools and churches, and the general advance of civilisation. The Lakes Company worked hand in hand with the Missions, and a little heritage for Christ was being created in darkest Africa.

With the progress, however, there arose difficulties of a kind that Missions alone could not cope with. Danger from tribal wars was never far away, when the fierce N'goni from the north came down and raided the Yaos in the south, or when havoc on a larger scale was wrought by tribal combinations. Added to these sources of dispeace, there was the incessant pressure of the Arab slave-trader from the north, when slaves by the hundreds were secured annually through murderous raids on villages, carried out by tribes whose chiefs had been bought. The desolation and the woe of this "open sore of Africa" was visible right up to where the missions were at work. From the south and east yet another danger was seen to threaten. The European partition of Africa was at hand; and the Portuguese on the coast began to wake up from their slumber, when they heard of the progress that was being made by the British in the far interior. They did not know whereunto this thing would grow, but at least they would not help its growth.

The transport of goods to Nyasaland, by way of the great river Zambesi, was possible only with their consent, and this became more costly and more difficult to obtain. Slave-trading, too, was not, in their eyes, the obnoxious thing it was to British missionaries and merchants; and it was by no means with satisfaction that they heard in 1880 of an expedition conducted by the Lakes Company to check by arms the on-coming Arabs. Their coast and river control quickly hardened, and a claim was asserted to Portuguese Sovereignty over the whole of the *Hinterland*. It was a preposterous claim, but more than the Mission's or the Company's strength was needed to stay its enforcement, should it be backed by military force.

To the Missions and to the Company it became evident that the Christianising and civilising work which they had done in East Central Africa had now reached the stage when some countenance and protection by the Empire was essential for its preservation and continuance. The small expedition against the Arabs, which the Lakes Company had made, gave a temporary check to the slavers, but in its main object it failed. The Portuguese were reported, and quite correctly, to be dispatching an expedition up the Shiré to annex the whole of the Lake territory. Clearly it was now either Empire-control—or extinction! An urgent appeal went home to Scotland, and by the two Scottish Churches, by Scottish business men, and by prominent Scottish members of Parliament, there was pressed upon Lord Salisbury,

the Foreign Secretary, and on the Government, the urgent necessity of declaring Nyasaland to be a Sphere of British Influence. But Lord Salisbury would have none of it. Free navigation of the Zambesi he was willing to insist upon, and he would confer with Portugal about the other matters which concerned the welfare of the British work in Nyasaland; but farther than this he would not go. Scotland waited impatiently though not very hopefully; and when it learned that the result of the conferring with Portugal was to be the establishment of Portuguese influence over the whole mission areas, there was a storm of indignant protest. The Churches sprang to action, a monster petition signed by eleven thousand ministers and elders of the Scottish Churches was rapidly prepared, and a deputation, representative of the Christian life of Scotland and headed by Dr. Archibald Scott, the acknowledged leader of the Church of Scotland, again waited on Lord Salisbury. Those present told afterwards of the dramatic manner in which Dr. Scott presented the petition. It was bound in several large volumes, and when one after the other of these had been placed with characteristic emphasis on the table, Dr. Scott spoke: "This, my Lord, is the voice of Scotland." Lord Salisbury did not say "No" this time. He listened and thought, and ultimately said "Yes." Negotiations were resumed with Portugal; the Portuguese expedition was recalled; the Portuguese claim was departed from; and Nyasaland, in 1891, came under the protecting shield of the British Empire.

No less picturesque and equally striking was the final stage in the process of Empire inclusion. Of all the tribes in the territory now included in the British Protectorate, the N'goni were the most warlike and the most difficult. They were likewise the last to surrender their wild freedom and accept the ordered life which accompanies Empire sway. That this was finally achieved in most striking and peaceful manner, was entirely due to the influence of the United Free Church of Scotland Mission, which had laboured long and lovingly in their midst. Dr. Elmslie, Dr. Donald Fraser and their colleagues gave many years to the winning of these wild hearts to Christ, and to fostering throughout their wide territories a love of peace and practice of the ways of peace. But still the N'goni stood aloof from the British control, when every other tribe had acquiesced. "Wait a little yet," was ever Dr. Laws' counsel to the British Authorities when they were impatient. But in 1904 the veteran missionary wrote to Sir Alfred Sharpe, the Governor, not "Wait," but "Come." And Sir Alfred came. It was now changed times in N'goniland. The passing away of many of the old warrior chiefs, the peace-making influence of the mission, the growing friendliness of inter-tribal relations through missionary influence, and also the weakening of many of the forces that in the old days had made for discipline and order—all pointed to the ripeness of the time for Empire-control being established. And it was established—without a single shot being fired or the service of a single soldier being called in.

On an arranged date, at a fixed centre, the N'goni assembled in their thousands to meet the British Governor, Sir Alfred Sharpe. Alone, with one interpreting missionary, he sat in the centre of that great mass of African warriors, and told his tale of what British Government would mean, and what it would not mean. Through the long day they listened, and talked with this ambassador of Empire; and at the end they decided that it was good talk, that the British Empire was a good thing, and that they, the great N'goni, would come in. For the peace and progress of N'goniland it was a momentous step; for the Missions it was a very great gain; and for the Empire it was the final stage in the addition of the fair country of Nyasaland to the overseas territories and responsibilities of Britain. What the representative of Empire thought at the time, of the missionaries' part, may be judged from the following words in a letter written by Sir Alfred Sharpe to Dr. Laws: "I was surprised to find the chiefs already quite prepared and ready—if not even glad—to accept the new condition of affairs: this is undoubtedly due to the influence exercised by your people. The real early work we have to thank you for, and the difficulties to be experienced in these days are not, after all, great, compared with those which you had. Newcomers know little of those days and those troubles, but the ones who know our 'Ancient' history are fully aware of the very great work carried out by you and your helpers."

When in 1898 UGANDA, the richest of all the Central African lands, was declared a British Protectorate, one more notable addition to the Empire was made, as an after-consequence of missionary enterprise. This is not the place to tell anew the story of that marvellous Mission; our concern here is its contact with the Empire. Yet a brief reference may be permitted to the series of thrilling episodes, which have made the Uganda Mission probably the best known to the British non-missionary public, of all the Christian Missions that have originated from Britain. Who is there who does not know at least the outline of its romantic tragic, glorious story? How, in April 1875, H. M. Stanley, drawn back once more to Africa by the spell of the dead Livingstone, pierced his way to the splendid country between Lakes Victoria and Albert N'yanza, and there himself took up the missionary's task; how in a series of interviews, lasting through several months, he won King M'tesa from Islam and half persuaded him to become a Christian; how this explorer, journalist and missionary wrote a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* challenging and imploring the British Christian Churches to send missionaries without delay to capture Uganda and its king for Christ; how the messenger who bore the letter, a brave Belgian, was slain, but contrived to hide the letter in his boots before he died; how weeks afterwards his body was discovered and the letter found and forwarded to General Gordon at Khartoum; how it was published in the great London newspaper in November 1875; how the Church

Missionary Society responded instantly to the call, and in six months sent out a missionary party of eight devoted Christian men ; and how then the tale of tragedy began ! Two years later, of the eight only one remained, Alexander Mackay. King M'tesa wavered to and fro. Roman Catholic Missions from the north, scorning all considerations of missionary comity, began to intrude. Arab hostility grew increasingly active, and when in 1884 M'tesa died, and King Mwanga succeeded, the horrors of bloody persecution began. First five Christian youths of Uganda were martyred, and a little later forty-six others were made to pass through the fire to glory. In 1885 Bishop Hannington was murdered on his way to his new charge, and in 1890 Mackay himself died, worn out with fourteen years of labours and anxieties and sorrows, such as fall to the lot of few. Nevertheless, the Mission held on. The Uganda Christians proved themselves heroes in the long-continued time of testing, and with the coming of 1890 the darkness began to lighten. In Pilkington was found a worthy successor to Mackay, and the appointment of Bishop Tucker to succeed the martyred Hannington gave evidence of the tenacity of the Church at Home.

Up to this point the contact of Britain with Uganda had been purely missionary, but in 1890 another element was added. By agreement with Germany a line had been drawn on the map of Africa from Mombasa to beyond the Lakes—all to the south to be a German sphere of influence, all to the north to be a British sphere. Uganda

lay to the north, King Mwanga acquiesced in the proposed arrangement, and the "Imperial British East Africa Company," with Sir William MacKinnon at its head, was induced to extend its operations to Uganda. Great was the joy of the Mission at this tangible link with Britain, and for a little while everything looked promising. The Company, with Sir Frederick Lugard as its chief representative, found it necessary, if business was to be done satisfactorily, to have a reasonably pacific environment; and since King Mwanga could not make this sure, the Company did it for itself. Slave-trading was stopped, and various improvements introduced which made for the peace of the territory—and also, of necessity, for the well-being and advancement of the Mission. But the financial charges were too heavy for any Company to bear indefinitely, and very reluctantly the Imperial British East Africa Company decided to withdraw, instructing Sir Frederick Lugard to evacuate Uganda on Christmas Day, 1891.

The missionaries were aghast; only too surely would this mean chaos for Uganda, and for them and their work—destruction. Bishop Tucker had just gone home to secure a fresh band of twenty missionaries, and he, too, was stunned, but he never quailed. Clearly what the Company could not do, the British Government must be got to do. But then, as always, the Government shrank from incurring any further African responsibilities. Strong persuasion was seen to be required, and for this to be effective there must be given some little time for its exercise. Could anything be

done that would enable the Company to continue in Uganda for yet one more year? "Yes," said that prince of commerce and true Christian gentleman, Sir William MacKinnon, "£40,000 will do it; and if the Church Missionary Society will raise £15,000 we, of the Company, will see to the rest." This was enough for Bishop Tucker, the Great-heart of Uganda. With all his splendid might he set to work, and in a little while £16,000 was handed over to the East African Company by the Church Missionary Society. Sir William MacKinnon nobly kept his part of the agreement: £10,000 was his own personal contribution, and business friends did the rest. A twelve months' breathing space was secured in which to decide whether light or darkness was to prevail in Uganda. Before these months expired the British Government had been screwed up to the acting point. It was to be Light and not Darkness. Uganda, with its 150,000 square miles of territory and its three million inhabitants, was saved for the Empire, and for Christ—saved by Christian Missions.

* * *

To the above series of instances, where Christian Missions in pagan lands have deliberately sought an Empire connection for their Fields, and so have been truly pioneers of Empire, one feels strongly moved to add the case of *Bechuanaland*, where a great territory and a whole people were "saved for the Empire" by the noble missionary statesman John Mackenzie. But Bechuanaland

stands in a class apart. The notable piece of Empire service, which secured it and its people for Britain, was wrought not by the Christian Missions in Bechuanaland, nor by the London Missionary Society that was behind them. It was largely the individual work of one great man and great missionary. In the doing of it, however, he was compelled to sacrifice for a time his mission connection and to throw himself into the political turmoil and party strifes of South Africa and of Britain, to an extent to which no organised Mission or Society can be expected to go—nor indeed can rightly go. So the story of that prolonged fight, and its far-reaching consequences, is not told here. Yet this at least may be rightly said. In its essence it was a fight waged by a noble missionary soul, to save an African people from a rule that would have covered them with oppression and degradation; and to bring them within an Empire where, with all its faults, they were surer of fair treatment than was possible for them under any other conditions then available. Their champion fought for this—a good fight, a hard fight, a long fight, and for its essential purpose, a successful fight. That Bechuanaland was saved for the Empire was due to John Mackenzie, a Christian missionary, more than to any other man.

III

It is an impressive catalogue which these lands make—once known only as Mission Fields, and

now prized territories of the Empire : The Island groups in the South Pacific, New Zealand, New Guinea, Nyasaland, and Uganda. Concerning the process of their inclusion there are some brief comments, with which this chapter may suitably conclude.

The general uniformity of the process by which, in widely separated geographical areas, the fields have been brought within the Empire, is remarkable. All the more so is this the case, since it differs greatly from the procedure by which, in areas where the Empire had priority of control, the harmonious relations with Missions were finally established. In India, where these conditions obtained, the order of events was : (1) Commercial enterprise, (2) Empire rule, (3) pressure from British Christianity, (4) entry of Missions, and establishment of friendly relations. In the Mission-won lands, on the other hand, this has been the sequence : (1) Arrival of Missions, (2) entry of Commerce, (3) appeals from the Fields for Empire control, (4) Empire rule. In the one case Missions forced the opening of the door, in a land where Empire authority was supreme ; in the other, in lands where they were themselves in occupation, they begged the Empire to come in. But whether by the one process or by the other, the issue reached has been identical. A right relation between Empire and Missions has been established.

* * *

The historical survey which has been made

inevitably suggests questions as to the prudence, or even the rectitude of missionary incursion into the politics of their several fields. But in reality a question of the kind hardly arises in any of the instances which have been noted. No axiom dealing with the conduct of missionaries has found more emphatic acceptance by responsible Missionary Councils or Conferences of Reformed Christendom than that which lays down that Christian missionaries must abstain from all interference with the internal politics of the nation within whose area they are working. Of this rule, long before it began to be definitely enunciated, British Missions have been extremely observant. Few if any complaints concerning disturbing political action or influence have ever been made against their work in Japan or China, or Persia or Turkey or Egypt, or any lands of this category. The axiom has been well observed; and in view of its own justice and the added stringency with which civilised States are now insisting on its observance, it may be safely said that by no British Mission which possesses a recognised standing, will there be any departure from the previous honourable practice.

The axiom, however, presupposes that there is a "nation" and a "government" duly recognised and functioning within the areas where the Missions are at work. It has in view the civilised or semi-civilised nations of the world; and does not apply, without large modifications, to territories where each man's hand is against every other man, and there is "no King in Israel." Theoretic-

cally, indeed, such territories now hardly exist, since the whole world has been parcelled out in areas, each with its distinctive Ruler or Government, or Protector, or Mandatory Power. In the days, however, when British missionaries were pioneers of Empire, with a large portion of the pagan and uncivilised world it was quite otherwise. To elevate these peoples, to whose saving the missionaries were devoting their lives, called for many services at their hands besides those which possessed a strictly religious character. And when, for the lasting good of the peoples, the prey to recurring anarchy and outrage, they were moved to invite the settled and just rule of Britain, they did not hesitate to do so.

* * *

The further question may be asked, as to how far, from the point of view of Empire, the pre-occupation of these fields by Christian missionaries was necessary? Would not the steady progress of Empire-expansion ultimately have incorporated these territories, without any help from missions being required? The question is occasionally put by those who would discount the service done to the Empire by Christian Missions, in respect of its territorial expansion; but it is not difficult to answer. Two things may be safely said. One is that the question itself is rather needless. What might or might not have taken place in history, if something had not happened, is often an interesting topic of speculation, but it is nothing more. What is important is not what might have happened, but what did happen and who caused the

happening. America would have been discovered sometime even had Columbus never lived ; but Columbus was the man who did the deed. Scotland would have become a Protestant land had Knox never been born ; but Knox was born, and the chief glory, under God, is his. So Polynesia, New Zealand, New Guinea, Nyasaland and Uganda *might* have come into the Empire by other avenues than through the hands of missionaries, but this was the avenue along which the enrichment actually came. Why scruple to admit it ? Yet one has read articles and books not a few, dealing with the history of those very parts of the Empire in which the service done by Christian Missions is hardly ever mentioned. The blindness that leads to such omissions may spring from a defect of the heart or of the intellect ; but it is none the less regrettable.

The other remark one feels called on to make deals not with the possibilities, but with the actual probabilities of events, had the missionary never entered the territories in question. In that event, would they now be included in the Empire ? In some cases it is probable that they would, though by no means certain. New Zealand, South-East New Guinea and most of British Polynesia would most likely have been brought in, though with accompaniments much less peaceful. But in Africa the probabilities are all the other way. Had it not been for the prior occupation of Uganda by British missionaries that magnificent province would to-day in all likelihood be Arab or French ; but for the early

presence of Scottish Missions around Lake Nyasa, beautiful Nyasaland to-day would certainly be Portuguese ; and had John Mackenzie not agonised over Bechuanaland, that fair territory would long ago have been incorporated by the Dutch South African Republic ; ultimately no doubt to pass with the Republic within the Empire, but then it would have come as a province of reluctant Boers, and not one of willing Bechuanas. No, it is not a matter of indifference to the Empire, even territorially, that in this land and that, Christian Missions were the first to enter.

CHAPTER III

CIVILISING WORK OF MISSIONS—AMONG THE CHILD-RACES OF THE EMPIRE

WHEREVER Christian Missions are at work throughout the Empire, they are found rendering, in varying measure, a twofold service. They Christianise, and they Civilise. The distinction is largely arbitrary, as it emphasises what are really but two stages or aspects of a single process, yet it is convenient, and is in accord with the contrasted thoughts commonly entertained by men about missions and their work. To the ardent supporter of missionary enterprise the direct Christianising work is ever of first importance; while with the man whose religious interest is less intense, the civilising, humanising, cultural service is what impresses and counts for most. The contrast in attitudes and appreciations is quite natural and inevitable. Results in the social life and habits of a people which are broadly visible appeal to many who have but little eye for the inner spiritual changes, of which the things they do see are simply a consequence; and this is particularly the case when Christian Missions are regarded from the point of view of Empire service. Then, what bulks large is their civilising work, and when men of the political or business worlds who have known the fields speak sym-

pathetically of what they have seen, it is the cultural result of Missions that forms their favourite theme. First that which is natural, then that which is spiritual—is their order of observation and appreciation.

Here, in seeking to outline the Empire service of Missions it seems good therefore to follow this order—the order of observation rather than that of causation—and consider first how missions Civilise, and later how they Christianise. Even so, the civilising work itself is far from being a uniform process. The widely extended Empire of Britain embraces non-Christian races of every variety and degree of civilisation, from the most degraded of the African or Polynesian peoples to the highly cultured Brahmin of India; and the cultural service of Missions varies accordingly. Among the Child-Races of the Empire it is one thing, and a very great thing; in the presence of the civilisations of the East it is, for the most part, quite a different thing, though also great. This chapter concerns the former sphere only, and deals with the civilising effects of missions among the backward or Child-Races of the Empire.

I

“The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and sowed in his field; which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown it becometh the greatest among herbs, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.” There could be

no better description of the work of Christian Missions among the Child-Races than this. Their story is essentially that of the mustard-seed and the branching tree.

When Missions to the child-peoples of the Empire first began, there was little thought in the mind of the Home Churches of any fruit other than the strictly spiritual. To rescue the souls of men from sin, and to save them from sin's consequence, both here and hereafter—that was the primary aim of those who in Britain led the missionary revival at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. It was also the ruling motive of those who went out to the dark places of the earth in obedience to Christ's command to preach the gospel to every creature. But it speedily became evident that the process was far from being so simple as the command. The saving of a man's soul in Africa or in the South Seas was found to produce effects on the man, and to compel activities on the part of those who were saving him, which bore on the things of time as well as on those of eternity. "To preach the gospel" is a large order, and enormously comprehensive. It involves living the gospel, as well as proclaiming it; and this means the carrying of brotherly love and helpful service into every corner of the lives of those who are being saved. Hence it is that the branches of the tree appear. The mission organism assumes a complexity such as at first was all undreamt of, but which comes to be increasingly realised as being inherent in any true conception of the

missionary's work. In the whole range of missionary activity nothing is of greater interest than this growth of the branches of Christian beneficence, as they go reaching out in many directions totally unexpected, yet all entirely natural, for they are inevitable consequences of the life which animates the organism. These are the *civilising* activities of missions which so arrest the attention of the average observer, and win for Missions his sincere regard. Their naturalness and their value become speedily apparent when we consider the normal course of any Christian Mission which settles down to work among a backward people.

* * *

In almost every case the earliest development is along the line of EDUCATION. This is a big word for what at first is usually a very little thing. Nothing could be less imposing than the customary beginnings of a primitive mission school—a little hut or only a shelter, perhaps neither hut nor shelter, but merely the shade of some great tree, a handful of wondering children, and a chart with letters and syllables written by the missionary, who seeks to impress on the minds of his primitive pupils the meaning of these strange signs, by linking them with sounds that are familiar. Not much Gospel in this, some may think. Yet the whole Gospel is there, *in posse*; and all through the history of Christianity the Church has recognised this, by associating education with its distinctively spiritual endeavours. In special degree

has this marked the missions of the Reformed Churches, and with very good reason. Their central aim remains always quite definite. It is to bring the people into touch with Christ, and let the divine contact work on them its wonted miracle. For this the spoken word is used, and with increasing fervency as the missionary's mastery of the strange speech increases. But speech is at best a fleeting thing, while writing is permanent. So the written *Word* has to be provided in the people's own tongue; and for this, they must be taught to read. Dr. Donald Fraser tells of one African Mission (which he kindly does not name) where this elementary logic was not applied. The missionaries, scorning schools, simply preached the Gospel and then provided the Bible—only to discover that there were no readers to profit by it! Then the things left undone had to be done furiously. It seems almost incredible, but the authority is unimpeachable. Happily missionaries in general have been more sensible; and if they have required any outside stimulus, they have had it in the surprisingly strong desire to be able to read, which many of the child-peoples have shown. In Kenya Colony to-day, among the primitive Kikuyu tribes who live south of Mount Kenya, the area is dotted over with little school-huts or shelters, each with its class of many boys and fewer girls, and often with older folks as well, clad in the most primitive of skin garments, but all eager to master the mystery of the printed page. The chief reason for this keenness is itself indicative of much. It

is that they may qualify for admission to the membership of the Church, one condition of which, in the case of the younger people, has been made ability to read the simple Gospel.

Quite apart, however, from this end which education serves in making the Bible an open book, the opening of the mind, among a people where it has been immemorially stunted and closed, is itself so incalculable a service that education for this general purpose also has long been assiduously encouraged by missions. The bearing which the opening of the mind has on the creation of an open and understanding heart, remains indeed the compelling reason for missions making a *school* the first plank in the Christian edifice; but the wider considerations give powerful support to this general policy. Scottish missions here have had a special pre-eminence, proving themselves true heirs of Scottish traditions. So long ago as 1818, the basal principle was well enunciated by Dr. Inglis, later the first convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, and it has never been departed from. His words may sound rather ponderous to-day, but they are worthy of quotation: "A man of an understanding mind, habituated to thought and reflection, has an advantage over others, for estimating both the evidence of the Christian doctrine and its accommodation to human wants and necessities." For the rude pagan peoples of Africa or New Guinea this is as true as it is for the cultured races of Europe. The African who learns to read learns also to think, and feel, and

know, and desire, and value, in spheres which before were to him closed lands. Entering into them he finds treasures undreamt of. Best of all, he finds God.

So the *Mission School* unfailingly follows the missionary's arrival. Every year the School grows ; with each advance in the mission's work it advances, and soon it is more than elementary. Teachers are required, pastors are needed, social leaders are demanded, and for such men an education and training are required superior to that which will suffice for their future pupils and congregations and communities. With the advent of European settlers and the consequent more vigorous development of the country, as happens in many a mission area, there comes a further stage. Boarding-schools develop, where Christian boys and girls of special promise or of special need come under a more intensive influence in education, and in other things as well. A call arises for native assistance to staff the subordinate departments in the shops and offices that appear, and as the response is eager, so are the school developments great. A knowledge of English in such circumstances becomes necessary, and to the curriculum of selected schools this is added ; but as a rule only in response to an unmistakable demand either from the oncoming civilisation without, or from the new desires and creditable ambitions that keep rising within the heart of the once backward people. A little later, and the educational needs grow to be beyond the power of local mission stations to supply. Then ensures a combined effort, which creates large

central institutions like that of Lovedale in South Africa, and others of smaller dimension at many an African and Pacific centre. Throughout the Empire, wherever there are child-races in need of light and guidance, mission schools, small or great, primitive or highly developed, are thus helping to supply the need. Approximately there are 21,000 mission schools of all kinds in the Empire to-day. What this means for the uplift of the peoples concerned will be variously estimated, but that it means great things is beyond question. In the vast majority of these schools the education is of an extremely elementary kind, and rightly so; but however elementary it may be, it means that to peoples who through all the ages have sat in darkness, light at long last has come, and a new Earth as well as a new Heaven is beginning to appear.

* * *

We often talk glibly of the preaching and the teaching work of missions, their evangelistic and educational activities, and are rather forgetful of the extreme importance of the apparatus by which these things are made at all possible—**THE APPARATUS OF LANGUAGE**. In the days of the Apostles, Greek carried one practically everywhere: so when Paul sets forth the stages by which a missionary may preach the gospel of peace to a people still in darkness, his climax is "How shall they preach, except they be sent?" To-day the chain is a little longer. This other link has to be added before it is sufficient: "To what

purpose the preaching, unless they speak to the people in their own tongue?" Some familiarity with the language, and as speedily as possible a mastery of it, is a simple necessity that faces every missionary in every field. And as with preaching, so with teaching. Schools need books, books need writers, and writers of books, however elementary, need a knowledge of the language in which they write. So the language apparatus has to be provided, and a whole great department of mission work opens out.

With the Child-Races it is a very difficult department. Rarely have they reduced their language to writing, rarely have they any knowledge of writing at all. They speak the words their fathers spoke before them through untold generations; not very numerous as a rule, and all dealing with the simplest and most ordinary needs and experiences of primitive life. For the deeper things of the soul or of the mind they have hardly any words at all. The pioneer missionary has to set to work to fill the void, and create a written language, by combining sounds and syllables in definite words, linking word with word to form sentences, and reducing all, for the first time in the history of the people, to a written form. It is a task of infinite pains, yet infinite worth; and among the Nature peoples of the Empire it is one that has been done almost entirely by Christian missionaries. How it is done may be illustrated by the way in which, at Livingstonia, the Nyanja language was reduced to writing. Mr. Jack, one of the earliest missionaries, has told us: "Mr.

Riddell, who was for some time schoolmaster as well as agriculturist, began by writing down every new word that he heard, with its apparent meaning. After collecting a few words and phrases he got some boys to adjudicate and explain any difficulty ; and thus he became gradually acquainted with the more common phrases, which served as stepping-stones to something more. But there was no one better qualified to undertake such a task than Dr. Laws. He made a much deeper, more scientific, and more accurate study of the language than Mr. Riddell had the opportunity of doing. He made it a special part of his work to reduce the native language, and bring all its cacophony and peculiarities, its prefixes, suffixes, clicks, and multitudinous variations, into visible form. The result was that after four or five years' experience, the missionaries had so far managed the language that they had put it into grammatical order and a written form. A grammar, a primer, a hymn-book, the Gospel of Mark, and other literary works, were all ready in this language by 1881."

As at Livingstonia, so has it been in every other field of a like primitive kind. "So far as we know," writes Richard Lovett when dealing with the South Pacific, "there is not a single case on record of the reduction to writing of a Polynesian language by other than a Christian worker. It is to missionary efforts that all South Sea literature is due." And of pagan Africa, with its multitudinous peoples and tongues, the same is practically the case. "Huge is the debt," says Sir Harry Johnston in his book on British Central Africa,

“ which philologists owe to the labours of British Missionaries in Africa! By Evangelists of our own nationality nearly two hundred African languages and dialects have been illustrated by grammars, dictionaries, vocabularies, and translations of the Bible.” But while to translate the Bible is the primary goal for which a mastery of the language has been sought, other results that affect increasingly the advancement of the people keep pouring in. Every important mission acquires its printing-press; the printed page begins to do its marvellous work; a literature, though it may be of a humble kind, comes into being. General knowledge gets diffused, the intellects of the people, dwarfed for long centuries, expand; and a touch with the great world results such as was hitherto wholly unknown. Nor are the child-folk the only ones who benefit by the missionaries' language-mastery and its printed development. To the business man, the planter, and the Government official, the pioneer language-work that has been done is invaluable; as each new arrival gladly acknowledges when a grammar and reading-book and dictionary are put into his hands—all stamped with the name of some Mission Press. So far as the Child-Races of the Empire possess a literature, it is not too much to say that nine-tenths of it is due directly or indirectly to Christian Missions.

* * *

Prominent in every mission to the Child-Races to-day is the INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT, whereby

it is sought to develop a taste and a qualification for industrial work, among peoples who have never been compelled by circumstance to cultivate either the one or the other. By common consent, both missionaries and outside observers are agreed that this is where strong emphasis ought to be laid; and, if formerly, in some quarters there was a tendency to give undue prominence to the more literary side of education, there are few if any missions to the Backward Races where this is the case to-day. The main principle that lies behind industrial developments in such fields has seldom been better stated than it was by John Mackenzie, at his test examination by the London Missionary Society, before he was appointed to the African Field. He was asked how he intended to exercise his ministry among the heathen, and he replied: "I desire to do the work of an Evangelist, and from this to turn neither to the right hand nor to the left. . . . In order to complete the work of elevating the people, the missionary must teach them the arts of civilised life. If we exhort them to lay aside the sword for the ploughshare, and the spear for the pruning-hook, we must be prepared to teach them to use the one with the same dexterity which they exhibited in wielding the other. If they are no longer to start upon the marauding expedition, if they are not to depend on the precarious results of the chase, then we must teach them to till their own land, sow and reap their own crops, build their own houses, as well as tend their own flocks." To this simple logic of duty, experience in the

field only adds further pungency. Livingstone's strongest hope of killing the slave-trade, as it existed among the Africans themselves, lay in the substitution of a traffic between home-made goods and African-grown produce, for the hateful traffic in human flesh; and this meant the development of industrial habits and capacities. Every missionary in tropic lands—where climatic conditions breed a lethargic content and discourage any desire for progress—comes to the same conclusion; to foster industrial tastes and wholesome ambitions in life, is essential for the uplift of the peoples. A modest education for all, in reading, writing, and figuring; special educational facilities for the few who will profit by them; and for the many, an industrial training such as will tend to make manual labour honoured and efficient—this is, in brief, the general missionary programme.

In carrying out the industrial portion of the programme, two lines are commonly followed. One consists in passing on to the primitive peoples such Western developments in industries as the missionary knows, or whose application the mission specially requires. In this way the very establishing of a mission station is an education. As the simple mission-house gets built, and the garden laid out, and the little bit of ground cultivated, and the paths and even roads constructed, the amazed and observant native learns many things, and tries to copy some of them. Where the missionary has enjoyed the advantage at home of being *country* bred and trained, his instruction in agriculture or road-making, or simple building,

is particularly appreciated. From Dr. Moffat the surprised Bechuanas first learned how to increase the fertility of the soil by using the animal manure. In many an African tribe the introduction of the plough has been the beginning of a new era. "It does the work of ten women!" was the delighted comment it evoked from one chief; Polygamy in that chief's village had there and then one of its great inducements cut away. But apart from any indirect gain in morality, the improvement which the plough has brought in agricultural results, and in consequent industry and uplift, is marvellous. "The Bible and the plough must go together in Africa," says du Plessis, and few are the missions that cannot testify to the truth of this. After all, it is history repeating itself. Long ago the missionaries who Christianised Europe felt the same and did the same. They were pioneers in industry as well as preachers of the Gospel. Says Montalembert in speaking of Theodulph, Abbot of Fleury, whom Charlemagne brought to help in civilising France in the eighth century, and who first taught the Gauls the use of the plough: "It seems to me that we should all contemplate with emotion, if it still existed, that monk's plough, doubly sacred by religion and by labour, by history and by virtue. For myself I feel that I should kiss it as willingly as the sword of Charlemagne or the pen of Bossuet." Even so may some African or Polynesian speak, a few centuries hence, of the tools in agriculture, carpentry or building, of which Christian missionaries first taught his forefathers the use.

But the main endeavour to impart industrial habits and efficiency centres in the industrial training given at school, where education of the hand is coupled with the culture of the mind. It is growing rare to-day to find a mission school in which some training in industrial work does not form part of the regular curriculum. Gardening, farm work, rudimentary carpentry or house building are provided for the boys; housework, sewing, laundrying for the girls, together with such outdoor work in agriculture as will be their later lot. As the mission grows, there come greater developments. Large central industrial institutes arise, where an elementary knowledge of various trades is given, and boys are equipped with a capacity for work, and imbued with an honourable appreciation of its dignity, that mean great things for the future of themselves and their people. Nor is the manual dexterity sought only for its own sake, or for the material advance it will bring. It has important bearings on the higher development of character and general work. "Knowledge," said the late Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, "merely puffeth up, but manual labour taught with charity certainly *edifieth* the individual in the original sense of that word—as well as the African social state." So, at his own Lovedale, the premier place of the kind in Africa, "the following trades are taught, Carpentry, Waggon-making, Blacksmithing, Printing, Bookbinding, and even Telegraphing."

What it means for Africa that such training of its youth is going on in many mission fields

hardly needs to be told. Yet let an impartial observer, a true son of the Empire, Sir Harry Johnston, declare it: "Almost invariably it has been to missionaries that the natives of Interior Africa have owed their first acquaintance with the printing press, the turning-lathe, the mangle, the flat-iron, the saw-mill, and the brick mould. Industrial teaching is coming more and more into favour, and its immediate results in British Central Africa have been most encouraging. Instead of importing printers, carpenters, store-clerks, cooks, telegraphists, gardeners, natural-history collectors from England or India, we are gradually becoming able to obtain them amongst the natives in the missionaries' schools, and who, having been given simple wholesome local education, have not had their heads turned, and are not above their station in life."

* * *

The *Ministry of Healing* was for long a twig rather than a branch of the organised mission; but to-day it takes its place among the leading activities of the missionary world. No longer is the healing a matter of amateur doctoring learned by the non-medical missionary in the school of experience: it is now the serious life-work of medically trained and consecrated men and women. The old kindly, and withal useful, layman's healing still goes on indeed in many a field, but more and more does the trained medical missionary find a place on the normal mission staff. So it is that the Church to-day seeks to

carry out its Lord's command to heal the sick, as well as to proclaim the Gospel to all nations. Only the heavy cost of this branch of the work prevents its far wider extension. Its advance in popularity has been amazing. In 1850 there were only some 40 medical missionaries in the whole world. To-day, they number over 1000, of whom some 350 are at work in the British Empire. Associated with these qualified medical missionaries, both men and women, there are at least as many qualified nurses, making in all a force of 700 missionaries in the Empire, engaged in the ministry of healing.

Various things have led to this remarkable development, but there is little doubt as to the chief compelling cause. It is the increasing acquaintance which is now possessed of the appalling amount of physical pain and suffering and life-long woes, largely remediable, which afflict mankind in non-Christian lands. Christian compassion and human sympathy have combined to make medical missions a work which all men praise, and which many men, of no distinctively missionary spirit, gladly further. To this leading motive the Church adds others of high importance. As an object-lesson of the spirit of Christianity the ministry of healing is unexcelled; as a road-maker for Christ's entry into the hearts of suffering men and women its effectiveness is proved in every field; and as a boon to the missionaries themselves when days of sickness come it is priceless. Still, with the great majority of men, whether they be missionary-

minded or not, it is the God-derived compassion in the human heart that has been and is the main motive-force.

This ministry has far-reaching effects. Were it for nothing but the saving of life which the missionary doctor effects, his arrival in any pagan bit of the Empire would be an event of first importance. To heal the sick, to rescue from death many a one otherwise most surely doomed, to restore to active usefulness those torn by wild beasts, to ease the pain of the dying, and generally to lengthen and strengthen the life of the people, are right notable services, inestimable gains to the whole community. And to-day they are being rendered throughout the backward areas of Empire with a thoroughness not commonly realised. When Livingstone journeyed through darkest Africa, and used his medical skill to lessen suffering wherever he went, his medical equipment was sadly restricted. Yet it did great things, and it also showed the ripeness of the field for things far greater. To-day in many a pagan area these greater things have come. The medical missionary begins as Livingstone did, but he does not stop there. He becomes more than an itinerant healer. A rude hospital is not long in being erected, and its fame as a local centre of healing spreads. From near and from far the sick and the helpless are brought, and the magic combination of the Christian heart with medical skill renews the days of miracles. The primitive hospital gets replaced by a more substantial building, the work is strengthened by the arrival

of qualified nurses and a medical colleague, native Africans are trained to assist, a series of dispensaries are established all over the countryside, each with its native dispenser; and so the good work of healing grows from more to more, and the whole people rejoice.

It may be asked, is not this ministry of healing rather an *outcome* of Christian civilisation than a fresh *creator* of it? It is both. That it is an outcome is manifest; but it also is a powerful factor in planting a Christian civilisation in the area where it is at work. One instance of this is seen in the training of young natives as assistant doctors, and of the women as nurses. The hospitals all have their staffs of natives, some in lowly office, ward attendants, sweepers, cooks, etc., but others occupying positions of much responsibility where they are in training for later independent work. In the hospital at Blantyre in Nyasaland, when the writer was being shown round by Dr. Macfarlane a door was opened, and, said the doctor, "This is our bacteriology room." Two young Africans were at work with their microscopes, carrying on the bacteriological examination which is now an essential feature in all good hospital work! "They do it," added the doctor, "as well as I could myself." The episode was significant of the advance of civilisation along at least one important line. One can simply mention here another valued civilising contribution which is made by the medical missionary along the special professional line.

Happily it is fairly familiar—the aid he gives in the general extension of sanitary knowledge among peoples who are ignorant of its very rudiments, and are usually strongly averse to its practice. In fighting epidemics and in preventing them, in persuading the people that cleanliness is of value to themselves and not merely a European craze, and in introducing into their domestic habits many a beneficial reform, the mission doctor is a great civiliser. But in addition to services of this professional order which are undoubtedly of high value to the Empire, there are two of a different kind whose value ultimately is even higher.

One of these is the death-blow which the mission doctor gives to the cult of the witch-doctor and the mysterious medicine man, whose disastrously powerful sway over the backward peoples has done so much to keep them backward. Magic is discredited and the wrath of the spirits is reduced to a nullity as disease and sickness are seen to yield to the skilful loving hand of the Christian doctor. He is one of the greatest liberators whom the Child-Races know. “Do you suppose,” said Cyrus C. Adams at an African Congress held in Atlanta in 1895, “that when the missionary societies began to send medical missionaries to Africa they had any very clear idea as to what the greatest potency of physician and surgeons would prove to be? It is already found in some places that these specialists are striking at the very root of an evil which perhaps more than any other one influence keeps the native African degraded.

That is the superstition which has invested the fetich-doctor with mysterious power over human life and happiness. No man can grow intellectually, when he believes the fetich-doctor can exorcise the evil spirits that make him ill, or sell him charms that will bring victory in battle. No man can progress so long as a greedy chief, eager to seize the little property his subject has gathered, may call in the fetich-man to declare him bewitched and condemn him to death. The glimmer of an idea is dawning upon many of those people, that the real healers are these men who have come among them, and that there is nothing supernatural about their skill. They are beginning to see the imposition that has kept them prostrate."

Higher even than this great service is the Revaluation of Life, which gradually but surely follows, wherever medical missions are established. In pagan lands life's value is pitifully low. It sinks to zero as soon as life's fitness ceases. Prompt extinction of the unfit is the pagan code, and the practice is all too logical. Among most of the backward peoples the treatment of the sick, particularly when the sickness is unto death, is a tragic terror. That this is largely due to the utter hopelessness of any betterment is undoubted, for natural affection is nowhere absent; but where continuance of life is seen to promise only continuance of pain and increasing helplessness, a speedy death is felt to be the best release. When, however, the mission doctor gets to work all this begins to change. The inborn

love of life, as well as the natural outflow of human affection, find scope for exercise, and they are given increasing play. When Dr. Lamb in 1897 founded the first hospital in the New Hebrides, he described it as "an engine for breaking down savagery by the power of Christian love," and so it proved to be. Life's value rose in that cannibal area, and has never fallen since. From West Africa another missionary records that since the doctor came, the practice of throwing into the sea those who were sick with chronic disease has altogether ceased. India and Burma tell of a new care for the afflicted, and a steady lessening of man's inhumanity to his afflicted brother. Life's value has risen, and Life's possibilities of growth and usefulness have become greater than ever they were in the old days, before the mission doctor came with his gracious ministry, bringing light as well as life to the peoples who are in darkness.

* * *

In Western Christendom the crown of civilisation is the CHRISTIAN HOME; and that home, with the family life of which it is the centre, is civilisation's best security. Accordingly, when missions seek to benefit the child-peoples among whom they live, it is a constant aim to establish the Christian ideals of home and family. When missionaries succeed in doing this, they have gone a long way towards civilising as well as Christianising the people. But it is a hard thing to achieve; much more difficult than to create

a community that can read and write and plough the soil. It means a revolution in character, and a breaking of immemorial custom, which is no easy thing in any land, and is particularly hard in lands where custom is king.

The greatest cause of difficulty is that, among all these Nature-peoples, it involves an entire revolution in the position of *woman*. The cornerstone of any home is the woman whose domain it is. If she is regarded as a chattel, a bit of property, one of many similar bits of property, then even though she be dignified with the name of "wife," home and family life, as known in Christian civilisation, are impossible. To get pagan Africa or heathen Polynesia to revise its concept of woman is one of the most difficult tasks with which Missions are faced. Yet it is being done. A thousand mission stations, in "Darkest Africa" and in other backward lands, have proved that through winsome example, kindly precept, and an understanding patience, the miracle can be wrought. It is along this line that the married missionary scores over his bachelor brother. The sight of a real home, where the missionary and his wife live in mutual affection and respect, the wife honouring her husband and the husband honouring his wife, and where the peace and trust and happiness of family life is seen and known of all onlookers—this is a new thing in pagan lands. Men and women look upon it with amazement. Some may jeer, but many more are filled with longing wonder that such things can be. As the Christian converts

increase, the new custom of "one man, one wife" spreads, and comes nearer to the life of the tribe. Christian homes among their own folk appear, and though at first disruptions may not be infrequent, the custom makes headway, and the beauty and seemliness and rightness of it tell. If a man of mark adopts it, all the readier are others to follow. King Khama of the Bechuanas never was a polygamist, had refused so to be, at great cost to himself, and to-day in his old dominions polygamy is regarded with dishonour. "When I first visited Uganda," writes R. P. Ashe, "It was a shame to a man not to have a great following and a large number of women, who were cultivators of the soil, and therefore a sign of wealth; now in Uganda it is a shame for a man to have more than one wife." And in many an island of the Southern Seas, where polygamy and concubinage formerly ran riot, there now runs the Christian law of marriage. "Polygamy," wrote Mrs. Paton years ago, "in Aniwa is a thing of the past."

With the wife firmly throned in her God-ordered place, things are beginning to be in Christian Africa even as they have been for long years in Europe. Things of shame, habits that degrade, selfishness that makes a man useless for the service of his kind, age-long contumelies that render it unthinkable for a woman to be other than a drudge or a toy—these things are passing away round every centre where a Christian Mission is. And in their stead there are appearing in growing numbers, humble Christian homes where the

decent moralities of life are observed, where family loyalties are encouraged, where father, mother and children are linked together in love for mutual strengthening in all good things, and where stability is given to the whole community by the existence within it of these many little centres of uplifting influence.

* * *

There is one other civilising service rendered by Missions which cannot be omitted from any survey, however brief—the AMELIORATION OF SOCIAL AND TRIBAL LIFE, which follows wherever missions get firmly established. Naturally this change is soonest observable within the young Christian section of the community. There Christianity's moral code is accepted as a Law for the convert to practise. To him it is not merely a strange scheme of life, introduced with many other strange things, by the strange white man. To his heathen neighbour it may be that, but to the African Christian it is a very practical thing. His practice of the new code may be very imperfect, and at first indeed is so, for this new morality reaches far, and there are few customs of social or tribal life on which it does not bear painfully. The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, have all had sanction and encouragement from long indulgence and well-established customs, and now at every turn this new code comes up against these elemental forces of evil. How hard the struggle, at first how frequent the reverses, but little by little how

clear and decisive the victory, the annals of every mission tell. Never surely has the tale of this battle in the soul of the children of the tropical forests been better told than by Miss Jean Kenyon Mackenzie (an American Presbyterian missionary to the Bulu people in West Africa), in her inimitable book, *An African Trail*. "The ten commandments, as apprehended by the white man in their ethical splendour, are not so apprehended by the black man, when God 'ties him with ten tyings' in the 'early morning' of his Christian day. They are not then to him the expression of ideals; they are facts, definite laws of abstinings, of omission and commission. They are the Eldorado of Taboo. They are emancipating—the door of escape from a man-made yoke. Given a Father-God, there is no greater benefit that He could have conferred upon our pragmatic Bulu, than ten explicit tyings. The practice of the law promises at first to be an exact science, the perfect taboo, for which our Bulu has blindly searched, and which is here given him with the marks of divine authority." Step by step the new life of the community advances, as each successive "tying" binds men and women to reverence, to purity, to truth, to filial respect, to regard for others' property and good name and life: and the *Tribe of God*, as the Christians are designated in that West African area, comes to adopt as its recognised morality that which Christian civilisation has agreed to honour.

Outside the Christian fold the moral influence of the mission also tells, and in its neighbourhood

pagan passions and old degrading customs are found slowly to lose their old-time zest and popularity. Throughout the British Empire, indeed, wherever such excesses have led to crime against human life, they have been prohibited, and suppressed by force. Slavery and the poison-cup, infanticide and cannibalism, are all proscribed by law, and if not yet extinct are practised only in secret. Even so, it should never be forgotten, that the pressure which brought about such action by the State has been largely due to Christian missions, and to the heroic witness and work of missionaries.

Still, when all is done that the majesty of law can do in the pagan portions of the Empire, there remain countless abuses and degradations of human life which the law cannot touch; and yet for the advance of civilisation and in the name of common humanity, they must be removed. Here it is that the civilising power of missions in the moral sphere is seen at its very best. By the personal influence of good men and women, coupled with a ceaseless quiet pressure on their part against what is evil and degrading, abuses, such as the Empire authorities hesitate to deal with, are successfully discountenanced, limited and ended. Slavery itself supplies one of the leading examples. Slave-trading is prohibited in the Empire, yet *domestic-slavery* still exists throughout the greater part of British Africa—the thing without the name, the chains of enforced servitude being camouflaged. Yet under the solvent touch of Christianity these chains, unseen but very

real, are being increasingly broken. "All we, Protestant chiefs," said forty native chiefs of Uganda in 1893, "wish to adopt these good customs of freedom. We agree to untie and free completely all our slaves. Here are our names as chiefs." "I may mention," says Dr. Laws, "the case of a poor, half-paralysed slave I saw in Angoniland lying on a dunghill in want and nakedness, spurned by all, and considered as useless by its master. The grace of God changed the heart of that master and his brothers, and the poor slave was no longer treated as an ousted cur whose days of usefulness were done, but taken in and fed, and cared for as one of the family."

So, too, is it with the many other abuses that degrade the life of men among the primitive races. Tribal fightings in New Guinea, which were the daily delight of the Papuan savages, fall away and disappear under the wise and kindly influence of Chalmers, Lawes, and their comrades. "Tribes that formerly could not meet but to fight, now assemble as friends, and sit side by side in the same house, worshipping the true God." In Erromanga and many a sister Pacific isle, where cannibalism was of old a daily practice, savage fierceness has departed from the people, and the very mention of former criminal practices is avoided. At Kumassi in Ashanteeland, formerly the scene of butcheries unspeakable, "No more the Knife! No more the Knife!" is a favourite chant of the women on days of high festival. In Calabar, Mary Slessor's influence has done much to end the cruel murder of twin children; and throughout

pagan Africa the old ordeals of torture are disappearing wherever Christian Missions penetrate. Many practices indeed still continue which are gravely antagonistic to the advance of civilisation, and are opposed to the best instincts of humanity. Still are girls sold into matrimony for the highest number of sheep or cattle procurable; still in many a tribe does the witch-doctor rule supreme; still are degrading dances, the fruitful sources of immorality, too popular; and still is secret poisoning practised for the removal of private enemies or hated rivals. But with it all, the actual progress that has been made is immense. Those who best know the things that used to be, are the readiest in acknowledging the great superiority of the things that are. The moderately worded testimony, given by Charles Darwin many years ago, to the change in South Pacific civilisation which had been wrought among the child-peoples by Christian Missions, is universally applicable, and gains added truth with every year that passes: "The slanderers forget, or rather they will not consider that human sacrifice, the power of an idolatrous priesthood, a systematically refined sensuality, which has no parallel in all the world, child murder—that all this is put away and abolished, and that dishonesty and intemperance and impurity have been to a great extent lessened through the introduction of Christianity. It is the basest ingratitude on the part of writers of travels to forget this. Were it their lot to stand in expectation of suffering shipwreck on some unknown coast, they would direct a fervent prayer

to heaven, that the teaching of the missionaries might have reached its inhabitants."

* * *

That Christian Missions, as a civilising agency, have done priceless service to the Child-Races of the Empire is unquestionable. To the six particular lines of service which have been specially referred to, many others might be added, but those are undoubtedly "the big six"; and they are very big. To give to these races a written language and the beginnings of a literature; to school them, so that the rudiments of education are theirs; to train them in the many industries that contribute to a people's progress; to bring to their women a new position, a new hope, a new life; to transform their lives by the gracious ministry of healing; to elevate the home and the family; to commend and enforce a new and higher morality for the individual and for society; and to be largely instrumental in ending those baneful practices that have degraded and disfigured the life of the Child-Races for long centuries—these are services whose value can hardly be over-estimated. In general terms they have been stated. It remains by a few "snap-shots" of special areas, to give concrete illustration of what the advent of a mission and the exercise of its many-sided influence mean in actual practice. Four areas are selected, typical of all the fields—one in Polynesia, three in Africa where the Child-Races of the Empire are most numerous.

II

Up to 1835 THE FIJI ISLANDS were practically untouched by European influences. Tasman and Cook, as well as other voyagers, had landed, and had sailed away. In 1804 a boatload of escaped convicts from New South Wales had sought refuge there; but of these refugees, in 1835, when two Wesleyan missionaries, William Cross and David Cargill, settled and began their work, only one survivor remained. More unpromising soil for mission endeavour could hardly be imagined. A paradise of scenic beauty and a richly fertile land, its inhabitants were among the most brutally savage that the whole Pacific could show. Physically and also mentally they were of a high type, but morally they were of the very lowest. Cannibalism, human sacrifice, and ceaseless fighting were their characteristic employments. Two-thirds of all children born were killed, especially girl children, who were useless for fighting. "Their crowning pleasure," wrote one of the early settlers, "consists in eating the enemies they had slaughtered and in fattening up those preserved, for leisurely consumption." Truly a delectable field!

Yet the transformation came to pass. Thakombau, the leading chief, and a strong masterful pagan, found his people gradually being won over to the ways of the mission. He had himself a human liking for the missionaries, and when his principal wife and her daughter showed signs of

like tendency, he decided to go too. On 20th April 1854 the great drums had summoned the people to a cannibal feast: on 30th April the same drums called them to meet in the Christian's church and worship the Christian's God. Three hundred of them assembled, and a new era began. Three years later came a yet more definite step. The great Chief put away all his wives save one, and to her was publicly married—the others being duly provided for. Then came his own baptism, preceded by a public confession, in church, of his former misdeeds. "What a congregation he had!" wrote one who was present, "husbands whose wives he had dishonoured; widows whose husbands he had slain; sisters whose relatives had been strangled by his orders; relatives whose friends he had eaten; and children, the descendants of those he had murdered, and who had vowed to avenge the wrongs inflicted on their fathers! A thousand strong hearts heaved with fear and astonishment."

That marked the turning of the tide, which though often checked, has gone on flowing ever since. In 1885 the mission celebrated its jubilee; and then it could be recorded that cannibalism was extinct, and that not one professing heathen was left upon the islands. All were Christians! "The change in these islands," said Baron de Hubner, the famous traveller and student, "is wonderful. No candid man can deny it." Of the reality of the change and its permanent civilising effect, both in the heart and in the life, there are many striking evidences. That the religion is a

reality is shown by the fact that the Church is self-supporting, and sends in addition an annual contribution of £400 to the parent Missionary Society. That the moral sense is a reality was abundantly proved when at the time of the great Indian Famine in 1878-79, no less than £844 was transmitted to India by the grandchildren of these cannibals. That industry is part of the morality is indicated by the export trade of Fiji, amounting in 1920 to £229,000. Much of this undoubtedly is due to the Indian labour imported, after a terrible epidemic of measles in 1875 had swept away one-third of the native population; but to the islands' prosperity the Fijians contribute their due share. That education is a reality and an influence is evidenced by the existence of 1400 schools, with 25,000 pupils in regular attendance. And that loyalty to the new order of things and to the British Empire is a reality, was finely demonstrated in the Great War, when £1500 went from the Fijians to purchase an aeroplane; and so clamorous were the people for active service that a large Fijian force was enlisted, which did excellent work immediately behind the fighting line in France. No doubt the old fighting instinct had something to do with this, yet behind it was also the strong conviction that the new ways were better than the old, and that to give help in preserving them was a worthy duty, to be rendered worthily.

* * *

There is something reminiscent of the first

days of Christianity in the way in which the Christian message came to BASUTOLAND. To that "Switzerland of South Africa," where are the sources of the Orange River, the great chief Moshesh had withdrawn, from the destructive enmity of the Matabele, the shattered contingents of many tribes; and with wonderful statesmanship, just a hundred years ago, had built up a young nation—the Basutos. One day in 1883 there came to Moshesh a Griqua trader, who sold to him the first gun ever seen in the country; and when the bargain was concluded, the trader became an evangelist. "There is something better to buy than that gun," said he. "It is the *Thuto*" (the teaching). "What is that?" asked the chief. "Oh," was the reply, "it is something which brings with it the best good. This gun brings death, but that *Thuto* brings life." "And how may I purchase it?" inquired Moshesh. "Send to Philippolis," answered the trader, "and ask for the missionaries."

The scene then shifts to Cape Colony, where three young French Protestant missionaries, worthy descendants of the Huguenots, had come to open a mission field in South Africa. Protestant Missions were in those days forbidden in French Colonies, so the Paris Missionary Society had selected this area for its young apostles. For four years they had done desultory work, but had found no field, when to them there drew near a white hunter, who put to them a question—"Are you not missionaries?" "We are," said they. Then said the hunter, "I am sent by a chief in

the interior to seek after teachers ; his name is Moshesh, of the Basuto tribe." So the three young men, Casalis, Arbousset and Gosselin, arose and went ; and to-day Basutoland, with its remarkable developments of Christian civilisation, is the consequence.

More than any other well-defined area in South Africa does Basutoland exhibit the unshared influence of Christian Missions as a civilising agency ; for there has been practically no other agency of the kind at work. But two other influences have gone far to strengthen the missionary impact. One has been the presence of Moshesh, a chief of remarkable power, while the other has lain in the absence of any other mission. The French Society has had the field wholly to itself, and great has been the gain.

Moshesh was a man of uncommon qualities and worth. Of him Dr. Stewart of Lovedale has written : " He presents one of those instances, rare in African history, of a native ruler, human and sagacious, who loved peace better than war, and was always faithful to his word ; and though living in the darkness of barbarism, dimly foresaw the benefits to his people of civilisation, perhaps even of Christianity." It was fortunate for Basutoland that the Christian mission which came to it was formed of men of such transparent goodness and goodwill, as also of sound judgment, that Moshesh took them to his heart and they took him to theirs. Their progress in building up a Christian community was at first slow, but their influence extended rapidly. The young nation

had to encounter many troubles. There was the enmity of other tribes, the constant hostility of the Boers on their western frontier, and occasional difficulties with the British on their eastern side. Through all the perplexing situations the missionaries encouraged Moshesh to keep straight, and to their honour, be it said, their political influence to this day has never been used against the British. Always have they sought to further such arrangements between Basutoland and Britain as would make for the truest weal of Basutoland. It was particularly so in 1852, when British forces, led by Sir George Cathcart in a war that never should have been, had suffered defeat at the hands of the warriors of Moshesh. The transience of any such victory was well known to the missionaries, and on the very morning after the engagement, Moshesh sent a message to Sir George: "O my Master, I am still your man: I am still the child of the Queen. . . . I am ashamed of what happened yesterday, let it be forgotten." And it was forgotten—gladly and generously. Basutoland was left with its honourable independence. Later, Sir George Cathcart (who fell at Inkermann in the Crimea) wrote of this little campaign: "Another advantage I gained was in the acquaintance of Moshesh, whom I found to be not only the most enlightened, but the most upright chief in South Africa, one in whose good faith I put the utmost confidence, and for whom therefore I have a sincere respect and regard."

In 1871, to save the nation and their land from

the Boers, the aid of Britain was asked and given. A Protectorate was declared, but Basutoland has to-day the most independent constitution of all the South African tribes. "A nation of half a million of absolute negroes in the very heart of white South Africa," it has its own parliament. The rule of Britain, represented by the presence of a Commissioner, is exercised largely through the native chiefs, while the French missionaries are still worthy of the old title given to one of them, "the uncrowned Kings of the land." Under treaty, no white person can settle in the country without consent of the native Government—a proviso that keeps out many undesirables. Important, too, it is that the liquor laws are in native hands, and the entire traffic is prohibited. When free trade was urged on Moshesh by the British, he consulted his missionary advisers, and approved—with the express exception of intoxicating liquor. "Some Dutch and white merchants," writes one of the missionaries, "once came with casks of brandy and whisky to sell; and the black chief ordered his men to take out the bung! Our French missionaries have built a wall against strong drink around Basutoland." And Britain honours the wall.

Christianity cannot be said to have swept the land completely clear of heathenism, but it has gone a long way towards this. It is the main force inspiring the life of the country to-day, and the marks of civilisation grow ever more numerous. Particularly is this visible in the care for Education. In this the mission is the main agency,

acting as the accredited organ of the State, but without any surrender of its religious aims. In 1920 there were 82,500 pupils in attendance at over 400 schools, and the year's expenditure from public funds on education amounted to £26,745. No British State in South Africa can show an expenditure on this item in anything approaching the same ratio to the population. This little State, under an African ruler, leads the way! Its exports of merchandise in the same year valued £68,291, and its commercial enterprise grows steadily. In the Great War no native bit of the Empire in Africa did better. "Shall the Basuto stand by, while the King's house is on fire?" said the present paramount chief, in whom the blood and spirit of Moshesh are alive. "No! they must run and extinguish the flames." And they ran gloriously. £52,000 they contributed to the war funds; and a fine contingent of men, with sons and brothers of all the ruling chiefs at their head, earned golden opinions by their work in France. Truly Basutoland, Christian Basutoland, made plain in the day of testing that in time of war, as in time of peace, it was on the side of civilisation.

* * *

The BLANTYRE Mission of the Church of Scotland in the Shiré Highlands, which lies on the direct route from the Zambesi to Lake Nyasa, gives one of the most striking object-lessons of the civilising work of Christian Missions which all

Africa can show. It is in a country that Livingstone fell deeply in love with, on the two occasions when he passed through it. Despite the devastations then caused by the slave-trade, he saw the great possibilities of that land of stalwart men, of rich and fertile soil, and of attractive climate. He visioned it as a land where in coming days Christian Africans and Scottish colonists would live in happy concord and large prosperity; and to-day that which he foresaw has in a great measure come to pass. Not exactly as he visioned it, but in a yet better way. The remarkable development in the native African's capacity for industries of various kinds has made an inrush of Scottish peasantry, or Scottish artisans, unneeded for the country's advance. Instruction from Britain has been all that has been required. The African's response has done the rest.

What Nyasaland was in the early days has been indicated in the previous chapter—a land of fertility and rare promise, but a land of human misery, largely due to incessant tribal fighting, and the disastrously frequent passage of the slaver, on his way to the coast with his ever-growing tale of unfortunate captives. The first Blantyre missionaries saw only too much of these age-long miseries of African life. They had their difficulties both with fighting tribes and with cruel purveyors of men and women for degrading service of their fellow-men. To-day, after nigh fifty years, these things are but the theme of old-time reminiscences. The troubles of early days have been all surmounted, the incoming of the

British government has given peace to the land and security for its continuance, and the mission has been a centre of progress, deep-based and wide-extended. From the start, the outstanding feature of the mission's operation has been the emphasis placed on industrial training. The dignity of labour, and the need of efficiency in labour, have been equally urged. "Every effort is used," says Dr. Hetherwick, the veteran leader of the mission, "to encourage the natives to work, and to learn the arts and industries of civilised life."

Let who will visit the Blantyre Mission settlement he never fails to come away full of wondering admiration of the many-sided civilising, as well as spiritual, achievements he has seen. The noble church, in the centre of the mission demesne, is itself a sermon in stone declaratory of what the African has been trained to do. An architectural gem, the outcome of a combination of the genius of Dr. Clement Scott, the pioneer founder, and the trained capacity of the native, it gives the tone to the whole settlement. Around are buildings of many kinds—missionaries' houses, boarding-schools, a higher training institution, buildings for instruction in carpentry, in printing, in commercial work, a fine farm-steading, and a spacious hospital with wards for men and for women, equipped with all the main modern accessories. Also, what can never be omitted from any account of Blantyre, there is the wide-stretching garden which not only employs and trains young African gardeners, but through a

succession of enthusiastic Scottish gardeners has been the means of enriching the whole of Nyasaland with fruits and flowers and trees formerly unknown. Here was grown the first coffee-seedling that has proved the mother of Nyasaland's coffee; and here the first tea-plant also, that gave birth to the million tea-shrubs that now cover and enrich the land. In every one of these departments of industrial and commercial life African lads are being trained. Year by year they pass out equipped for life—some to carry their acquirements back to their villages, others to use them in humble mission schools throughout the territory, and many to enter the employment of British merchants or civil servants, or planters, whose work is largely dependent for its success on the mission-trained staff of African employees. The enchanter's wand has been waved by the mission over the countryside, and the land of agony which Livingstone looked upon has become the land of Christian achievement of which the great missionary explorer dreamed.

* * *

UGANDA'S immortal story has already been outlined, up to the day when the country was taken under the protection of Britain. Since that hour, the record has been one of rapid and sustained progress, both in civilisation and in religion. The governing hand of Britain rests lightly and not obtrusively on the land, and the power of the native king and his councillors continues very

real. That it is exercised with remarkable beneficence and wisdom is due, in no small measure, to the penetrating influence of the Christian Mission. To an extent rarely if ever equalled by any other African people, the Baganda (as the inhabitants are termed) have proved receptive of education and keenly eager to receive it; and the mission has responded to the occasion. Of a total population of three millions no fewer than half a million are Christians, the number being fairly divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics; but the forward-pressing section of the community is largely Protestant. Reading is a passion with them. In 300 schools 80,000 pupils of all ages are under instruction, and it is now a considerable time since 60,000 "readers" were reported as being active in the exercise of their prized accomplishment for the enlightenment of others. At Mengo, a fine school for the sons of the chiefs secures that the natural leaders of the people are more than abreast of the multitude. This thirst for reading causes amazing and highly-significant scenes occasionally, when fresh consignments of books arrive. A striking and unfamiliar light is cast by these on the intellectual avidity of the African, compelling it to be valued more highly than is often done. On one such occasion boxes containing copies of the Gospel of St. Matthew had arrived, and the books were to be sold to the first comers. The missionary in charge has told of the irresistible onrush of would-be readers. "Barricades were useless—in came the door, and we thought the whole place

would have fallen. In ten minutes all the hundred gospels were sold." Box after box was opened, and "when everything was sold there were still a thousand or more people waiting about, each mad to buy a book."

Training in industry has gone hand in hand with elementary education, as is indicated by the spacious cathedral at Mengo, built by native hands, and filled every Sunday with some three thousand worshippers. And other things than church-building have been attended to—schools, hospitals, dwelling-houses abound; roads have been constructed; and the whole paraphernalia of the customary accessories of civilisation have been introduced. At first the industrial developments were entirely in the hands of the missionaries, but ere long they were transferred to the "Uganda Company"; and under its care carpenters, masons, printers and other varieties of artisans have been trained and turned out by the hundred, to the great good of the whole country.

The coming of the railway has added to the rapidity of general advance. It has linked the land with the whole world; and now Uganda is a great oasis of Christian civilisation in the very heart of Africa, high in character, rich in development, and ever extending in beneficent influence. What that noble hero Mackay dreamed of when he stuck steadily to his grim, difficult task, with none but God for company, has all been accomplished—the Bible a book familiar and greatly prized, the people in large degree a worshipping multitude, the land freed from oppression and bloodshed,

and become an abode of peace and progress, with railways passing through it, and industry enriching it. "God knows," writes Stanley, "if ever man had reason to be doleful and lonely and sad, Mackay had, when, after murdering his bishop, and burning his pupils, and strangling his converts, and clubbing to death his dark friends, Mwanga turned his eye of death on him. And yet the little man met it with calm blue eyes that never winked." And it is just because he did so, that to-day we see the things he longed to see but did not see, and rejoice in the coming of that better country which he discerned afar off, and which but for him and his devoted comrades would scarce have come at all.

* * *

Fiji, Basutoland, Nyasaland, Uganda,—they form a striking quartette, and as object-lessons of the civilising effects of Christian Missions they can hardly be surpassed. Yet they are equalled in hundreds of areas throughout the Empire, not it may be in impressiveness or picturesqueness, but in the possession of the essentials of the services which are rendered. On a smaller scale, though also not seldom on a scale of equal size, like things are being done in every spot where Christian Missions meet the Child-Races of the Empire. The more purely spiritual meaning of this contact will be considered later; but its civilising influence alone is most impressive in its wide extent, its penetrating effects and its uplifting power. Other

forces indeed have co-operated in the uplift of these backward races ; they are neither forgotten nor minimised. Good government and just laws have done incalculable service, and the on-coming tide of Western commerce, in spite of many regrettable accompaniments, has achieved great things. But for both government and commerce it has been of the greatest moment that Christian Missions have pioneered the way. Were they regarded as a civilising agency and nothing more, they yet must rank as one of the most valued assets of the Empire.

CHAPTER IV

MISSIONS AND EASTERN CIVILISATION

So far as the British Empire is concerned, Eastern Civilisation means practically the civilisation which we find in India. This chapter is an endeavour to estimate the *cultural or civilising influence* which Christian Missions have there exercised. As a mission field within the Empire, India stands in a class apart. In every other important Empire area which missions have entered they have found facing them the raw material of humanity. The North American Indian, the Polynesian Islander, the Aborigines of Australia, the Maories of New Zealand, the Negroes of Africa, were all found either in a state of barbarism or possessed of only a primitive type of civilisation. Perforce Missions in these fields appear from the beginning as markedly exercising the civilising influence which is inherent in Christianity.

Far different was the problem which India presented. There, Christian Missions found confronting them a civilisation of ancient standing, of vast complexity, and along its own lines of a high degree of development. The missionaries, themselves trained in the modern civilisation of Europe and America, were called to live and work, surrounded by a civilisation not dissimilar to that of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Greece or

Rome. Culture, religion, art, philosophy, literature and the organisation of ordered government—all these features of an established civilisation were there, and their existence modified profoundly the character of the work of Christian Missions.

Yet not wholly. Indian civilisation, if it had the splendid picturesqueness and many of the arresting features of the civilisation of the old world-empires, was found on closer acquaintance to be marred by the same sad feature that so marred them. As with Greece and Rome and all the others, the glory and the greatness were based on a vast system of human degradation and oppression. Where these old Western nations had their millions of slaves, whose labour was the foundation of the glory, India had her millions of serfs—voiceless, helpless, unhonoured ministrants to the prosperity and magnificence of their rulers. Christian missionaries came, in time, to realise that there were *two Indias* calling for their aid. There was the India of the *Under-World*, as well as that of the more imposing *Upper-World*: the India that served, as well as the India that profited by the service. And in seeking to respond to the needs of the Under-World it was found that civilising work had to be done on a large scale, and of a nature not dissimilar to that which is conspicuous in the missionary record among the backward peoples of the Empire—but of which the Indian Upper-World stood in no need. So it comes about that the civilising work of missions in India falls of necessity into two sharply contrasted categories.

I

THE INDIA OF THE UNDER-WORLD

India's Under-World has to-day a population approximating sixty millions. Its distribution is of irregular density, but there is no part of India where the community is non-existent. In different areas it bears different names. 'Pariah' is the most generic title; but the most courteous, indeed the only courteous, appellation is that devised by the Government of Madras when it entitled the people of the Under-World, the *Panchamas*, or fifth class of India's inhabitants, coming after the four great divisions. Locally they are known by many names: the *Malas* and *Madigas* of the Southern Presidency, the *Doms* of Bengal, the *Chuhras* and the *Chamars* of the North, the *Mahars* of the West, and a variety of other names. The English terms that are most descriptive are the *Outcastes*, the *Depressed Classes*, the *Untouchables*.

The origin of these peoples is debatable, but it is generally accepted that, together with the backward Hill Tribes such as the Kols, Santals and Todas, they are the descendants of the people who inhabited India when two or three thousand years ago the Aryan inrush began. The original occupants of the land became first the servants and then the serfs of the invaders. To mark the distinction between conqueror and conquered, *Caste*, with all its privileges, was assigned to the former and rigorously denied to the latter. A

great gulf was thus fixed between the races, designed at first no doubt to maintain the purity of the blood of the incomers and to preserve their higher civilisation ; but when to these considerations of policy there were added the imperative and unchangeable sanctions of religion, India's Under-World was created, and the age-long doom of its inhabitants was decreed. " Their abode," declared Manu the great Hindu lawgiver, " must be out of the town, they must not have the use of entire vessels, their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased ; their dishes for food, broken pots ; their ornaments, rusty iron. Continually must they roam from place to place. Let no man who regards his duty, religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them ; let their transactions be confined to themselves and their marriages be only between equals. Let food be given to them in potsherds, but not by the hand of the giver ; and let them not walk by night in cities and in towns ! " Poor offscourings of the earth, they have lived for two thousand years under this terrible ban, destitute of life's commonest comforts, despised by their masters, shunned by their fellow-men, in India but not of it, of all peoples in the world perhaps the most utterly hopeless. Miserably paid field-labour is the lot of the greater number, but many are occupied in leather-work, and vast numbers are in the menial service of the upper classes. The conditions in which they are compelled to live, segregated from respectability, environed by squalor, and carrying in their hearts

through life the sense that their presence and proximity mean pollution to ordinary mortals, have made it inevitable that they should bear upon them the marks of this age-long contumely. British rule has long made illegal the grosser abuses, but the spirit of oppression that has prevailed for two millenniums is not to be quickly exorcised. In some of the Feudatory States, where it comes more to the surface than is possible in British India, it is quite apparent that the spirit of Manu is not dead. "In Cochin," writes Risley in his *People of India*, "a Nayar can pollute a man of higher caste only by *touching* him; people of the Kammalan group, including masons, blacksmiths, carpenters and workers in leather, pollute a Brahman at a distance of 24 feet, Cheruman cultivators at 48 feet, while in the case of the Pariahs, who eat beef, the range of pollution is 64 feet."

The attitude of mind towards the Under-World, which this has bred in those who are susceptible of pollution, can be readily imagined. Some time ago *The Times of India*, when writing of the relations of the British and the Indians, said: "No Englishman treats the natives of this country with the contempt and insolence which high-caste Hindus habitually display towards their low-caste brethren." It seems a hard saying, but confirmation of its truth is abundantly forthcoming from Indians who possess the quickened conscience, the open eye and the requisite frankness of speech. One testimony of the kind will suffice. It comes from Sir Narayan Chandavarkar of the Bombay High

Court, whose death this year (1923) has deprived India of a noble son. "The curse of untouchability," he declared, "prevails to this day in all parts of India. It is not mere untouchability. It is worse than that. While all of the depressed classes have been for centuries untouchable, some have been unshadowable, some unapproachable, and some even unseeable by the higher Castes; and this degradation has been imposed by these Castes of Hindu Society on one-fifth of the whole population of their own country, race, and creed—on 30 per cent. of the Hindu population of India. Of every ten Hindus, three are treated as beyond the pale of decent humanity!"

* * *

It will always be matter of surprise that Christian Missions in India were so slow to discern the vastness and the urgency of the field which India's Under-World presented. For long, missionaries had no eyes but for the India of the upper levels, the Hindus of caste and influence, and acknowledged place and power; and beyond question these formed and still form the real India. India will never be won for Christ until these are won. Undoubtedly it was this consciousness that led missions to concentrate on those classes that count for most. Yet all the time there were facing them these millions of miserables, whose pitiful lot constituted a ceaseless appeal for help. There were exceptions to the general inaction. Schwarz and Ringeltaube in South India, in the

eighteenth century, heard the appeal, and pioneered the way into the *upper* section of the Under-World; but there was no general awakening of missions to this manifest duty until fifty years ago, when the great famine of 1876-77 brought untold misery to great multitudes of India's poorest. At the call of humanity, missionaries in South India, where the famine horrors were extreme, then sprang to the aid of the British Government, and toiled, often to the death, to rescue the perishing, starving men, women and children of the Under-World. So they came to know the field; and the destitute and despised came to know them. In Christ and His Church they had found that for which through two thousand years their fathers had sighed in vain—a Friend. Then began the *Mass Movements* to Christianity of which all the world has heard. First in South India, then in the Panjab, later in Eastern India, and soon all over the land, wherever the unfortunates were most thickly congregated, they crowded into the Christian Church.

For missions the responsibility thus created has been overwhelming and the work incalculable. To care for these multitudes of human derelicts, to lift them up in body and in soul, to breathe into them a new hope, to inspire them with a new ambition, to fit and equip them for a new life—all this is a task for the right accomplishment of which Indian missions would require to be strengthened tenfold; but with what strength they possess they have sought to do the work, and in the Under-World of India has been wrought

as a result the greatest miracle which India has ever seen.

Of the *spiritual* miracle, that which has touched the soul of a people who scarce knew that they had a soul, we do not now speak ; but it is the root of everything else that has happened. Some conception, however, of its far-reaching extent may be gathered from the striking expansion of the Christian population of India, which now numbers 4,700,000 and has increased in the last decade by 22·6 per cent. as compared with an increase of 1·2 per cent. for all India. Most of this Christian increase has come from the Under-World, and indicates the response of that world to the missionary's message. It is a message with a double content. On the one hand it tells men of the love of God as seen in Christ Jesus ; on the other it calls men to realise their own inherent manhood. " Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ " is the one summons ; the other is, " In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, stand up on thy feet and walk ! " The Untouchables have heard and have responded—some to the first summons, others to the second, and multitudes to both.

* * *

It is in connection with the second command that the *Civilising Work of Missions* in this Under-World chiefly appears. There it has followed many lines of endeavour, all seeking to make it possible for these hitherto hopeless ones to rise to better things.

Elementary Education of necessity takes a leading place in these endeavours on behalf of a community of whom 99 per cent. can neither read nor write. For the most part the education is very elementary, and rightly so. It is no aim of missions to unfit the pariah boy for the life of manual toil which is his manifest lot, by educating him above his position. Their aim is to raise him mentally, morally, socially, spiritually, so that in his lowly labour he will yet rise to the level of a man, and never sink below it. To this end rudimentary schooling, just enough to enable him to read and write and figure simple sums, is a valuable help, and in every mission that has to do with the depressed classes primary work of this kind is done. But more is added. Should a pariah boy show ability that fits him to ascend, he gets encouragement. At the higher-grade mission schools for ordinary Hindus he is given his chance, and takes it. The Hindu pupils may not like his company, but they have learned that at a mission school it must be endured ; and one result of this opening of the door to the lowly is that names of Pariah or Panchama graduates now figure on the roll of most Indian universities, and the men who bear them occupy honoured positions in India's professional life.

These are, however, the few. For the average boy and girl of fair capacity and promise other helps are provided. In the simply conducted Mission Boarding-schools they get a training in industries—agriculture or carpentry for the boys, lacemaking for the girls—such as opens a path

to honourable livelihood previously impossible : while by their better education many are fitted to go back to their villages as primary teachers, where they carry with them something of the higher standard of morals and the worthier ideals of life, which a few years' daily contact with the missionaries has imparted. Thus into the community there comes a breath of life, and a new hope stirs the hearts of the younger generation of the long despised.

For the adults, missionary service often takes a line which is unusual out of India, and is the result of the peculiar social conditions that prevail. The grip of Caste on the general thought and practice of India presents a strong obstacle to the rise of any caste-less community ; and especially is this the case when such rise would mean inconvenience to the communities above, or an interference with their former monopoly of privileges. The Caste community then takes the shape of an all-powerful relentless Trade Union. A Pariah on qualifying for any trade hitherto a caste preserve finds no man willing to employ him ; an agriculturist who wishes to rise from the position of a labourer on the land to that of a small owner, from the rank of a serf to that of a crofter, finds that for him no land is available. To give such men a chance, Christian Missions have tried to lift whole communities, so that for individual enterprise the needs of the community itself would provide at least an initial field. Agricultural settlements of the Untouchables have been established, land formerly derelict has been secured, agricultural training has been supplied, and a fair

opportunity afforded to the people of proving what is in them. Not all experiments of this kind have been successful; but the majority, when made under reasonably good conditions, have succeeded well. In particular is this the case with the settlements of Chuhra Christians along the Chenab canals in the Panjab. There, on land reclaimed by Government, the flourishing colonies of Clarkabad, Martinpur and Youngsonabad—named after devoted missionaries of the Church of England, the American United Presbyterian Church, and the Church of Scotland—are an object-lesson to all India of what the men of the Under-World can do, when they are given a chance.

In themselves, these are big services which Christian Missions have rendered for the civilising of India's men of low degree. Yet they are but a minute fraction of the work that lies waiting to be done. No missions are adequate to serve the whole sixty millions, in the same way as the small Christian section of this multitude is being served. A far stronger agency is needed for that. Only by the Indian Government itself, backed by the full approval and co-operation of the Indian people, can this work be fully done. But Christian Missions have shown the way, and have demonstrated that the moral and social transformation of India's Under-World is a sure possibility. In the telling language of the Rev. Godfrey Phillips, "they are building up a race of men out of material which has hitherto been treated as human waste."

* * *

It may be asked whether Christian Missions are the only agencies at work for the elevation of this people so long trodden underfoot. To this the answer is a ready and gladsome negative. Missionaries have been the pioneers in the work and are still the main toilers in the field,⁵ but they have also been the inspiration of others, by whom now, in some measure the work is shared. Particularly is this true of the Government authorities ; and, though in smaller degree, it is also true of philanthropic movements originating in the Indian Upper-World and worked by Indians throughout.

From the beginning of missionary activity among the Outcastes, the Government of India has looked with a kindly eye upon the work, and thirty years ago the Government of Madras gave a definite lead to the other provinces, in affording practical aid towards the education of the children of the Under-World. The Southern Presidency holds the largest Pariah population of any part of India, and there missions have been conspicuously active in this special work. Their early efforts to provide a simple education for the people were noted and appreciated by the authorities ; and in 1893 Dr. David Duncan, then Director of Public Instruction in Madras, issued a memorable Government paper dealing with the educational needs of the Panchama community. Liberal grants in aid of Education given by missions, or by any other agency, were definitely promised, and every encouragement was offered for the development of the community. The *Christian Patriot*, a leading South India paper, hailed the pronounce-

ment at the time as the "Magna Charta of Pan-chama Education"; and so it truly has proved. The great bulk of the educators are still indeed provided by Christian Missions, but the Government authorities in every province of India are the declared friends and supporters of all educational movements that make for the uplift of the Pariah. In the ruling powers, missions have found a sincere and helpful ally.

Will this attitude continue under the increasing Indianisation of the Government in India? Has the traditional mind of the caste Hindus, as regards the outcaste, changed sufficiently to ensure that the humanitarian policy of the British Government will go on and develop under the new governing *personnel*? The question is crucial for India's future, and may not yet be confidently answered. Some guidance on the matter is found by noting such Hindu actions as witness to a real concern of India's Classes for the hitherto out-casted Masses. That such a concern is felt in many quarters to-day, where it never used to exist, is a glad certainty. The grounds of the new attitude vary. In some it is undoubtedly due to a keen sense of the moral unworthiness of the old ostracism of the Depressed. There a genuine humanitarianism has arisen, and is evidenced by such statements as that of Sir N. Chandavarkar already quoted. In others it is rather a consequence of their realising the shame which the old attitude fastens on India, and the disqualification for occupying a place among the civilised nations

of to-day which is imposed on any people which upholds so colossal an inequality. "Our being treated as social lepers in practically the whole world," says Mr. Gandhi in a highly emotional outburst, "is due to our having treated one-fifth of our own race as such." And in more sober weighty words, G. K. Gokhale puts the same point: "The problem of the depressed classes really goes to the root of our claim to be treated on terms of equality with other civilised communities of the world. . . . That we are entitled to ask. *But we shall deserve to have it, only when we are prepared to extend the same treatment to those who expect it at our hands.*"

To these two causes of the altered attitude—a quickened humanitarianism and political ambitions—a third has been recently added by the uprising of Nationalism, with its strong desire for a unified Indian Nation. From that nation it is clearly impossible that one-fifth of the population of the country can be excluded, so of late there has been increasing recognition of its existence and of its right to a place in the nation's life, such as India has never heard before.

As yet, however, the practical outcome of the changing mind has not been very impressive. The "*Mission to the Depressed Classes*" organised by Hindu reformers is its most visible result, but while it is excellent so far as it goes, it has not yet gone very far. The truth is that none of the three motives at work is sufficient for the immense task that waits to be done—nor all three together. It takes more than a quickened humani-

tarianism, more than a desire for a place among the Nations, more than a longing for a unified India, to work the miracle in India's soul which is necessary before the Upper-World will labour with both hands for the raising of the Under-World from the abyss. It takes the touch of love, which is the touch of Christ. Christian Missions, themselves a consequence of that touch, are for ever under its constraining magic spell, and now, as of old, throughout the dim ranges of that Indian Under-World, the unfailing miracles that accompany the touch of Christ are being wrought. The deaf hear, the lame walk, and the age-long dead are being raised to life. They have become a people who were no people, and all India is the richer. Nor is there any hesitancy, on the part of those who know the facts, in acknowledging that to missions the transformation is mainly due. Said the Government of India in its official "Report on the moral and material progress and conditions of India," during 1920: "The work of the various Christian Missionary Societies in giving Education to the Panchamas is beyond all praise. They (in the Madras Presidency) have now over 3500 schools with nearly 100,000 pupils. Further, by resolutely insisting that members of the depressed classes should be admitted to higher Educational institutions under missionary control, they have gradually created a body of public opinion in favour of treating these classes as fellow human beings."

Hindus are equally frank. "After all," says a leading nationalist (quoted by Mr. Godfrey

Phillips), "when it comes to practice, Christianity alone is effecting what we Nationalists are crying out for—the elevation of the Masses." And these same masses know whence their help has come. "Our Hindu rulers," declared a great Conference of the Untouchables, held at Poona in 1910, in a memorial to the Secretary of State for India, "did not recognise our manhood and treated us as worse than cattle. The kindly touch of the Christian religion elevates the Mahar at once and for ever, socially as well as politically; and shall not the magic power of British Law and British Justice produce the same effect upon us, even as followers of our own ancestral faith?"

Christian Missions in India need no better *apologia* than that which is offered by their work in India's Under-World.

II

THE INDIA OF THE UPPER-WORLD

This is the real India, the India which counts in history, the India of those who bear rule and exercise influence, the India of those who for long centuries have been the embodiment and custodians of her religion, philosophy, learning, traditions, aspirations, wealth, magnificence and power, the India that stands in the thoughts of men as the best expression of Eastern culture and civilisation.

The civilising or cultural influence of Christian Missions on this land and people, already cultured

and civilised after their own manner, is one of the most interesting of Indian missionary developments, and differs absolutely from the developments hitherto considered. The inadvisability of any direct endeavour on the part of missions to modify an existing civilisation—in this case to introduce a Western civilisation into an Eastern land—will be universally recognised. One may, however, go much farther, and acknowledge the illegitimacy of any such endeavour even when possible—save along one special line to be noted. When Christian Missions deal with barbarism, civilising work is a necessity. Where they deal with a civilisation already accepted and established, their legitimate cultural influence is limited to that which naturally follows the absorption by the community of the spiritual teaching and the Christian morality which they inculcate. A Christian Power indeed, called to govern a non-Christian land which possesses a civilisation of its own, may and often should go farther. To foster the material, intellectual and moral welfare of the people under its charge, is with the Government representing such a Power a primary duty : and there are not a few spheres where the methods of Western Civilisation are so manifestly beneficial to the people that their prudent introduction is not unjustified. Yet, it is easy to err here : and in pursuing its beneficent aims the Government in India has been taught by many experiences to walk very warily, lest greater evils are caused than those it seeks to remove.

But Missions have not this temptation. Their

sphere in such an environment is limited. It is not for them to directly reform a faulty civilisation, or destroy and remake a civilisation hopelessly corrupt. Their work is different. It is to impart to the community concerned the thoughts, moralities, ideals of Christ, and then let the heaven work the inevitable deliverance. To the soul of the people they supply light and life, and truth and love, for lack of which many hurtful features in the civilisation have been permitted and even encouraged to develop. But it cannot be too strongly emphasised, that to radically alter the old civilisations and substitute Western usages, whether social or political, for the hoary practices of the East, is no function nor desire of Christian Missions. They simply want to secure a *Home for Christ*, within the old Eastern framework, and thereafter to leave developments to take their course.

Consciously or unconsciously this has been the line followed by Christian Missions in India, and its fruits are its best justification. The civilisation of India to-day is a very different thing from what it was a century ago, or in any of the centuries preceding. That it is a higher civilisation, morally, spiritually, socially, politically, few will question—save those whose imagination permits them to create in the long past ages an India that never was. Many influences have combined to work this notable advance, but none who have studied the changes will hesitate to give to Christian Missions a leading place among the causative forces. Nor is there any division

of opinion in naming the particular missionary agency that has played the greatest part. It has been the combination of English education and Christian teaching in Mission Schools and Colleges, which was so boldly initiated by Dr. Duff, in 1830, in the Scottish Mission School at Calcutta.

There is no need here to retell the details of that epoch-making innovation on all the previous educational methods that India had known. Macaulay's great minute, which in March 1835 announced the Government's frank endorsement of the new policy and its adoption of it in its own educational work, gave the weight of the State's authority to the change introduced by the Mission. Henceforth both State and Missions sought to impart to India the accumulated treasures of Western knowledge through the medium of the English language. "Macaulay's minute," says Sir John Seeley, "remains the great landmark in the history of our Empire, considered as an institute of civilisation. It marks the moment when we deliberately recognised that a function had devolved on us in Asia, similar to that which Rome fulfilled in Europe." This is true; but it is also true that the minute would not have been written, and the Government would not have moved, had Alexander Duff not first made his triumphant adventure along the new path.

For India that new path meant the opening of a new era in her history, the beginning of a new life, an intimacy of touch with the West hitherto impossible, and the entry into her old-world thoughts and ways of many strange elements—

sphere in such an environment is limited. It is not for them to directly reform a faulty civilisation, or destroy and remake a civilisation hopelessly corrupt. Their work is different. It is to impart to the community concerned the thoughts, moralities, ideals of Christ, and then let the heaven work the inevitable deliverance. To the soul of the people they supply light and life, and truth and love, for lack of which many hurtful features in the civilisation have been permitted and even encouraged to develop. But it cannot be too strongly emphasised, that to radically alter the old civilisations and substitute Western usages, whether social or political, for the hoary practices of the East, is no function nor desire of Christian Missions. They simply want to secure a *Home for Christ*, within the old Eastern framework, and thereafter to leave developments to take their course.

Consciously or unconsciously this has been the line followed by Christian Missions in India, and its fruits are its best justification. The civilisation of India to-day is a very different thing from what it was a century ago, or in any of the centuries preceding. That it is a higher civilisation, morally, spiritually, socially, politically, few will question—save those whose imagination permits them to create in the long past ages an India that never was. Many influences have combined to work this notable advance, but none who have studied the changes will hesitate to give to Christian Missions a leading place among the causative forces. Nor is there any division

of opinion in naming the particular missionary agency that has played the greatest part. It has been the combination of English education and Christian teaching in Mission Schools and Colleges, which was so boldly initiated by Dr. Duff, in 1880, in the Scottish Mission School at Calcutta.

There is no need here to retell the details of that epoch-making innovation on all the previous educational methods that India had known. Macaulay's great minute, which in March 1885 announced the Government's frank endorsement of the new policy and its adoption of it in its own educational work, gave the weight of the State's authority to the change introduced by the Mission. Henceforth both State and Missions sought to impart to India the accumulated treasures of Western knowledge through the medium of the English language. "Macaulay's minute," says Sir John Seeley, "remains the great landmark in the history of our Empire, considered as an institute of civilisation. It marks the moment when we deliberately recognised that a function had devolved on us in Asia, similar to that which Rome fulfilled in Europe." This is true; but it is also true that the minute would not have been written, and the Government would not have moved, had Alexander Duff not first made his triumphant adventure along the new path.

For India that new path meant the opening of a new era in her history, the beginning of a new life, an intimacy of touch with the West hitherto impossible, and the entry into her old-world thoughts and ways of many strange elements—

largely good, but also some not good, and both distinctly subversive of many things formerly to her most dear. That in the period of change and readjustment, the good achieved has largely predominated over the evil, has been due almost entirely to two factors. One is the influence of Christian Missions, the other is the Christian spirit that has largely guided the Government of the country. Neutral and strictly impartial that Government has been as between the many religions, but it represents a Christian Power, and of necessity the dominating ideals of Christian civilisation underlie its actions in everything that pertains to the welfare of the people. Looking at the whole long process of change, whereby under the impact of Christianity the ancient civilisation of India has been modified, one may distinguish three spheres where notable results are observable in the general cultural life of the people, corresponding with three distinct waves of Christian influence. First in time came the removal of many glaring moral offences from the public life of the community; soon followed, what still goes on, a steady rise in the standard of public opinion as to many departments in the social life; and last of all comes the challenging political developments of the present hour. In these three developments Christian Missions have had a share.

I

It is an old story now how the open, glaring abuses of Hinduism, which a hundred years ago

shocked the moral sense of the whole Christian world, were one after another caused to disappear. So old indeed is the story, that the enormity of the abuses, and also the particular agencies that effected their suppression, are too often quite forgotten. What the abuses were may be gathered from the following strong but true picture of old India, drawn thirty years ago by Canon Hole. His retrospect was over seventy years; now the years have become a hundred: "One hundred years ago the fires of Suttee were blazing in the presidency towns of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, and all over India: the fires of Suttee in which the screaming and struggling widow, in many cases a mere child, was bound to the body of her husband, and with him burned to ashes. One hundred years ago young infants were publicly thrown into the Ganges, as sacrifices to the god of the river. One hundred years ago young men and maidens, decked with flowers, were slain in Hindu temples before the hideous idol of the goddess Kali, or hacked to pieces at the Meriahs, that their quivering flesh might be given to propitiate the god of the soil. One hundred years ago the cars of Juggernaut were rolling over India, crushing hundreds of human victims annually beneath their wheels. One hundred years ago lepers were buried alive, devotees publicly starved themselves to death, children brought their parents to the bank of the Ganges and hastened their death by filling their mouths with sand and the water of the so-called sacred river. One hundred years ago the swing-

ing festival attracted thousands to see the poor writhing wretches with iron hooks thrust through the muscles of their backs, swinging in mid-air in the honour of their gods."

The picture throws a lurid light on old India and the horrors which its civilisation permitted, and even encouraged. Happily it has become the picture of a long-dead past; but those who delivered Indian civilisation from so great a blot are to be held in everlasting remembrance. Only Government's enactments could authoritatively end the many abuses, and under Lord William Bentinck and a succession of humane and resolute Governors - General these were passed. But all along, behind the Government's enactments, and largely causative of them, were the revelations of the Christian missionary, and not infrequently his urgent entreaties that the strong hand of the law should end some practice that was a crime against humanity and the State. The Government was admittedly in a difficult position for dealing with these abuses, for almost all were more or less intimately bound up with the Hindu religion; and with this it was a settled principle that Government should not interfere. But there are limits to the application of such a principle, and William Carey was not slow to declare them. "I consider," he wrote in 1801, "that the burning of women, the burying of them alive with their husbands, the exposure of infants, and the sacrifice of children at Saugor, ought not to be permitted, whatever religious motives are pretended, *because they are crimes against the State.*"

On this principle the Government took courage to proceed, and under a succession of humane enactments, one after another of the worst abuses came under the ban of the law and disappeared. Sati, Infanticide, Human Sacrifice, Thagi, Torture under the sanction of religion, and open Obscenity—with the humiliating exception of the carvings on temple processional cars which still openly exalt things that are vile—have all vanished. It is a notable result of the Christian impact on a non-Christian civilisation; and, testifies Dr. Farquhar, “There is not an enlightened Hindu to-day who would wish to reverse the action of Government on any one of these points. Nay, rather the modern Hindu has reached the position that every religious usage must submit to the scrutiny of morality and compassion.”

II

Great though these services of Christian Missions to Indian civilisation are, their leading cultural contribution has lain elsewhere. To remove practices glaringly offensive to humanity, and crimes long hallowed by religious custom, cleared indeed the name of India from much that had formerly stained it. Openly sanctioned crime against man's *body* was now, by the strong action of Government, prohibited. But the subtler and more dangerous sins of society against man's *soul*, from which these grosser offences had sprung, no British Government could touch. Only the conscience of an awakened India could operate there,

and to awaken this conscience to a new and higher morality has been one of the great things done by Christian Missions. "Without Morality," wrote Marcus Dods in 1886 in a striking article in *Good Words*, "civilisation is inconceivable. We cannot imagine a high civilisation existing without law, without literature, without art, without scientific knowledge, without institutions; but *least of all can we conceive any high civilisation which is not permeated by moral principles.* An absence of morality, or the presence of a very imperfect moral ideal, marks with imperfection any State, however richly endowed and equipped it may otherwise be."

It was the Athens of Pericles and the Rome of Augustus that the writer had in his mind, and he went on to demonstrate the contribution from Christianity which those old civilisations needed for their perfecting—and for lack of which they fell. But India offers a striking parallel. Despite its civilisation and cultural developments, its morality, when first the Western Christian impact came, was glaringly defective. With its religious conceptions it could not have been otherwise. At the root of all its life there lay the deep conviction of the permanency of social and religious distinctions between man and man, as being a thing of divine appointment. The rights of the individual man, as such, were unacknowledged. The equal standing of man and woman in the sight of God was undreamt of. The call from God to every man to be holy, as He is holy, was unheard. Hence came the oppression of the lowly by the

man of caste, hence the accepted degradations of woman, hence the universal regardlessness of the social well-being of the masses, and hence the fatalistic indifference to human suffering. If India's civilisation was ever to move upward, a new morality and a new spirituality were imperative; and it was well for her and for her people that when the hour of intellectual emancipation and advance arrived, those who were most active in furthering that cause were also insistent on the moral and spiritual demands of the new life that had come. One shrinks from imagining what it would have meant, had the new intellectual impulse from the West been unaccompanied by any higher moral inspiration. But light and life came together, and great has been the gain.

The moral advance has indeed been slower than the intellectual. This was inevitable. Every upward step in moral judgments sounded a call to some reforming action, frequently extremely difficult. High principles have often been honestly accepted, while high practice has been delayed. But this phenomenon is not peculiar to India; and one recognises the quite exceptional difficulties which high-souled Indians all along have had to face, in applying their new morality to the old social structure. The marvel is not that so little has been done, but that so much has been achieved in the face of odds so great. A long catalogue of reforms now stands to the credit of India's noble sons, where Indian opinion has by them been stirred and moulded afresh, and shackles which had long chained the souls of countless unfortu-

nates have at last been broken. In some cases this has been achieved purely by a rise in Indian public sentiment, in others by that sentiment securing a favourable reception for reforming legislation of Government. Among things thus attained may be mentioned these : Caste exclusiveness in the daily round of life in the great cities has been greatly modified ; many grosser abuses of the temple services have been dealt with ; the open honouring of nautch women on public occasions has ceased ; widow re-marriage has been legalised (though still too rarely practised) ; a higher code of personal morality has come to be expected of public officials ; and, ever since 1888, at the close of the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress, there has been held a not unprofitable National Social Conference where many of the now accomplished advances in social morality have first been agitated.

The details of the reforms thus achieved in India *from within* vary much in importance and range, but the two main directions in which the reforming spirit has been most active are sufficiently clear. They are revealed in the slowly changing attitude of Hinduism to the non-caste and degraded ; and in the rapidly changing public opinion, especially among the educated Hindus, concerning woman's place and woman's rights. The former change has already been referred to in dealing with the Untouchables ; the latter is perhaps the most fundamental and far-reaching of all the changes that are taking place in India to-day. To many in India, woman to-day is a

new creature. Female education, long the practical monopoly of Christian Missions, is now an increasingly popular theme of Indian speakers on public platforms; and what is much more to the point, it is increasingly a practical care of local Indian authorities. The Zenana is no longer regarded as the only sphere where Woman can serve her day and generation; her part in the advancement of India's wider life is now emphasised, and opportunity is given for its exercise. For Indian Womanhood a new day, to all appearance, is actually dawning.

Yet of this amazing change, as also of the softening attitude of Hinduism towards the outcasts, it is wise not to form exaggerated expectations as to the probable rate of progress. The need of change, alike in India's estimate of woman and in her thought and practice towards the lowly, was and is desperate. Of her women the recent census (1921) testifies that only 2 per cent. can read and write. What this connotes as to the gigantic uplift that will be required ere Woman in India takes her rightful place, needs no emphasising. And as concerns the softening of heart and the quickening of conscience of the Hindu towards the Untouchable, while it is a real and hopeful change, it has not yet permeated far beyond the cultured Indians of the cities. The country districts hardly know it. Says Cornelia Sorabji, with full knowledge of what she describes: "The voice of Caste is heard by those who live among the masses, away from the Anglification of the great cities. It is a voice that asserts, and none

dreams of disobeying. It is a voice that curses, and men fear to disobey, even when they writhe under the curse. And all the full ecstatic organ-stop of the handful of vociferating reformers in the metropolis, does not drown one single syllable of its perpetual invocation."

These sobering facts have to be remembered ; but they do not discredit the many evidences which India offers of the slow dawning of a new and hopeful life, which is a consequence of the quickened conscience and the higher moral outlook that have come to many of her children. Nor is there any question as to where these nobler impulses have originated. In the gradual elevation of Indian public opinion, and the widening adoption of those principles of life and duty which Christendom acknowledges as binding for men and nations alike, the world sees one of the most beneficent and far-reaching results of the contact of Christian Missions with an Oriental Civilisation.

III

Nationalism and Politics occupy the centre of the stage in India to-day. As they present themselves to view, both are new features in the long drama of India's life. Nationalism seeks to create in India a unified, independent people such as India never yet has known : Politics aim at giving to this new nation a democratic constitution, framed on lines which to India are wholly strange. Many causes have been at work in producing this movement, whose full issues are still hidden

from our eyes ; and the question is often asked as to the part that Christian Missions have played in the process. That they have played a part is certain, but it has been indirect. Missions have sought to make men ; and the men in their turn are seeking to make a nation.

The influence of missions is seen most clearly at the initiation of the movement, but it is also discernible throughout its progress to the present hour. Indian Nationalism, as we see it to-day, began when the modern Renaissance in India began ; and this, as we have seen, was when English was made the language of instruction in the high schools of India, and the knowledge, the experience and the achievements of the Western world were thereby spread out for India's view. Ideals of national life absolutely new to India became known and welcomed. The history of Britain, with its ever-widening authority of the people and its increasing provision of security for the rights of the individual, was a revelation of what a resolute people might become. The patriotic struggles for independence of many European nations in ancient and in modern times, and their stern fights for freedom from the hand of the oppressor, stirred the imagination of the young men of India. Inevitably they saw visions and dreamed dreams of an India united and self-governed, powerful and free.

Even had there been no English education imparted in the schools, there would in time have come a nationalist development in India ; but that it began when it did was due to those who,

through the schools, unveiled the treasures of the West to India's youth. Of these, Duff was the first and the Government a very close second. Together, by their educational policy, the British Government and the Christian Missionaries rank as the indirect, yet conscious, pioneers of the political movement that has now grown to great things.

They were quite aware of the changes that would be an inevitable consequence of their policy, and they foresaw them undismayed. Macaulay's words, written when in the Governor's Council in India, are well known, and they express the deliberate mind of those in authority at the time: "It may be that this public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown the system; that by good government we can educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some future day demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I do not know. But never will I attempt to retard it: whenever it does come, it will be the proudest day in English history." Dr. Duff's vision of the future consequences was equally clear and confident; only it was conditioned by one important *proviso*, which missions following in his train have ever sought to supply, viz.: that the English education should be accompanied by sound religious training. When questioned in the House of Lords in 1853 as to the likelihood of evil political results following from the extension of education, Duff replied:

“I have no fear of such results, *if wisely and timeously united with the great improving, regulating, controlling and conservative power of Christianity.*” Unhappily it lay clearly beyond the province of the Government of India to secure this beneficent alliance in the educational work directly under its care, and the absence of the religious character-producing element from so large a section of Indian educational effort has told heavily against the best political results. But Christian Missions, in their own educational contribution to India's life, have taken care that religion should be a living element in all their work; and by their action in this respect have helped not a little to rescue the nationalist movement from wild excesses, and to give to the political developments a healthy moderation. This service of theirs has been unobtrusive and indirect, but real. It has been effected largely through the training given to successive generations of the young men of India, who have passed through the classes of mission high schools and colleges, and who later have exercised an influence on their fellow-countrymen with whom they have been brought into touch. It is true that this influence cannot be measured with any accuracy, and that it has not been exercised at all by some *alumni* of mission colleges, but that in the mass it has been real and strong is unquestionable. The Christian character and tone which it is the aim of mission institutions to imprint upon their pupils, and which in large measure they succeed in doing, have given to the nationalist cause numbers of

adherents possessed by the ideals of personal integrity, honour through service, victory through sacrifice, and a healthy scorn for what is base and dishonourable, that have saved the national movement from not a few disasters, and have given prominence to qualities in its supporters such as have won for it the approval of many critics who otherwise would have doubted.

Scarcely less valuable than this purifying and inspiring contribution from missions, has been the moderating influence which, in the main, they have exerted on the Indians with whom they have been in touch. One of the dangers of the whole political movement has been the ignoring of the interests and rights of the masses of India's people for whom politics are as if they were not. The politically minded, who, though growing in numbers, are still a small minority of the people, are too prone to speak and act as if they were "India." Here missions have been a standing protection against hurtful possibilities that might result from this attitude. Missionaries see India in all its parts, not least in its humble parts, and touch its people high and low. They are the friends of all, and are recognised so to be. Any sectional nationalism or class-favouring arrangement of the political framework meets inevitably with their disapproval; and that disapproval has a way of passing on to many who know and trust the missionary. This also may be said, without risk of being misunderstood: From the point of view of Britain, which desires to see India attain to the position of a self-directing

unit within the Empire, the influence of missions has been almost entirely helpful in popularising this aim and in facilitating its attainment. Not for Britain's sake but for India's, has this been their attitude. The gains to India from the Empire-connection are as clear to them as are the grievous losses and bitter misfortunes that would accompany its dissolution; hence it is that Missions habitually throw their influence on the continuance of the hand-clasp of East and West. There may be a very small minority of missionaries who think otherwise; as there also are a few who, without desiring the actual severing of the connection with Britain, are yet so given to adverse criticism of Britain's acts, as almost to induce a desire for separation in the minds of those who hear them. But these are the exceptions. For India's sake, and for the surer attainment of India's goal as a self-governing and prosperous people, Christian Missions, drawn from whatever Western land, are a force that makes for the union of East and West.

If a typical utterance on this important matter is desired from missionary lips, the following words, addressed to his students in 1887 by the late Dr. William Miller of the Madras Christian College, India's premier educational missionary of modern days, supply it well: "What is the political ideal at which India should aim? I believe there is equally little difference between you and me. You desire to have India pervaded with that self-directing political and social life which you admire when you read the History of England.

You desire that the sons of India should manage her affairs, and be able to manage them well. You desire to see the spirit of self-government in the ascendant everywhere—that spirit which evokes the intensest energy of each individual, and yet binds all together into one self-moved, self-directed and harmonious whole. Such you wish your country to become, and as thus free, self-guided, self-determined, you wish her to play her part in that great family of communities which, though spread abroad through all the world, are yet knit together, and destined, let us hope, to be always knit more closely as the generations pass, by their common heritage of English freedom, and of English Law, and of all the wealth of knowledge and of impulse that are treasured up in the English tongue. That India should be a willing and an equal member of this great household, receiving good of every kind from all the others, but communicating such good as may be specially her own to them—this is the political ideal which you have set before you. It is a noble aim.”

Spoken thirty years ago, while the words postulate a somewhat warmer attitude towards Britain than could be confidently asserted of the average Indian student of to-day, they may still stand as expressing the normal *missionary* attitude towards Indian political developments.

Along such lines as these it is that Christian influences are at work to-day, modifying India's old-time civilisation. Little by little the Mediæval

civilisation by which missionaries were surrounded when they first reached India, is being changed. Flagrant moral offences, tolerated and even honoured through a thousand years, have vanished; the conscience of the leaders of the people has been purified and quickened; a higher public opinion is steadily making for a higher practice both in private and in public; and even the Nationalism of to-day is not immune from the uplifting touch of Christ. A Christian India is indeed still very far off, but it is no longer a dream. Centuries will pass before it arrives, but the march has begun and the ultimate end is sure. No less slow and toilsome was the early march of Christianity in Western Europe, yet in the end the goal was reached. Fifty years ago Gladstone described this long process in words of striking insight, which to-day, when one reads them, seem to be a prophecy of what awaits India too. Indeed, many of his words may be literally applied to the India that already is :

“ Christianity both produced a type of character wholly new to the Roman world, and it fundamentally altered the laws and institutions, the tone, temper, and traditions of that world. For example, it changed profoundly the relation of the poor to the rich, and the almost forgotten obligations of the rich to the poor. It abolished slavery, it abolished human sacrifices, abolished gladiatorial shows, and a multitude of other horrors. It restored the position of women in society. It proscribed polygamy, and put down divorce, absolutely in the West, though not

absolutely in the East. It made peace, instead of war, the normal and presumed relation between human societies. It exhibited life as a discipline everywhere, and in all its parts; and changed essentially the place and function of suffering in human experience. Accepting the ancient morality as far as it went, it not only enlarged, but transfigured its teaching by the laws of humility and of forgiveness, and by a law of purity perhaps even more new and strange than these. . . . All this was not the work of a day, but it was the work of powers and principles which persistently asserted themselves in despite of controversy, of infirmity, and of corruption in every form; which reconstituted in life and vigour a society formed in decadence; which by degrees came to pervade the very air we breathe; and which eventually have beyond all dispute made Christendom the dominant portion, and Christianity the ruling power of the world."

In India to-day, history is repeating itself.

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE AVERAGE MAN OF OTHER FAITHS

PREVIOUS chapters have emphasised the services of Missions to the Empire as great civilising and cultural agencies ; but little mention has yet been made of their *spiritual service*. Yet this is the greatest of all their services, and to render it is the fundamental reason of their existence. No thoughtful friend of the Empire will question its primary importance. It concerns that on which depend the worth and the lasting prosperity of any community—the character of the men composing it. No civilisation has any real security unless it is based on sound morality ; nor has any morality a surety of continuance unless it is grounded on true religion. Hence it is that, alike for individual men and women, and for the Nation or the Empire to which they belong, the spiritual service of Christian Missions takes priority of any other service which they may render. To this priority missionaries have all along borne emphatic witness, the result of rooted conviction and proved experience. Two such testimonies may be quoted :

One is from Dr. Chalmers of New Guinea : “ I have had twenty-one years’ experience amongst natives. I have seen the semi-civilised and the

uncivilised; I have lived with the Christian native, and I have lived, dined, and slept with the cannibal—but I have never yet met with a single man or woman, or with a single people, that your *Civilisation without Christianity* has civilised. Wherever there has been the slightest spark of civilisation in the Southern Seas, it has been where the Gospel has been preached.” The other comes from Dr. Cornelius Patton, written after a long tour through American mission fields in Africa: “If the history of Africa teaches anything it is the value of soul-transformation as a basis for social improvement. When the heart-life of a pagan is set right, turning him towards God and away from sin, then his whole being awakes; a hundred aspirations appear and clamour for satisfaction. Thus we find conversion leading to cleanliness, orderliness, industry, intelligence and material prosperity, as well as to character and peace of mind.” This is the universal experience of Christian Missions; and accordingly, however striking and useful the civilising work may be which they accomplish among the Child-Races of the world, their master-purpose remains spiritual.

* * *

Still there are many who honestly doubt, though they may not actually deny, this position which to missionaries is basal and axiomatic. “Your educational, civilising and social work is splendid,” say such observers. “It is all to the good, both for the people and for the Empire. Why not

confine yourselves to it? Or at least why not let your directly religious work—which to us seems so subordinate in importance—take a minor place in your endeavour?” It is a strange attitude for Christian men to take up; and the fact that it is taken up fairly widely is to be accounted for, to a large extent, by two reasons. On the part of many Christian people there is a lamentably defective appreciation of how very much the Christian religion counts for in the life and environment of the ordinary Christian man or Christian nation, and how very different life would be for both man and nation—themselves included—if the regulating and inspiring influence of Christianity were to be withdrawn, and all the institutional products which are its creation were suddenly wiped out. Added to this is the fact that of late years somewhat exclusive emphasis has been laid by many writers, missionaries as well as others, upon the fairer elements in the non-Christian religions, and over-reticence has been observed on the multitude of elements in these religions that are dark as night. This policy, originating undoubtedly from worthy motives, has beguiled great numbers of men into the comfortable belief that all religions are pretty much the same, and that in each religion there is sufficient good for the people immediately concerned. From these two causes, the practical conclusion has been arrived at that the purely spiritual service of Christian Missions may be dispensed with, or at least may be largely curtailed, and no great harm be done. It is a conclusion

which ignores the deepest needs of men, and is pathetically at variance with the actualities of the world's life.

To realise this, it is proposed in this chapter that we glance rapidly at the leading non-Christian peoples of the Empire in turn, consider the case of the *Average Man* in each, and seek to estimate what it really means to him to be brought into touch with the Christian message. Our concern here is not with the religious philosopher who is able to extract the higher moralities and truths of the Christian faith, and to affix them to his own, albeit with a rather insecure fixing; nor is it with the most degraded specimens of the human race, who are despised even by their own tribe for some evil abnormality. High philosophers and desperate criminals are rare in any nation. The man who concerns us in this brief inquiry is the ordinary *Average Man*, who is typical of the overwhelming majority of his kind in every nation, and from whose value a nation takes its value. The spiritual service of Missions to any people is best tested by its meaning for him.

The *Average Man* is nowhere devoutly or enthusiastically religious, and yet religion is what ultimately counts for most with him. Its sanctions determine his habits. Its rules fix his daily environment of custom. Its teachings, whether false or true, colour his whole outlook on life. They create or dispel his fears, they warrant or destroy his hopes, they strengthen or weaken his character. And they do so largely by the convictions which they implant concerning the

great elemental facts of existence—God, Man, Life, Death, Sin, Righteousness, Duty; but first and last of all—*God*. This is as true of the average man in Polynesia, Africa or India, as it is of the average man in Britain. Religion, in the end, is what counts for most; and no other service can compare in value with that service which helps to bring the man into a right relation with God, so that he comes to view life and death and duty in the light of God.

Christian Missions, throughout the non-Christian parts of the Empire, are seeking to render just this service. It is a mighty enterprise and is of outstanding moment to the Empire. Within the Empire it is estimated that there are some 433 millions of inhabitants. Of these only some 60 millions are Christians. Over 200 millions are Hindus; about 100 millions are Mohammedans; over 50 millions are Animists or Pagans; and approximately 20 millions are Buddhists. To the Average Man in these very diverse communities, what outstanding spiritual service do Christian Missions render?

I

THE AVERAGE PAGAN—OR ANIMIST

‘Animist’ is the more correct term, but ‘Pagan’ is better understood and is vastly more expressive. In its outward embodiments the religion of the Pagan varies in different lands. The pathetically grotesque idols, and other

accessaries of religion among the South Sea Islanders, are not exact duplicates of the equally grotesque and pathetic monstrosities of African paganism ; while the weird and pitiful externalities of worship among the degraded pariahs of India differ from both. So, too, is it with the wide lower fringes of Hinduism and Buddhism, where the elements of Animism largely prevail, and in times of special distress come to the surface in frantic appeals made to the old Pagan deities. There also the externalities of religion have a shape of their own. But through all the varieties, whether the paganism be openly confessed or secretly practised, the essential factor in the religious belief is the same, and so also is the atmosphere of life which it engenders.

The *Pagan* lives surrounded by a world of spirits, unknown, unseen, but real and powerful, and mostly hostile to his comfort and his well-being. The atmosphere in which he lives and moves and has his being is one of *Fear*. His religion is largely an elaborate system whereby the spirits may be appeased or circumvented, and he be left to go his way through life untroubled. Says Dr. Johannes Warneck, who is the master-authority in this department: "The animistic heathen are not only in error ; they are slaves. Fear in various forms tyrannises over the Animist in every situation of life. The vision of the world in which his religiousness is rooted is extremely dark. Even his own soul is a hostile power against which he must ever be on his guard. It is fond of leaving him ; it allows itself to be

enticed away from him. . . . The souls of relatives are easily wounded ; and woe to him who unintentionally offends them. Primitive man has to wind his way amid the throng of the souls of the people around him, and must continually bargain or fight with invisible and sinister powers. To that must be added fear of the dead, of demons, of the thousand spirits of earth, air, water, mountains and trees. He is like a man driven in a frenzied pursuit round and round. Ghosts of the most diverse kinds lurk in house and village ; in the field they endanger the produce of labour ; in the forest they terrify the woodcutter ; in the bush they hunt the wanderer. From them come diseases, madness, death of cattle, famine. Malicious demons surround women during pregnancy and at confinement ; they lie in wait for the child from the day of its birth ; they swarm round the houses at night ; they spy through the chinks of the wall for their helpless victims. The dead friend and brother becomes an enemy, and his coffin and grave are the abode of terror. It is *Fear* that occasions the worship of the departed. *Fear* is the moving power of animistic religion in Asia as in Africa." It is a lurid picture which this master-hand sketches, yet from every Pagan land come testimonies to its truth.

* * *

Within the British Empire, Africa is the chief seat of Paganism, and a safe guide there as to its practical implications is Dr. Donald Fraser

of Livingstonia. Accepting his general guidance, the religion of the *Average Pagan* in Africa may be thus analysed :

(1) He is a man with a dim idea of a far-off absentee God, with whom he has nothing to do. (2) He has a vivid sense of innumerable spirits with whom he has everything to do, for they are the cause of all diseases and calamities. (3) He believes in the after-life of the soul—a mysterious existence in some dark forest land. (4) He offers sacrifices of blood to the spirits of his ancestors, human sacrifices on special occasions. (5) Fetich-worship and the use of charms come first in his religious practice—any object being revered into which a spirit is supposed to have entered. (6) His infallible guide in every crisis of life is the Witch-Doctor, who has mastered the ways of mastering the spirits.

As a Religion the poverty of all this is appalling. None will say that this is good enough for any human being. For the life of a man's soul it has almost nothing to stimulate, nothing to cause the man to reach upward, nothing to give him consolation in sorrow, nothing to afford him help in his times of great need, nothing to inspire him to worthiness in life, nothing to cheer him in the hour of death. It may be true, and in general is true, that the *Average Pagan*, while still in his paganism, desires no better. That is because he knows no possibility of anything better. But his need is not to be measured by his desire. It is to be estimated by the gulf between what he is, and what he is capable of becoming.

To this Average Pagan there comes the Christian message, and, so far as his undeveloped capacity will permit, he receives it. In particular does he open his mind and heart to the central message concerning *God*. He learns to think of God in some measure as Christ has revealed Him—as the One and Only God, the Father of all men and of every man, all-loving, all-righteous, all-powerful. To him, a humble African pagan, he learns that this wonderful God now sends His message, gives His commands, promises His help, and reveals His heaven. What happens? With some, exceeding great things happen. A new life begins and continues, that is rich in simple prayer, in childlike communion with the Divine, in earnest study of God's Word, and in steady striving to do God's will. With the Average Pagan things move on less exalted levels, but they move, and some of the more great things. First and chiefly, that Burden of Fear, which has weighed so heavily on him and on his fathers for untold ages, falls off. The great army of encircling spirits of evil intent is routed, and all the elaborate machinery for circumventing them is discarded. "Before I knew the things of Jesus," said an African to Miss Jean Kenyon Mackenzie, "I was like a young child crying in the dark for Fear: until the day when I knew Jesus—then it was as if my mother put her hand on me." The Average Pagan might use less picturesque language, but he is conscious that with the great deliverance many new things have come into his life; and particularly is he conscious of the call to a new and higher morality.

“ Only one should bear in mind,” says Dr. Warneck, “ that it is not the moral point of view which strikes such peoples, and brings about a change to Christianity ; but this is effected through a religious innovation which by and by makes them aware of their immoral state. Therefore moral renovation will always lag behind the religious change : that is to say, the moral conduct of the Christians may remain unsatisfactory for a long time, and yet we should not doubt the reality of their religious experience.”

It is good to remember this. But at the same time it is well to realise the real progress in morality that takes place, and often with wonderful rapidity, among the Christianised pagans in every heathen land. Reference to this has been already made when dealing with the civilising achievements of missions ; and it is just what is to be expected as a result of the gradual purifying of the conscience, and the quickening of the will, which come with the knowledge of God in Christ. “ How could we feel anything ? ” was the reply of some of Moffat's South African converts, when he questioned them as to any sense of sin and wrong-doing in their old pagan days. “ We did not know that an invisible Ear was hearing us. You found us like wild beasts, not like men.”

This is the experience of the Average Pagan everywhere. When he gets to know God, there arises a stirring in his soul that in time makes him a new man. The “ Ten Tyings ” of God's law fasten themselves around him, and little by little, though with many a contest and many a fall, the

once Average Pagan becomes an Average Christian—not perfect, but a man whose life is coloured by a real effort to be loyal to God. His thoughts as to life take on increasingly a Christian hue, his conscience speaks ever more frequently as taught by Christ, his personal judgments as to right and wrong and duty approximate steadily to those of Christianity. For his home, for his tribe, for his country, for the Empire he is a help and a strength such as he never was before. But of these things we do not speak again. What matters most of all is that in the scale of humanity he has risen, and that to his soul, as it looks out on the interests of time and those of eternity, all things have become new.

II

THE AVERAGE HINDU

THE AVERAGE HINDU represents that section of India's people of whose religious life we in Britain are particularly ignorant—and for a very good reason. In missionary reports and speeches this section of the Indian community gets comparatively little attention. On the dire need of the sixty millions of Untouchables, and on the upward, if sometimes rather wayward, aspirations of the two millions or less of the English-Educated Hindus, we are kept well informed. But of the vast multitude between these classes, the one hundred and eighty millions of the orthodox, placid, satisfied Caste-Hindus, who are the backbone of India, who are abundantly content with

the religion and customs and moralities of their forefathers, whom as yet Christianity has hardly touched, and to whom English is a language unknown and undesired, how little is known ! What is their working religion, what sort of men are they, what does the Christian message mean for them ?

It was in 1896 that the late Dr. Henry Haigh, at that time a Wesleyan missionary in Mysore, in a masterly paper which quickly went round the world, gave a striking revelation of the "Average Hindu" to the Christian Churches of Britain. Dr. Haigh knew him well and loved him much, and the picture he drew—as full of sympathetic understanding as it was of startling truth—is true of to-day even as it was of thirty years ago. The *Average Hindu*, as he depicts him, has many engaging qualities and a great deal of common humanity. Contrary to a popular but baseless idea in Britain, *he is not a philosopher* ; though every inch of him is an expression of a philosophy. Religion to him is beyond the reach of question or of doubt. The local temple is its centre, and its services, gods, customs and feasts are all calmly accepted. So too with its moralities and immoralities, they are part of an immutable system, and are tenaciously held—not necessarily practised—but should need arise, are obstinately defended. In his life he is a kindly man, courteous and leisurely. Behind the life are the stated religious practices, and behind the practices are two fundamental positions of Philosophic Hinduism which encase him as with a double coat of mail. These are *Pantheism* and *Fatalism*. *He is a*

Pantheist—and at the same time an idolater. He believes in God and worships idols, and in this he sees nothing at all illogical. God is to him not a Person, but a divine “Something” diffused through everything that is. God is in the stone, the tree, the snake, the monkey, the cow, the elephant, and may be worshipped in any of these forms as in a multitude of others. God is in every man, in the highest saint and in the vilest sinner; and is the force at the back of every deed, whether good or evil. He may be incarnated in a monster of lust or in a paragon of purity; and to adore Him in either incarnation is equally justifiable, equally religious. Sin, as a transgression of the moral law, or an act of disobedience to God’s will, he does not comprehend. The only “Sin” he knows is that which comes from breaking some ceremonial law or traditional custom; that entails personal defilement. The sense of guilt, as we understand it, is to the average Hindu incomprehensible; for the action, whatever it be that might awaken such a sense, is an act of God—the God within the man. How this works in practice, Dr. Haigh illustrated many years later, in an address delivered at Leeds in 1914. “I have seen,” he said, “a man accused and convicted of murder, and just on the point of being hanged, and when I said how sorry I was for him that he had committed such a crime, his eyes flamed and he said: ‘I! I did not commit the murder. I had no spite against the man who has gone. It was God, not I, who committed that murder.’ I said, ‘You have to be hanged

for it.' 'Yes,' said the man, 'it is God who is going to hang me. Do not you know that all that is done in this world is the doing of God? It does not matter. I shall soon be out of the world into the next, which I hope will be a happier one.' Within five minutes that man passed into eternity." That is Pantheism, as it works in India to-day.

Added to this conception of life, which to the Average Hindu makes sin unthinkable, there is the *Fatalism*, which encompasses him with a shield of absolute irresponsibility. A man's life is regarded by us in the West as his own, to make and shape as he will; but with a clear moral obligation resting upon him to shape his life aright, and a high accountability to God for the due performing of this greatest of duties. Not so with the Average Hindu. His present life is but a link in an endless chain. Through the by-gone ages, he has passed from existence to existence, each life deciding that which has followed it. His present lot is the consequence of the life he lived in some previous existence. True, he has no memory of that existence, but in no respect does this affect the binding law of Karma. His lot is self-created; as also will be his future fate through an endless succession of deaths and births. Says the *Mahabharata* :

"Yes, all the deeds that men have done,
In light of day, before the sun,
Or veiled beneath the gloom of night,
The good, the bad, the wrong, the right,—
These though forgotten, reappear,
And travel silent, in their rear."

The Average Hindu does not worry about these high speculations, but he accepts them unquestioningly as the sure background of things, and his religious life is simply a logical consequence. Sin does not trouble him, misfortunes are meekly accepted as an inevitable consequence of some failure of his in a former life. Accountability to God for his actions is outside his thoughts, for is he not himself a part of the widely diffused Divine essence? And as for holiness—"Holiness is only the perfection of prudence. To do nothing that will make you obnoxious to your caste or in your community, is a fair attainment. Now for a hungry caste-man," says Dr. Haigh, "to eat a piece of bread from my hand would at once make him obnoxious to his people, and that is sin; but the same man may go and traffic with temple girls and be accounted respectable, and even have a name for holiness—confused in his worship, confused in his morality."

* * *

That many a Hindu is a far better man than his creed would make him, is testified to by every one who knows him well. Happily, as has been noted, he is not a philosopher, and it is only on special occasions and in particular relationships that the regrettable consequences of the faulty view of life, which his philosophy enforces, come prominently into view. Normally he lets the human virtues which he possesses in full measure come pleasingly into action, meets kindness with kindness, and is slow to avail himself of the sanctions to evil which his accommodating creed

presents. "It is a wonder to my mind," wrote Bishop Caldwell, long revered in South India by Hindu and Christian alike, "that the people of India, with such a religion as theirs, should possess so many good qualities as I believe they do, and my explanation of the wonder is that, notwithstanding their religion, God has conferred upon them through the teaching of His providence and through the inheritance of experience many excellent gifts. I admire much that I see amongst the people of India; I admire their religiousness; I admire their temperance; I admire their patience and gentleness and courtesy; I admire their care of their relations to the farthest remove; and in many particulars, I admire what remains of the primeval framework of their village system and their social system. Only let the still more important elements of individual and national character which are produced by Christianity, and by Christianity alone, be superadded to these and similar characteristics of race, and the result will be a style of character of which neither India nor Christianity will have need to be ashamed." (*Christianity and Hinduism.*)

* * *

To such men what does Christianity offer which they do not possess? It offers that living Power without which there can be no security for the continuance and development of what is by nature good in their daily life, no hope of the uprooting of the many encompassing forces that

are evil, and no prospect of the destruction of the broad open road to debauchery and sin which their religion provides, in which it invites them to walk, and in which millions do walk habitually. It was the burning consciousness of this appalling lack in the religion of the Average Hindu, that compelled Mr. Monahan, an able and devoted Wesleyan missionary in South India, at the World Missionary Conference of 1910, to enter a strong *caveat* against accepting the Higher Hinduism (on which the Report on Hinduism which was presented to the Conference had laid almost exclusive emphasis) as the Hinduism of the multitude, the spiritual faith of the Average Hindu. "That which you indicate by a brief paragraph," said Mr. Monahan, "is the element of Hinduism which bulks largest in one's actual contact with it from day to day, the Hinduism that crushes soul liberty and defies human lust. . . . A man who, living in India, failed to recognise her pathetic search for God, and belittled her lavish devotion, would be blind indeed. But as one who has sought to help individuals to a knowledge of Christ, one is again and again impressed with the ignoble side of Hinduism. One has seen tender, earnest seekers after truth, affectionate and pure women longing to follow Jesus Christ, simply battered and crushed by the cruelty of a system which is tolerant of thought to a remarkable degree, but absolutely intolerant of action which would give reality to that thought. One has seen in the public thoroughfares indescribably obscene representations on temples and idol cars. One has had

the privilege of friendship with men who had obtained their freedom at grievous cost. Is it any wonder that to them Hinduism is something that provokes disgust and horror, not something that awakens sympathy? . . . You rightly condemn the '*merely* polemic and iconoclastic attitude'; it is one that I abhor. But I repeat there are things to be broken down before we can build up. There are chains to be smashed that souls may go free. There is an accursed thing which passes for religion, towards which the only healthy attitude is that of Israel's prophets, not sympathy but moral indignation, and whether we break with our own hands or not the brazen serpent, we certainly need to call it by its right name, Nehushtan."

This is all true, terribly true; but to the stern work that needs to be done the hands of the Average Hindu will never be laid, until some new Force enters his soul, and changes his whole outlook on life and duty. As he is at present he sees and can see no reason for any iconoclastic work of the kind, for which India's need is bitter and sore. To this man, so encased in deadening armour, there comes the Gospel, with its offer of God's forgiveness, its promise of a renewal of the springs of life, its sure hope of life everlasting. To all these things he is cold. Before they touch him at all, the elementary truth of the personality of God and the personality of man—on which the Gospel is based—has to be pressed home and accepted. He has to learn that God is no indefinite Essence penetrating everything that is,

but that He is the Supreme Person in the universe. He has to learn that he himself is a living separate person, that he lives under no blind fate, that he is the slave of no non-moral scheme of existence and therefore exempt from all personal accountability for his actions, whether those be good or evil; but that as a child of God he is a separate object of his Father's love and care, and is called to be an individual exponent and doer of his Father's holy will. Once this is learned widely in India, there will come the change for which she still waits. Then the Average Hindu, who is the essential Hindu, will rise in the strength that flows from the freedom which Christ bestows. He will seek to deliver his land from those chains of philosophic error and debasing religious practices, which have so long held it in captivity, and he will at last take his place among the world's Crusaders for the Right. This is the service which Christian Missions seek to render to the Average Hindu.

III

THE AVERAGE NEO-HINDU

The Neo-Hindu is better known in the West than almost any other inhabitant of India. He is the Indian most written about, most visible in the flesh, most in the general thought; and at present is undoubtedly the most prominent personal factor in the changing East. He is the Hindu of the Upper-World, as touched by the

Western influences of the last hundred years. In comparison with the immense population of India, 318 millions, his special brotherhood is numerically small, numbering at the most two millions, and possessing effectives of little more than one million. Still, he is the man of the hour in India, and the religion of the *Average Man* of this community is an important study, though not a very simple one.

The chief danger in seeking to estimate his religious position is that we take the most highly spiritual of the community as being typical of all. It is the Neo-Hindu of pronounced religious aspirations, whose inner life is most expounded and justifiably extolled in the current missionary writings that deal with Neo-Hinduism; and in consequence of this, the picture formed in many Western minds of the whole class is that of men, whose religious life is habitually fed on the mystic poems and the devotional writings of those few great souls of Hinduism, who form a thin but saintly line down through the centuries. That there are many men of this type among the Neo-Hindus of to-day is sure—men whose religious teachers, by their high and pure idealism and their earnest gropings after God, are the redeeming feature in Hinduism's long record. But these men form a small minority among the Neo-Hindus as India knows them to-day. The Average Neo-Hindu is not a Rabindranath Tagore in the high rapture of his soul, nor is he a M. K. Gandhi in his ascetic life and his passionate denunciation of caste. Religiously he is a much smaller man, a

more moderate man, a vastly less intense man than either. But his soul has been touched from above, his life has been linked with high ideals, and he has moved forward into fuller light than ever his fathers were familiar with.

Under the pressure of Western knowledge and Christian influences he has changed his religious moorings oftener than once. The Hindu Temple has long ceased to be his religious centre; its recognised defilements and degradations have made that impossible. He has not indeed disowned it, any more than he has abandoned caste, but his soul is pivoted elsewhere. From the temple he shifted his centre to the sacred books of Hinduism; but at much of the contents of these his soul has shuddered, and now he centres himself on the purest and noblest of them all—the Bhagavad-Gita. The Gita has been described as “The loveliest flower in the garden of Sanscrit literature.” It is “the Gospel of the educated Hindus.” In itself it is a rarely beautiful exposition of high morality, placed in the mouth of Krishna, the most popular, though most immoral, of India’s many deities. It recognises at once Pantheism and Theism, and makes it possible for the adaptable Hindu simultaneously to believe in an impersonal God, and to give the devotion of his heart to a personal incarnation of the Divine.

* * *

But the Gita does not satisfy. To its teachings the Average Neo-Hindu has sometimes consciously, very often unconsciously, added much of the spiritual riches that come from Christ; and

by this combination his soul is kept alive. But it lives largely on borrowed food. "Intelligent Hindus," says Dr. John Morrison, "now think of their own religion in terms and with understanding of words, which were utterly unknown to their fathers, and which they owe to Christianity alone." A generation ago this was quite commonly admitted, and the Brahma Samaj by its steady approximation to Christianity emphasised the debt of Hinduism. To-day it is otherwise, The Brahma Samaj is losing influence, the Arya Samaj, with its intense support of things Indian and its hot patriotism, holds the field increasingly; and the Average Neo-Hindu, though in reality largely Christian in his theism, and moved by Christian ideals in his life, does not readily confess the fact. In doctrine also as well as in life he has moved. Pantheism and Transmigration still lie in the background, but the old full-blooded vigour has gone. Into his soul there has come the sense of personality, alike in God and in himself, and his life testifies to the change. It is a better life, but is still a strange mass of inconsistencies, a consequence of the conflict between Christian influences and aspirations, and Hindu theories of existence. Christ as a great Teacher is accepted, and as a Leader is often followed, but as the Divine Son of God he is unknown, and as the incarnate commanding Will of God he is not obeyed.

To many, indeed, he is more. "I am not a Christian," testified a leading Hindu some years ago, "but I think the more Christ-like we become, the better for us and for our land. And towards

securing this happy end, nothing can be more effective than the practice of placing before the minds of our students clearly and repeatedly the ideal of love, self-abnegation, and suffering for others' sake, that is presented to us in the pages of the Gospels. . . . Half an hour's study of the Bible will do more to remodel a man than a whole day spent in repeating the Slokas of the Puranas, or the Mantras of the Rig-Veda."

Such testimonials might easily be multiplied, but they do not come from the *Average* Neo-Hindu. He is no more passionately religious than is the average man anywhere. Of this Mr. W. E. G. Holland, in his *Goal of India*, gives a striking illustration. He had been having a friendly discussion one day with a Hindu judge on "Conversion," as being the transition of the soul from seeking God to finding Him. At the close the judge remarked, "Well, after all, there is not much difference between us. You Christians are converted when you find God in Christ. We Hindus are converted when we find God in ourselves." "With this difference," replied Mr. Holland, "that in countries where Christ is known, conversions happen. . . . From a college of a hundred students in England, each year a few, say half a dozen, would pass out to give their lives to religious work. But from our hostel of a hundred students here (Calcutta), never a one has left to devote his life to a religious cause; and that in spiritual India!" "My friend's face fell," adds Mr. Holland, "his tone dropped, and he said to me quietly: 'You are perfectly right.

I know many more Hindus than you—Aryas, Brahmos, Theosophists, Orthodox; and I *don't know one who has found.*' ”

No, the Average Neo-Hindu is not passionately religious. To-day he is passionately national, and this hinders the higher passion from developing. There is a widespread reaction towards unadulterated Hinduism, an increasing desire for a religion based on Hindu sources, and none other. Yet, despite his non-avowal of Christ as the highest influence in his life leading to pure thought and noble endeavour, the fact abides.

* * *

To this Average Neo-Hindu what have Christian Missions to give? All that they have already given, of course; the essence of the Gospel does not change. But there is one thing lacking here that they may do much to supply. It is *Courage*: Courage to be true to himself and to God, true to the truth that has already come to him, true to the duties that confront him—courage to take the final step, to end with compromise, to say frankly—“This and this and this I owe to Christ; none other shall have the allegiance of my life, it shall be His alone.”

To let the soul go on feeding on borrowed food will never furnish a man with the spiritual forcefulness that India requires in those who would be her leaders. For India's sake the courage in her sons to make the fateful change is imperative; for with all her advances, there are grave defects

to-day in her social fabric, and sore abuses in the inner life of her people, which call aloud for action. Yet no action sufficient for the need will ever be taken by men in whose souls there is a divided allegiance. It is not from the Gita that they will get the inspiration that is required. "What has the Gita done for our country?" asked the late Dr. Lazarus, an Indian Christian graduate of high repute in Madras. "What is the influence exerted by this most popular work on the religion and character of the Hindus? . . . That it is largely read, and that its doctrines are more or less universally known, there is not the slightest doubt. They have filtered down even to the illiterate masses. The man in the street asks me, 'Where is the sin you speak of? It is He who is within me who does all my actions.' With an influence so stupendous, what has the Gita achieved in the moral and social world? Has it abolished idolatry and all its attendant immoralities? Has it anywhere established the spiritual worship of the One Supreme Being? Have its doctrines dismissed all other gods from the Hindu Pantheon? Has it elevated the character of the people, and spread more correct ideas of purity and morality? Has it placed a lofty ideal of divine holiness and love before the nation? Has it even supplied a motive for purity and benevolence?"

To this impassioned and searching indictment by a son of India, there is but one answer. A Gita with a Krishna behind it, as the personal force compelling the adoption of its high morality by sin-loving men, has no power to quicken a

people into life. There is needed a Gospel, backed by the sinless compelling Christ. This is what missions have to offer to the Average Neo-Hindu.

IV

THE AVERAGE BUDDHIST

So far as the British Empire is concerned the chief homes of the Buddhist are Burma and Ceylon. There Buddhists number close on twelve millions, and it is there also that Buddhism has departed least from the original lines, drawn and exemplified by Gautama Buddha—though truly it has departed very far. Buddhism at its best, as it was in its earliest days, in its spiritual elevation, in its high code of morality, and in the beauty of its founder's character and life, comes nearer to Christianity than does any other religion in the world. No one can study it without feeling its charm and being drawn to its saintly founder. Yet it is a sombre reading of life that is set forth in its Four Noble Truths:—that Existence means of necessity Suffering and Sorrow; that Suffering and Sorrow are caused by Desire; that to end Sorrow, Desire has to be subdued; and that the Way to deliverance is to be found along the Eightfold Path. It is an excellent path as outlined:—right belief, right feelings, right speech, right actions, right means of livelihood, right endeavour, right memory, and right meditation.

“The fourth truth is the Way. It openeth wide,
Plain for all feet to tread, easy and near.
The Noble Eight-fold Path : it goeth straight
To peace and refuge. Hear !”

In this clear statement of moral duties lies one of the great attractions of Buddhism for the Western mind ; but other tenets are less attractive. In seeking to destroy Desire by such self-discipline, four stages have to be passed, which are succeeded by the unbroken unconscious calm of Nirvana. There, in a universe over which rules no God, all is peace for all is nothing, and the reign of Illusion has for ever ended. In truth, as has often been pointed out, this is no Religion, for it knows no God. Neither is there any reality in things seen, any personality in man ; all is unreal, all is illusion. On such a creed the soul of a man cannot live, and the consequence is that wherever Buddhism has gone, it has found it necessary to mingle with its own austere negations the positive affirmations of other and lower Faiths. To this there is no exception ; the greatest irony of all being that by millions of Buddhists, Gautama Buddha, who denied the existence of God, has himself become the supreme divine personality.

* * *

That in the West, Buddhism has been conspicuously exalted, has been largely due to the form of its presentation. As pictured in the noble poem of Sir Edwin Arnold on *The Light of Asia*, or as charmingly set forth by Fielding Hall in *The Soul of a People*, it has won thousands of admirers and sympathisers. But the admiration and the sympathy

are for an esoteric Buddhism such as to-day is unknown among the peoples who call Buddha 'Lord.' Where to-day it is still a power the active force comes largely from the cruder but more tangible religions with which it has perforce been linked. In Burma and Ceylon it is a graceful and, to a certain extent, a stimulating and regulating philosophy, superimposed on the old Animism or Paganism of the peoples. Said Mr. C. Lewis in the Census Report on Burma in 1911: "The Burman has added to his Animism just so much of Buddhism as suits him, and with infantile inconsequence draws solace from each of them in turn. . . . Animism supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together, Buddhism the superficial polish. It has done all that a polish can do to smooth, to beautify, and to brighten; but to the end of time it will never be more than a polish. In the hour of great heart-searching it is profitless. It is then that the Burman falls back on his permanent beliefs. Let but the veneer be scratched, the Burman stands forth an Animist confessed."

In Ceylon things are very much the same. Bishop Copleston, writing of the people of districts which have had no touch with Christian Missions, says: "If we lead them to talk of their crops and houses and illnesses, and of the births and deaths that have occurred in their memory, we shall find that we are in a world of demons, who give trouble and must be driven away, who are sometimes seen, with fatal consequences, in the jungle—a world in which tribute must be paid to the goddess of disease, and to the far-away deity of

Kataragama ; in which scarcely anything happens by direct human or natural agency, but all by virtue of charms and omens. The whole home life is haunted by a sort of religion, but Buddhism is as completely outside it as the British Government " (*Buddhism*, p. 275).

Manifestly, if we wish to picture the *Average Buddhist* whom the Empire knows, we must come down considerably from the ideal sketched by many who know Buddhism only from the outside. The Average Buddhist, as we see him in Burma, is an Animist at heart ; but he has a cordial appreciation of the picturesque setting which Buddhism gives to his religion, and a patriotic veneration for the Lord Buddha whose countless pagodas and images are an outstanding feature of his country. Deeply planted also in his consciousness are the Buddhistic doctrines of Karma and Transmigration : that ' what we have been makes us what we are ' ; and that life for every man is an endless chain of existences. But he does not worry himself much over these depressing philosophies. He is a happy soul : one may say with truth a happy-go-lucky soul, a modern Epicurean. So far as the effort does not seriously interfere with life's enjoyments, he seeks to conquer self, to show due benevolence, and to keep the five Great Laws of Buddha : to refrain from killing, adultery, lying, stealing and intoxicating drink. The Pagodas are duly visited on days of high festival, and he enjoys the festival. He kneels before the figure of Buddha, and repeats his creed of pessimism in a most optimistic tone—" Anicca,

Dukka, Anatta": "All is fleeting, All is suffering, All is unreal"—and straightway goes off to enjoy himself. As he prays before the Buddha image, he will pause occasionally to make sure that his cheroot is still burning. Why does he pray? Not to obtain forgiveness, for to him sin is an inevitable result of Karma, for which forgiveness is unneeded. No, he prays because it is the custom so to do, and through it, in some way, he is acquiring merit which will stand him in good stead when he enters the next existence in the endless wheel of life. From Dr. Cushing, for forty years a missionary in Burma, comes an interesting corroboration of this: "Many times I have asked worshippers on the platform of the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, and elsewhere, 'Are you praying to Gautama or to the Pagoda?' The answer has always been, 'I am praying to no one.' 'For what are you praying then?' 'Nothing,' is the inevitable reply. 'I hope in some way, I know not how, to get benefit.'"

* * *

It is a depressing record of what this high religion produces when left to work itself out in practice. Even its moral code, which is its special glory, increasingly fails to produce a moral practice among its adherents. Writing in 1915 of the moral condition of Burma, Mr. W. C. B. Purser told of the setting-in of a religious deterioration among both monks and people, which was attended by serious moral decadence. And Government evi-

dence to the same effect was given by the criminal judges in 1912, who testified: "The moral sense of the people is diminishing with the slackening of religious ties and observances. With the decay of ancient beliefs, the Buddhist religion is losing its moral sanction as an inspiring force in the lives of its adherents; and drunkenness, gambling, drug-taking and vicious habits, increasing as they all are, tend to produce a weakening of self-control, and a loss of self-respect, which in favouring circumstances easily create the criminal." That 'in spite of the high teaching of Buddhism the moral standard is very low,' was convincingly testified by missionaries in 1910 at the World Missionary Conference; and the reason is not far to seek. Behind the high standard is no moral thrust, no living and compelling Power divine; and as a motive to morality, 'to gain merit' will never carry the average man very far.

For the Average Buddhist the message of Christian Missions is not hard to find. It is to lead him to Christ and let him find there all which Buddha has failed to supply, and for want of which Buddhism to-day is so pitifully ineffective. Let him know Christ—the Power of God, the Love of God, the Word of God—and all else that matters will follow. There will come the knowledge of the Father, the humbling but health-giving consciousness of sin, the gladness of forgiveness, the breaking of life's endless chain, the banishing of Nirvana's sad negation, and the opening of Heaven where life is for ever at its best and fullest. "We are walking in darkness," said a Ceylon Buddhist

leader not long ago, "without seeing a light, a person, or a hope." To the Average Buddhist Christian Missions come revealing all three, for all are seen when Christ is seen.

V

THE AVERAGE MOHAMMEDAN

To pass from Paganism, Hinduism and Buddhism to Mohammedanism is to enter a new atmosphere. Cloudy speculation ends, authoritative dogma begins. We meet with a clear-cut creed, a clear-cut code of religious duties, and a fairly clear-cut system of morality. Its simplicity and definiteness make it unique among the religions of the world. They are its strength, if also its ultimate weakness; and together they go far to explain its facile adoption by great masses of mankind, who are glad to be done with dim, uncertain groping after God, and fruitless speculation as to truth. The *Average Mohammedan* knows exactly where he is; and he has no doubt at all about the rightness of his position. To have his theology and his religious duties expressed in tabloid form is entirely to his mind: and indeed it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the fundamentals of Mohammedanism, as apprehended by the great majority of its adherents, can be compressed into a single page.

Its *Creed* has but two leading articles: "There is no God but God; and Mohammed is the Prophet

of God." To this emphatic and invaluable declaration of the One God there is added a statement of God's attributes with which, so far as they go, no Christian will cavil. They are Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Seeing, Speech—all being infinite in their nature and degree.

The *Code of Religious Duties* is almost as concise. It declares the 'Five Pillars of Religion' for the true son of Islam to be—(1) The recital of the above brief creed; (2) The daily observance of five stated times for prayer; (3) The fasting for thirty days from food or drink, between sunrise and sunset, throughout the month of Ramazan; (4) The giving of the legal alms in charity (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of a man's income, but 10 per cent. of the produce of the fields). To these four duties, which are incumbent on every Mohammedan, there is added for some a fifth, "a service due to God from those who are able to journey thither"—a pilgrimage to Mecca. The *Moral Code* is theoretically that of the Jewish Decalogue, but stringency in the observance of the commandments is less insisted on than it was in Moses' day.

Two extracts from the second Sura of the Koran may be quoted as showing Mohammedanism at its best, alike in its teaching of "What man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." Of God it is written: "God, there is no God but He the living, the eternal; slumber doth not overtake Him neither sleep; to Him belongeth all that is in heaven and in earth. Who is he that can intercede with Him

but by His own permission ? He knoweth that which is past and that which is to come unto them ; and they shall not comprehend anything of His knowledge but so far as He pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the upholding of both is no burden unto Him. He is the lofty and the great."

Man's duty is thus declared : " There is no piety in turning your faces towards the east or west, but he is pious who believeth in God, and the Last Day, and the Angels, and the Scriptures, and the Prophets ; who for the love of God disburseth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming ; who observeth prayer and payeth the legal alms, and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged in them, and patient under ills and hardships, and in time of trouble ; these are they who are just, and those who fear the Lord."

This is Mohammedanism at its best and purest, alike in creed and conduct. Its essential beliefs are simple, and its rule of life is both easy to comprehend and not over-difficult to keep. In the course of centuries the religion of Islam has developed its doctors, its mystics, its divisions, and its refinements. But, take it all in all, there is a cohesive power in it that is unique, and a uniformity, alike in belief and in practice, throughout the countries where it prevails that is remarkable.

* * *

The *Average Mohammedan* is very much the

same man all the world over, and may be thus described: He is a man with whom religion counts. His may not be a very spiritual religion, but it grips him. Its rulings are for him final, its external practices are scrupulously observed, its interests are supreme; and for it he will, in hours of crisis or times of fanatical zeal, sacrifice everything, not grudging life itself. To him it is the only true religion in the world. All other faiths are an insult to God and to His Prophet, and they must in the end be made to go down before it. *God* is the one mighty Sovereign of the universe, the omnipotent absolute Ruler, by whom all things are foreordained, and to whose supreme will every event in human life is to be ascribed. To serve Him according to the law and practice of Mohammed, and to submit without question to His will, is a privilege and a duty. *Man* he divides into two categories—those who are his fellow-believers and those who are not. To the former he is a brother, and the brotherhood is real. With the latter there is no brotherhood, nor can there ever be until they enter the Islamic fold. To win them over is a duty; to be done peaceably if possible, but if not then by force—even though this should entail the extermination of those who are hopelessly obstructive. A decade ago one would have hesitated to say this of the Average Mohammedan. A softer, more humane attitude to the non-Mohammedan seemed then to be fairly widespread; but recent events in the Near East and also in India, have shown that the old fanatic fierceness still slumbers in the

sons of Islam. *Woman* continues to rank where the Prophet placed her—a lower creation of the Almighty. To her is accorded the place and the treatment exemplified in Mohammed's own life, and 'divinely' sanctioned in the Koran. She is man's chattel and not his equal, and her chief end is to minister to his comforts and gratify his baser desires. Polygamy is an honourable practice, for does not the Koran sanction a man's having four wives, concubines as many as he pleases, and a facility in divorce that has practically no limitation? Unhappily Mohammed's own record in his relations with women makes this shameful blot ineffaceable from the religion that bears his name.

The *Moral Law* to the Average Mohammedan is a law to be kept—if possible; and that many do keep it well is certain. Yet with a Prophet so lax in the greater sins, it is almost inevitable that he should have very many followers. Said a veteran Indian Missionary in North India not long ago to the writer: "Of Hinduism and Mohammedanism my experience leads me to say this: On paper Mohammedanism is easily the higher faith, but in actual life the Hindu is superior." In most Mohammedan lands the testimony of observers is very similar: the morality of the Average Man is decidedly lax. How easily this laxness can be justified is piquantly told by Dr. Dwight, long a missionary in the Near East. A Turkish Pasha was defending his occasional lapse from the strict abstinence from wine which is required by his religion, and this was his argument:

“ If I say it is right to drink wine and drink it, I sin, and am worthy of hell. If I say it is wrong and yet drink it, and then throw myself on the mercy of Allah, he will not punish his servant, who has confessed the wrong ! ” The *Hereafter* takes on a very definite aspect in the thought of the Average Mohammedan, and plays a notable part in deciding many a man’s conduct. Yet it cannot be regarded as one of the elements in his Faith that make for righteousness. It is not a hope that purifies but one that degrades, for Paradise is pictured as a land where man’s lower desires are abundantly satisfied, and sensual joys are everlastingly experienced.

Of all the elements in the Average Mohammedan’s religion there is, however, no doubt that, next to the overmastering sense of God, what influences him most are the thoughts he cherishes of Mohammed himself. Of this Dr. Zwemer, whose knowledge of Islam and its ways is exceptionally intimate, gives the following striking testimony: “ Mohammed is at once the sealer and abrogator of all former prophets and revelations. They have not only been succeeded, but also supplanted, by Mohammed. . . . God favoured him above all creatures. He dwells in the highest heaven, and is several degrees above Jesus in honour and in station. He is the only powerful intercessor in the Day of Judgment. His name is never uttered or written without the addition of a prayer. ‘ Ya Mohammed ’ is the open sesame to every door of difficulty, temporal or spiritual. 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. . . . Mohammed holds the keys of heaven and hell. No Moslem, however bad his character, will perish finally ; no unbeliever, however good his life, can be saved, except through Mohammed."

* * *

Of 200 million souls this is the practical working religion to-day, and nigh half of these are within the British Empire. What have Christian Missions to offer that will be for the good of these fellow-subjects of our own ? Their religion has many noble qualities, but it has many most ignoble. It has its heights, but also its depths ; and both heights and depths draw their sanction from the Koran and from the Prophet's life. The Average Man to-day in Moslem lands lives neither on the heights nor in the depths, but the downward pull is strong. The work of Christian Missions is to bring that average man face to face with Christ, that in His power he may climb to loftier heights than Mohammed ever knew, and there pitch his tent for ever. He has to rise to the height whence he can see and comprehend not only the One-ness of God, but also God's

Fatherhood and Love, the Brotherhood of all men and not merely that of the sons of Islam, the worth and purity of Womanhood, the vileness of sin, the joy of forgiveness, the richness of service, the beauty of holiness, and the glory of a Hereafter where vileness and impurity never enter, and righteousness and peace for ever abound. These things Mohammedanism can never teach, for it does not know them. It is for lack of knowing them that Islam, with all its higher features, has yet proved a blight on every land on which it has fastened. It uplifts men, it has been well said, to the level of the Arabian civilisation of the seventh century, but forbids all further progress except at the price of infidelity to Islam. To the Animist of Africa or Malaya it brings at first clear gain, for it raises him far above his former religious level. Yet in the end it proves to be a fatal barrier to any further ascent. To remove this barrier where it has already been erected, and to prevent its erection in cases where as yet it only threatens, is the service which Christian Missions seek to render to the Average Mohammedan in the Empire and through the world.

* * *

The foregoing characterisation of the Religion of the Average Man, as he is found among the leading non-Christian peoples of the Empire, has been necessarily brief and incomplete. Intentionally it has not dealt at all with the higher developments of the non-Christian Faiths, which

are to be seen in small minorities of the peoples. That in every Faith there is some whisper of God—even though it be only loud enough to make plain man's need of Him—is a basal fact concerning the human race, that affords continual inspiration to Christian Missions. But the soul of the ordinary man requires much more than a whisper, if it is to be roused out of slumber and awakened to a higher life. The practical test of the sufficiency of any Religion lies just in its fitness to perform this awakening service for the soul of the common man. To this test the non-Christian religions of the world fail to respond. Not one of them all gives sufficient help to enable the Average Man to make life's journey righteously, to fight life's battles bravely, to face life's end with a sure and certain hope, and through all to keep his soul unspotted from the world. They have each their own conception of God—Pagan, Hindu, Neo-Hindu, Buddhist and Mohammedan—and some of the conceptions are very high. Yet none of all these Gods of the Nations approaches, in glory and majesty and loveliness, the Holy Righteous Loving God and Father, whom Christ reveals, whom to know is life eternal. Such knowledge is the highest good attainable by man; and Christ has made it possible for every man. No other religion does this or can do this. For the deepest needs of man they are insufficient. Christ alone is all-sufficing. Who will say that in enabling our brothers of other Faiths to behold this Incomparable Lord, Christian Missions are not rendering to the men and to the Empire, the highest of all services?

CHAPTER VI

CONCERNING CRITICISMS

IN these days serious criticism of Christian Missions grows steadily less. As knowledge deepens of the wide range of their beneficent activities, men's appreciation of missions increases, with the result that to-day the friends of missions are drawn from a much wider circle than in any previous period. Yet criticism is not dead, nor will it ever die; for missions are not perfect. No work done by human hands, organised by human minds, and of necessity affected by human weaknesses, will ever fail to present occasion for questioning comment. Missions are no exception to this general rule. Despite the unquestionable worth of their services along many lines, there are features in the work to which critics may legitimately direct attention. It is with these that this chapter is concerned, dealing with such adverse judgments passed on missions, as have some basis in actual facts.

There is much critical comment of which this cannot be said. Of this kind is all that which is based not on fact, but on imagination, or hearsay, or ignorance, or misconception; and particularly that which is influenced by personal antipathy to the main purpose for which missions exist—the Christianisation of the world. With adverse criticism which springs from such origins as these

we do not here stay to deal, but this is not because of any underestimate of the harm it does. Probably in fostering an apathetic indifference to missions among the members of the Home churches, it is in practice more hurtful than any other variety of depreciatory comment. As a rule it has its origin in some "Man from abroad," whose testimony is supposed on that account to be of special value. Oftener than not it consists in well-worn tales of unworthy converts, or of missionaries who "had a good time," or of the absence of any visible results in the critic's own area, or of his own personal preference for the 'uncontaminated' native. Almost invariably statements of the sort collapse when one inquires into the credentials of the speaker. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that mere length of residence in India, or Africa or other non-Christian land, confers no authority for sweeping judgments on missions, unless the critic, during his residence, has taken pains to learn something about the life and work of the missions in his area. Did he ever get to know a mission from the inside? Did he ever visit a mission school? Was he ever present at divine service with a native congregation? Did his personal attachment to his own religion lead him to take a sympathetic interest in its extension? In pushing his own special business enterprise, did he ever run up against missions or missionaries to his personal hurt or loss? In the cases of those unworthy native Christians whom he met, did he inquire into the reality of the alleged connection with Christian Missions? And

did he refer to the missionaries at all, in the interest of the backsliders? Very few of the arm-chair critics, home from the East, who say, "I don't believe in missions," can give reassuring replies to such a simple questionnaire. From twenty years' experience of life in India, in close and appreciative touch all the time with the European residents, one has no hesitation in saying that two-thirds of our countrymen there have a minimum of qualification for giving well-based judgments, as to the work and value of the Christian Missions. And this, simply because to them missions are something quite outside their daily life and habitual thought.

But there are criticisms of quite another order, which are well entitled to consideration. They come from men and women whose sympathies with Christian ideals are undoubted, who have taken thought concerning the things of which they speak, and who are keenly desirous of the Empire's progress in all good things. Yet, basing their judgment on what they have seen, they are led to doubt the efficacy of Christian Missions, and are inclined to question whether these constitute so great an asset to the Empire or to the world as is generally believed. The grounds on which such judgments are formed are mainly three: (1) The alleged sufficiency of the non-Christian religions for the peoples concerned; (2) the alleged failure of the 'Human Product' of Missions; and (3) the Social and Political Complications said to be caused by missions in the community life of Native Races. The first of these has

already been dealt with ; it displays an attitude of mind, as unfairly depreciatory of the spiritual capacity and needs of the native races, as it is defective in its appreciation of the limitations of their religions, and of the uniqueness of the Christian faith. The other two criticisms are better based ; yet their basis, as will be seen, is in each case altogether too narrow to support the conclusions arrived at.

I

That the ' Human Product ' of missions is a failure, or at the best a rather questionable success, is a statement which, if generally true, would indeed go far to discredit the whole missionary enterprise. Consequently when it is made by those who weigh their words, and have some knowledge behind their speech, it is criticism which has to be dealt with seriously. It would seem that there are two varieties of the ' human product ' which specially provoke this distressing comment. One is met with more frequently in Africa, and in countries at a like early stage of advancement in civilisation ; the other is mostly located in India, and similar centres of Oriental civilisation.

Of criticism of this kind, based on things seen in *West Africa*, none has been more hurtful, nor has received more attention, than that which came thirty years ago from the pen of Miss Mary Kingsley. It was founded on personal acquaint-

ance with the 'human product' of Christian Missions in West Africa, obtained by that gifted lady in successive visits to the area. One remembers well the pained shock which her scathing words sent through all British missionary circles. Her language was so uncompromising, and so essentially unjust, that it is kinder to the memory of one so estimable, not to quote the *ipsissima verba*; but she indicated that in her opinion the worst blot on the human landscape of West Africa was the 'human product' of Christian Missions—the "missionary-made man" as she described him.

It was not the criticism that hurt. Similar things had been said, by unsympathetic traders and settlers and visitors, scores of times, and no one minded very much. But that a daughter of Charles Kingsley—a man revered by the generation of thirty years ago as few men have been—that she should condemn Christian Missions so unsparingly, cut men to the quick. Later there came knowledge of the critic such as took off the edge from her criticism, and softened the pained wonder of innumerable readers of her brilliant writings. Miss Kingsley was a woman of high tone, remarkable capacity, and strong human sympathies—but in her religious convictions she had wandered far from those of the rectory of Eversley: and she regretted greatly that it should be so. When visiting Mary Slessor, the heroine of Calabar, the talk between the two women went round with frequency to religious topics, and especially to the question of the immortality of

the soul. The calm deep certainty of the Scottish missionary touched her visitor with a great longing. "I would give anything to possess your beliefs," she said, "but I can't, I can't! When God made me He must have left out the part that one believes with." Yet the two women recognised each other's nobility. When Miss Kingsley died a few years later, Miss Slessor wrote of her: "The World held not many so brave and noble." And of Miss Slessor and her work Miss Kingsley has recorded that "her knowledge of the native, his language, his ways of thought, his diseases, his difficulties, and all that is his, is extraordinary, and the amount of good she has done, no man can fully estimate." Of the best 'human product' of such work as Miss Slessor's she has also stated that "a really converted African is a very beautiful form of Christian." So there was another side in the thoughts about missions entertained by Charles Kingsley's daughter.

Still her condemnatory judgment of the normal 'human product' of West African Missions stands on record. He is a blot on the horizon, one whose room is to be preferred to his company. And it is right to acknowledge that this hard judgment is paralleled not seldom by other European visitors and residents in Africa, when they 'let themselves go,' on the subject of the African Christian.

They declare that "missionaries spoil the native"; that the African's Christianity is a mere top-dressing, which hardly touches the real man beneath; that it has given him just enough

civilisation and education to make him conceited, and difficult to deal with ; and that having been taught that all men are equal in the sight of God, he takes this as justifying a reluctance on his part to accepting the ordered discipline of civilised society. In *India* also, somewhat similar adverse opinions concerning the 'human product' of Christian Missions are not infrequently expressed. Not a few European residents, whether merchants, planters or Government officials, find the younger generation of Indians, who have been under recent educational and other modern influences, to be often more difficult to deal with, and less amiable in the intercourse of life, than were the men of the generation that is passing away. And in view of the fact that many of the educational influences have been *missionary*, there is a tendency to blame missions, as being the outstanding cause of the less lovable 'human product' of to-day.

* * *

What is to be said in reply to such criticisms ? It is admitted at once that they are not altogether baseless. There is some truth in what they allege. These unlovely varieties of the 'human product' of missions do exist ; and the fact is regretted by no one more than by the missionaries. But in admitting their existence, there is this important qualification to be added. Neither in *India* nor *Africa* nor *Polynesia* are these unattractive products at all typical of the normal 'native Christian.' They are by-products, and temporary

products, and are in no way representative of the permanent 'human product' that normally results from missionary effort.

In AFRICA it happens that, so far as European visitors or residents are concerned, Africans of the kind described are more in the limelight than are the great majority of those who have been touched by missionary influence. They are much in evidence at seaports and in European townships; but in the heart of the country, and away from Western settlements, they are rarely met with. This in itself is suggestive of what are important influences in the creation of such by-products; and it also goes far to account for the rather sweeping judgments on missions, which are apt to come from those whose acquaintance with the African Christian is confined to European townships or seaports. Their area of observation is far too limited to warrant the judgment that is pronounced. Other lands supply close parallels to this. In Britain itself at our seaports and in our great cities there are to be found many casual Christians, of whom visitors from other lands form most unfavourable judgments; and when we read the scathing verdicts on British Christianity, which these visitors sometimes pronounce when they return to their own country, we feel the injustice of their words. They have a certain basis of fact for their conclusions, but it is so utterly insufficient that the general judgment which they proclaim is false and misleading, and its very utterance becomes a grave wrong.

In Africa similar things occur; and by many

an African Christian the wrong done by such mis-judgments passed on his community is keenly felt. "Unfortunately," writes Mr. S. M. Molema (himself a highly-cultured African) in his book on *The Bantu—Past and Present*, "it is not the civilised and educated Bantu, nor the entirely uncivilised one, who has most to do with the South African Colonist, Boer or British. It is the non-civilised or half-civilised man in the transition stage who is the farm-hand, the cattle-boy, the domestic or houseservant, the kitchen-boy, the store messenger, the tradesman's assistant, and a thousand other such things. He it is who has most to do with and for the European, and he it is almost invariably, who is adversely criticised, and erroneously called the 'educated Kafir,' 'Mission native,' 'Christian Kafir,' and so on; and who is pointed at, when he gets into trouble, as a typical product of the mission school and the quintessence of the effects of education on the Kafir; and so straight comes off the hysterical and alarming discovery—Education spoils the Kafir! The truth of the matter is that such a Bantu has in most cases never attended a mission school, or for that matter any form of school at all." He and his kind offer no sufficient basis for any generalisation as to the unsatisfactoriness of the human product of African Missions.

* * *

In INDIA it is not very different as regards the 'human product' of missions, who there evokes from some quarters similar depreciatory judgments.

There, however, criticism falls mostly on a product with a higher status, the English-educated young man. Admittedly his self-esteem is occasionally rather pronounced; and sometimes it shows itself in ways that offend good taste, and provoke impatience with the influences which are supposed to have caused it. In India to-day, however, the origin of this unpleasing feature is more complex than it is in Africa. To Western influences, missionary and other, there is added in India the fervid nationalism of the hour. Under its spell, with many a young Indian frankness easily changes into rudeness, courtesy to the European seems disloyalty to India, and racial antagonism readily poisons human intercourse. That nationalist fervour has had far more to do with the evolution of this unpleasing element in 'Young India' than have Christian Missions, is unquestionable. It comes most into evidence in those sections of Indian society which are farthest removed from missionary influence, and is least seen in the section that is in constant touch with missions—the Indian Christian community. Not that it is there entirely absent; but where it does occur it will usually be found that there also nationalism is the main moving cause. Undue self-consciousness, over-assertiveness, and sometimes the cold-shouldering of old friends are manifestations of the hour not unknown in Christian India. More is the pity; yet this may be truly said, that while this attitude may mark a few it is not the attitude of the rank-and-file of the Indian Christian Church. When one gets away from the great cities, with

their heated political atmosphere, and comes among the normal Christian congregations scattered throughout the country, there is found self-respect, without self-assertiveness. The old courtesies of the East widened by the touch of Christ are still observed, and the 'human product,' who elsewhere gives cause for anxiety and some misgiving, is here hardly known at all. He is an outcome of the troublous times through which India is passing—not an essential accompaniment of Christianity, nor a typical creation of Christian Missions, nor, we may reasonably hope, a permanent feature in the life of Christian India.

* * *

So far we have been trying to reduce to its true proportions the evidence on which adverse criticism of the missionary-made man is generally based. It rests on the existence of a minority far too small and too unrepresentative, ever to justify the unfavourable judgments which are passed on Christian Missions as a whole, and on the men whom they produce. But there is something further that needs to be said concerning this line of comment. When observers of an hour, or of many hours, make far-reaching generalisations of a condemnatory kind, they forget certain important elements in the case, which must be considered if a fair verdict is to be returned. The element of *Time* in the work of a mission is not sufficiently regarded; and the truest *Measure of Success* is left unapplied.

The Time element, in appraising the quality of the human product, is particularly important. Christian Missions in the Empire have been working for little more than a century, so far as the Reformed Churches are concerned, and for only about half that period has the work been done on a large and vigorous scale. Now it has taken us British folk fifteen hundred years to arrive at our present grade of Christian living. Had our ancestors, after the first hundred years of Christian Missions in their midst, been examined as to their state of Christian advancement, what would have been the verdict? From all that past records reveal, the Christian Briton would have fared quite as badly at the hands of his examiners, as does the Christian African, or Indian, or Polynesian in the pronouncements of some of the critics of to-day. To these critics one hundred years are as a thousand; and they find fault if a century of missions does not produce the high type of character in one land, which ten centuries of Christian work and teaching have hardly succeeded in producing in another. The truth is that there are very many people who expect Christian Missions to work mighty miracles in pagan and non-Christian countries, such as all the Churches of Britain have never yet accomplished in this Christian land of ours. When surveying Britain they modify their standard, and accept the moderate Christian, with whom we are familiar, as all that is to be expected. But in contemplating Africa or India they raise their standard, and look for immaculate saints. And they would find

real saints, if they looked carefully; though not perhaps in very great abundance. But when they discover that with the African and the Indian Christian, just as with the European, there occur the broken vow and the frequent fall, they are offended. A fairer *Time View* would give them a truer appreciation of missions' real success; and a comparison of the African with the European, after each has had one hundred years of the influence of Christian Missions, would check many a hasty criticism. "The Kafirs," Lord Bryce has well reminded us, "are not such bad Christians as the Frankish warriors were, for two or three generations after the conversion of Clovis."

The lack of the *Time View* is aggravated in its effects by the non-application of the truest *Measure of Success*, when judging of the effectiveness of missions among the backward races. It is not the number of converts in any field, nor the exact stage reached in Christian living, that are the most decisive tests to apply during the earlier period of missionary activity. What matters most is the extent to which the Christian seed has been planted, and has become firmly rooted in the soul of the people. If this has truly happened, then paucity in the number, and imperfection in the life, of the Christian community are things of comparatively little moment; for once the Christian message has gripped the soul, its fruits in time are quite sure. But as to the reality of this grip in the early years of a mission's operations, only those who possess an

intimate knowledge of the people are qualified to speak. Casual visitors to the field or even non-interested residents cannot possibly have this requisite knowledge; so they would do wisely, before they pronounce judgment as to success or failure, to consult the missionaries or others who have that intimacy of touch with the native which is essential. Mary Kingsley and Mary Slessor looked upon the same African people—Christian, half-Christian, and Pagan—and each has recorded her judgment. Yet, how different the judgments are! The lady who had but a traveller's acquaintance decried the results of Christian Missions; her missionary sister, who had a lifetime's intimacy with the African, and a full experience of the gains that had come to him through missions, grudged every hour that was not spent in bringing him more completely under the transforming spell of the Christian message. The one looked at some imperfect first-fruits and spoke adversely; the other had knowledge of the deep-planted seed and worked on, sure of the coming harvest and the bountiful ingathering.

This is not to say that fruit is necessarily wanting in the earlier years, but only that, where it does not prominently appear, there may yet be no cause for pronouncing missions a failure. As a rule, indeed, there is visible fruit in varying abundance, all through the years, and concerning its reality those who doubt may learn much, by consulting those who know. One who knew missions well in India, the late Sir Andrew Fraser, has given his testimony on the matter, which

may stand as a certificate to the 'human product' in every field: "I have, during the course of my thirty-seven years' service of the Crown in India, seen Indian Christians moulded by the power of the Gospel of Christ. I have seen them transformed by the renewing of their minds. I have seen them growing stronger and more Christ-like year by year. I have among them friends of whom I can speak in precisely the same language as I should use when speaking of loved and honoured Christian friends in the West." One does not desire any better testimony than this to the worth of many a human product of Christian Missions.

From Africa many a similar testimony by Europeans could be given, but perhaps better than any such is the record of an ocular demonstration, which was arranged by Africans themselves at Umvoti in Natal, for the instruction of Dr. Cornelius H. Patton, the American Mission Secretary, when on his African tour. A large stone church was filled to overflowing with the congregation—men on the left, women on the right, all clothed in their best raiment, and giving the impression of a civilised, educated and prosperous people. "But immediately in front of the pulpit," says Dr. Patton, "I beheld a row of the nakedest, the dirtiest, the most unutterable pagans I had ever seen! The men were nude, save for a bunch of monkey-tails hung at the loins, and a head-dress of feathers. Each man carried a spear. The women! about their shoulders they wore a cloth which was saturated with red clay

and grease. Their hair was done up also in clay and grease, and hung in snake-like strings to the level of the tip of the nose. They were all of one colour—skin, clothes and hair. They were of the earth, earthy. They looked as if they had just been created by being pushed up through the mud. I had seen many savages, but none like these.”

Then there stepped forward the native Chief, clothed in the garb of civilisation, a prosperous man and owner of a sugar-cane plantation. “Stand up!” he commanded the heathen men, and they stood. “Stand up!” he said to the row of aboriginal women, and they stood. Thereupon addressing the American visitor he said: “*Mfundisi* (teacher), take a good look at these people. These are heathen as you see, just like the wild beasts; and *Mfundisi*, we want you to know that all of us people (and he waved his arm over the congregation) were once like that, just like the wild beasts, until the missionaries came among us to live. . . . And *Mfundisi*, when you go back to your people over the seas, we want you to tell them what a change has come over us, and how grateful we are!”

Dr. Patton's reply was truly American and convincingly true: “Chief, if I could take you and this row of heathen men and women with me to America, and could have you visit our churches in New York, Boston, Chicago and other places, and if I could have you make this same speech, I would convert every last remaining unbeliever in foreign missions.”

II

More challenging is the criticism of Missions which is based upon their alleged effect in *hurtfully disrupting the community life of primitive peoples*. Many who offer this comment are in no way antagonistic to Christianity, yet after weighing the profit and loss to the Empire which result from missions, they consider that the hurtful disruptive effect which they exercise on native society does not receive adequate compensation in such gains as they may bring.

A preliminary remark on this judgment is that even were it universally true—which is far from being the case—it would not release the Church from her missionary duty, nor deter her from her missionary activity. The welfare of the Kingdom of Christ must ever come before the interests of the Empire of Britain. But if the statement should be true even to a limited degree, it demands attentive consideration; and one readily acknowledges that within limits there is some ground for the criticism. Christian Missions do exercise a temporary disturbing influence on the community life of non-Christian peoples, and always will do so. The ultimate benefits conferred, when they are fairly considered, far outweigh the discomforts and the positive ills due to the disturbance; but *for the time* there is unquestionably an upheaval, which is sometimes distressing. Two spheres in which disturbances occur are specially singled out for adverse comment—the Social and the Political.

he writes, "with its beliefs, its superstitions, customs and traditions, was a safeguard to the morals of the people. Partial civilisation means deterioration, the dawn of individualism, and a shattering of ancient beliefs and superstitions. They are shattered, but not replaced by any new beliefs. Customs and traditions are despised and rejected, but no new customs and traditions are acquired, or can be acquired. The new individual is a spiritual and moral void. Outwardly indeed he may don a civilised appearance—European clothing, European language, European manners, and live in European houses. Nay, some even sink their native names and adopt Christian names, and some without knowing European languages forget, or pretend to forget, their mother-tongue—that last index of identity. They lose all trace of national pride, and are cut clean adrift from tribal moorings. . . . Copying form for fact, and substituting shadow for substance, understanding nothing but mimicking all the time, such people are an utter void—and they suffer for it." (*The Bantu*, p. 308.)

All this is sadly true; but in considering the serious conditions revealed there is one important fact to be kept in mind, which Molema himself emphasises. The leading cause of this break-up of tribal discipline is not the influence of Christian Missions; it is the unsettling impact of European civilisation, which is now fast penetrating the whole of Africa. Missions may be the main *School-agency* in Africa, but they are far from being the only *Educators*. Every white man in

The *Social Disruption* in the community life of primitive peoples is best exemplified in Africa. There, at the present time, one of the most anxious developments in tribal life is the relaxing of old disciplines, and the lessening authority of influences which did, in a measure, make for wholesome tribal moralities. That Christian Missions have had something to do with this disturbing process is undoubted. They have been the main source of such education as the African has had, and a very elementary education is enough to lift an African youth above the knowledge and the outlook of the older men of his tribe. This of necessity induces a conscious superiority that lessens docility. Also there is no question that to be set free from the fear of a surrounding multitude of spirits, hostile rather than friendly, as by missions the African is set free, does tend to an easy discarding, by a youth so inclined, of the moral restraints which the superstitious fear imposed. This double agency—a little education and the overthrow of old superstitions—is necessarily disruptive of the old life; and when it is combined with other novel agencies which are now in force, in quite a number of instances there has been something of an earthquake effect. In many an African area to-day the tribal community life is cracking, and the individualism which is ousting the old communal system is taking on an unpleasant, and not infrequently a disastrous, form. The testimony of S. M. Molema on this point, as coming from a Christian African, is striking: "The tribal collectivism of the Bantu,"

Africa is an educator of one kind or another ; and the education thus given is of an amazingly varied order. Black and white are increasingly touching each other. Whether Christian Missions remain in Africa or not, this contact will go on. Its effects will multiply, and the unsettlement of the African people will proceed unchecked—unless and until some resettlement on a lasting basis is arrived at. It is over the nature of this resettlement, and its speedy application, that serious minds in Africa have their greatest anxieties to-day. As to what its nature must be there is indeed unanimity. All who know Africa best agree that the only hope for the people lies in finding [a new spiritual foundation for their individual and tribal life. The old moralities were poor enough in all conscience, often terrible beyond words, but there was something good in them, some spiritual loyalty or influence which helped to keep men from going to the very worst. To-day that spiritual base for such morality as existed is gone ; and a dangerous transition stage, in which negations rule, has come. Not, in the main, let it be said again, through Christian Missions, but through the in-rushing flood of Western civilisation with all its accompaniments, good and bad. “What is effecting the most profound change in the native,” writes Maurice Evans in his able book, *Black and White in South Africa*, “is his contact with the white man at all points, and this change is proceeding with ever accelerated speed. The fundamental differences between these changes, and

those wrought by the missionaries, are that, in the former there is little building up of any salutary influence to take the place of the old wholesome restraints, whilst in the latter religion and morality are inculcated, and replace the checks weakened or destroyed."

No more convincing evidence of the soundness of the above statement could be adduced, than the fact that the judgment which it passes on Christian Missions has been completely endorsed by the South African Government. Of all the African governments this is the government with the longest experience of the African. In the past its record in respect to him has often been sadly and darkly stained, but to-day it is awake as never before to its own duties, and to the African's rights. It notes with anxiety the disruptive process in native life, it seeks the remedy and it finds it—in *the work of Christian Missions!* Education the African of to-day will have. Religion he must have. Christian Missions supply both, and in them lies Africa's best hope. In 1908-5 there sat the "Royal Commission on South African Native Affairs" with Sir Godfrey Lagden as chairman. Upon the Commission there was no missionary representative. Yet at the close of its long investigations the Commission felt it to be a simple duty to express its unanimous conviction, that "Hope for the elevation of the native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian Faith and Morals"; and in accordance with this conviction, after cordially recognising the utility of the work of the Churches, it passed the

following definite resolution: "(a) The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilisation of the natives is to be found in Christianity. (b) The Commission is of opinion that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all native schools."

This verdict by impartial judges, on the necessity of Christian Missions for the right development of the African people, is decisive. Since it was first pronounced it has been endorsed throughout practically the whole of British Africa. So far from missions being a dangerously hurtful and disruptive agency, they are acknowledged to be the best permanent healers of disruption that Africa knows.

* * *

It is an old complaint that *Political Dispeace* is a frequent consequence of missionary activity, and some thirty to fifty years ago solid grounds for this criticism were not wanting. These were the days when his experience as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs drew from Lord Salisbury his famous statement, as to the unpopularity of missionaries at the Foreign Office. Their activities in various parts of the world had led on several occasions to international complications, which gave the Foreign Office much worry and work, and at times keen anxiety over the possibility of war. There had been the Boxer Riots in China, where an anti-Christian outburst brought about bitter persecutions, and produced political consequences of the gravest kind, ending indeed in

war. Now it is clearly proved that the rising was anti-European far more than anti-Christian ; but at the time Christian Missions were freely accused of having, by their imprudent and impolitic ways, brought on the disturbances. Within the British Empire there had been the trouble in Nyasaland with the Portuguese, when war was averted only at the last moment. In Uganda, through missionary pressure, a large addition to Britain's African responsibilities had been made, practically against the wishes of the Home authorities.

The troubles which thus vexed the soul of the British Government were largely due to complications which arose from actions or demands made by British Missions which were working in lands not under the British flag, or which if within the Empire yet could not be satisfied, without negotiations between Britain and some foreign nation. Often the complications thus caused have been acute, and at times very serious. With China, Portugal, France and Belgium, at different times delicate political negotiations resulting from missionary activity have had to be carried on ; and this may happen again, though not so frequently as of old. The legitimate lines, as well as the limits, of missionary operations have now become largely matters of international agreement ; and this has both greatly lessened the risk of dispeace, and facilitated a friendly settlement when friction does arise. The Foreign Office is much less likely in future to have its soul vexed by missionary doings than used to be the case. It is now the Colonial Office which hears most of political

troubles in connection with Christian Missions, for it is occurrences *within* the Empire that in these days most frequently give rise to the old complaint.

* * *

As with the Social disturbances in areas where missions work, so is it also with Political troubles—*Africa* has supplied the most important instances. Within recent years in more than one British Colony or Protectorate in Africa, there have been spasms of unrest, accompanied occasionally by ugly local outbursts, which have had to be suppressed by force. The origins of these outbreaks are seldom quite simple, many influences having usually combined to produce them ; but when they occur, it frequently happens that hasty critics promptly lay the blame on Christian Missions. And here again they are not without some seeming justification for their criticism. The *Ethiopian Movement* in South Africa, which is largely political in its ultimate aim of 'Africa for the Africans,' is avowedly concerned primarily with the creation of an African Church, which shall be entirely free from the white man's presence or control. Yet, said Dr. Stewart, "though nominally a Church Movement, it contains a strong, perhaps dangerous, political element." This the South African Government authorities have fully recognised, and when they have been compelled to forcibly check the risings due to political Ethiopianism, it has been impossible to dissociate ecclesiastical Ethiopianism from all complicity. Similarly in Nyasaland, when in the beginning of 1914, a small

local rising took place under John Chirembwe, an African Christian minister of Ethiopian connection, it was not possible to draw a clear line between the political and the ecclesiastical contributory causes. The rising was purely local, but within a circumscribed area it was serious. A European planter's house was burned, and three Europeans were killed. Though the great majority of the rioters were non-Christians, not a few African Christians were associated with the outbreak, and some were leaders in it. So, too, it was more recently at Nairobi in Kenya Colony. When some of the younger Kikuyu grew restive, and despising the counsels of the older men acted foolishly, compelling the use of force by the authorities, they found a leader in Harry Thuku, a Kikuyu Christian. It is inevitable that, in view of such complicity of a few African Christians in these movements of unrest, the charge should be made that Christian Missions have something to do with this political unrest.

To the charge there is a twofold answer, and it follows very much the lines of reply made to the similar charge in connection with social disturbances within mission areas:

(1) Indirectly, Christian Missions have some responsibility for political troubles of the kind referred to. The Christians who take part in them are products, either of the first or second or third generation, of missionary effort; and to this extent missions may be affirmed to be responsible. But this does not go very far. On similar grounds it may be argued that the Churches in Britain are

responsible for the political sanity and the social orderliness of all who are within their membership, or even of all who are called 'Christians.' Yet here at home, we never think of blaming the Churches for every Englishman or Scotsman who develops political madness, or who becomes a rebel against society. We judge the Churches' work by their average output. So must it in fairness also be, when missions in Africa are being judged. In connection with such disturbances as we have been considering there is this to be said—and it has been said by the Government authorities as well as by the missionaries—the African Christians who are associated with such unhappy episodes are comparatively few, and they are very rarely truly representative of the Christians who are in direct touch with the missions. In Nyasaland, the Government inquiry which was held after the Chirembwe trouble resulted in some rather panicky legislation, but it was emphatic in clearing the *recognised* Missions in the Protectorate from all complicity in the rising, or from the exercise of influence leading to it. As a rule, the Christians who are found sharing in such occurrences come before the public eye to a degree quite out of proportion to their numbers or their personal value. Their better education, their wider outlook, and also at times their enthusiastic but cloudy idealism, bring them to the front more quickly than most of their comrades in the agitation; but they are no more typical of the general Christian community, than they are true exponents of the influence of Christian Missions.

At the same time, while exonerating Christian Missions from the charge of being an influence on native life that makes for political disorders, it is undoubtedly the case that their influence makes for political development and progress. Whatever raises a man intellectually, spiritually and socially, gives him an increased capacity for many things, and creates a desire that the new capacity of which he is conscious should be utilised. In this way the education given to the African by Christian Missions is not without its influence in arousing in him a new sense of public life and duty, and a new conception of African nationality as a whole. But along with this there is given a careful training of the sense that has been evolved; and none who wish that Africa should tread the upward path which ultimately will give to her peoples a place among the nations of the world, will question the high value of the service which missions thus render. They aim at producing not wild revolutionaries, but men who have been trained to accept the ordered discipline of civilised life, who have learned to understand their country's deepest needs and her present possibilities, and who will seek her welfare along the wiser paths of personal service, and of well-considered developments, both social and political.

(2) Much more important, however, than any exact delimitation of the influence of missions in regard to political disturbances, is the recognition of the fact that all these movements are inseparable from the time in which the world is now living. Africa is no longer a land aloof from all

other lands, nor do her peoples continue any more to be isolated from the rest of mankind. The unrest of the age, social, economic and political, has caught her in its embrace, and there ensue in consequence these ebullitions, which, though for the most part either foolish or premature, and sometimes both together, are yet indicative of the deepening tumult going on in Africa's soul. More than any other single cause, it is the great World War which has brought these things to pass. In that war Africa's sons from Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa all took part, and of their war-record they may well be proud. As the war went on, however, and these African soldiers from many parts touched other, they learned as never before their unity as a People. As they looked on the great world, and saw the many nations locked in deadly strife, contending for what they deemed their rights, they began to think of their own nation, and to consider the rights which ought to be theirs, but were not. So there has come to pass this unrest, which is penetrating ever farther into the once 'Dark Continent,' and has resulted in this miracle, that at long last, Africa is on the move.

Whither is she going? As with the social developments, so too with the political: Christian Missions offer the best security for Africa's progress in the right direction. With the just aims of the African, missionaries are in fullest sympathy, of his immaturity they have a very intimate understanding, and by their long years of loving sacrifice and service they have won his confidence. None

so well fitted as they to give him the wise counsel, the prudent caution and the steady encouragement that will lead him slowly but surely to the worthier future that awaits.

* * *

Of the criticisms of Missions which we have been considering, it may be fairly said that, at their best they deal with defects such as are inseparable in every land from any forward movement in this imperfect world of ours. Always in such movements there are some who, instead of going forward, slide backward. Always is there some disturbance of placid social life, when a fresh development is initiated. Always is there political unrest, when national ambitions grow active. Always is there a period of oscillation between the periods of unsettlement and resettlement. These things cannot be evaded; and to-day they are being witnessed among many peoples and nations, African, Asiatic and European, who have long lain dormant or suppressed, but are now 'on the move' and 'on the make.' Among the influences that help men and nations at such a time across the perilous river of change to the firm bank beyond, Christian Missions stand exceptionally high. Nowhere is this seriously challenged. From every Colony and Protectorate come spontaneous testimonies to its truth, given by men of mark and judgment and authority, men whose words carry weight throughout the Empire. With quoting one testimony of the kind, uttered under

striking circumstances, this chapter may fittingly close.

The scene was Government House, Bombay, and the time was March 1876, at the close of the visit to India paid by the late King Edward, when he was Prince of Wales. Lord Reay, one of the ablest men whom India has known, was the Governor of Bombay Presidency, and he had arranged with the Prince that representatives of Christian Missionaries should be presented to His Royal Highness before he sailed from India. At the appointed hour the missionaries attended (one of them being the Rev. Dr. Mackichan, from whom this narrative comes), and were presented to the Prince by Lord Reay, in some such words as these: "Your Royal Highness, your tour through India is completed. In its course you have seen many sides of the great work that, under British Rule, is being accomplished in the land. You have met Civilians and Soldiers, Judges and Governors, and many who fill high places in the different branches of the Service. But, your Royal Highness, those whom I am now to introduce to you represent a body of men and women whose service to India is the highest of all, and who are doing for India and her people more than all those others whom you have yet met. I have the honour to present to Your Royal Highness the *Christian Missionaries of India.*"

CHAPTER VII

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS—THE EMPIRE'S CONSCIENCE

WORLD-EMPIRE brings high prestige and much power to the imperial nation concerned, but it is beset with many dangers. Of these one of the most perilous is the temptation which it offers to exploit the weaker races for the material gain of the dominant power. Where Empire-rule has been over peoples possessing as great virility as the rulers themselves, as was the case with the European peoples who came under the rule of Ancient Rome, prudential reasons have kept this tendency in check. But where the rule has been over races distinctly lower in virile strength, in organising capacity, and in material equipment for resistance, as has been the case in the world-Empires of more modern times, almost invariably the temptation has been yielded to. A dark stain has thereby been cast on every European Power which has extended its rule among the uncivilised races of the tropical belt. The darkness is not uniform. It varies in its shade, but in no case is it altogether absent. The Empire records of the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Belgians and Dutch all confess to many a black deed of outrage and a long-continued policy of selfish exploitation in their tropical dominions.

Nor can Britain claim any exemption. In this matter she has sinned in the past even as have these others. The story of the systematic extermination of the natives of Tasmania by the early settlers reads like a nightmare still. Darwin compared it to one of the great hunts organised by Indian rajahs against big game: only, in Tasmania the game shot down consisted of men and women and little children. The tragedy of the long succession of Cape Wars in South Africa, often quite unjustified and always ending in a heavy African death-roll and a fresh supplanting of the Native by the European, is unforgettable. The terrible wrongs inflicted on the natives of many a South Sea island by lawless British hands, can hardly be overstated. Nor will it ever be possible to give any completely adequate description of the exploiting by individual traders and settlers, that went on in the early days in almost every tropical possession of the Empire.

It would be entirely erroneous, however, to conclude that the people of Britain approved of these things, or that their conscience was practically dead to the common dictates of humanity. It is truer to say that in Britain, in those days, there was no adequate knowledge of what was happening in the far-off new lands of the Empire; and when some information did filter home of the unworthy doings, it was so coloured and imperfect that it roused no protest. Also it is fair to remember that the men who did these things, in doing them were disloyal to their country's best traditions, and unrepresentative of

her spiritual life. Still they were sons of Britain. At Home many of them had been quite average men in their principles and conduct; but when beyond the reach of the influences and the standards of Home, and brought into contact with peoples of lower developments and of comparative helplessness, they fell before the temptation which the possession of irresistible power, in the hands of the strong over the weak, always presents. And the shame of their fall has cast a dark shadow on Britain's Imperial story, which can never be effaced.

It is significant that the change from those old wild conscienceless days synchronised, to a large extent, with the entrance of Christian Missions into areas where the abuses had prevailed. Missionaries, when they arrived, saw things with other eyes than those of the exploiting European, and were compelled to pass a very different judgment on many happenings and practices which had come to be regarded as quite normal. Knowledge of the actualities and the frequent immoralities of life at the outposts of Empire began to travel back to the centre of the Empire, with a fulness and a frequency which had its effect. The 'Case for the Native,' as against that for the exploiting European, was increasingly pressed by his missionary friends, and amendment slowly began. Not that missionaries were the only agents in ushering in the better days. Reports from settlers and officials of Christian character and outlook also helped, and in Britain itself the growing humanitarianism of the Churches was a

powerful aid. Nevertheless the service of missions in this purification of Empire morality was then, and has continued to be, of so outstanding a character as to justify Missions being regarded as *The Empire's Conscience*.

In the dark places of the Earth the need for such a conscience is always great; and that missions are conspicuously qualified to supply the need is admitted freely by many who are neither missionaries nor apologists for missions. Statesmen of the Empire have been among the foremost to declare it. Seldom perhaps has this been done more convincingly than in a Report which was presented to Parliament in June 1837 by a select Committee of the House, which had been appointed to consider the "Treatment of Aboriginal Races by British Colonists." "It is not too much to say," states this official document, "that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exception in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, *unless when attended by missionary exertions*, a source of many calamities to uncivilised nations. Too often their territory has been usurped, their property seized, their numbers diminished, their character debased, the spread of civilisation impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarised with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or the violent destruction of human life, namely brandy and gunpowder. It is only too easy to make out the proof of all these assertions." This is an extraordinarily heavy indictment for an official parlia-

mentary paper to contain. Evidently in 1887 the need for an Empire's Conscience was clamant; and the explicit excepting of missions from the strong general indictment, certifies their fitness for assuming this important rôle. In this chapter it is sought to indicate the main lines along which they have discharged the function.

In ordinary life a man's conscience serves three leading functions. One is its normal everyday function, when the conscience is quite unthought of, yet all the time is silently active, educating and regulating the life, and moving one instinctively to do the right and avoid the wrong. Probably for the majority of men this is easily the most valuable service which conscience renders, even though the service is largely unconscious and instinctive. But there are times when a man's conscience comes more to the front, and functions with the imperative such as is unknown in life's more placid hours. These are either occasions when some strong temptation to evil has to be resisted, or a cruel wrong must be overthrown; or those other times, when some right but difficult course of action has to be followed, or a good cause is seen to need strenuous furthering. The same three lines of functioning appear, when we examine how missions have played their part as a Conscience to the Empire. They are seen either quietly leavening the general life around them; or actively seeking to redress wrongs inflicted on the native races; or strenuously supporting movements for the natives' advance. Not seldom they are found exercising all three functions simultaneously.

I

The unobtrusive LEAVENING INFLUENCE begins whenever and wherever Missions and Empire touch each other. Reference has already been made to the fact that when the rule of the Empire has extended to lands where missions have formerly been the sole European influence, something of the attitude and spirit of the missionary has usually accompanied the transfer of authority. A worthier conception of duty towards the native races has come to be entertained by the Empire representatives, leading to the adoption of a worthier policy than that in vogue in territories where missions have never been. But the leavening work of missions goes much deeper than this initial stage. It carries on, and brings under its influence many of the Europeans whom the advent of Empire rule draws to a district. On them the missionary's own attitude towards the natives exercises a silent but pervasive influence. Men take note of it, and wonder at it. They recognise that behind it lie other conceptions of the native than theirs, that to the missionary the African or Polynesian, however low his place in civilisation may be, is nevertheless a *man*—with passions and powers, possibilities, capacities and rights not dissimilar to their own, and that in consequence he is entitled to be treated as a *man* by his fellow-men. To the average settler, or trader or government official this has often proved a hard doctrine. Not so hard indeed in

these days as it used to be, for the leaven is telling, but in days not very remote it was very hard. The European in tropic lands has as a rule been lamentably 'colour-blinded,' in the sense that colour has obscured his vision of the Right. He has allowed the fact that a man's skin is black or brown or yellow, to blind him to the essentially human qualities of the man underneath the skin. And when along with the colour there has gone also a degraded order of life, and unlovely primitive customs, the inferiority of the 'Native' has been accepted as an axiom.

With European settlers who give Christianity some real place in their thoughts and life—and there are many such in tropical Britain beyond the Seas—there is no lack of kindness and consideration towards the native races, but as a rule it is the kindness one shows to a child, who is never expected to grow up. With those Europeans, on the other hand, whose Christianity is little more than a name, there has generally been very scanty kindness or considerateness, but too often a painful display of the evil side of human nature—never worse than when a strong man holds the weak in his power. Such men have never been wanting in the dark places of the Empire, nor are they wanting now. Of them Sir H. H. Johnston has written: "They are aggressively ungodly, they put no check on their lusts. Released from the restraints of civilisation, and the terrors of 'what people may say,' they are capable of almost any degree of wickedness."

To Europeans of both these classes, the good as

well as the evil, the assertion of the missionary that the native is a true *man*—though as yet only a man in the making—and that to accelerate the making is the simple duty of his white brother-man, is strong meat and not very palatable. But as they see the creed lived out from day to day, and its truth made increasingly plain by results in the native's life, both classes of Europeans are affected by it—though in different ways. The settler of better instincts and higher principles comes to think worthier thoughts concerning the native, and increasingly applies them; while the number of those who walk on baser levels grows steadily less. They depart to seek fields more congenial. In this matter the missionary who is himself worthy, and wards off all colour-blinding from his own soul, is nothing less than an *external conscience* to his fellow-countrymen. Among these are always some who only require to have some such regulating standard near at hand, in order to keep their own consciences tender and true, and their lives clean and worthy. In the neighbourhood of a Christian Mission they find this need supplied, greatly to the gain of themselves, of the Empire, and of the cause of righteousness.

II

It is as CRUSADERS AGAINST WRONGS that Missionaries have done some of their most notable services in their capacity of the Empire's Conscience. The self-constituted champions of the

backward peoples whom they seek to serve, they have charged themselves in every field with the duty of watching that the interests of the native, in the days of his immaturity, are neither overlooked by the Empire authorities, nor overborne by white settlers or traders, without a protest being raised. The duty is one which involves much stern and unpopular work. Grave wrongs of the past committed in the early days of Empire in course of time have resulted in injustices to whole peoples. These have had to be undone in later days, or as far as possible mitigated. Like courses when entered on or only threatened, in the present day, have had to be openly exposed and challenged; and the ever-existing danger of valuable rights being filched from the native races in the days of their helpless childhood, has had to be sedulously guarded against. Manifestly these are tasks far beyond the ability of missions to accomplish single-handed. As a rule they have to be carried through in face of much opposition; and since they concern imperial policy, they can only be thoroughly dealt with by the Imperial Power at the Empire's centre. The part of missions in such matters, is to speak their protest in the field, to keep the Home Churches well informed, to awaken the conscience of the Christian people of Britain when it is asleep, and to give it no rest until the needed redress has been secured. It is a part which missions have never been slow to play. If the effective crusades have taken place in Britain, the ringing call to action has almost invariably

come from the Christian missionaries in the field.

The vanishing of Slavery from every land where Christian nations rule has been owing in large degree to the impassioned exposures and urgent calls from these soldiers of the Cross. It was from Livingstone and others like-minded and like-souled that the real death-blow to slavery came, and though the hateful practice takes an unconscionable time in dying, lingering as it still does in many a dark corner of Africa, the end comes ever nearer. That Abyssinia, the last stronghold of slavery in Africa, should have been in 1923 admitted to the League of Nations is a welcome sign of the times. It means that in no African territory is slavery any more a legalised practice. Probably this rout of slavery will remain the most striking example of what the Christian Conscience can do in winning an Empire to a policy of costly sacrifice and arduous service in the cause of humanity. Beginning in the Empire of Britain, it has now compassed the civilised world. But missions did not cease to function as a Conscience when Slavery was overthrown. They could not cease. Other wrongs remained, and with changing circumstances new wrongs continued, and still continue, to develop—all calling for watchfulness, and not seldom for active opposition. Within the Empire these wrongs of to-day centre mostly round the three main questions of *Liquor*, *Land* and *Labour*. In connection with each of these, either through thoughtlessness, or indifference, or greed, sore

injustice has been done to many a backward race by European hands.

* * *

The wrongs connected with the *Liquor Traffic* come first in baseness. For the hurt done to many a native race by European actions connected with Land or with Labour, it is not impossible to put up some sort of a defence—though usually one totally inadequate. But for the traders or exporters who supply the Child-Races with alcoholic Liquor, to their sure destruction, there is no defence. The action is the outcome of a naked greed of gain. To the uncivilised peoples of Africa, Polynesia and elsewhere, alcohol is poison. No surer means of degrading, and then exterminating, these races can be devised than to supply them with the poison. They receive it eagerly, they succumb to it readily; and with shame it must be added, with eager readiness has it been supplied to them by European, ay, and by British hands.

In every tropical area missionaries have opposed the entrance of alcohol, have fought against it, have prayed against it. The native Christians have joined both in the prayer and in the fight with even added intensity, for they feel as well as know the scourge it brings upon their people. In the majority of the native Churches in Africa total abstinence is elevated to a commanding place among the moralities of life, and is made a condition of admission to the Communion Table. Influential Christian natives have opposed it with

their whole soul. Rulers like King Khama have determinedly resisted its entrance to their territories. Indeed few episodes are more eloquent of what an African can be and do in the cause of righteousness, than the actions of this great African king in defending his subjects from the hated thing. His letter, written in 1888 to the British Commissioner Sir Sidney Sheppard, may stand as the voice of Africa's best: "It were better for me that I should lose my country than that it should be flooded with drink. Lobengula never gives me a sleepless night, but to fight against drink is to fight against demons, not against men. I dread the white man's drink more than all the *assegais* of the Matabele, which kill men's bodies, and it is quickly over: but drink puts devils into men, and destroys both bodies and souls for ever. Its wounds never heal. I pray your Honour never to ask me to open even a little door to drink."

As in Africa, so has it also been in New Guinea, so in the Islands of the Southern Seas, where corruptions caused by lawless traders have been so hard to fight; Christian missionaries and their people have offered ceaseless opposition to the alcoholic invasion. "But for these little handfuls of true and faithful Christians," wrote Silvester Horne, "the whole race might have gone back into savagery." India tells a like tale of the stand taken by missions and by the native Churches against intoxicants. Burma adds its voice and its example, where among the many thousands of its Karen communicants, the American Baptist

Mission records that there is scarce one who is not a total abstainer.

The strength and unanimity of these protests, made by leading representatives of Christianity among the Child-Races, have had their effects. Government officials and other Europeans have not hesitated in many places to join in the protest. Christian opinion in Britain has found strong expression, leading to organised representations being made in suitable quarters; and to-day throughout the greater part of the Equatorial dominions of Britain, where dwell the backward races, the sale of intoxicating liquor to the natives is an illegal act. This, however, must not be taken at its face value. In India and Ceylon and other Far Eastern territories preventive measures have not gone so far. There the attempt is still made by the authorities to avert the evil or to minimise it, by stringent Excise regulations, and by high Import duties: as is also the case in portions of British West Africa. Considerations of State revenue in these places delay the stronger and more effective policy. But elsewhere, over great areas, liquor is barred. In Polynesia, in New Guinea, in South Africa, in Nyasaland, in Kenya Colony, in North Nigeria and in some other parts of West Africa, the sale of liquor to the native is a forbidden thing, and to traffic in it with the native is for the white trader a course attended by heavy punishment. It is true there are many evasions, and that much work requires to be done before the desired goal is reached. But the doom of the Liquor Traffic in the Equatorial regions of

the Empire has been decreed. With the express prohibition of intoxicating liquor in all Mandated Areas, agreed to by the signatory Powers of the League of Nations, this sentence of death has been confirmed, and the coming of the end thereby hastened. Even so, the end has not yet come, and, as will presently be seen, the days of fighting for the right are not concluded. Yet with the Conscience of the Empire now awake to the facts, there cannot be a doubt that this great wrong to the Child-Races of the Empire will not long be perpetuated.

* * *

The fight against *Liquor* has undoubtedly been hard, but it has not been the most difficult of all. More abiding causes of trouble, and on which for a variety of reasons it has been less easy to move the Home Country to take the necessary action, are those connected with the burning questions of *Land* and *Labour*. Throughout the tropics, in every country where the people are still in a backward stage of civilisation, Land and Labour are the two chief possessions of the native. The only thing of lasting commercial value which he owns is his Land; his only personal marketable asset is his Labour. To both, the coming of the white man spells danger, for in both there is 'money.' The aggressive acquisitive white covets them for his own, the Land for what it is capable of producing, the Labour for the necessary working of the land. In these circumstances trouble and friction are inevitable. If the rights and interests

of the native are not to be overborne, strong championing service has to be rendered.

The history of the *Land Question* in Africa makes humiliating reading for any European of true Christian instincts. For the most part, it is one long record of spoliation by the white incomer, in every area where there has been no power strong enough to withstand him. In a very few cases the Black Man's own hand has been sufficiently powerful to do this, Basutoland being one happy instance; but such cases are the rare exception. Until comparatively recent days, alienation of the land from the African by the European, either through guile or compulsion, has been the rule, the African system of communal possession making the process often pitifully easy. The land belongs, not to the individual, but to the community or tribe of which he is a member, and at the head of the tribe is the chief. Far too often the chief of a tribe has spoken and acted and negotiated as if for the community, without any tribal sanction, and for a mess of pottage has sold to some pushful European great stretches of precious land which it was not his to sell. No doubt the purchaser has frequently been ignorant of the illegality of the sale, and has regarded the chief as the duly accredited agent of his people; but still more frequently, one fears, there has been no ignorance as to the legal position, and just as little regard to the moral considerations involved. The thing has been done many hundreds of times in small or large transactions, and lands thus transferred or valuable concessions in this way

secured, whether by individuals or by great trading companies, have been held fast. In some cases the scandal of alienation has grown so enormous that the British Government has had to interpose, and compel the grasping hand to unclose. So it was in Swaziland, where an inquiry, initiated by Lord Selborne, showed that scarce a foot of soil remained in African possession; with the result that by a decree of Government the greater part of the territory was restored to the original inhabitants, who were brought under the Protectorate of Britain. Elsewhere, however, no such large-handed redressing of old wrongs has been found possible.

In justification of this widespread appropriation of land by Europeans, it is urged that the native makes but a poor use of the possibilities of the soil, and is a wasteful and inefficient agriculturist. The world, it is said, is waiting for Africa's produce, and in many a district, more particularly in the African uplands, the land needs for its right development capital and agricultural knowledge and skill, such as the native is quite unable to supply. There land is either lying waste, or not producing a tithe of its possibilities. Let the European come in, let him acquire portions of the land, and by his better methods supply the world with Africa's produce. On a limited scale, and as applied to limited and selected areas, this reasoning is not unsound; but, unfortunately, experience has shown that when it is put into practice, both the scale and the areas are apt to know no limitation. Land is coveted

and annexed where the African is cultivating fairly well, or where he can be taught to cultivate well : and little by little the native of the soil is either pushed back and out, or if he still remains in the old area he falls from the position of owner to that of tenant, and ultimately from tenant to labourer.

The worst abuses in this connection do not indeed lie at Britain's door. Within the Empire nothing has occurred which approaches the horrors of the Congo Territory, under the old régime of King Leopold of Belgium. But, though throughout British Africa land-spoliation as a sanctioned practice has now ended, or is ending, the past contains some dark episodes, the consequences of which abide. In *South Africa*, to-day the population numbers 6,300,000. Of these 1,300,000 are Whites or of white descent, while 5,000,000 are Africans. Of 300 million acres of occupied land in the Dominion, a recent inquiry showed that only 22 million acres were in possession of the native Africans, while 278 millions were in the hands of the white men. The inequity of the division was freely acknowledged when it was revealed, but its source lies in the injustices of long ago, and now amendment and not redress is all that is possible in the way of reparation. In the days when the worst injustices were being practised, the missionaries spoke out in vigorous protest, but they were then as a voice crying in the wilderness. The traditional Dutch attitude towards the native was strong in the land, and the sons of Ham suffered freely at the hands of the sons of Japhet.

To-day conscience has awakened in wider circles, and under the leadership of South African Christian Statesmen like General Botha and General Smuts, steps have been taken to make such amends for the past as can now be done, by preventing any recurrence or continuance of the old wrongdoing. For the Black man 40 millions of acres are now set apart, and for the White man 260 millions. Even so the division remains inequitable. To the principle of separate areas being allotted to Black and to White, the African has given his concurrence; but the application of the principle is still matter of active controversy. That the land allotted to the Native shall be sufficient in area and suitable in quality, and that as the African population increases so shall the land assigned also increase, are the African's legitimate demands. In pressing them he requires help, and amongst his best and most active advocates are the Christian missionaries. Their assistance is sorely needed, for the enemies are very many.

The problem of settling, in a fair manner, the rival claims of European and African to the Land is always more acute in territories whose climatic conditions are favourable to European settlement; and in recent years two such areas have been much in the public eye—Southern Rhodesia and Kenya Colony. In *Southern Rhodesia* the Chartered Company claimed the ownership of the whole vast territory of 73 million acres, with the exception of European Concessions. In the claim all the Native Reserved Areas were in-

cluded, so that the Native African, the original owner of the whole land, was really the tenant-at-will of this powerful organisation. The chief basis of the claim was a concession originally granted by King Lobengula; but after a long contest in the House of Lords the claim was thrown out, and Crown Rights were asserted over the territory in question. For the native this meant much at the time, and when the full implications of the decision are worked out, it will mean much more. In this historic case other interests than those of the Native African were in question, and the fight was not waged by missions; but that a large part of the inspiration for the fight came from the Christian Conscience in Rhodesia and Britain, which missions had vigorously fostered, is undoubted.

In *Kenya Colony* the policy of setting aside large tracts of 'Native Reserve' land has been adopted, and it works reasonably well. Friends of the African, however, require to keep a watchful eye against the alienation of portions of the Reserve, either through Native folly or European acquisitiveness. In Kenya what the African needs, as regards his land, is not so much an increase in its area, as security in its possession. This security the missionaries, with other friends, have continually urged, and by the Government it is being increasingly given.

It is, however, to *Northern Nigeria* that African missionaries point as the ideal land-settlement for all our African Empire. In that fortunate area the whole of the lands in the Protectorate are

declared to be *Native Lands*, administered by the Governor, "for the use and common benefit of the natives, and with due regard to the native laws and customs prevailing in the district." European co-operation in developing the area is welcomed, but no permanent alienation of the land to Europeans is permitted. They are tenants, not owners. African soil is held in trust for the African people. The chief honour in securing this model arrangement belongs, not to missions, but to a high-souled British administrator, Sir Frederick Lugard, yet from missions he has always received a very cordial seconding. North Nigeria is the high-water mark in Land Settlement; and though it may not be possible for the older Protectorates and Colonies to reach it without fresh injustices being committed, the tendency of British Administration throughout Africa and the Empire, is to work in that direction.

* * *

Land with no *Labour* available is valueless: and in the tropical and sub-tropical parts of the Empire even more persistent than the difficulties over Land, have been those caused by scarcity of Labour. In these latitudes the white man simply cannot do the physical work that is needed for the cultivation of the soil, and all along he has been prone to argue, since the white man cannot labour the black man *must*. If the black man is willing to give his labour in return for a very exiguous wage, all goes quietly; but if, for one

reason or another, the black man refuses, then the constantly recurring temptation is for the white man to bring some compelling pressure to bear upon the black. It is the resource of the natural man; and however much it may and must be condemned, its practice is quite easy to understand. To cloak the policy by argument as to the benefit it confers on the African to be compelled to work, deceives nobody. Altruism has very little place in the hearts of those who seek to obtain Labour for their land by compulsory means, and it is better to make no claim to it. Wherever a policy of compulsion has been adopted, it has led the European who adopts it ever deeper into the mire of selfishness and inhumanity. Again, the Congo record of Belgian atrocities stands out as the awful warning, but it is not the only one. Other European Powers which have followed a like policy, though never reaching the same depths, have left unsavoury records both of word and deed. Wherever tried, the policy of Coercion of Labour stands condemned by its results.

Missions have everywhere opposed it, and not unnaturally with even keener antagonism than they have often shown on questions touching only the Land. The hurtful effects of compulsory labour upon the individual man or woman make a direct appeal to the heart, as well as to the mind, of the missionaries. Their conscience on this matter is never allowed to sleep. They are fully alive to such facts and considerations as are urged in defence of the policy. Shortage of labour is

unquestionably a serious check to the economic development of great parts of Africa to-day, and to increase the supply of labour available is a good thing—if it can be done righteously. The Native African—though not the incarnation of laziness that he is sometimes described as being—could, they agree, with advantage be trained to habits of more regular industry ; but such training must be achieved by persuasion or adequate reward, and not by coercion or through fear. “ I was frequently asked when in England,” said Dr. Livingstone, “ would these Africans work for one ? Yes, was my reply, if you could pay them.” “ While a Kafir differs from Europeans,” says Dudley Kidd, “ in his ideas as to what constitutes profitable labour, and is much better off in relative riches compared with Europeans who cannot rest content in what the Kafir considers ample comfort, he is not utterly lazy. The moment there is what he considers an adequate inducement to work, he rouses himself and begins.”

With this general statement of the position most missionaries will agree. One exception in their opposition to compulsory labour has, however, always been made. In the strict service of the community, the State has a right to call to its help the muscle of the country where public works of necessity and importance have to be done. By every nation this principle is recognised. In civilised countries taxation takes the place of personal labour ; but the principle is the same as when in Africa a tribe is made responsible for

the labour needed to make the roads, and build the bridges, and carry through other public enterprises of State. Yet even here there is need for watchfulness lest the conditions under which Labour is exacted are harsh and oppressive, or lest the line that separates State-service from State-profit should be crossed. Whenever these things happen, as also when, with the connivance of the authorities, Labour is compelled for the profit of private individuals, missionaries have not hesitated to utter an emphatic No! As champions of the Native they have taken up this position from the very beginning of their African record. When one reads to-day the account of the bold stand taken in 1809 by Dr. J. Vanderkemp of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, one is conscious of colours being nailed to the mast and a great policy asserted. It was at Bethelsdorp that the incident occurred. In his institution there Vanderkemp had gathered a number of Hottentot youths for their education. The Dutch settlers protested against this withdrawal of able-bodied Africans from the forced labour which was customary, and they got Col. Collins, the Commissioner, to visit Bethelsdorp, and remonstrate with the offending missionary. The interview which took place is historic. Dr. Vanderkemp refused to send the Hottentots who were in his institution to the magistrate to be told off by him to labour. Then the Commissioner got down to first principles. "Do you not consider it your duty to *compel* the Hottentots to labour?" he asked. "No, sir," was the reply,

“the Hottentots are a free people, and the colonists have no more right to force them to labour in the way you propose than you have to sell them as slaves.” “Will you agree,” then asked the Commissioner, “to prohibit Kafirs from visiting your institution, and send such as may resort to you, under pretext of coming for instruction, as prisoners to Uitenhage?” (the Government centre). Vanderkemp’s reply was worthy of John Knox or Andrew Melville. “Sir,” he answered, “my commission is to preach the Gospel to every creature, and I will preach the Gospel to every one who chooses to hear me. God has sent me, not to put chains upon the legs of Hottentots and Kafirs, but to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison-doors to them that are bound.”

This is the principle for which missions have consistently stood, and which has inspired the missionary to speak boldly whenever such speech has been needed. This has often been the case. When a few years ago a veiled but real compulsion was being threatened in Kenya Colony, and had been given the sanction of the local Government, it was the missionary protest which led to the movement that caused the withdrawal of the obnoxious enactment, by order of the Home Government. In India, where compulsion, in the shape of agrestic slavery, still continues to be practised though forbidden by law, Christian Missions are the keenest in revealing the hidden things of darkness, and so bringing about their vanishing. And away in the far Pacific, when,

thirty years ago, the Kanaka Traffic was at its height, by which thousands of islanders were kidnapped and carried off to compulsory labour in the plantations of Queensland, it was the ceaseless and impassioned appeals of Christian missionaries that led to its suppression by the British Government. "I entreat your Lordship," wrote the aged Dr. J. G. Paton to Lord Ripon, the Colonial Secretary of State, "to hear the heartfelt plea of an old man, burdened with the evils that are heaped upon his defenceless people, just as they are emerging from the long black midnight of gross heathenism and cannibalism. Oh, that my beloved country would rise and stamp out this foul system!" It did arise; and the system vanished. In this whole matter the heart of Britain is absolutely sound. The mind of our people needs but to be informed, for their conscience to be quickened and the righteous act to be decreed. In supplying this need Christian Missions have done service which is unforgettable.

III

As the Empire's Conscience, missionaries fill still another rôle besides that of the Crusader against Wrong. They have also been from the beginning a powerful **STIMULUS FOR THE RIGHT**, a spur to the authorities in many a corner of the Empire in hastening beneficent legislation on behalf of the weaker races, and then enthusiastic and helpful coadjutors in furthering the policy. In the best

sense of the word they have 'provoked' to good works many a Government official, and many a whole Administration. Their example has led to thought, and thought has resulted in action. Instances of this have already been referred to in connection with the civilising work of missions, and need not be repeated. *Education* has been their chief sphere, and there is hardly a tropical Empire land where missionary influence of this kind has not been exercised. In India, in Africa, in the Southern Seas, in educating the native sufficiently to place his foot on the ladder by which he may rise to higher things, missions have led, and the Empire's official representatives have followed.

But there is another influence of missions in forwarding the Right, which, though unobtrusive, has been and still is very real and potent. Some of the preceding chapters have given us glimpses of it, but it merits more explicit recognition. It is the *Liaison Service*, which is rendered by missionaries in many an Empire territory, between the Child-Races and the British Government. They have interpreted to the native mind the true attitude and purpose of the Government on many an occasion when in default of such interpretation, forward steps, truly calculated to serve the native interests, would have been hopelessly misunderstood and summarily defeated. Entirely unofficial their action has been, and therein has lain its value and its effectiveness.

The British official who serves among the backward peoples of the Empire, is probably the best

of the kind whom the world has yet seen. He is often criticised and not always without cause. No large body of men is without its failures, and no man, however good, is without his defects. But the records of the Empires of the world support the statement that the average British official who deals with Child-Races, is among the best whom any Empire has yet produced. Britain may well be proud of him. Still he has the defects of our race. We are an intensely practical people, desirous of doing the right thing towards other peoples, and resolute in doing it—once it has been determined. But we cannot claim to be always very patient with obstructives, or well-informed as to the peculiar standpoints of other races, or tenderly considerate of their views, when to us these are manifestly wrong. The British servant of the Empire generally shares these national characteristics in quite fair measure. The greatest of our Empire founders and administrators indeed, to a wonderful degree, have had the merits without the defects of their race, and hence the progress of the Empire under their inspiration. But the average official is not equally free from national limitations; and in dealing with the backward races, if he is satisfied as to the essential rightness of his policy, he is sometimes apt to push things too fast and too far, regarding insufficiently the ingrained prejudices and the instinctive antipathies of the people with whom he is dealing. Often he has not the intimate knowledge of the people that is desirable, and consequently the sympathy which is born of knowledge is not

prominent. Missionaries possess both. They know the native, and they also know their own countrymen. They sympathise with what is best in both, and as intermediaries between the two they have done great things, both in the Social and in the Political sphere, to help the wheels of Empire to run smoothly.

In the *Social Sphere* their mediating work is seen on the largest scale in India, in days when famine or pestilence descend on the land. At such times Government measures for relief are prompt, beneficent and extensive. But India, caste-ridden as it still is, and with its casteless millions still in the grip of superstition, is often very suspicious of the practical, forceful remedies or palliatives that Government seeks to apply. In time of plague the people recoil from segregation and purification; in famine seasons it is easy so to err in administering relief as to make it useless for the saving of the caste victims of the calamity. In all such times of affliction missionaries have been the right hand of Government. Said Lord Curzon, when speaking of a famine experienced in India, "The missionaries literally stood for months between the living and the dead, and they set a noble example of the creed of their Master." The people know them and trust them and believe them. They are a guarantee for the good intent of the British Raj, and for the beneficent character of those measures of relief in which they are found personally co-operating.

Politically, it is in Africa that this *liaison* work of missions has come most prominently into view,

its more picturesque features being seen in the earlier days of advancing Empire rule. Some instances of the kind have been already noted. The extent to which missionaries in those times became the trusted counsellors of leading African chiefs, and their advisers when political complications drew near, is impressive. Amidst conflicting European claims and intertribal wars, it was often on the advice of missionaries that individual chiefs cast in their lot with Britain, and took their place among the Sons of the Empire. Nor were the missionary counsellors always men of British birth. When Lewanika, the King of the Barotse, along with his people came voluntarily into the Empire, it was at the advice of Coillard, the French Protestant missionary, that this was done.

These days, in which missions had a hand in arranging the map of Africa, are gone. The political divisions of that continent have now been definitely drawn by international agreement. Yet the mediating service of missions, between Empire authorities and Africans within the Empire, has in no wise ceased. Government measures for the advancement of the African, however good their intention, are still liable to misconception and even to misapplication. The introduction of new laws and new methods, involving often the suppression and always the modification of old barbarous procedures, and the continual inevitable disturbing thrust of Westernism into African life, make the mediating service of missions as necessary and as valuable as ever. And the need for it is

the more intensified by the prevalence to-day in many quarters of a racial distrust of the white man, which threatens to grow stronger. "The old faith in the good intentions of the Government," writes Maurice Evans, when discussing the evidence given by African witnesses before the Natal Native Commission, "and their belief that it was animated by a desire to protect and help them, was seldom expressed with any real conviction. The rock in a thirsty land no longer gave shade to them. . . . In a time when doubt as to our good intentions was rife, when confidence in our good will was shaken, the unselfishness and altruism of the missionary stood fast as a pledge to the native that the white man still desired his good, still stood as a father to him, and that cash or its value in material things was not the only bond between black and white. A bulwark to a shattered and fast-disappearing faith were and are these men, and it is a service to the State and to their race which can hardly be too highly estimated."

Nor is it from Africa alone that this tribute to the *liaison* service of missions comes. It is accorded from every tropical part of the Empire where missions are at work. Everywhere they are found functioning as healers of the nations. India is no exception, though perhaps there the facts are less in evidence at this particular and peculiar hour of her history, than once they were. It is fifty years since Keshab Chandra Sen spoke his striking words, which then rang through the world and still ring down through the years: "It is

not the British army that deserves any honour for holding India. If unto any army appertains the honour of holding India for England, that army is the army of Christian Missionaries. Their devotion, their self-abnegation, their philanthropy, their love of God, their attachment and allegiance to the truth—all these have found and will continue to find, a deep place in the gratitude of our countrymen. They have brought us unto Christ. They have given us the high code of Christian ethics, and their teachings and examples have secretly influenced and won thousands of non-Christian Hindus." To-day this conception of 'holding India for England' is quite out of date; and even fifty years ago it was not descriptive of Britain's truest purpose concerning India, without considerable modification. But the central fact expressed by the great Brahma holds good still. The only sure tie that will keep Britain and India permanently united is the spiritual. And to-day in preventing that tie from being unloosed, the strongest of all agencies at work in India is the Christian Mission. Missionaries have a place which is all their own in India's esteem. They stand to very many of her sons as the best exponents of the spirit of the Christian West, as the truest embodiments of the Conscience of the British Nation. Belief in the integrity of the missionaries encourages them, in spite of the many discordant cries of the present hour, to believe also in the integrity of that Empire in which India has now come to occupy a place.

IV

A man's conscience can never go into retirement with impunity; nor can the Conscience of the Empire go to sleep without dire risk of evil consequence. Christian Missions are still called upon to exercise their function in helping to keep strong and true the spiritual note in the Empire's life. It is not possible to forecast all the spheres where the exercise of this high duty may be specially required in coming days, yet in some directions things are sufficiently clear to permit of definite statement as to probabilities. Much of the ground that has been won at the call of Conscience is now a sure possession. Of this slavery is a leading instance. Under no circumstances can we think of slavery as requiring to be abolished once again in the Empire. As a legalised practice it is dead, and there will be no resurrection. So too it may safely be asserted that the essential manhood of the black and the brown and the yellow men will never again be denied by the responsible authorities of the Empire, and that the Empire's policy and practice will increasingly be such as recognises manhood's rights.

But there are gains of the past that will require to be safeguarded so long as selfishness remains in the human heart. There is no certainty that the wrongs inflicted on the backward races in the matters of *Liquor, Land and Labour* have been permanently ended. There is no ground for hoping that the racial intolerance of the white

man will henceforth cease to operate to the black man's hurt. Nor is there any reason for expecting that political necessity or advantage will nevermore come into conflict with the Empire's higher duty towards the Child-Races under its care. Indeed it is certain that all these conditions will recur, and that if Right is to be done, the Conscience of the Empire must be kept awake and active. Even now there are questions not a few which press for fuller settlement, but which are so hedged about with difficulties of a political or economic kind that no adequate or final settlement has yet been found possible.

* * *

Of these the *Liquor Traffic* with the Native Races is one of the most prominent examples. Theoretically it has for a considerable time been agreed by the European Nations which control African peoples, that no spirituous liquors ought to reach the peoples they control, and by the Brussels General Act of 1890 this position was accepted as binding on the signatory nations. Of these Britain was one. Considerations of revenue stood in the way of immediate and thorough-going application of the principle of Prohibition, which thus had practically been accepted. They were undoubtedly grave, as may be judged from the fact that Mr. Chamberlain in 1897, when Colonial Secretary, found that 80 per cent. of the total revenue of the Niger Protectorate and 60 per cent. of the revenue of the Gold Coast and Lagos came from the liquor traffic. How to forfeit this without serious administrative dislocation result-

ing was a very difficult problem. Yet in 1918 the Colonial Secretary was able to announce in Parliament the "complete prohibition of imported *trade spirits* for British West African Colonies, involving a loss to the revenue of Nigeria alone of something like £1,000,000 a year, and of £500,000 to that of the Gold Coast." Yet, in the face of this, there goes on to-day a steady importation of alcoholic spirits into those very parts of the Empire. A considerable State revenue is drawn from the traffic, and serious hurt is inflicted on the native races. How is this possible? It is a consequence of a lack of clear definition in the international agreement. 'Trade Spirits' are prohibited, but not other Spirits. And what are 'Trade Spirits'? When the Brussels Pact was signed 'Trade Spirits' meant the cheap and nasty spirits then sought eagerly by the Africans and supplied to them. But now 'Trade Spirits' is interpreted as meaning *only* the cheap and nasty. When the price is raised, or the quality is improved, they are no longer 'Trade Spirits.' The legal barrier falls down and the way for alcohol to enter is clear. "Liquor in Africa," said Dr. Donald Fraser, when Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland Assembly, "is ruining tribes, progress, trade, and immortal souls. There is no hope of Africa until the Powers agree to fulfil the original intention of the Brussels Pact; and forbid the sale, importation, and possession of ardent spirits of any sort."

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations was thought to have given a great accelera-

tion to this whole movement, when it declared the Mandatory Powers in African regions to be "responsible for . . . the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the *liquor traffic*." But in the Mandates as issued to the Powers concerned, the word 'prohibition' disappears, and in its place is substituted *control*. The change is serious, and opens the way to grave breaches of the spirit of the Covenant. Representations made by the Churches of Britain have hitherto been without effect, Mr. Churchill, when Colonial Secretary, maintaining that Article 22 referred to the prohibition of *abuses* of the liquor traffic, and not to the traffic itself. That Mr. Churchill's interpretation is incorrect is generally acknowledged, but here the matter at present stands (1928). It cannot so remain very long; but that it should even continue for a little while, is evidence that the Liquor Question has not yet been finally settled.

The *Opium Traffic*, in which India continues to play a part that is open to criticism, is another of the practical problems of Empire on which there is still much to be said. Indian economic considerations have hitherto blocked the thoroughgoing reforms which a conscience, void of offence towards God and towards man, insists upon as due. In the *New Hebrides* the acknowledged wrongs inflicted upon the natives, in consequence of the unhappy *Condominium* entered into by Britain and by France, are left unremedied, because of the difficulty in arriving at an amicable cancelling of that disastrous agreement. And

within the Empire itself there are few things more unsatisfactory than that hindrances should still exist to the free entrance of Christian Missionaries into Mohammedan areas, in North Nigeria and the Soudan. The political fears of serious troubles with the Moslem populations are no doubt well founded, and it is recognised that the British Government has to weigh well such considerations, and also that good men and true are found supporting this policy of safety. Still the situation is not one that can be accepted as permanent within a Christian Empire, even if the hardness of the times does make it necessary for a season. These are but some instances of the need that still exists, and will continue to exist, for the Conscience of the Empire continuing in action.

* * *

The supreme function of the kind, however, which now devolves upon Christian Missions, is to guard the high standard which has now been definitely accepted by the leading nations of the world, as that which should mark a stronger race when placed in control over the destinies of a weaker. When the League of Nations laid down the lines on which the Mandatory Powers were to exercise their functions in regard to the Child-Peoples entrusted to their care, it stated as a fundamental principle, "*That the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred Trust of Civilisation.*" To this every nation in the League subscribed, and a new era in the progress of man-

kind began. By the civilised world it is now accepted as a central principle in international life, that the Strong are Trustees for the Weak. The day when the strong peoples could regard themselves as the irresponsible masters of their weaker subjects, or as their lords, or as their privileged exploiters and oppressors, died when that Covenant was signed.

One does not expect an immediate radical application of this great principle in every quarter, but its enunciation marks an epoch. So far as the British Empire is concerned, this principle of Trusteeship, though never previously so formally stated, had long been recognised as binding, and had been increasingly practised. But when Britain's official signature was affixed to the Covenant, the principle became an accepted policy, and this has had its effect through all the Empire. Trusteeship, it is true, by the Covenant is applied only to the government of 'Mandated Territories,' but by implication it is accepted as the inspiring principle for every British land where Child-Races are controlled. And it will be for Christian Missions to aid, and where needed to urge, its increasing application.

* * *

One notable event of recent days gives greatly added force to any representation of the kind, which missions in future may be called upon to make. This is the emphatic acceptance of the principle of Trusteeship by the British Government, in its eminently fair decision in the Kenya Colony controversy. For the general guidance of

Empire administrators this utterance is much more than a supplement to the Covenant of the League. It is an Imperial pronouncement of first importance, which will stand as binding, quite irrespective of the fortunes of the League of Nations. It is Britain's own. Three extracts from the official White Book, issued this year (1923), will show its exceeding importance :

“ Primarily Kenya is an African Territory, and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount. . . . In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population . . . the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races. . . . There can be no room for doubt that it is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level, than that which they had reached when the Crown assumed the responsibility for the administration of this territory.”

These are great words. In them the missionary note is sounded by an Empire which recognises its high calling as the Steward of its peoples who are still immature. And no less emphatic on this point is a feature in the pronouncement to which keen objection has unfortunately been taken by many politicians in India. This is the withholding from Indian immigrants to Kenya of some of the privileges of what is loosely called Empire-citizen-

ship. In reality, this limitation of the exercise of customary Empire courtesies, particularly in the matter of unrestricted immigration—which applies not to Indians alone, but equally to all non-African peoples of the Empire—marks the highest point yet reached in Imperial policy in regard to the backward races of the Empire. It is a recognition of the fact that higher than any privileges of Empire-connection, there comes regard for the primary rights of a people. Where Child-Races have been brought within the Empire through no strong desire of their own, but largely by pressure from without, the exercise of Empire privileges within their areas by men of other races of the Empire is to be limited by consideration of the present and ultimate good of the Child-Race concerned. “If and when,” says this epoch-making document, “the interests of the African natives and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.” This is a position for which the African Missionaries have keenly contended, and the emphatic acceptance of the principle by the British Government is of far-reaching significance. It registers the attainment of that goal in Empire policy for which the Christian Conscience of Britain has long striven. Whether the conscience has been expressed by statesmen or by missionaries, by Churches or by philanthropists, by officials in far lands or by business residents and settlers, it has worked for the coming of the day which has now arrived. To-day the Empire stands as a great World-Power, which seeks to act as an honest and wise Trustee

for the weaker races within its bounds, "training and educating them towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level," and placing foremost the interests of each people, when called to decide the Imperial policy and action regarding it. It is a truly Christian position ; and in carrying out the programme of beneficence which it implies, as well as in overcoming the many difficulties that are inevitable, the closer the alliance between the Empire and Christian Missions the better will it be for the accomplishment of their kindred tasks. Happily by both Empire and Missions this is to-day increasingly realised and openly avowed. Among such explicit avowals none equals in importance that made by the Duke of Devonshire, in October 1923, before the Conference of the Empire Premiers, when as Colonial Secretary of State he expounded Britain's policy in Kenya. His words will remain as the high-water mark of Britain's aims concerning the Child-Races of the Empire, and of Missions' place in securing these. "In the administration of Kenya, as in other African Colonies and Protectorates," said the Duke, "we regard ourselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African people. Whatever measures we take must be considered in their relation to that paramount duty. We propose to continue the general policy of moral, economic and intellectual development of the African. Within the limits of their finances the East African Governments will continue, *side by side with the great work of the Missions*, to do all that is possible for the advancement of the natives."

V

A survey of the many services rendered by Christian Missions to the Empire, however brief and incomplete it may be, leaves one with a definite appreciation of the magnitude of the debt which the Empire owes to the Missionary. But there is a yet speedier way of reaching this conclusion. It is to picture the British Empire as it would be to-day, had no Christian Mission ever worked within its bounds. Admittedly no picture thus sketched can be more than an approximation to the truth. Often it is not possible to draw an accurate line between Empire developments that have been due to Christian Missions, and those that owe their origin to the general Christian standards held by the British nation. Nor, on the other hand, is it possible to determine how far these Home standards have themselves been quickened by the influence of Christian Missions. Also it has to be kept in mind that British Christianity was a fairly sturdy plant before the day of missions dawned, and that there were British Christians scattered throughout the Empire before the arrival of the missionary. Oftener than not their Christianity may have been of a very feeble order, but it was there, and a limited organisation of churches and ministers of religion did something to make it a reality. Accordingly to picture the "Empire without Missions," as an Empire de-Christianised, would be quite unwarranted. But an "Empire without Missions" would undoubtedly

mean the excision of every effort expressly made for the *spiritual* uplift of the native races ; and would necessitate the effacement from the Empire of the many results, direct and indirect, which have followed from such beneficent effort on the part of Christian Missions. Let every allowance be made for the influence of non-missionary Christian work and workers throughout the Empire, there is left a whole series of features in the Empire as it now is, which but for Missions would not be there at all. Their disappearance from the Empire would be inexpressibly grievous, and all the more so as into the picture there then would come features not a few, which are now happily absent, and whose inclusion would be a dire misfortune.

* * *

The British Empire without Missions—What are the things that vanish from the picture ? First to go are the missionaries themselves. We read the roll of the altered Empire's great ones, and miss the names of many of her very greatest. *India* no longer knows Schwartz or Carey or Duff or Wilson, or French, or Caldwell, or Thoburn, or Forman, or Miller. *Burma* is ignorant of Judson. *Africa* has never heard of Krapf or Moffat, or Livingstone, or John Mackenzie, or Stewart, or Mackay, or Hannington or Coillard or Scott. *The Islands of the Southern Seas* are all ignorant of Williams or Chalmers, or Marsden or Patteson or Selwyn, or Paton. These men have never been. The Empire is bereft of her very best !

Ay, and with these great names known to the whole world and revered in every Christian land, there vanish also the names of thousands more, great in their own special fields, cherished in the memories of the peoples among whom they lived and worked and died, and by whom they were regarded as their best and truest friends. To these prophets and apostles, saints and martyrs, an "Empire without Missions" can lay no claim.

With the vanishing of the workers there needs follows a vanishing of their work and an effacement of their influence. How changed the Empire on which we look! It shrinks in very *area*. Uganda, Nyasaland and many another smaller land, drop from out the map. They are now coloured other than red, for they are not British. Missions brought them in, and if missions vanish so also do their valued dowries. The Empire's *commerce* too is seen to suffer by the vanishing of Christian Missions. Not an influence of Missions this, on which the Churches of Britain have laid much store; but in other nations men have emphasised it. "When a missionary opens a school," said an acute American diplomat in China, "he opens a market. Inspired by Christian zeal he goes to countries that were never trod by the merchant's foot: but the 'drummer' follows on behind, and soon our textiles, our iron, our flour, our coal, oil and many other things are regularly bought by eager customers." It was this un-failing side-result of missions that many years ago led Henry Venn, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, to declare that "when a

missionary has been abroad twenty years, he is worth ten thousand pounds a year to British commerce." Of this commercial gain, multiplied as it is a thousand-fold to-day, the missionless Empire knows nothing. It is deleted from the balance-sheet, since missions are effaced.

Great as these material losses are which have befallen our now missionless Empire, they are as nothing compared with the spiritual calamities which face us, when we look upon the altered conditions. *Africa* has lapsed back into darkness, and is once more pagan and unashamed. Superstition has the people again in its grip. The witch-doctor and the grim law of Taboo run riot as of old, safe from all interference so long as murder is avoided—or concealed. Education of the native races does not exist, beyond what is helpful to the prosperity of the incoming European. For the soul of the African no man cares, many doubt if he has a soul, and exploitation by the white man is everywhere rife. We turn our gaze on *India*, and see like retrogressions. Old time Hinduism and mediæval Mohammedanism grip the people fast, even as they did through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when missions were practically unknown. The old horrors are all back, with the exception of those that openly injure life or limb. These are forbidden by law, but if it be simply a matter of morals there is no hindrance. Temple abuses are in full play. Woman as of old is man's creature and slave, and the 'Untouchables' are sunk in hopeless apathy. Education, so far as provided

by the Empire authorities, does not touch the Underworld, and when given to the Upperworld it lacks the spiritual note. Neo-India is hardly born, and such signs of change as do exist point backward and not forward. Racial antagonisms are sharpened, religious hatreds are intensified by the world-tumults of the period; and the Empire authorities look calmly on these inner workings of the Oriental Soul, even as Gallio did of old. The Empire indeed has adopted the very attitude of Rome, and likewise Rome's practice. Her rule is rigorous, her laws are just, and there is a compulsory peace. But from the Empire the *Soul* has departed. She takes her place among all the other soulless Empires that the world has known, and one day will share their fate. The high spiritual note, which gives to the Empire which we know, its strength and glory and assured continuance, has ceased to sound. An "Empire without Missions," she cares only for herself. Ichabod!

Happily it is but a dream-picture. The conditions that might give it reality do not exist, and never will exist. Christian Missions forbid its realisation, and Christian Missions in the British Empire have come to stay. Yet the glimpse which the dream affords of what the Empire might have been, had things been otherwise, quickens our sense of the high value of what is. Whatever defects may appear in the widespread workings of the Empire, the soul of the Empire is sound and true. Never has it been inspired by higher ideals in regard to its non-Christian peoples

than is the case to-day. Never has its desire to serve these peoples to the uttermost been quite so strong as at the present hour. In this sure fact, Christian Missions throughout the Empire find their reward for many labours in the years that are gone, their joy in the days that are passing, and their well-founded hope for the long years that are to come.

CHAPTER VIII

IN PAYMENT OF THE DEBT—A POSTSCRIPT

BEYOND question, great is the debt which the British Empire owes to Christian Missions; but in the balance-sheet which shows the relations between these two world-powers, indebtedness does not appear on one side only. If Missions have done much for the Empire, on the other hand the Empire has done no small things for Missions; and this study cannot fittingly close without some indication of the other side.

For a fair understanding of the interplay of Missions and Empire this is necessary, and it is rendered all the more desirable by reason of an observable tendency of the hour, in a few quarters, rather to undervalue or forget what missionaries and their work owe to Empire influences. More particularly in India do statements of the kind find expression, as is perhaps not unnatural in view of political conditions there prevailing. What seems undue emphasis is laid by some on the heavy handicap which is placed upon British missionaries by their nationality, the logical implication being that were Britain not the ruling power in India the missionary's path to-day would be much smoother and his influence presumably much greater. It is not very easy to treat seriously any such suggestion; there is in it so little recogni-

tion of realities. Undoubtedly for British missionaries to-day, in many a part of India, their nationality is a serious handicap. In these times of political agitation and much virulent misrepresentation of the British, as when Mr. Gandhi described the Government as 'satanic,' it could not well be otherwise. Missionaries who are of British birth do experience, in certain districts, difficulties in their relations with the people, from which their brethren of American or Continental origin do not equally suffer. But, even if taken at its worst, this handicap is as nothing compared with the solid advantages which accrue to missions in India or elsewhere, from the existence of Empire-control. And if weighed against the many difficulties that would certainly emerge on the cessation of that control, the present handicap becomes as mere dust in the balance.

The main services rendered to Missions by the Empire may for convenience be grouped in three sections—*Protection* ; *Co-operation* ; and *Appreciation*.

I

When Missionaries a hundred years ago first sought recognition of their fields of work by the Empire, it was *Protection* alone that they desired—not patronage, not adoption, not any special treatment for the "most favoured religion," but simply protection. A fair field in which to labour, security from unlawful interference with their work, the ending of misrule in their neighbour-

hood, the right for their converts to live unmolested in the exercise of the Christian religion and unpenalised for their change of Faith—these were the leading services desired from the Empire; and these the Empire has rendered with increasing efficiency as the years have passed. To missions the gain has been very great. With the strong hand of Empire enforcing external and internal peace, an open way has been secured along which the messengers of the gospel of peace have travelled freely, and progress, otherwise unattainable, has been the consequence.

Something of what this Empire-rule has meant, for the security of Christian Missions and the advance of Christianity, is vividly brought home by observing the complete immunity of the young Christian Churches within the Empire from such sore experiences as have befallen nascent Christianity, in many a territory where the rule has been in non-Christian hands. In British India there has been no episode like the Boxer outbreak in China, when only thirty years ago over one hundred and fifty European missionaries and thousands of Chinese Christians were slain. No horrors like those of Armenia, perpetrated by Moslem rulers and accompanied by general suppression of missionary work, are thinkable in India under British control. Nor is the road to India barred against Christian Missions, as are the roads that lead to Afghanistan and Tibet, with their Mohammedan and Buddhist control. Even more striking have been the gains of Africa from Empire-rule. In Uganda, before the British took over the control, the young Christian

Church had to pass through the fires of martyrdom ; there has been no rekindling of the fire. No fury of persecution such as Madagascar has known has ever arisen in a British African territory. No chaos, caused by warring tribes, has been suffered to extinguish in any Empire-area the light of the Christian religion. The *Pax Britannica* has helped the on-coming of the *Pax Christi*. Of this happy consequence India remains the most convincing example. In that land of rival religions and keen fanatical tendencies, for the security of every religion Empire-rule has been invaluable. Hindu and Mohammedan have profited by it no less than the Christian, and the Christian no less than these men of other faiths ; the protection of the British Raj is extended impartially to all. For missions and for Christianity this has been of fundamental moment.

To-day not a few are rather perturbed as to the future of Christian Missions and the Christian Church in India, in the unlikely but not impossible event of the protecting arm of the British Empire being some day completely withdrawn. It is perfectly true, as we are frequently reminded by those who say all will be well, that Hinduism is wonderfully tolerant of all varieties of religion ; but the toleration exists only up to a certain point. Where an alien religion is quiescent and non-propagandist, Hinduism gives it ready toleration, and even welcomes its inclusion in its own system of infinite variety and adaptability. But where a religion is aggressive and actively mis-

sionary, as are Christianity and Mohammedanism, toleration by Hinduism is secured only in one of two ways. Either the religion must lay aside its propagandist character and be content to sit still—as was the case for a thousand years with the Syrian Church of Malabar; or its adherents must be sufficiently numerous and strong to make toleration of their faith a necessity—as has been the case with Mohammedanism. In any India where Indianisation has been carried out from top to bottom, Mohammedanism will at least be able to look after itself. But how about Christianity in India should Empire-rule cease? Speculating on the future, and apparently regarding the withdrawal or the extrusion of missionaries as a possible event, Mr. K. Chandy, a leading Christian in South India, lately wrote some words that challenge thought. "There is," he said, "danger that ideas of nationalism and progress that are now surging over India may tend to submerge distinctly Christian elements in the Indian Church. If all missionaries were to leave India to-morrow, and if Christians reconverted to Hinduism were freely admitted to all caste privileges, one shudders to think what the position of the Indian Church would be ten years hence, outside Kerala (Malabar), and Tinnevely, and perhaps the Panjab." What Mr. Chandy would seem to dread as a possible future development in an India left to itself, is the absorption of Christianity into Hinduism, rather than the direct hostility of Hinduism to the Christian religion which others in their anxious forecasts fear. Possibly both outlooks are over-

pessimistic ; but it is significant that each of them takes its origin in the supposition of the withdrawal from India of Christian Missions and of Empire-control. Both discern danger to Indian Christianity from any such step. From this one gains a fresh realisation of how much the presence of these two elements in India has meant, and still means, for the preservation of Indian Christianity, in its present purity of belief and its potency for future service. Empire-protection, which secures for Christianity, as for all religions, a fair field and no favour, cannot be withdrawn without a possibility of grave consequences.

II

The *Co-operation* of the Empire with Missions in many of their civilising activities has been noted at several points in previous chapters ; but it may with advantage here be underlined. The Co-operation is of two kinds, direct and indirect ; and is given through two channels, financial aid and helpful administration.

For any activity of missions that has for its aim the intellectual, social or moral uplift of a people, financial assistance may be legitimately asked from the Empire authorities in the area. Local influences and the personal attitude of those in power still have much to say in deciding the nature of the response ; but that such aid should be given wherever it is possible, is the Empire's principle. It is in connection with the Educa-

tional work of missions that the principle has found fullest application, and India is where it is practised on the largest scale. There, as has been noted, the education of the people is provided by a great system of partnership between the State and Private Management, the greater part of the latter being in the hands of Christian Missions. In 1918, of educational institutions in India of all kinds, 72 per cent. were under private management. The cost of maintaining these was about three million pounds sterling, towards which the State contributed about one million pounds. As a very large portion of this went in grants-in-aid to mission schools and colleges, Empire co-operation in India is seen to be a very real thing. For missions in their educational work it is a very great thing; and for the Indian Government and the Indian people it is a still greater thing. Were missions not there, the education now supplied by them would fall to be given by the Government authorities at treble the present cost to the State; and, on the other hand, were the State to cease its co-operation, the educational work of missions in India would have to be remorselessly cut down. The partnership works for good all round.

It must be noted, however, that there is a minority both of missionaries and of Hindus who question the excellence of the arrangement. Financial aid from Government is necessarily accompanied by conditions as to educational efficiency being maintained in the institutions which are aided; and by some missionaries and friends of missions this is held to unduly hamper the missionary's

freedom, and to impair the religious efficiency which comes first in missionary aims. And, on the other hand, there is a growing criticism among Indians that grants-in-aid to Educational institutions should only be given where religious instruction is entirely dissociated from the daily curriculum. Both criticisms come as yet from minorities. Should they ever become the convictions of majorities, serious modification of Empire co-operation in India would be inevitable. For the present, however, and through a past which reaches back for seventy years and more, the co-operation has been a boon to missions and has worked powerfully for the good of India.

Africa in this matter has lagged far behind, a consequence largely of the very different educational problems which native life there presents, but also due in no small measure to the lack hitherto of any organic unity between the numerous African sections of the Empire, and the absence of any common policy concerning the uplift of the various peoples. Better days are however dawning, and one definite sign of what lies ahead is the formation this year (1923), by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, of an "Advisory Committee on Education in the Crown Colonies of Africa." That India's example and experience will be carefully studied may be taken for granted; and since in Africa the religious antagonisms of India are not reproduced, it may reasonably be expected that Empire co-operation with Missions will there achieve even greater things for the good of the people.

Where the Empire co-operates with Missions through its *administrative* acts the co-operation is of a different kind and has a different origin. There is no partnership with missions here; but it happens not infrequently that actions of the Empire authorities, taken purely in the interests of civilisation, prove of real service to the missionary in regard to the very highest of his aims. Wherever crimes are stamped out, which have been habitually associated with the baser side of the pagan and other religions, not only is the social life purified and raised, but the missionary finds a freer entry made for him into the life of the people, and a readier response given by them to his message. How effective this unintended co-operation of the Empire is, has been well put in a recent article in *Other Lands*, by Mr. J. K. MacGregor of Calabar. "So long," he writes, "as the tribes that live in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria were able to practise their immemorial religious customs, they resisted Christianity. When the British Government made human sacrifice highly dangerous for the officiating priest and for those who employed him; when trial for witchcraft by ordeal was abolished; when slaves ceased to be negotiable assets, a social and religious revolution of the first importance was achieved. The religion of the African is so closely associated with the social fabric that when the latter was touched the former collapsed. . . . Fifty years' teaching by the Christian missionaries had made the people in many parts familiar with the ideas behind the new legislation. What was

new was that the strong arm of the law now enforced them, and they were submitted to with remarkably good grace."

It may be true that a man's soul cannot be saved by an Act of Parliament, but much that tends to kill the soul may be removed by such an Act. Among the backward peoples of the Empire this principle is constantly receiving fresh exemplification. By the stern prohibition of criminal practices which have for ages kept the souls of men in bondage, the hand of Empire opens the prison doors, and the souls of men are set free to experience the gracious influences of the Gospel of Christ.

III

Empire Protection and Empire Co-operation are services of inestimable value to the missionary. Without them his work would be greatly imperilled and curtailed, and its success would be seriously limited. *Empire Appreciation*, the third variety of service, has nothing of the impressive visibility or the material force of these other two; and yet as a spiritual aid to the missionary in his daily round, it is at least as valuable as either. Missionaries are quite human in this, as in most other things. They are not insensible to the attitude of their fellow-countrymen towards their work and towards themselves. Too often indeed, as has been noted, they have had to carry on their work in spite of their countrymen's opposition and misjudgment; but in not a few areas and periods it

has been otherwise, and in the living interest and warm approval of officials and non-officials missionaries have found that which has greatly cheered them on their way.

Leaving out of account those who are definitely antagonistic to missions, our countrymen in the far parts of the Empire, as regards their attitude to missions, fall into four classes. There are many who are entirely indifferent to the aim of missions and are frankly quite uninterested in their work ; there are at least as many who are lukewarm, yet are sufficiently logical in their Christianity to approve of the missionary endeavour, and who when occasion arises will speak a benevolent word, and will not withhold a small donation ; there are others, less numerous than either of the two previous sections yet far from few, who are keenly appreciative of missions, recognise their high value alike to the individual, the community and the Empire, and are steady in giving their personal and material support ; and there is a fourth class, nowhere numerous but nowhere unrepresented, whose members recognise in missions the supreme endeavour that is being made to-day for the good of mankind, and who never lose an opportunity of helping on the cause. One may hazard a proportional estimate of the numbers of these classes, based on a fairly extensive and prolonged Empire knowledge. Putting the definite opponents of missions at 5 per cent., the frankly uninterested may be reckoned at 25 per cent. ; the lukewarm at 35 per cent. ; the convinced and conscientious supporters at 20

per cent. ; and those who approve with heart and soul and strength and mind at 15 per cent. In certain areas the proportions will vary, but on the whole this is a fairly close approximation to facts.

It is from the last two classes that the appreciation comes which is an encouragement and help to the missionary. Among the convinced and conscientious friends of missions who form the third class, there are found in impressive numbers men who have held and hold responsible office throughout the Empire. To them the missionary appears in the light of a valued colleague, a prized fellow-worker for the uplift of the people, and in many a notable statement they have recorded their appreciation of his services. Some of these testimonies have already been quoted and they might be added to indefinitely. Such appreciations constitute a resounding Empire chorus, which is rich in stimulus for Christian Missions in every land, and to every missionary brings a message of good cheer. How much does it not mean to hear Lord Lawrence, the famous Indian Viceroy, saying : " I have a great reverence and regard for the missionaries, both personally, and for the sake of the great cause in which they are engaged " ! Or Sir Richard Temple, a former Governor of Bombay, declaring : " In my official capacity I always listened with deference to the representations of the missionaries in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the natives." Or Sir William MacGregor when, on retiring from the Governorship of New Guinea, he writes to the

London Missionary Society thanking them for the splendid work of their missionaries, and says: "It can never be overlooked that the pioneers in civilising this place were the members of your Society. . . . What your mission has already effected here in the work of humanity can never be forgotten or ignored in the history of the Colony." Or Sir Andrew Fraser, a former Governor of Bengal, when, addressing a great meeting of young men in England, he says: "I have served the Crown in India for thirty-seven years. I have taken care to know the missionaries, to inquire about their work, to see what they were doing. I have gone to their schools. That was part of my duty. It was also my pleasure. I have gone to their congregations. I have seen the missionaries preaching in the villages, teaching in their schools, treating patients in their hospitals. I know something about the Indian missions. You say, 'Is it worth my while to give myself to this work?' My answer is, 'Emphatically worth while.' The work is a great work, and I come back to speak of it with faithfulness and pride."

Words like these last stir the heart like the sound of a trumpet. They tell us of the reality of this fourth class of our Empire fellow-countrymen, the men to whom missions are the supreme duty of the Church of Christ. With such men religion counts in their own lives above all else; hence the place they give to missions, and hence the furthering aid they extend to the missionary whenever it is possible. The British Empire has

never been lacking in men of this type, and in some parts it has been gloriously rich. Richest of all has been the Panjab, where the long succession of definitely Christian statesmen and soldiers, who have held high office, has been of striking service to the cause of righteousness and progress. In these men the missionary ever found true and helpful friends, who by their Christian lives gave convincing exemplification and much persuasive power to the gospel which he proclaimed. Their record has gone out through the world, and their names are known and honoured far and wide—Lord Lawrence, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Donald M'Leod, Sir Herbert Edwards, Sir Henry Havelock, General Reynell Taylor and others. Great statesmen and great soldiers these, "Men," says Lord Northbrook—himself a great Viceroy and steadfast friend of missions—"through whose exertions the British Empire in India was preserved, and in whom, more than any others, the natives of India, whether Christians or not, had the greatest confidence—not one of them shrank on any occasion from supporting the cause of missions in India." Nay, they were proud to stand among the foremost supporters. And their successors were like-minded—Sir Richard Temple, Sir Charles Bernard, Sir William Muir, Sir Charles Aitchison and many another. Appreciation from such as these meant much to the missionaries of their day, and much for the place accorded to Christianity in the estimation of the Indian peoples.

No other of our mission fields has been so con-

spicuously rich in Empire-men of this high type, yet every field can point to some of the same great breed. Compared with the men of a less exalted spiritual order who have stood as representing the Empire, they are admittedly a small minority, and cannot be pointed to as the normal. But they have existed in the past, and they are with us still, in numbers sufficiently large to warrant their being regarded as a characteristic element in the Empire-forces of Britain. By their presence they do much to counterbalance the prominence given in the earlier days of Empire to men of a less Christian type. The Empire is proud to number them among her sons, and Missions are grateful for their influence and appreciation. It is true that this Empire-service to Christian Missions is, in very large measure, itself a missionary product, for both the co-operation and the appreciation have had their origin in the deeper and wider altruistic note which missions have succeeded in imparting to the soul of British Christianity. None the less, the services rendered stand to the Empire's credit, and Missions are cordial in their acknowledgment of their indebtedness.

In days not very remote it was a cherished conviction with many of our nation, that the

expansion of the British Empire, unparalleled as it is in human history, had some place in God's ordering of the world. There were nations who saw in this belief only an exemplification of British self-righteousness, while there were others who smiled tolerantly at what they deemed a British weakness. And it may be admitted that occasionally the form in which expression was given to this conception, of Britain as a chosen servant of God, did furnish cause for both the caustic criticism and the indulgent smile. Of late there has been a noticeable change in the language used to express the old conviction. The world-wide development of the racial spirit, with the consequent discords and difficulties that have appeared in more than one portion of the Empire, have made many less dogmatic, and therefore less provocative, when they hazard a reading of the inner meaning of the Empire's history.

Yet one would grieve to see the noble old conviction of "God's hand in Britain's history" vanish from the hearts of our people. Through the centuries it has been a powerful inspiration to well-doing, and it could not now be forfeited without serious loss. We would fain hold it fast, and we may do so with a right good conscience. Its retention is no mere matter of policy; it is a matter of simple loyalty to truth, and in no previous period has the truth rested on so wide a basis as it does to-day. Let it be acknowledged that enthusiastic sons of Britain have often spoken unadvisedly, putting forward claims for their Empire's world-beneficence that cannot be sub-

stantiated. Let it be confessed, as we have done, that the Empire's record is far from stainless, that in some of the many portions it has sown tares as well as wheat, and that the motives behind its expansion and its actions have not always been unimpeachable. Yet when all that is said, there is this also to be asserted and maintained—that all through its history the Empire has never lacked a Christian idealism, and that it has been increasingly successful in bringing this idealism to bear on its dealings with the peoples under its sway. Nor has it been left to British citizens alone to say this: large-souled men of other nationalities have said it too.

Addressing the General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance at Pittsburg in 1921, Dr. W. I. Chamberlain, Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Reformed Church in America, and himself long an honoured missionary in India, used these weighty words: "I think it just to remark that there is ample historic illustration for the statement, that during its colonial history the British nation has never touched a dependent people for any prolonged period of time in any responsible way, without leaving them politically freer, and socially and economically better." "Hats off to the British magistrate in the heart of Africa!" says Dr. Cornelius Patton, the clear-eyed American Mission Secretary, after in his long tour through the Dark Continent he had seen much of the Empire's work. "I cannot overstate," said President Roosevelt, "the terms of admiration in which American missionaries speak of the

English rule in India, and of the incalculable benefits it has conferred and is conferring upon the natives." "It can hardly be questioned," says Dr. J. S. Dennis, another American, whose knowledge of missions and mission-lands was encyclopædic, "that there must be a deep providential meaning in the contemporary existence and operation of British rule and Christian missionary effort in India." These are testimonies from friends without, and we value them. They accord with the reasoned judgment of our own hearts that the Empire has been and is a strong influence for the world's weal.

The foregoing study of the relations of Missions and Empire confirms this judgment, but it does more. It emphasises the main feature which has given to the Empire this high character, and which alone ensures its continued prosperity. It is that, in the process of its own expansion, an increasing place has been found for the Kingdom of God. With humble thankfulness this may be sincerely said; and from every territory of the Empire come confirmatory testimonies. One such, which comes from the most distant land of all, may fittingly conclude these chapters. Seventy years ago New Zealand had the good fortune to have as Governor, Sir George Grey, an able statesman and a Christian gentleman, whose memory New Zealand will never suffer to die. Prior to his departure at the end of his service, a deputation of the Maoris waited on him, and among many words of affection and regret which then were spoken by the Maori leader were these: "When

the missionaries came first to this land there was little industry, and little good was visible. Then God kindled His light and, lo! it became as day. When you came, oh, Governor Grey, you came with two lights, and these are they: The Lamp of God, and the Lamp of the world."

Says Mr. Allen Young, who has rescued this utterance from oblivion: "Is not this the true Imperialism?—to bring and not to take, to bring two lights, the lamp of God and the lamp of the world?" It is indeed a terse and telling summing up of the highest duty and glory of the Empire—to bear to the backward peoples these two great lights, the one carried by the servants of the Christian Church, the other borne by the servants of the British Empire. One is not enough. For the planting of Christianity and of Civilisation both are needed; and by the linked service of these twin light-bearers both are supplied—
THE LAMP OF GOD, AND THE LAMP OF THE WORLD.

INDEX

(PERSONS AND PLACES)

- Abyssinia, 218.
Adams, C. C., 77.
African Lakes Company, 42.
Aniwa, 81.
Ashe, R. P., 81.
- Basutoland, 91-95.
Bechuanaland, 51.
Bentinck, Lord W., 124.
Blantyre, 41, 95-98.
Botha, General, 226.
British East African Company, 50.
Bryce, Lord, 191.
- Caldwell, Bishop, 154.
Carey, William, 17, 124.
Casalis, 91.
Chalmers, James, 35-39, 139.
Chamberlain, Joseph, 241.
Chamberlain, W. I., 271.
Chandavarkar, Sir N., 108, 115.
Chandy, K., 259.
Churchill, Winston, 243.
Columbus, 6.
Cook, Captain, 27, 29, 88.
Copleston, Bishop, 166.
Curzon, Lord, 236.
Cushing, Dr., 168.
- Darwin, Charles, 86, 210.
Dennis, J. S., 272.
Devonshire, Duke of, 248.
Dods, Dr. Marcus, 126.
Duff, Dr. A., 121, 133.
Duncan, Dr. D., 114.
Dwight, Dr., 174.
- East India Company, 11, 21.
Edward vi., King, 7.
Edward vii., King, 208.
Elizabeth, Queen, 1.
Elliot, John, 9.
Erromanga, 85.
Erskine, Admiral, 38, 40.
Evans, Maurice, 198, 238.
- Fiji Islands, 88-90.
Fraser, Sir A., 192, 266.
Fraser, Dr. Donald, 62, 146, 242.
- Gandhi, M. K., 116, 158, 256.
Gilbert, Sir H., 1.
Gladstone, W. E., 137.
Grey, Sir George, 272.
Gokhale, G. K., 116.
- Haigh, Dr. H., 150, 151.
Hetherwick, Dr. A., 97.
Hole, Canon, 123.
Holland, W. E. G., 161.
- Inglis, Dr., 63.
- Johnston, Sir H., 67, 73, 215.
- Kenya, 62, 203, 227, 232, 246.
Keshab Chandra Sen, 238.
Khama, King, 81, 220.
Kidd, Dudley, 230.
Kingsley, Mary, 182, 192.
Kumassi, 85.
- Lagden, Sir G., 199.
Lawrence, Lord, 20, 266.
Laws, Dr. R., 67, 85.
Lazarus, Dr., 163.
Livingstone, David, 41, 70.

Livingstonia, 41, 75.
 Lovedale, 65.
 Lowis, C., 166.
 Lugard, Sir F., 228.

Macaulay, Lord, 121, 132.
 Macfarlane, Dr., 36.
 MacGregor, J. K., 263.
 MacGregor, Sir W., 32, 266.
 Mackay, Alex., 49, 100.
 Mackenzie, Jean K., 83, 147.
 Mackenzie, John, 51, 69.
 Mackichan, Dr., 208.
 Mackinnon, Sir W., 50, 51.
 Manu, 106.
 Marsden, S., 33.
 Miller, Dr. W., 135.
 Moffat, Dr., 71, 148.
 Molema, S. M., 187, 197.
 Monahan, C. H., 155.
 Morrison, Dr. J., 160.
 Moshesh, 91.

New England, 8.
 New Guinea, 35-40, 85.
 New Hebrides, 32, 243.
 New Zealand, 33-35.
 N'goniland, 46.
 Nigeria, 227.
 Nyasaland, 41-47, 202.

Paton, Dr. J. G., 31, 233.
 Patton, Dr. C., 140, 193, 271.
 Phillips, G., 113, 118.
 Polynesia, 28.

Raleigh, Sir W., 8.

Reay, Lord, 208.
 Rhodesia, Southern, 227.
 Roosevelt, President, 271.

Salisbury, Lord, 45, 200.
 Schwartz, C. F., 14.
 Scott, Dr. Archibald, 45.
 Scott, Dr. D. C., 97.
 Seeley, Sir J., 121.
 Selborne, Lord, 224.
 Sharpe, Sir A., 46, 47.
 Slessor, Mary, 85, 184, 192.
 Smuts, General, 226.
 Sorabji, Cornelia, 129.
 Stanley, H. M., 48, 101.
 Stewart, Dr., 42, 73, 202.

Tasmania, 210.
 Temple, Sir Richard, 266.
 Theodulph, Abbot, 71.
 Tucker, Bishop, 49, 50.

Uganda, 48-51, 98-101.

Vanderkemp, Dr. J., 231.
 Venn, Dr. H., 251.
 Victoria, Queen, 21.

Warneck, Dr. J., 144.
 Wilberforce, S., 17, 19.
 Williams, John, 29.

Xavier, Francis, 6.

Young, A., 273.

Zwemer, Dr., 175.