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DAWN IN THE DARK
CONTINENT

DAWN IN THE DARK CONTINENT

OR

AFRICA AND ITS MISSIONS

The Duff Missionary Lectures for 1902

BY

JAMES STEWART, D.D., M.D., ETC.
AFRICAN MISSIONARY

WITH MAPS

BY J. G. BARTHOLOMEW

YOUNG PEOPLE'S MISSIONARY MOVEMENT
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TO
THE RIGHT HON. LORD POLWARTH
AND
OTHER TRUSTEES OF
THE DUFF MISSIONARY LECTURESHIP
THIS SERIES OF LECTURES FOR
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PREFACE

THIS volume forms the sixth of the series of lectures delivered in connection with the Duff Missionary Lectureship, founded by one of the greatest of Indian missionaries—the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff.

His son, Mr. Pirie Duff, carried out his father's wish that certain funds should be used for that object. Such lectures are delivered once in four years, and must be published within a given time thereafter.

The subject of the present course is African Missions. Missionary opinion is now less wanted, and is probably less valued than reliable missionary information. Intelligent laymen ask for information on which to form their own views on the success of missions. Hence the form into which some of the chapters in the middle of the volume have been cast. An attempt has been made to give brief sketches of some of the chief Missionary Societies, of their methods, and of the work they have accomplished in the African continent.

My grateful thanks are due to Lord Polwarth and the other members of the Trust for their invitation to fill the position of Lecturer; and to my friends, the Rev. Dr. A. Orrock Johnston and the Rev. Dr. R. J.

Sandeman, for revising proof sheets: to the former for many invaluable suggestions and much friendly help in addition.

J. S.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. PAST AND PRESENT	11
II. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT	40
III. A CENTURY OF MISSIONARY EFFORT—MORA- VIAN AND LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETIES	73
IV. CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSIONS IN AFRICA	107
V. WESLEYAN METHODIST, EPISCOPAL METHODIST, AND BAPTIST MISSIONS	138
VI. SCOTTISH AND AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN, AND CONGREGATIONALIST MISSIONS	155
VII. TWO SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONS—LOVEDALE AND BLYTHSWOOD	178
VIII. TWO CENTRAL AFRICAN MISSIONS—BLANTYRE AND LIVINGSTONIA	208
IX. GERMAN, FRENCH, NORWEGIAN, AND OTHER MISSIONS	240
X. THE MISSIONARY SITUATION TO-DAY	269
XI. IS MONEY WELL EXPENDED ON FOREIGN MIS- SIONS?	289
XII. SLOW PROGRESS OF MISSIONS	307
XIII. TRAINING OF THE MISSIONARY	329
XIV. THE MISSIONARY MAGAZINE	345
XV. THE FUTURE OF AFRICA AND THE AFRICAN	356
XVI. WHAT THE CHURCH EXISTS FOR	373
APPENDIX	375
INDEX	391

DAWN IN THE DARK CONTINENT

I

PAST AND PRESENT

ON the banks of the Nile, near the Great Pyramid, there stands what is probably the truest emblematic representation of the African Continent and its Past. It is the statue of the Great Sphinx—colossal in size like the continent itself, hewn out of the solid rock, and with an expression on its face difficult to interpret. It has no reliable history, and different views exist as to what it was intended to represent. But there it stands, or rather lies reclining, partly buried by desert sands, a strange figure—gigantic, grotesque, voiceless, looking straight on towards the sunrise as if waiting for a Dawn which has been long in coming.

Temples and tombs and other remnants of things and of men that have passed away, also show that a high civilisation at one time existed in that small area of Africa we call Egypt. But that was long since, four or five thousand years ago, or more, as some think. Whatever the exact date, it was before the foremost nations of the Europe of to-day were born,—

before Rome, Greece, and even Assyria were known as world powers. There was a light in Egypt in those far back days, but it was a human, not a heavenly light.

Some may say that Egypt can hardly be thought of as a part of Africa except geographically. It is enough for my purpose that it is now, and has always been, a true geographical region of that continent, and that the Suez Canal has made it more so. And its strange history may add interest and impart some lustre to that of a continent whose history otherwise is wholly lustreless. We cannot omit Egypt in any glance at Africa's past. It is a country that, like the continent itself, lays hold of the imagination. It is the oldest historical country in the world. Civilisation was born there, and the Founder of Christianity found refuge there shortly after He was born. The empires of the earth, from the Persian to the Napoleonic, have gone there, seized it, tried to hold it, and tried to rule it. And more recently another, known as the British Empire, has also gone there, is there now, and is ruling there by the only sound principle of government, namely, rectitude and the good of the governed. In little more than twenty years a handful of Englishmen, because they were honest and knew their business as administrators, have made a new Egypt financially, judicially, socially, and are also making it so materially, by the gigantic works on the Nile sometime in process of construction, and recently completed. All this has helped to make life more endurable to millions of poor and industrious men who dwell in little mud

villages scattered over that land, and lead hard lives of almost ceaseless toil. And this honest work of a small group of Englishmen, of whom Lord Milner was one, will have its influence on the northern half of the continent in ways as yet little dreamt of. Because of this future influence we cannot let Egypt go out of its African connections. There is a sequence in events, for good or evil, which cannot be ignored.

Why did that wonderful civilisation leave the remainder of the African continent untouched, unhelped, uninfluenced in any way? If that civilisation went into the unknown south, it must have lost itself on the way in the deserts of Nubia or the Soudan. Over a long stretch of continent, extending southwards for 5000 miles, and through almost 70 degrees of latitude, nothing remains to-day to tell us whether any such influence was exerted. No conspicuous ruins or remains of stone buildings can anywhere be found except at Zimbabwe in Mashonaland, where there are some mysterious ruins. No one knows whether they belong to Phœnician, Persian, or Portuguese times, or whether they formed part of that region still undiscovered and still sought for—the old Ophir of which Solomon heard and doubtless talked about.

Over all the rest of Central and Southern Africa, villages of mud walls, grass roofs, and low doors sheltered the countless tribes who dwelt in them for thousands of years, just as they do those of to-day. Under the rains of the tropical African summer, or because of certain strange customs in many tribes,

almost always connected with the death of a chief, these villages disappear and leave not a trace behind.

Why has the African race so lagged behind in the general movement of the nations, and almost fallen completely out of the struggle? The question is difficult to answer. Its progress has been called an arrested development, which no one can satisfactorily account for. And there is added the unpleasant and startling statement, unfortunately true, that contact with European nations seems always to have resulted in further deterioration of the African races. It may resolve itself into another of equal difficulty, that of race qualities or of the influence of surroundings. Or it may be that with races as with individuals, when a certain downward level has been reached, recovery without external help is impossible. In the case of the African continent that help has never been given, or even thought of, till recently. This view will suit the missionary theory of race restoration, that the absence of definite religious beliefs indicates the absence of these moral forces which are chief powers in the progress or recuperation of any individual race; without these, there comes the descent into mere animalism and fixed and hopeless barbarism.

We need not quarrel with the law of continuity—that what has been will be, with an individual, a race, or a continent. That law gives stability to human affairs, but change for the better generally comes from without. That is just what is happening now. Nothing in the long history of Africa's past

exactly resembles the situation of to-day. Out of the seclusion and slumber of thousands of years the greater part of the continent has suddenly been awakened. Causes both numerous and varied have contributed to this awakening. Exploration was one; missionary work another; the discovery of great mineral wealth a third; and the partition of the continent among the European Powers a fourth.

Exploration went on somewhat intermittently. It has taken more than a century to open up Africa and bring it into connection with the rest of the civilised world. Formerly it lay as much out of the current of the world's life as if it formed part of another planet. More than a century and a half ago James Bruce was examining what were then believed to be the sources of the Nile. Mungo Park was seeking for the sources of the Niger first in 1797. He went once; and later, in 1805, as he sat by the side of a Selkirkshire burn, the Spirit of Travel whispered in his ear, and he went a second time, and did not return. In this Africa was less like the Egyptian Sphinx than the fabled Sphinx of another land and of a later day, who propounded her riddle, and devoured those who tried but failed to solve it. For Africa devoured those who followed Park, or most of them—Clapperton, Oudney, Denham, Landor, and others, though Barth, the German traveller, came safely out. Yet all these helped to open that unknown land.

South of the equator, exploration gave a new interest and impulse to African affairs far beyond that

of mere geography. David Livingstone led the way, and he has been followed by a great force of explorers—by Speke, Grant, Burton, Baker, Stanley, Cameron, and others. The moral element and missionary aim in Livingstone's work have been by far the most powerful factors in the production of real and lasting benefit to the hapless tribes of one-half of the forlorn continent.

Missionary enterprise comes next to exploration—in some regions accompanying it, and in others preceding it. It is moved by a different spirit and by a different aim from geographical or scientific curiosity. The action of missionary effort in opening up the continent at many widely different points must not in fairness be overlooked.

A third cause of the recent opening of Africa has been the sudden discovery of its great mineral wealth, especially in the southern end of the continent, though such wealth is not confined to that region. At one time the belief was universal that Africa was the poorest of the continents, a region of sand and rock and karroo bush, its vast areas mostly deserts, tenanted by wild beasts and irreclaimable men. It is now known to be rich in those forms of wealth most prized and most useful. These are gold, diamonds, coal, copper, iron, and many other minerals; and these exist on a scale corresponding to the size of the continent itself. Coal, at one time, was believed not to exist in the African continent. It has now been found in Cape Colony and Natal, in the neighbourhood of the

Zambesi and of Lake Nyassa, and recently, it would seem, near Khartoum.

These discoveries led men in thousands and capital in millions to flow into South Africa. What the capital invested in that region during the last twenty-five or thirty years may amount to it would not be easy to determine. But of the enormous wealth of the Transvaal region there can be no doubt.¹

In all this the African continent has been true to itself as a land of extremes, contradictions, and surprises. In one region, or rather over many, it is a land of murderous heat, and at others a place of eternal snows; of bare and burning desert, or densest forest. At one point, or at many, it is a region of valueless karroo, and a little farther on it is a field of mineral wealth almost exhaustless in extent, and as yet of uncalculated value.

The sudden opening of the continent was further brought about by what is known as the Partition of Africa. That has taken place within the last fifteen years. It has been the most stupendous and unparalleled partition of the earth's surface ever known in the world's history. A glance at the map will show this better than any description. Ten millions out of 11½ millions of square miles of the African continent have passed away from the original owners into other hands. The vast area was partitioned, an-

¹ W. Bleloch, *The New South Africa; its Value and Development*, p. 18. Heinemann, 1901.

nexed, appropriated, or converted into 'spheres of influence' or 'spheres of interest'; whatever be the exact word we may use, the result is the same. Coastlands and Hinterlands all went in this great *appropriation*, and mild is the term for the deed.

This work is said to have begun in Berlin; at all events it was transferred thither or planned on the occasion of the Berlin Conference, which took place in 1884 and 1885. Looking back over these fifteen years, the place of meeting is significant; and the decision that followed was the first indication of what cannot now be doubted, the desire of Germany to become a colonising power, and to found a colonial or African empire. For this it was necessary that she should become on the sea what she has been as a military power on land since 1870, and ever since she has been making strenuous efforts to attain to that position. The settled hostility recently manifested in that country towards Great Britain is doubtless due in part to this, that in Africa, as well as elsewhere, another empire stands in Germany's way.

The question remains—What precipitated this partition and caused the sudden assembling of the Great Powers? To this hardly any answer can be given, except that early in 1884 Germany suddenly hoisted her flag in South-West Africa and took possession of a territory next door to the Cape Colony; and a very little later did the same at Zanzibar. The Cape Colony was very much taken by surprise, and so also was the British Foreign Office.

The method followed in this gigantic partition was an arrangement in which each Power endeavoured to secure as large an area as possible on certain grounds or claims. These claims were prior occupation, contiguity of territory already occupied, early exploration, or previously obtained treaties from native chiefs, and frequently the mere hoisting of a flag, the meaning and consequences of which the native chief and his people did not fully understand. On the ground of previous exploration, earlier occupation, missionary effort, and contiguity of territory, Britain had south of the equator the strongest claim and Germany the weakest. The claims of the latter Power were strongly pressed; those of Britain were scarcely pushed at all till too late. And the shares which fell to the different contracting Powers were as follow:—

France with her old possessions on the Mediterranean shore, Algiers and Tripoli, and with Madagascar, holds the largest share, 3 millions of square miles, with a population of twenty-seven millions. It is the greatest in area, but not the richest land, as great part of it is formed of Western Sahara.

Britain comes next with $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles, and a population of forty millions. This includes her colonies on the West Coast, and in the South, Cape Colony, Natal, Basutoland, and other regions recently added, with those of the republics whose dream of a great South African Dutch Republic has been their undoing and extinction.

Belgium owns a little under 900,000 square miles,

and a population of sixteen millions. Its share is a compact possession of some of the richest lands in Africa, and forms the Congo Free State, with extensive water communication, spreading like a network through the whole upper basin of the Congo.

Germany comes next with its newly acquired territories in East, South-West, and West Africa, with 864,000 square miles, and a population of a little over six millions. None of its possessions form good colonising lands—except perhaps a small portion of South-West Africa.

Portugal, Italy, and Spain follow with $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles between them, and a population of six millions.

The Turkish possessions in the north, the native State of Morocco, and the Central Soudan, still under native rule, make up the remainder.¹ Putting all together, we have $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles as the area of that continent, and the population is estimated at one hundred and forty millions to one hundred and sixty millions; though some make it still more.

The causes which led to the great partition were not one but many. National rivalries, jealousy, and greed; desire for territorial expansion, for colonies to absorb surplus populations and surplus manufactures, and an exaggerated idea of the probable immediate value of these new territories, were all at work. All this indicates an entire change of political view on the

¹ J. S. Keltie, *The Partition of Africa*, chap. xxiii.

importance of colonial possessions to an empire. And so the race began for the control of the territories lying within and just outside the tropics, these forming the largest solid block of as yet unappropriated land in Africa.

The area of the continent will be better understood if we think of it as three times the size of Europe. The population is not large for so great an area, but considering its unhappy history, as the slave hunting ground of the world, and the chief country of the export of slaves from time immemorial, and considering the never-ending tribal wars produced by that slave trade, the wonder is that the continent contains any inhabitants at all. In this singular business, the Export Slave Trade, most of the European nations were for several centuries actively engaged. It may also be a wholesome recollection for us to preserve, with a view to moderating our self-righteous pride, that for nearly three centuries no nation was more actively engaged in that business than Britain. We held a contract at one time for the annual supply of four thousand eight hundred slaves to a neighbouring State; that was over and above other business of the same kind on our own account. But during last century the general or national conscience has received a considerable education. That trade is now a thing of the past, and an occupation at which to wonder.

Great Britain's claims in this scramble, as already stated, can hardly have been said to have been pushed at all, while Germany's claims were pushed a great

deal. From non-action, or want of forethought, or of knowledge of the country, we lost South-West Africa, a large portion of the northern end of Lake Nyassa, and were five days too late to save the Cameroons and prevent its falling into German hands. The indifference of Great Britain, or the want of energetic effort to acquire more territory, may have been due to opposition of a political kind to further expansion of the empire; or to the still lingering influence of the old doctrine of the Manchester School, that colonies were a burden and danger to the mother country; or to a disinclination, even on the part of those who did not hold these now obsolete views, to burden the toiling British Titan with more of the White Man's Burden in the form of yet more territory to administer, more native races to govern, educate, and protect. The weary Titan need not, however, complain too much. Other nations would be glad to do the work. The burden is worth the carrying; the work is worth the doing; and the area widens and grows into an Imperial realm, given to us for moral and not merely for material or Imperial ends; and under the better, wiser, and broader colonial policy of to-day, these colonies are the nurseries and homes of coming nations, sprung from the race that has founded them.

On the results of this partition as it may affect the missions, the natives, and the future of the continent, there is a diversity of opinion. These results may be for good or evil, according as the newly acquired power is used.

With all this partitioning and movement set agoing, it is clear that we have a New Africa to deal with, or what will soon be a new Africa. The construction of a railroad from Cape Town to Cairo, of which more than one-half—or over 2800 miles—is already completed, is one item on the list of changes. It will be over 5000 miles long. Civilisation, like a spring tide, or like a great African river in full flood, is rolling in upon the people of that land. They are quite unprepared for it. All sudden, violent, or extreme changes, whether of temperature or temper, of bodily state or social condition, are dangerous. Human life, like external nature, makes no leaps. All real and lasting progress is steady, slow, organic.

Several questions here arise, and from the answers given to them I wish to construct the argument or plea for Christian missions and for a Christian civilisation, as a direct object, and not an incidental one, or something that may be left to chance.

If it is to be a civilisation without Christianity, of what kind shall it be, an old pagan civilisation or a modern Utilitarian one? Pagan civilisation is now out of date—gone with the gods that lived in its day and live no longer. Modern Utilitarian Civilisation is still here, and has a good many sins to answer for. That is the Trade and Commerce theory which repudiates all responsibility for results in the pursuit of private gain, and “maintains that the trader and capitalist should be allowed to follow his purposes in the competitive process of trade under the ruling principle of

non-interference" and non-responsibility.¹ Mr. Kidd, in his recent book, has dealt a heavy blow to this theory, which had all its own way during last century, and has that so far still. But if this modern theory does not suit even the advanced nations of the West,—and from the turmoil of the present day it does not seem to be suiting them,—we may be certain it will answer very badly in the continent of Africa. There is an ineradicable and quite excusable belief, or a kind of instinct, that the world and the men in it, exist for moral rather than material ends; and that the former are much more important than the gains of commerce.

Another question arises—Will a civilisation based on this Utilitarian or Trade and Commerce theory really do the work—the work of elevation—its supporters say it can do? That may reasonably be doubted. Trade and commerce have been on the West Coast of Africa for more than three centuries. What have they made of that region? Some of its tribes are more hopeless, more sunken morally and socially, and rapidly becoming more commercially valueless, than any tribes that may be found throughout the whole of the continent. Mere commercial influence by its example or its teaching during all that time has had little effect on the cruelty and reckless shedding of blood and the human sacrifices of the besotted paganism which still exists near that coast.

¹ Benjamin Kidd, *Principles of Western Civilisation*, p. 450. Macmillan & Co.

It may be said that it is not the direct aim or duty of these commercial influences to civilise or improve morally. There is every reason for believing that they neither can nor wish to do such work, in spite of all belief to the contrary. If a wholesome and beneficial civilisation is to be introduced, that can only be done by the introduction and direct teaching of Christianity, and that is best done by Christian missions; and as the scale of the continent is large, so also would require to be the scale of missionary work.

The fond belief of many, that the best way to Christianise is to civilise first, consequently falls to the ground. Still this is a delusion which many continue to cherish. It is a curious fact that purely philanthropic or civilising efforts, even on the West Coast of Africa, apart from the spirit of Christian missions have not succeeded. The strongest statement has yet to be made, and it rests on a conclusion gathered from observation and experiment. It cannot be said that civilisation sprang out of Christianity; nor yet that civilisations have not existed apart from Christianity; both statements would be untrue. But, speaking of races that have fallen to a certain low level, all modern experience seems to show that they are never truly civilised by the direct processes, hasty methods, or incidental influences of a civilisation which settles down among them chiefly for its own ends or private gain.

This denial of the power of a purely Utilitarian Civilisation to civilise effectively, beneficially, and per-

manently, may be rejected by some as resting only on African missionary evidence; and missionary opinion, as some think, is often lacking in breadth and calmness. It requires to be used, however, as it is sometimes all we can get. Similar evidence comes from other parts of the world from missionaries who have spent their lives in close contact with these backward races, and it should have some value. From New Guinea there comes the same conclusion as from any part of the African continent. James Chalmers, one of those simple great souls who do their duty and scorn the consequence, even if that should be the loss of life itself, says: "I have had twenty-one years' experience among natives. I have lived with the Christian native, and I have lived, and dined, and slept with cannibals. But I have never yet met with a single man or woman, or with a single people, that civilisation without Christianity has civilised."

The truth seems to be this: If we are to try to make a New Continent, we must have a new man to put into it, otherwise it will be the old story. We may sweep the house and garnish it with such ideas, inventions, or furniture as the twentieth century can supply. This looks promising, for the twentieth century is great and strong, bold and inventive, confident in its power, and hopeful of far greater things in the time that is coming than have been achieved in the past. Yet with all this there is no guarantee that the renewed continent may not be, if not as bad, yet very little better than before. Such things have happened

ere this. Non-Christian civilisations have come to grief, and disappeared off the face of the earth for want of some essential moral element. Non-spiritual reformations in the case of individual men have allowed them to go back to their old sins, and left them in the end dispirited, broken, and despairing of themselves.

All the appliances of modern civilisation—schools, printing presses, railways, telegraphs, and towns—are excellent and necessary. Many or all of these things can be found to-day in Central Africa, in places the very names of which we did not know thirty years ago. Such things, however, only excite the native's curiosity, they do not move his heart nor touch the springs of action; they are not strong enough to make the new continent, and the new man to live in it. On the indurated mental and moral surface of unbroken heathenism they make little or no abiding impression. They are assigned to witchcraft; or they are put down amongst many other unaccountable doings of these unaccountable men—who are white.

Here, then, we may reach some conclusions which seem legitimate enough. One is the logical soundness of the missionary principle, and the practical soundness of the general missionary method, which is this—for spiritual ends, spiritual agencies. Another conclusion which may be assumed, if not wholly proved, is that only a Christian civilisation, as so far already defined, or one with a religious element, can benefit the people of that continent. And if among the religions of the world we are to choose a power fit, able, strong enough

for the work of the moral and spiritual regeneration of a whole continent, we shall find that power in the religion of Jesus Christ, and find it only there. Practically the fact remains that we can find nothing better. It affords for this African work the best chance of success; it is fitted for the kind of work required, and has proved itself strong enough to do it. We may look abroad among the religions of the world, and then say which of them we should venture to put in its place. The old religions of the East may all be left out of account. The one that comes nearest to Christianity is Mohammedanism. But if we are to give the African a new religion, we might as well give him Christianity at once. That will go deeper into his nature, and make a better man of him, and a more highly civilised one. As a Christian man he can take up and use the Western civilisation of to-day; but as a Mohammedan, or at least as a very orthodox Mohammedan, he will find some difficulty in so doing.

To Christianise the African continent is a large piece of work. Trade, commerce, administration, or government cannot do it, and will not do it. There may be a pretence or a talk of that, but it is nothing better than the old pretence which covered the early colonising and slaving effort of three centuries ago, when the work was piously undertaken in order to make Christians of the natives. These pious expressions occur in all the early programmes or memorandums setting forth the purposes of those early

expeditions. Some were a curious mixture of piety and perfidy, of desire to save the souls of men and to get possession of their bodies for sale. No one believes in such professions now, if anyone ever believed in them at any time.

Yet the deceptions of the human heart and the human judgment renew themselves. The present-day form of this false, sham philanthropy is the Gospel of Work, even forced Work, for the African. It is a good gospel, but it needs supplementing. We should not be too much overcome by it, even though mining companies and millionaires preach it. There is a danger.

History has its lessons. One is the existence of national responsibility; another is, that the greedy exploitation of helpless races is a crime as well as a political and administrative blunder. History affords examples of these truths in the great civil war which cleared off slavery in the United States, and in the present condition of Spain, once the owner of vast tropical areas rich in every kind of wealth. Spain exploited the natives of these territories till they were crushed out of existence; and as one crime often leads to another, the modern slave trade arose to supply the labour which had been mercilessly used up in the West Indies and in certain parts of the South American continent. Spain filled its ships with gold, and mistook the symbol of wealth for wealth itself. It substituted the securing and exporting of gold at any cost and by any means, for the true development of those

countries and those peoples which the providence of God had for the time intrusted to her care. To-day what remains of those great colonial possessions? A few small islands,—the Canaries,—and a thin strip of territory on the Atlantic coast south of Morocco and west of the Sahara. Cuba, last of her possessions, and long a dead sea in which great multitudes of Africans perished, has dropped from her feeble grasp. And the gold which was in such abundance, and which tempted the adventurous rovers of Elizabeth's day to scour the seas for Spanish galleons, where has it all gone to? Other causes than purely political ones must have acted to bring a brave, proud, and capable people to the position they now occupy among the European nations. The perfidy, cruelty, and nameless inhumanity with which those helpless races were treated, have been followed by the distinct retribution that Spain has now no such races to deal with. They have disappeared, and so also have Spain's colonial possessions.

Something of the same kind of action, though in a modified form, is apparently being attempted in some regions of Africa. Exploitation on this method is the explanation of the Congo atrocities. The desire, though not the definitely expressed proposal, *of a few* seems to point in the same direction—of some form of forced labour into some of the British possessions farther south. That means that the human being is nothing; that the rubber or the gold is the only thing worth considering. This tremendous hurry to get gold, and in great quantity, has much to

do with the outcry about the deficiency of native labour at the South African goldfields. Natives, like other men, of course, must work. They do so, not perhaps to the extent they might, considering the high price paid for their labour, and it is constantly forgotten how much actual labour is done by them. From Table Bay, for more than a thousand miles northwards, all the unskilled manual labour is done, and has always been done, by natives. They lade and unlade all the ships; they make the roads and railroads; they plough the land and tend the cattle; they dig the gold and diamonds, and all the two hundred millions sterling or thereby which have been obtained from those mines have been got by the labour of natives. It cannot be said that they do not work. It is not a question of work, but of the amount of payment and of humane treatment. At the Kimberley mines there is no difficulty about labour.

To save a great portion of the continent of Africa from passing under a materialistic régime run by financiers,—just as the Congo State is run by Brussels and Antwerp financiers,—Christian effort and opinion need to act, and early, because of urgency in time and vastness of area. Some restraint may thus be placed on the merely Utilitarian Civilisation which simply desires to exploit the continent and its people for its own ends, with the result of making the wretched more wretched under the pretence of introducing civilisation.

The Churches of Europe and America are the proper agency for this work by the planting of missions. They are not responsible for the spread of civilisation, but they are responsible for the spread of Christianity. Who will be injured if it is not done, and greatly benefited if it is done? These same Churches directly if reflexly, and also the people of that continent, directly, greatly, and permanently. What will happen if it is not done? Neglected duties are always followed by penalties.

The regeneration and redemption of Africa is an idea that awakens sympathy, interest, desire, even in the most morally phlegmatic. As a realised idea it means a change as great and wide as the gap that lies between barbarism and civilisation, between paganism and Christianity. That the religion of Jesus Christ shall one day become the religion of the entire African continent seems to make a considerable demand on our religious faith, and even on our everyday experience and worldly wisdom. Yet the fundamental idea and avowed aim of all missionary enterprise makes this demand. It goes even further and takes in other continents as well, and asserts that that religion will one day become the Universal Religion of Mankind. Without this the missionary effort has hardly sufficient reason or starting-point, and no definite terminus or goal. With this, however, as an object, there is an explanation adequate and comprehensible of what the enterprise means and intends, of its hopes, method, urgency, and value to the world. Whether that value

is meantime recognised or not is not material to the question. That enterprise goes on a totally different line from that of the evolutionist, whose faith in the power of development to make a new world with happy men in it is sometimes a little too sanguine. There is rather much faith placed in the process itself apart from moral influences necessary and essential. It is perhaps wiser to recognise the truth that this evolution is a *process* rather than a *power* in itself. Man's highest life lies within the moral sphere. His more enduring satisfactions belong to that region, and his nature is never satisfied if these satisfactions are left out.

The belief in the possibility of a Christianised continent need not be passed by as a mere presumption, rash prediction, or pious dream. It rests rather on sober, legitimate inference from the past, slow as the rate of change may be, and small as the results as yet actually are. As to the time of its realisation I cannot say anything, nor can any other man. Questions and mistakes as to when the kingdom of God is to appear are as old as the days of the Apostles. As regards the missionary enterprise, it is enough if we can believe that its final success certainly lies in the future, whether near or distant. That success looks improbable, of course; but more improbable things have happened. Nothing could have seemed more improbable than that the truth told by a small group of men, twelve in number, would ever overturn the Imperial paganism of Rome. Christianity's method

is silent, slow, certain. It undermines rather than violently overthrows old systems. It deals with old false beliefs, or old evils which oppress mankind, rather by taking the spirit and life out of them, by substituting something higher, than by directly attacking them. They then fall to the ground by their own weight, or are left on the field, dead things, out of which power has departed. Hence it is that these same truths have come to be the recognised and accepted religion of the foremost nations of the world on two continents; and to be the strongest moral and spiritual forces in the life of these nations. To the influence and vivifying breath of Christ's religion, whether acknowledged or not, quite as much as to the growth of science and the spread of knowledge, these nations owe all that is strongest, purest, best; all that is most humane and gentle, and that makes for progress and peace, and for the permanence of their civilisation.

Civilisation, someone will say, modern civilisation, produced these great changes. Evolution produced them, says a clearer headed and stronger thinker. Both helped, and helped well; but neither of these forces originated the ideas, nor marked out the course of progress. Civilisation can go in other directions than upwards, and has sometimes landed itself in a quagmire.

We leave out a great deal of the real power in modern progress when we leave out the influence of that wonderful religion—the religion founded by Jesus Christ. The most progressive nations are Christian

nations.¹ Race, no doubt, has something to do with this ; but neither race nor evolution seems sufficiently to explain the fact. The truth is as broad as Europe and America laid together. And however defective, imperfect, and incomplete may be the civilisation of Europe and America, still it is a Christian civilisation, and that means a good deal. Defective it undoubtedly still is, with many a blot and spot of shame, yet better far and different altogether from that of days gone by, or of any heathen civilisation of to-day wherever found. In China to-day civilisation is stationary or stagnant ; in Rome in a day gone by it was merciless, regardless of everything but a State aim, and destructive of itself by a certain inherent moral weakness.

The conclusion, then, is, that if we wish to civilise the African continent, we must employ Christianity, the universal civiliser. At least we do not know of any other power equally efficient. It will succeed, however, only if all the factors are combined. Many, in thinking of missionary work and its probabilities of success, become depressed because they think only of one factor, the human agency. If that were the whole force we might very well despair, and the African continent would probably remain for some thousands of years longer very much what it is and has been.

But there are other factors ; there are three, not one.

¹ Japan may seem to be an exception. Its progress during fifty years has been perhaps unparalleled ; but that has been gained by borrowing the products of a civilisation that is Western and Christian.

In the order of their importance they stand thus, beginning at the lowest : Human Agency, Supernatural Influence, Divine Purpose. Behind or above the weak human agency in this conflict stands another, like the invisible Angel of Victory, which in contending armies, engaged in deadly battle, hovers over one side, and, though unseen, decides the fate of the day by the spirit it infuses into the victors. It is a similar invisible force which gives life, power, stability, and the conviction of ultimate success to missionary effort, and which also explains many things about it, quite inexplicable by the canons of ordinary worldly wisdom or the rules of everyday business experience. Every true missionary knows very well that this supernatural or divine influence exists and acts. The savage is not tamed, or the polished and civilised heathen altered, and both converted into totally different men, by any merely human effort, or by any mental revolution explainable psychologically. When either savage African or civilised Hindu becomes in reality a Christian, that is, a man whom God has changed or re-made into a new man in affections and will, aspiration and action, the missionary stands by in reverence and awe. He knows very well he did not effect that change. He believes, if no other believes, that the Spirit of God has been there and at work. We are, I hope, prepared to admit the presence and influence of the Divine Spirit as a force in human life, and that we do not yet occupy a quite God-forsaken world. Why should that influence be confined wholly to Christian lands,

and to human beings called, or calling themselves, Christians?

As touching that Divine Purpose, we have in this chapter been dealing with the Partition of Africa, not for political, but for missionary ends and consequences. In that great division of a continent, in a certain European capital, kings, emperors, and presidents took part, representatively, if not directly. But before any of these congresses, there was a divine purpose about Africa or Ethiopia, and a declaration that the land of the sunburnt, dark-skinned races lying south of Egypt are really His; and that He means one day to substantiate that claim. We may here set aside all rhetoric, and equally any logic with doubtful premises, and fall back on the simple fact. It is this, that the world we live in is God's world and not man's, though man in the use of his perilous gift—his free will—has made rather a sorry world of it.

These three main factors in missionary work are our chief ground of hope, and the individual missionary's main strength. Here, then, also comes in the value and rationale of prayer in connection with Christian missions. If we believe in prayer at all as applicable to other events in life, we may believe in it as a power in connection with missionary work. It becomes an appeal by the Church in the only form and only direction possible for the addition of the two chief factors, this Supernatural Influence and the fulfilment of the Divine Purpose as a supplement to the human effort.

Missionaries are like some other men who work abroad, and who also represent a power and a purpose. They may be administrators, governors, and proconsuls of a great empire, or humble officials ; and their spheres may be Cairo, or Cape Town, or Calcutta, or some scarcely known frontier outpost. These men go about their work without any of the fear or anxiety that comes from doubt and weakness. They do so because they know that in all that is just, wise, and right in their action, humane in their rule of subject races, and sound in general policy, they have behind them the force of a great empire. That empire has its faults and its defects not a few, but for general integrity of rule, for diversity of race, extent of territory, and success on the whole, it is the most wonderful empire the sun has ever shone on. It contains about one-fourth of the human race. Never before in the world's history has there been anything to equal or surpass it. Rome in its best days came nearest to that, and if I so speak of it, it is not to gratify our national pride, but as a wholesome reminder of our national responsibility, especially to these two regions, the continent of Africa and the great province of India. God gives men or nations power not to make a plaything of, or to boast about, or to misuse.

This illustration is taken to make plain the position of another worker or set of workers in another empire and with another kind of administration. The missionary is not generally troubled with anxiety or fear about final results. When he is troubled,

it is mostly about his own irresolution, weakness, fickleness, feebleness, and incompetence for the great task before him. Otherwise he knows that there lies behind him a great Power which gives calmness, endurance, persistence, and also the belief of certain victory in the end. If you ask whose power that is, the answer is easy. It is His, whose kingdom grows, and whose throne shall not, like that of other empires, pass away, even though He is as yet an unacknowledged King—once described as ‘King of the Jews,’—in reality, King of the world.

We may believe that His rule over the African continent is coming. We may be certain that Christ did not shed His blood on this earth, and for it, to give it back to the powers of evil. The day of the African continent has been long in coming, but the dawn has begun, and ‘Morning o’er that weird continent is now dimly breaking.’

II

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CONTINENT

PAGANISM, MOHAMMEDANISM, CHRISTIANITY

THREE great religious powers stand face to face in opposition to each other in Africa to-day. They are Paganism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. The struggle between them is not new. It is rather being renewed, and this time will probably be final. Each is aiming at spiritual supremacy over a continent, an empire well worthy of a struggle, all the more that under the changes of the last thirty years—by which slave trading and slave raiding, intertribal wars, and other evils, will be gradually put down—the population will undoubtedly and rapidly increase.

Two of these powers have been long in occupation. Paganism longest; Mohammedanism next; Christianity last—if we except its first occupation of the Mediterranean shore. Without observing how they stand related, we cannot realise the magnitude and nature of the task which the missionary effort of the present century has before it in the African continent.

There are three different views on the subject

of this chapter. Sincere believers in the steady onward progress and divinely appointed destiny of Christianity, regard such consideration as unnecessary. It is unwise, however, to despise one's foe when a battle is pending. If it were not that Mohammedanism has so large a hold of Africa, and that a good many Christian apologists think that it will do just as well as Christianity for the African in the meantime, the subject might remain untouched. Other writers, again, go a great deal further, and maintain that the religious future of one-half of the African continent belongs to Mohammedanism; that it is extending itself by great strides every year; and that its missionaries are meeting with a success which is denied to our own.

A third view is that held by those who think that the day of Islam is past even in North Africa. This view rests on the belief that the recent partition of Africa has entirely altered the balance of political power in that part of the world. Politically, they are probably right; commercially, also, they may be right, for legitimate trade, or what is called such, which has cleaner hands than Arab trade, is coming more to the front every day. In consequence, the Arab, and with him Mohammedan influence, can never again, in some parts of Africa at least, be what he has been. Hitherto he has been a serious factor to deal with. In this conflict of opinion, which is widening every day, and in which Mohammedanism finds an increasing number of apologists and defenders, we must examine

for ourselves. I shall try to state fairly, if briefly, the merits of each religion, since to one of these three faiths the religious future of the continent must belong.

I. Of Paganism. It may seem a strange thing to say, and yet it is true, that paganism springs from a natural and not evil root, which can neither be eradicated nor condemned. It is due in reality to the religious instincts of mankind, and we may be glad that even their perversion in the form of paganism cannot extinguish them. We speak of paganism and heathenism. The terms are really interchangeable. Some writers use the word paganism for religions that have no sacred books and few systematic rites. Yet this distinction would hardly apply to the older Paganisms. In Africa, paganism manifests itself not by temples and idols, but by what is popularly known as fetichism, and by what is called animism or spiritism. It is the worship of a spirit rather than of an idol; of a spirit that is supposed to reside in some object, or, more exactly, to be connected with it in some indistinct way, and through which a certain influence for, or on behalf of, or against the owner of the object or fetich may be exerted. Any object, animate or inanimate, therefore, may be a fetich. It may be tribal or individual. Its influence may be hurtful and malign, or the opposite; generally it is malign, and requiring to be propitiated.

Though simple in form, Paganism is a terrible fate spiritually, and an oppressive power under which to live. To all the ills of this life it adds the constant

terrors of a world unseen, whose agents are ever actively interfering with human affairs, and from which there is no escape. Had we been born into it, life would have been a very different thing to us from what it is.

The rites of blood and cruelty which belong to African paganism need not here be described; they have existed in some form in every land where paganism has ruled. The soil of our own country was probably at one time often soaked with the blood of human victims. The horror of that rite can hardly be realised, unless we try to imagine the feelings of the hopeless victim offered in sacrifice by his fellow beings under the sanction of religion. The plight, mentally and spiritually, of those living under paganism should appeal to our human as well as our Christian sympathy. Pity is not a primary missionary motive of the highest class, but it can well be joined to the highest motive, loyalty, and love to Jesus Christ.

Let me speak of the pagan rather than of paganism, so that we may pity rather than despise, condemn, or neglect him in his misery. The pagan is a man like ourselves. He has a conscience, and recognises, though on a lower plane and a narrower area, and with much more confusion of thought, many distinctions between right and wrong which are acknowledged by us. He has a strong impression of an unseen and supernatural world close by. He has also impressions of the mystery of life, and the belief that there is something amiss both with the world and with himself,

though he may not shape his thought into the words we use. He has also the belief and fear of some 'Power that is neither the power of man nor of nature, but something greater than either or both.'

We mistake altogether if we suppose that our fellow-men, whom we roughly classify by the hundred million as pagans or heathens, have no such impressions. As life advances such thoughts come. When young these thoughts did not trouble him; but later, he who was born in paganism, and has lived all his days in it having nowhere else to go, becomes a melancholy man, and an object deserving our profoundest pity. He is in darkness; wants light and cannot get it; and tries to kindle a light of his own, even if it be the baleful light of paganism. He feels that wrong has been done, that propitiation must be made; and the transition to sacrifices of the most revolting kind is inevitable, easily explicable, and so far logical.

Paganism is best briefly described thus: "When He was come out of the ship there met Him a man coming out of the tombs. He had an unclean spirit, and no man could bind him. He had been often bound, but he plucked the chains asunder, and was always, night and day, in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones." Widen the narrative, or clothe it with the everlasting significance which belongs to the words and doings of Jesus Christ, and you will find to-day not one man but millions in those tombs of superstition and evil

surroundings, burdened with gloom and mental pain, crying out in agony of soul, and inflicting needless tortures on both soul and body.

All we have heard or read of paganism does not make it worse than it is; the darkest picture is not overdrawn. The poorness and hardness, narrowness and joylessness of human existence in paganism, in Central Africa at least, must be seen to be understood. I am not putting together mere terms to produce a false effect. I am thinking of men I have known; whose names I remember; whose faces I can recall now; and whose life-weary expression is still before me. And now and again I ask if they are living or dead; and if dead, what they thought when they passed from a pagan world, where all to them was morally dark, into that unseen world where all is light, morally at least, that being the light in which all things are seen there? And, last of all, what has become of them now?

In Africa alone, of men in this forlorn condition there are a hundred or a hundred and ten millions; and that is leaving hundreds of millions uncounted outside. Yet repulsive and unpromising as African paganism looks, it is an excellent field for missionary work. Missionary experience and statistics confirm this from South Africa to Uganda. Its very misery makes it welcome relief. Its utter darkness makes it glad of light. Yet of this paganism we may cherish the belief that it is likely to pass away even in Africa earlier than many believe. It is hemmed in by two forces north and south; both

are aggressive, energetic, possessed with missionary zeal, and likely to extend their territories. To one of these we have now to turn.

II. This second religion is neither pagan nor Christian. It is Mohammedanism, which was and still is a formidable power. We often dismiss its consideration lightly with the words—an imposture, a mere delusion; but it cannot be so dismissed. Indian missionaries must speak of its power in India. I shall confine myself mainly to its power and influence in Africa. A certain incompleteness in the statement is, however, inevitable, for there is much in connection with Mohammedanism in which not the religious, but the political power must be referred to, in order to reach an explanation. In reality Mohammedanism began as a religion, quickly shaped itself into an empire, and finally took permanent form as both, to the dismay of the then existing empires, and to the final overthrow of a good many. A recent writer on the living faiths of the world has spoken of Hinduism as the Creed of Rest; Buddhism, as the religion whose goal is Oblivion; and Mohammedanism, as the religion of Action.

From the first, action has been pre-eminently the characteristic of Mohammedanism, and its double nature renders it a formidable force. Let me here recall in a word, even though the facts are known, the great history of its early days. Coming out of the deserts of Arabia as a protest against idolatry, it began in a very humble way. But it soon became one of

the most potent religious and political forces in the world, accomplishing what has been called "one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe." It first laid hold of the scattered tribes of Arabia, ever fighting against and plundering each other, and welded them into a compact whole; it put "a new spirit into them, even if it was a false spirit; it turned their robber instincts and habits into disciplined military valour"; and by a strange combination of religious enthusiasm and fighting qualities it overran the best parts of the then known world on two continents. It entered Africa with a small force of four thousand men about the year 640 A.D., and occupied Alexandria. Within eighty years it had pushed westwards to the Atlantic, sweeping all before it, and made an end of the Christianity that had been established for several centuries on the shores of the Mediterranean. It passed over into Spain and occupied it; and still pushing northwards, by the year 732 A.D. it had reached within 150 miles of Paris. On the famous field of Tours it was confronted by Charles Martel, or the Hammer, and the desperate battle of several days was fought which saved the North of Europe and Western civilisation from irretrievable ruin.

The impression exists that Mohammedanism is no longer propagated by the power of the sword. So far and formally that is true, and certainly no longer is the old alternative given—'the Koran, tribute, or death.' But another battle, though not of equal im-

portance to that of the plain of Tours, and one the results of which we do not yet foresee, was fought only a few years ago, and it probably saved North-Eastern Africa. The power of the Khalifa, the successor of the Mahdi, was then completely broken. It was the recent battle of Omdurman. The Mahdi means 'the expected one; the restorer of all things; or the guiding one.' Had things gone the other way in that battle, Khartoum would have been now in the Mahdi's possession; English tourists would not be going to Khartoum to-day by rail; and generally, through the whole of that region of the Middle Nile, things would have taken an entirely different turn, and civilisation and Christianity would have been again sent northwards to wait till their time should come.

The religious and the political power of Mohammedanism are like two circles that largely overlap, and any reference to the causes influencing the religious progress of Mohammedanism requires occasional reference to matters of another kind. The same is true of some events occurring now, though their bearing on both civilisation and Christianity in Africa may not be just at first sight very apparent. Thus, for example, not long ago there arose a difficulty, which quickly became a danger, about a place called Fashoda; and we have within the last few months completed a railway 580 miles long, from Mombasa to Victoria Nyanza.

With all the territory we have, spread over the whole world, did we so much want a little bit of that

brown, hard, sun-baked land lying round Fashoda as to risk a quarrel with a powerful neighbour called France? Or have we so many millions to spare at present that we can afford to spend five millions on a railway which, commercially, will not pay for a very long time? We are a dense and also, according to our continental neighbours, a very grasping people. But we are not so dense or grasping as all that, and the plain fact or truth is this, we could hardly help ourselves. They—whoever they may be—who hold the upper waters of the Nile, hold the lower; and they who hold both, hold Egypt. And so for Egypt's sake, and for African humanity's sake, and perhaps I ought in perfect truth and honesty to admit, for our own sake, we needed Fashoda, and we kept it. And we built the railway in question to get at the region of these upper waters by another route, if need should arise. And the present Government has aided the cause of African civilisation by so doing; and also, though unintentionally, the Uganda Mission by the same work. To the mission it has greatly lessened expense, saved time, and lessened risk to life, by converting a long toilsome and expensive caravan journey of between two and three months into an easy and comfortable journey of three or four days. Security, however, for other and far more important regions and interests is the real meaning of the Uganda protectorate, of the Fashoda incident, and of the Uganda railway.

But let us mainly follow the line of the religious

power and influence of Mohammedanism in Africa. It is difficult to realise the vitality and force which reside in that religion, or the intensity with which it is held by its followers. It is strong in its belief, in its fanaticism, in its self-satisfaction. It has no doubts. It leaves all these to Christian thinkers. Its chief inward trouble, if it has any, is the existence within it of sects of varying degrees of orthodoxy.

But as many travellers and some Christian writers maintain that it succeeds where Christian missions fail, what is the secret of its power? How has it been able to drive the old paganism before it, even in regions where that paganism seemed as firmly established as the land in which it grew? The real explanation is not difficult. The statement of it will also give us the essence of the Mohammedan religious creed, or refresh our memories about it.

Mohammedanism brings to Paganism a message that is simple, easily comprehended, and that commends itself at once with weight and authority to those addressed. That message is also to them quite new. One-half of it is absolutely true, if the other half is not. The message is this—*There is one God; there is no God but God*, and Mahomet is His prophet. The extension or development of the first half of this great truth is also true. It is—This one God is the Creator of all things; the Source of all existence; the Supreme Ruler; the great Preserver of all men. He is the Eternal, the All-Merciful, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and Omnipresent. These great truths, borrowed

from Christianity or Judaism, form an immense advance on anything dreamt of in that land of dark shades and dim knowledge called paganism. To the unhappy human spirit that dwells there, this is light indeed, dazzling, yet not painful. It is as the light of a full born day dropped into the darkness of midnight. These truths are massive, simple, authoritative, difficult to disprove or discredit. The moral nature of man responds to them. Their power is scarcely affected by the grotesque additions made to some of them by Mahomet. The truths he altered and weakened from the simple severity of Scripture are those on heaven, hell, and the resurrection. He has, as is well known, a sensuous heaven; a hell terrible yet grotesque. How different also is his doctrine of the resurrection, with two angels, whom he names, going about to awaken the dead, as compared with the simple truth of Scripture—"I show you a mystery; the dead shall be raised, for this mortal must put on immortality."

His application or use of this great doctrine—the existence, unity, and goodness of God in relation to the attitude of man's spirit—is expressed in one word—*Islam*, which means resignation, submission to the will of God. That is shown to be the condition that will bring most rest, peace, and happiness to man's soul. Here again the application is sound. But want of balance, or tendency to exaggeration, is the infirmity of human thinking, and out of this true doctrine has arisen the false one of fatalism. Some deny that this

belongs peculiarly to the Mohammedan religion: Practically it underlies a good deal of Oriental life. It is a comfortable doctrine for those who dislike to exert themselves suddenly and strenuously in order to meet great emergencies or unexpected calamities. It does not suit the energetic Western races. Yet they recognise submission to the will of God as a duty, and as one of the safest moral sedatives in the fever of life.

The practical duties and moral precepts which make up the remainder of the Mohammedan religion are equally simple. They are chiefly prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimages, injunctions against gambling, strong drink, and usury, and some other prohibitions. We might ourselves learn something from some of these, on prayer, against gambling, and strong drink. The call to prayer is made five times a day, at about or a little before sunset, at nightfall, at sunrise, at noon, and in the afternoon. To keep the human soul in contact or communion with God seems to be the meaning of these frequent calls, and to recognise the fact that prayer is the best corrective of the power of the visible over the invisible, which leads the human soul into a God-forgetting life.

The Koran is the Bible of Mohammedanism. It is a book of which all who read have heard, which very few have seen, and fewer still have read. But it is more to Mohammedanism than the Bible is to Christianity. It forms a code for the entire social, civil, military, and religious life of the people, since, in

Islamism, Church and State are inseparably interwoven. It is regarded by all Mohammedans as a revelation given by God to Mahomet at different times, extending over a period of more than twenty years; sometimes given by the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, sometimes by the mediation of the angel Gabriel as God's messenger. It was written down as dictated by Mahomet on anything that came first to hand, on palm-leaves, skin, pieces of wood, even on flat bones, such as the shoulder bones of sheep, or on shells. These instalments of this heavenly revelation as they accumulated were stored in a box. Later on they were copied more than once, and finally took shape as the Sacred Book which has exerted so large an influence over the world for thirteen hundred years. The Koran is held in extraordinary reverence by all good Moslems. To see the book in the hands of an unbeliever is said to be to them an unpleasant sight. It is divided into surahs or chapters, and the reading or reciting of portions of these with prayer forms a considerable part of Mohammedan worship. Its main doctrines are, as just stated, the existence of one true God, of one true religion, and of a future judgment. It has as a revelation little sequence and hardly any gradual development, and is not always consistent with itself; and has so little arrangement, that it has sometimes been described as a medley. Numberless commentaries have been written upon its contents. There can hardly be any doubt that its most important truths have been borrowed from Judaism and

Christianity. The practical duties it enjoins are those already mentioned, prayer, alms, pilgrimage.

The power of Mohammedanism, then, lies largely in its resemblance to Christianity. In the words of one of its apologists,¹ it is the nearest approach to Christianity that has been presented to the nations of the East. It is the one religion in the world, apart from Christianity and Judaism, that is monotheistic, or which holds the doctrine of one God. Its religious rites are simple; it has no sacrifices, and its moral duties are of a very practical nature. Hence, in comparing Mohammedan and Christian missions, he says: "As to the effects of Islam when first embraced by a negro tribe there can be no reasonable doubt. Polytheism disappears almost instantaneously; sorcery gradually dies away, and human sacrifices become a thing of the past. A general moral elevation is very marked. The natives begin for the first time in their history to dress, and that neatly. Squalid filth is replaced by scrupulous cleanliness; hospitality becomes a religious duty; drunkenness, instead of being the rule, becomes a comparatively rare exception. Polygamy, though allowed by the Koran, is not a common practice . . . ; chastity is looked upon as one of the highest virtues." Idleness is regarded as degrading, and industry as the reverse. Justice is secured by a written code, instead of the arbitrary and often cruel caprice of the native chief; and after giving a number of other marked comparisons, he concludes: "It is melancholy to contrast with

¹ Bosworth Smith, *Mahomed and Mahommedanism*, p. 35.

these widespread and beneficial influences of Mohammedanism the little that has been done for Africa by the Christian nations that have settled in it, and the still narrower limits within which it has been confined. Till a few years ago the good effects produced beyond the immediate territories occupied by them were absolutely nothing.”¹

This is an opinion outside of and entirely hostile to missionary opinion. It would be supported by such travellers and writers as Joseph Thomson, Sir Richard Burton, Dr. Blyden, and many others. It would be opposed by Dr. Livingstone, Dr. Lenz, the German traveller in the Soudan, Drs. Oppel and Loeller (also Germans), and a number of others competent to express an opinion.

It may naturally be asked, What have missionaries themselves to say? They have some similar great truths to work with—the existence, unity, and goodness of God. Why do not Christian missions produce among pagan tribes like beneficial results? Mohammedanism has forty millions of adherents in Africa. Christianity has one million, or accurately a little less. As the message, in so far as it sounds, is the same, there must be something wrong with the men or their methods. The answer is—

1. Mohammedanism has been thirteen hundred years at work in North Africa; on the great region inland from the West Coast and south of the Sahara,

¹ *Mahomed and Mahommedanism*, p. 32.

certainly eight hundred years. Modern Christian missions have been a hundred years ; omitting the early Roman Catholic missions on the Congo and in East Africa, and the early Christianity of North Africa, which Mohammedanism swept away, leaving not a trace behind except in the circumscribed area of Abyssinia and the Coptic Church.

2. Christian missions produce all these effects, and a great deal more that is not visible. The statement in favour of Islamism is overdrawn. The evidence of numerous travellers and writers is against that pleasing picture. The estimate of its results and future prospects is entirely sanguine, and not strictly accurate. There can be no doubt, however, as to the immense social difference which Mohammedanism makes on the African. It pulls him together, and he becomes in every way more of a man, certainly more self-assertive. It may be the similar influence of Christianity which produces the self-assertion of the native among South African tribes, and of native Indian servants, of both of whom some complain so greatly. There are no Mohammedans among the Kaffir tribes in the South. It would be a mistake, moreover, to suppose that over all the wide area coloured green in the map all its population have become staunch Mohammedans. Over many districts and through numerous tribes, the acceptance of that faith has arisen from fear or from interest, individual or tribal.

3. The standard is different. The acceptance of one peculiar rite, the intellectual assent to one simple

creed, and the performance of certain external duties, makes a Mohammedan. It takes a much more extensive change to make a Christian. Neither slavery nor polygamy, fatalism nor fanaticism, are encouraged or allowed by Christianity as it comes with its message to the African to-day. It further requires not merely a change of outward conduct, but of heart and spirit. It lays more stress on what a man is, than on what he seems to be; it regards change of belief, or the acceptance of a new creed and a new rite, as of less consequence than change of character, which, being real and vital, will go on growing. It deals much more with that which is invisible, and which belongs to the spiritual realm of man's nature. All these changes are more real and more difficult to produce by the Christian missionary, and they are less easy to accept on the African's part. Hence the African accepts the easier religion, which, however, is an advance on his old paganism as great and as different as day is different from night.

Taking Mohammedanism as a whole, with its strange and wonderful career, the difficulty is how to fit that career, as an event permitted by God, into the progress of the world, or into what may be called the evolution of its spiritual history, and how to understand the purpose it was meant to serve. No theory seems to fully explain the subject. Mohammedanism is there in the African continent as in some other portions of the world. It is an obstacle to the progress of Christianity, and also to the progress of civilisation in

its higher forms. Many believe that Mohammedanism stimulates education and aids the progress of these pagan tribes. To some slight extent this is true. This progress and stimulus must not, however, be taken too literally. It would be useful to know what proportion of the common people can actually read. At present, education generally seems to consist of instruction in passages of the Koran, and ability to commit them to memory. Fanatical attachment to an orally learned creed is largely the result of such education. There are, further, all the social influences, the sense of brotherhood and the cohesion it gives tribally, or even more widely through the whole Mohammedan world. But here arise some questions of interest. Can Mohammedanism alter or advance in the direction of Christianity, or yield to any extent in its exclusive claims, or accommodate itself to the growing civilisation of to-day? The only answer must be that it is very doubtful if it can or will.¹ In certain regions of Africa, Mohammedanism meets with more success than in others, for to some extent paganism varies with the race in which it is found. In all northern climates and with energetic races it takes a form of destructive aggressiveness. With southern races it is less active but as cruel.

III. Christianity was the third and latest religion to enter the African continent, that is, within the period

¹ For a summary of the better elements of Mohammedanism, see Bosworth Smith, *Mahomed and Mahommedanism*, Lecture IV.

of recent missionary effort. Historically, it may be said to have taken possession in a representative form when a little infant was carried down for safety from Syria to an Egyptian home ; and thirty-five years later, when the treasurer of an Ethiopian queen went back to his house a baptized Christian. There were probably also some dwellers in Cyrene and Libya who returned to their African homes from Jerusalem after the first Christian Pentecost. We further know that during the next four centuries Christianity grew in power, numbers, and influence in Northern Africa, and had a strong centre at Carthage. As to what that Church became, in one aspect of its history at least, it is enough to say that it produced Augustine, Athanasius, and Clement, and many others whose influence on the theology of Christendom exists till this day. Men still read *The City of God* and *The Confessions of Augustine*.

Doctrinally, it is not necessary to attempt any statement of what Christianity is, nor is this the place for such a statement. But as a religion in comparison or contrast with other religions, Christianity claims to be, and is, a direct revelation from God to man. That revelation is contained in certain books now collected in one. But its idea and great central truth is still more fully revealed in a Person, who is Jesus Christ ; still more fully in a work which He did, called Redemption—the redemption of mankind from evil and its consequences. It is still more fully revealed as to its essence, chief influence, and power by the spirit which it inculcates, namely, Love—that being

both its origin and explanation, and also its aim. And the production and diffusion of this spirit and its manifestation between man and man is regarded as the chief fulfilment of its requirements, and the surest means of making a happier world. It makes war only with one thing, namely, *the power of evil* wherever found, in whatever form, or under whatever name. It is therefore the religion best fitted to be the religion of all mankind—moral evil being that which has spoiled man's life everywhere. Its truths, its purity, and its spirit are the world's hope if moral evil is to be overcome. The acceptance generally of its main doctrines is not difficult intellectually, if a revelation from God to man be regarded as a reasonable probability. In some of its facts and the doctrines connected with them some find considerable difficulty. The Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of the body are two of these—though even Mahomet accepted the miraculous conception while he denied the divinity of Christ. The greatest difficulty of all, however, is the practice of its high ideal.

The full comprehension of this faith, which is intended to be, and will become after various changes of opinion in the world's thought, the Universal Religion of Mankind, does not wholly lie within the region of intellect or the province of reason. It nowhere contradicts reason, or travels beyond those fundamental laws under which thought is possible. But it asks from man the exercise of a great deal of faith or trust in God—that is, assuming that he believes in a personal

God. This trust, which is largely the action or consent of the heart, is different from mere acquiescence in a bare statement of certain truths called doctrines. It is here, then, that the Person who is the very centre of this revelation comes in, and also the work He has done, which is inseparably connected with His Person. Abstractions are less powerful and move men less than personalities. And when to the comprehension of the intellect there is added the trust of the heart and the surrender of the will, there is a complete acceptance of Christianity, and the life of the individual is thereby lifted up or linked into a new and true relation to God Himself. The aim of Christianity, then, is to restore man to God, wholly and completely in mind and heart and life, in affections, in intellect and will. When that is done Christianity is comprehended and accepted, and becomes a religion. It effects what the word itself means, the *binding again* of the individual soul to God from whom it has wandered in its fatal love of evil, having been led astray by the misuse of its own free will. There is, further, full belief in that love which lies at the bottom of Christianity and is its origin and foundation—just as the manifestation of that love is its best fruit, its crowning glory, and the surest mark of its reality among human beings.

It is on this ground that Christianity can be rightly spoken of as the universal religion, and the best fitted for all mankind among all existing religions. It is not what is called an ethnic or race religion, though in this Mohammedanism resembles it, while different in spirit.

Christianity thus remains as the most catholic and world-wide of all religions, though it has not as yet the largest number of adherents. It recognises men as men, without regard to race, colour, previous creed, or geographical boundary. It has the same direct religious and personal message to all, on the ground that humanity is one, that race differences are incidental and not essential, that colour is a difference neither generic nor specific, seldom of scientific value, and therefore still less of human or religious distinction.

Zoroaster's teaching suits the Parsee, and is accepted by him; and his peaceful, honest, and industrious life, as he is known in Western India and in London and elsewhere to-day, do credit to the practice of the religion he professes. Hinduism or Brahminism suits the Hindu, or, more exactly, it is all he was born to, and he clings to it. Confucianism suits the Chinaman in the same sense, and is addressed to him as a son of the same soil and race as Confucius himself. Buddhism suits the Burman, though some would not regard it as an ethnic religion. The Jew clings to Judaism. He is proud of it because it speaks to him specially as a Jew on whom the choice and favour of God was specially bestowed,—though that belongs to the religious glories of a day that is dead. His mistake now is that religiously he lives in the past or in the future, and does not or cannot read the present, or understand the religious evolution of the world in the gradual development of God's plan.

It seems hardly a task to be undertaken to put Mohammedanism and Christianity into comparison or competition. Mohammedanism, like Christianity, invites all. The invitation in days gone by was often very rough, left no choice but death or tribute, and was quite different from another invitation to all guilt-beclouded men, worn out with an invisible burden, and weary with a fruitless quest—to 'come and find rest' of a real kind. If Christianity had nothing better to offer African humanity than what Islam has, the gift would not be very great. Mohammedanism is now represented by many different races and colours. It has spread over Asia, over the northern half of Africa, and stubbornly holds its own in the south-east of Europe.

The two religions have some points of similarity, but their contrast spiritually, socially, and administratively is very striking. We need not conduct any unfair, one-sided, or zealously heated argument against Mohammedanism. It has its good effects and its bad effects. I have had to do with African Mohammedans, and have learned something from them—lessons in self-denial, and in the influence of a courageous devotion to whatever religion a man may profess. It is not more fair to charge upon Islamism all the evils we find existing within it or alongside of it, than it would be to charge Christianity with the evils which exist in Christian lands and cannot be exorcised. A missionary speaker at the last London Conference said: "It should not be forgotten that there are to be found within the

creed of Islam men who are better than their creed; that there are good, kind-hearted Mohammedans; that while both slavery and polygamy are sanctioned, he would not be prepared to say that there were no moral men and no moral women in Islam." He referred also to the existence of a more moderate school of Mohammedan thinkers, who do not claim for the Koran an eternal existence, and who do not hold the orthodox view of its verbal inspiration.

But we have to do with Mohammedanism as a religious belief and a form of government, and as put forward by some of its apologists as a good substitute for Christianity, and an excellent instrument for the civilisation of Africa and for its spiritual education. The unfortunate effect of such opinions is not confined to this country. They work a twofold evil whether they are the views of lay or clerical apologists,—for they are published and read abroad, and they weaken missionary interest and sympathy at home amongst those whose information is neither very full nor very accurate. When men at home or abroad learn from a Christian preacher, or from an educated native African who is also a professed Christian, that Mohammedanism is "the only great intellectual, moral, and commercial power between Sierra Leone and Egypt, and that it has shaped the social, political, and religious life of the most intellectual tribes, and that it controls the politics and commerce of all Africa north of the Equator";¹ they may naturally believe that

¹ Dr. Blyden, *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Race*, p. 260.

Christian missions in that region are not necessary or possible with any hope of success. Another writer regards the spread of Mohammedanism as "the most notable event in the history of Africa since the fall of Carthage. Its simple creed, its missionary zeal, its cohesion and its numbers, conquer where Christianity fails."¹

Some answers have already been given to these averments on a previous page, and a contrary opinion in favour of Christian missions may now be given. Silva White, who has carefully weighed and almost judicially stated the case as between Christian and Mohammedan missions, especially on the asserted widespread success of Mohammedanism, mentions two causes as explaining the comparative non-success of Christianity. He uses two words which throw a great deal of light on the question. The one is *Christianism* and the other is *Assimilation*, and shows how both these favour the cause of Mohammedanism. This *Christianism*, while pretending to be Christianity, and nominally identifying itself with Christianity, practises the very reverse of what the latter requires. It has connived at the slave trade whilst pretending to suppress it, and has introduced the evil trade in gin and gunpowder. The Mohammedan at the same time preaches temperance, and for the most part practises it, and thus has an advantage. Another cause in favour of Islamism among the native races is expressed

¹ E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Geographie Universelle*, vol. x. p. 36. See also Silva White, *Development of Africa*, pp. 149-151.

in the word Assimilation. The Christian missionary does not give his daughter in marriage, and will not assimilate by intermarriage, as the Mohammedan does, with the people among whom he labours, and thus obliterate the barrier of race distinction as well as of religion.

The widespread diffusion of Islamism does not settle the question of the spiritual and social influence of the two religions and the results of the Mohammedan form of government. It is singular that the apologists for Islam have confined their attention, largely if not solely, to its effects on pagan Africa, and have omitted to show how it works out in other countries as a governing, social, or religious power. What is to be said about the effects of Mohammedan rule in Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, or Persia? Islamism in government means absolute despotism, wholly unrestricted, and only slightly tempered by the fear of assassination; and it is carried on by an administration so centralised and so corrupt that it apparently cannot be improved without the addition of entirely new elements or methods, and new men. Who can think of the government of Turkey or Morocco with any satisfaction or belief that such administrations will ever reform themselves. They continue to exist by an accident—the jealousies of the European Powers, and the absence of a sufficient pretext for a partition of these decaying countries; and the fear that each Power has, that it may not get so large a share in the partition as it expects.

In this unpleasant picture there is no intentional exaggeration, nor is aught set down in malice. But Mohammedan States are generally poor States, even with every advantage of soil and climate. They are always in want of money, which means the poverty of the mass and the absence of accumulated capital—the absence of which prevents new enterprises from being undertaken, and thus prevents the possibility of better paid labour for the mass of the people. If some of the governing classes have money, it seems to come in irregular channels, and not in those of a just administration. And the explanation why this is so, in countries that would otherwise be productive and progressive, is very simple. It is due to administration on a wrong system, irregular and often unjust; to wrong systems of land tenure; and to wrong methods of taxation, with corruption at every official turn, because officials are poorly paid, and officials, like other men, must have money.

A good deal has been made by the apologists of Islamism of the glories of its past, of the culture, wealth, and civilisation of its early days. These were the days when “it crumpled up the Roman Empire on the one side and the Persian on the other, and drove Christianity before it on the west and Fire-worship on the east, took possession of the birthplace of Christianity, and, later on, after seizing Constantinople, threatened more than once the very centre of Christendom.” Unfriendly but able historical critics say that the early glory of the first centuries of Mohammedan

rule became possible by the seizure of the richest provinces of the world and the accumulated wealth of ages in those countries—which were Syria, Persia, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain; that the ‘meteoric civilisation’ which astonished the world for a century or two, lasted only till that hoarded wealth was spent; and that the Mohammedan States then sank into the hopeless poverty in which they have continued to this day. They further maintain that nowhere has wealth been created or increased under Mohammedan rule, but that everywhere wealth has been destroyed. “Over the mounds which cover forgotten cities Arab tents are spread, ruin and desolation may be found, but nothing that tells of real prosperity.” Of the accuracy of this historical criticism when applied to Northern Africa there can be no doubt. Yet this is the system of government and form of religion of which some are so much enamoured, and have so highly praised as being the very thing at present for pagan Africa.

In social relations it will be found that one-half of humanity, that is to say, all women, are dispossessed of their rightful place in human life. Thereupon follows as a consequence all the results that arise from a dislocation or separation of the two main sections of human society, and by which its completeness, progress, and happiness are secured. Women generally, when their right place is given to them, take, on the whole, a higher view of the moral responsibilities of life, and exercise a correspondingly elevating influence. Under Mohammedan faith and practice their debase-

ment or depreciation destroys one of the best influences in human society. It is this in part that gives to Mohammedan life that dull or colourless aspect and business or barrack life air that is one of its marked features. Socially, the contrast may be summed up thus: where Mohammedanism goes, slavery and polygamy live; where Christianity goes, slavery and polygamy die.

The spiritual character and influence of a religion forms its most decisive test. So tested, in comparison with Christianity Islamism is slight and feeble. It can kindle religious enthusiasm of the fiercest kind, and inspire men with deathless courage; but on the state of the heart and the moral aim of the individual life, it is a far different and inferior force. The one produces progressive spiritual changes for the better; the other apparently lacks that power. This seems to have been the case even with Mahomet himself. Towards the close of his life, when he had passed the age of fifty, a great change—and not for the better—came over his personal character, and also on his method of propagating his religion. At first he used moral means and suasion only. He began with a high if simple ideal, and his religion was meant as a protest against the idolatry and wickedness of the times. His success at the battle of Medina revealed to him a new weapon—the power of the sword, and probably originated that fanaticism which interprets success, however obtained, as a sign of Divine approval, and which has marked his religion ever since. This

started Mahomet on a new career and in a wrong direction, and its results have been summed up thus : " It wrecked his character and half-ruined his religion." There seems to have begun with him that dangerous change in a man's nature best expressed as *moral decay*, always fatal to the exercise of any spiritual influence. Gradually his revelations, as expressed in the Koran, sunk to lower moral levels, and many of his earlier declarations were modified or abrogated. These changes are known as the Abrogations which occur in the written suras or revelations. He became later on a polygamist, and his personal character was stained by acts of cruelty and even by occasional massacres.

After his death his successors, the Khalifs, trusted less and less to spiritual influence and increasingly to force of arms, and extended their boundaries east and west, north and south. Out of that arose the Mohammedan conquest of a large portion of the world, with, as its result, the history and position of Islamism as it appears before the world to-day.

As the opponent and rival of Christianity in Africa, Mohammedanism is a much more formidable force than Paganism. The latter will give way, as probably also will some other Asiatic religions, much sooner than Islamism, since the amount of truth the latter contains gives it a real vitality. Two religions and two books will thus for some time contend for the mastery over the African continent, as well as on a wider field outside

—the Koran and the Bible, Christianity and Islamism. Both are missionary religions, and each uses a language copious, powerful, and largely employed among different races. These are the widespread English and Arabic tongues. Some hold the opinion—whether true or not—that the latter is more widely extended over the face of the earth, and has had more to do with the destiny of mankind, than any other language except English.

But if we have any doubt as to which of these two religions is likely to conquer, let us think for a moment of the career and character of the founder of the one, and compare it with what we know of Jesus Christ, the Founder of the other, and with what we know of the essence of His religion; what it has already accomplished, and the field it opens up as a possible future for the world's life as well as the individual life. A calm examination of the facts belonging to the nature of each religion as expressed in its doctrines, past history, and effects on the social and individual life, should set all doubt at rest, so far as a forecast of the future is concerned. This is apart from a religious belief in the purposes of God, and still further apart from any sentiment—religious, missionary, or other. Paganism has little chance; the contest lies between the other two. The religion that is purest in itself, and most elevating in its influence, and best fitted to the moral and spiritual necessities of mankind, and which will most fully and readily adapt itself to the advancing civilisation of to-day—which Mohammedanism does not—is the one that will outlive the other, and finally

hold the field. Of the two, Christianity is the one that most completely fulfils these conditions, and the prospect that Africa will one day become a Christian continent, rests rather on sober calculation of causes and effects than on pious desire or missionary prophecy.

At what rate of progress the change will take place, it is difficult, or rather impossible, to say, as so many factors enter into the calculation. How the tide of battle flows between these two contending forces, for a short time at any given period, need not greatly concern us. Unless the world is adrift like a rudderless ship, God caring nothing for it, the ultimate success of Christianity in Africa is certain.

III

A CENTURY OF MISSIONARY EFFORT —MORAVIAN AND LONDON SOCIETY'S MISSIONS

NO one missionary society has been able to do more than occupy a small part of the vast area of African heathenism; and not one or two, but many different societies have taken part in the attempt to plant Christianity in that continent. Some outline, however brief and incomplete, of these varied and often widely scattered efforts that have been made during last century may justifiably form the subject of this and of one or two succeeding chapters.

Apart from its use as a historical statement, a glance backwards may help us to understand what has been attempted and achieved. We may also learn something of the methods employed and the rate of progress, though that rate cannot be calculated from mere beginnings. We may further learn what other men are doing. The reproach is not unfrequently cast at missionary societies and Churches,—perhaps not altogether unjustly,—that they know little, and care little, for what is being done by others for the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth outside of their own

denominations; and that missionary societies make up their reports as if there were no others at work in the wide world of heathendom except themselves. This restriction is unavoidable in annual reports, but our missionary information need not be so restricted.

We pray at times for the good estate of the catholic Church; but intercourse between the members of that great family outside our denominational walls is not very common, and what is more to be regretted, often not very cordial. We pray and live and work apart even in missionary effort, where co-operation is both possible and beneficial. Any knowledge that may widen our sympathies is useful, and it may also satisfy us that, beyond ourselves, in this great work God is fulfilling Himself in many ways, and by many men and other societies of whom we know little.

A third reason is—there are men, and amongst them I reckon myself, who indulge the hope or dream that sometime in the twentieth century there may be a drawing together of the great missionary forces of the Christian Church; that societies, of which there are so many, may see their way to more united action, and thus secure the benefits of combination of forces. Combination would produce better results in missions, just as it does in mechanics. The first steps towards this desirable end would be a better acquaintance with each other; a more generous appreciation of the labours of others; and the application to a great and difficult business of principles of common sense, rather than merely of denominational preferences and aims.

Missionary effort in Africa during the last century may be viewed in two different ways, either chronologically or geographically. Neither method by itself is quite satisfactory—from the unavoidable mixing up of Societies in a given area by the one, and from the necessity of frequently returning to a given point of time in the other. A general reference in point of time, and more detailed information under the head of Societies by the other, may so far meet the difficulty.

Chronologically the matter stands thus:— There have been three main periods, and they may be taken generally as—

1. The Early Period—from 1790 to about 1840.
2. The Middle Period—from 1840 to 1860.
3. The Recent Period—from 1860 to 1900.

Each had its own special features, difficulties, and results. The first was marked by sanguine hope and large expectations, by considerable inexperience and want of comprehension of the magnitude of the task undertaken, and of the difficulty of carrying it through. It was therefore followed by disappointment greater or less, and by serious loss of life in many missions. This applies also to the second and third periods, but in a lesser degree. Yet even in that first period there was no real faltering in the sense of abandoning the work begun. There was, indeed, a period of pause, of consideration on the results or want of results, and also of modification of the methods followed. Few societies or none, however, lost heart or abandoned the

field, though particular stations here and there may have been given up because of special unhealthiness, or for other reasons.

The difficulties attending missionary work at the commencement of last century were immense. The state of Europe, the state of public opinion at home and in the Church, and the unfriendly attitude of the Government, all combined to make the effort of the courageous few who attempted at home to begin such work abroad almost a forlorn hope. Everywhere abroad the position was one of closed doors. Africa was closed, partly by climate and want of knowledge of what the continent really was; India, by the Company's hostility to missionaries; China, by its old exclusiveness and detestation of foreigners; and Japan, by the edicts then still in force, which, two centuries before, had expelled Roman Catholic missionaries, and made the profession of Christianity penal. Yet it is impossible to read the history of the first half of last century and not see a concurrence of events that was gradually opening the way, in the providence of God, for the entrance of the gospel into Africa, and into many other lands besides.

This First Period was marked by various events which were not directly missionary, but which prepared the way. Some of them were purely political, others philanthropic, and the bearing of them was not as clearly seen as it is now. As affecting the southern end of the continent, one event was the taking of

the Cape of Good Hope by the British during the Napoleonic wars, first in 1795, and, finally, in 1806. The change of Government produced immediately more favourable conditions, and shortly afterwards several societies entered the field. The Dutch East India Company had not been, any more than the British East India Company, favourable to missionary work.

As affecting the West Coast, two general or non-missionary events of great importance occurred. One was the abolition of a trade which is opposed to all real civilisation and to the progress of mankind—known as the slave trade—rightly described as ‘the most atrocious traffic the world has ever witnessed.’ Wilberforce and his friends, after a long struggle, carried through Parliament in 1807 a measure abolishing that trade. The other occurred twenty-six years later, in 1834, and was due to the efforts of Thomas Fowell Buxton and those who supported him. That was the Slave Emancipation Act, by which slavery itself was extinguished in all the possessions of the British Crown. The two events require to be kept apart. Other nations followed, though slowly; and it was not till 1865 that slavery was abolished in the United States, when 3,950,000 slaves were set free; and not till 1888 in Brazil. This continuance of slavery in other countries led to the continuance of the over-sea slave trade, and British naval squadrons were employed on both the West and East Coast for its suppression. Twenty millions sterling was the amount

paid by the British nation as compensation to the owners of slaves; but Lord Avebury has recently stated that the total cost of the abolition of slavery and the suppression of the slave trade to the British nation was not less than £100,000,000.¹

The Middle Period—1840—1860—was the quietest. Exploration, however, was actively opening the way for the Gospel. There occurred during this period the three great Niger expeditions, the first in 1842, and two later in 1854 and 1857. These were intended to open Western Africa through the valley of the Niger. Great expectations were entertained in connection with the first when it set out, and widespread surprise and disappointment followed on its failure. The disappointment was almost a national one, as the enterprise had the support and sanction of the British Government. But it failed from the excessive and rapid mortality among those engaged in it. Ignorance of the African climate, and of the method and treatment of diseases peculiar to it, had chiefly to do with that result. It was revived later on with success. On the other side of Africa, and farther to the south, similar exploratory work was being done. This was the opening up of the great regions of South Central Africa by Livingstone; of East Central Africa and the Lake regions by Burton, Speke, Grant, Baker, and others, as well as by the missionaries Krapf and Rebmann. Strictly missionary effort was not greatly extended during this period.

¹ *British Empire Series*, Introduction, vol. v. p. 14.

The moving forces in these exploratory expeditions were chiefly philanthropic, scientific, commercial. The humanitarian object may have had lying behind it commercial hopes of new markets, at any rate the shock of failure was felt outside of missionary circles.

The Third Period dates from about 1860 till the close of the century. This was the period of great expansion, and of great consolidation of missions in previously occupied fields. In the south there was little change. In East Central Africa, however, the development was extensive and rapid. The Universities' Mission occupied temporarily the country between the Murchison Cataracts and Lake Shirwa. The Livingstonia Mission laid firm and permanent hold of the region on the western side of Lake Nyassa. The Blantyre Mission occupied territory farther south. To the north and near the equator the Uganda Mission was begun, which, like Livingstonia, has had so remarkable a history. On the West Coast, extensions inland took place, and improvements on the older centres near the sea. In the great region of the Congo many missions were commenced. Among these were the English Baptist Mission, the American Baptist, the Congo Balolo Mission, the American International Alliance; and if we include Angola, and the Garengenze Mission, and also a Swedish Mission, at least ten different missionary enterprises were all begun during the latter half of this third period. In the centre of the continent southwards—but north of

the Zambesi—there was the establishment of the French Mission in Barotseland. To some of these missions we shall return; meantime this is their sequence in point of time.

We may now leave the chronological method and take to the geographical under different societies. Let us begin from the south. It is the best known region, and there is a further reason. Not only as regards its missions, but in the general development of Africa, it is not—

“Westwards the course of Empire takes its way,”

but Northwards. That the line of progress through the great continent of Africa so runs, there can hardly be any doubt. The centre of gravity, administratively, politically, and commercially, has lately shifted and is rolling northwards. It formerly rested at Cape Town, but has now rolled 1000 miles inland to Pretoria. The latter is a pleasant city 4000 feet above sea-level, with a wonderful climate and an eventful history during the past three years. What has recently taken place there has been a struggle for civilisation, for equality among the white races, and freedom for the black; and in that struggle the actors on the British side seemed to be only fulfilling a part of their duty and their destiny. We could not afford to lose Pretoria for many reasons, since evidently northwards the course of empire moves.

South Africa may now be thought of as all the region between the Zambesi and Cape Town. It is

mostly British, with a strip of Portuguese territory on the east coast north of Delagoa Bay, not broad; and a stretch of German territory on the south-west side lying both north and south of Walfisch Bay. South Africa thus defined contains many tribes. They belong to the Bantu family, and do not quite resemble the true Negroes, who have their home in a portion of the great central regions north of the equator, and also farther north in the Niger Valley and on the coast of Guinea.

The great Bantu family, which is composed of a large number of tribes, extends from a little north of the equator through Central and into South Africa—includes nearly all except Hottentots and Bushmen. It occupies a third or a fourth of the continent. Its members are allied by general affinities of language, though there are many differences greater than those of mere dialects. The word Bantu means people—*abantu* in the full form; and the Kaffirs and Zulus may be taken as southern representatives of the family, which is generally divided into southern, central, and northern sections.

The Hottentots are the people whom the first European settlers found occupying the country north of Cape Town. There is little resemblance between them and the members of the Bantu family. They are lighter in colour, and have almost a semi-Mongolian cast of countenance in the high cheek-bones and pointed chin or pyramid-shaped head, though it cannot be said that they have the almond-shaped or upward sloping eye. They differ in language and are less

tenacious of purpose, and not so strong a race as the Kaffirs and Zulus.

The Bushmen so far resemble the Hottentots but differ in their habits, which are purely nomadic; they are mostly smaller in body, and their language is difficult and peculiar.

In the south the native races were originally Hottentots and Bushmen, and also Kaffirs, Basutos, Bechuanas, and Zulus. The last four are all still compact races or tribes, though with many subdivisions into different clans or sub-tribes. Of the first two, the Hottentots, who were numerous and compact in the early days of Dutch occupation, are now mere fragments, mixed with other tribes and scattered territorially. The Bushmen have almost disappeared, having been hunted off the face of the earth by their enemies both black and white, both colours having been their inveterate enemies, whether justifiably or not. It would be difficult now to find a group of true Bushmen except far north. I have only seen a few individuals; and have only met one missionary who gave his life entirely to these people. He is long since dead; and there is no mission to them now, there being no need for such to a vanished race.

MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

Among a dozen men taken from any group larger or smaller, we always find differences of temperament as well as of mental and physical build, different views of life, even of the religious life, and different ways of

setting about any piece of work and carrying it through. Almost the same may be found among a dozen of those great organisations by which the missionary work of the world is carried on. Each seems to have some characteristic which marks it as having its own individuality, and which leads it to choose certain fields and certain kinds of work, and to do such work apparently better than it would have been done by others. This in part compensates for the loss of power by division of forces through denominational separations, and has even led some to hold the questionable opinion, that denominational separations are rather an advantage than otherwise.

In the following outlines of work by different societies, no history of any of them is attempted beyond a brief sketch of special features, methods, and results, so far as these are known; and the order followed is the chronological one of their entrance in Africa—at least with the large societies.

THE MORAVIANS

The *first* society to send a Christian missionary into what was then the unbroken heathen darkness of South Africa belongs to the United Brethren, or as they are generally and honourably known—the Moravians. His name, as is well known, was George Schmidt. He was fifty years before his time, and was only allowed to remain in the country for the short period of seven years, from 1736 to 1743. He was

not well received, and the object of his mission—to elevate the degraded Hottentots by Christianity—was regarded by the Dutch settlers with contempt and derision. His history illustrates the conditions of missionary work at the time—the slight sense which the Christian Church had of its responsibility, and the little sympathy which such work evoked. He settled at a place seventy miles from Cape Town, called Baviaans Kloof, or the Valley of Baboons or Apes. His work was just beginning, and he had gathered a small congregation of forty-seven persons, when he was ordered out of the country by the Dutch Government. I have read in some of the old Cape Chronicles that he was then deported to Batavia for the crime ‘of being a great Hottentot converter.’ Later, he went home to Herrnhut, and died, it is said, like Livingstone, with a prayer on his lips for Africa.

Fifty years afterwards, in 1792, the Moravian Society reoccupied the same field in force; changed the name Valley of Baboons to Gnadendal, Valley of Grace; began their work, and have carried it on ever since by a long line of faithful workers. For several years they also met with constant opposition from the Dutch colonists, and in 1795 were threatened by an armed force of one hundred men, and were told to quit the station within three days. An appeal to the Governor at Cape Town disclosed the fact that these raiders were acting on their own authority, and from dislike to the instruction of the natives. By the Governor’s permission the missionaries returned to Baviaans Kloof,

and the colony shortly after surrendered to the British, in whom the Brethren found powerful friends and protectors. By 1821 the mission at Gnadendal had a congregation of one thousand two hundred and four baptized adults, and five hundred and thirty-seven communicants. Of these many remained faithful, but others fell away. The Moravian Brethren had the experience, often repeated since then in many fields, of some disappointment of their hopes. On this Brown gives this wise counsel: "To the faithful missionary no sound can be more pleasant than the language of sorrow for sin or of love for the Redeemer from the lips of a heathen; but let him not catch too eagerly at such expressions, nor report them too hastily to the world. To no man is discrimination of character more necessary than to the Christian missionary; and even with all his care he will often be deceived."¹

The Moravians now carry on at Gnadendal educational as well as evangelistic work, and have a good normal school for the training of native teachers. They also carry on industrial work to aid the funds of the mission. They have spread over a considerable area of the Cape Colony, occupying in the south nine stations, where they have nearly eleven thousand professed Christians. They have also occupied a part of Kaffraria, where they have ten stations and over six

¹ Brown's *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, vol. ii. p. 28.

thousand professed Christians as members or adherents ; and within the last ten years they have pushed forward to the north end of Lake Nyassa and begun work in the German territory there. They look well after their converts, even when they are full Church members. Their system gives less individual freedom than is common in other Churches ; and some hold that their converts remain wanting in individual strength of character. From being looked after for a long period as children, they are apt to remain children.

These Moravians are extraordinary missionaries. They are always ready to throw themselves into the breach of heathenism whenever and wherever the slightest opening is made. It is all the same—from South Africa to Surinam, and from Surinam to Labrador, and from Labrador to Thibet, there you will find them to-day, or trying to get there. They are remarkable for their unworldliness, simplicity of life and faith, and for a certain gentleness combined with steady persistent energy. In one of their forms of prayer they say : “ From the unhappy desire of becoming great, do Thou preserve us.” In their method of work their aim is not numbers but reality, and is stated thus : “ In our efforts for the conversion of the heathen we will not aim at a large number nominally brought to Christ.”

There is no place, however, where men can escape from themselves. It need not be supposed that Moravians are not men of like passions with other men or other missionaries, nor that Gnadendal is some happy valley where human nature has neither weakness

nor fault. Thirty-eight years ago, on a Sunday morning, the writer said to one of the Brethren there, "This is a pleasant place; you must be very happy here." With simple honesty he replied, "Yes, it is a pleasant place; and we are very happy here, when the Lord is with us and we have no quarrels." Even with this deduction for human frailty, it remains true that the Moravians are a wonderful proof of what living faith in Jesus Christ can do to inspire men and women with courage, self-sacrifice, and devotion of the highest order and of the most enduring nature.

It would seem that they have some secret of religious life which most other Christians have not; some ideal in their Christianity towards which they work without saying much about it. I do not venture to define it. It probably has its roots in their constant vivid realisation of Jesus Christ as a living person. Closely connected with this is their distinction, practical rather than theoretical, between faith and belief. They seem to have distinguished—not in an academic way, but practically—between the different degrees or kinds of faith, beginning low down with a dead faith which produces no missionary or other works, and to have gone upwards till they have reached that living faith which becomes the dominating force in their lives. Or their conclusion is this—that the faith of a Christian is something more than the mere intellectual acceptance of orthodox opinions, and is rather an attitude or relation of the soul to Jesus Christ. And out of this relation by a faith always living, there has sprung a

sense of obligation or gratitude to Him. This sense of obligation they try to manifest in effort to obey His last command. If this be so, it seems to point to the philosophy of a missionary revival, and to the true and natural means of a great expansion of missionary force in all Churches.

The communion of the Moravian body is, as is well known, a very small one. But one in every sixty of its communicants becomes a missionary. In other Protestant Churches it is one in every three thousand five hundred communicants. They seem never to be in any difficulty for agents. They nourish the missionary spirit or feeling by stated prayers for the success of missions in their Sunday worship, by the frequent use of hymns relating to the coming of Christ's kingdom, and by frequent special missionary services. By this cultivation of the missionary spirit, young and old, men, women, and children, all feel a kind of passion for missions. Hence they are seldom at a loss for faithful labourers to go even to the most uninviting and inhospitable countries.

The method by which this latter excellent result is secured is worthy of notice by other societies and committees and Churches, even amongst ourselves. One section of the members has charge of this department of work, of supplying stations; and when a vacancy occurs, or a new mission is to be undertaken, the list of candidates is examined, and such as are deemed suitable are called upon to accept or decline, as they may feel disposed. No person is ever urged to be-

come a missionary, or even to accept a call to any particular country or station. If there is any predilection on the part of a candidate for a particular field, special attention is given to that. On account of the nature of the fields the Moravians occupy, and the stage of advancement reached by the peoples among whom they mostly labour, much erudition is not necessary; though there are some fields occupied by them where such is very necessary. Experience, however, has shown the Moravians that a good understanding, a friendly disposition, humility and zeal for the salvation of souls, with love to Christ, are the most essential qualifications of the missionary. Still, men with superior literary tendencies are also made use of where translation of the Bible or other such work is required. From their long experience much practical wisdom has been gathered, and this has been expressed in some of the principles they lay down for their guidance in the selection and sending forth of candidates.

“It is of the greatest consequence that we ourselves are intent upon doing whatsoever we do in the name of God, and solely with a view to His glory, and not suffer ourselves to be swayed by our own spirit or prejudices.

“In the choice of missionaries we ought to be very cautious; and it is well to examine the motives and character of the candidates.

“We think it a great mistake, after their appointment, *when they are held up to public notice and admiration, and much praise is bestowed upon their devotedness to the Lord*, presenting them to the congregation as martyrs and confessors before they have even entered upon their labours. We rather advise them to be sent out quietly, recommended to the fervent prayers of the congregation,

which is likewise most agreeable to their own feelings, if they are humble followers of Christ.

“As we wish above all things that brotherly love be maintained among fellow-labourers, we do not advise to place two men of different religious opinions and habits, however worthy in other respects, under one yoke.

“When converts from among the heathen are established in grace, we would advise not immediately to use them as assistants in teaching, but to act herein with caution, and reference to the general weakness of their minds, and consequent aptness to grow conceited.

“We also disapprove of bringing converts to Europe on any pretext whatever, and think it would lead them into danger of injury to their own souls.

“Missionaries are no longer useful than as they are *with their whole heart* in their calling, and we advise to employ or retain none but such as delight in their work.

“We advise that one of approved character and experience be appointed first missionary to superintend the work, and that each prefer the other in love, and be willing to follow.”

Their long experience gives them some claim to offer counsel as above, and that experience may be further summed up thus: After many years' trial in different countries, and under every variety of circumstance, they have found that the simple testimony of the sufferings and death of Christ, told by a missionary possessed of an experimental sense of His love, has been the most effectual and certain means of converting the heathen. Yet though the death of Christ is made the great subject of their preaching, they endeavour to instil by degrees all other truths of a doctrinal and practical nature belonging to Christianity.

So strong a hold has the work of the United Brethren on the sympathy and affection of the

Christian people of this country, that there exists a London Association in aid of Moravian Missions. It was founded as far back as 1817. The aid given the first year was £617. For the last ten years the average annual amount has been £12,700, and the total since the commencement of this association amounts to a large sum. In the United States and some European countries besides Britain similar associations exist. There was also the large gift by Mr. Morton recently; though this, like some large bequests to other societies, did not afford much relief financially, being hampered by certain restrictions.

Moravian missions are conducted inexpensively, since many of their men act as artisans and colonists, or as farmers on the land belonging to the society; but they do not adopt the principle of self-supporting missions so called, in which self-support is apt to be made the primary aim. The total number of their missionaries includes not only ordained men, but lay helpers as well. The latter aid the mission by work; no one may carry on work for private profit.

The growth of the Moravian Missions may be thus summarised. A century ago, in 1801, they had 29 stations, 160 missionaries, and 32,000 baptized members and adherents. A year ago, in 1901, they had 190 stations, 450 missionaries of all classes, lay and clerical, 2000 native helpers; and of members and inquirers gathered out of heathenism, as according to the latest statistics, close on 100,000 souls. The complete total of converts could only be reached by

including those made during the century. This total may not seem large, but it is the number at the present date, and they disavow desire for mere numbers of nominal adherents to Christianity.

The organisation of the *United Brethren*, as their official designation runs, has been characterised as the most efficacious and influential missionary organisation that has ever existed. This is high praise, but probably well deserved. It is that of Dr. Perry Noble,¹ with the substance of whose admirable summary of the principles, methods, and organisation of this society I may fitly close this brief sketch of the Moravian Missions. An English statesman, Earl Russell, is said to have pronounced the constitution of the United Brethren to be the most skilfully and wisely balanced of any with which he was acquainted. It is described as partly Episcopalian, partly Congregational, and partly Presbyterian in its polity, in which the democratic or representative elements find place as well as the aristocratic. The office of bishop is ministerial and spiritual, and in a peculiar sense that of intercessor; and the appointment is by its supreme legislative, or by its chief executive body.

The avoidance also of organic union with either Calvinist or Lutheran Churches proved to be a factor

¹ *The Redemption of Africa*. By Dr. F. Perry Noble. Fleming H. Revell Company. This is a remarkable book, remarkable for its fulness, proportion, and perspective, and most of all for the warmth and true missionary spirit which glows in every page from first to last. It is the work of one of the most thorough and enthusiastic students of Africa and its Missions of the present day.

in its evolution towards a more ideal type of Church than any then existent.

In their early days the Moravians, like all other men, had their own troubles and disagreements amongst themselves, but under the guidance of Zinzendorf—1700 to 1760—peace was restored. The straightest road was taken towards that object by the adoption of this principle, wonderful for its good sense and Christian spirit: ‘Let us begin by reforming ourselves, and live in love with all the brethren and with all the children of God in all religions.’

Though the United Brethren form perhaps the oldest of the Protestant Churches, and its episcopate also dates far back, the Brethren are singularly free from assumption. They give marked prominence to the headship of Christ over His Church. They value succession, not to apostolic primacy, but to apostolic labours, spirit, and truth. They do not question the validity of Presbyterian ordination. For membership, they hold that adherence to a creed is not enough; that purity of life is the real test of discipleship, and personal piety the main qualification. It is not out of these principles or doctrines, but out of the spirit of practical Christianity which lives in them, that the missionary force arises, and that the Moravian Church, even though it has mostly gone to the less advanced and more neglected races who seemed most to need the gospel and the help of Christ, has become by *pre-eminence the Missionary Church of Christendom.*

THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The first *British* society to enter South Africa with the message of Christianity was the London Missionary Society. It began its work in 1799. Its chief fields have been a very large portion of the great area of South Africa and on Lake Tanganyika, and in Madagascar. It has no mission in West Africa.

This is one of the most famous missionary organisations in the world. It is a noble and heroic society, and in almost every feature of its history it presents a striking contrast to that of the Moravians, though it is difficult to say which represents the higher type of qualifications for the work of evangelising the world. Both forms are necessary, both are useful; and Christ finds work for both, and for others of even different types as well. But the London Missionary Society may be justly described as the advanced guard of Christian missions in many lands, while it has also maintained a strong army of occupation behind. It was the first British society to enter South Africa; it was the first in the South Seas; first in China; first in Madagascar; first in New Guinea; and it was the first to attempt the utilising of Livingstone's discoveries by a mission to the Makololo on the Zambesi in 1859. The disasters which befell that mission were so serious that it retired a little southwards to Matabeleland, which it has occupied with indomitable perseverance ever since. Scarcely any society can point to a wider, grander, or more varied record of work, or to a roll of

more remarkable men as missionaries. Vanderkemp—sceptic, scholar, linguist, cavalry officer, and, finally, missionary, and a very distinguished personality in each capacity—marks the one end of the line, and John Mackenzie, missionary and statesman, marks the other. The one died in 1811, worn out with work, at Cape Town; and the other died three years ago at Hankey, also worn out, both having striven after a better state of things for South African people, white and black. The early efforts of Vanderkemp for bare rights for the natives as human beings, marks the elementary condition of their life in 1801, when compared with the efforts made by John Mackenzie for a distinct government policy of humanity and justice in 1884. The problem which Mackenzie set himself to solve was the relation between whites and blacks, as that relation was and is daily becoming more close and difficult to adjust. He advocated the claims of the Bechuana chiefs for the protection of Great Britain against the threatened occupation of the country by the Boers, and also by the Chartered Company. A protectorate over Bechuanaland was the result secured by the London Convention of 1884.¹

Between these two dates—that of Vanderkemp and Mackenzie—the interval is filled up by such men as Moffat, Livingstone, Philip, and their successors and

¹ For a short time Mackenzie acted as Deputy-Commissioner, and the story of his removal from that post is as discreditable as it is astonishing; and it is instructive as to the methods of a certain South African political association. *Vide Life of John Mackenzie, Missionary and Statesman*, chaps. xii. and xiii.

contemporaries. They all wrought in reality in one line and for one aim, the spiritual good of the native races of that country; but, in addition, for the subordinate yet necessary one, of just government and fair treatment. This aim lifted the action both of individual missionaries and of the society to a high moral level. The results and the far-reaching effects of their varied action were not perhaps foreseen at the time even by themselves. There is the proverb, 'He goes furthest who does not know how far he means to go'; and the contrast in the condition of the native people and in the state of the country to-day is very striking.

Livingstone's work left an ineffaceable mark on geographical science. It widened the boundaries of human knowledge concerning a large area of the earth's surface. It led to a succession of efforts geographical, missionary, and political, which have changed the entire aspect of the southern half of the African continent. No doubt other influences came into play at a later date, and did their part; and none was more energetic, restless, and rapacious than desire to find the gold which lay in such abundance in the previously disregarded veldt; unless it was the almost equally great land-hunger from which the inhabitants of new countries constantly suffer, and which is one of those appetites which grows by what it feeds on. Moffat's work is well known. Besides that of giving, with the help of Ashton, a translation of the Bible in a living language, he produced an impression among

the tribes of Bechuanaland that made British rule trusted, and its protection sought for and clung to, without the expense of war. Khame's journey to this country a few years ago, seeking the protection of the British Government, is the most recent illustration of the confidence in British rule that he inspired. Sechele made a similar journey fifty years ago, though he got no farther than Cape Town.

Tracing this line backwards, there were also Philip and Thompson, men of administrative ability, who not only guided the affairs of the London Society, but—Philip especially—aided in the great struggle for slave emancipation, and a reasonable freedom for the natives of South Africa. The matter of slavery was not a denominational, missionary, or merely religious question, but a national one, and it touched interests far wider than those of any single religious society or association. There were also many other workers and travellers in the interval between the time of Vanderkemp and Mackenzie.

As an organisation the London Missionary Society has been adventurous and energetic, and Warneck, the most distinguished of all missionary historians, remarks that it has been 'romantic and agitated.' His view is probably sympathetic rather than critical, as it is somewhat difficult to think of the opening up of a great continent without some romance, or of the great battle of slave emancipation being fought without blows. When, therefore, political or non-missionary writers complain of missionary agitations for great ends, or

of their interference in the political sphere, they should remember that all public questions are not political though they may be fought in that arena; and that constitutional agitations are the mildest methods of settling such disputes. Politically, the question of slavery was fought in a different way in the United States, and with much 'confused noise and garments rolled in blood.'

Were it not for a singular persistence on the part of certain secular writers and historians of the present day in continuing these misrepresentations of missionaries and their work, this matter might be left unregarded. Scant justice has been done to Dr. Philip, the superintendent and administrator of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, as well as to others of his missionary brethren, and to the society he represented. A late edition of what is now a standard work by Dr. Theal, one of the most industrious and painstaking of South African historians, affords a fair example of an unfair representation of this question. It is too wide a subject to be stated here. A recent writer in the *Quarterly Review*¹ has pointed out that either Dr. Theal has altered his view on the question of slavery and the attitude of the Boers to missions, or the facts of history have been suddenly and completely transformed.

This struggle in South Africa ran parallel to the ordinary course of missionary work as it was then carried on during the first half of last century. A

¹ *Quarterly Review*, July 1900.

satisfactory result was in the end secured in a measure of freedom for the native races. A favourable impression on behalf of missions was also made on the natives, who had no other advocates than the missionaries. It was by them, not by colonists nor primarily by legislators, that the battle was fought, though they were supported by a small number of humane and just-minded colonists as well.

The missionary view was the right of the native, not to those wide political privileges which the white man enjoys, but to the possession of what may be called certain human rights and individual freedom, and the belief that the interests, or at least the progress and success of both races, were identical, if they could be got to work together; and that just and fair treatment of the natives was most likely to secure that end.¹ Sir George Grey was one of the earliest statesmen to perceive that this *identity of interest* was the key to the question. Few of his successors, except Sir Bartle Frere, saw this so clearly, and hence the shapeless state of the native question at the present time.

The difficulties in the way of its solution are many. Race feeling is one; the land question is another; labour is another; and a fourth is the political adjustments, whether for the present or prospectively.

Race antipathy, taking men in the mass, exists everywhere, undoubtedly and unfortunately, but among

¹ The question is fully stated in chap. xx. of the *History of the London Missionary Society*, vol. i.

a portion of the white population of South Africa—the Dutch—it assumed an implacable and unreasonable form. This antipathy is not easily explained. It must be accepted as an ultimate social fact, but it must also be treated as a factor which requires to be restrained and not allowed too free play in legislation or practical matters. The situation is this. We find ourselves in contact with certain native races, and in the same land. They did not intrude on us; we intruded on them. They were not put there by us, but by God Himself, and were probably placed there not merely to raise the dividends of mining or other companies, or to be the bond-servants of Boer farmers or of men of other races. We have taken away the most of their land; revolutionised their social state by taxes, laws, and modes of government to them altogether unwelcome. The land question is the most serious. The native would say if he could, 'You take away my life, if you take away that whereby I live.' It is impossible to go back on the past, but equitable treatment for the future is what they may reasonably expect from us, and what is due by us to them.

No reference to the London Society's doings in South Africa would be even just which omitted an acknowledgment of those forgotten efforts, forgotten except in so far as they are kept alive by misrepresentations of the kind already referred to. Historically, its more direct work took the following shape.

The field which the London Missionary Society first

attempted to occupy lay among the Kaffir tribes on the north-east of what was then the Cape Colony. Vanderkemp went there, made two attempts to settle in that district, first in 1797 and again in 1799, but both, from various causes,—a Kaffir war amongst others,—proved unsuccessful; and he finally withdrew from that region on the last day of 1800, and founded Bethelsdorp, near Algoa Bay.

The society's efforts were then directed to the scattered tribes of Bushmen, Namaquas, Griquas, and Koranas, lying on the north and south banks of the Orange River. These small and scattered missions were prosecuted with great self-denial and courage by such men as Kicherer, Anderson, Kramer, and others. There was a measure of success more or less, at all the stations, but after six years the mission to the Bushmen was discontinued. The other stations, however, were maintained, and by 1818 there were as many as fifteen stations stretching northwards as far as Old Latakoo, and north-eastwards to the border of Kaffraria, about half of them being 500 to 700 miles distant from Cape Town. These twenty-three years have been regarded as the pioneer period of the society's work, while the thirty years from 1820 to 1850 mark its extension into Bechuanaland, the scene of the missionary labours of Moffat and Livingstone and others. It was also the period of the great struggle already referred to on behalf of the native races. As to results, it may be enough to state that *all, or nearly all, its congregations within Cape*

Colony are self-supporting. Hankey is, however, an exception.

The other region—distant nearly 1500 miles—of the Society's labours is East Central Africa. This mission was begun in 1877. The difficulties connected with its establishment may give some idea of what has to be overcome in planting Christianity in the heart of the African continent. The Directors of the Society showed wonderful resolution and courage; and, to ensure success, between 1877 and 1893 no fewer than four different missionary reinforcements were sent out.

The original intention was to establish that mission at Ujiji, the chief port on the eastern shore of Tanganyika, the great slave market of these regions in days gone by, and also the headquarters of Arab traders, as well as the meeting-place of Livingstone and Stanley in November 1871. It is 800 miles west from Zanzibar. Inland transport for centuries has been by caravans, that is, by native porters or pagazis carrying loads of 70 lb. on their heads day after day, it may be for many months together. The expense per ton is enormous, though porters are poorly paid. The first attempt of the mission was to substitute transport by ox-waggon. That seemed promising, even though the oxen had to be imported. But climate, tsetse fly, unsuitable grass, and other difficulties within three months killed seventy out of the ninety oxen, and the mission had not advanced more than 150 miles from the coast. Various alterations of plans followed, and porters had to be engaged. Thomson, who had been

in South Africa, became leader of the expedition, and pushed forward. He was qualified for his task, possessing, in addition to marked mental ability, some years' previous experience in Matabeleland. He reached Ujiji with a part of the caravan thirteen months after leaving Zanzibar, and died within a month after his arrival. He was followed by Dodgshun with the remainder of the caravan, who had also to encounter great difficulties, which, however, were overcome with resolution and patience. He reached Ujiji in 1879, and died seven days after his arrival, worn out by privation, fever, and exposure.¹ He was buried by the side of Thomson. A second reinforcement followed later, and of that party Dr. Mullens, the foreign secretary of the society was a member. He died at Mpwapwa, a short distance from the coast, of fever, after only a very few days' illness. A member of the third reinforcement, Dr. Southon, lost his life by the accidental discharge of a rifle. The story of the amputation of his shattered arm by a lay missionary a first and second time, under Southon's own directions, is as touching as can be found in surgical or missionary records. He sank under the second operation. Captain E. C. Hore was the first who was able to continue at work for any considerable length of time. He succeeded in establishing a new station on Kavala Island, near the western shore of the lake, having abandoned Ujiji, for it had become evident that the mission could not thrive at the headquarters of the

¹ *History of the London Missionary Society*, vol. i. p. 653.

Arab slave trade. School children, as soon as they had learned a little, were seized and sold, because they fetched a higher price than the untaught native. Finally, after various movements, the mission found a settled resting-place at the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, where a good beginning has been made.

This Central African Mission, as is stated in the recent History of the Society, originated in a noble ambition, and represented a lofty hope and a great enthusiasm; and yet in its actual working out it became one long tragedy in the sacrifice of human life, and in crushing disappointment to its projectors. Those who complain that records of missionary work are not clear and straightforward, should read some simple sentences in chapter twenty-seven of the *History of the London Missionary Society*, in which the results of eighteen years of labour are summed up:¹ "The tangible results, so far as statistics go, are not very encouraging. Out of thirty-six missionaries, clerical, medical, or artisan, who were sent out between 1877 and 1893, eleven died and fourteen were invalided and retired, or two-thirds of the entire force. The cost in money was £40,000. The magnitude of the task was not understood, nor the peculiarities of the country, nor the fact that in the Central African climate there is something which renders it a deadly foe to the physical condition of many men, and through the physical to the moral and spiritual nature of others. As shown, about 30 per cent. of the

¹ *History of the London Missionary Society*, vol. i. chap. xxvii. p. 669.

workers died; about 40 per cent. proved unequal to the strain; in some the breakdown in health being so complete as to leave no alternative but retreat. In some, fever and physical prostration and other causes broke down their moral fibre; and some men were complete failures who had before, and have since, done good work elsewhere. Some others were failures from want of fitness."

There is both pathos and downright honesty in the sentences which close that narrative, and sum up the results: "A beginning in a very hard and very dark field. Only a beginning. Three stations; a handful of schools; a few books and tracts, and a small number of converts." That was all that any traveller who passed along the road between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika would, a few years ago, have seen as the results of the London Missionary Society's Mission to East Central Africa. Since then a change has set in. The number of converts has trebled, schools and evangelistic work are going on; medical and industrial work have been begun at the first two stations, but three additional missionaries have lost their lives—one after a few months' labour, another after four years, and another after nine years of faithful service; but at the three stations of Niamkolo, Kambole, and Kawimbe a beginning has been made.

Madagascar, as an African island, and as one of the great fields of the London Missionary Society's operations in which success of the most striking kind has

been secured, would require a special notice of considerable length to do the subject the barest justice. The story reads more like an account of some of the earliest days of the Christian Church than a modern missionary narrative. It occupies nearly 120 pages of the recently published *History of the Society*, though an outline only is given of events from 1818 to 1895. It is a wonderful history of the development of Malagasy life, civilisation, and spiritual enlightenment.¹

¹ *History of the London Missionary Society*, vol. i. p. 673.

IV

CHURCH OF ENGLAND MISSIONS IN AFRICA

FOLLOWING the same order as hitherto,—that is, of the dates at which the different missionary associations commenced work in the African continent,—the present chapter will be devoted to those societies connected with the Church of England. The first whose history is to be noticed is that of—

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

It comes third in point of time, or *second* among British societies. In the extent of operations, diversity of fields, and generally successful results, this Society stands admittedly first among all existing missionary associations. This is as it should be. This small country is still first in wealth, colonising power, widespread possessions, and rule extending over nearly a fourth of the human race. Its missionary work should therefore be on a similar scale—power and privilege always carrying with them corresponding duty and responsibility. The Church Missionary Society is backed up by great wealth, social influence

and rank, and is supported by the membership of the English Church, the richest ecclesiastical body in the world.¹ None of these things, however, is the real secret of its vitality, force, and widespread activity. Neither was it the enthusiasm of numbers, and the subtle sympathy they impart, or the momentum they produce, which gave it its first start. It began, as most successful missionary efforts have begun, in a simple, quiet way. Rightly estimated, its real force was, and is, the ethereal fire of earnest living religion, genuine pity for the miseries of less fortunate men,

¹ The *voluntary offerings* of the Church of England, as shown by returns from 13,881 parochial incumbents for the year 1902, are given below. Two per cent. of incumbents failed to make returns. The amounts below are exclusive of contributions to Societies supported by the co-operation of Churchmen and Nonconformists, such as The British and Foreign Bible Society, Religious Tract Society, London City Mission, and other charitable objects.

1. *For General Purposes—*

Home Missions	£613,680
Foreign Missions	821,853
Educational Work	124,411
Clergy—educational and charitable	199,484
Philanthropic Work	550,566
	<hr/>
Total (including shillings omitted)	<u>£2,309,966</u>

2. *For Parochial Purposes—*

Parochial Clergy	£846,474
Elementary Education	1,194,274
General Parochial Purposes	3,866,570
	<hr/>
Total	<u>£5,907,319</u>
	<hr/>
Grand total	<u>£8,217,316</u>

Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1903.
Statesman's Year Book, 1902.

and a sense of gratitude and loyalty to Christ, the Redeemer of mankind. It is impossible to study its history, even partially, without coming to this conclusion. Living religion, by some law, seems always to take on missionary forms.

On a certain day in April 1799, twenty-five men, nine of them being laymen, met together in an old and famous hostelry in Aldersgate Street, called the 'Castle and Falcon.' Their purpose was to form a missionary society, and they began to carry out their intention by adopting certain formal resolutions and framing certain rules. Some weeks later the name adopted was—'The Society for Missions to Africa and the East.' It took thirteen years of ordinary use and wont before the name it now bears—'The Church Missionary Society'—was formally accepted. Habit, and necessity for distinction amongst other societies, had already given that name its sanction. This arose from the situation as it then was. For reasons which seemed valid enough, the new society did not join either the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, or the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, or the London Missionary Society. Two of these societies were exclusive and extreme in that Church spirit which characterised a portion of the religious life of that day. They disliked the very name of 'evangelical.' Neither did the new association join the London Missionary Society, which had come into existence four years earlier in the same house in Aldersgate Street. The action was natural, if not

inevitable. The men who gave shape and form to this new association were believers in Episcopacy, were loyally devoted to the Church in which they were born, and, like most men brought up in an Established Church, believed profoundly in the efficiency, necessity, and value to both Church and State of such connection. The opinions and action of men generally lie within the planes of education quite as much as within those of organisation. This accounts for the name, but not for the principles which ever since have guided the society.

Strong English sense, as well as strong piety, marked the first outlines laid down by these men for their future guidance. In half a dozen sentences, certain principles were clearly and comprehensively expressed; and from these being faithfully adhered to, strength, safety, and success have been secured for the society's operations. To some, these principles may seem merely the pious use of certain phrases—fit and proper enough on certain occasions. To others they reveal a great deal more. When carefully examined they are seen to contain the secret of all missionary practice and success. They were as follow :—

Follow God's leading.

Begin on a small scale.

Put money in the second place, not the first.

Under God, nearly everything will depend on the type of man sent out.

Look for success only from the Spirit of God.

John Venn was the originator of these views. As became loyal Churchmen, the first act of that committee

was to inform the Archbishop of Canterbury of what they had done and intended doing. His Grace took more than a year to answer their letter, and sent in return a verbal reply through Mr. Wilberforce, in which "he regretted he could not express his full concurrence and approbation, but he hoped to look on the proceedings of the society with candour, and would have pleasure in finding them such as he could approve." How immense is the change in episcopal opinion on missions is seen when that utterance is compared with some of the proceedings of the Lambeth Conference of 1897. Amongst the eleven subjects reported on, Foreign Missions occupy twenty-seven pages, or a fifth of the whole allotted space.¹

The first great difficulty of the society was not want of money, but of men. Not a single Englishman for five years after the formation of the society volunteered for missionary service, till Henry Martyn stepped out from the ranks, offered himself, and went to India. The first two men came from Germany. Thus the great work of the Church Missionary Society was begun, and it has been carried on ever since with steady perseverance and success.

Africa was the earliest field occupied by the Church Missionary Society. It has no mission in South Africa—the Zulu Mission, attempted under Captain Allen Gardiner, not having succeeded. The region first chosen was the West Coast—morally and religiously

¹ *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, Lambeth, 1897. Foreign Missions, pp. 68-95.*

the most necessitous, socially the most wronged and wretched. It was near to England, was then the best known and most accessible region, and was also that whence were drawn those shameful gains which enriched so many in the old and palmy days of the slave trade. Few animals prey on their own species; yet it is a curious fact and phenomenon in human history or evolution—call it what we will—that one human being should sell another; that white Christians not less than brown Mohammedans and black Pagans should all alike have been engaged in the most atrocious traffic the world has ever witnessed, have rejoiced over it, and, as Cowper says, ‘counted its sure gains, and hurried back for more.’ But so it was, and that not so long ago. A century or two ago it was good business information ‘on ‘Change’ among Christian merchants in Bristol or London that “*Negroes from the coast of Guinea were good merchandise for traffic in the West Indies.*” Later on, honest and enlightened legislation was successfully carried through; and later still British cruisers—a peculiar development of the British conscience, whether remorseful or not, but one not to be sniffed at—spoiled that trade, and chased it off the seas. A few Arab dhows from about Zanzibar, and up as far as the Red Sea, still carry on this work, and maintain a precarious and miserably uncertain existence.

Sierra Leone was then what may be called the *depôt*—or, if the word may be used, the dumping-ground—for the *débris* of African humanity. This

depositing, however, was done in no rough or unkindly way. The tenderness of the British tar to the African slave is, or should be, as well known as that the African continent is wide.

On that shore, thousands of the rescued victims of many ships were discharged; all who had escaped death in the hold from disease, or slow suffocation, or thirst, or had not been thrown overboard to stop pursuit, or who had survived in some way the other horrors and sufferings of the middle passage. It was to this most unpromising West African field that this Society first directed its attention, in common with the Wesleyan and some other societies yet to be mentioned. It commenced work in Africa in 1804 by sending two Germans—Renner and Hartwig—to the river Pongas, on the Guinea coast; and these were followed by three others. From various causes that mission made slow progress. In 1816 it was reorganised and concentrated at Sierra Leone. By 1822 some thousands of freed slaves were attending public worship, three or four hundred had become Christians, and two thousand were attending school. Twenty years later, by 1842, the work of the Society, and also that of the Wesleyan Mission was recognised by Government as “having effected a marked intellectual, moral, and religious improvement” among the population; and arrangements for further extension and consolidation of similar work among the freed slaves were entered into by the Society with the Governor of the colony, Sir Charles Macarthy.

Gradually the operations of the mission covered a wider area, penetrating inland and spreading along the coast, and were carried on with undaunted courage and patience, but at great loss of life and expenditure of money. During the first twenty years, up to 1824, fifty-three missionaries and missionaries' wives died at their posts or at sea. The results of all this silent heroism and faithful toil may be thus given for the Sierra Leone region—Yoruba and Nigeria being excluded. The Native Church since 1862 has been separately organised, and now *entirely supports its own pastors, churches, and schools*,—with the exception of one or two small grants for newly formed congregations. It has a missionary society of its own, which has begun work in the surrounding districts. The total numbers for the year 1901, still excluding Yoruba and Nigeria, are—Native Christians, baptized and catechumens, 12,603; communicants, 6932; baptized during the year, 521; scholars, 4820; and native contributions for the same year, £6682.

The startling mortality among European missionaries in the early days of the mission led to the establishment of Fourah Bay College, for the supply of native agents. That college is now affiliated to the Durham University, and holds the same examinations in arts and theology. There is also a high-class Girls' School, with an attendance of one hundred and thirty. The great advance in civilisation and general progress may be indicated by the fact that an old Fourah Bay student, a native merchant, recently gave £500 towards the

Native Bishopric Fund, and also bequeathed £70,000 for the establishment of an Agricultural School for the benefit of the native young men of the colony.¹

One thousand miles east of Sierra Leone—passing along the great sweep of coast towards the Bight of Benin—is another field of this society's labours. It is what is known as the Yoruba country, and lies opposite to what is still marked on maps as the Slave Coast, and has Lagos for its port. Inland are various stations, and Abbeokuta—well known to readers from its chequered history of success followed by failure and disappointment for a time, but by greater success in the end. The name is likely soon to become better known, as a railway 122 miles long is now open from Lagos to Ibadan and also to Abbeokuta.

Passing still farther east and south is a third field of work in what has been recently renamed Nigeria, a vast region embracing the mouth of the Niger and extending inland to the borders of Hausaland. These two fields of work are described in reports of the society as Western Equatorial Africa, and the results of its labours—under the headings of Lagos, Yoruba and Nigeria, are—Native Christians, baptized and catechumens, 12,718; communicants, 4749; baptized during the year, 1389; scholars, 4721. The native contributions from these churches for the year 1901 were £6143.

¹ *Church Missionary Society Report, 1901-2*, p. 64. His name was S. B. Thomas.

The ordinary missionary or evangelistic and teaching work is now largely carried on in these West African fields by a native agency. Of lay and native Christian teachers, male and female, there are at present employed as many as three hundred and eleven. The risks to European health have at times been so great that there is no alternative. In the three fields just mentioned there have been from first to last more than one hundred ordained native clergymen; and the first African bishop, Samuel Crowther, laboured in Nigeria. If there can be any romance in a slave's life, it is found in his.

Captured as a boy in an attack on the Yoruba people by the Foulahs in 1821, he was sold five times over before he reached the coast. He prayed, so far as an untaught African can pray,—that is, he earnestly desired in his heart, and perhaps every natural and good desire is a prayer to God the Merciful, and the pitiful Father of all,—that he might not be sold to a Portuguese owner. Yet this was what happened, and proved to be the best thing that could have happened. Thus sold, he was shipped on board a vessel with a hundred and eighty-six others for Brazil or Cuba. Within twenty-four hours after sailing, that vessel was captured by H.M.S. *Myrmidon*; he was landed at Sierra Leone, taken up by the Church Missionary Society, educated, sent to England, and later as a missionary to Yoruba. In the streets of Abbeokuta he was discovered or recognised by his mother, from whom he had been stolen twenty-seven years before; and was consecrated

Missionary Bishop of the Niger in Canterbury Cathedral in 1864. He was ten times in England, always on missionary business; and as boy and man spent seventy years in connection with the society, and died at Lagos on the last day of 1891. Our prayers are not always best answered in our own way.

Even apart from information of a statistical kind, administrative or commercial, the facts mentioned above indicate the beginning of an entire change in the social condition of these regions. The utter and apparently hopeless chaos, social and moral, which existed early in the century has begun to pass away. Good government, commerce, education, have all, no doubt, played their parts; but the chief force which has given permanence and growth to this new condition of things, was the moral and religious force produced by missionary effort.

Passing now to the eastern side of the continent, the work of this society divides itself into two parts. There is the earlier period of long waiting and of no great direct results of a spiritual kind under Krapf and later under Rebmann at Mombasa. This continued from 1844 for more than twenty years. There was no great movement—nothing sufficient to attract public attention, and scarcely even to secure the attention of the committee. Half a dozen lines in the annual report was all the recognition that that work sometimes received, and for a couple of years or more it dropped out of sight altogether. Readers of missionary news

at that time used to wonder what Krapf was doing, how he filled up his days, and what kind of missionary life he was leading. Forty years later, when the writer looked at Rosina Krapf's grave among the trees on the mainland of Mombasa, he understood the matter much better. Krapf was doing exactly what he should have done, standing to his gun, refusing, even when he had buried wife and child, to quit the post to which the providence of God had apparently sent him, even though converts failed to come. He engaged in translation work, made short missionary journeys inland, and gathered information about what was then a little known land except to Arab traders, but is now a territory well known and traversed by a railway from Mombasa to Victoria Nyanza.

Krapf was a true missionary. He had plodding patience and spiritual aims, as well as large projects for the evangelisation of East Central Africa by a chain of stations stretching across the continent. The committee gave their sanction so far that in 1851 he made a journey to found the first inland station. The effort was a complete failure owing to the caravan having been attacked. The porters deserted, and Krapf returned to Mombasa 'weary, wounded, and in rags.'

But a start had been made, and twenty-five years later, in 1876, the Uganda Mission was founded. The story is so well known that only a brief reference is necessary here. The first party consisted of eight missionaries, and was a very composite one—an ordained man, a

doctor, an engineer, a builder, and a naval officer who sailed out to Mombasa in a small steamer given to that mission for use on the coast, and two teachers or lay missionaries.¹ Of that first party was the celebrated Alexander Mackay—who was lost to the Scottish Mission on Lake Nyassa, for which he had offered. Of the first eight, one died near the coast, and two were invalided and returned home shortly afterwards. Fever and dysentery made havoc of the party. Mackay was sent back the greater part of the way to the coast in a hammock, but recovered and returned to Uganda after arranging at Zanzibar for supplies and mails. Dr. Smith died of fever within eight months. Lieut. Shergold Smith and O'Neill were killed, with all their native followers except one, in an attack on their camp arising out of a quarrel between the king of Ukerewe and an Arab trader. The circumstances of this massacre are not known—probably never will be. By the end of 1877 Wilson was left alone in Uganda. Mackay was returning from the coast; he reached the Lake in June 1878, and Uganda itself in November, more than two years after leaving England. His prediction in London, that within six months one of the mission party would be dead, was sadly fulfilled in the death of four within a year and half.

The news of these disasters, as they followed one after the other in quick succession, tried the faith and

¹ Some of the first party were—Rev. C. T. Wilson, Dr. John Smith, Lieut. Shergold Smith, R.N., Alexander Mackay, Messrs. Clark, J. Robertson, and Wm. Robertson.

courage of the supporters of the mission at home, and also encouraged the prophets of evil, who believed that the mission had collapsed before it was well begun. Reinforcements were sent, however, by way of the Nile, and later by way of Zanzibar; and the intermediate stations of Mpwapwa and Mamboia were started, and by 1882 the first baptisms took place.

The line of the later history of this mission is marked by a variety of events of importance deeply affecting the progress of the work. These were the murder of Bishop Hannington by Mwanga in October 1885, arising, strangely enough, out of a tradition that white men coming up a certain road would cause the Uganda power to pass away. A successor was appointed in Bishop Parker, who died shortly afterwards, and the question was again raised—'Should not the mission be abandoned on account of the loss of life?' The courage of the men left on the field, of Mackay in particular, was something remarkable.

Then followed the struggle between the Roman Catholic priests and the Protestant missionaries, with disastrous effect to the cause of Christianity; then the war between the native parties; the occupation of the country by the British Imperial East Africa Company; its threatened abandonment; the effort made to meet the expense of administration; and, finally, the proclamation of the British Protectorate, under which so often peace and order come, and disorder disappears.

During this time also there occurred the martyrdom of many of the converts under Mwanga, though he had been restored to his position by the Christian party; and then on the 8th of February 1890 Mackay departed from Uganda and from this earthly life. He was a wonderful example of steadfastness and ceaseless toil, with a lofty ideal of missionary work constantly in view. His letters while he lived and his biography since his death still act as a missionary impulse and influence. Since 1890 the progress of the mission has been so remarkable that Uganda is now spoken of as the marvel of modern missions. It may, however, be doubted whether that progress is more marked—except for a slight difference in numbers and the character of the people—than that of the Scottish mission, Livingstonia, on the west side of Lake Nyassa. The Uganda Mission still continues to make steady progress under the able guidance of Bishop Tucker and his force of energetic and devoted workers.

The origin of this mission was immediately due to a letter of Stanley's, published in 1875; but the work itself was not carried out on a sudden impulse due to popular enthusiasm. The committee were led by a sober consideration of events to face the question whether in the Providence of God a call had not come to them to engage in a very difficult and arduous work, to attempt to plant Christianity in Eastern Central Africa. These events were the publication of a letter; offers of assistance,—one being sent anonymously,—

placing £5000 at the disposal of the committee; and the fact that contributions were generously and largely offered, so that almost immediately £15,000 was available. There was also no lack of volunteers, some understanding what they were going to, and others having very little comprehension of what missionary work in Central Africa really meant.

Reference must here be made, however briefly, to a principle adopted by the Society during the ten years previous to its first centenary. It was that of the Policy of Faith, as distinguished from the Policy of Finance or of ordinary business, as regulating expansion or the acceptance of new work in fields where the Providence of God seemed to call; or in the consolidation of agencies already existing. This did not mean disregard of sound finance; but the determination that by trusting in Divine help, and using all means employed in years gone by, they would reject no candidates for work, keep back no missionaries, nor dismiss consideration of new fields *on merely financial grounds*.

This policy was not entirely new. It had been proposed as far back as 1853, but it took thirty-four years to ripen, or, more correctly, the opinion and faith of the Church took that time to ripen into action. In 1887 the society began to act on this ideal, instead of on the mere finance or business view only. The principle rested on the belief that agents—if they were of the right kind for missionary work—

were as much provided by God as was the money required to employ them. They resolved therefore to refuse none, if, after thorough sifting, they showed themselves fit men, with spiritual as well as other qualifications. It was a plan, policy, or method that required very nice balancing between the simplest and purest faith in God on the one hand, and human presumption on the other.

The results were remarkable, though the experience of the Society showed that all former and ordinary means had to be used with the adoption of this policy. The first year closed with a heavy deficit, which, however, was speedily met; but alongside of this the income for six years kept steadily rising, when another deficit of £12,000 occurred. That also was cleared off, but it led to a reconsideration of the new policy at the instance of some of the more cautious of the committee. This reconsideration was not the examination of principles or of feelings, but of figures; and it brought out some surprising results, wholly gratifying and encouraging to the Faith Policy men. It was found that in seven years—1887-94—the number of missionaries had doubled, and risen from 309 to 619, and this exclusive of deaths and retirements. Further, it was found that the different special funds of the Society were in a better position at the end of the first seven of the new policy than they were at the beginning, and the policy was therefore confirmed and continued. A similar examination at the end of eleven years brought out similar results

with a proportional increase for the additional time. Allowance may be made for the effect during that period of a more complete home organisation by missionary conferences, meetings, working unions, exhibitions, and gatherings arranged to suit people young and old; and also for a great development of one department of home work—the diffusion of missionary information by various publications: these, again, being carefully adapted to suit different ages and varying education. Whether this be effect or cause of increased income, or simply the greater activity induced by the inspiring influence of the new policy, readers must determine for themselves.

The Church Missionary Society has had during its hundred years of life many different experiences, many ups and downs; its days of bad news and good news, and its decades of prosperity or adversity. It has generally been conservative, but courageous and persevering in its action. It has had its occasional failures as well as its numerous and undoubted successes. It has been slow to employ women, or medical missionaries, and slower still to engage in industrial missions, even in Africa, on any considerable scale. It has been blessed in having as its administrators men of ability, of Christian devotion, and of influence and social rank. But amongst all the experiments it has made, none is of greater value and importance to the whole missionary world than the application of a well-adjusted, accurately balanced Policy of Faith

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE
GOSPEL

This is the oldest of British missionary societies. It dates from the year 1701. There were, however, two Associations with almost similar names existing earlier, and there was also the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Its two centuries of life are marked by two entirely opposite conditions. The first century was one of feeble vitality and limited effort, its work being colonial and scarcely missionary, except to American Negroes and Indians. That limitation was according to its original purpose, which was stated to be 'for the Promotion of the Christian Religion in the Plantations and Colonies beyond the Seas.' Missionary in the true sense, as directed to the heathen world, it could hardly be called. But if we blame this limitation, we should remember that it belongs to the last of the non-Missionary Centuries of the Christian Churches in Great Britain.

Its second century of life, from 1801 till 1901, has been one of world-wide expansion, or, what is nearly the same, of effort as wide as the limits of the British Empire, and even beyond them. Sections of its latest Report—1902—refer to 'The Far East' in Sarawak and Siam; and others to Saskatchewan, and New Westminster in British Columbia. Its income has risen from £2608 in 1891, to a total from all sources of £206,800 in 1901. Its work in Africa is mainly in

the south, and extends from Cape Town northwards through the territories of Kaffraria, Natal, Zululand, Bechuanaland, Transvaal, and Rhodesia, till it touches the Zambesi and the Portuguese territories at Delagoa Bay. It has, or has had, single stations at other isolated spots, from Assuan on the Nile to the Pongas River on the West Coast; but its main strength in the African continent has been concentrated on the southern portion. Its early efforts on the West Coast scarcely require mention. They were the work of individuals, and were not organised or sustained. There was a lone worker, an Englishman,—the Rev. Thomas Thompson by name,—on the New Guinea coast in 1756 for five years. One man labouring alone against the heathenism of a continent for five years! He was followed by a solitary ordained native, Philip Quaake, for fifty years, who died in 1816.

This Society's work in South Africa began in 1821, but grew very slowly at first. There were occasional visits of missionaries or bishops passing the Cape on their way to India, but these only produced a temporary impression. Its real commencement and steady expansion began in 1847 under Bishop Gray, a man of ability, great energy, and limitless power of work; and in much of his varied labour he was ably assisted by his wife. Though a strong upholder of the episcopal dignity and the claims of the Church, and also a formidable opponent, he was frank and genial as a friend. His chief struggle was with Bishop Colenso.

His influence soon began to be felt, and his single bishopric has now developed into ten, if St. Helena be included, eleven if Madagascar be added. All, except the last, belong to the province of South Africa, under the present Metropolitan, Archbishop Jones. Amongst the more prominent missionary bishops of this society were Bishop Callaway and Bishop Key, the former a noted Kaffir and Zulu scholar.

From the form in which the reports of this society appear, it is almost impossible to distinguish between the colonial and the purely missionary work. A fairly accurate calculation gives the total number, not in its African section of work, but all over the world, as 613 ordained European ministers, of whom 300 are missionaries to the heathen. There are 172 ordained native pastors, and 42,000 native communicants.

In South Africa the numbers are—45 ordained Europeans and 13 natives as assistants, not all ordained; 5075 communicants, and 13,329 adherents not communicants. From Cape Town to Umtata the Society has four training institutions, at which industrial teaching is also given. The two best known are that at Keiskamma Hoek, under the Rev. C. Taberer, and at Grahamstown, under the Rev. Canon Mullins.

The peculiarity of this mission is that it stands very much alone in Africa, as it does elsewhere throughout the world. Individual friendships with missionaries of other societies exist, but co-operation in missionary

work there is none.¹ There is also a disregard of boundaries, and unjustifiable intrusion into fields already occupied by other missions. The French and Berlin missions in South Africa have had reason to complain of this, and others in other fields have had reason to do the same, perhaps all the way from Honolulu to Madagascar; and that is a long line.

This refusal to co-operate with other missions, except perhaps with the Church Missionary Society, on the part of a great and powerful association, is a distinct misfortune to the mission cause. It arises from a claim that the Society, as such, represents in heathen lands, if not Christianity, at least the Christian Church of other countries and ages gone by. This again rests on the idea of true apostolic succession as possessed by that Church. Yet, though this historical belief were proved as much beyond dispute as that three angles of a triangle are equal, etc., it is difficult to see how it would help to convert a single heathen. Equally fallacious is the belief that the sacraments are less efficacious, or not efficacious at all, in any other hands than those of the one body which is supposed by themselves to represent the historic Church of the past.

Laymen of the Church of England, or many of them, fortunately do not accept these very extreme views. One of the clearest and most recent utterances

¹ At the recent Decennial Indian Missionary Conference, held at Madras, December 1902, it is stated that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was represented for the first time.

is that of Lord Milner, at a missionary meeting in connection with the Anglican Church, held in Johannesburg a few months ago. He occupied the chair, gave his cordial support to a proposed scheme of missionary work, and emphasised the necessity for missionaries being men of conviction, vitality, and earnestness, without which any organisation would be ineffective. Expressing satisfaction at the friendly tone of some of the speakers towards other Churches, he said—

“I was born and bred a Churchman ; and though I may be a very poor Churchman in some ways, my sympathies have always been with the Church in which I was born and bred. I have a sincere desire to do what little lies in my power to prove that I am in a broad sense a good Churchman. Yet, with all that, I have been often pained by the attitude—a certain attitude of superiority—which the Church of England has taken to other Christian Churches. There is nothing I detest more, nothing I think more out of place, than anything of that kind between bodies which are all trying, or ought to be trying, to do the same work, and which I have so often felt if there were hundreds to do it, though there are but tens, that work could not be overtaken. If that sort of thing is out of place at home, it is totally and hopelessly out of place abroad ; and I am delighted to find, from the tone of the speeches to-night, that this effort in this country will not be marred by any sort of intolerance of this description. I assure the gentlemen who have spoken, that if they, in their desire to promote a more efficient organisation of the Church, put an end to our ridiculous objections and frittered efforts, they have my entire sympathy.”

Canon H. Henson's views, which have greatly changed of late, cover a still wider field, and are expressed with almost greater strength. If they apply to the work of the Christian Church at home, they apply with double force to missionary work abroad,

where small and scattered forces stand confronted by the world's heathendom.¹ He comments on the new fashion of the hour of referring to those outside the Church of England in terms of respect, and even of Christian affection, and points to the inconsistency of regarding them as schismatics who are unworthy of Communion, though participation in that rite has been the expression of Christian fraternity in every age and country. He regards the position as 'unwholesome and demoralising,' and he continues—

"In every section of the Christian society men's minds are exercised on the subject; in all directions a great discontent with existing separations is showing itself, and the desire to recover some effective ecclesiastical unity has laid strong hold on the Christian conscience. The practical urgency of combining religious men in the crusade against the disintegrating and demoralising forces of modern civilisation is becoming apparent to the most conservative of denominationalists. In front of a task the magnitude and difficulty of which are daily increasing, the best Christians in all the Churches regard with an impatience which grows quickly into disgust, the miserable waste of spiritual energy, and the lamentable loss of spiritual prestige, caused by divisions which seem equally unnecessary, irrational, and perverse."

Bishop French, of Lahore, in his middle and later life, was certainly not a Low Churchman, and his pronounced Anglicanism probably led, in part at least, to his final rupture with the Church Missionary Society. Yet even he 'could not bring himself to refuse Communion to non-Episcopalians.' The realities of missionary life, contact with men, and, as his own words

¹ *Cross Bench Views on Church Questions*, p. 341—'Our Unhappy Divisions.'

show, a spiritual perception of what such refusal may amount to, and the grave responsibility it may involve, led him to write thus—

“Those dear, good American missionaries and professors will sit much nearer to the Lamb at His supper table, I believe, than I shall; and I should blush, if admitted there, to think that I had warned them off from the eucharistic table on earth.”¹

To enter a country or an area already well occupied, and where missionary work has been for some time carried on, on the ground of a different interpretation of some doctrine, or a different view of some matter of history, is not just the best method of Christianising the natives. The object of all missions is to Christianise, not to proselytise, and the effect of this method is to create a Cave of Adullam for the restless and dissatisfied, and to weaken the discipline of other Churches. The most marked instance of this kind in South Africa was the recent reception by this Society of a considerable portion of those connected with the Ethiopian Church Movement. As many as 3000 natives are said to have been added to the Society's mission by this action. The outlook is still more serious—as the following sentence will show—“The work in South Africa known as the Ethiopian Movement is one that is being fostered with wisdom, and will mean the gathering into the Church of some 10,000 natives with their pastors.”² The original malcontents were

¹ *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French, First Bishop of Lahore.* London, 1895.

² *Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1903, pp. 245-6.*

chiefly from the Wesleyan, but also from other denominations. It received a great impulse from the Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, a coloured bishop having been brought to South Africa to organise and ordain. Nominally a Church movement, it contains a strong, perhaps dangerous political element. By itself it is not likely, at least for some time, to be either in government, doctrine, or practice much of a blessing to native Christianity in South Africa. Yet it has found its apologists.¹

This exclusive attitude is the more regrettable since there can be no question as to the high missionary qualities of the men connected with this Society. Their genuine religious warmth, their directness of effort, their gentleness and patience with their converts and adherents, are known to all who have come into contact with them. Yet alongside of this there stands this unfortunate aloofness, purely of an ecclesiastical, not of a personal kind, which separates those who otherwise would have been close friends in a common work. The slow influence of time and progress of lay opinion will probably modify these extreme views.

The difference between these two great missionary bodies, now briefly sketched, has been expressed with great clearness and, it is hoped, no lack of charity, thus—

“The Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propa-

¹ See *Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, New York, 1900, vol. i. p. 469; also *Le Mouvement Ethiopien, au Sud de Afrique*, by Maurice Lienhardt-Cahors. Paris, 1902.

gation of the Gospel ought to exchange names. The former strives for the expansion of Christianity through the propagation of the gospel; and the latter for the enlargement of the Anglican establishment through transplanting the Church. The Church Society is the imperial mission society of the world, but the rising tide of ritualism in the Anglican Church is leading a large number of auxiliaries to associate themselves with the Propagation Society.”¹

One of its bishops—Bishop Corfe—claims for it a much higher ideal—

“The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel stands upon the highest of all possible levels. It recognises its duty both to Englishmen and to persons who are not Englishmen, and declares in the most emphatic way that Jesus Christ is a universal Saviour, and hung on the Cross not only for Englishmen, wherever they may be found, but also for the whole world.”

UNIVERSITIES MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA

The immediate occasion of the starting of this mission was a visit paid by Dr. Livingstone to the University of Cambridge some short time before he returned to Africa in 1858. Its existence is one instance amongst many of the great influence, direct and indirect, which his life, and perhaps still more his death, has exercised on the progress of missions in Africa, specially in its central regions. There were explorers before his time, and there have been since, but in the work and life of none of these has the double object of exploration and missionary purpose been maintained so steadily, strongly, and equally as in his. This purpose was not

¹ *Redemption of Africa*, vol. i. p. 238. By Dr. F. Perry Noble. New York and London, 1899.

often expressed formally, but it came out naturally and spontaneously in act and conversation. It was in his heart, and it came forth. He probably did not go down to Cambridge with the expectation of starting a mission, but that result followed. The idea was entertained, and some steps were taken. For its completion it had to be taken up a year later by Bishop Gray of Cape Town. By 1860 the preparations were made: a staff had been got together, and Archdeacon Mackenzie, who had been previously at work in Zululand in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was consecrated bishop. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and later of Durham and Dublin, all joined in promoting the object.

The party met Livingstone at the mouth of the Zambesi, and settled in the Shiré highlands at a place called Magomero, 30 miles east of the Murchison Cataracts, and in sight of Lake Shirwa.

The early history of this mission is one of a long series of disasters bravely borne, and recovered from in later years. The first difficulties arose from slave raiding in the district, in which the mission became involved through its endeavour to protect some of its dependants. This led Bishop Mackenzie to go down to the Shiré Valley with the view of meeting and consulting with Dr. Livingstone, and also to meet his sister, Miss Mackenzie, and some reinforcements for the mission. As happens on African journeys, Livingstone was delayed much beyond his time. Mackenzie waited for him at a place near the river Ruo,

known as the island of Malo. He was accompanied by one member of the mission, the Rev. Mr. Burrup. On the voyage down the river Shiré the canoe was upset near the Elephant Marsh. They lost all their medicines, and most of their food and other articles of value. In consequence, when fever came on, the bishop, after a short illness, died, and was buried by his friend and fellow-labourer, who was himself suffering from severe fever at the time. Mr. Burrup was taken home by his faithful attendants to the station at Magomero, and died almost immediately afterwards.

After this the troubles with the slave raiders increased. The Ajawa tribe, as they were then called, known now as the Yao, instigated by traders from the coast, pressed down through the district in which the mission was settled, and captured some of their dependants. The mission was in consequence driven down from the high lands to the valley of the Shiré to a position known as Chibisa's, the name of the chief, about 10 miles below the Murchison Cataracts. It is a position of great beauty, on some high land overlooking a broad valley and a long stretch of river. Here for a time the mission settled, and endeavoured to carry on its work while waiting for a successor to Bishop Mackenzie to arrive from England.

This successor came in the person of Bishop Tozer, who, being dissatisfied with the site chosen on account of its unhealthiness, moved the whole party lower down the river to a position near the junction of the Shiré

and the Zambesi, and placed it on what is one of the great landmarks of that region, Mount Morumbala, where the mission held on for a time; but it was found that the elevation involved other drawbacks,—in African mists and clouds,—and it was finally resolved by the bishop to move the whole staff to the island of Zanzibar. There it made an excellent beginning, and attracted a large number of devoted workers, among whom was Mr. Steere, who afterwards became bishop. For ten or twelve years a great deal of solid work was done in the preparation of a Swaheli grammar and dictionary, and in the translation of a considerable portion of the Bible. Amongst other results accomplished was the very notable one of purchasing the old slave market of Zanzibar city, and erecting thereon a handsome cathedral, which, so far as the material structure is concerned, forms a kind of centre or heart to the whole work. In addition to the evangelistic work, there is a training school for boys and girls, and some sections of industrial work.

After thus establishing a base, a station was founded on the mainland, called Magila. The nucleus of the station was made up of those who had been trained at Zanzibar, and the work was begun with a fair prospect of success. Still later, in 1882, they pushed forwards till they reached the eastern side of Lake Nyassa, where some trouble arose with one of the native chiefs. And, finally, the island of Likoma, on the east side of the lake, and about 6 or 8 miles from the eastern shore, was selected as the headquarters of the mission.

Bishop Smithies took up the work which, by Bishop Steere's death, was left without a head, and carried it on with great vigour until his death at sea while on a voyage to Zanzibar. He had probably, as he said in his last days, 'entirely miscalculated his physical strength.' He was succeeded by Bishop Maples, who was drowned by the upsetting of a boat on Lake Nyassa, after a short period of work. The mission still thrives, and its workers are distinguished by those characteristics already mentioned as belonging to many in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—great devotion and warmth of missionary feeling, and self-denying activity and simplicity of life.

V

WESLEYAN, AND EPISCOPAL METHODIST, AND BAPTIST MISSIONS IN AFRICA

THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

IN the effort to evangelise Southern Africa, this society comes *third* in point of time. Wesleyan Methodism in its various forms, connections, and secessions has been a great blessing to Europe and America, and also to Africa, both South and West. Its root was a deep spiritual conviction in the soul of one man, John Wesley. Its spread to-day in heathen and Christian countries, in which it is believed to number twenty-five millions of adherents, is a testimony to the value of such convictions, and to the power of practical religion.

Wesley's oft-repeated utterance was, 'Church or no Church, the people must be saved.' Seizing the practical side of religion, he taught that a man becomes regenerated not by baptism, but by repentance and faith in Christ, and becomes sanctified not by an intellectual belief of certain truths, but by spiritual

experience and the practice of these truths. Viewed thus, it is no great wonder that Methodism took firm hold of the masses of England a century and a half ago. They were then very much in need of a religion; and equally of a presentation of it in a simple form, which could be easily comprehended, and immediately applied to their own lives. That want was supplied by the preaching of Wesley and those who acted with him. And out of the reality of that movement, which was a Home Mission of the truest kind, there arose almost immediately those extensive and successful Foreign Wesleyan Missions which are found to-day in so many heathen lands.

The man who combined in his own personality the work of pioneer and home organiser was the Rev. Dr. Coke, whose name deserves to be preserved from oblivion for his indomitable energy and missionary enthusiasm and activity. In his hands these separate missions, to both colonists and heathen, first took organised shape. On his missionary journeys he crossed the Atlantic eighteen times, a different journey then from now, and died at sea on a voyage to Ceylon in 1814. On his death the work was re-organised and extended, and year by year it has grown, and is now known as the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society of Britain, with a very large force abroad, and an income for 1901 of £136,528, and an expenditure for that year of £143,617. Besides the Wesleyan, there are many other Methodist Societies in different countries, from the Primitive

Methodists in Great Britain to the Methodist Episcopal Society in the United States and those of other countries.

The Wesleyan Methodists, both as a Society and as individual missionaries, are marked by great evangelistic fervour, energy, and spiritual warmth, and also by an *unwavering belief in the power of the simple preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ*. They are in consequence ceaseless in their efforts to bring that gospel into contact with the minds and hearts of all they can reach. This simple theory is itself a great missionary force; and with them it seems a force that never wears out, and let us hope it never may. They are not quite particular about mission boundaries, and justify themselves under John Wesley's expression—'The world is my parish.' In South Africa they are strong in numbers and influence among both Europeans and natives, and have now a South African Conference of their own,—which is of itself evidence of real and considerable growth. The missions in the Cape Colony, Orange River Colony, and Natal are under the direction of that Conference. Those in the Transvaal and Rhodesia remain under the direction of the Home Church.

More than any other mission, they have employed native ordained preachers and native evangelists. Their system is very thoroughly organised, and conscientiously worked with patient and unremitting labour. They have devoted much time and effort to native education, and have several strong and

well-equipped institutions. Healdtown and Clarkebury are two of the largest and most important, and there are ten smaller places. Their main force, however, and the work they love best, goes on evangelistic lines, and they are always adding to the number of their native congregations. They have never been so marked as pioneers as the London Society and one or two others, though their earliest missionary penetrated through Kaffraria to Natal, and planted stations on the way, at a time when such a journey was more difficult and required longer time than a journey to Lake Nyassa now.

The pioneer of the Wesleyan Mission was the Rev. Barnabas Shaw. He landed at Cape Town in 1814, met with very little sympathy or encouragement, was refused permission to preach, but preached nevertheless. His destination was work among the heathen population, and Great Namaqualand, a region lying north of the Orange River, was first selected. On his journey thither, Mr. Shaw was met by the chief of Little Namaqualand, which lies south of that river, travelling to Cape Town in search of a white teacher,—not necessarily impelled by a desire to hear the gospel, but from a wish to benefit by the white man's presence and protection.

Mr. Shaw at first settled in Little Namaqualand. So slightly had civilisation penetrated into South Africa at that date, that a plough and a cross-cut saw caused boundless astonishment. The mission work grew slowly yet surely, and in 1855 these

people erected a stone church, costing £1000, entirely by their own contributions.

An effort was made in 1825 to enter Great Namaqualand; but the tragic death of Mr. Threlfall and two native teachers, who were treacherously murdered by a party of Bushmen pretending to be their guides, delayed its prosecution. Seven years later the attempt was renewed, this time successfully. Various difficulties, among them the migratory and predatory habits of the people, led to the transference of the work to the Rhenish Mission, already established farther north, and the Wesleyan men were withdrawn to be employed in another direction.

From this humble beginning Wesleyan Missions have spread over a wide area, embracing the whole of Cape Colony, through independent Kaffraria to Natal, westwards to Bechuanaland, and northwards into the Transvaal and Rhodesia. They are at work among Europeans and natives in almost every considerable town, as well as among the natives outside of these towns. The total membership is very large. It is difficult to give the exact numbers, as the colonial and native communicants are not always readily distinguishable. A recent Year Book gives the number of native members for Cape Colony and Natal as 59,000, or, including those on trial and in junior candidate classes, as close on 104,000; and of adherents, including members and scholars, 218,000. And the annual local income from various sources is proportionately large.

In linguistic work several missionaries of this society have distinguished themselves. The earliest Kaffir Grammar was produced by the Rev. W. Boyce; it was followed later by that of Rev. W. Appleyard, much more full and complete. But the great work of Mr. Appleyard was the first complete translation of the Bible into the language of the Kaffir tribes. A revised translation has since been produced by missionaries of different societies. Both translations are at present in use. Some smaller books, mostly translations, have also added to the present scanty Kaffir literature. In South Africa the Wesleyan Mission both among black and white, is a great living religious force, and one that is still gathering momentum.

The other region of the continent in which the society has shown its missionary life and activity is on the West Coast at the four following points:—Sierra Leone, Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Lagos. The real commencement was at Sierra Leone in 1811; an earlier effort had proved a failure. This experience of early failure and later success on that coast was similar to that of several other societies. In those early days the defect or cause of failure was often found in the missionary quality of the agents sent out—some soon got disheartened. At these four points, widely separated from each other, extending along a coast-line of nearly 1400 miles, the work has been nevertheless carried on with indomitable perseverance. There are also stations a short distance

inland at different points as far as Abbeokuta. The membership is a little over 18,000, and the total, including members and adherents or attendants at public worship, is over 60,000. The necessary work of education is carried on in 192 schools of various grades.

Two features of missionary history in this part of the world deserve attention—the great mortality among the European missionaries, and the unfailing supply of men to take the places of those who had fallen. To some, the endeavour to Christianise that part of the African continent probably appeared but a needless waste of human life. For a long time the annual report of each society often recorded the departure of the missionary, and that of the following year contained the notice—‘died of fever after a few months’ service.’ In fifty years, sixty-three missionaries of the Wesleyan Society lost their lives through the climate. On the other hand, a few men in various societies, with frequent furloughs, were able to hold on for an average working lifetime. This may have been due to temperament, or more probably to that great undiscovered physiological secret, the idiosyncrasy of each man’s constitution.

Latterly, a change for the better has taken place, arising from a better knowledge of what can and what cannot be safely done in that climate, and also in part from the more extensive employment of native agency. The Sierra Leone district contains 5873 members and junior members; candidates on trial and catechumens,

4693. The spiritual care of these is distributed amongst 3 Europeans and 22 African ministers; and the work is carried on in 40 chapels large and small. The largest is the Wesley Chapel in Freetown, with 1334 members; and the smallest is Bandajuma, with one minister, one catechist, one member, one Sabbath-school teacher, and one day school with 30 scholars. From such small beginnings, missionary numbers grow to the slowly increasing thousands.

Freetown is the key to the Sierra Leone district. As the locality which received large numbers of slaves taken by British cruisers in years gone by, its speech is polyglot, and its population probably represents more than a hundred inland tribes. From the study of these dialects the *Polyglotta Africana*, known to students of African languages, was compiled by Koelle, a German missionary. This confusion of tongues is still a difficulty, and a recent report of the Wesleyan Society refers to "these perplexing vernaculars as one of the greatest barriers—not even excepting the climate—to the progress of the mission in the hinterland of Sierra Leone."

The Gold Coast district is the next in importance, with over 8000 Church members and 23 missionaries, native and European. Lagos follows with about one-fourth of these numbers, 2700 members. And finally comes the Gambia district, with 720 members. A number of the congregations are self-supporting. At present the greatest difficulties do not appear to be of

a financial nature. The opening of gold mines in some districts, the construction of two railways, and the influx of population, have affected missionary work indirectly. In some districts there is a healthy development, in others the reverse. Want of spiritual vitality, of clear comprehension of Christian truths, and of the true idea of the duties and responsibilities of Church members, seem to be the defects of various districts, including those of the Gambia region. A single sentence from the Report of 1902 on the Gambia district will show that all missionary information is not mere hopeful exaggeration or pious legend, but honest statement: "We have to deplore the fact that during the year 1901 there has not been a single case of adult baptism, though there are 76 on trial, and in the three other districts close on 2000." Admission is also made that Mohammedanism is gradually gaining converts, from its offering a less lofty religious ideal than Christianity, and from its tolerance of polygamy.

AMERICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSIONS

The American Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society is a large and powerful organisation, and carries on work in various countries with much earnestness and determination. It is divided, as the Church itself is, into North and South, and the Northern is much the larger and older organisation. It had sent missionaries to the Red Indians as far back as 1819,

but its work in Africa began only in 1833, and first of all at Liberia on the West Coast. Its work now extends over the world, and includes some of the Roman Catholic countries of Europe. It is said¹ to have a yearly income of £200,000; it supports 210 missionaries and a large body of native helpers, and has 55,000 communicants,—of which, 25 ordained men and about 4000 communicants belong to the African section of its work. There are now two Conferences,—one the Liberian, north of the equator, and another south of that line, known as the Congo Conference.

The most recent work of this society has been in the Congo Valley. It was begun in 1886, and is sometimes spoken of as Bishop Taylor's Mission. A certain interest attaches to the history of this effort apart from its main object, and that is the question of self-supporting missions, still believed by some to be the ideal form of missionary operations. This method has at least a resemblance to apostolic simplicity, and is inexpensive, or appears so. Bishop William Taylor believed that this much simpler method of missionary work was perfectly practicable. He thought that Europeans and Americans could, even in Central Africa, engage in various employments, as agriculturists, planters in a humble way, and traders, and yet carry on the arduous work of Christian missionaries—preaching, teaching, translating, doctoring, and superintending the work of native agents.

Accordingly, there was created the Self-Sustaining

¹ Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 110.

Industrial Mission in the years 1884-1886. Within twelve years nearly one hundred and forty missionaries—that is, men and women without any special training—were sent out; properly speaking, they would be classed as evangelists in regularly organised societies or missions. A steamer was provided for the Congo, which, however, never got above the Stanley Falls, and was not found of any great service, though costly. No salaries were fixed, though money was not wanting, and was supplied to meet the cost of transit, and for houses and implements. Stations were selected, and the missionaries were left to work out their own support, preach the gospel, and lay the foundations of Christianity in those heathen regions. An effort, on the same lines and in the same region, was attempted by another society, known as the Missionary Evangelical Alliance, sometimes as ‘Simpson’s Mission.’ This mission was rather the earlier of the two.

Any method that will lessen the cost of missions without injuring their efficiency or permanence, will be gladly welcomed by the Christian Church. The experiment has been tried, and on a large scale. Its history may almost be written in two words—complete failure. The principle is erroneous, and its practice disastrous. The writer uses these words with regret, as he personally knew and esteemed Bishop Taylor, who visited Lovedale a few years ago. The truth, however, must reluctantly be told. The experiment was in reality an attempt at colonisation in Central Africa in one of the least promising regions, and has been sadly

costly, both in money and in life. Warneck's criticism, if scathing, rests on a basis of facts. He says: "In recent years William Taylor has kindled at many stations in various districts of Liberia (and the Congo as well) a quantity of Methodist straw fire which, however, as is shown by the marked fall in statistics, does not seem to have burned long."¹ Of the one hundred and forty men and women who had been sent, at the end of ten years only seventeen were left in two great divisions of the mission—the Liberian section and the Congo section. A very large number had died, and others had left the field. A few near Vivi and elsewhere had, according to one statement, made a brave struggle for life by "shooting hippopotami, and selling the dried flesh to the natives for the produce of the country."²

An entire change, however, has taken place in the management of this mission since it was placed under the direction of Bishop Hartzell in 1897. His report, after twice visiting those missions, contains the important admission that the work was not what it had been represented or believed to be; and that, instead of progress, with the prospect of still greater advance, there remained only in the Liberian section one-seventh of the staff originally sent out, and one-half of the stations planted ten years previously. On the Congo side the results were still worse. There remained in 1896 only one-fifth of the stations first occupied, and

¹ Warneck's *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 193.

² *Encyclopædia of Missions*, vol. i. p. 320.

one-eleventh of the staff sent out. The remainder, except five at Vivi and twelve in the Liberian section, were dead or scattered, or had returned to America. Under the new organisation begun by Hartzell, and the sounder principles adopted, the mission will probably produce very different results, for under the former direction there seem to have been few conversions and no regularly conducted educational or industrial work.

The same society—the Methodist Episcopal—has a mission on a small scale on the opposite side of the continent, at Inhambane, taken over from the American Congregational Board. It has also made a beginning at Old Umtali, in Rhodesia, within the last few years, on land granted by the Chartered Company.

There is also a small mission of the English Primitive Methodists in the region north of the French Mission in Barotseland. They began their labours recently, and have as yet not gained marked success, though they have laboured with great devotion in a difficult field. The staff is small in number,—two or three men only,—Mr. Buckenham, Mr. Baldwin, and an assistant.

THE ENGLISH BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

To the Baptist Missionary Society belongs the honour of having led the way in one of the greatest movements either of the last or of this century—the modern missionary enterprise of the Christian

Church. With William Carey began the idea of the Church's duty to the heathen world in a regular and systematic form, and the Baptist Missionary Association was originated by a meeting held on October 2, 1792, at which twelve ministers attended, and the well-known collection of £13, 2s. 6d. was subscribed. There were three societies in existence at this time, but their object was less specifically missions to the heathen.¹

The first intention of the Baptist Society was to found a mission in the South Seas; but afterwards India was chosen, the providence of God doubtless directing the efforts of the society to the vast population of that country; and in India so energetic and colossal a worker as William Carey found ample field for his ceaseless activity during his forty years of missionary life.

In South Africa the Baptist Society has no regular mission beyond one or two stations connected with colonial congregations. Its chief work has been on the West Coast, at the Cameroons, where it began in 1842. One of its most devoted missionaries and successful linguists was the Rev. Alfred Saker. Their stations have now, however, passed into the hands of the Basel Mission, owing to difficulties arising from German administration and colonising methods.

Its latest and greatest effort in the African continent

¹ These were the New England Company, founded 1649; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded 1698; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded 1701.

has been in the Congo Valley, where it began work in 1878. It has now 36 European missionaries, ordained and unordained, 56 native evangelists, 10 main stations, and nearly 50 sub-stations or preaching-places, though there are only as yet 607 members, with over 3000 children in school. Its stations are on both the Upper and Lower Congo, and the most important is Wathen or Ngombe on the Lower Congo. Preaching, teaching, and exploring work are being carried on extensively; also, the Bible is being translated by the Rev. W. Holman Bentley, and the *Pilgrim's Progress* has been already translated and published by the Rev. T. Lewis. The smaller stations are maintained by the Native Church, who have supported 15 evangelists during the past year at the moderate cost of £80. Of 44 such stations as yet, as many as 23 have a membership of 4 or under. The work is only beginning, but during 1901 it was marked by steady growth and consolidation, its sub-stations having been doubled, and the attendance at outpost schools trebled.¹

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION

This important organisation took up work on the Congo in 1884, being led to that by the transference to its care of an English mission known as the Livingstone Inland mission. That mission was organised and carried on for six years by Dr. and Mrs. Grattan Guinness, and much useful work was done in that short

¹ *Baptist Missionary Society's Report for 1902.*

period in founding stations extending as far north as the equator, in reducing native languages to writing, in compiling vocabularies and grammars, and aiding in the translation of the Bible. But its responsibilities had become too heavy for its founders, and in 1884 its transference to this American society took place. Under the care of the latter, the mission has been extended, and has now 12 ordained men at work, 121 native assistants, 6 main stations, and 73 out-stations, with 2784 communicants, and 2600 children at school.

THE CONGO BALOLO MISSION

The singular but happy sequel to the above is, that in less than five years after the above mission was handed over, owing to some great changes connected with the work of the Harley Institute in London, or to a new period of prosperity, or to a fresh missionary impulse, a second mission was commenced, under the same direction, farther up the Congo, and is known now as the Congo Balolo Mission. Its region is in the great bend of the Congo, and the work has since been carried on with vigour. This is the present Grattan Guinness Mission on the Congo;¹ or as it is sometimes spoken of, as the "Regions Beyond Missionary Union" work. The number of workers sent out to the first and second missions was 96 in all. Of these, 30 gave their lives for the cause of Christ; 35 are still at work; and of the remaining 31,

¹ *These Thirty Years.* By Dr. H. Guinness. 1903.

some have retired in ill-health, and others have joined other missions or are connected with the home staff.

Another result followed from this transference. The Swedish Missionary Society had originally taken part in the creation of the Livingstone Inland Mission, but when that passed under American management a separate mission was formed, wholly Swedish, in which good work has been done. One of its members has translated the New Testament into the language of one of the Congo peoples, and a large number of converts has been gained.

One striking fact in connection with the Harley Institute deserves mention. Since its commencement in 1873 it has sent out 887 men and 281 women to home or foreign mission work. Of these, 215 went to Africa, including the 96 already mentioned as having gone to the Congo; 103 went to China.

VI

SCOTTISH AND AMERICAN PRESBY- TERIAN, AND CONGREGATIONAL MISSIONS

THESE missions may be taken together, though the date at which they commenced work in Africa is not the same, and though the order in time hitherto followed does not quite harmonise. There is great similarity in many of their methods, and also in the solid character of their work. They combine evangelistic and educational work in most, if not in all of their various fields, nearly all over the world. They trust to thorough instruction, and look for the living, steadfast, practical piety that should come from knowledge and real acquaintance with Christian truth. In lands where missionary work cannot be carried on with much promise of early success, because of unbending fanaticism or popular ignorance, they largely employ education, translation, and medical agency.

The American Missions, by the education they have given, especially in such institutions as the Robert College at Constantinople and at Beyrout (though the former is not under the management of a Mission Board), and by the diffusion of the Scriptures and

Christian literature in Arabic which they have prepared and extensively put into circulation, have produced results in Asiatic and European Turkey that cannot be easily estimated, and are not yet fully apparent. The work has been done quietly, and perhaps more effectively than it would have been by itinerant preaching, since, as already stated, in most Mohammedan countries at present other methods are required to make a permanent impression. If education and medical work do not directly lead to the reception of the gospel, they prepare the way for it.

The opposition that once existed to educational methods did some mischief. It distracted attention, lessened the sympathies of many, and led others to believe that non-missionary and half-secular methods were being adopted. On this one of the Presidents of Robert College stated: "These attacks, though not without excuse, were undoubtedly a mistake, and put back missionary work in the East a quarter of a century."

American and Scottish missionaries have thus practically expressed their belief as to the best course to be followed,—regard being had to varying conditions of culture, civilisation, and religious faith among different peoples. The Mohammedan in Asia, well cultured, may, strangely enough perhaps, be most influenced by the same means that have to be used along with the religious teaching of the African, who has no culture at all. Amongst such educators, American and Scottish missionaries have been both systematic and persevering. Scottish missions rather led the way

than followed, for Dr. Duff was the first in India to advocate this educational method as an addition to the evangelistic. The temperament and mental build of the two peoples may partly account for this. As men, these Americans and Scots are shrewd rather than sentimental, practical rather than romantic, though not destitute of either peculiarity of temperament. When a certain star-spangled flag comes within range of vision, no one can say that the American has no sentiment; or when the history of old battles fought on fields all over the world is referred to, that the Scot is wanting in feeling fervid.

But as they are practical in secular affairs, we may expect the same feature in matters missionary. Hence, while they believe in the proclamation of the gospel by itineration as the best means for bringing its message most readily to the mass of mankind, they also believe in instruction as the best means of making that impression permanent, of nourishing it into a reproductive force, and of preserving the feeling of a day to be the influence of a lifetime. Thus it is that in fields so widely different as Syria and India or Africa, there is this striking similarity in their educational centres. They are doing the same in America, for Africans and Red Indians, at those famous institutions—Hampton in Virginia, Carlisle in Pennsylvania, Scotia in North Carolina, where their methods correspond exactly to those at Lovedale, Amanzimtote, Bailundu in East Central Africa, and at Assiout and Cairo on the Nile.

The men or missionaries themselves when they meet, seem to start on some old level, or race understanding, or agreement of aim and method by which certain ends are to be reached ; and being thus quickly at one in idea and feeling, they become very much at home with each other. Such, at least, has been the writer's experience of meeting at intervals of over forty years with those very practical, earnest, and excellent men known as American missionaries, in widely different parts of the world.

SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS

The first efforts of the Scottish Presbyterians in the African continent were made as early as 1797. The old Glasgow and Edinburgh Missionary Societies each sent out two men to the West Coast of Africa. The London Missionary Society also sent two at the same date. They formed a party of six, and were directed to the Foulah country in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. They do not seem to have agreed among themselves, and from that and other causes the mission was an entire failure.

It is instructive to read the old records of these first missionary attempts, as they are preserved in one of the earliest volumes of missionary history.¹ The picture gives in miniature what has happened at times in

¹ *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 501-503. By the Rev. Wm. Brown, M.D. Edinburgh : Fullarton & Co., 1823.

missions, even from the earliest times, when Paul and Barnabas 'departed asunder the one from the other,' and reveals the sad fact that doctrinal differences or individual unfitness have interfered seriously with the success of the great work. Here are a few sentences as they stand. Speaking of these six agents of three societies, the author says—

“Before they had even left England, violent disputes arose among them on a variety of theological points, some of them mere verbal differences ; and in the course of the voyage such wrangling and bitterness was exhibited as surpasses description.”

Though Mr. Brunton, who along with Mr. Greig came from Edinburgh, was to blame for the objectionable manner in which he expressed his sentiments, he soon became sensible of his error, and was anxious for a reconciliation. The missionaries from other societies, except Greig, rejected his overtures of peace, and the warning is added—

“Such circumstances as these furnish Christian missionaries with a lesson on the necessity of cultivating towards each other a spirit of charity, meekness, and love. As they go on an embassy of peace, they are apt to take it for granted that among themselves there will be nothing but harmony and affection. By this means they are thrown off their guard, are not sufficiently attentive to those circumstances, many of them trifling in themselves, which are necessary to the cultivation of mutual attachment. Before they are aware, coldness or even dislike has taken the place of affection ; little differences and little jealousies arise which might at first have been easily removed, but being allowed to remain unexplained, at length burst forth in rupture. Dissensions among missionaries have been but too common occurrences, and are to be more dreaded than death. Few things tend more to blast their usefulness among the heathen, to injure their spiritual interests, and to destroy their private happiness.”

These missionaries on arrival at Sierra Leone went to different districts—Brunton and Greig to the Pongas River. With the rainy season fever came, and both suffered a good deal. Greig was shortly afterwards murdered by some Foulahs whom he allowed to sleep in his house, and tried to interest by showing them some European articles he had. One of these men murdered him with an axe. The chief under whose care he was greatly regretted his death, and tried to apprehend the murderer. Brunton after some time left the coast of Africa in bad health, returned to Scotland, and later on started on some mission to the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, where he died in 1813. Of other two, there is a still stranger record, put with all the impartial brevity and directness of this early historian of missions—

“On their arrival, they began to learn the Timmany language; they afterwards proceeded to Rokelle in that country, where they opened a school for children. At first they promised well, but both of them proved unworthy characters.” One “remained in the country and engaged in the slave trade,” and the other “came back to Scotland and turned infidel.”

Unsatisfactory as may be the opinion held about the fitness of some of us who are missionaries now, nothing can be recorded equal to this,—an ex-Christian missionary engaging in the slave trade. Let the severity of our judgment be mitigated by the recollection that that trade was then engaged in by Christian men, and was regarded as a highly respectable business. Even John Newton, who afterwards became

rector of Olney and lifelong friend of the gentle Cowper, and who himself wrote hymns which are used to-day in the Christian Church, was deeply engaged in this extraordinary traffic in his earlier days and after his conversion. All these men were at the time acting nearly up to the level of the general Christian conscience. We ourselves may be only at the present general level.

As to South Africa, it was not till 1821 that Messrs. W. R. Thomson and John Bennie left Glasgow as missionaries to Kaffraria. Two years later the Rev. John Ross also went from the Glasgow Society and joined the same mission, in which he was ably assisted by two missionary sons, and also at a later period by the son of one of them. These first missionaries preached and established a school for children, and shortly several Kaffirs became candidates for baptism. These had been awakened under the missionary labours of John Williams, missionary of the London Society, who had died shortly before. From this small beginning have sprung the Presbyterian Missions of the Scottish Church in South and Central Africa. For many years all these missionaries wrought together, then divided in the forties, on account of the Voluntary Controversy, into two missions, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Missions. They continued to work apart till the union of these two Churches in 1900, when they again became one. The Livingstonia Mission will be noticed in a separate chapter, as also the

mission at Blantyre of the Established Church of Scotland.

These Scottish Missions follow the methods already mentioned, evangelistic and educational as well as medical and industrial, Lovedale being the chief educational centre. The United Presbyterian Mission has its strongest centre for the education of girls at Emgwali. This last station was the scene of the labours of the Rev. Tiyo Soga, who, if not the first ordained native of South Africa, was the first thoroughly educated and ordained Kaffir. His education was got partly at Lovedale and partly at Glasgow University. He was the ablest man intellectually, as well as the most marked by elevation of moral tone and the spiritual character of his ministry, whom South Africa has yet produced. He was the translator of the *Pilgrim's Progress* into Kaffir, and, as a preacher, able to address effectively both white and black audiences. He died in 1870, and two of his sons continue his work, one of them, Dr. Soga, as medical missionary, with unquestionable success and influence.

This South African Mission has now spread out over a large area, chiefly in Kaffraria and the Transkei and extends onward to Natal. In Natal it has stations at Maritzburg, Impolweni, and Kalabasi, and also at the Gordon Memorial Mission or Umsinga. That mission was founded by the family of the late Earl of Aberdeen in memory of one of its members, the Hon. Charles Gordon, who intended giving himself to missionary work in Africa, but whose life was suddenly,

and, to us, mysteriously, cut short by the accidental discharge of a rifle at the University of Cambridge, where he was then preparing for the task to which he had dedicated himself.

Taking all these different points, this mission of the United Free Church has 28 main stations, with a large number of out-stations or preaching-places, and with schools attached to all the main stations and most of the sub-stations. Three of the largest congregations are at Burnshill, with 1222 members; at Cunningham¹ or Toleni, according to the native name, with 1416 members; at Paterson or Mbulu, with 1408 members. There are other 25 congregations, with a membership varying from 91 to 795, or an average of 414 to each congregation. The total membership, as shown below, is 14,402, as many as 857 having been added during the year. The total number of day scholars in ordinary day schools is 12,750, and, including Sunday schools, the total of young people under Bible teaching is 17,350.

¹ We have, unfortunately, in some missions adopted the fashion of giving English surnames to mission stations. This is sometimes done in honour of a benefactor, or of some person whom the missionary, who is founding the station, wishes to honour. Hence we have Cunningham, Paterson, Rainy, Ross, Main, Kidston, Miller, and so on,—names which are quite meaningless to natives. The Germans adopt sometimes scriptural and sometimes native names. The former are not at first much more intelligible to natives than those already mentioned. A native name when it can be got is better. Rainy, for instance, is sometimes called *Elitubeni*, which to natives may suggest An Opening, or Opportunity, or Occasion. *Ekukanyeni*,—In the Light, or In the Place of Light. The latter was the name of Bishop Colenso's station.

Comparative View

South Africa has not been an unproductive mission field. From these figures it will be seen that this small mission, sometimes regarded as of little account, yields one-third of the entire number of converts of the Missions of the United Free Church of Scotland. The total number of members in full communion, by the latest report,¹ was 39,572. Of these—

India, with 28 chief stations or colleges and medical missions, furnishes . . .	3,076	communicants
China, with 12 stations in Manchuria, . . .	5,994	„
Jamaica, with 66 main stations, . . .	12,066	„
Trinidad, with 3 stations, . . .	668	„
New Hebrides, with 2 stations, . . .	168	„
Old Calabar, with 9 stations, . . .	750	„
Livingstonia, with 6 stations, . . .	2,027	„
Kaffraria, Transkei, Natal, 28 stations, . . .	14,895	„

The proportion of native church contributions, school fees, payments by natives for medical aid, and Government grants to education, stands thus—

India, as given above,	£26,741
Manchuria,	618
Jamaica,	11,229
Trinidad,	2,463
New Hebrides,	187
Old Calabar,	1,934
Livingstonia,	696
South Africa, Kaffraria, Transkei, and Natal, . . .	24,243

The Madras Christian College, in which two other societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, join with the United

¹ *Report on Foreign Missions, United Free Church of Scotland, 1902.*

Free Church for the sake of efficiency and economy, produced from school fees and Government grants, according to the same report for 1902, £7086; the Lovedale Institution and Mission, from fees for board and education and Government grants for the same year, £7175.

At Old Calabar, 200 miles east of the mouth of the Niger, and on what is known as the Cross River, the former United Presbyterian Board had its field of work in West Africa. Like other missionary societies in that region, it has carried on for more than fifty years, at considerable cost of money and life, a brave battle with three formidable foes—an unhealthy climate, a not over-scrupulous commerce, and the cruel customs of a low form of paganism. The first is well enough known for its fatal influence on physical health and mental energy; the second, for its dealings in certain articles that do not help missionary effort; and the third embraces certain deeply-rooted customs having almost the sanction of a religion, even though they are the destruction of twin children, the sacrifice or massacre of slaves on the death of a great chief, and trial by ordeal of the poisonous Calabar bean. These customs have not been fully overcome in the remote districts, but they are much lessened by the moral influence of Christian teaching, and by the existence of British administration have become dangerous to their perpetrators, who are now liable to a charge of murder.

In 1846 two white men, the Rev. H. Waddell and Mr. Edgerly, accompanied by Edward Miller and Andrew Chisholm, two coloured men, were sent from Jamaica and commenced work at Duketown and Creek town, the two chief towns on the river already mentioned. It was thought that such an effort might awaken missionary interest in the native Church of Jamaica. There was also the belief that Negroes from the West Indies might stand the West Coast climate better. Preaching, schools, translation of the Bible into the vernacular, the use of the printing press, followed according to the usual routine of missionary work in a new field. There are now 9 stations, with 9 ordained and 12 men and 11 women workers, and including wives of missionaries, a total European force of 41, with 1 ordained and 28 unordained natives; 750 communicants, 20 schools, 611 scholars, or, with Sunday schools, a total under Bible instruction of 1038. The local contributions to native churches, and for the general work of the mission, including school fees and Government grants for 1902, amounted to £1934; of which £589 was Government grant for education.

Outside of Africa

Connected with this work, though not within the African continent itself, but for the benefit of the African race, the United Presbyterian Board, had, like several other societies, its mission to the Negroes of Jamaica and Trinidad. This successful mission is the

continuation of the early efforts of the Scottish Missionary Society, which, according to Brown,¹ sent, in February 1800, the Rev. Joseph Bethune and Messrs. Clark and Reid to Jamaica. They sailed from Leith, and not long after they arrived, Bethune and Clark both died of fever within a few days of each other. Reid, left alone, laboured some years among the Negroes and coloured people; but his exertions having been materially impeded by the hostility of the Legislature of Jamaica to Christian missions, he accepted the situation of teacher on the island.

In 1823 the Scottish Missionary Society renewed the mission, and had five missionaries at work; the United Secession Church supported that effort, and in 1835 sent two additional missionaries. On the union of that body with the Relief Church in 1847, which union formed the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the stations and agents were transferred to its care, and have since so continued, and developed into a prosperous mission.

The state of matters to-day is this, and it offers a contrast to the unpromising and unproductive condition of these early days. There are 66 congregations, forming 6 presbyteries, with 12,000 members, who contribute annually £8394, or almost 14s. per member. There are 18 European missionaries, 11 native pastors, 29 evangelists, 64 schools, and over 7000 children attending them. There is also an educational

¹ *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, vol. ii. p. 711. Edinburgh, 1823.

institution, with a theological branch at Montego Bay, at which a number of native pastors have been educated for the supply of these churches.

It need not, however, be inferred that nothing but spiritual life and vigour pervades all these churches. They are like most churches elsewhere, some thriving with real spiritual life, and others not so. Different presbyteries report differently on the individual congregations. And there are the usual missionary disappointments from converts who fall away, and encouragement from the steady Christian character of others.

But, from the figures given above, readers will be able to form their own conclusions as to the reality of the progress made among a race who were at one time pagans and slaves, with little or no morality, no knowledge of God, nor any real conception of what is meant by Christian life, character, or duty.

AMERICAN MISSIONS—CONGREGATIONALIST AND PRESBYTERIAN

The American Christian Churches have not been forgetful of the needs of Africa, even though they occupy other fields of work in many lands. The Congregationalist and Presbyterian bodies have both sent missions into different parts of the continent, as well as the Methodist Episcopal body already mentioned,—though at a somewhat later date than the British societies.

Taking the Congregationalist body first, as represented by the American Board of Commissioners, its missions occupy three widely separated areas—South Africa, West Africa, and South Central Africa. The first two date as far back as 1834, the last only since 1880.

The South African Mission was planted in what is now Natal, and among the Zulus, though when the work began, the country belonged neither to the Dutch nor to the British, but to Dingaan, king of the Zulus. In the end of 1834 six missionaries with their wives sailed from Boston for the Cape. Three of them penetrated north into Bechuanaland; but various troubles, partly fighting between the Boers and Umzilikazi or Mosilikatze, drove them very soon out of the country, and they rejoined their brethren in Natal. The mission was begun on the river Umlazi, on the coast, a little south from the present port of Durban. There they gathered a small congregation of between four and five hundred, opened schools, and started a printing press. Owing, however, to the struggle going on between the Zulus and the Boers for the possession of the country, the missionaries had for the first eight or nine years a troubled time. Their work was broken up, and the Home Committee resolved in consequence to abandon the field. Some of the missionaries returned to America, or died in other foreign lands; but Dr. Adams, one of the first party, with unflinching courage returned to his station, and shortly afterwards the tide turned. In 1843 Natal was officially declared a

British colony, and those early troubles came to an end. Since then the mission has pursued a steady course of successful and beneficent work. The only interruption occurred during the Civil War in America, 1861-65,—when the falling off in the home funds was so serious as to threaten the existence of a considerable part of the mission.

It was some years—not till about 1846—that the first convert appeared; but within five years thereafter, some eight or nine small churches, with a total membership of a hundred and thirty, had been organised. Meanwhile the work of reducing the language to writing, the preparation of a Zulu dictionary and grammar, and the translation of the Bible, were being gradually proceeded with. The New Testament was published by the American Bible Society in 1861, and by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1872, and the whole Bible by the American Society in 1883.

The number of native pastors, unordained preachers, and catechists employed by this American Congregationalist Mission is very large proportionally to its size, and much care is bestowed on the instruction of native pastors. The chief educational institution, which is also a theological school, is Amanzimtote, near the east coast, 20 miles south of Durban. There is also a successful girls' school at Inanda, 10 miles north of Durban. After a troubled beginning, the American Zulu Mission has steadily prospered. It has now 10 stations, with a large number of out-stations; close on 3000 communicants, and nearly 15,000 adherents.

The native Churches contribute liberally to the support of native agents in pastoral and evangelistic work, and this mission is marked by all those features which characterise American missions elsewhere, by sound practical sense, steady energy, and sober expectations, while the warmth of living religion is felt through the entire work.

In Western Africa the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of America both commenced work in 1834. The sphere of their first efforts was in what is now the independent Republic of Liberia. Negro colonists from Maryland had begun to settle in that region somewhat earlier, but the labours of the missionaries were chiefly, though not wholly, directed to the natives of the district. Preaching work was begun and regularly carried on, and schools were opened; but difficulties of various kinds occurred, some from the attitude of the Negro colonists, and a new position was found for the mission on the Gaboon—a town and district of that name nearly 1000 miles farther south. The history of a portion of this mission—the Congregationalist section—is not very easily followed. It was transferred from the American Board to the Presbyterian Church in 1870, and has been on the whole successful. By patient labour certain dialects have been reduced to writing; the New Testament and portions of the Old have been translated, school-books printed and schools opened. No very marked progress has been reported, but heathen customs have

diminished, and moderate results have been secured. The field is a trying one, and much faith and patience are required as well as considerable physical endurance. The mission lies almost under the equator, and is known as the Gaboon-Corisco Mission.

An experiment of some interest was tried in the early history of this Liberian Mission. Six American missionaries, who had been sent out at the first start, all soon died. The Board resolved to try whether coloured missionaries or American Negroes would stand the climate better. It was found that they did not escape fever, though they did not suffer to quite the same extent, but their limited experience, knowledge, and ability rendered them less able to conduct the affairs of the mission, and the Board again reverted to the employment of white men. Much more is expected of the average American Negro, both as to his physical and spiritual qualifications, than is likely to be realised, at least for one or two generations, whatever individual exceptions there may be; and there have been some very marked exceptions.¹ This is not the only experiment of the kind that has been made, with much the same result.

More interesting and successful, and more uniformly steady in its progress, is the work of the American

¹ The Rev. W. W. Sheppard, missionary of the Southern Presbyterian Church on the Congo, is one of these notable exceptions, and also the well-known Mr. Booker Washington, of the Tuskegee Institution, as well as some others.

Church in a different part of the continent, and in a widely different climate—one as dry and free from excessive vegetation as the West Coast is hot and steamy and luxuriant in its vegetable life. This is the mission of the American United Presbyterian Church in Cairo and in the valley of the Nile, which originated about 1856, during Sa'id Pasha's rule. By drawing together various missionaries who were stationed at isolated points,—at Damascus and elsewhere,—and by the addition of new labourers, “a strong missionary force was concentrated in the capital” in 1861. The Rev. Dr. Lansing and Mr. Hogg were amongst the prominent early workers, and the former was still at work, with his son as medical missionary, more than thirty years thereafter.

Their work had previously been carried on in an isolated fashion, and chiefly by preaching services and by small schools, which were not largely attended. But with this concentration of force a marked change took place. The attendance at preaching services and at schools increased. The interest in the work of the mission widened, the membership of the small church was also greatly increased, a commencement was made to train natives for the regular work of the mission, and in 1863 the first native Protestant Church was organised in Cairo. This probably was not drawn wholly from among the Mohammedan, but largely from the Coptic and other portions of the mixed religious population.

Gradually, during the next twenty years, this mission

extended up the valley of the Nile as far as Assouan, and has lately begun one or two stations south of Khartoum, as mission work could not be begun within the city itself. The number of minor stations along the Nile Valley is large, and they are not all shown in most missionary maps. The method of work adopted is quiet and substantial—partly evangelistic in an unobtrusive way by meetings in the evenings for Bible instruction, by school work largely, and by zenana work, along with the distribution and sale of the Scriptures, or portions of them, and other religious publications. There is a training school and college at Assiout with a strong staff, both American and native, but they have also smaller schools of a high class in half a dozen other centres.

In Lord Cromer's recently issued comprehensive Report on Egypt and the Soudan, a section is devoted to 'Missionary Work.'¹ It contains a notice of a visit he paid to one of the stations of the American Presbyterian Mission, lately established in the Shillouk country on the Sobat, which is south of Fashoda, and in latitude 10° N. The views of a man with the experience of Lord Cromer are of interest, and hardly any apology is necessary for the length of the extract. Some may think that his views on religious teaching are not sufficiently pronounced. Yet it will be noticed that he goes at once to the heart of the subject

¹ *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1902, presented to Parliament April 1903, p. 89.*

when he says—"the work of conversion properly so called," etc. This should give value to the opinion of a man of wide acquaintance with the world on the *first stages of missionary work*, in a wholly pagan portion of Africa, where the natives have had a hard life, and a very bad impression of the white men, or others who have come from the north.

"An opportunity was afforded to me, during my recent tour in the Soudan, of visiting the station established by the American missionaries on the Sobat River. The establishment consists of Mr. and Mrs. Giffen, and Dr. and Mrs. M'Laughlin. I was greatly pleased with all I saw. The mission is manifestly conducted on those sound, practical, common-sense principles which, indeed, are strongly characteristic of American mission work in Egypt. No parade is made of religion. In fact, the work of conversion, properly so called, can scarcely be said to have commenced. Mr. Giffen has, very wisely, considered that, as a preliminary to the introduction of Christian teaching, his best plan will be to gain some insight into the ideas, manners, and customs of the wild Shillouks amongst whom he lives, to establish in their minds thorough confidence in his intentions, and to inculcate some rudimentary knowledge of the Christian moral code. In these endeavours he appears to have been eminently successful. By kindly and considerate treatment he is allaying those suspicions which are so easily aroused in the minds of savages. I found considerable numbers of Shillouks, men and women, working happily in the brick-kiln which he has established in the extensive and well cultivated garden attached to the mission. I may remark incidentally that cotton, apparently of good quality, has already been produced. The houses in which the members of the mission live have been constructed by Shillouk labour. I addressed the men present, through an interpreter, and fully satisfied myself that they were happy and contented. They understand that they can now no longer be carried off into slavery, that they will be treated with justice and consideration, and paid for their labour.

“Not only can there be no possible objection to mission work of this description, but I may add that, from whatever point of view the matter is considered, the creation of establishments conducted on the principles adopted by Mr. Giffen and Dr. M'Laughlin cannot fail to prove an unmixed benefit to the population amongst whom they live. I understand that the American missionaries contemplate the creation of another mission post higher up the Sobat. It is greatly to be hoped that they will carry out this intention. They may rely on any reasonable encouragement and assistance which it is in the power of the Soudan Government to afford.

“It is, I venture to think, to be regretted that none of the British Missionary Societies appear so far to have devoted their attention to the southern portions of the Soudan, which are inhabited by pagans. Not only do these districts present a far more promising field for missionary enterprise than those provinces whose population is Mohammedan, but the manifest political objections which exist in allowing mission work in the latter, do not in any degree exist in the former case. I entirely agree with the opinion held by Sir Reginald Wingate, and shared, I believe, by every responsible official who can speak with local knowledge and authority on the subject, that the time is still distant when mission work can, with safety and advantage, be permitted amongst the Moslem population of the Soudan.”

Lord Cromer also visited the Austrian Roman Catholic Mission south of Fashoda, and states that it is very well conducted, and deserving of encouragement.

The American Mission Institution at Cairo, with its Book Dépôt, is in the heart of the city, not far from Sheppard's Hotel. There is, of course, a modern system of education in Egypt under the Government, with provision for higher and professional training, as well as primary education. Travellers, however, who pass through Egypt, of whom there are now annually an increasing number, and who are interested in

missions, may well examine the American work for themselves. It offers a contrast to another institution which the majority of travellers doubtless seldom fail to visit, that is, the El Azhar, or mosque and University, the great centre of Islamic learning. They are probably struck with the order and quiet and imposing character of that institution, which has over nine thousand students and two hundred and forty teachers. This seat of Mohammedan culture is impressive when compared with humble Christian missions such as the American and the Church Missionary Society in the city. But in connection with the course of instruction at this great Mohammedan University, it may be kept in mind that "*the sciences taught, and the modes of teaching them, have not changed since its foundation.*"¹ That was nearly a thousand years ago. To which line of teaching does the Future belong?

¹ *Statesman's Year Book*, p. 1196.

VII

TWO SOUTH AFRICAN MISSION INSTITUTIONS

WHERE the missionary goes, the school soon follows. He prefers to preach, but finds he must also teach. If no one can be got to do that work, he does it himself. He begins with the alphabet, and those he instructs wonder very much at first what he is about, and what is the use or sense of such work. Some years later the native teacher, who has been specially taught, comes and sets him free for occupation that is more congenial, but which now requires supplementary instruction. Later still, the government of the country, if there be one, comes with its regular system of education, with its grants and conditions, and its code or system of work to be followed. These conditions do not always coincide with missionary lines; but the missionary falls in with them as far as possible, and supplements them with what is necessary from his point of view. The small and feeble work he began is thus recognised, extended, consolidated, and becomes part of a system, and education is secured to a people who would otherwise have lived and died in total ignorance. Thus the missionary begins work

which no other will begin, and takes care of it till it can take care of itself; and among peoples such as those of the African continent, Christianity becomes the Universal Educator as well as Civiliser, since civilisation starts from and advances with education. Men cannot advance without the power to read.

Great diversity of opinion at one time existed on education as a necessary part in missionary operations. Many can recall the long and hot strife of thirty or forty years ago. They also know that the strife is nearly over, and that the day remains with the educators. Some still say they give money to save souls not to educate teachers, or provide trained labour in any country. This is hardly a true and fair view of the missionary's duty, or of his relation to the people among whom he works.

Another broad and historical reason for missionary education is this. No record exists, so far as I know, of any mission, whatever be its methods or history, making much real progress and becoming permanent among any people, if the Bible has not been given to them in their own vernacular. Roman Catholic missions of three centuries ago are a warning to all Protestant missions on this matter, though there may have been other causes of decay. Nor, on the other hand, is there any record of the work of any mission entirely disappearing, even though persecution may have apparently destroyed it, and though the missionaries may have been driven away for a time, if the Bible has been left behind. But the Bible means readers,

and readers mean schools, and schools mean teachers, and teachers can only be trained in places specially designed for that object; and if the Bible is to be read, people must be taught to read it. If missionary education communicated no other power than ability to read the Bible, it would still justify itself. Think what a strange and wide world the Bible opens to a man who has scarcely had any other book. We who have been familiar with the Bible all our days cannot understand its power and fascination over a man who has just learned to read. Its brief story of the mystery of creation, of life, of human history, of human passion, shown in some of its highest and some of its lowest forms, appeals to the savage as much as to the saint, simply because he is a man, and because nothing has ever come into his hand in the shape of a book like that Book.

Amongst missionary institutions which aim at providing native agents for this part of Africa's evangelisation, as well as for preaching, there is one in South Africa known as Lovedale.

LOVEDALE, AND HOW IT WORKS

Lovedale is often referred to as an institution of some interest, since its methods of work were at first somewhat 'novel,' and have been proved to be successful; and its aims are set down as the following:—

1. To take young men of intellectual and spiritual qualifications and train them to be preachers.

2. To train young men and women as teachers for native mission schools.

3. To give education in various industrial arts, such as carpentering, waggon-making, blacksmithing, printing, bookbinding, telegraphy, and agricultural work of various kinds, to natives, that they may become industrious and useful citizens.

4. To give a general education of an elementary kind to all whose course in life has not been definitely determined.

Each department has its own special aim, but the main purpose of each is to Christianise, not merely to civilise; and the conversion of the individual is the great object and special end in all the work that is carried on. How to develop Christian character and energy amidst the unfavourable conditions surrounding barbarous and indolent races is beset with many difficulties. The principles which govern the management of Lovedale are—

It is non-sectarian and undenominational; it has been carried on and supported financially by the Free Church of Scotland until its recent union with a sister Church; but all denominations and a dozen tribes have been represented at one time or another within the place, some coming from even as far as the Zambesi. No influence is brought to bear on the denominational preferences of the individuals or of the missions which send them, and this is followed out even in the theological course.

Broad Christianity does not mean lax Christianity.

Instruction in the Bible and in practical religion is the first work of the day in all the classes, and the only work of Sunday. Morning and evening worship is held in the dining-halls. At noon every Wednesday a prayer-meeting is held, and each workman drops his tools and attends the meeting, though it involves pecuniary loss by reason of time deducted.

Self-support is the financial aim, though the complete result has hardly yet been reached. That it will be, when reasonable time is given, need hardly be doubted, as from various sources in the country itself already 75 per cent. of income is drawn, while only 25 per cent. of the annual expenditure comes from home. These are the general principles on which Lovedale is conducted.

This statement, slightly condensed, is intentionally taken from a colourless encyclopædic account of the place, as perhaps the safest way of describing work in which we ourselves are specially engaged.¹ The principles which once attracted some attention, and which were spoken of "as unique in methods, and of interest as an experiment, and unlike most missions that we are familiar with," can hardly be said to be so any longer, since these methods have been extensively followed.

Geographically, Lovedale lies 700 miles north-east of Cape Town, and about 80 miles from the Indian Ocean, the nearest port being East London. It is

¹ *Encyclopædia of Missions*, vol. i. p. 569. New York.

named not from any sentimental association, but was called after Dr. Love, one of the first secretaries of the London Missionary Society, and one of the founders of the Glasgow Missionary Society.¹ It lies in what was once independent Kaffraria, the land the Kaffirs greatly loved, and which they have four times tried to recover from us in wars which were harassing and tedious though not very bloody, but which always ended in the subjugation and dispossession of the original owners. The district was that ruled over by the great Kaffir chief Gaika, and was the locality in which Vanderkemp attempted unsuccessfully to settle. The country is open and fertile, with the Amatole Hills rising to 7000 feet in the background. The immediate neighbourhood round the mission station was well known in Kaffir wars as the scene of several fights. Some of these brought temporary disaster to the British forces, as when the Kaffirs captured a convoy of more than sixty waggons, close to the mission station at Burnshill, and also shut up Sir Harry Smith, the hero of Aliwal and Sobraon, in Fort Cox for a short time. What is now Lovedale Mission land was originally the military station of Fort Hare, where a considerable British force was at one time quartered.

Long before the chief military struggle for the country took place, at least in that neighbourhood,

¹ A detailed history has been recently given in *African Wastes Reclaimed; or, The Story of the Lovedale Mission*, by Robert Young. Dent: London, 1902.

there came, in the early twenties, first two men, then other two, who were followed by others, and they settled down in that valley. These were Thomson, Ross, Bennie, Laing, and others, sent out by the Glasgow Missionary Society. The evangelistic work of these men was the first sowing of the seed which has produced all later results, and the mission has now spread over a very considerable area, extending nearly 200 miles northwards into the Transkei.

From the preaching of these men at the station, with ceaseless itinerating through the district, the first converts were obtained. And as converts increased and small schools began to grow, the necessity for a place to train native agents as teachers and evangelists and preachers became apparent; and in the year 1841 Lovedale Missionary Institute was founded, and opened with eleven natives and eight Europeans—sons of missionaries or magistrates or traders, for schools were then few and distant and expensive.

Contributors to missions and supporters of Lovedale may reasonably ask what has been done, and what progress has been made.

Religiously, its work and progress stand thus:—There was once a time when in all that valley there was not a single Christian or a Bible or a school or a book. There were heathenism and ignorance, occasional cruelty, and other evil things; altogether a rough but not unhappy life, yet much below the general level of that in which men, either white or black,

need live. The Kaffirs were neither cannibals nor slave traders.

A little rude church was built with thatched roof and a clay floor; the seats were yellow-wood slabs nailed to low uprights driven into the soil below, and the work of preaching the gospel began. For a long time there were few or no converts, but those early men laboured on in the patience of hope. There are now two churches close by each other; one inside the institution, with 180 members and an attendance of close on 600, mostly professing Christians, though not all. Outside and across the road there is another church for the district, with 700 members. The pastoral care of the district is sufficient work for one man. It is under the care of a native minister, and is entirely self-supporting.¹

Materially, the progress may be measured thus:—The humble little church, which may have cost £100, has now grown into more than thirty buildings, including missionaries' houses. These are not small structures or erections of wattle or daub meant to serve a few years. One of them, the chief Educational

¹ It would be more correct to say that it had 700 members till the recent unaccountable movement known as the Ethiopian Church began, which has affected every mission in South Africa. Its aim seems to be a kind of ecclesiastical Home Rule, and it has done nothing but mischief.

The name Ethiopian Church was admirably conceived as an appeal both to race and religion, though probably race more than religion had to do with the whole movement. There was a good deal said at first about the Ethiopians going to evangelise the heathen. If that meant to the outside or distant heathen, none as yet have gone.

Building, cost over £12,000. It is built of solid stone, has a large amount of accommodation in twelve classrooms and a hall, which serves as a church and a place for meetings of all kinds on week-days. The Technical Workshop contains working or bench accommodation for a class of seventy-two, and cost with equipment over £2000. There are many other workshops, dormitories, dining-rooms, smaller buildings, engine-room for pumping water, tank-rooms, the general office, stores, and such like, all that is needful for a community, white and black, of 600 living together, exclusive of about 200 who come from the neighbourhood for education during the day. There is a European staff of over twenty-four, including ordained missionaries, certificated teachers, industrial instructors, and ladies connected with the girls' school; and a great variety of work is done.

Educationally, the line extends from the alphabet in the station school to a simple theological course. Between these two extremes there comes in a school division for standards; a normal division with a three years' course to prepare teachers for native schools; above this three years' normal course, are small classes which prepare for matriculation in the University of the Cape of Good Hope, and for some of the school higher examinations; and last of all, beyond these three divisions comes the theological course of three years for the preparation of natives for purely missionary work. This class is always a small one, some six or

eight, carried on with intervals of one or two years till a class can be formed; but a good many have been prepared for actual work in it. In addition to all the work of an educational kind in many different forms during the week, there is the Sunday work, with Bible classes and two or even three services in different languages, and also evangelistic work carried on in surrounding villages by several of the students.

We do not try educationally to produce a few exotic specimens of a more advanced type, but rather to distribute the benefits of a useful elementary education among as large a number as possible. Still, more advanced education is not altogether discouraged, but assisted to a small extent on the ground that education spreads among a people from above downwards rather than the reverse. The desire for it is kindled among the mass, by their seeing its effects and advantages to the few who have really gone beyond the most elementary stage. Nevertheless, the bulk of the educational work is on elementary lines, and mainly deals with fundamental subjects.

In a comparative view prepared some years ago from the results of the official inspections of 700 schools in the colony and on the frontier, the position occupied by Lovedale was as follows:—When standards three, four, and five, or the main subjects of an ordinary useful education, were taken either together or separately, that institution stood first in point of numbers; when honours and competency

alone were taken, it stood second; when honours alone, third. With these results there can be little question that the main effort is devoted to primary and useful subjects, and that money and time are not wasted on instruction unfitted to the position of those who receive it.

The question is often put—*Do natives make use of their education*; does it benefit either the missions or the country itself, or those who receive it; or do they go back to their old ways and to their former idle lives, as some believe and assert? The proper answer to this is not the mere declaration of the missionary, but facts and figures gathered from a register, not very complete, of the subsequent histories and occupations of those who have passed through the place. Figures, names, localities, and nature of employment are better evidence, and will probably obtain more credence, than a general statement, on missionary authority only, that the majority are doing well, turning their education to fairly good account, and becoming useful members of society.¹

Some of the results educationally may be here given. Out of a total of now over 6000 natives, or of over 7000 if we include some Europeans and children in the elementary school, the following are the numbers of those who have gone to work, partly in connection with the missions, as teachers and preachers, or in the more tempting Government service, or in employments of

¹ *Lovedale: Past and Present. A Register of Two Thousand Names.* Lovedale, South Africa, 1887.

one kind and another, so far as these have been ascertained. Missionaries or native pastors who have received the whole or part of their education at Lovedale, 57; evangelists or catechists, 55; teachers of native schools, a large proportion of whom have received certificates from the Education Department of the Cape Colony, 768; interpreters, or clerks to magistrates, or in postal and telegraph work, 112; in railway and police work, 86; law agents and clerks, 15: in all about 1100. Engaged in farming, general labour, transport, diamond and gold fields, about 1500. Engaged in household service, or married women, or girls housekeeping at their homes, about 500. A variety of occupations, from that of 3 editors to 3 trade instructors at mission stations, and 4 hotel proprietors and a few waiters, and some miscellaneous occupations absorb the remainder, leaving nearly 700 whose occupations and history have not been traced, or who have died, and 600 still in the place. These are exclusive of Europeans 600, and of 1800 children who have passed through the station school but not entered the institution. This brings the number roughly to over 6000.

One item may be added. A recent volume of the Cape Civil Service List shows thirty-two names of former students who divide among them in salaries more than £3000 annually. The presumption is that if they were not trustworthy, and if their services were not of use to the Cape Government, they would not receive such remuneration.

Industrially and outside of schoolrooms, normal school, theological and other classes, there is a separate section of work which forms one of the main features of Lovedale. That is, instruction in various industries, which include printing, bookbinding, carpentering, waggon-making, blacksmithing, telegraph and post-office work; and various domestic industries, such as laundry and sewing work for girls. It has been fairly successful, but various causes at present operate against us in carrying on some of the sections of this work. The erection in colonial towns of establishments with steam and machinery is one. By improved processes the different portions of a waggon can be rapidly turned out, while by the old hand process there is no chance of our being able to compete. For want of means to supply the necessary machinery, money for which missionary committees do not feel at liberty or inclined to give, we are still at the old-fashioned ways of thirty or forty years ago. Some machinery has, of course, been introduced, but not sufficient to admit of the work being carried on as it should be.

Other difficulties occurred in the early days in getting natives to learn trades. To some occupations they took readily. Every native can understand the value of being able to make a table, or a chair, or to repair a waggon. With printing, however, it was a different matter,—Kaffir experience not showing how a man could make a living by arranging small bits of lead in rows. By patience and much persuasion one apprentice was got, and now there is no difficulty.

They make fairly good compositors. Machine and book work require European taste and superintendence. If we could turn out ten times as many qualified compositors as we do, they would still find ready employment in the printing offices in the colony. From the Lovedale press a large number of native school-books, hymn-books for use in the congregations, several editions of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in Kaffir, and other publications have been issued, as well as several English works.

From the existence of this section of work, the place has come to be regarded as an industrial mission pure and simple, while its chief missionary and spiritual aim is constantly obscured by the impression thus given. In some of the latest books professing to be almost present-day guide-books on missions and their methods, the description generally given is that it is a type of the industrial mission. Limited thus, the impression conveyed is entirely erroneous.

Some societies, which have long looked askance at such work in uncivilised countries, are now beginning to regard it as a legitimate or even a necessary form of missionary effort; and they betray the reality of this conviction by tardy imitation. Other societies have approached the subject with suspicion and some heart-searching. Grave inquiries have been made as to whether such industrial occupation does not injure the spiritual life of the man so engaged. The answer has always been that there is nothing in work *per se* to make a man spiritual or unspiritual, moral or

immoral, unless the work itself is of a doubtful character. If he is a spiritually minded man to begin with, he will continue to be so. We missionaries have no wish to lade ourselves with the thick clay of mere secular occupations or with the direction of them; yet there is an aspect of the condition and needs of the people of certain countries, and especially of the continent of Africa, to which we cannot shut our eyes. The opposite view regards the whole of the missionary's duty as fulfilled by preaching the truths of Christianity, and leaving the rest to chance. That is not the direction in which Christian philanthropy of to-day is now moving,—whether as shown in the Salvation Army, or in the most conservative of Church organisations.

Medically,—For a long time more or less medical assistance has been given at Lovedale to the natives of the district. Only within the last few years, however, has it been possible to erect a small, but well-equipped hospital. It is now under the care of a man who has had Central African as well as considerable medical experience, and who has also missionary enthusiasm. This addition to the Lovedale work will be a great blessing to the surrounding native population.

Financially, the position at Lovedale is always that of strain and difficulty, due to the slow but steady expansion of its work. To the missionary-supporting public, a widening area of mission effort generally means an appeal for widened area of subscriptions.

That, however, is not exactly the case, in the same proportion at least, at Lovedale.

The total expenditure of the year has gradually grown to an average of over £10,000; but this represents rather the amount turned over, or paid in wages or material, part of which comes back again next year. The income is made up from four very different sources,—from grants by the Foreign Missions Committee of about £2400; from grants by the Cape Government of from £2000 to £2300 a year; from amounts paid by natives themselves, now reaching to nearly £5000 a year; and from a few voluntary contributions. Or otherwise, 25 per cent. comes from home, the remaining 75 per cent. is got in the country. This marks a great change from those early days when the native parent thought his boy should be paid for attending school; or could be more usefully employed looking after the calves or leading a team of oxen; for ‘speaking with a book’—the native expression for reading—did not seem of much use. At that date sometimes food was given, or some buttons or brass wire or other valuable consideration, to induce scholars to come regularly. The amount charged at first was £4, gradually raised to £10, and will shortly be £12 a year. By native fees are meant payments to meet the expense of food and education of those who stay in the place. They get maize three times a day, milk when it is plentiful, and meat once in four days. We raise the greater portion of the maize on the farm. All do some work—two hours a day.

Those regularly apprenticed work in the different shops nine hours in summer, eight in winter, and number close on 100. The total number of natives living in the place is over 500; those coming from the neighbourhood as day scholars 250.

The benefactors of Lovedale have been its builders. Its extensive buildings have not been mainly erected by grants from the mission committee. During the twenty-seven years, dating from 1875 when considerable extension began, many of these benefactors aided liberally, some when asked, others without receiving the slightest hint. Such help, much of it entirely spontaneous, may be taken as proof of the soundness of the work, and as approval of the methods by Christian men, who are also practical and hard-headed business men, many of them acquainted with the country and the people who dwell in it, and some who also have visited the place.¹

¹ THE BUILDERS OF LOVEDALE.

The names of the chief benefactors are as follow:—The late Mr. D. P. Wood, Natal and London; the late Mr. John J. Irvine, a member of the Legislative Assembly, Cape Colony; Sir William Dunn, London and Port Elizabeth, M.P. for Paisley; Sir John Usher of Norton; John Stephen, Esq., Glasgow; the late James White, Esq., of Overtoun; Lord Overtoun; John S. Templeton, Esq., Glasgow; James Templeton, Esq., Glasgow; Harry W. Smith, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh, and many other generous donors. By the aid of such friends, the Lovedale Missionary Institute as it now stands has been built up. It contains, as already stated, over thirty buildings, three of them of considerable size.

The excellent Christian man whose name stands at the head of the above list, Mr. D. P. Wood, merchant, of Natal and London, sent £5000 in two donations—without one word of solicitation.

The *Times* obituary notice of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, of 27th March 1902,

No one who reads these pages may justly conclude that we are abundantly satisfied with ourselves at Lovedale. The opposite is the sad and truthful fact. We might do, and ought to do, a great deal better, and on a larger scale, to make any impression on the ignorance with which we are surrounded. For the numbers who come *we have nothing like adequate accommodation*. Nor can Home Committees, which dwell mostly in financially strait places with generally a desolate outlook, give the money. A company of business men would run a place that was always naturally and healthfully expanding on different lines from those which regulate missionary policy—a policy perhaps inevitable, from want of means rather than want of will.

Lovedale has twice served as a refuge for Europeans during Kaffir wars. The last occasion was in 1878. On the first, a little damage was done by floors and woodwork being used for fires. But though fighting took place within a mile, the natives did not attack the institution. As already stated, it is not now the only mission of this kind in Africa; but it has made the longest experiment, and has been the pioneer; and it has had to pay the price which all experiments and pioneering involve. At most larger missions there is now

contains the statement that "he was one of the warmest and most convinced supporters of Lovedale." Friendly Mr. Rhodes always was; but the above statement has unfortunately led to a widespread impression that he aided us so generously that further help is unnecessary, whereas exactly the opposite is the case. *We are much in need of assistance*. In twenty-five years Mr. Rhodes' aid amounted to £250.

more or less of industrial work, but only at a few is it introduced in a regular system and on a considerable scale. This form, which might be called the Combined Mission,—evangelistic, educational, industrial, medical,—is the one that seems to suit the present condition of the people of the African continent. Mackay regarded it as the most complete and best form, and it is the one he would have liked to try at Uganda, and probably would have tried had he been spared.

How a mission of this kind tells on the native mind will be best shown by the story of Blythswood in the Transkei—120 miles from Lovedale. Its story has never been fully told, and may be partly told now.

BLYTHSWOOD—HOW FOUR THOUSAND AND FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS WERE GIVEN ON THE VELDT.

In the early seventies, when colonial posts were few, and ocean postage was a shilling instead of a penny, there came one night to Lovedale a letter from the chief magistrate of the Transkei. It stated that he suggested, and that the natives wished, a second or minor Lovedale, or, as the natives called it, 'A Child of Lovedale,' in that district. Would we undertake such work? We were wholly disinclined to do anything of the kind at that time. We had no money; could hardly provide accommodation for our own numbers, or keep ourselves afloat, and we did what is generally done in such cases, temporised, and said we would

consider. At the end of six months, when the matter was still at the consideration stage, another letter came, stating that if Lovedale would not take up the work they would try some other mission. This was decisive.

Next day the man who had chiefly to do with the business started off for the district, a three days' journey with horses. A plan that is not clear in a man's own head can never be made clear to others; and that traveller found this to be true. When forty miles on his journey he stopped, turned aside to the house of a friend, spent a whole day in his room, turned over the matter, possibly prayed over it, as all good missionaries and all good men should do in a difficulty, and finally sat down and wrote two letters. One went to Captain Blyth, to say that if the natives would contribute £1000 to this undertaking, as a proof of their earnestness and sincerity, the matter would be gone on with. The other letter went to Sir Langham Dale, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape Colony, stating what had been proposed, and asking if any aid in the form of a small annual grant could be given by the Education Department, even though the Transkei lay outside of the colonial boundary proper.

These two letters were left to do their work. A little later it seemed advisable to the writer to go to the Transkei to find out how matters stood after the first shock of so unheard of a proposal as that the natives themselves should raise £1000. No body of natives had ever before been asked to contribute

in that fashion to a piece of missionary work. When the traveller arrived at the magistrate's residence there happened to be about a dozen head men there on some other business. They assembled in front of the verandah, and the proposal was again made to them. They were asked to take it home to their own and to other villages, have it well considered, and come back in a month to give Captain Blyth their answer. Three months later a telegram from Captain Blyth reached Lovedale—'Come up; the money is ready.' The meeting to hand over that subscription was held at Ngqamakwe on the veldt, there being no building large enough for the great crowd of men and women and missionaries. On a small deal table which stood on the grass was a large heap of silver, over £1450, and the substance of the native speaking that day was given in a sentence by one of themselves. He pointed to the money and said: 'There are the stones; now build.' Kaffirs are all good public speakers—figurative, concrete, pointed. There was further speaking, and the people were assured that their contribution would be covered by one of equal amount, to be raised in Scotland or elsewhere, and all went home satisfied that the institution was safe, as the sum of £3000 had been practically guaranteed.

While the building was in progress, the interest of the natives in it became stronger, and they 'wanted it made larger.' 'Yes, that could also be done, if a second subscription was made.'

It was so made, and a second £1500 was paid. The institution was opened in less than two years, and was named Blythswood, after the chief magistrate of the district. It was scarcely open a year when the fourth and last Kaffir war broke out. The building, which was of stone, and by far the largest and strongest in the whole district, was converted into a kind of fort, protected by low earthworks, and used as a place of refuge for about a hundred and forty Europeans, traders and others, with their families, who formed the small white population of the Transkei. They could not escape to the colony, and they occupied Blythswood, some in rooms and some in larger halls, each family getting an area marked off as their own, where they lived and ate and slept, and even cooked when the weather was bad. The Blythswood refugees were shut up some months. Later, Sandilli, the paramount Kaffir chief, was killed by a rifle-shot at a place about 30 miles from Lovedale, and shortly afterwards the war was brought to a close, the institution was reopened, and has been continuously open ever since. It is now under the charge of the Rev. W. J. B. Moir, who was twenty-five years at Lovedale. It has been a place of intellectual light to many, and perhaps of heavenly light to some.

The most singular part of this story is still to be told. Owing to the war troubles, and to the fact that the original expenditure had exceeded the estimates, there was a heavy deficit. What follows may be regarded either as evidence of missionary greed,

or of confidence on the part of the missionary in the people with whom he was dealing. The man who was financially responsible had gone to Lake Nyassa in 1876, and did not return to the Transkei till 1879. When he got there he found that £1600 still remained unpaid. No more money could be got from Scotland or from Lovedale. The interest was eight per cent., the matter urgent. There was no resource but another meeting and another appeal. The meeting was held again on the veldt, but at a different place. There was a large gathering. To encourage the natives, two white men, of whom Captain Blyth was one, volunteered a subscription of £25 each. This was the only white man's money of any amount that entered into that large native contribution.

All African public meetings consist of two parts, a debate or statement of the business, then after an adjournment for consultation among the head men, a second meeting for announcement of the decision. The response of these Fingoe men of the Transkei for the third time was—'We will give the money,' and their total contributions to the erection of the Blythswood Missionary Institute amounted to over £4500, extending over a period of six years.¹

¹ Dr. Warneck, so wonderfully accurate as a historian, makes a singular mistake about this contribution in stating that the sum of £4500 was given by Captain Blyth; see page 214, *History of Protestant Missions*. The remainder of the statement is perfectly correct, when he speaks of him as "an English magistrate who, by his just and humane treatment of the natives, so gained their affection that they erected another special memorial of him." They all felt instinctively that he had their good at heart, and

If there is any romance in finance, even in missionary finance, some of it may be found in this Blythwood business. Three meetings on the veldt, and £4500 as the result, and that from men who, if one met some of them casually, it might be said they could not, or would not, give as many pence or farthings. The first day on which that small gathering of head men was addressed from Captain Blyth's verandah, I noticed that some of them were wearing old cast-off artillerymen's greatcoats, for the day was bitterly cold.

Money, some may perhaps think, has played a considerable part in this chapter. It plays a considerable part in our lives. It has always a moral meaning as well as a metallic value. The manner of its use may interpret the life of the user, and within certain limits the kind of man he is.

Who were the Men who gave this Money? Had any of the many groups been met on their way homeward by a non-sympathetic Englishman or non-believer in missions, they would have been set down as merely 'a lot of niggers.' This is a word we never use in mission stations, as the native dislikes it, and seems hurt by it.

The home public must be often hopelessly puzzled by the discrepancies between the statements of mission-

that he exerted himself constantly for that object. He was a gallant English gentleman, and a fine example of a certain type of English administrator—generous, outspoken, sincere, but firm. His native name was *Umlilo*—Fire which, as used by a native, means a good deal.

aries and those of travellers, or at least the majority of them, on the character of the African, and on his worth as a man, and as a convert to Christianity. The traveller makes his statement. It is sweeping, unqualified, and full of confidence. Yet the missionary has something to go upon, some actual fact and individual experience over and above the sentiment of his nature, and his statements are not all pious stories fitted for Sunday-school children. A passage from a recently published and vigorously written book¹ will illustrate this discrepancy. It refers to the African native problem, gives a certain view of the African character, and undoubtedly expresses a view held by some as to what the African is, what he is good for, and how he should be treated.

“Few people at home realise what an alarming and ever-growing difficulty has to be faced in the African native problem. It is a difficulty that is unique in the progress of the world. . . . Under the beneficent rule of the white man he thrives like weeds in a hothouse. . . . What is to be done with this ever-increasing mass of inertia? We have undertaken his education and advancement, as we have carefully explained, by the mawkish euphemisms in which we wrap our land-grabbing schemes. When we undertake the education of a child or a beast we make them work, realising that work is the sole road to advancement. But when we undertake the education of a nigger, who, as I have endeavoured to show, is a blend of the two, we say—‘Dear Nigger, thou elect of Exeter Hall, chosen of the negrophil, bread-and-butter of the missionary, darling of the unthinking philanthropist, wilt thou deign to put thy hand to the plough, or dost prefer to smoke and tipple in undisturbed content? We, the white men, whom thy conscience wrongly judges to be thy superiors, will

¹ *The Cape to Cairo*. H. S. Grogan. London, 1901.

arrange the affairs of State. Sleep on, thou ebony idol of a jaded civilisation, may be anon thou wilt sing 'Onward, Christian Soldiers.' . . . A good sound system of compulsory labour would do more to raise the nigger in five years than all the millions which have been sunk in missionary efforts for the last fifty. . . . Why should not other peoples be called upon to work for the cause of progress? Throughout Africa the cry is, 'Give me labour.' There is a sound maxim in the progress of the world—'What cannot be utilised must be eliminated.' And drivel as we will for awhile, the time will come when the negro must bow to this as to the inevitable. Why, because he is black and is supposed to possess a soul, we should consider him, on account of that combination, exempt, it is difficult to understand, when a little firmness would transform him from a useless and dangerous brute into a source of benefit and of satisfaction to himself."

The real danger here is in holding such views; and discredit lies in expressing them, and asking others to believe them. Contempt of humanity, which God has made, even though He has painted some of it black, brown, or yellow, as well as white, when expressed in such terms, may be a more serious moral offence than expression of opinion, ill-considered or prejudiced. Practically, the misfortune is that such ideas fit exactly the temper and spirit of some at the present time, since such views would seem to justify the desire to exploit a very large section of Africa wholly for the gain of the white man. This exists to a discreditable extent in the Congo regions, where it is carried on by Belgian and other companies; it seems to be growing in the French Congo territories; and it would be put in operation on a considerable scale *by a few* in the mining regions of British South Africa, if the general public conscience or the Home Government allowed it. They seem to

grudge that the life of the gold mines may outlast their own. Rubber and gold are wanted in a hurry, without regard to any other or higher consideration.

But who is this 'blend of the two,' 'child or beast,' who is benevolently 'supposed to possess a soul'? He is none other than the man, by whose aid Mr. Grogan—the writer of the passage quoted above—was able to traverse the continent from end to end; who made it possible for him to perform that journey: who carried his loads of 70 lb. in the caravan day by day over all kinds of roads and no roads—up steep ascents and down descents more steep, through rivers and broad swamps; and if there was a chain gang, which let us hope there was not, with many a long torturing march through hot days; who set up his tent every afternoon or evening, and in a short time made a comfortable encampment for him for the night; who fought with him and for him, and died at his side,—and died sometimes from exhaustion on the journey; and who, on the whole, if he was moderately fairly treated, showed an amount of vitality and loyalty which would have been creditable even to a white man under the same conditions.

On the above quotation an equally vigorous writer, and one with a sounder judgment and larger acquaintance with Africans and African affairs, says ¹—

“What a typical passage is this! The negro lazy and degraded, useless and dangerous; the European doing all the work, while the negro smokes and drinks. . . . Narrow-minded visionaries at

¹ *Affairs of West Africa*, p. 179. E. D. Morel.

home preventing the salvation of Africa in the shape of compulsory labour on the Rand mine, which constitutes 'education'; the perfection of morals that result from such education, and so forth. The crowning folly is conveyed in the words, 'what cannot be utilised must be eliminated,' . . . in order to prevent the too rapid propagation of 'these hothouse weeds.' And yet what Mr. Grogan says is repeated by many, and believed by more, of the mass who swallow this tainted diet as though it were nectar, and absorb these grotesque distortions as if they were gospel truth."

Mr. Morel then proceeds to examine the question, and his statements will amply repay perusal. He is not pro-missionary but he is pro-African—as many become when they are really acquainted with the native, whose faults, though they are many and great, arise more from want of thought than want of heart.

Where did this Money come from? Certainly it was not swept off the road nor picked up on the veldt. It represented labour or grain, stock or produce of some kind sold; and in the present outcry about native labour it may be well to remember that there would be less difficulty if the means for obtaining it were better organised, if it were more humanely dealt with, and if liquor were not so easily procured. Many natives go again and again to Kimberley mines, where they are well treated; and many go to Johannesburg once, but never a second time, because many have been so harshly treated there and on the way. But as missionary opinion and testimony are doubtful, here is another from a recent volume.¹ "Major Sir Henry Elliot,

¹ *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 88. John Murray.

Chief Magistrate of the Transkei and Tembuland and Pondoland, a not very large area, states that 47,000 natives obtained passes to go in search of work during last year." That is to say, that number of men went long distances to uncongenial employments, among which mining is one, an occupation to them, at first, dangerous and disagreeable. Their statement, *when new to the work*, is—that "a man should not be put under the ground till he is dead!"

Since a good deal has been said now about education, manual employment, and secular occupation, as component parts of missionary work carried on in two institutes, it is well, perhaps, to prevent misconception, to state again what our primary aim is. Our Missionary Creed and Confession at Lovedale, again stated, is this—

"We declare plainly that this Institute exists to teach the natives of Africa the religion of Jesus Christ. We care for books and tools, workshops and classrooms and field-work, only as means to open the mind and develop the character by discipline and industry, and as aids not merely to the more ready acceptance of the truths of the Bible, but to the practical exhibition of these truths in daily life. We try to fit young men and women to become useful and industrious citizens, and to become also missionaries of Christianity and civilisation to other natives of Africa whom they may reach. We believe in conversion, and regard that as the best and highest result of our work. We be-

lieve in loyalty to Jesus Christ as the highest ideal and the most inspiring missionary belief. We often fall below our ideal, but we begin again. Not all our work is fruitful or encouraging; it is occasionally, if not frequently, disappointing. But we hold on, thankful to God for the opportunity, and we leave the final results in His hands. We are responsible for the performance of duty, not for results."

VIII

TWO CENTRAL AFRICAN MISSIONS— BLANTYRE AND LIVINGSTONIA

EXACTLY forty years ago last August, two white men were returning from a week's journey among the Shiré hills in East Central Africa. They rested on the Sunday at a small village of less than a dozen huts. In the afternoon, when the blazing heat had diminished, and they were looking about, one said, "This is a very good place to work in"; and the reply was, "Yes, a man might do very good work here, and also quietly prepare for heaven; some preparation you know is needed, more perhaps than we think."

One speaker was a member of the Universities Mission, the other was the writer of this page, who was then examining the country to find a site for a proposed Central African Mission. That village was close by what is now called Blantyre in Central Africa; and the new mission, for which a place was being sought, is now known as the Livingstonia Mission, which occupies to-day a great part of the western side of Lake Nyassa.

Except these two missionary travellers there was not, probably, at that time a single white man living

east of the Shiré River till the seacoast is reached; certainly none was settled in the country; and northwards towards Lake Nyassa, 150 miles distant, or even as far as Victoria Nyanza, 600 miles, no trace of Christian mission or even of white man was to be found. Only one trace of civilisation or of a white man's presence was discovered. That was in the valley of the Upper Shiré, at the north end of the Murchison Cataracts, and was seen on a later journey. It was a ship's boat left by Dr. Livingstone after his first journey to Lake Nyassa, and I looked at it with interest. It was hanging in the fork of a handsome tree, called by the natives *msuma*. The elephants had been examining it, as appeared from the trampled grass and other signs of their presence; yet it was uninjured, even though they had been rubbing their backs against its keel. It was there on the 6th September 1862, but shortly afterwards one of those tremendous grass fires which yearly sweep through the country reduced it to ashes.

That region was then an unknown land, and those who traversed it felt entirely beyond the frontiers of civilisation. It was a lonely land of barbarism, of game and wild beasts, of timid and harried but not unkindly men, harassed by never-ending slave raids and intertribal wars. On the day before the Sunday referred to, we had passed through many villages burnt and deserted, just as their unhappy occupants had left them when they fled for life—that is, those of them who were not speared or shot or captured. We

saw in these villages heaps of the ashes of charred poles in circles like the shape of the huts, broken pottery, a good many bones, but no bodies—the hyenas had attended to that. Such trees as were inside or close to these villages were scathed and withered by the flames which had reached them.

All that is now changed, and to-day there is peace in the land. There is a considerable European population round Blantyre; there is a municipality, and a weekly newspaper, as well as a Government Gazette; there are many steamers on the river and lake; there are six trading or mercantile companies; there is a good deal of coffee planting, where never before a coffee plant had grown, the annual value of its export being somewhere over £60,000; and where before not a single mission station existed—if we except the Universities Mission, which had been driven down to the valley of the Shiré by war—there are now more than a dozen stations of different societies, Scottish, English, German, and Dutch Reformed; and, finally, there is a British Administration in what is now known as the Protectorate of British Central Africa.

The earliest factors in this change, unintentional and indirect though their action was, were first, the Livingstonia Mission; second, the Blantyre Mission; and, third, the African Lakes Company. These three agencies, though they did not know it, were day by day, by patient self-denying effort, bringing about a great change, with hardly even a conjecture of its magnitude. The general sequence or order was there, as it has been

elsewhere—the Explorer, the Missionary, the Trader, the Administrator. The explorer goes, but returns soon; the missionary goes to stay, and he is followed by the two others, who also stay. We may accept this as true in the order of time, except that the first and second, Explorer and Missionary are sometimes transposed, and at other times are combined. The aim of each is entirely different, but each of them aids in bringing about a new and better state of things. The setting up of an administration follows as a consequence not easily avoided. The belief is still held by some that there is a direct and designed connection between the territorial expansion of the empire and missionary work. As against British Protestant Missions, the charge is unfounded. By some, however, the slow progress of missions is partly explained by the fact that Christianity is looked upon with suspicion in so many countries as the religion of the foreigner, who is believed to have other objects in view than the spread of his religion.

BLANTYRE

Both Blantyre and Livingstonia are instances of that Combined Mission described in last chapter, and of which Lovedale was given as one of the earliest examples. These two Central African missions are evangelistic, educational, industrial, medical. There is also literary or translation work on a large scale. Among a people who are wholly ignorant, knowing nothing of God or the way of salvation, the primary

effort and the one aim never to be lost sight of, is to give the knowledge of God and Christ as the one Saviour of mankind. Instead, however, of confining their work merely to preaching, those who follow the combined method add the further burden involved in those other three lines of work. It is a great part of the white missionary's burden that he has to make this combination. But as man has a body as well as a soul, and lives at present in a material world, his brain needs improvement by education ; and his hand needs similar training ; and as sickness is certain at some time to attack his body, the missionary tries to help him when he is most helpless, in the hope that the heart may be won for the truth that heals the soul, as well as from pure compassion for human suffering. This is the only explanation that can be offered to those who do not entirely sympathise with this combined method. It is not suitable for every country, but it seems the one most suitable for the present condition of the people of the African continent.

Blantyre, in Central Africa, was established in memory of Livingstone, and was so named after Livingstone's birthplace in Scotland. The pioneer of the mission was Mr. Henry Henderson, son of the parish minister of Kinclaven. When preparations were being made for the departure of the Livingstonia Mission in 1875, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Established Church of Scotland asked that he might be allowed to accompany that party. He spent some time in examining the country, selected

a splendid site, and commenced work with the staff of the mission, which arrived in October 1876—a year later than the Livingstonia Mission. At that time Blantyre consisted of a small native village of three or four round huts. It is now a mission station, with the township of Blantyre close by. The station has a handsome church, probably the most striking native church in all Central Africa, except the cathedral at Zanzibar; it has workshops and houses, and is surrounded with fields and gardens. The church has been thought by some too good; but surely there can be no great harm in building a thoroughly good church, if all is done by native labour and the missionary is at once architect and builder. The religious and educational work in all its departments is thoroughly well organised. The original station has branched out into three separate churches with 367 communicants, 13 schools, and 729 scholars. School teaching is combined with manual work, to produce habits of industry, and to eradicate the old idea, found wherever slavery has been, that work is for slaves only, and is to be despised. In the hospital, medical training is given to a small number of native lads as hospital assistants and dressers, under a well arranged three years' course. A course of the same length is given in other industries, such as printing, carpentering, and gardening for boys, and laundry, sewing, and other work for girls.

Like many other missions, Blantyre has passed through more than one period of difficulty and danger,

when its very existence seemed for a time to be threatened. One of these caused some noise in this country at the time. Yet those at home, the Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, took no hasty or alarmed steps. Out of the earliest troubles unexpected results arose. The missions of the two Presbyterian Churches were brought into close co-operation, very much as if they had been one, and this mutual action began thus:—Dr. Laws and the writer were coming down the Shiré River in the steamer *Ilala* in the end of 1876, and about sunset we saw what was the Central African Post of those days—a black man with only a cloth round his loins, and a letter fixed in a long stick split at the top—flying across the plain near Matope. He had been waiting there some days, had seen the steamer, and was afraid it would pass him. The little vessel was put round in the swift current and brought to the bank for the night. The letter contained little more than a sentence from Mr. Henderson—a request “to come and help them.” We spent an almost sleepless night in vain conjecture. Were they beleaguered by slaving raiders or native foes, or had some other serious difficulty arisen? Next morning we started, and in the afternoon of the following day reached Blantyre as it then was—a native village of a few huts, most of them in a very tumble-down condition.

They were not beleaguered, but the health of a portion of the mission staff was seriously low; there were some difficulties preventing the work from taking

the first necessary shape. We at Livingstonia had a stronger force. They asked for assistance for six or twelve months. An arrangement was made, and a minute drawn up and sent home. It was approved by the two Home Committees, and, assuming that it would be, we had already begun to work together to the benefit of both missions. No wrong interpretation need be attached to this part of the narrative, as if it means laudation of one mission at the expense of another. It means that though as Churches we may not work much together at home, we can and do work abroad, when occasion offers, in unity and brotherly help. It would be a pity if it were otherwise. This united action was not a slight affair; its money aspect amounted to nearly £600, as it involved the detachment for the greater part of a year of sometimes two white men and several native assistants as artisans, from the Livingstonia station. It meant very definite work, in reality the first laying-out and building of the station. This episode in the early history of that mission has sometimes been forgotten, but there is no good reason why it should be put out of sight.

Blantyre owes a great deal to Mr. Henderson for his selection of a site of great excellence, and his self-effacement when a difficulty arose. Genuine self-sacrifice, an entire absence of self-assertion, and unsparing and ceaseless effort for the success of the mission, marked his entire life. He was one of those who were called the martyrs of Blantyre. His wife and child are buried there, and he himself lies at

Quillimane, having died while on his journey home, broken in physical health and spirits by family affliction. The second was Dr. Bowie, the heroic doctor and devoted missionary, who sacrificed his life to save a patient, or rather two patients, suffering from diphtheria—the wife and child of Mr. Henderson. He performed tracheotomy on both, and to save the child he ventured with marvellous courage to exhaust the tube with his own breath, which to him was the breath of death. Another was the Rev. Robert Cleland, of Mlanje, who died there after little more than three years of self-denying work. A fourth was Dr. W. Affleck Scott, whose death after six years' work was a great loss not merely to the mission, but to the whole community, European and native, of the Blantyre district. The Rev. Alexander Hetherwick is now the senior missionary, having been almost twenty years in the field, under whose wise and able guidance the Blantyre Mission continues to prosper. It is the only mission in Africa belonging to the Church of Scotland, if we except some work at Alexandria, which is rather amongst Europeans than of a purely missionary nature, and also a recent commencement at Kikuyu.

THE AFRICAN LAKES CORPORATION

Within a mile of Blantyre stands the headquarters of another agency, the African Lakes Corporation, which has played a considerable part in the introduc-

tion of civilisation into those regions. No account of the beginnings of legitimate trade, or of honest business beneficial to both parties, would be complete without some reference, however brief, to this company, which originated in a very simple way. The Livingstonia Mission had not been long in the country before it became very apparent that to benefit the natives, and convince them that the white man was their friend, it was needful to help them in other ways than by preaching. For the first time these people had come into contact with those articles which civilisation produces. They needed them more largely than the missionaries could supply them by merely buying food and paying for labour.

As was urged by one who was on the spot at the time, "If a man is naked, the best thing you can do to convince him that you are his friend is to clothe him—to give him calico, not words. If he wants to cultivate, induce him to buy tools. If he wants to build a house and has nothing better than a wretched little axe to fight against the forest ever encroaching on him, despite of fire and axe, the best thing to do is to give him in return for his labour, or for anything he has already produced, a suitable weapon. That will give him heart and success in his struggle."

At first nothing definite was attempted, but in 1877 two missionaries—whose names were Laws and Stewart—were detained while on a journey by rain and other causes, much longer than they expected, at a place a little above the Murchison Cataracts called

Mpimbe, the point on the Shiré below which it is not safe to take the steamer. There were no villages near, and provisions began to run short. There was plenty of game in the neighbourhood, but the rain was tropical African rain. Laws, as the younger man, thought he would go and hunt; the other preferred low diet to fever which the wet grass would produce, and stayed at home to write a letter. Later in the day Laws returned with a bush buck, and the letter of inordinate length and detail was finished. It was addressed to the chairman of the Livingstonia Committee, Mr. James White of Overtoun, and asked permission to start a store with such goods as the mission could supply or which might be sent, so as to afford the natives those articles they greatly needed, from calico to axes and needles. Many of them were wearing bark cloth as their only covering, probably the most uncomfortable garment a human being can wear.

The necessity had been apparent from the first, and more or less urged, but the proposal to start a store brought the matter to speedy decision. The reply came in a few months. It was prompt, decided, kind, but in substance was—"No trading to be done by the mission. We will send out some goods and someone to manage that business." The clear-headed business man grasped the situation, saw the certain danger to the mission, and the perverse use that might be made of such action, even though the object was the good of the natives and not gain.

Out of this necessity and this incident, as the immediate occasion,—as well as the desire to keep the mission work within its true lines,—arose the African Lakes Corporation, the first of all the trading companies in that region, and one which has done very excellent service there in the first steps in the transition from barbarism to civilised ways. The company was formed in Glasgow, and its shareholders were almost exclusively supporters of the mission. Its capital at first was so small that it possibly excited the pity of more wealthy companies. It has now been increased to £150,000. Its chief object was not primarily to provide openings for the investment of capital or to secure new markets, but to assist the missions, to act against the slave trade by supplying the natives with goods they needed; to keep communication with the sea open, and to do a great deal of work which a trading company might do, but which a mission could not and ought not to do. It was an association, genuinely existing for the objects set forth in its articles or memorandum; and it is to its credit morally, if not financially, that it held on for fifteen years, although during that time it paid a dividend only once. Since then, however, it has paid dividends ranging from $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 10 per cent., besides placing considerable amounts to reserve.¹

The credit of having first made the African Lakes

¹ The first chairman of this Corporation was Mr. James Stevenson of Hallie, recently dead; and the present is Mr. John Stephen, Domira, Glasgow.

Corporation a real factor in the early civilisation of Nyassaland belongs to two Scottish gentlemen who did not need to go to East Central Africa merely for employment. They were Mr. John and Mr. Frederick Moir, sons of a highly esteemed Edinburgh physician. They carried through the rough pioneering work by a great expenditure of physical energy and mental strain, which has left one of them too early comparatively old, while Mr. F. Moir continues his connection with the company as secretary. Neither of them has become enriched by his African efforts. Since that early date nearly half a dozen companies have come into existence — the *Companha da Zambesia*, the *Zambesi Traffic Company*, the *Inland Flotilla*, and others. These latter had no connection with the missions, and only followed where the other Company led; and the first development of the resources of that region was the work of the *African Lakes Company*, which held on steadily in the face of many early difficulties. Some of these arose from the prolonged war with Arab slave traders, by which its operations were seriously hindered and its means crippled. There was no escape for the Company. The Nyassa region had long been, as Livingstone declared, a great slave preserve. By the first entrance of the missions and the Company, and even earlier by Livingstone's journeys, these slave traders had been alarmed, and carried on their operations as secretly as possible. Finding that the mission steamer did not actively interfere with them they became bolder, united their

forces, and established themselves at Mpata on the Stevenson road which connects Lake Nyassa with Tanganyika, raided the villages in the vicinity, and at length attacked Karonga's village. The details of these attacks are always the same, and have been repeated in varying local forms a thousand times. An Arab caravan either attacks openly and at once, or a few Arabs, after getting permission, come and settle down for a longer or shorter time among a tribe. After awhile, when they have roughly fortified their position under pretence of defending themselves against wild beasts, a quarrel is picked, and the unhappy people, chiefly armed with spears, are unable to defend themselves against rifles. A favourable opportunity is found for an attack, and the massacre begins. The men are shot down, and the women, children, and young lads are captured, and the raid is successful. This is repeated till the district is devastated; and this is what happened to the tribe near the lake called the Wa-nKonde. They were driven from their villages, fled to the Kambwe lagoon, and took refuge among the dry reeds, followed by their pursuers. The reeds were set on fire, and these wretched fugitives had the choice of being burnt alive, of coming out to be shot or captured, or of betaking themselves to the lake or the lagoon to be devoured by the crocodiles which swarm in both.

This massacre of the Wa-nKonde, who had been the friends and entertainers of those treacherous villains, began the Nyassaland war, which lasted two years, and

which involved the missions and the company, and finally necessitated the raising of a volunteer force under Captain, now Sir. F. Lugard, and later the employment of a British force under Sir H. Johnston. It was the last expiring effort of the slaving power in the Nyassaland region. Messrs. Moir, Dr. Kerr Cross as medical officer, and several members of the mission as non-combatants, and various members of the African Lakes Company, all rendered efficient service, and suffered more or less. Mr. F. Moir had his arm shattered by a rifle bullet, which has rendered it only partially serviceable for the remainder of his life, and his brother also was wounded.

The Company has grown by a policy of perseverance, persistence, and caution. In 1879 it owned one small steamer, the *Lady Nyassa*. It has now seventeen steam vessels and a number of smaller craft plying on the Zambesi and Shiré rivers and the inland lakes Nyassa, Tanganyika, and Mweru. It has twenty-six stations, manned by Europeans, which are all centres of beneficial industry. Mandala, close to Blantyre, is the headquarters of the Company. At certain seasons the roads swarm with native carriers, and the square at Mandala is black with hundreds of natives bringing in or waiting to take away loads. Three traction engines are plying on these Shiré roads, and experiments are being made with steam motor waggons. Should these experiments succeed, thousands of natives now employed as carriers will be set free for more productive work. Within two, or at most three years, there will

be a railway connecting the lower with the upper Shiré. The contract for its construction has already been signed with the Foreign Office.

The advance of civilisation in that region has been wonderfully rapid during so short a period, and, besides the thousands of raw natives employed as carriers, numbers of those trained in the missions are employed by the company in more responsible positions, and render good service. Spirits, guns, and gunpowder are not among the articles offered by the company for sale to natives, though whether this rule has been invariably observed by all the subordinate agents of the Company it would not be safe to say. But the African Lakes Corporation as a whole comes nearer than any other similar association to the ideal of a company trading with natives of the African continent. The Basel Industrial Mission is on more purely missionary lines.

THE LIVINGSTONIA MISSION

Three hundred and fifty miles north of Blantyre is the headquarters of the Livingstonia Mission, which is on a much larger scale than Blantyre. Various accounts have been given of the origin of this mission, some of them very wide of the truth. One states that a pioneering expedition, representing two of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, was despatched to Lake Nyassa in 1875, and that out of that expedition arose the two missions Blantyre and Livingstonia.

The pioneering expedition thus referred to was the Livingstonia Mission itself. Some other accounts are equally remote from accuracy. The most trustworthy history of this mission and of its origin is given in two recently published works: one,¹ a history praiseworthy for its accuracy and fulness of detail relating to matters abroad, and its grasp of larger questions relating to the settlement of the country; the other,² a brief, wonderfully vivid and wholly sympathetic account of Livingstone's life, work, and aims.

For its earliest history we must go back to the time when a proposal was laid before the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church in 1860 to found a new mission in Central Africa.³ The reply was, that the proposal could not be entertained except on the condition that separate funds were raised, and the work undertaken by a separate committee.

In order to carry out the original proposal, which, even outside the Foreign Missions Committee of that Church, was not at first very well received, a separate committee had to be formed. By some labour it was got together, and consisted of nineteen men, the name of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh heading the list, and that of Mr. Dunlop, then M.P. for Greenock,

¹ *Daybreak in Livingstonia*. By James W. Jack, M.A. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901.

² *David Livingstone; Famous Scots Series*. By T. Banks Maclachlan. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901.

³ *Annual Report of Foreign Missions of the Free Church, 1861*.

being also among the number.¹ A correspondence was entered into with Dr. Livingstone through the Foreign Office; but as in those days communication with the Zambesi was at long and uncertain intervals, it was resolved later that a journey of inquiry should be made with the view of meeting Dr. Livingstone, and examining the country. The proposer of the mission was asked if he would undertake that journey. His reply was that he would, and he left this country in July 1861, and was away rather over two years. Mrs. Livingstone went with him, met her husband on 1st February 1862 off the Luabo mouth of the river, and died within three months at Shupanga, after reaching the Zambesi. It was difficult to get to the Zambesi then, and still more difficult to get away from it. In November 1863 a report was given to the special committee in Edinburgh, setting fully before them the state of the country and the prospects of the proposed mission. The final decision was left of necessity in the hands of that committee.

Sound judgment on the contents of that report did not favour immediate action, unless the work was to be carried through irrespective of the then existing facts. It might have been more heroic perhaps to have gone on. In almost every book which has touched this subject, the impression has been conveyed that Dr. Livingstone was disappointed, and also that the mission might and could have been

¹ Of that Committee there are only two survivors to-day, Principal Douglas and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Smith, formerly of Calcutta.

then carried through. One sentence often quoted is, "Had Scottish energy and perseverance been introduced, it might have reacted on the Universities Mission, and prevented their abandonment of the Zambesi, and placing the headquarters of their mission in Zanzibar." But there were three reasons which seemed sufficient for the course then taken—

(1) The state of the country, greatly harried by war and famine, as described even by Livingstone himself. On the probable influence of that condition as affecting the decision of the committee, and the possibility of the mission being then proceeded with, he himself had considerable doubt ;

(2) The recall of the Livingstone Expedition by the Foreign Office ; and

(3) The transference of the Universities Mission to Zanzibar.

While two powerful bodies, one backed by Government and the other by the English Universities, were thus leaving the country, it did not seem just the best moment to start a new mission, seeing that all its funds would have to be raised apart from the regular Missions Committee. All these unfavourable conditions existed at the time, and produced a temporary depression and lack of public interest in Central African matters. People at home expected too much, and that too soon, from efforts that had been already made, of which the Livingstone Expedition was one. Low tide is not the best time to launch a ship. *Given up the project never was*, though its early history was

simply a series of discouragements; it seemed wiser to wait for the rising tide.¹

The right time arrived when feeling was deeply stirred on the occasion of Livingstone's death, or rather of his burial, in April 1874; when the country laid its missionary hero to rest in Westminster Abbey, where he never dreamt of being buried. The practicability of the mission "was again carefully considered by one or two friends through an entire summer night, and only when daybreak began to appear was the debate ended. It was then resolved to reopen the question, and to give the mission the name of LIVINGSTONIA. This occurred at Shieldhall, an old country house near Glasgow, then the residence of Mr. John Stephen. The mission would thus be a memorial of Livingstone, and of the kind he himself would have most preferred."² On the basis of the previous pioneering inquiry, the matter was publicly proposed in the Free Church Assembly of 1874. The sum of £10,000 was raised, a small steamer, the *Ilala*, was built, a staff was got together, and before a year had elapsed the first Livingstonia

¹ Inquiry was renewed in 1868, in connection with a hunting expedition which went to the Zambesi, organised by three English officers. It seemed probable that that expedition would soon break up, and the small steam launch they had with them would be for sale. A correspondence with the head of that expedition, Captain Faulkner, and the writer, brought out the price as £1500. The expedition ended in the death of all the party, but the vessel was seized by, or passed into the hands of, the Portuguese authorities. I saw it lying at Quillimane, useless except as a small hulk, in 1876.

² *Livingstonia; its Origin*, 1894.

party was on its way to Lake Nyassa. It consisted of Mr. E. D. Young as leader, Dr. Laws, Messrs. Johnston, Simpson, Riddell, Miller, Baker, Macfadyen, and Mr. Henry Henderson — already mentioned in connection with Blantyre. The position selected was near Cape Maclear, at the southern end of the lake. It was chosen with a seaman's eye, largely for the sake of its excellent harbour. Mr. Young was every inch a sailor, and had the courage of his Christianity, as well as that other courage which makes the British Navy what it is. He was a splendid example of their combination, and thoroughly missionary in all his sympathies. The situation, however, was not central enough; the land was not very good, and the position was too low to be healthy. The mission was afterwards moved to Bandawe, a position 200 miles farther north. But the work was begun and carried on with energy, and with a steady eye to real missionary ends.

The state of the country and the conditions under which the mission started were these. The language was un-reduced to writing; there was no religion of any kind, nor any knowledge of God. There was nothing to build upon or to obstruct, — only the rough soil of pure heathenism. The people had never been in contact with white men. Their connection with the outside world had been through Arab slavers from the coast and Zanzibar. These visits, though welcomed by some of the chiefs, were the dread of the common people and the scourge

of the country. The native people, generally, were friendly to the mission. Some of the chiefs, also, were friendly, some hostile, and some neutral and politic. Among the latter were old Mponda, who dwelt in a most unhealthy spot at the entrance to the lake; and at first Mankanjira, who dwelt on the eastern shore, but under Arab influence that feeling passed away and developed later into his taking part in the deadly struggle which lasted two years. No doubt these shrewd old men saw that this new power which had come among them would destroy the slave trade, and they joined with the Arabs to make a last desperate fight for its life. And thus things shaped themselves into a struggle between British influence and Christianity on the one side, and the Arab slave trade on the other. This has already been referred to in the pages on the African Lakes Corporation.

During that troubled time, though with many interruptions, the mission nevertheless pursued its peaceful work. But from the day of its commencement to the date of the semi-jubilee in 1900, its progress has been marvellously steady and rapid. That does not mean that converts appeared from the first. In all missions a certain time has to elapse before spiritual fruit appears. It may be five or ten years, fifteen or twenty years. At Livingstonia six years passed away before the first convert appeared. That was a short time. It was not till after twelve or more years of toil that results began to appear in the South Seas. It was still longer in the Matabele

Mission of the London Missionary Society south of the Zambesi.¹

A contrast between two dates will show the results of the work done. In 1875, the date of commencement, the reckoning was very simple, there being, as already stated, neither church, convert, scholar, book, or teacher, and there was one station at Cape Maclear, wholly built of wattle and daub. In 1901 there were 6 main stations and 112 preaching stations, 5 fully formed native congregations, 1576 church members; and the baptisms in the year were—adults, 290; children, 273: total, 563; 142 schools, 531 native teachers, and an average attendance of 11,000 scholars; and for the year the native contributions were, in cash and produce, £220. If to this be added the results of the auxiliary mission of the South African Dutch Reformed Church, which was formed about twelve years after the mission began, all these numbers would be considerably increased.

To those not accustomed to deal with missionary figures, there may appear nothing extraordinary in these now given. But as belonging to the first twenty-five years of a mission in an entirely new and heathen field, they are very remarkable. The Christianity of the 1576 church members may be regarded as of the average sincerity, though not of the average intelli-

¹ Many years ago the writer met, in Cape Town, the Rev. Mr. Sykes, the veteran of the Matabele Mission, and asked about the number of converts. The old man sorrowfully shook his head. More than twenty years of labour had passed without any apparent result.

gence and religious experience of Christians all the world over. No reasonable doubt can therefore exist as to the reality of the spiritual work,—for the change is due to that and not to mere social influence.

The mission stretches along the western shore of Lake Nyassa, and has also stations inland. Bandawe is on the lake shore; Karonga, near the north end of the lake, is the point where the Stevenson Road starts for Lake Tanganyika; Mwenzo is on the Stevenson Road between the lakes; the Livingstonia Institution at Florence Bay is high up in a healthy position, 6 miles from the lake; Ekwendeni, 30 miles inland on the hills among the Angoni. At all these stations there are European missionaries and native assistants, and the work of Christianising the country goes on by steady, practical, well-directed effort, day by day and year by year.

One of the most important recent developments is the Livingstonia Training Institute, situated above Florence Bay, for preparing native agents for the work of the entire mission. The medical department at all the stations had over 19,000 cases last year. The printing division is doing much valuable work. There are also the carpentering, building, brick-making, and agricultural divisions, all actively employed; and all helping to lay the foundations of a new social as well as Christian state on the western shore of Lake Nyassa. Through the generosity of Lord Overtoun, a splendid supply of water for domestic purposes has been brought from a distance of some miles; the

stream passing near the Institution has been utilised for both electric light and power.

To the native population all these changes, of course, seem wonderful, little less than the power of the magician. The readiness of the people, and of the minor chiefs generally, to receive missionaries, is due not to knowledge of the blessings the gospel may bring, but partly to a desire for the protection or prestige a white man's presence gives, or is supposed to give, though that is not avowed. And there is another reason. They are great believers in witchcraft, and in the existence close by of an invisible world, inhabited by superhuman intelligences or influences, which take part, or may be got to take part, in human affairs. If there is trouble with a neighbouring tribe, one of the earliest requests of the chief or head man is for medicine, *i.e.* charms or materials for witchcraft, to destroy their enemies. At the Kambwe lagoon, in 1877, an old chief asked Dr. Laws and myself to meet him one night outside a village, where no one could see or hear us. We could not conjecture what he wanted, or whether he intended to convey to us some friendly warning. There were two white men, William Koyi, an evangelist from Lovedale, and three of the old chief's party—six in all. After circling round the subject for a time, in true native fashion, he said he wanted the medicine with which the English fight, to be used against the Angoni, his deadly foes. To buy it he had brought a tusk of ivory and a young bull, which was tethered to a tree.

Poor old man, he was genial and kindly, and had a curious instinctive confidence in these two strange Englishmen. He was much disappointed, yet we would not deceive him. I said the English had only one medicine for fighting—courage and truth. I asked him to keep the young bull till we came again, and the tusk of ivory I think was also left, if not, it was fully paid for. But what a splendid chance to an unscrupulous trader. On a ten days' journey down the west side of the lake, in 1877, I found the people were living in triple stockaded villages, and the country was a land of alarms and attacks, of perpetual terror and of miserable life. The mission and British administration have altered all that, the former being, so far as the individual life is concerned, the more peace-producing influence of the two.

The progress and success of the Livingstonia Mission have been quite phenomenal, Uganda being the only other mission in Africa that offers a parallel. That success is due to many causes, but mainly and generally to two, so far as human agency goes. These are, the excellence of home organisation, and the missionary energy and efficiency of the men who work on the field. Livingstonia receives no grant from the ordinary United Free Church Committee. The admirable manner in which the home organisation of this mission has been maintained and developed by Lord Overtoun and the committee—largely Glasgow men—who have wrought with him, is one clear cause of its success. By

supplying abundant and interesting information, by frequent meetings and ever widening organisation, and, above all, and most important of all, by the vital missionary spirit and energy infused into all its efforts, this mission has grown in the confidence of its supporters year by year. It still continues to widen the area of its support, and recently the English Presbyterian Church has resolved to include Livingstonia in its mission schemes. This spirit of missionary enterprise, which seems to vitalise all its home activity, is due largely to the chairman and the working members of that committee. Instead of reducing its *personnel* or home staff, it has increased it.¹

There are other causes. In addition to the thorough organisation at home, and the missionary energy and efficiency of the men on the field, there are other influences which contribute to the success of this mission. Livingstonia is a new field, and an inspiring one. Central Africa lays hold of the imagination, impresses the senses, and arouses reflection as well. They have a beautiful and striking country, if not a perfectly healthy one. It will become more healthy, or, more exactly, its climate will be better understood. In such a field, or in what is known as 'the regions beyond,' where everything is fresh and new, hope and expectation nourish missionary energy. The mission is also at the picturesque stage of missionary pro-

¹ Recently the Rev. J. Fairley Daly has been induced to give his time and labour largely to the promotion of the interests of this mission, which will doubtless be greatly benefited thereby.

gress, which interests people at home more deeply than the steady unromantic later period of consolidation. The contrasts between what is, and what is to be, are strongest; and time is still allowed for results. Missions also that are begun to-day are able to utilise the experience and methods of older missions, and start at a point farther advanced than their predecessors did. In the Nyassa region they have not as yet had to struggle much with the demoralising influence of a certain class of Europeans, though that will become more felt as the country is further opened up.

But, above all, it would seem as if the presence of the good Spirit of God were moving on the face of the dark heathenism of that region, and causing the heavenly light to shine. At every station there are indications of genuine spiritual vitality. These show themselves in the large number of adults baptized, and the still larger number of candidates for baptism; and, lastly, by the early commencement of the mission towards self-support—though that is only beginning.

One of the pleasantest and most satisfactory features of the entire history of this mission—so far as the home section of its work is concerned—was the cordial sympathy and practical co-operation of two other bodies,—the then United Presbyterian and Reformed Presbyterian Churches. This was shown from the very commencement of the effort.

The mission has greatly prospered under Dr. Laws, who has been at work since its commencement; and

he is followed by Dr. Elmslie, who has been nearly twenty years at Livingstonia, which is fortunate in having a large force of earnest devoted men and women.

There may, however, come later on that reaction which so often attends religious movements after an interval of time. The same may happen at Uganda. This need not occasion discouragement. Spiritual and social changes are often like the advancing tide, which has a momentary ebb or time of quiescence, though it is in reality only gathering force for a further movement upwards on the beach.

The cost of the Livingstonia Mission with all the outlay, unavoidable at the beginning of an enterprise, is at present £8000 a year, and an effort is to be made to raise the annual income to £10,000 a year. A capital fund is being raised for the Institution and Station Buildings. But this is not the whole cost of this work. It has been paid for otherwise than in money, and those who have so contributed have been most generous givers. Out of eighty missionaries,—men and women in various positions, as preachers, teachers, doctors, engineers, masters in charge of the *Ilala*, or artisan missionaries,—or wives of missionaries, as many as twenty-four have died and twenty-seven have been invalided during the period between 1875 and 1900.

Dr. Black was the first to fall within a year of beginning work ; and James Stewart, C.E., after five years' work. The latter left a good position in the

Indian Service on the construction of the great Sirhind Canal to aid the mission, and died while constructing the Stevenson Road between Nyassa and Tanganyika. His successor, Mr. MacEwen, C.E., had a still shorter period of service, and within a year was laid to rest beside his brother engineer. The Rev. Alexander Bain, after six years of splendid service, departed in 1889; Dr. and Mrs. Henry after five years' work; and there ought not to be forgotten the Kaffir evangelists, S. Ngunana and William Koyi. The latter was the human agent largely used by God in opening the way for the gospel among the Angoni,—a tribe as cruel, as fond of bloodshed and raiding as any in Africa, though not cannibals like some of the Congo tribes. There are others whose record is of the same true missionary order, of unsparing effort and self-sacrifice for the gospel's sake. To us the life of each may have appeared a life of unfulfilled aspiration and incompleted work. That is because our vision is so limited. The ideal they cherished,—implanted or hidden in their souls by God Himself,—of getting as much out of life as it would yield for the service of Christ, may have been in His eyes completely realised. "In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die; their departure was taken for misery, and their going from us as destruction, but they are in peace,"—and with Him whom they served.

In the territorial, political, or civil result, what deserves attention is this—the quiet way in which a large region passed from no government at all into the

form and orderly process of a British Protectorate. This was Sir H. Johnston's share of the work; and if he did not satisfy everyone, he left good administrative results behind him. This great change was not accomplished without fighting; yet it was not fighting about territory, but about something quite different,—whether a gang of merciless men, to whom human pity is a thing unknown—the ordinary slave dealers—were to be allowed to desolate one of the fairest portions of God's earth. They had done so for a long time, and intended to continue doing so. British policy and Christianity said, 'No, this shall not continue.' Thus the territory that forty years ago was an utterly unknown land of wide area, with a great inland sea, has been added to what is slowly taking shape in that continent, a great British African Dominion. For this great change the way was prepared by an easy transition from a state of social and civil chaos through the missionary occupation. That occupation was also just in time. It took place ten years before the great Partition of the Continent. It was thus expressed not by a missionary magazine, but by an influential political paper at the time of the proclamation of the British Protectorate—

“The founding of the missionary establishments had an important political effect, for it enabled Her Majesty's Government to successfully resist the claim of the Portuguese Government to the whole of that territory; to demand the free navigation of the Zambesi; and to justify the claim for the British Empire,

not only to the Shiré Highlands, but generally speaking to the best parts of the Nyassa region."

This is true, and may be legitimately stated, even though it is not the territorial but the spiritual conquest of the land which is the aim of the mission. The date when Christianity enters any country begins a new era in its history; and from that date the life of its people begins to be slowly revolutionised. This is what is being done now by the Livingstonia Mission, which first planted Christianity on the western shore of Lake Nyassa.

IX

GERMAN, FRENCH, NORWEGIAN, AND OTHER MISSIONS

WHEREVER the British flag flies all over the globe, missionaries of all nations are free to follow their beneficent labours without let or hindrance; and wherever British administration settles down to work, if the geographical or political position justifies the effort, it generally changes villages of mud huts into well-built cities. Khartoum is at present perhaps the only exception to the first part of this world-wide rule, and the latest instance of this transformation. A long, broad street runs parallel to the river, and at right angles to it; other streets are in progress, running towards the native quarter some distance off. The Sirdar's palace is a handsome building forming three sides of a square. Government and other buildings are rising, and there is a fairly good hotel run by an Englishman. The Gordon Memorial College has been opened, but it is to be a college in which Christianity may not as yet be taught; nor may missionary work in the ordinary form be begun in Khartoum, though it may be carried on among the

non-Moslem population farther up the Nile towards the south. Yet Khartoum is not a more fanatical city than was Peshawur when Christianity was first introduced there.

It is expected that by the teaching of the college a wider and morally higher view of life will gradually influence its future three hundred students. There has been a belief among mankind—it has been held from Plutarch's day to Benjamin Kidd's—that religion holds society together, and that it is not only a factor in human evolution, but that it is the absolutely dominating influence in race advancement. Between Christianity and Islamism there can be little real comparison, and Mohammedans will neither fear nor respect us more if we are ashamed of our religion, or afraid to teach it.

No doubt after a time full permission will be given. Lord Cromer in his Report already quoted says: "Although mission work, properly so called, cannot as yet be permitted amongst the Moslem population of the Soudan, I see no objection to the establishment of Christian schools at Khartoum. Parents should, of course, be warned before they send their children to school that instruction in the Christian religion is afforded." ¹

Everywhere else under British rule there is entire freedom to all missionaries to adopt any language or method or agency for the teaching of Christianity.

¹ *Report by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1902.*

French and German administrations hardly give the same freedom to missionary work.¹

It is doubtless largely due to this entire absence of restrictions of any kind that in Africa, South, West, and East, we have had the great benefit of missions of many nationalities. Their missionaries have always been heartily welcomed and their efforts assisted, and we owe them—French, German, Norwegian, or others—a debt not easily repaid.

GERMAN MISSIONS

In the African continent there are four great German societies at work. In the order of their importance—estimated by the amount of income, number of ordained missionaries, members, and organised churches—they are nearly as follows:—

1. The Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, founded in 1815, acting in West Africa, and also in India and China.
2. The Rhenish Missionary Society, founded in 1828, and acting in the Cape Colony,

¹ The experience of the Baptist Mission on the Cameroons, of the Church Missionary Society in Eastern Africa, and of the London Missionary Society in Madagascar, when the French Protectorate was first proclaimed, are instances of this want of reciprocity. And the *Annual Survey of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1901-02*, referring to their work in Marshall Island in the South Seas, says: "The German Government is generally proving itself friendly, while at the same time it requires that if any foreign language is used, it shall be German; and it will be pleased if new appointees to missionary work are of German birth, or at least familiar with the German language."

German South-West Africa, Ovampoland, and West Africa, as well as elsewhere.

3. The Berlin Missionary Society for promoting Evangelical missions among the Heathen, founded in 1824, and acting widely in South Africa, German East Africa, and also in China.
4. The Hermannsburg Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society, founded in 1849, and acting widely in South Africa and also in India.

These, with several other lesser German societies, have all done excellent and enduring work in the Christianising of Africa, South and West. In East Africa their efforts are but beginning. The North German or Bremen Society has a successful mission in West Africa. There is also the Leipsic Society in British and German East Africa. The Moravian Mission has already been separately noticed.

The Basel Society is a large and powerful association. It has no mission in South Africa; its chief field within the continent from the first has been on the West Coast. Its home organisation is wonderfully complete, and while it has been successful as a purely missionary agency, it has also developed a form of work quite unique of its kind. That is what is called the Industrial Mission; but not exactly the industrial mission already referred to. It is also a mercantile association working with a double object. One is to benefit those natives in India whose acceptance of Christianity has made them social or family outcasts; and in Africa, where this result does not usually

follow, to give instruction in the arts of civilised life. Its second object is to aid the purely spiritual side of the work, by devoting to it the profits derived from its operations. The mercantile side is by far the strongest,¹ and employs between 45 and 50 European agents. Of these over 20 are in West Africa, and the natives employed in Africa number 378. Of the latter, 315 are engaged in trade or mercantile work, and 63 in various industries.

In India the numbers are reversed, and of over 2400 natives, only 41 are engaged in trade, the remainder are employed in industries, such as weaving, tailoring, brick- and tile-making at Calicut and other places, and blacksmithing at Mangalore.

The industrial and mercantile section is not carried on by the mission committee, but by a separate Commission. Its capital is £30,000, in three hundred shares of £100, of which one hundred and twenty are held by the missionary society. The business must be well managed, as the gross profits for a recent year are considerable. After deducting a number of charges for depreciation, payments to widows' and invalids' funds, and five per cent. dividend to shareholders, there still remained £11,576 to the benefit of the Society's funds available for missionary purposes. Much diversity of opinion, however, has long existed, even within the Society itself, as to the rightness or wrongness of this form of work. One superintendent

¹ An account of this Mission appeared in the *United Free Church Record*, December 1902.

or inspector resigned because he could not conscientiously approve of an apparently unavoidable secular influence in connection with the mission.

In these days, when British capital wanders over the world in search of investments, safe or unsafe, the Basel Society affords an example of what can be done by men with business experience and missionary sympathy to provide a subsidiary aid for such work. There seems no real reason why young men who may wish to aid the cause of missions should not do so by mercantile business, if they feel unable for the purely spiritual work of the missionary proper. There is room for a variety of effort. The complete civilisation of Africa will be brought about not by one class of workers, but by the conjoint efforts of many. Commerce carried on in a Christian spirit promotes directly the spread of civilisation; missionary effort aims at the spiritual education of the people. Nor is there any valid reason why British capital should not be employed to aid business that will not harm the native, if the distinction between the purely spiritual and secular agencies be kept quite clear. Better that such capital should be so invested, than in foreign bonds of doubtful value.

The Rhenish Missionary Society was formally constituted in 1828. In the following year it sent out four missionaries to South Africa. For some years previously a few earnest Christian men had associated themselves in order to aid already existing societies; to

pray for the heathen world, and to spread information about missions by simple publications. Then several of those small associations united, and are now known under the name of the Rhenish Missionary Society. Its earliest work was among the slaves and Hottentots of the Cape Colony, but it has gradually extended its operations along the western side of South Africa into Namaqualand, and farther north to Damaraland. It received from the London Missionary Society a few of their stations, and also several from the Wesleyan Society. The language of Namaqualand presented to many of the missionaries almost insuperable difficulties, yet the entire Bible was translated by the Rev. Mr. Kronlein, the New Testament having been published somewhat earlier. Within the Cape Colony most of its native congregations are entirely self-supporting, and some also in Namaqualand. Their work has succeeded by steady and persevering labour. The society has also missions in Borneo, South China, Sumatra, and New Guinea. Its annual income is close on £32,000.

The Berlin Missionary Society for promoting Missions among the Heathen was founded in 1824. It began, like the Rhenish Society, from small associations of men spiritually minded and interested in missionary work. At first it aided other societies by money and trained men drawn from their respective mission schools. Its earliest efforts were made in the Cape Colony, and a little later in Natal, with seven stations

in the former and six in the latter. About 1850 it began to found stations in the Transvaal, and since then there has been a great expansion of the work of the Berlin Mission. The two most important stations of this society in the Transvaal are Botschabelo and Mphome. Botschabelo was begun about 1865; this station has now over 1400 communicants. Mphome is an educational centre. A station was founded at Pretoria in 1866. In the northern part of the Transvaal there has also been very considerable extension, and its entrance into this region marks the period of the Society's greatest activity and expansion. According to recent statistics, the communicants number 11,000, and those baptized 21,000; the annual income of the Society is £33,000.

The Hermannsburg Mission owes its origin to the missionary zeal of Pastor Louis Harms, and was originally intended for Gallaland. The first detachment of sixteen missionaries and colonists sailed in 1853 in the ship *Candace*. The mission, however, got no farther than Zanzibar, the Mohammedan ruler refusing them permission to proceed inland. The missionaries then reluctantly sailed southwards again to Natal, and under the advice and guidance of the Rev. Mr. Posselt of the Berlin Society, founded a station called New Hermannsburg within the Natal boundary, and a number of stations in Zululand. New Hermannsburg became for a time not only an important missionary influence, but a strong educa-

tional centre even for the colony itself. The education was of a thorough kind, with a genuinely religious spirit. The place prospered under the Rev. Mr. Müller, but now hardly maintains its former position.

The Hermannsburg Mission was an interesting experiment founded on primitive lines. It was composed partly of ordained missionaries and teachers, and partly of colonists as they were called, that is, of men who were to settle down and, by industrial or agricultural pursuits, support themselves and aid the mission. As in the early Christian days, they were to have all things in common, and all were to work in their different spheres for the one great end. But this co-operation in the mission, like the early Christian communism, did not last very long. The principle may have been conscientiously accepted, and it appeared promising enough, but the infirmity and defects of human nature in its present stage both of Christian and social development, were too much for so high an ideal. In a few years there were more than a hundred colonists and missionaries in the field. Differences of view arose between the missionaries and the colonists, and a separation took place. The latter have settled down, and in many instances have exercised a beneficial effect simply as colonists, while the others have continued at their strictly missionary work. The method common in other societies is now adopted, by which each missionary receives a separate salary, and each family is allowed to live its own life. Like the Rhenish Mission, the

Hermannsburg has spread successfully over a large area, and has numerous stations in the Transvaal, Bechuanaland, and Zululand, though in the latter area the number of converts is not great.

German missions are conducted on clearly defined lines, and carried through with German perseverance, precision, and tenacity. Their work is mainly evangelistic, and there is an air of simplicity and compactness about it which is perhaps less apparent in other missions. They devote a good deal of time to the study of languages, and are usually strong in that direction, and their missionaries are required to have a satisfactory knowledge of the vernacular before they are fully recognised. The new translation of the Kaffir Bible has been carried through by missionaries of different denominations, but the Rev. Dr. Kropf has continued longest and taken the largest share in the work, which began nearly twenty years ago. They spend a great deal of time and effort in the instruction of their catechumens before admitting them as full members. They have also industrial work at some of their larger institutions, but this is not the prominent feature of their method. They have not developed medical mission work to the same extent as some other societies, both American and British, except as a separate section in the Basel Mission. And, finally, they are less inclined than any other mission to employ native agents as ordained pastors. They believe in European supervision, and

think that the native requires a longer training before he can be trusted with the sole responsibility and authority over a congregation. German missions are doing notable work on a large scale. The Berlin men are, as a rule, better trained than the Hermannsburg men, or at any rate than the latter were many years ago. Culture is never thrown away on a missionary. They have comparatively small salaries, which has not always been an advantage to them in the prosecution of their work.

THE FRENCH MISSION

No praise is too high for the next mission to be mentioned—that of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in Basutoland. It represents the Protestantism of France of to-day, and historically that section of its population generally known as the Huguenots, who have suffered more or less persecution for nearly four centuries, if we include its later political forms; and yet they hold unaltered their religious belief united to a life of practical religious activity.

Beginning in 1829 when three missionaries landed in Cape Town, after about four years of preliminary effort at two stations in Bechuanaland and among the slave population of Cape Colony, in 1833 they concentrated their efforts on Basutoland. This is a small but compact native territory lying north of the Orange River, and distant about 900 miles from Cape Town. Their first convert appeared in 1839. They have largely changed Basutoland from a heathen to a

Christian country, though there is more than enough of heathenism still left ; but the general direction of native life is towards Christianity. No one can visit this mission without being struck with the simplicity and directness of its method, and with the purely spiritual aim as the terminus to which all roads and methods lead. Unostentatious and patient labour and indifference to human praise have given the French Mission a high position among the missions of South Africa. They have 19 stations, over 100 preaching places or out-stations ; about 11,000 communicants, 8000 catechumens, and nearly 11,000 pupils in schools. They have a good normal school at Morijah, which is the chief station ; also a Bible school, which is in reality a simple theological course for training native missionaries and assistants of one kind and another. Their printing press is, from a missionary point of view, one of the most useful in South Africa. They have translated the Bible into Sesuto, the work mainly of Casalis and Mabile, and the translation has passed through several editions. They have also an excellent collection of hymns, which is widely used and enjoyed by the natives. The hymn-book is of great service as an instructor, serving to convey both on week-days and Sundays many of the main truths of the Gospel to young and old in native congregations.¹ They have also prepared various elementary

¹ Hymn-singing is often objected to by travellers and others visiting mission stations. Mr. Anthony Trollope was much irritated by it at one station—not in the French Mission. After the fatigue of a long day's

educational works, and a few in religious literature, among them a translation of the *Pilgrim's Progress* in Sesuto; and they also issue a small periodical. Their first missionaries included such men as Bisseux, Rolland, and Lemue, and these were followed by Arbousset, Casalis, Mabile, and Dyke; and the sons and daughters of several of the latter men have laboured long in the mission, some of whom are still holding their posts.

The history of the first emergence of Basutoland from barbarism is the history of the chief Moshesh and of the French Mission, and various influences have both helped and hindered this mission. Among the latter were the frequently recurring wars with other tribes, and also with both Boers and British. Amongst the early favourable influences were the aid and protection of the chief Moshesh, the change produced by the country being taken under the protection of the British Government, and the enlightened action of Sir Marshall Clarke and Sir Godfrey Lagden, the first two administrators. Before they began their work, however, the preservative force was Moshesh. This remarkable man—sometimes erroneously described as a minor chieftain—presents one of those instances rare in African history of a native ruler, humane and sagacious,

travel he needed supper, and while it was being prepared he was unwisely entertained for rather a long time with hymns. Other travellers have sometimes erroneously supposed that hymn-singing forms a large part of daily instruction and occupation.

who loved peace better than war, 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. He possessed the power of quickly converting enemies into friends, either by humanity or diplomacy or both combined, and mostly succeeded, except with the Boers. He first gathered the scattered remnants of his tribe and repulsed the Zulus, who were his constant enemies; yet he treated them so generously that they ceased their raids; and numbers of natives from other tribes were attracted to Basutoland by the mildness of his rule. Misrepresentations as to his real character and designs, led to his stronghold being attacked by Sir George Cathcart in 1852, and there happened then what occasionally does happen still, — though righted later,—the British force met with a severe repulse. Next morning a message reached the British General from Moshesh: "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." A gallant English soldier could respond to that only in one way, and peace was made immediately afterwards. Sir George Cathcart, who three years afterwards fell, shot through the heart, at Inkermann, wrote of his expedition to Basutoland, and of the conclusion of the war: "Another advantage I gained was in the acquaintance with the chief Moshesh, whom I found to be not only the most enlightened, but the most upright chief in South Africa, and one in whose good faith I

put the most perfect confidence, and for whom, therefore, I have a sincere respect and regard."

Retrocession of territory has seldom proved a satisfactory solution of South African difficulties. In the case of the Orange Free State, with the gift of independence from the Colonial Office in 1854, it only raised fresh trouble. Bechuanaland, to the west, became disturbed. In Basutoland, to the east, the Boers attacked Moshesh and were repulsed, and a war which began in 1858 lasted some years, during which the French missionaries were driven out, and found refuge in Natal and elsewhere, four of their stations being taken from them; but the trouble was brought to an end by the Cape Colonial Government taking Moshesh under its protection in 1871. The craving for land, and more land, being often both the object and the remote cause of these wars, a large section of Basutoland, the western and more fertile portion, was taken by the Orange Free State, and has since been known as the Conquered Territory.

Only once since 1871 has the peace been disturbed, when the Cape Government in 1879 raised a little war about the Disarmament Act. It lasted more than a year, brought us no credit, not even the surrender of a few old rifles, and shortly afterwards the territory was taken over by the Imperial Government, and has been so administered from that time. Since that date the country has made steady if not rapid progress in civilisation, and the French Mission has prospered and con-

tinued its work without interruption. Congregations and schools have steadily increased in numbers and efficiency, and give promise of still greater success.¹

The most interesting development of this Basutoland French Mission is its extension to Barotseland on the north bank of the Zambesi, in which a good deal of enterprise and courage has been manifested. That extension was begun more than twenty years ago. The first preliminary journey was rendered abortive by the Transvaal Government. Two native catechists were imprisoned at Pretoria, and M. Dieterlin was compelled to retrace his steps. A later expedition under M. Coillard got safely through the Transvaal during the brief period of British occupation, and reached the Banyai tribe, but were not successful, and turned westward. Lobengula refused them permission to proceed farther into the interior, but a third attempt was finally successful, and the new mission in Barotse-land was founded. It is important from its position in the heart of South Central Africa, on the upper waters of the Zambesi, not far from the Victoria Falls. Only those who know what the climate of the Zambesi valley is at certain seasons, and what also are the realities of missionary work at first among an entirely heathen tribe, can understand how great is the strain

¹ The small tribal area known as Basutoland is also advancing in civilisation; in 1901 it imported manufactured goods to the value of £145,000, and exported produce to the value of £365,000—though the greater portion of that sum was for horses required during the war, the average amount being about one-half that sum.

on both moral and physical endurance. It requires much faith both in God and man.

There are now seven stations in Barotseland; She-sheke is the oldest, Lialuyi, the native capital, is the most important. They have each an attendance of three hundred at the Sunday services. Victoria Falls is one of the newest stations,—likely to become a large town, and probably to be named Livingstone. It will also be the terminus, on the southern side of the Zambesi, of the railway which is to connect the Cape and Cairo. That section from Buluwayo may be open within two years. At present the town is chiefly a transport station and distributing centre for native labourers who go south to the mines. The labour agent acts in a kindly way, and allows the missionaries all possible access to the natives while they are waiting to be engaged. The population being a floating one, there are no baptized converts as yet.

This mission has now two dispensaries, the commencement of an industrial school and Bible school, and about 1000 children in elementary schools. There are 22 European missionaries at present in the field. These include 2 doctors, 2 lay helpers, 5 married ladies, 6 single ladies, and 7 ordained missionaries,—but nearly 20 have, since 1898, been compelled by broken health to retire, or have died.

The future of the Barotse Mission may be regarded as secure by reason of three things: the improbability that a mission begun with so much genuine missionary spirit, and with the unmistakable spiritual aim, will fail

in its object; the downfall of Lobengula, and the absence of any great hostile tribe in the immediate neighbourhood; and the effect of the recent visit of King Lewanika to this country.

The destruction of the Matabele power in 1893 was part of the preparation of Southern Africa for the introduction of Christianity. This may be said along with an expression almost of shame at some events that occurred. There were black spots on our side in that Matabele war, in the treatment of the two chiefs sent by Lobengula to negotiate; in the alleged disappearance of money—a thousand sovereigns, it is said—sent by him as a peace-offering; and in the revolts of the Mashona tribes, which certainly need explanation. We were supposed to have delivered them from Matabele tyranny. Mackenzie's view was that "the Matabele were not worth preserving in independence, as they formed a dead wall to the progress of the missionary as well as of the trader and hunter, and that in their corporate capacity they were a nuisance in the country." But he adds: "It is almost inconceivable that the long oppressed Mashonas should have sided with their oppressors, the Matabele, rather than with the white men who, it was supposed, were their friends and protectors. Yet our general native policy (in that territory) was such that the Mashonas preferred to fight along with the Matabele rather than assist the white man."¹

¹ *John Mackenzie, South African Missionary and Statesman*, pp. 175 and 502.

The Matabele kingdom existed by the destruction of the neighbouring tribes. Lobengula's conception of a ruler's greatness was that it consisted in the spread of devastation and death over as wide a surrounding area as his power could reach. In this he resembled Chaka, Dingaan, and others. He died miserably as a fugitive, from a bullet wound, near the Shangani River. The patrol which attempted to capture him was in turn entirely destroyed by the Matabele.

Lewanika's visit to this country during the King's Coronation will also have its effect upon his attitude towards the British and towards Christianity. He is not a professed Christian, though he attends religious service regularly, sends his children to school, and for a long time has acted in a friendly way to M. Coillard. Polygamy stands in the way of his Christianity, as well as other customs which act as State reasons in the government of African tribes. His breaking with the old order of things, if not agreed to by his chiefs, might cost him his power or his life. He no doubt understands that his safety consists in keeping good friends with the British Government. He is a fair type of the African chief of considerable power. He rules over more than twenty tribes or sub-tribes, and he has the reserved manner which all the more important chiefs preserve. He has shown considerable ability to absorb the better influences of civilisation.

The future of the mission there depends on two other contingencies, the attitude that may be taken by his son Letia, and the moderation and justice of the

Chartered Company's rule; and the latter may be said to be now on its good behaviour before the world, morally, if not politically, and any quarrel with Lewanika would be closely scrutinised.

NORWEGIAN AND SWEDISH MISSIONS

The reality of religious life in Norway and Sweden is clearly shown by the missions sent from these countries to different parts of the world, even though they are not on a large scale. There are in reality three important societies in Norway, and four in Sweden, with various smaller associations. They may be classed thus, those connected with the Church, as the Norwegian Church Mission; and independent societies, as the Norwegian Mission Society. The missionary effort of these two countries is larger than is generally known. It embraces widely scattered fields—from Alaska to the Congo, and from the Congo to China. Warneck estimates the annual contributions of Norway for missions to the heathen at about £45,000, and of Sweden at £50,000; and the number of missionaries from the latter at 150, from the former at a half or two-thirds of that number.¹

The Norwegian Missionary Society, evangelical as distinguished from the Church Mission, was founded in 1842, and shortly afterwards it started a mission in Zululand. The success attained was extremely small, owing to the despotic rule of Panda and Cetewayo.

¹ *History of Protestant Missions*, pp. 136-138.

The first converts were constantly in danger, not so much of open persecution, as of being quietly put out of the way on pretence of witchcraft or some other alleged offence. This led to the establishment of a mission in Madagascar which was markedly successful, and has been described as 'the greatest and happiest work' of this society.

Bishop Schreuder, as he afterwards became, having been consecrated at Bergen in 1866, when he left the undenominational society and joined the Norwegian Church Society, was the most notable figure in these efforts. He was a man of marked personality, with a vigorous frame and kindly manner, and possessed of great energy and equally great missionary enthusiasm. One small publication of his, *A Few Words to the Church of Norway*, gave a great impulse to the missionary spirit and movement.

The refusal at first of Panda, the Zulu king, to allow a mission in the country, led Schreuder to go to China, where, singularly enough, his fair northern complexion and blonde hair were regarded by Gutzlaff as serious obstacles to his success. He returned to Natal in 1849, won the favour of Panda by some medical service, and was allowed to begin work in Zululand in 1850, and eight years afterwards the first convert was baptized. In 1870, when the writer visited his stations and those of the other Norwegian Mission, the work was advancing slowly but steadily. In the Zulu War of 1878 and 1879 most of the British and German stations were destroyed wholly or partially, but

Bishop Schreuder's station at Entumeni was respected, and escaped destruction. Three years ago the two societies had 18 stations, 3000 members and adherents, and about 1300 children at school.

SWISS FREE CHURCH MISSION

There is a small mission belonging to this Church, of which the Rev. Messrs. Creux and Berthoud were the first missionaries. It is supported by the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud. The two chief stations are Lorenzo Marques and Valdezia, formerly Spelunken, in the Transvaal. The former is the older and more important station, but that of Delagoa Bay is an active, thriving, and healthy mission, though the situation itself is not healthy. It will be improved when two large swamps in the town are filled up. The missionary tone and spirit of the workers in this small mission strikes a stranger or traveller as admirable.

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

The comparatively recent awakening of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa to missionary activity is largely due to the influence of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Murray and two of his brothers, and a few other ministers in that Church, and to the increased spiritual life within their congregations. But until recently its missionary spirit was not very conspicuous. Warneck's summary will probably be accepted as

correct, and not uncharitable: "Till far on in the nineteenth century the Dutch Reformed Church, with the exception of individuals of missionary zeal and some pious laymen, maintained an indifferent if not adverse attitude to the Christianising of the natives. . . . Chiefly through the accession of some Scottish pastors, particularly the Murrays, a missionary spirit began to be aroused, which led the Church to a growing activity in missions not merely in the colony, but beyond its bounds.¹ Within the colony, however, besides missionaries, the pastors of many congregations carry on work among the coloured people. These are mostly the mixed races,—the old slave population, half-castes, Hottentots, and others,—rather than the pure aboriginal tribes, such as the Kaffirs and Basutos. But the Government Census of 1891 gives 77,693 coloured Christians as in connection with the Dutch Reformed Church." This is a general return, not of the nature of missionary statistics.

Whether as cause or effect of this new missionary life, the most marked outcome has been the formation of the 'Ministers' Mission Union' in the Dutch Reformed Church. Its members and its funds are largely supplied by ministers rather than by laymen. Better proof of real sympathy with missions on the part of the ministers could hardly be given. If the laity as a body would not move, the ministers moved without them. The Union has an income of slightly over £4000. Among the results of its establishment may

¹ Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, pp. 212, 213.

be noticed the creation of a new mission on Lake Nyassa. This was commenced in 1884,¹ under the leadership of the Rev. Charles Murray, son of the minister of Graaf Reinet. It occupies the south-east side of the lake, or the district known as Central and Southern Angoniland. Its work grew and prospered; and though at first it acted in connection with the Livingstonia Mission, it has now taken on an independent form, and is known as the Nyassaland Mission. Outside of the Cape Colony there is the mission of Zoutpansburg, in the north of the Transvaal, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Hofmeyer, which is carried on with the success and efficiency which accompany the true missionary spirit.

It should, however, be noticed that this missionary activity is mainly due to the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape Colony. The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, while nominally one body, consists in reality of three distinct sections—the Dutch Reformed Church of the Cape Colony, the largest and most important; the Reformed Free Church, much smaller, strongly conservative in theology, standards, and forms of worship, and rejecting the use of hymns in public worship. This is sometimes called the Church of the Doppers, to which it is said ex-President Kruger belongs. And there is, lastly, the Dutch Reformed Church of the Transvaal, more closely connected with

¹ A visit of Mr. John Stephen of Glasgow to the Theological Institute at Stellenbosch gave an impulse to that movement, and the mission was shortly afterwards despatched to Lake Nyassa.

that of Holland, and said to lean to a rationalistic theology.

SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL MISSION—
UNDENOMINATIONAL

This is a British society of recent origin,—1890,—one of the many independent and undenominational societies which have appeared during the last third of last century. It was first known as the Cape General Mission. It is not strictly a mission to heathens who are black, as it devotes its attention impartially to all, whether white or black, whose lives would be improved by religious influence. Its strongest side, however, is towards the white. It has a very varied activity, with work extending from Cape Town to Johannesburg and beyond. It has many volunteer workers; and its spiritual aims, and the self-denial and earnestness of its men and women, give it a large claim to the respect, sympathy, and aid of all Christians. Its methods are largely evangelistic, and services of different kinds are systematically carried on wherever men can be got together. It uses such organisations as soldiers' homes, reading-rooms, refreshment-rooms, and any other legitimate means through which the spiritually uncared for and unsaved can be reached. It has not as yet devoted much effort to education beyond the mere village or kraal school. Its stations extend through the territory lying between the Cape Colony and Natal, in Natal itself, in Zululand, and Swaziland, and

even with a beginning at Port Herald on the Zambesi. The work at many of these places is as yet in its earliest stages, and much patient labour will be required to create and consolidate native Churches.

One of its recent and most beneficent efforts has been its extensive work among the large body of British soldiers who have been for the last three years in South Africa. That force amounted, as is known, to 250,000 men at one time, scattered all over a vast area; while there were altogether from first to last nearly 400,000 men. Among these the South African General Mission worked in all directions, from supplying food for the body to caring for the soul; and the effort was well expended on behalf of men who endured a good deal of hardship in defence of the empire.

The income of this society for its branches, South and North and South-Eastern, for the year ending March 1902, amounted together to slightly over £15,652; and the superintendents of the mission are the Rev. Spencer Walton, and Messrs. Dudley Kidd and Frank Huskisson. Mr. and Mrs. Osborne Howe have been long among the most indefatigable workers in this mission.

NORTH AFRICA MISSION

There are many missions, mostly independent and not very large, spread over the African continent, which cannot be even enumerated now. One extensive organisation works in a region which has not yet

been referred to—the great area of North-West Africa. The Society which has devoted itself specially to this great field—generally regarded as not a very promising one—is the North Africa Mission. It was started nearly twenty-seven years ago by Mr. Pearce, and has been energetically carried on by Mr. Glenny. It was originally intended to work among the Kabyles, a section of the Berber race in Algeria, but has since extended its operations amongst other tribes, and has opened stations westwards in Morocco, and eastwards in Tunis and Tripoli. It began with 2 workers; it has now 89,—or 27 men, 39 women workers, and 23 as missionaries' wives, with 15 stations. Its work is largely evangelistic, partly medical, and educational to a limited extent. It endeavours to distribute the Scriptures and interest the people by home visitation,—caring for the sick, and by diffusing Bible truth in an informal way by conversation wherever people can be got to listen.

CENTRAL AFRICA—SPECIAL MISSIONS

There are also two independent societies in Central Africa,—the Arnot Garenganze Mission and the Zambesi Industrial Mission. The region of the former lies west of Lakes Mweru and Bangwelo, and represents the effort of the Plymouth Brethren. It has 15 missionaries and 5 stations. The region of the latter mission is in the Shiré Highlands, south of Lake Nyassa. Its methods are peculiar, and it aims at self-

support by the cultivation of coffee. It is partly an effort at combining Christian colonisation and mission work.

AUXILIARY AGENCIES

Along with missionary societies, properly so called, there are several agencies which, though they do not send out missionaries, aid missions in other ways.

First, and deservedly conspicuous among these, comes The British and Foreign Bible Society,—noblest and broadest of societies of its class, for whose success all may both pray and give. Its field is the wide world, and its operations are wherever men can be got to read, or take, or buy the Bible. It spends a considerable part of its income—which, for the past year, was over £233,000—in aiding missions. Following it are the American Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland, the latter of which expends nearly one-fifth of its income of £30,000 in helping missionary work.

Two other societies give assistance by the diffusion of Christian literature in different languages,—these are The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and The Religious Tract Society.

In a different division of work as an auxiliary comes The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, founded in 1841, which has now been at work for nearly sixty years; and also the London Medical Missionary Society, for about one-half of that period, founded in 1878. A large number of medical missionaries have

been sent out to different parts of the world by these two societies, especially the former.

The total number of medical missionaries in Africa is 75 ; of these 66 are men and 9 are women. Many of these have received their training from the above societies ; others have educated themselves.

X

THE MISSIONARY SITUATION

A FAIR and just, and yet not optimistic, survey of the Missionary Situation of To-day would lead us to the belief that it is better, more encouraging, and more full of real results than at any time since the days of the Apostles. But this statement should not be taken out of connection with what is to follow. The contrast to-day is all in our favour—for the wider field and the larger force.

The Apostles had one element of power, in divine aid and supernatural influence by occasional miracles, which we have not. The religious life of the early Christians also seems to have possessed some vitality or concentrated spiritual power that helped to spread Christianity, possibly because they believed intensely what they knew, communicated it to others whenever opportunity offered, and because their lives commended the truth they taught. They exerted a certain influence while working perhaps as slaves in quarries or in palaces, or serving in those formidable legions which kept the world in order and wholesome awe. Whatever it was, those Christians were successful as unofficial missionaries. Otherwise, and in comparison, the human

agency and organisation of to-day completely dwarfs that of those early days.

Four notable facts present themselves in the present missionary situation. Never before has there been, *first*, so large an amount of general missionary interest and activity; nor, *second*, so large a force in the field; nor, *third*, so large an amount of money available; nor, *fourth*, even with all deductions, so large an amount of unquestionable spiritual results. This is the inspiring, hope-producing side; but it is not the only side, nor the whole statement on the situation. These facts require to be laid alongside of others, or tested by separate standards, so as to measure their real value, and make plain whether we are doing all our duty, or more, which is highly improbable, or a great deal less, which is more likely. There are three standards or tests available—Proportion, Opinion, and Possible Efficiency.

As to the Missionary Agency, the figures stand thus: The force in the field representing the Protestant missions of to-day numbers roughly 5063 ordained men of the European race, or, including doctors, 484, and lay missionaries 1470, a total of over 7000; 4000 women, not including wives of missionaries; 4000 native pastors, preachers, and evangelists; about 66,000 to 68,000 native teachers, assistants, helpers in one form or another. It seems, and is, a large force, but it is scattered from Greenland to a long way south of the equator; and when we apply the test of Proportion to the existing population and necessities of

the heathen world, its greatness shrinks, and what we behold is not greatness, but extreme smallness.

The Financial Facts of the missionary situation of to-day are as follows: The total contributions from the different Protestant Churches of Europe and America amount to close on three and a quarter millions sterling. Of this Britain supplies about one and a half millions; America another million; and the remainder comes from Germany, France, Norway, and Sweden, or other parts of Europe, and from the colonies of Great Britain, specially Canada and Australia. The amount is undoubtedly large; it is the slow growth of a century, and tells its tale of increase of missionary interest.

Yet here again the test of proportion to the corresponding growth of national income and national wealth is necessary. Great Britain is a busy and rich country, perhaps still the richest in the world, though the United States are fast coming up behind, and may even have recently surpassed it.

The annual income of this country, of all classes, landed, professional, and mercantile, arising from industry and accumulated savings, and also including the wages of the working classes, is roughly but accurately estimated as reaching the gigantic sum of 1270 millions sterling.¹ This was Sir Robert Giffen's

¹ Among such large figures an African missionary may seem in danger of getting out of his depth. The precaution has been taken of submitting them to a distinguished member of the Faculty of Actuaries; they may therefore be received without suspicion. The present capital value, or accumulated wealth of Great Britain, is estimated at the enormous sum of over 13,000 millions sterling. See Mr. David Paulin's figures in *A Contrast—1801 and 1901*.

estimate some years ago. His figures are trustworthy, if any are. A later estimate makes it considerably higher.¹ By this Test of Proportion there is, after all, no extravagant expenditure on missions, not even if Great Britain paid the whole three and a quarter millions. The matter is thus stated in order—

1. To get at the total missionary expenditure in its absolute and proportional amount.

2. To supply an answer to those who grudge the expenditure on missions and refuse to aid them, or who state plainly that the money is not well expended; and generally to meet the objection made now as of old—‘To what purpose is this waste?’

That objection, then and now, estimates the worth of money too highly, whether it be the three hundred pence, the value of the box, or the three and a quarter millions sterling which the Christian world expends on the spiritual education of the entire heathen world. The value and power of money, though great, are heavily discounted by the single fact that it is negotiable only here, and for a very limited time. We constantly forget that we shall soon all be in a country where gold has no value, diamonds no use,² luxury no meaning, financial power no influence or control; and where the widow who gave two mites, which was all her living, may stand higher than many a millionaire, even higher than some of us

¹ The amounts on which this estimate is partly based may be found in last year's *Report of Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue*.

² Greig, *Enigmas of Life*.

missionaries, who may not have equalled her in self-denial. It is therefore strange and not creditable that in a Christian land some should still cry out—‘to what purpose is this waste’—on a cause the first cost of which was a very great price—the Cross of Calvary. For if Christianity means anything, it means this—that humanity has been redeemed in Christ and by Him. I am not offering you any theory of the Atonement, and for this reason I have none for myself that is complete, exhaustive, and satisfactory. That great historical and moral event is a mystery too great to go inside any of our little theories, or theological systems, or philosophies old or new. I accept the fact, and trust it wholly for the present and the future without any theory now.

But these three things, though not identical, are thus related—Christianity and all it means, that event on Calvary and all it means, and Christian missions and what they mean, as the method for the publication of certain truths. The third cannot be detached from the first two, unless we regard the first two as things of so little consequence that it does not matter whether they are made known or not.

A further point relates to Results, or the number of converts and baptized adherents, included in missionary statistics. In different mission societies there are, most unfortunately, different ways of compiling these statistics, arising from different conceptions of what makes a Christian. But the numbers now

gathered out of heathenism by different missions throughout the world, including in that number all souls formerly heathen but now in real or nominal adherence to Christianity, is put down at four and a half millions; and the communicants in full standing, one million three hundred thousand. Some estimates make the total less. If the Negroes of the United States were included, a considerable proportion of whom are Christianised, the total would be increased, more than doubled.¹

Not a large number as yet, as the result of Protestant evangelical missions throughout the world, but it is what God has been pleased to give. It is a beginning, and the present century will undoubtedly see it greatly altered. As concerns spiritual results, money contributions, and the missionary force in the field, the above may be taken as a fair and approximate estimate.

Other elements require to be taken into account in this survey, and the growth of missionary education is one of these. The possession of the power to read can only be given through elementary schools. These are a great evangelistic help, and are the means by which the first efforts may reproduce themselves.

Certain men and women have given themselves to this section of this work. Scattered through the wide missionary world, there are to-day close on

¹ See Warneck, *History of Missions*, p. 339.

21,000 schools.¹ They are of all kinds, from training schools and colleges, well equipped and efficiently conducted, running in the race with Government colleges, down to elementary or village day schools of the very humblest kind carried on in the rudest of dwellings, or in erections that are dignified by such names. These are attended by one million and one hundred thousand native pupils of all grades. This means, of course, the number of those attending at any particular recent date, not the number of those who have passed through such schools. To meet the old objection that too much time and labour are given to education of a higher kind, say to that suited to the higher castes in India, let us follow these figures one moment. Out of these 21,000 schools, almost 19,000 are schools conducted in the vernacular of the people. This leaves only a small proportion of the higher class schools and colleges which are strong enough educational'y to compete with Government colleges. The variety of instruction given in these schools, taking them as a whole, is very great.

There has recently appeared a work of great and real value—Dr. Dennis' *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*. The volume is largely composed of figures and tabulated statements, but they are of such a nature as to arouse reflection on the extent and variety of missionary work, the educational as well as other sections. That is done in many languages and many lands by men and women, and

¹ See Dennis, *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, p. 267.

carried on with humane helpfulness and patient self-denial. It is the first rough commencement of that general *culture* and intellectual progress which some value so highly and praise so much, as well as of Christianity, among the less favoured races of mankind.

Another aspect of the missionary situation of to-day is the altered position of Woman's Work in connection with Christian missions. Such work always existed, but, like woman's influence generally, it has been mostly silent, unobtrusive in its action, and unorganised. To-day it is extensive, patient, and steadily growing in organisation and power. Its associations collect money, secure and send out agents, support certain missions or special sections of such missions, such as girls' schools or industrial work suited to girls. They encourage and foster a number of minor missionary organisations among children and women which the larger committees overlook or cannot overtake; diffuse missionary information in the simpler forms suited to young people, and provide literature adapted to certain classes.

The work itself in which women abroad are engaged covers nearly the entire area of missionary operations, with the single exception of pulpit preaching and perhaps of the heavier translations, though such work has also been done by them. It is to education, however, or to teaching in all its varied forms, that the majority of missionary women give themselves. They are engaged in day schools, and in the more important

boarding schools; some in medical work; others in industrial training; or in nursing—a sphere almost exclusively their own; and they fill their posts with the same relative efficiency as men, certainly with as much, often with more, self-denial, fidelity, and conscientiousness. In some countries where zenana work is required, they have an area of heathen life entirely their own—since it is closed to all other influences. This special field requires woman's patience, faith in the future, and willingness to deal with individuals. Yet the scale on the whole is not small. One society, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, now in the twenty-second year of its existence, reaches 6000 zenana ladies,—that is, ladies entirely secluded from contact with the outer world. They are regularly taught in their own homes with the full consent of the head of the household; and the teaching of Scripture is a recognised and accepted part of that instruction.¹ This is only a portion of this Zenana Society's work. It includes boarding and day schools, medical and industrial work.

The formal beginning of this movement is traceable to the visit of a returned American missionary, the Rev. David Abeel. He was passing through London on his way home to America in 1834, and addressed a meeting of ladies, setting before them the pitiable condition of women in India and China. His words took effect,—as some of the many words we utter sometimes do,—and produced marked results,

¹ *Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1903, p. 256.*

for shortly afterwards there was founded the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East. It was undenominational at first, but latterly has rather represented the Church of England. It has been followed by the formation of a very large number of societies in Great Britain. The idea, however, did not take root in America, at least in the fully organised form it has now assumed, till nearly thirty years thereafter; but since then women's missionary associations have rapidly increased. So extensive is this organisation now in Europe and America that a mere enumeration of these societies, with brief notices of each, and a statement of the work they attempt, occupies nearly forty-four pages of double columns of closely printed matter in Volume II. of the *Encyclopædia of Missions*. The number of these associations, either directly engaged or indirectly co-operating in foreign missions, is a hundred and twenty, and the amounts raised annually over £500,000.¹

There is much in woman's life generally that can be influenced for good only by those of her own sex. As to the future of this work, the more rapidly women doctors can be prepared and sent abroad, especially to such lands as India and China, the better for one-half of humanity and the general good of the world. Under this class are included missionary nurses, without whose aid the work of both men and women doctors is often only half-completed.

¹ Dr. Dennis' Statistics in *Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, vol. ii. p. 427. New York, 1900

From the missionary force abroad, let us pass to the missionary force at home, and the state of feeling and opinion there. Missions live by sympathy, quite as much as by money and men and organisation abroad.

A great change has taken place in opinion during the last half or three-quarters of a century, and wholly for the better. The undisguised contempt or open hostility, often taking official shape, which was common at the commencement of last century, has passed away. Unfavourable opinion however, though less, has rather altered in form than entirely disappeared. It has assumed a critical rather than an openly hostile attitude,—and in this it has but followed the intellectual fashion of the day,—a fashion or habit to which, when applied to missions, not a single objection can be reasonably offered, provided it is fair criticism dealing with facts, and not based on hearsay evidence or imaginary facts.

What is doubted now is the wisdom of the methods employed, and the reality of native Christianity. Three entirely different shades or forms of opinion at the present time exist on the subject of Christian missions—

1. Scepticism—pure and simple.
2. Neutrality—of varying degrees.
3. Loyalty—of all degrees.

Scepticism exists, let us say, outside the Church; it might be uncharitable to say that, even in a mild form, it exists to any extent inside. But that it

prevails through a wide area of public opinion there is, unfortunately, too little room to doubt. No other explanation can be given of much that exists in the situation of to-day, and for illustration—the immense disproportion between the national income and the total contributions to missions. That disproportion means that many people in this and other Christian countries do not believe in missions at all, and do not aid them either by their moral or material support. And that, again, means that the idea of the Christian duty of missions has not yet taken any great hold of us as a people—Christian people though we consider ourselves to be. Scepticism pure and simple in religion is not common; regarding missions it is by no means uncommon. The conclusion may be depressing; the only question now is as to the fact.

Neutrality within the Church itself. It may also seem uncharitable to say that there are within Christ's Church many, or any, who care nothing for the great future destiny of Christ's religion. This class is not opposed to missions, but is not heartily interested in them. They are doubtful on some of the points already mentioned,—Reports, Methods, Efficiency, Results,—perhaps a little doubtful of the whole business. Missionary appeals are regarded as if made on behalf of some charity, which may be supported or not, without there being any obligation. This view indicates a misconception of what Christianity is, and what it is intended to do, and to be, in this world; as well as of the means by which its purpose

is to be carried out. Christianity thus becomes limited to a personal interest or possession out of which certain benefits are to be got, but without carrying any obligation to extend such benefits to the heathen world. Hence the support of missions falls on a few who are always giving, till those who have the financial responsibility, and missionaries alike, are ashamed to ask for further help; and there follows that perpetual strain and those frequently recurring deficits which involve special or spasmodic efforts to keep income and expenditure equal.

Loyalty. Here we are in a different region. Without this spirit, missions could not exist. Like all true loyalty, it takes care of itself, and manifests its reality in a great variety of ways, from small gifts to large ones; from assisting in great efforts to aiding the humblest, even the most unpretending of missionary meetings, which, rightly viewed, rise to a high level of importance from the greatness of the cause to which they belong.

These missionary loyalists are not much depressed, nor does their activity slacken because results are less than they expected. They see that several causes are at work tending to depress the conviction, and lessen the belief of some in the speedy conquest of the world by the religion of Christ. But they take the true view, which comes from a wider horizon and better comprehension of what we are about, and of the real difficulties and magnitude of the work, namely, that "We have to-day, from the facilities of travel, a more

intimate and exact acquaintance with the different peoples of the world; and hence our comprehension of the world's life is at once more prosaic and more sympathetic than it was. This has changed the point of view from which the religions of distant and non-Christian nations was regarded. We realise better the nature of these religions, their adjustment to the life of the people among whom they are found, and thus understand better the immense difficulties of superseding them by any system brought in from without, even by Christianity."

This fact was always there. The world has not altered, but our views of it have. The wonder is, that so great a mistake was ever made as that of regarding the conversion of the world from heathenism to Christianity as an easy matter. And so these loyalists hold on, neither depressed nor elated, but comprehending the situation and the conditions of success. These are, greater effort, more patience, larger self-denial, and faith in God which no disaster or delay can touch or lessen—any more than Job's disasters destroyed his faith and his future. These men will, of course, win in the end.

This Scepticism and Neutrality may be due to different causes, some deep and others superficial; to the want of agreement with Christianity itself, or to want of confidence in the man who represents it—the missionary; or to distrust of the methods that are being followed both at home and abroad, or perhaps simply and mainly to unawakened indifference to the

whole question—due to want of religious teaching on the subject in the church or in the family. Canon Henson, in discussing this question from the view of the average citizen, says—

“Foreign missions have for intelligible reasons justified themselves generally to the Christian conscience in this century ; but can as much be said when the specifically Christian standpoint is abandoned, and the subject is discussed from the standpoint of the citizen, to whom religions and faiths appear . . . precisely as they affect for good or ill the development of national character.”

He admits that this question is not easily answered, and that on few subjects is opinion so much divided ; and adds that the man who objects to Christianity in itself is not likely to see any public advantage in its diffusion, for his objection lies not against missions, but against Christianity. He further says that this is not generally representative of opinion in England, but that even within the friendly sphere opinion is by no means united, nor is it perhaps as favourable as it once was.

Curiously enough, and as touching the question of efficiency already mentioned, it is the missionary himself who is regarded as the cause of a good deal of unfavourable opinion. This is expressed very frankly. It may do us missionaries good to see ourselves as others see us, and to know what others think, though they politely refrain from its expression when we meet them.¹

¹ *Cross Bench Views of Church Questions*, p. 241. Arnold, 1902. Three Papers on Missions.

“The observant Englishman is not attracted by the professional aspect of modern missions. In his inmost heart he cherishes an ideal of the Christian evangelist, formed no doubt more or less consciously on the New Testament, which seems to find little justification in the world of actual fact. Foreign missions seem to his view merely a branch of the clerical profession into which men enter from the normal professional motives, and in which they seek the normal professional success. The solemn language which it is the fashion to apply to missionaries, as if they were the high-souled servants of a sublime vocation, strikes him as almost grotesque. He contrasts the Missionary with the Civil servant, or the soldier, or even the merchant, and he cannot discover any justification for the lofty claim to self-sacrifice which is as constantly made in the one case as it is unheard of in the other. Nay, he concludes that the balance of self-denial is against the missionary. Thus in the crucial matter of matrimony, which in the secular sphere is the synonym for settled position, and the domestic comfort which is the correlative of settled position, the missionary cuts a very poor figure beside his lay contemporaries. The young public servant in India does not marry directly he lands in the country, and yet lives a holy life; he waits till he has learnt his duty, and mastered the language by living among the people. The unprejudiced observer is not favourably impressed by missionary reports. He distrusts the statistics, and he dislikes the domestic intelligence.

“Moreover, the missionary is no longer the sole or even chief medium through which information about the heathen reaches the British public. . . . The audience he can count on is not so receptive as once was the case. Nay, so far has the critical process now proceeded that uncorroborated missionary evidence is scarcely considered evidence at all. It would be an error to interpret this scepticism of missionary statements as an indication of anti-religious prejudice. It has its explanations in the discovered errors of the past, and the suspected conditions of the present. Compared with the Civil servant, with the independent traveller, with the army officer, even with the higher type of merchant, the average missionary does not command confidence. He is ignorant almost always, and by necessary consequence he is prejudiced. He is generally in a thoroughly false position, the

reporter and judge of his own achievements. He works under thoroughly bad conditions, for his reports are the advertisements of a money-raising society, and they are addresses to constituents, the rank and file of the denominations, who are as greedy of sensation as they are credulous of prodigies. The country swarms with returned missionaries. This is natural enough on the analogy of the professions, but the average man chafes against the analogy. The returned missionaries, moreover, do not help matters. There are exceptions; but, speaking generally, they do not commend the missionary cause. No figure is more dreaded in the pulpit than that of the 'deputation.' Men reflect in amazement, as they endure the annual ordeal of the missionary sermons, on the mingled hardihood and fatuity which could assault the venerable religions of the East with such instruments. It is notorious that the dissatisfaction has now proceeded to such lengths that deliberate efforts are being made to replace the 'deputations' by home clergy who have got up the subject."

Allowing for the purely critical attitude which appears in this lengthy quotation, and for the fact that Canon Henson has merely transcribed the more superficial objections which find common expression, there is much in it that may be very useful to us as missionaries. If it serves to elevate our efforts abroad, to make us more careful in preparation of home addresses, and to be more thoroughly impressed with the true importance of our vocation and opportunities, it may do us much good. Even though such objections are those of the common and superficial kind, they appear to be widely held and frankly expressed when we are out of earshot; and they serve to show us how far in popular opinion we have fallen from our former high estate.

On behalf of the missionary, however, and his

presentation of his work to home audiences, it may be said that it is more difficult to give a missionary address that shall be at once accurate, honest, and comprehensive, and yet reach the higher level of spiritual impression, than is commonly supposed. There are three levels, like those of the contour of the African continent itself. The lowest, or sea-level of matter of fact information, often not very interesting, either in matter or form. There is the middle terrace, of better presentation of the same facts and intellectually more able. And there is the higher plateau, in which there is a different air—where some of the same facts are given and well presented, and where a deep moral or spiritual impression is produced.

If the missionary goes into detail, he is regarded as tedious and trivial. If he generalises, he is regarded as preaching rather than giving missionary information, and not every man has the dramatic power of presenting events so as to enchain his audience, and at the same time produce deep impression. Robert Moffatt had this power more than any missionary of the past generation. Livingstone himself did not possess it, and was no orator. Sometimes, as he himself admitted to the writer one day on the Zambesi, he made 'a bad business of it.'

The more real causes of the want of interest, rising gradually through the region of neutrality to scepticism in missionary work, are traced further by Canon Henson through the rest of that paper. Some of these are set down as follow :—

“The monstrous anarchy of Christendom, and the fact that no attempt has been made to mitigate this in the face of heathendom;” the competition of the Churches and sects; the overlapping in certain fields and districts; and he thinks that “those who strive for spiritual empire should follow the precedent of secular diplomacy, and agree to the delimitation of their respective ‘spheres of influence’ in the continents they equally covet.”

At the present day one clear advance has been made. The difficulties of the work are better understood. Certain early expectations, scarcely justified by history, or by the rate at which human society changes, have been or are being set aside. The vast magnitude of the work is beginning to be comprehended. Special and sudden advances in the mission field must be left to God’s own time and act. Such may happen, but they will not occur merely to relieve us of labour, or set us free from the fulfilment of a long neglected duty. If, then, the progress has been less than was expected, our duty is to make inquiry as to where the defects lie, or what alteration is necessary. All the defects do not lie with the men who are abroad. Some part of the changes which the missionary situation of to-day requires have to be made at home, or begun there. There are many questions waiting decision in the missionary future which will require long deliberation, much wise counsel, some concession all round, and states-

manlike width of vision. Some only of these are as follow :—

1. The Training of the Missionary.
2. The Organisation of the Native Force.
3. The Future of the Native Church.
4. Home Administration or Organisation.
5. Uniformity of Statistics.

These are all practical questions, except perhaps the fifth. They go deep into the heart of that great enterprise—the conversion of the world to Christ. Short and simple and innocent as they look, there is room within them for very great diversity of opinion, and for protracted discussion among the representatives of missionary societies, large and small. When all societies, or the majority of them, have come to some common agreement on these and some other questions, another great advance will have been made. The men abroad will understand each other better, and they may then drop Churches out of sight for a little in order to see Christ Himself, and to reflect calmly on what will best advance His cause; and thereafter to confer mutually, and agree sincerely to carry through that altered plan.

It will be possible then to present the Missionary Situation at any given time more accurately and more fully. We shall then also have a considerable contribution to a Science of Missions—a science which does not yet exist.

XI

IS MONEY WELL EXPENDED ON FOREIGN MISSIONS?

THIS question is the lowest starting-point from which to consider the value of Foreign Missions to the Church, and the duty of Christian men in relation to them. It is the point, however, from which a certain section of the home public, who have not much sympathy with missions or interest in their success, frequently view the subject, and lately it has sometimes been given prominence to by men who have hitherto warmly supported missions. Not in forty years of missionary life has the writer been so often confronted by this question, nor from such unexpected quarters. Dissatisfaction with results, and the claims of home churches for home missions and home charities, may partly account for its frequent recurrence.

As the question is a mixed one, partly arithmetical and partly moral, into which other elements enter besides money, no answer is possible without agreement on the method of calculation to be employed.

Some common truths must be assumed, just as agreement about certain axioms is necessary in mathematics, and these may be taken as follow :—

1. The establishment of Christianity in any country is worth the expenditure of a great deal of money.

2. Religions or Faiths that are living are missionary; religions or faiths that are non-missionary tend to decay and disappearance, or at best manifest an arrested development.

3. Initial expenditure in any great work—manufacturing or missionary—divided by the first products taken over a limited time, or when the process is incomplete, invariably gives a wrong estimate of the cost of these products and of their value.

4. The Founder of Christianity said nothing about money except in a negative way. What He did say was, "Take neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses," but go and do the work.

If the truth of these four statements be admitted,—and it is difficult to see how it can be denied,—they supply the answer to the question—Is Money well expended on Foreign Missions? Yet some examination may be necessary and useful, though it is an odd inquiry if it is seriously proposed to apply to the spread of Christianity the same standard of value as to the construction of a railway or the working of a mine. Many who put the above question are not impressed by the number of converts. Spiritual results seem to them intangible. Let us therefore take a lower line of examination by inquiring into the social, humanitarian, and economic results,—even though all these taken together are of less value than the spiritual. Every true missionary, however, uses

the spiritual standard as the final and correct measurement of his work, and regards other results, however useful, as subsidiary, and if not stale, flat, and unprofitable, at least as not satisfying to heart and conscience.

But where Christianity has been successful—which means, where Christian missions have been successful, even to the measure of their present results,—

(a) Cannibalism has disappeared, as in the South Seas, in districts of the Congo, in New Zealand, and elsewhere. The social life of humanity as it appears outside of Christian lands is not always very attractive, nor at its highest possible level. On the contrary, it reveals at times extraordinary depths of degradation, of which cannibalism is one amongst many. Yet, wherever Christian missions go, a reconstructive process begins.

Some African tribes, and some of our countrymen, have a habit of answering one question by putting another. Those who put the first question—Is money well expended on Foreign Missions?—are invited to answer the second—*What is the precise monetary value of the abolition of cannibalism?* It is beyond dispute that in certain regions of the earth this horrible and foul degradation of human nature has been shamed out of existence solely by missionary influence, there not having been among the people where this has taken place, as in the South Seas and elsewhere, any legislative influence directed by a foreign Power to bring about that change.

No man in a community which is now Christian,

though formerly pagan, lives in fear of being eaten. That is a distinct social advantage, the preliminary to such a fate being always the fear of a sudden and violent death.

(*b*) Where Christianity has been successful,—which still means where Christian missions have been successful,—it has now banished slavery as well as cannibalism. The history of the slave trade in our own country is all the proof that is necessary. By the education of the national conscience, the moral conviction as to the criminal nature of that trade, grew and hardened into legislative form, and carried that conviction into repressive action on sea and land against those who rejected all moral considerations, and who for private gain were determined to continue that atrocious traffic. For a long period of years this country employed a part of its naval force cruising on stations where life became one long monotony, and in dangerous work in open boats searching African river mouths and creeks for slave cargoes that were gathered and hidden in such places till a safe opportunity occurred for getting them away.

We spent, it is believed (see p. 78), £100,000,000 in the whole effort. We are as a people morally the better, materially probably not now much the worse, and we occupy a higher position in the eyes of the world to-day for the expenditure. But the first germ of the conviction which developed into such wide action centuries afterwards, was brought to this country by a Christian missionary who landed in Kent in the year

A.D. 596. His name was Augustine, and he was sent to convert the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. Like most Africans to-day, they were then heathens,—all of them, except a few Christian foreigners,—and very rough heathens they were, being described quite accurately as—“Gluttons, drunkards, pirates, ferociously cruel, and heartlessly pagan.” It is strange that with the history of the nations to read—apart from the Bible and its sanction of the work, and therefore of the necessary expenditure—anyone should doubt whether money is well expended on Foreign Missions.

Had modern slavery been allowed to continue,—as a small class in our own and other countries desired,—it would have changed the line of human progress, gravely affected the condition of a large portion of mankind, and certainly altered the fate of a large proportion of the African race.

(c) The same process of attempted valuation by the worth of money might be applied to other practices, discreditable to human nature, into which heathen humanity has fallen, and against which Christianity by its representatives in heathen lands carries on a constant war, direct or indirect. Some of these are polygamy; the murder of twin children; trial by ordeal, always cruel and often murderous, whether by poisonous infusions or severe tortures; and witchcraft, which dominates a large portion of the heathen world, cultured or uncultured.

Polygamy cannot be abolished by legal prohibition. No Legislature having to do with native races would

venture to interfere so largely with the whole fabric of their social life, especially if such people were numerous. The change must come through the growth of moral ideas communicated by the missionary, and by the application of these in their practical consequences when he refuses admission to the Church to the man with many wives. Two separate missionary societies, acting on the West Coast of Africa, refer to the destruction of helpless infants in their last year's report.¹ In trial by ordeal and charges of witchcraft, the missionary often hears earlier than the magistrate—if there should happen to be one—of what is intended, and takes the first steps to prevent the murder or torture of unfortunate victims.

It is difficult to state the precise money value of such efforts and their results, in answer to the question at the head of this chapter. The important point is not the actual amount of life saved in such instances as become known, nor the exact amount of money spent, but it is the planting of those ideas whose growth will in time put an end to such wholly unnatural customs.

¹ The first is the Church Missionary Society. In the *Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1903*, p. 250, it is stated that, singularly enough, the first baptism in a new district in the region of Yoruba was of a surviving twin whose life had been preserved by missionary exertions.

The second occurs in the *Report of the United Free Church Mission for 1902*. At Old Calabar, in the two districts of Ikorofiong and Ikotana, cases had occurred of successful intervention. At the former place one surviving child was saved; at the latter place the presbytery sent a deputation to the chief to remonstrate with him on his action against the missionary for saving twins, and to support the people of the village who had been persuaded to allow some twelve women who had borne twins and been sent away, to return to their homes,

Where British administration is fully set up, such cases, of course, are dealt with as murder. But in other countries than Africa, in China, for instance, where there is administration enough, what a deplorable business infanticide is, with its carts in large cities collecting helpless victims every morning,—if Chinese missionaries and others accurately report what goes on.

(*d*) Following the same method of valuation, it may be asked—What is the precise monetary value of the relief of two and a half million individual patients, of whom 93,000 were hospital in-patients, and the remainder outdoor dispensary patients,—that being the average number of cases treated in the 355 hospitals and 753 dispensaries which exist throughout the world in connection with missionary work. If separate dispensary *treatments* be included, the number will be raised to nearly double the above amount. Yet this is the work annually done by one, and that not a numerically large branch of the missionary service.

Those who know what native medical and surgical practice is in countries even so different as Africa and China, will know also the amount of relief to human pain and suffering that is secured by the rational modern treatment in medicine and surgery employed by the medical missionary, in contrast with either African or Chinese methods.

These hospitals and dispensaries are found from Arabia southwards to Oceania and northwards to Mexico, which have one hospital each; still further

north to Alaska, which has three; and eastwards to India and China, which have each over one hundred. To create these, the money given for foreign missions has been and is in part applied. Some of these hospitals are splendidly equipped, and ably carried on with conspicuous medical skill and courage. A dispensary, however, does not always mean a separate building; it is often merely a single room or portion of the missionary's dwelling, in which a good deal of medical work and minor surgery is done through the year.¹

(e) Still following in this line, what value is to be placed on the 21,000 schools or nearly of all kinds,—from those of the humblest order, of which there are over 18,000 teaching the vernacular of the country, and described as elementary or village schools, up through different grades of training and higher schools, to colleges in India and elsewhere,—which missionary effort has established all over the world, by means of money generously given to Foreign Missions?

Or what value is to be placed on the existing translations of the Bible, of which in different languages or dialects as many as 427 exist, and of which at least one-half may be set down to the labour of modern missionaries?

¹ Further statistics of this section of work are given in Dr. Dennis' *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions at the close of the Nineteenth Century*. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York and London.

A summary of these figures will also be found in the *Ecumenical Missionary Report*, New York, 1900. Religious Tract Society, London, and American Tract Society, New York.

Or on the work of 148 missionary printing presses, of which Arabia, Syria, and Malaysia have one each, China 23, and India 41, and which together produce annually as separate publications, ranging from tracts to school-books and Bibles, over ten million copies?

Or what is to be said as to the value of orphanages, foundling asylums, houses for infants, of which 213, with over 13,000 inmates, have been created by missionary work?

Or of hospitals for lepers, and homes for untainted children connected with such families, of which there are 90, with over 5000 inmates?

Or of schools and homes for the blind, deaf, and dumb, numbering 30, with 500 inmates, and of which homes there are 1 in Africa and 10 in China?

None of these agencies of a humanising, civilising, and Christianising kind belong to heathenism, except a limited and inadequate number of schools and printing presses in the more civilised countries. The others—mostly new things, all good things of their kind, much needed in a world where ignorance and suffering abound—spring up and go where Christianity goes, and it goes where Christian missions go. It has never been known to go anywhere otherwise. Its invariable effect is to introduce a new spirit into the life of the people, which changes it, however slowly, from an imperfect or stagnant civilisation, or from pure barbarism, to the form of a true and humane civilisation. It is as needful for the civilisation of China, with its cruelties and indifference to human life,

as it is for the barbarism of Africa, with its cruelties, some of which are horrible indeed.

The conclusion then seems justified, so far that—To spread Christianity is an effort worth the expenditure of a good deal of money; which means that the money expended on Foreign Missions is well expended.

There is a still lower level of the economic side of this question, where it touches commerce and manufactures. This would be a tale tedious to tell in detail, and unsuitable for a missionary lecture. I shall take but one instance. In a district I have travelled over oftener than I can remember, the sole cultivation of extensive lands was done by women—many of them with infants on their backs—by means of heavy-headed, long-handled hoes. The extensive acreage required by the tribe was broken up by these poor cultivators, toiling in the African sun. Now that work is done by thousands of ploughs, bought by natives, and the pity is that they are entirely of American manufacture; not one in a thousand is of British make: the iron conservatism of British manufacturers—or their indifference—has produced this among other results.

The objector, however, may not be satisfied, and he restates his question as meaning that results are 'not proportional' to the amount of money expended, and therefore 'not well expended.'

This can only be answered by reference to the

second and third statements now to be considered. That Religions or Faiths which are living, are missionary, need occupy no time. It is merely an expression or view recognised as sound in innumerable matters outside of missions. It means that growth is a condition of life which enterprises of all kinds as well as living organisms obey. The more vitality that exists, the more activity there will be; and activity is necessary to the preservation of vitality. This holds true whether applied to mental faculties or muscular power; atrophy being the penalty of non-activity or disuse.

The third principle of reckoning is generally applied to all kinds of enterprise involving much organisation, and yet it is often applied in an unfair manner to the missionary enterprise. No one thinks of deciding whether the money has been well expended or not on the erection, say, of a weaving factory, by taking the cost of the first thousand yards of calico produced. Yet this is so far the method applied to the present expenditure and present numerical results of missionary work. This view is further examined in a following chapter under the heading of the Slow Progress of Missions. This method gives entirely wrong conclusions, and would lead men to abandon missions altogether if it were pushed to extremes.

In a previous chapter a mission to Central Africa has been described which may serve as an instance. At the end of eighteen years it was found that the expenditure had been £40,000. By the simple and not very satisfactory process of dividing that sum by

the number of converts, it will be found that each convert had cost £2000. If anyone who grudges mission expenditure should quote this as an instance and proof that money is not well expended, he ought to add what follows, and not separate one part of the calculation from the other. In five years the cost per head of each convert had fallen to £630; since then it has no doubt fallen to one-half, or perhaps to very much less. And this process of reduction will go on till an entirely reverse method of reckoning is applied, and it will be found that those individuals, on whom so much money was expended at first, have passed into a totally new class, namely, the class who contribute to the support and extension of missionary work among themselves. This contribution stands at present,—taking the native membership over the world,—at an average of 5s. 7d. per head; or in some particularly successful fields at 13s. 6d. per head.

The true meaning of Matthew tenth, and the only present-day application of its words, is, that the moral and spiritual equipment of the missionary is of far more importance than any amount of money. The chapter stands in relation to missionary effort as the fifth chapter does to ordinary life. It presents the ideal of the missionary spirit and method; yet if pressed in its literality, Foreign Missions would become impossible. In Africa, at least, no missionary expedition would get beyond three or four days from the coast, unless it was to beg its way where there were villages;

and in districts where there were none, it is not difficult to say what would happen. Money is essential, but it is a secondary thing after all. There are some things in missionary work that no money will buy, any more than love itself can be so bought.

Two African missions, both comparatively recent, are known to the writer, in one of which for a time, to his oft-recurring but unavailing regret and self-recrimination, he was personally concerned, and yet both in their early stages were comparative failures. There was no lack of money, men, or influence, nor want of sound worldly judgment, and due precautions were taken to ensure safety to life and secure success. Yet, from some cause, existing either at home or abroad, these missions did not at first succeed. It would be difficult, and perhaps censorious, to say what that cause was. There may have been overgrown confidence in arrangements, some self-glorification because of these, or too much of man and too little of God, or want of spiritual aim on the part of those engaged in the whole work. And that happened, which always does, whenever confidence in human power, or money power, or any other, takes the place of trust in God in missionary work—the expected success does not come. Disaster of a striking kind is not needed. Some error in judgment, or confusion in counsel, or impatience on the part of the workers, or some non-spiritual condition, brings about the failure, which may become apparent suddenly or develop slowly. There is repeated what happened long ago in a certain

temple,—Dagon was found in the morning on his face before the ark of God.

Those who take Christ's instructions in the hard literal sense, or who complain of expenditure on modern missions, should remember that never was a set of instructions given to the apostles of a new cause like those we find in the tenth chapter of Matthew. They were meant, as has been rightly conjectured, to drive off all the faint-hearted, and all the self-seeking, and all who had not from a real motive engaged in the work; and as such, these directions might very well be used at the present time and through all time. But recurrence to the methods of the apostolic times is hardly possible, for the reason that the world of to-day is not the world of those early times.

Edward Irving's theory of missionary method, and his glorification of the missionary and his work, is entirely based on the literal interpretation of that chapter. Something like that method has been tried, as some missions of to-day are partly on that line. They have not, however, achieved a success denied to other missions which proceed on what is *an apparently* less scriptural plan. I have only heard of one man who ventured to carry out that high ideal in Africa. He disappeared into the interior, and was never more heard of. So also, simple itinerating in the apostolic fashion among a people entirely different in race, religion, and civilisation may seem promising; but that much more is needed, all modern missionary experience certainly shows. Years of patient work

are, as a rule, required before a single convert is made; and a great many more before a native Church is organised, and can be left to take care of itself.

Other causes may have lately injuriously affected opinion on this question, one being the supposed high rate of missionary salaries, and excess in general mission expenditure. On the former of these, about a dozen years ago there arose a controversy which shook one of the strongest missionary societies of Great Britain.¹ It originated in statements made by some travellers, but chiefly by a missionary designated to India, who went out to his field, but returned in little more than a year, and has since been occupied in a totally different, and it may be hoped a more remunerative, employment than 'the missionary business.'

But since the pence of the poor as well as the large donations of Christian men who are rich go to maintain missions, any charge of this kind must be met; and this may be said without fear,—no charge can be more baseless, or, if we like to say so, more base. This is a matter of figures, not of feeling; not of vague public impression or conjecture, but of the average standard salary of ordained and unordained men over the entire missionary world. Among 5000 men, representing the ordained missionary force, and 1800 more, representing the medical and lay force of all the Christian Churches of Europe and America, and

¹ *The Missionary Controversy: Discussion, Evidence, and Report*, 1900. Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, London.

employed in all climates, from Labrador southwards, the highest average salary may be taken, as varying in different societies, between £280 and £300 for ordained married men, with a house.

In India, some Scottish and other societies give larger salaries in cities, such as Calcutta and Bombay. The highest amounts to £384 per annum, with in some cases an allowance for children at home of £15 or £20 for each child. In the country districts the rate is £300—for married men, when ordained—less for unmarried men.

In Africa, the maximum is £300. It varies downwards to £280—and even to £200, according to locality—with or without some allowances.

These amounts are the maximum, and they do not increase no matter what may be the length of service. It can hardly be said that such salaries are excessive, when a man may have spent forty or forty-five years in missionary work.

For unmarried men the salary varies from £200 to £250; and for missionary teachers from £150 to £250, as unmarried or married. There are societies, British and non-British, which give less. In some missions no fixed salary is promised; its amount is to depend on the state of the home funds.

In many of these countries the cost of living is considerably higher than at home. If some missionaries have an interest in what is known as the Widows' Fund, that is secured by a payment on their part as long as they draw salaries.

Furloughs are given at longer intervals than is generally the rule for business men, so nothing can be found to support this charge on that ground. Retiring allowances are only given when old age or complete failure of health render further work impossible. These are not large, and vary from £150 to £200. The latest instance known to the writer is that of a missionary who returned home recently a complete wreck, after thirty years' work, and who retires with wife and family on the former amount.

It may be possible to find some rare instances where considerable expenditure may have been incurred—as in the first establishment of some missions. These, however, are rare,—and they are always sharply criticised,—and at the same time losses in mercantile and scientific projects are incurred without much ado.

Contributors to missions, and also non-contributors, may rest perfectly assured that a law of very rigid and even parsimonious economy regulates the expenditure of mission funds. Many missionaries think that this rigid economy, in connection with work where capital must be expended to secure results, is carried to an excessive and shortsighted extent. Men who conduct large secular enterprises would act differently, but committees cannot spend money which they have not got.

We cannot measure an arc of the meridian on a base line that will answer very well for calculating the height of a tower or church steeple. The object of Foreign Missions is the spread of Christianity, or the

spiritual education of mankind in a religion that stands by itself among the religions of the world, unapproached for the purity of its teaching, and the lofty ideal it offers for the life of the individual or the life of the nation that accepts it. It provides for man's happiness in a wider, truer, and better way than any other faith attempts or can pretend to do.

We need not always walk with our eyes fixed immovably on this earth. There are stars above us. There are other things in man's existence than money, and the getting at precise dates, half-yearly or otherwise, value for its investment, or a clear statement that its expenditure has immediately justified itself.

All the expectations, reasonable or unreasonable, historically justifiable or not, by the rate at which Christianity has hitherto advanced in the world, or human society has changed, have not been as yet quite fulfilled. That may be frankly admitted. But no more startling question can be proposed by the growing Materialism of the Twentieth Century than—
Is Money well expended on Foreign Missions?

XII

THE SLOW PROGRESS OF MISSIONS

"So far, Christian Missions have not had the Effect hoped for." This moderately expressed view is purposely selected out of a large number of opinions on this question. It is that of a man of wide information, not unfriendly to missions, but not enthusiastic about them, kindly in his views to the African native, and who always writes under a sense of the responsibility that attaches to the many official posts he occupies — the editorship of the *Statesman's Year Book* for nearly a quarter of a century being one of them.¹ It may be taken as representing the opinion somewhat widely held at present by intelligent and cultivated men, whether busy men of business or men of books.

Strongly hostile opinions are abundant, such as — "Not in the spread of Christianity can missions claim any gratitude"; or "Christianity makes no headway in the interior of Africa; on the coast it is losing rather than gaining ground; maintains itself with difficulty among heathen communities in West Africa, and beats in vain against the strong tide of Moham-

¹ Dr. J. Scott Keltie, *Partition of Africa*, p. 434.

medanism." Similar opinions—on the asserted failure, absolute or relative, of missions in India and China might be quoted.

Even those wholly in sympathy with missionary work, as also missionaries themselves, express their views on the progress made with a caution that should inspire confidence in their statements. The chief historian of missions to-day¹ says that their success has neither been so great as the "*missionary rhetoric which overestimates results would make them,*" nor so slight as "*the missionary hypercriticism which undervalues them.*"

Another missionary writer sums up the position thus: "*The success of missionary work in our day is not such as either to elate or to discourage the friends of missions.*"² Strong and unqualified opinions about the failure of missions may therefore be set aside as historically untrue, and as not borne out by statistics, which are now being carefully collected year by year. An optimistic yet justifiable view, as stated in an earlier lecture, would lead to the belief that the situation to-day is better than it has been since the days of the apostles. Yet the belief expressed in the many unfavourable or hostile statements requires to be faced.

A search for the causes or explanation of this slow progress is an effort worth making. But before beginning such search several points, historical and other,

¹ Dr. Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 349.

² Dr. Thomas Smith, article on 'Missions,' *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, vol. vii. p. 232.

require to be noticed, and due value given to them in the conclusion reached.

One is, that the period over which missionary operations have been carried on is greatly, though unconsciously, exaggerated. It is always assumed that Christian missions have been at work for a hundred years; and the error slips in, that the same amount of organisation has been employed as is employed to-day; and the inaccurate conclusion is too hastily reached that the progress is slow, the results inadequate, and not in proportion to the agency employed.

This is not even correct history. A large number of missions and missionary associations, which are to-day prominent in the public eye, had no existence fifty years ago. Of the sixty missions, large and small, representing British and American Societies, scattered over the African continent, thirty-four date only from 1870. The Livingstonia and Uganda Missions, and half a dozen others in the great valley of the Congo, all belong to this class, and were begun not earlier than 1875.

The same remark will apply to China. Not till the second Treaty of 1858 were foreigners allowed beyond the Treaty ports, or could missions inland in China be undertaken. Up to that time China had resolved to live alone in the world, safe from the influence of the outer barbarian. Chinese missions on any scale, therefore, really date from 1860. The same is true of Korea. Of the eleven societies, chiefly American, in that field, not one had begun work previous to 1884. In Japan,

out of thirty-nine societies, British and American, only four date earlier than 1869. The hundred years, as the time over which progress is to be measured, may therefore be set aside as a misleading number.

A second fact, always curiously overlooked or constantly forgotten, is the progress actually made. Little or no mention is made of the fact that in various parts of the world, where there was not a trace of Christianity when missionary work began, there are now numerous organised native churches, a large number of which are self-supporting, and a much larger number are not; but the total contributions from native churches amounts at present to over £368,000.¹ Not much, certainly, but a beginning, and proportionally it amounts to about one-twelfth of the whole sum sent abroad by the Churches of Christendom for missions in the heathen world.

A third and singular point is that when the quality of native Christianity comes to be considered, or when comparisons are made between the Christian convert on the one hand and the heathen native on the other, there is a marked absence of accuracy and judicial calmness. It is quite astonishing what a 'splendid man' the African becomes as a Mohammedan convert. Even the pagan native of the interior is, in comparison, more often than not, regarded as one of Nature's gentlemen,—hospitable, kindly, simple,

¹ Dr. Dennis' 'Centennial Statistics' in *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*; vol. v. p. 427, 'Total Native Contributions, \$1,841,757.'

courteous. On the other hand, with the Christian convert,—African or Indian,—deceit, dishonesty, hypocrisy, general untrustworthiness, and much shrewd worldliness mixed with his religion, seem to be his only remaining qualities. The blackness of his skin is a faint expression of the blackness of the character which accompanies his Christian profession, and by the time the comparison is finished the unfortunate native convert has hardly a rag of reputation left. Now, plainly, this has been rather overdone. Christianity does not produce degeneration of character. There must be something wrong in the method of judging, or in the material compared. Such exceptional men as Nature's gentlemen and Mohammedan gentlemen do exist, and I willingly add my testimony to that of others that they are very pleasant men to meet. Such men—and they may be met even in Central Africa—restore a little one's faith in human nature. But there are other aboriginal men, and other Mohammedan men, who are not quite so delightful to deal with. Tippoo Tib is not an unpleasant man to meet,—but he is not a very good man for all that. The faulty unfairness of the comparison is too obvious to require refutation. The view that Christianity always produces such degeneration on the native character, seems about as correct as the view of the French writer, who held that civilisation is but a state of social decadence, and that savage ignorance and brutishness are the perfection of human life.¹

¹ Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*.

A fourth point to be noticed is that the present dissatisfaction with missionary results is not new. It can be traced back for seventy years. Great expectations were entertained at the time the first missionaries sailed to the South Seas, India, and elsewhere. But at the end of the first thirty years what had been expected was not realised, and failure or slow progress was as much or even more complained of than now.

The causes producing this result or non-result fall into two classes—the greater and lesser, or general and special. Let us avoid beginning with an enumeration of small causes. These may each and all of them be operating; and yet, singly or together, they may not afford the explanation needed, nor if removed would they perhaps materially alter the situation. There must be others of a more potent kind. The missionary and his defects, the faultiness of methods, the inadequacy of the force, the scantiness of money, and the inexperience both of missionaries and committees, may all be operating, but there is probably a more powerful influence at work, which gives a much graver aspect to this question.

In the works of a well-known writer who deals with both the philosophical and practical side of religion, there are passages indicating that something is wanting in the general Christian practice of to-day which is essential to the widespread success of Christian missions.

It is not beyond credibility that some such defect of the kind exists; recognition of its existence may throw more light on the question, and give a better

explanation than all the minor causes put together. Isaac Taylor says¹—

“The possession of the vital elements of religion may consist with such perversions, both in theory and sentiment, as to deprive Christianity of much of its visible beauty, and almost forbid its propagation. . . . There must be room for serious and unsparing inquiries, as long as the actual products or results bear so slender a proportion to the means of general instruction . . . and as long as zealous endeavours to propagate the faith abroad, though not unblest, are followed with scanty successes. . . .

“Let it be assumed that each separate article of our creed is warranted by Scripture; it may notwithstanding be true that indefinite conceptions affecting the divine character and government, or certain modes of feeling generated in evil days and still encouraged, exist, and operate to benumb the expansive energies of the Gospel.

“Our interpretation of Christianity may be good; it may be pure enough for private use; it may be good in the closet, and good as the source of the motives of common life, and good as a ground of hope in death, and yet it may be ill-adapted to conquest and to triumph. That it is so, should be assumed as the only becoming explanation we can give of the general ignorance and irreligion of mankind.”²

This is a passage so serious that I prefer to give it in the above form rather than as a personal view which might seem to imply an indictment of Christianity as we practise it. And there is a ring of probable truth in these words that may well raise some discomfort to the man who is officially a missionary, and to the private Christian who is not.

¹ *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, 2nd edition, London, 1830; *Fanaticism*, by the author of the *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, London, Bohn, 1843.

² *Fanaticism*, etc., new edition, Bohn, 1843, in chap. ‘Religion of the Bible not Fanatical,’ pp. 436, 437.

Another passage deals with the necessity of absolute purity of motive in the Church as well as in the individual missionary, and with the possibilities that might arise if any great and striking success had followed on the first beginnings of missionary effort. Slightly abridged, the passage runs thus; though it sounds strangely, when the rapidity of communication in 1830 and the interest in the general, social, and spiritual welfare of mankind are compared with that of to-day—

“In the present state of the world and of the Church, when communications are so instantaneous and when attention is so much alive to whatever concerns the welfare of mankind, if it might be imagined that a great and sudden extension of Christianity should take place in the regions of superstition and polytheism, and yet that no corresponding improvement of piety, no purifying, no enhancement of motives should occur in the home of Christianity,—there is reason to believe that the influx of excitement might generate a blaze of destructive enthusiasm. If every day had its tidings of wonder, of the abandonment of the Mohammedan delusion by people after people in Asia, and the rejection of idols by India and China; and if these surprising changes, instead of producing the joy of gladdened faith, were gazed at merely with curiosity, and were grasped at by visionary interpreters of futurity, then from so much agitation unconnected with increase of genuine piety” there might follow “new errors, new sects, and new hatreds” of which there are enough already,—“and nothing scarcely be left in the place of Christianity but dogmas and contentions . . . A happier anticipation may with reason be indulged in, that the divine influence which is to remove the covering of gross ignorance from the nations shall at the same moment scatter the dimness that still hovers over the Church in its most favoured home,—and under that influence the fervours of Christian zeal may reach the height even of seraphic energy without enthusiasm.”¹

¹ *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, 2nd edition, p. 185.

This is intended as a caution against the presumptions of philanthropy, even in a Christian and missionary form, if ill-balanced or proceeding from the natural enthusiasm of humanity rather than from a profounder and diviner motive. It is also meant to prevent any calculations being made of great success so long as the highest motive is wanting. The 'capital motive' of missions is shown to be "grateful affection to Him who has redeemed us from sin and sorrow," and not "any religious enthusiasm in which the emotions of the heart are transmuted into pleasures of the imagination."

This view is not peculiar to Isaac Taylor. It was expressed, though not so fully, either in comprehensiveness or vigour of style, before he wrote, and as follows:—

May there not be "an unhallowed confidence in that magnificent apparatus of means which is at present in operation, as if it *must* produce a mighty change in the state of the world; a confidence which, there is reason to fear, may prove an occasion to the influence of the Holy Spirit being withheld from our exertions, until we renounce everything like self-sufficiency and self-dependence and trust to the divine blessing, without which all human endeavours will be utterly hopeless."¹

If the expression '*a magnificent apparatus of means*' was applicable in the year 1823 to missionary organisation, and to the effect it might have in distracting attention from the true source of success, God's Approval and Blessing, the words apply with fiftyfold force to-day.

¹ Brown, *History of the Propagation of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 15.

Each reader of this page must form his own judgment on what has been here stated, and come to his own conclusion as to how much or how little of the non-success of Christian missions may be traced to these conditions, if an analysis is made of the spiritual causes at present at work. The view given above is but an expansion and application of those appalling words,—even though they fall from the lips of Him who never spoke anything but the highest and purest truth—“them that were entering in ye hindered”;—appalling they are to every true missionary who asks himself whether his own defective Christianity may not have hindered some who were entering in. But they apply more widely than to the individual missionary.

There is at least a possibility that this condition, as much as any other single or minor cause, has to do with what is commonly expressed as the slow progress of missions. Rightly enough we say to the missionary, spiritual work requires a spiritual man. The Church itself may need reminding that *spiritual enterprises require spiritual conditions of the very highest force*, and while the latter are wanting, the success desired may also be wanting.

In brief, what has been quoted above raises this very grave question—“*Whether the Christianity we are sending from land to land is not loaded with some fatal disparagement such as forbids its wide expansion?*” We may possibly have here the philosophy of the whole matter in—

'SOME FATAL DISPARAGEMENT.'

A perfectly rational and sober view of what is going on all over the world is this—that the actual representation of Christianity as heathen nations see it, does not fairly exhibit either the true spirit or true practice of Christ's religion; that is, as these heathen people see it, and not merely as it is shown or stated to them by missionary teaching.

If proof is wanted, it is unfortunately too abundant. It can be found in any continent and in any mission, and a single instance may be given from two mission fields, widely apart geographically, and entire contrasts as regards the people and the details of the work carried on.

What recommendation was it to the earliest missionary efforts in Africa that the men of the same colour as these missionary preachers were deeply engaged in the slave trade. The people to whom this new religion was brought could hardly be expected to distinguish between these new doctrines and the practice of them by those who professed themselves to be believers in these truths.

If the influence of the slave trade be regarded as belonging to the past, take the atrocities on the Congo of to-day. The evidence of the terrible misgovernment of that State is overwhelming. A vast area of Central Africa is being used simply to yield immense profits to a small group of monopolists in Belgium chiefly, and the cruelties that have been practised during the last

few years, if they were widely known, would produce unmeasured indignation, and a demand that in the name of humanity such atrocities should cease.¹

Instead of the African, let us take the Jewish Mission, generally regarded as unproductive, unreliable in the quality of its converts, and, except by a few earnest supporters, looked upon as almost the 'opprobrium of missionary work.' Men who believe in other missions are often wholly sceptical about Jewish missions.

Rightly viewed, it is matter for astonishment that, so far as human agency is concerned, there is a single Jewish convert, if we consider the 'fatal disparagement' with which Christianity comes to him. From the days of the mediæval atrocities down to his

¹ Readers who wish for details will find them in abundance if they care to turn to such works as *The Affairs of West Africa*, by E. D. Morel; or the book now interdicted, it is said for political reasons, *The Curse of Central Africa*, by Captain Guy Borrows. There is always a suspicion that details of this kind are sensationally exaggerated. Photographs, however, generally tell their story with brutal fidelity, being unable to do otherwise, and readers will find some photographs that will illustrate the nature of the administration beyond dispute. They will see the methods adopted for the torture of chiefs; of such punishments as men going about in chains, with heavy portions of the decaying human body strung about their necks; of the unfortunate victims who fail to bring the quantity of rubber, and have lost a right hand in consequence. In two and a half pages, beginning at p. 20 of the Introduction to *The Curse of Central Africa*, they will find dates and details and descriptions of cruelty practised on the ignorant and hapless natives that are purely diabolical.

The best thing that could happen to a large region of Central Africa, and also for the credit of European civilisation, is that the Congo Free State administration should be abolished by the united action of the Powers who are signatories to the Treaty that handed over that area of Africa to a body of unscrupulous men.

disabilities and sufferings in some countries to-day, Christianity must seem to him a religion either illogical or inhuman or both. Its main doctrine is love, and his personal experience of its practice has been centuries of the bitterest hatred, suspicion, and persecution, all of which have claimed the name if not the sanction of Christianity. What is he to make of the *Judenhetze* among the Christian nations of the Continent of Europe, and of his treatment to-day in Christian Russia? In Great Britain alone amongst European States have these humanity-persecuted men been able to find a place where some quiet may be obtained, and plunder and persecution and murder cease; yet that humaner atmosphere and more Christian climate were not always found even there.

A living Jewish writer thus states this matter from a Jewish standpoint—

“I shall not discuss the question as to whether Jesus is a historic figure or a legendary synthesis of many real persons, or simply a mythical incarnation of the thought and sentiment of the epoch in which tradition places his existence. . . . If the Jews up to this time have not publicly rendered homage to the sublime moral beauty of the figure of Jesus, it is because they have been always persecuted, tortured, or put to death in His name. The Jews have judged the Master from His disciples,—which was a wrong truly, but one pardonable in the victims of the implacable hatred of self-styled Christians.”¹

What we have thus reached as undoubtedly affecting the progress of missions is the existence of an influence

¹ *A Century of Jewish Missions*, p. 48, A. E. Thompson; Revell, New York and London, 1902.

far too little noticed, called for convenience' sake a fatal disparagement, in the eyes of both Jew and pagan. It is real, potent, pervasive, and invisible as the atmosphere, steadily and silently operating against the reception of Christianity,—reducing the results in heathen countries and rendering progress slow. This is a grave and depressing conclusion. It has already been referred to,—see p. 65,—and under another name—the single word of *Christianism*, or something which may be called, but is not, the Christianity of the New Testament and of Christ.

God is never untrue to His promise; He will have all men to be saved; His love for human souls is great, otherwise He would not have done what He has done to save them; but the spread of Christianity is to be accomplished by human agents and through the Christian Church, and the successful result and the rate of progress are in part apparently dependent on the fair and truthful representation of what Christianity is, by those who call themselves Christians, and not wholly or only on the efforts of a few teachers who are called missionaries.

A similar explanation may possibly apply to the slow spread of Christianity during nineteen centuries, as well as to the slow growth of Christian missions during last century. It took from five hundred to a thousand years, according as we may assign dates, to Christianise Europe. The Christianity Christ taught and exemplified, possessed at first no material or in-

tellectual advantage. Its force and expansive power depended at first, *as it depends still, on its internal condition*, that is, on its spiritual life. But soon there appeared those elements of human weakness which till to-day have retarded its expansion and misrepresented its spirit. The Christian energy that should have been employed during some of these early centuries in spreading the gospel, was largely used up in an effort to reach a peculiar kind of individual religious life, a high but self-centred and therefore mistaken religious life. Those who sought it were dissatisfied with themselves, and with their evil surroundings in the pagan world in which they lived, and they fled from it, and the force that should have gone to spread Christianity was buried in deserts, in the caves of the Thebaid, and in the monasteries of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa.

Also during that period there arose the early controversies, the Arian and others, which occupied the Church till the Mohammedan invasion came and swept all away—sects, controversies, and Christians alike.

Still later came the period of Ecclesiasticism, in which the Church itself, its government, power, forms, creeds, ceremonies, and self-preservation came first, and Christ and the extension of His Kingdom second. Some real missionary work was done at that time in North Europe and in our own country, but chiefly through the force existing in monasteries.¹ At the Reformation there came a purer worship and a more

¹ See *Handbook of Missions*, by Dr. George Smith,—invaluable to those who want within moderate space an outline of Missions Past and Present.

real religious life. There was light and truth and recovered knowledge, but no real pity or active effort for the heathen world; the wider and higher spirit of Christianity was wanting. Controversies and creeds again absorbed time and strength that might have been given to non-Christian lands, though it is true there were isolated and unsustained efforts, such as missions to Brazil and elsewhere under Coligny, and various early Roman Catholic missions. Even during the rise of Puritanism the missionary spirit did not reveal itself except in individuals. There was no sustained and organised action of the Church as a whole till the close of the eighteenth century, when a few Christian men began a movement which resulted in the creation of a New Power in the world, the Foreign Missions of the nineteenth century. The force of that power is only beginning. Two-thirds of last century passed before it gathered any momentum.

All this being historically true, it is perhaps too unreasonable to expect that an effort begun comparatively recently on a very small scale—an infinitesimal scale in proportion to the work which has to be done—should be at once wonderfully and greatly blessed by God, and rewarded immediately with the conversion of whole nations to Christianity. That seems asking too much, even from God Himself, though we are told to 'expect great things from Him.' It also means that a work which had been greatly neglected during nearly nineteen centuries should be suddenly and greatly successful mainly because we

had suddenly awakened to a consciousness of our duty. Time lost is never so regained. Human life and progress are not so ordered either materially or spiritually. Prayer, however earnest, can never take the place of work.¹ Great enterprises demand great efforts, and always in proportion to their magnitude. The conversion of the heathen nations to Christianity is a work of the greatest magnitude,—the greatest that the Churches of Christendom will find to do in the twentieth century.

Neither the strength of the force employed nor the length of time it has been engaged, justify the complaints or the expectations of many at the present day. The total force in the field, of ordained and unordained men, lay and medical, chiefly European and American, is accurately a little over 7000, leaving women missionaries and native pastors out of account meantime. This is just one-third the number of beneficed and unbeneficed clergymen in the Church of England, which is fairly accurately given at 23,000. It is also less than the number of ordained men of three of the Nonconformist bodies in England.

The time over which this force has been at work is also not a whole century, but between a half to a third of a century—the greatest development of the work having been during the last third of last century.

¹ A small but important work, *The Key to the Missionary Problem*, has been recently published by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Murray. It calls attention to the subject of prayer, and its power when accompanied with effort.

Those who, on the ground of assumed slow progress, are disposed to relax their efforts, or to take up a critical attitude towards missions, and so to excuse themselves from aiding them, should reconsider certain historical facts. They should make calculations and comparisons as to the force employed and the force needed before concluding that the progress is unsatisfactory.

If we are to pursue, even unwillingly, *a remorseless analysis of causes* affecting the progress of missions, we must pass from the region where *Christianism* poisons the air, and where the spiritual condition of the Church as affecting that progress has to be chiefly considered, and descend to the level of minor causes.

Foremost among these minor or special causes come the many and undoubted defects of missionaries themselves, which they feel and are the most ready to admit. They know the high spiritual level which is necessary in order that their work should be successfully carried on. It is a level difficult to reach and difficult to keep. The methods also which they follow may not in all their forms be ideally the best, but they are very varied, and they are the only ones as yet discovered, by which men can act on each other. All the want of progress, all the weakness and poverty or barrenness of result can hardly, however, be justly laid to the missionary's charge.¹ He is conscious of weak-

¹ While this chapter is passing through the press, there has appeared an article on 'The Failure of Christian Missions in India,' in *The Hibbert*

ness enough and has self-recrimination enough, along with many anxieties as to how he shall answer finally to the Judge of all for the way in which he represented, or it may be misrepresented, Christ's Gospel in a heathen country. Yet it would be too much to say that all the causes of missionary non-success are to be found abroad. Weaknesses exist at both ends of the line. That the Christian public are not quite satisfied with home organisation is shown partly by the growth of independent missions during the last half-century in this country and in America. These cannot be accounted for by the preferences of individuals for particular countries. The difficulty lies deeper, and the dissatisfaction, whether justifiable or not, is there, and leads to divided action. But the bulk of the missionary work of the world has been, and is now, being done by the older and more regularly constituted societies. They have each a history and a varied experience to guide them; and they have the constituency of a Christian Church behind them to give financial steadiness.

Akin to this separate action of independent missions are the differences of view that sometimes arise between the home administration and individual missionaries abroad. Questions vitally affecting the welfare of missions are often looked at very differently at opposite

Journal for April 1903. It states that it is—"The missioner and not the mission that has failed; and that Christian missioners, in the opinion of the intelligent men of India *have* failed and *will* continue to fail absolutely as long as the present conditions exist."

ends of the line. The missionary is not always right, but he is not always wrong. Such diversities of view are not things of yesterday. They have existed from Carey's time to Livingstone's, and from Livingstone's till now, and over a long line extending from Metlakahtla to New Zealand. It is singular how entirely the London Missionary Society, with all its long and wide experience, failed to comprehend Livingstone's purpose. The encouragement he got on arriving at the East Coast of Africa after four years of travel was that — The committee could not give their support to plans "connected only remotely with the spread of the Gospel." By this view Livingstone would have been better employed in looking after a small congregation at Mabotsa of two or three hundred worshippers, and in superintending three or four small schools, than in opening up half the African continent. All missionaries are not Livingstones, but there are gradations of experience of much the same kind in the rejection of views that later on justify themselves.

Scantiness of funds, as well as limitation of view, have much to do with conclusions which often place an arrest on the development of a mission. Missionary committees, chairmen, and secretaries cannot always be expected to sanction new schemes. They cannot accomplish impossibilities, and all sympathy should be felt for men who are carrying on work under constant financial strain. And here the difficulty arises. The initiative for new work generally comes

from the missionary on the field. It mostly involves change, expenditure, and new effort. This disturbs the regular routine of the committee or society, and the proposal, right or wrong, is not always regarded with a friendly eye, but the progress of the mission or its consolidation may be dependent on its acceptance. Hence trouble arises, while all the time the missionary is eating his heart out between the conviction that change is necessary and unwillingness to create any difficulty between himself and his committee, who are officially his directors.

What is needed in some societies in the interests not of the individual missionary but of the missionary cause itself, is a closer and more real relation between the home administration and the missionary abroad. For this, in all societies and churches that employ more than a few men, the administration should be strengthened and increased, and the necessary assistance given. It is hardly fair to ask a man who is burdened with the care of a congregation or of some other form of absorbing work, to undertake the direction or guidance of a large number of missionary agents scattered all over the world. This out-of-date method—on the grounds of supposed economy—answered very well when the church or society employed half a dozen or a dozen missionaries, but it answers badly when these have become hundreds, and when the income from all sources has grown from ten thousand to nearly one or two hundred thousand pounds.

An earlier Duff Lecturer also approached this

subject, and expressed similar views:¹—"Certainly mission work requires some more effective, yet fatherly and sympathetic guidance than can be realised through the cumbrous machinery of consultative boards and big committees. We need an efficient order, if we would realise an efficient activity."

The desired 'efficient activity' is not, however, dependent only on the size of committees. Missionaries make many mistakes, but it would be assuming too much to assert that Boards and committees make none. Missionary progress and results will not arise, nor shape themselves exactly on the lines and into the forms which may be laid down at home. More hope may be entertained of greater efficiency from closer home observation of the changes that are occurring in the missionary field, and a readier adaptation of methods to these changes, if the belief were more entertained that each missionary can afford real and absolutely necessary information on his own field, and if also there were less adherence to fixed methods and opinions, merely because they are fixed. Principles which are fundamental and necessary must, of course, remain untouched.

¹ *The Expansion of the Christian Life—Duff Lecture for 1897*, The Very Rev. Principal Lang.

XIII

THE TRAINING OF THE MISSIONARY

THERE is no matter so intimately connected with the Progress and Success of Missions as the training of the man who is sent abroad as a missionary. The work to which he goes is difficult and complicated. His first idea about it is, that it is simple and uncomplicated, and that his success is more dependent on zeal and missionary warmth than on special knowledge of his work, and the care and wise precision with which he shall use whatever spiritual fitness he may possess. Hence the many mistakes the missionary makes, by which he often wastes unconsciously and unintentionally some of the best years of his life, to discover when they are gone that he has been following a wrong road and must retrace his steps. This is often his personal or private conviction, though outwardly he was moving on in accordance with the usual methods, but for shame's sake he makes no spoken confession.

Complete and thoroughly trained fitness for work, whatever that may be, is not merely the *tendency, but the absolute demand* of the present day, and the man who possesses that fitness and the capacity to use it is the man who is preferred for any position. Without

special knowledge he has little chance of success either as an applicant or worker. It is this very training that the missionary does not get; the purely theological training he receives in common with the minister whose life is to be spent in a city or country parish is good as far as it goes, but for him as a missionary it is wholly defective, because incomplete.

Let me disarm criticism and dissipate wrong impressions by stating that here there is neither presumptuous cavilling nor mere fault-finding with existing methods. This chapter will be better understood if it is read as the sad cry of a man whose missionary life is ending; whose life has been full of splendid opportunities which might have been better improved; and which has also been full of mistakes which might have been avoided, had he been forewarned and forearmed when his course began. The African proverb, 'The Dawn does not come twice to awaken a man,' means that the same opportunity in exactly the same form comes only once, and that we have but one life, and that a short one. Probably from many other parts of the mission field besides that of Africa the same cry would come if opportunity offered.

As the day of life shortens, and the wiser and more exact judgment of age as to what life might have been supersedes the indefinite and hopeful view of earlier years, many a missionary sees what should and could have been done had definite instruction been given him, and a wiser method been followed at

his first start. Then there keeps daily echoing through the inner world of the man's thought a sound, mournful as a funeral bell—'Too late; the day is done.' This experience, so far as it is personal, is not of much consequence, — but it becomes of measureless consequence when connected with its bearing on the great question of the success of missions. It is a waste of time to speak of the importance of method. I never met Mackay of Uganda, but I understand exactly what he meant when he wrote near the end of his life about trying a 'radically new plan,' even though that plan referred to details and method on the field.

Our national experience in Africa during the last three years has taught us that more is necessary for the soldier than full acquaintance with parade work, or what will pass a satisfactory inspection, before we can say to him, 'Now, go and fight.' For the missionary also more is necessary than a general theological course before we can say, 'Now, go and preach to the heathen.' If men are not sent to India for administrative work without special training, nor even sent to plant trees there without a course of instruction at Cooper's Hill College, they should not be sent to plant Christianity in India, Africa, and elsewhere without some training to fit them for such work.

I cannot say what mission committees or Church courts or theological faculties may do, or whether they will do anything to remedy this great defect in missionary administration; nor is it necessary here to give

details of such preparation. But lest vagueness be fatal, let me explain a little.

First, then, it may be assumed as absolutely true beyond all possibility of dispute, that no missionary in an entirely new country, and among a strange people, discovers by intuition the best way of presenting his great message to the heathen. He learns that by experience dearly bought, and, as already stated, learns it rather late. Something, then, is urgently needed to give the man who goes to heathen countries a fair chance of succeeding in his work.

Further, what is wanted is not additional theological classes; nor yet any of that particular training which is supposed to bestow special qualifications on a man going abroad as a missionary, such as some limited knowledge of useful drugs, nor some acquaintance with carpenters' tools, nor any manual accomplishment, excellent and useful as all these are, as part of missionary equipment for some countries. Something far more direct and special is wanted, but in another region and on a different level of instruction. The missionary needs to be guided and helped before he actually enters on his work, as to—

How to deal with a false religion;

How to deal with a dead conscience;

How to deal best with a strange people, to whom we white men are rather unaccountable beings, and whose real opinion about us, individually and nationally, it is so difficult to reach, because so carefully concealed. These are far more difficult matters than ability to

make a door, or give a dose of medicine, or open an abscess. They belong to an entirely different level of missionary life and work. If I were to address an audience of missionaries, I would appeal to them, and ask if these are not some of the questions that have most perplexed and troubled them; and whether these have not done so, often in midnight hours when the day's work is done, and is being looked over, and none but God and the man himself are present. I would also ask whether they did not painfully feel that their knowledge of the people among whom they laboured, and their religion, and the best way of dealing with them, had not been gathered far too slowly and too expensively as to time, as the years went on.

That which is necessary, then, to aid the missionary is some course of instruction, longer or shorter, more or less formal, which will help him to deal with two things—heathen religions and heathen human beings. I do not pretend to sketch any syllabus of such a course as may be necessary, but it should contain some study, longer or shorter, *but in any case accurate*—

1. Of Comparative Religion, or the Faiths of the Heathen World,—those of the particular country to which he is going being specially selected, though not exclusively.
2. Of the History, Customs, and Condition of the People, of the country to which the missionary is going.

3. Missionary Life and Work, and General Instructions ; and a beginning in the Language, if practicable.

These subjects seem commonplace, yet some knowledge of them beforehand will bring the missionary much more quickly into touch with the people among whom he goes to live, and will save him years of labour in discovering facts for himself. This course need not be very long, nor very formal or pedagogic, but it must be very human ; and it should start from the point that the young missionary is going abroad to deal with human beings,—with Pagans rather than Paganism, with Hindoos rather than Hindooism ; with Moham-medans rather than with Islamism.

The proper shaping of a course outlined as above, and the reduction of it to a practicable form, might take some years to complete. It is not beyond attainment practically.

An outline of some of the great religions of the East, such as Brahminism, Buddhism, Confucianism, would probably be a revelation to many a young missionary ; might possibly set him a-thinking in a new direction, and give him some idea of the magnitude of the task he is undertaking. If such study did not sink the missionary in the student, it would rather humble than elate him or feed his self-conceit ; and it might have the invaluable result of throwing him back on this conviction, that spiritual force is his main power, or is at least the influence that will turn to highest uses whatever he possesses of both intellectual and moral

force. It would act as an inspiration, if it strengthened his own impression of the excellence of Christianity in comparison with the other religions of the world. It is not too much to affirm that amongst those who go abroad at present, probably more than one-half would fail to distinguish with any degree of accuracy the three above-named great religions, or even give an accurate account of African fetichism. The answer would probably be little more than what any educated layman can give. We go abroad at present with the general belief that most heathens are alike, and that, except for some intellectual difference, the same kind of address is suitable for all. There is a way, however, of approaching false religions without raising needless antagonism. Paul knew this when he spoke to the men at Athens.

It is not merely for the cultured people of the East in India and China, but even for the rude tribes of Africa, that such special instruction is necessary. If the African tribes have no elaborate systems of religion, they have their customs, which are almost equivalent to religions; they have certain rites, more or less degraded; and they have their opinions about ordinary daily life, which have gradually become consolidated into a recognised social code for them.¹ Even with rude Africans, caution, previous information, and a

¹ *Religion and Myth*, by Rev. James Macdonald,—David Nutt, 1893,—contains a great deal of information on the religious observances and social customs of African tribes, and collected from a great variety of sources.

certain deference due by human beings to each other is, if not indispensable, at least highly desirable. Many a missionary, in Africa at least,—and probably also in India,—injures his own personal influence, and possibly also the cause he represents, by careless disregard to individuals, or unreasonable opposition to customs, habits, beliefs, and the lifelong prejudices of a people whose past has been entirely different from his own. Immoral customs, of course, are always to be opposed. The absence of any direction or instruction on many subjects in our missionary education is a great and serious deficiency which should be remedied as soon as possible, instead of more time being spent in speculation about the slow progress of missions. There need not be any blinking or ignoring the fact that many—I do not say all, nor what proportion, but that many—go abroad to the difficult work of missionary life *with a preparation that is simply deplorable*. And to prevent criticism, or the charge of judging others uncharitably, I put myself in the front rank of those who have been so disastrously unfortunate, or so culpable.

This suggestion or proposal will to some seem presumptuous or revolutionary. Such questions will be asked as—Have the men who have gone abroad without such training not done good work? Has the practical wisdom of theological faculties and mission committees in the past been as nought? This is an evasion of the question; and a sufficient reply is found in this fact, that there are very few departments of

human activity of a practical kind in which the training of fifty years ago will answer for work to-day. There is a loud outcry for precise and exact education, so as to secure a moderate degree of efficiency, through almost every department of human activity. The missionary force abroad is constantly increasing; the conditions under which it works are becoming daily more difficult. Some difficulties are common to all fields, yet each has its own peculiar kind.

Let us hear what an American missionary in China says on this definite preparation—

The missionary in beginning his work “has to grope blindly in the darkness, with the almost inevitable result that for the first few years he may hinder as well as help the great cause he serves. By due preparation, time would be gained rather than lost ; more work would be done, and of a comparably higher character ; and more would be learned in two years than many missionaries learn in five, or some learn in a lifetime. Fewer missionaries would be sent, but that would not necessarily be an evil, as what is wanted is the best trained men.”

The training for which I strongly plead should not be set aside as a mere novelty in a lecture. The idea is as old as the days of Raymond Lull in the thirteenth century. He had some sound ideas if he had some unsound ones. And he gave the best proof of the sincerity of his convictions by toil that never ceased, courage that never quailed, and in reality dying as a martyr for the cause of Jesus Christ.¹

An attempt to organise such training was made in

¹ See *Medieval Missions: Duff Missionary Lectures*, Dr. Thomas Smith, pp. 185-195.

Holland in the seventeenth century. It has been often spoken of in this country, and centuries ago. The most complete organisation of this nature is seen in the Propaganda at Rome, where special instruction is given to missionaries proceeding to heathen as well as to non-heathen countries. The effort in Holland lasted ten years; the Propaganda has lasted two hundred and eighty years. It is difficult to say how much of the devotion, soldier-like discipline, and self-sacrifice shown by Roman Catholic missionaries may be due to the ideas implanted in that course of instruction. Yet the ideal missionary would probably be produced by a combination of the best qualities of the Protestant missionary with the discipline and steadiness which the Romish training produces.

General education, even including theological training, is, of course, taken for granted. That which is referred to in this lecture does not belong to general education, with a bent in a certain direction, which is often reckoned preparation in a missionary college. I am aware that one society, the C.M.S., has no less than five different training places,—St. Augustine's, Islington, and others,—and no doubt a great amount of the time is directed to missionary subjects during a course which is on the average three to four years. There are also various training institutions in Germany. With the details of the course in these, I am not sufficiently acquainted to be at liberty to speak. But so far as I am aware nothing is done in Scotland of this nature, unless it be by the Training Institute in

Glasgow, intended chiefly for lay agents. There is also the Training Institute for women missionaries in Edinburgh,—excellent of its kind, because specialised in its aim. Neither of these places, however, is fitted to assist the ordained missionary or the medical missionary, each of whom has already gone through a long course of training, theological or medical, but which would be more complete if the strictly missionary section were added.

No mission committee, however, has as yet formally recognised such preparation as necessary or desirable, nor have the theological faculties made any special provision to fit men for the foreign field. Co-operation among different Churches will also be necessary for carrying out such a scheme. No single Church in Scotland can maintain the necessary staff of instructors, seeing that students for a long time would be few. But just because they are comparatively few the work will be the more easily overtaken. There are always missionaries who have done their work in different fields at home in this country, and who, though unable to continue their labours abroad, could give the kind of instruction that is required, and would willingly undertake the work.

This instruction would fall into two sections—the formal course already marked out, and another of a more simple but equally important kind, not in a different but in a parallel direction. Counsel, direction, advice on many matters connected with the missionary's life and work are exceedingly necessary. This direc-

tion should have the stamp of official authority, and would be of value to every missionary. Such information older missionaries can give, and younger missionaries cannot otherwise secure than by a conference in a class of this kind. The course recommended would also disclose some of the qualities, intellectual and otherwise, of the missionary candidate. At present these are known only in a general way from his previous course through theological classes. It would also inform the candidate himself of what he had to expect. His work is not to be only a general proclamation of the truths of Christianity, though some have no other or more exact idea of what missionary life is. In consequence, some are ardent missionaries at home who are not very ardent abroad. The realities of missionary life often produce a strange and marvellous change. Perhaps, more correctly, these realities bring out what was in the man before, but unknown and unsuspected even by himself. He also may have made a mistake in his choice by confounding missionary sentiment with missionary principle, purpose, and determination. More is necessary than even the spiritual life and the sacrifice of self. His influence will be, what he is himself, and the order seems to be this—first, his spiritual life; second, temperament and mental ability; and third, qualifications added by training. Temperament always modifies for better or worse a man's influence among other men; but training and temperament together produce the best result in missionary work.

The information and instruction of a personal kind should be given, if not in private, at least in frequent interviews with the men who have the direction of such a course. This will leave a different impression on the younger men from that of a mere platform address, or the ordination sermon, or the excitement of public meetings, or even the time-honoured and worthy though often formal method of commendation by prayer at meetings of missionary committees. This is our present method of despatching our missionaries abroad; a method good and useful in its own place but not just what the departing missionary most requires.

No considerations of an unimportant kind, or of mere deference to youthful susceptibilities or to any self-satisfaction with the fact that the man is now a missionary, or to be one, should prevent those who have the duty of sending men abroad from stating matters quite clearly. Kindly and encouragingly, as an old leader will counsel a young soldier, should this instruction be given.

There are undoubtedly certain things to be avoided by every missionary when he begins to preach. I do not know exactly what these are in India or China, but in Africa they are distinct enough. A missionary begins badly if he begins with an attack upon some customs which, from a native point of view, are part of their social life, and which are not moral or immoral in themselves. Of these an example may be taken in the practice extensively followed in South

Africa of what is known as native dowry, or the provision for a wife, in the shape of cattle. Giving cattle for a woman who is to become a wife looks repulsive enough. The custom, in reality, is a settlement in favour of the woman in case of any future difficulties with her husband, or as a provision like an insurance policy in case of accident. From a peculiar way of looking at this custom, which goes back to the very roots of the social life of the people, it may be converted into a selling of a wife for so many cattle. There are many other questions of a similar kind. Absolute abstinence from native beer, a kind of fermented gruel, should not be insisted on as a condition of Church membership. Yet what hot discussions have raged round these two points.

The departing missionary, whether he carries written instructions with him or not, should carry at least the oft-repeated admonition, that his real force and the secret of his power and success is mostly spiritual. Yet he should be cautioned against needless and useless asceticism. He should also be encouraged to preserve as long as possible that freshness of feeling and view which made his work at first look so attractive. His later efforts will then rise above the level of mere duties to be performed, and become something in his life between His Saviour and himself. A constant consciousness of the responsibility of his office, and of the great issues that depend upon it, are necessary for the maintenance of missionary force, though the highest quality in missionary motive is love and loyalty to Jesus

Christ. More than any other man, he needs to preserve a strong impression of the personality of Jesus Christ, and of his own relation to Him, since nothing but this will stand the rough contact with the realities of missionary life. Sentiment and enthusiasm have each their value, but alone and as missionary forces they wear out. This does not mean any disparagement to either. Many a man now in the field would be happier and stronger if he could recall a little of that mood—sentiment, if we choose so to call it—which threw light and bright colour over his earlier work. His toil would become even exhilarating if the light of those earlier days could but fall upon it; for the missionary's task—owing to the lateness with which results appear—tends to discourage and depress. Disappointments are, of course, inevitable, but in this the missionary is not worse off than other men. If long continued, however, they drain away some of his strength, especially as towards the end of life they are apt to increase in number and variety. They may be sent for good reasons, and may lead him to measure the real success and permanence of his previous efforts. They may be of value also as throwing him back on his primary motive, and leading him to ask whether the activity of these past years has sprung from loyal devotion to Christ Himself, or for a desire for his own credit, good name, and success as a missionary; and whether it was a voice divine or an earth-born call coming from concurrent circumstances which he first obeyed.

To carry out his missionary life fully, there may be things that must be cast away, some pursuits that may have to be abandoned, so as to secure the concentration of all his power on his new work. His life will become at once enlarged and restricted,—enlarged by a wider world of human beings and interest in their welfare, and restricted by the concentration required for success. The misfortune is, he does not know this until sometimes too late.

The object of this chapter will have been gained if attention has been called to the urgent necessity for more special training being given to men who go abroad as missionaries. The supporters of missions have a right to expect that the men who are sent at their cost should be as fully qualified as a reasonable and practical course of training can make them, inasmuch as that training touches the great question of the progress and results of missions.

XIV

THE MISSIONARY MAGAZINE

STILL connected with the Progress and Success of Missions, but in a different way from the relation of the missionary himself, is the Missionary Magazine,—meaning by that whatever appears in a periodical or occasional form, including also the Annual Report. In popular estimation the Missionary Magazine does not stand high. Alongside its weekly and monthly rivals of ever growing attractiveness and number, it is regarded with little interest, and only a limited circle give it serious but not prolonged consideration.

Some of the greatest missionary associations are beginning to turn their attention to this question. One suggestive line occurs in connection with a society which issues four such periodicals, one being a small quarterly. The statement runs thus—

“The Magazines of the Society have been reorganised.”¹

Another important society states the matter quite frankly in its Report for 1901—

“The Directors find it difficult to understand why magazines of

¹ *Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ; Church of England Year Book, 1902-03, p. 244.*

such admittedly high quality and real interest . . . fail to obtain a larger circulation among the subscribers of the Society.”¹

Another voluminous writer on missions, entirely in sympathy with them, though sometimes strong in his statements, has the following :—

“There are some missionary periodicals which I regularly read, out of a sense of duty to the great subject to which I have devoted my life’s thoughts, but the phraseology and mode of treatment lead me to take them medicinally” ; the subject-matter is not objected to, but “the self-laudatory and narrow-minded style which is calculated to render the ordinary reader hostile !”²

Missionary information of the ordinary kind seems to fail altogether in impressing a certain class of minds. For much, though not all of this, we missionaries are probably ourselves most to blame. Editors complain of the want of ‘living matter,’ and they do the best they can, but editorial art and experience have their limits. The material we send is often of the plainest, some say of the poorest kind. It mostly lacks literary care, and betrays little effort to make the most of the incidents recorded. We do not, with perhaps a few exceptions, put before the Church at home in an interesting and instructive way the realities of missionary life. Hence the missionary periodical has not kept pace with its competitors in quality and interest.

A great improvement has taken place in some missionary magazines, though the general reputation of bygone days still remains. Men still remember the

¹ *London Missionary Society’s Report for 1902*, p. 2.

² Dr. Cust, *Africa Rediviva*, p. 75.

heavy page of unrelieved type, with narrow margin, poor paper, and not the best printing; and this, with poor quality of matter, has given the magazine of to-day the inheritance of a bad name. Yet with all these deductions, it has an importance of its own, which its brilliant contemporaries can never hope to reach. Its little esteemed pages contain records of changes that are taking place in the non-Christian world, and which are modifying individual and social life, and will influence national life by and by. So far as these magazines contain facts and absolutely true reports, they are of real value. Out of its humble pages, as well as from non-printed matter, such large and important works as the recently published histories of the Church Missionary Society and of the London Missionary Society are in part built up. Parallel to the history of each society there runs a line of information as to movements and events in which the moral progress of the world may be traced, and which is not lost on the reflective reader.

Corresponding to the improvement in some magazines is that of the Annual Report of some societies, notably of the two societies just mentioned. On the other hand Reports still appear, unmarked by a single changed feature for the better during thirty years. There is the same page with its unaltered form, its scarcely improved arrangement and general dryness of statement. Reports of this class give occasion, even in missionary conferences, to such comments as: "Annual missionary reports have been and still are

considered to be an anodyne. In many instances they are, but with others within the last few years there has been a marked change"—for the better.

The extensive production and distribution of really interesting missionary literature has a double influence. It creates and maintains interest, and secures financial support. It means, however, both outlay and labour, and the employment of a competent staff of men and women. This section of missionary work was dealt with at the Ecumenical Conference at New York in 1900, and some of the views expressed were as follow :—

“ It is to be feared that many of our Missionary Boards do not realise as they should the importance and value of the circulation of missionary literature without undue anxiety for immediate financial results. . . . In order to reach the people there must be outlay that is speculative. But the investment is one which will ultimately produce high dividends. There has been a strong feeling that all money should go direct out to mission fields. We know this to be bad policy. . . . It is a well-known fact in Great Britain that the Missionary Society which expends the most on the production and free distribution of literature is the one which has the largest income. . . . The greatest variety of such literature is published by the Church of England Missionary Society. Besides its 2,444,000 copies of its four missionary periodicals, for adults, young people, and children, it issues a large list of books, sketches of its missions and workers, a missionary atlas, a missionary hymn-book, a monthly letter to Sunday schools, a calendar, pamphlets diagrams, leaflets, for free distribution or at a nominal price.”¹

There are other causes no doubt of the large income of the Church Missionary Society, but there can be no

¹ *Ecumenical Conference, New York, 1900*, vol. i. chap. vii.

question as to its wise and extensive use of missionary literature in all its forms, or as to the connection between steadily growing financial support and a generous expenditure in this direction.

Among intelligent Christian people, the demand of the present day is not so much for merely entertaining, picturesque descriptions, as for accurate information. The Students' Volunteer Movement has done excellent work to meet this want by the publication of several valuable works.¹ The full influence of this Movement has not yet appeared; it will develop as time goes on.

The field of missionary work is widespread, and the societies so many, that full information as to what is being done all over the world, means the perusal of more periodicals than any except missionary historians and a few special students can afford.

There are in all, engaged in strictly foreign work, 249 Protestant Missionary Societies of one kind and another, some of them very large, employing several hundreds of ordained and unordained men, and others again with merely one or two ordained men and as many laymen. Each denomination or society generally has its own journal larger or smaller, more or less interesting as the case may be, widely known to the public or known only to a few supporters. Taking these as a whole, it has been computed that of societies with periodicals solely devoted to the record of foreign missionary work, there are 49 British and 32 American.

¹ *The Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*, by Harlan P. Beach, vols. i. and ii., New York, 1903, is the most recent.

This was the computation a few years ago. That makes 81 in all of such journals in Britain and America. Of journals again partly devoted to home and partly to foreign work, there are in Britain 22 and in America 12, or in all 34, or a total of 134 such magazines,¹ without reckoning nearly 20 continental journals.

In any great war, public interest does not concentrate round the exploits of any single regiment or individual, though these excite deep interest and warm enthusiasm. Men desire information on the prospects of the campaign as a whole and its probable success. Something of the same kind attaches to the great missionary undertaking of the Christian Church. The success of the individual missionary, or of denominational missions is gladly received, but wider and completer information is wanted on the situation as a whole.

WHAT IS NEEDED

The model of what is needed can be readily found. There exists in the fortieth year of its publication, a volume known as *The Statesman's Year Book*, a statistical and historical Annual of the States of the World. Whoever wants recent and reliable information on the government, condition, or progress of any civilised State; on its indebtedness or its wealth; on its army or navy, its education, its exports or productions, turns to that volume, and will find it there, or be

¹ *Report Ecumenical Conference, New York, 1900*, vol. i. chap. vii.

put in the way of finding it, by a reference to official publications or to standard and non-official works. Many individuals as well as various Government offices contribute to secure the completeness and accuracy of the whole. Its tables, maps, and diagrams afford condensed information and the means for comparing or correcting information already got; while its graduated type and arrangement mark the relative importance of subjects. It may thus be taken as the pattern, plan, or model of what is needed, and that is a *General Missionary Year Book of the Societies of Christendom*.

No such work as yet exists. Yet it is needed as supplementary to—and as carrying on from year to year—such important works as Dr. Dennis' *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, and other works of that class. It would supply comment and suggestion, which cannot be given on account of the tabular form in which that most valuable work now appears,—the author of which has laid the missionary world under a debt of gratitude. But Dr. Dennis cannot be expected to issue successive editions for the benefit of missionary societies; the original expense must have been great. The same remark will apply to other writers—to Dr. Warneck, the able historian of all missions. Clear, shrewd sense, surprisingly accurate judgment on distant events and conditions, and wonderful fairness in his estimates of work done by different societies, characterise *The History of Protestant Missions*. Much the same may be said of Dr. Perry Noble, the enthusiastic historian of African Missions, who if he errs

anywhere, does so in a too generous estimate of work done; and to the honest worker there is not in the two volumes which form *The Redemption of Africa*, the sound of a single depressing note.

A work of the kind suggested is not for the reader of the ordinary missionary periodical, but for busy men, Christian laymen, engaged in active business and pressed by the competition of modern life, who cannot do more than glance casually at their own denominational journals, and who cannot read long articles on missions. Yet we are largely dependent on these men for their financial help, and their Christian sympathy and interest form one of the foundations of missionary effort. Many of these men have *quite as much made up their minds on their duty in relation to foreign missions* as have the majority of missionaries on the field. We only waste time and type in offering such men fragmentary information such as is given in the monthly periodical or in a few minutes' conversation, when we try to put the claims of missions before them. What they desire is sound comprehensive information to satisfy their judgments and enable them to decide rapidly what they shall give—it may be a hundred pounds or a thousand pounds—when their aid is asked.

To missionaries everywhere the volume proposed would be of great value as affording information not obtainable elsewhere, year by year, on missionary effort as a whole, on the variety of its forms, on its

gradual growth, and the successes that have been secured.

Such a volume could not be produced without the co-operation, general and financial, of all, or nearly all, the chief missionary societies. It would be best compiled and directed by a paid lay editor responsible for its accuracy, devoting his time to such work, and aided by the necessary assistants; but the active and hearty co-operation of all societies is indispensable. A small conference of the chairmen and secretaries, or the executive of all the British societies, could very speedily come to a decision on the matter. The co-operation of the American societies would facilitate that decision, if perchance they on the other side of the Atlantic do not take up the idea early, and carry it through—leaving us behind in the race. Of the four works of real value mentioned in this chapter, three are American and one German, none of the same class are British. Hitherto we have been dependent on Vahl's Statistics and Robertson's Annual Statements.

If the amount necessary is distributed among 124 societies, which is one-half of the total number of purely missionary associations, the sum required from each would not be great. At first the volume might be on a moderate scale, and be gradually enlarged. An attempt was made about fourteen years ago to produce a Year Book of the kind described, but being unsupported, and the effort of one society not directly missionary, it failed to secure a foothold.¹

¹ Religious Tract Society Publications, 1889.

The existing volume on which the effort might be shaped has now reached nearly 1400 closely packed pages, and is yet portable, comparatively light, and easy to read and refer to. We need a similar annual record of the condition and progress of the great enterprise of the Christian Church in this twentieth century. The Missionary Magazine would form a constant source of information, as well as all previously collected statistics, and it may therefore be regarded as serving a useful and important purpose. It will, however, be the wisdom of its editors to make it as interesting and attractive as possible, and the religious duty of all missionaries to afford matter of real value. The first records of the same kind we have now in the Acts of the Apostles. They were the first missionary magazines known to the world. None of the literary or public men of the day cared much about them; nor in Rome, Alexandria, or elsewhere, outside a small circle of humble and suspected people, was there anyone interested in the reports given by Paul of his missionary journeys. He made his statement, not of what he had done, but, as he says, of what 'God had done,' to the synods and minor church gatherings at Antioch and Jerusalem, and there the matter seemed to end. Yet what Paul said survives and is read by millions for every hundred or perhaps every ten who are acquainted with Horace, or Virgil, or Tacitus, or the Greek writers who preceded them.

More books by a hundredfold are written to-day about Jesus Christ than are written about Julius Cæsar,

or any of the Cæsars, and the influence of that One Life and its teaching is greater and wider far than even that of Paul. It is to diffuse His teachings and to obey His final command that the missionary enterprise exists. During the present century this effort will show developments and results which cannot now be calculated. One of the agencies helping towards this end is the not very popular missionary magazine literature as it is to-day. Mixed in quality and unesteemed though it be, it is every year adding some contribution to human knowledge, in geography, in language, and in other directions. It may be slowly gathering up materials which, rightly interpreted, may help to throw light on the causes which have made the world what it is, or rather what it will become.

In its fugitive pages, not less than in the large and important histories already mentioned, there may be found materials for a still greater work which is not yet written. Somewhere well on in the twentieth century some new Gibbon may arise who will devote twenty years of his life not to a 'History of the Decline and Fall,' but to a history, wide and comprehensive, of the Rise and Advance of an Empire greater far than that of Rome. The spread of Christianity and its influence on the heathen world—dealt with as that great writer dealt with his—though from an opposite point of view—should be a work worthy of the effort of a lifetime.

XV

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA AND THE AFRICAN

IT certainly never entered the mind of any of the Pharaohs, who were reigning in Egypt fifteen hundred years before Christ, that the nation of slaves, who were then making bricks and building cities, would ever become the foremost men of their time, or develop into a race whose history, religion, and literature would more profoundly influence mankind than any other religion or literature has done. The Pharaohs and Egyptian statesmen of that day had only fears of a servile uprising if the population were allowed to increase, and they took their own way of preventing that increase.

Neither did it enter the mind of any of the later Cæsars that the small island, which Julius Cæsar had partly conquered, would ever become the home of a race who would be the makers of an empire whose power, population, area, and influence would be both the envy and the admiration of the world, and alongside of which even the great Roman Empire was but a diminutive territory made up of adjacent areas not far from Rome.

Both these things, nevertheless, have happened. This is a mere statement of history to show how the fortunes of races change. No parallel based on any analogy is intended or will be attempted in this chapter. Any sound conclusion must rest on totally different grounds. There can, however, be no doubt about the future of the continent itself. Long the least known and least developed, the most neglected and most despised of all continents, Africa has suddenly emerged into the light of day. The time is not far distant when it will be a great field of human enterprise and activity. The hot haste among nearly all the great European Powers to obtain the largest area of that hitherto neglected land, means belief in the Future of the African Continent, even though it is also true that they will not reap such immediate benefits as they probably expect.

It is more difficult to say what will be the future of the African himself, but it is possible that the opinion about him will be as completely reversed as has been the opinion of the civilised world about the continent in which he dwells. For countless centuries he was regarded as only fit to be a chattel and a slave; and though that day is past, many at the present time regard him as scarcely worthy of notice among mankind, except for his muscular strength and fitness for the lowest and roughest kind of labour. Even to-day educated Englishmen speak of him as an 'inferior

animal,' as a 'blend of child and beast,' or a 'useless and dangerous brute,' scarcely possessing human rights. To those who use such language I would say, how badly we use the power and the gifts that God has given us when we so regard the unfortunate African!

It is well that there is gradually growing a saner and humaner belief, that there is a wide and possibly great future for the African himself, as well as for his continent. By this it is not meant that particular tribes or even separate races may not disappear as individual men do. Both come and go. Nor is it meant that the African will suddenly reach a highly civilised condition, and gain a position which other races have secured only after centuries of strenuous effort. Yet there is some peculiarity in the history of the African race, and some inherent vitality in it as a whole, that affords a basis for a future entirely different from the past. To-day in Africa is different from Yesterday, and To-morrow will be different from To-day.

The interest about this inquiry is connected partly with the effect and permanence of missionary work and the influence of Christianity in shaping the future of the African races, but still more broadly with the question of "the future relationship of the European peoples to what are called the lower races." There are two entirely opposite views on this subject. For the sake of brevity in dealing with so large a question, it may be well simply to contrast the two. One is

that of Mr. C. H. Pearson.¹ His prediction, given in his own words is—

“The day will come, and perhaps is not far distant, when the European observer will look round and see the globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races, no longer too weak for aggression or under tutelage, but independent, or practically so, in government, monopolising the trade of their own regions, and circumscribing the industry of the European; when Chinamen and the nations of Hindostan, the States of Central and South America, by that time predominantly Indian, and it may be African nations of the Congo and the Zambesi, under a dominant caste of foreign rulers, are represented by fleets in the European seas, invited to international conferences, and welcomed as allies in the quarrels of the civilised world. . . . It is idle to say that if all this should come to pass, our pride of place will not be humiliated. We were struggling among ourselves for supremacy in a world which we thought of as destined to belong to the Aryan races and to the Christian faith; to the letters, and arts, and charm of social manners, which we have inherited from the best times of the past. We shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside, by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile, and thought of as bound always to minister to our wants. The solitary consolation will be that the changes have been inevitable. It has been our work to organise and create, to carry peace and law and order over the world, that others may enter in and enjoy.”

This, for the more advanced races,—ourselves among the number,—is a somewhat gloomy and depressing view. Mr. Kidd regards it as a mistaken one due to imperfect observation, mainly to not watching the course of events in progress among the Western nations. These he states are as follow:—*first*, that the civilised nations will concern themselves more and more with those great areas which form the tropical regions of

¹ *National Life and Character*, Charles H. Pearson, p. 84.

the earth, and of which Central Africa is one of the largest; *second*, that these areas will be developed in one of two ways, either according to the old idea of using them as estates for the benefit of the countries which have appropriated them, and of exploiting the natives for the same object, or according to the later and humaner view of which British occupation and administration may be taken as a type; and *third*, that these great regions will not be developed by the native races, but by the government and aid of the white man.

This is a more likely conclusion as to the "nature of the coming change, which is being intuitively perceived as involving one of the most pressing and vital questions engaging the attention of the Western races."

Mr. Kidd states that it would greatly help towards the solution of difficult problems of the future if we knew what it is that constitutes superiority or inferiority of race, and says¹—

"We shall probably have to set aside many of our old ideas on the subject. Neither in respect alone of colour nor of descent, nor even of the possession of high intellectual capacity, can science give us any warrant for speaking of one race as superior to another. The evolution which man is undergoing is over and above everything else a social evolution. There is therefore but one absolute test of superiority. It is only the race possessing in the highest degree the qualities contributing to social efficiency, that can be recognised as having any claim to superiority."

These qualities he regards as not those of a brilliant order or which strike the imagination, but rather

¹ *The Control of the Tropics*, p. 97.

those of humanity, strength, and energy of character, integrity, and simple-minded devotion to conceptions of duty,—the same qualities which have largely contributed to render British rule in India successful, while similar experiments elsewhere have been disastrous. He quotes Mr. Lecky on the cause of the prosperity of nations as shown by history, as consisting in a high standard of moral worth and of public spirit, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness, and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment which springs quite as much from character as from intellect. The future of a nation he shows may be foretold by observing whether these qualities are increasing or decaying.¹

We have now reached a point where we find some guidance in judging of the probable future of the continent, or rather of the forces that will give shape to the condition or position of its people, whether of those who may rule or of those who may be ruled.

It is perfectly clear to which view of the future government or development Mr. Kidd's opinion leans, and his conclusion is a probable, practical, and sound one. It is this, that character, meaning by that a certain combination of high qualities, will bestow the power of rule on whatever race that may belong to; and that, though this is not formally included in his conclusion, the future advancement of the African depends mainly on this moral factor. This falls in

quite accurately with the whole theory of missionary work, there being no teaching on this subject of a higher kind than the teaching of Jesus Christ. The communication of that knowledge is the chief object of Christian missions, and the best calculated to secure the individual and social benefits that arise from the practice of such teaching.

We may therefore pass on to the consideration of the elements of native African character as the ground on which any future progress is possible, either in civilisation or in Christianity. The subject is very wide, and a few brief statements are all that can be attempted.

No single sentence or brief summary, however balanced or qualified, will exactly express the contents and contradictions we find in the character and mental constitution of the African. His intellectual qualities are not to be judged of either by those of the slave or of the lowest type of Negro on the one side, nor on the other by that of such native rulers, of the past or present, as have now and again appeared among them. Taking the average native African as he is found over wide areas, a fair and unprejudiced judgment would admit that he possesses a larger amount of good sense, a firmer texture of mind, and more intellectual ability than he generally gets credit for.

The real African is not the thoughtless, laughter-loving, untrainable savage, or typical Quashee of works of fiction, or the 'half child' that so many, even of the

present day, take him to be. Nor is he the wholly docile, teachable, and plastic creature of whom anything can be made when looked at with purely philanthropic eyes. In reality, he is quite a different sort of being, stronger and more difficult to shape, though light-hearted and good-humoured generally. Neither is he the absolutely and irredeemably indolent creature who will only work when driven by the lash. Individuals may be found who answer to this description, but these are not the characteristics of the races as a whole. The African's indolence cannot be excused, but may be partly explained. He has never been trained to work by that successful teacher Necessity. He has not cultivated more than he required for his own use, because there have been no markets. One ton of grain in Central Africa was as useful to him as if he grew a hundred tons, since the latter would simply rot on the ground. Constant wars and raids took away all sense of security or permanence of tenure. He has not improved his dwelling, because he never saw anything better; and even when he has seen the buildings of coast cities, the expense of a stone or brick building is mostly beyond his means.

Though rubber is plentiful in the forests, he has never gathered it, because he had no use for it, except to make a few balls for his boys to play with. These were seen in African villages long before the demand for tyres for motor cars existed, and before rubber was bought on the Congo at less than a penny and sold for three shillings a pound on the markets of Antwerp.

There is in the African a curious mixture of childlike simplicity and obstinacy, of openness and duplicity, which makes it difficult to sum up his character briefly. He is at once affectionate and gentle, yet sometimes savage in his rage: almost always loyal, and seldom or never treacherous, like some of the Eastern races. He is a natural orator; and though not a remarkable logician, he is an excellent lawyer, and generally defends his own case in any trial. His receptive mental powers are greater as yet than his reflective. He has a great desire for knowledge, and regards it as a valuable possession, but he does not always distinguish between instruction and education, moral or intellectual. This desire for knowledge of books will help him onward in the race he has to run. Eagerness to learn is a feature alike of the pagan tribes in the South, of those who have become Mohammedans in the North, and of the Negroes in America.

The African race is certain to survive and increase. It cannot be placed amongst those races that are dying or decaying. On the contrary, it possesses a wonderful vitality. Centuries of subjugation, and all the suffering through which the African has come, have not quenched that vitality, nor destroyed a certain buoyancy of spirits, which has acted, no doubt, as a preservative.

The African of to-day is what race, circumstances, the habits of an individual lifetime, heredity, and education, such as it was, have made him. If he is low down, or far back in the race, his chances have been

few, and he had a very bad start. Little has been done for him as an individual ; and, apart from Christian missions, the efforts that have been put forth have not helped him very much.

Different tribes have been broken up and disappeared, but others have been preserved through a unique history and an experience quite peculiar to themselves,—an experience which has crushed races of even higher degrees of advancement, but possessing either less vital force, or less willingness to run in the harness of civilisation, and take part in the world's advancement. His connection with the higher races hitherto has been to him a doubtful benefit. When, far on in the next century, some African comes to write the history of his continent and his race, he will probably write thus,—that up to a certain point or date—

“Our contact with the higher civilised races of Europe and America invariably resulted in our further deterioration. We were shipped in multitudes across the seas to grow sugar, cotton, and tobacco. That seemed to be all that we were good for, at least all that we were reckoned to be good for. When that business came to an end other trades sprang up, the chief articles being spirits, guns, and gunpowder, which we used to destroy ourselves and to destroy one another. About the end of the nineteenth century, or the beginning of the twentieth, a change for the better began to appear. It is true, the whole of the continent was partitioned among the civilised peoples of Europe,

and at first we did not reap much benefit thereby. Some regions were rendered more miserable than before. But gradually, through the substitution of a humaner and wiser rule, and by the progress of education, and most of all through the introduction of Christianity, we have now reached a happier and better condition of life."

Emotion enters largely into his nature, and is conspicuous in his religion, in consequence of which we have sometimes a severance between religion and morality. This defective side of his religious character is partly due to his defective comprehension of what Christianity requires, perhaps also to the defective Christianity that is often presented to him by the white men with whom he comes in contact. He can be a generous friend or a hard bargainer, a ready giver or an unwilling contributor to any Church scheme or benevolent appeal.

This prevalence of emotion leads to the belief that there are certain yet undeveloped elements in his character. He is fond beyond measure of music, seems to have an instinctive knowledge of harmony, and an extraordinary power of keeping time.

The idea that he is incapable of adopting the new civilisation that may come to him is an entire mistake. He is, on the contrary, very ready and rather too anxious to adopt some of its less valuable forms.

We of the higher and civilised races claim too much when we assume that we have possession of all the

higher instincts, susceptibilities, and capabilities of the human race. These are much more widely diffused than hasty examination by travellers would often lead us to suppose. Indiscriminately and wholly unqualified or one-sided condemnatory statements about any great mass of mankind cannot be true, not even about Africans. Humanity is not so built. African travellers from Mungo Park to Livingstone, and others since their time, who are perfectly trustworthy authorities, tell quite a different story. Every traveller who is willing to tell the truth will say that, except for occasional misunderstandings, when he went in a friendly fashion, even amongst those who had rarely or never seen a white man, he was generally received in the same friendly manner, and kindly treated and helped on his journey, or towards the attainment of his object.

Of the reality of the African's Christianity there are two different ways of judging. One is by his moral progress as an individual, and the other by his general social progress, which is much less than some expect. But the latter is determined by the condition of others amongst whom he lives,—social progress everywhere being dependent on the movement of the mass. The real proof of his Christianity is the immense difference between the man as he was and what he becomes later. This can only be judged by those who know him intimately. Where his religion is real, he is always a better man. The native convert, or what is so called, and judged unfavourably, is sometimes rather the result of our boasted civilisation than that of missionary work.

He is hardly a missionary product at all, even though he himself thinks he is; and though the European who utilises him as an argument against missions also thinks so.

Those who support missions need be under no apprehension that their efforts and material aid are wasted or directed to an object that will never be gained. They may assure themselves of this, notwithstanding statements made by brilliant writers of travels and others, sometimes expressed thus—"The Protestant English missionaries have had most to do with rendering the African useless"; or—"The missionary-made man is the curse of the West Coast, and you find him in European clothes and without, all the way down from Sierra Leone to Loanda."¹ This statement is not balanced by the admission made by the same writer, that—"A really converted African is a very beautiful form of Christian; but those Africans who are the mainstay of missionary reports, and who form such material for the scoffer thereat, have merely had the restraint of fear removed from their minds in the mission schools, without the greater restraint of love being put in its place."

Such opinions on missionary work may be placed alongside others on general questions, and found on the same page, such as—"Both polygamy and slavery are for divers reasons essential to the well-being of Africa; at any rate for those vast regions of it which

¹ Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 514.

are agricultural"; or that the suppression of the slave trade to the Americas was a great mistake." Such opinions all belong to one school, difficult to name accurately, but it is certainly not the modern altruistic.

There is no controverting such views by ordinary argument, yet they have an undoubted influence on the general opinion entertained about missionary work. Believers in missions, however, may still hold to their belief that the one hope, or at least the chief hope, for the regeneration of the African continent is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. To some this will appear a mere missionary platitude. It is a great deal more than that.

Two other gospels have been long, often, and strongly recommended as the means by which a new Africa will arise. These are the Gospel of Work and the Gospel of Commerce. Both of them are excellent and necessary; both have been tried, and where humanely and lawfully tried, have produced very beneficial results; but by themselves they are not enough.

As to the power of the African to take up or utilise what civilisation has to offer him, it may be again repeated there need also be no doubt. A single personal testimony on this point may not be of much value, and the precise level which the African may reach within a given time may not be very easily determined; but the observation of a lifetime has led me to the conclusion that there is nothing to prevent him passing

out of his present state into one very much higher and more useful to himself and to the world. There is nothing in this opinion of mere negrophilism or colour blindness, perverting sober judgment, but merely observation of facts, leading to a conclusion not easily resisted. Of course, those who start with the belief that the African is almost of a 'different species,' and 'different and inferior not merely in degree but in kind' to the white races, and that 'beyond childhood he makes no further mental advance, but grows backwards instead of forwards,' will come to a totally different conclusion.

In the advance of the African races there is one danger ahead. It is the over-confidence and satisfaction with themselves displayed by so many of those who have been partially educated; and the entirely wrong impression, many of them seem to entertain, that it is possible for them to reach in one or two generations the level which other races have taken long centuries to reach. From this fallacious conclusion they are apt to claim an equality, political and social, for which *as a race* they are not yet prepared. This comes from imperfect education, using the word education in its widest sense. That it is so in South Africa at the present time is the impression of many, laymen as well as others, who are entirely favourable to the education of the native and the success of missionary work.

This overestimate of the slight advance as yet made by themselves is singularly enough very widely

spread. It exists in the South and on the West Coast, and in the North. It has been referred to by Lord Cromer in the report already quoted. While defending his policy of employing native agency to the utmost extent possible, without impairing the efficiency of the Service, he adds—

“To the young Egyptians, who have had no personal experience of the abuses of the past, and who are possibly disposed to underrate the difficulties involved in the government of their own country, I venture to give a word of friendly advice, and that is, to be somewhat moderate in their estimate of their own capacities.”

This immoderate estimate, and the claims to which it may lead, may act as a retarding influence. It is the cloud in the sky,—not bigger than a man’s hand as yet. Its possible political effects or dangers lie outside the limits of this lecture. It has, however, already led to trouble in the missions, and produced such movements as the Ethiopian Church and other divisions. The safety of the black man, and the guarantee for his progressive higher future, lie in harmonious working with the white man, especially in those regions where a humane and just British administration exists.

Yet, with all these deductions or hindrances, there can be little doubt that a New Africa is arising. It will yet be a wonderful continent. Its central regions, if properly developed, could supply products, both of food—certain kinds of which our modern civilisation needs—and raw material for manufactures, in quantity that would require fleets to carry away.

But of all that the African continent contains which the civilised nations prize and want, it still remains true that 'the most valuable asset' in Africa 'is the African himself.' We cannot do without him, and, if he is wise, he will admit that he cannot do without us. If Victor Hugo's conjecture comes true, that the Twentieth Century will make a man of the African, it will be found that the most direct road to this satisfactory result is to make a Christian man of him. When a man is changed morally for the better, he is started fairly on the line of upward progress. It is the man himself which the missionary enterprise chiefly regards.

The African will not by a few bounds reach the highest levels of civilisation and saintliness, but what the Gospel of Jesus Christ has done for Europe and America, it can also do for the New African Continent of a future day.

XVI

WHAT THE CHURCH EXISTS FOR

THIS chapter contains no argument, appeal, or peroration on the benefits of missions, such as is frequently used at the close of a missionary address. It contains only the simple statement of the question—What does the Church exist for?

Its own conservation, or a self-regarding religious culture, can hardly be the complete answer, or the chief object of its existence.

Jesus Christ, the Founder of Christianity and of the Church, when He was on earth, said little about such conservation. Yet His public life was hardly begun when He sent out twelve men, and later on seventy, with a certain message; and His last act consisted of directions to His Church to carry that message all over the world, and ‘make Christians of all nations.’

Twenty centuries have passed away, and the work is still undone—in reality is now being begun.

This question is not in the first instance for Church courts or missionary boards. It can only be fully and rightly answered by each individual Christian and each body of Christians formed into a church or

congregation—the minister being the leader in the inquiry. When that is done, and the answer is rightly given, there will be an expansion of missionary effort, unknown before, in influence, extent, and power.

APPENDIX

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AFRICA

THE following summary gives in a condensed or tabular form the names of nearly all the different missionary societies at work now in the African continent. The number of the force employed, of membership, schools, and hospitals, and other details are also given. The information is from two recently published and exceedingly valuable works, *The Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*, by the Rev. Harlan P. Beach, and Dr. Dennis' *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*.

The arrangement followed is that adopted in the former of these two works, with a slight modification. The alphabetical order is retained, but the societies are arranged in two groups. The larger and more important societies, at least those employing the largest force in Africa, are given in the first group, and those with a smaller force in the second. Thus the first group in the British societies employs large numbers of ordained men, some from forty or fifty up to over a hundred; while in the second group, that force is represented by one or two or half a dozen; but the alphabetical order has been followed in each.

The relative standing of each society and the successful results of its work can thus be seen at a glance.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF

British Societies

COUNTRIES AND SOCIETIES. AFRICA BRITISH SOCIETIES.	Work began in Africa.	MISSIONARY FORCE EUROPEAN AND NATIVE.					STATIONS.	
		Or- dained Men.	Unor- dained Men.	Mission- aries' Wives.	Mission- ary Women.	Native Workers.	Main Stations.	Out- Stations.
Baptist Missionary Society	1879	32	...	16	2	35	10	24
British and Foreign Bible Society . . . . .	...	4	3	...	...	15	6	...
Church Missionary Society	1804	62	57	58	69	2,533	96	42
Church of Scot. Foreign Mission Committee .	1874	4	10	8	...	72	3	12
Church of Scot. Jewish Mission Committee .	...	4	...	3	3	...	1	...
London Missionary Soc.	1799	19	7	21	2	99	17	...
London Society for pro- moting Christianity among the Jews . .	1833	1	14	2	1	20	3	2
Maritzburg Mission As- sociation for Diocese of Natal	1856	9	...	...	6	11	13	2
North African Mission .	1881	27	...	23	39	22	15	2
Primitive Methodist Mis- sionary Society . .	1870	15	14	10	...	...	10	11
Regions Beyond Mission- ary Union	1889	...	22	6	6	6	7	...
Representative Church Council, Episcopal Church, Scotland .	1854	30	8	...	13	328	18	200
Society for the Propaga- tion of the Gospel .	1752	45	3	...	3	13	41	...
South Africa General Mission	1890	6	5	9	9	16	13	2
U.F.C. of Scotland Foreign Missions .	1821	45	49	47	39	888	38	418
United Methodist Free Churches, H. and F. Mission	1859	11	...	8	...	185	9	16
Universities Mission to Central Africa . . .	1861	32	21	1	45	165	15	72
Wesleyan Methodist Mis- sionary Society . .	1796	114	119	...	...	3,549	93	1,369
Zululand Missionary Diocese, Province of South Africa . . .	1866	17	4	8	6	86	13	38
Carry forward . . .	...	477	336	220	243	8,043	421	2,210

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AFRICA

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.		EDUCATION.				MEDICAL WORK.			
Com- muni- cants.	Adherents.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Institu- tions.	Students in Same.	Men Doctors.	Women Doctors.	Hospi- tals, Dispen- saries.	Patients during Year Reported.
400	...	...	1,672	...	...	...	...	4	33,085
...
20,517	38,411	245	17,866	9	495	7	2	16	103,372
544	17	29	1,700	...	...	3	...	2	?
...	...	4	903	...	...	...	...	...	...
2,667	13,480	103	4,832	...	...	1	...	5	...
...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1,840	4,500	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...
54	...	8	265	...	...	3	1	10	25,000
1,463	2,600	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	6	900	...	...	...	...	5	...
7,632	...	157	...	5	...	1	...	...	...
5,075	13,329	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
142	?	9	?	...	...	...	...	3	?
16,044	8,182	396	26,309	9	280	15	...	12	8,728
3,232	1,459	18	1,035	...	...	...	...	3	342
3,416	10,990	97	4,137	2	40	3	...	11	...
31,633	115,005	250	27,430	3	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	36	...	2	36	1	...	...	...
94,659	207,973	1,365	87,049	32	853	34	3	72	170,527

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF

British Societies—*continued*

COUNTRIES AND SOCIETIES. AFRICA. BRITISH SOCIETIES.	Work began in Africa.	MISSIONARY FORCE, EUROPEAN AND NATIVE.					STATIONS.	
		Or- dained Men.	Unor- dained Men.	Mission- aries' Wives.	Mission- ary Women.	Native Workers.	Main Stations.	Out- Stations.
Brought forward		477	336	220	243	8,043	421	2,210
African Institute, Colwyn Bay, North Wales	1893	...	...	...	...	172	1 ?	...
Anti-Slavery Committee of Society of Friends	1896	...	3	1	3	1	2	...
Central Morocco Mission Christian Missions (com. called 'Brethren')	1886	2	...	2	...	...	1	...
Church of Scot. Women's Association	1881	...	24	18	10	...	15	...
Egypt Mission Band	1884	...	...	...	4	...	2	14
Jerusalem and the East Mission Fund	1898	7	...	...	...	...	1	...
Mildmay Mission to the Jews . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
Missions to Seamen . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Natal Missionary Society Qua Iboe Mission	1899	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Society of St. John the Evangelist	1895	1	...	1	2	...	2	2
Southern Morocco Miss. Unsectarian Mission to Zulu Kaffirs	1887	...	5	3	1	10	3	3
Women's Auxiliary Wes- leyan Methodist F.M. Society . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Young Men's F.M. Soc. (Ikwezi Lamaci Miss.) Zambesi Industrial Miss.	1888	...	8	6	4	...	5	...
	1879	1	...	1	...	4	1	2
	1861	...	...	...	3	...	3	...
	1877	1	6	5	3	14	4	8
	1892	...	18	7	2	50	9	17
Totals, thirty-six Brit- ish Societies . . . . .	...	489	402	264	275	8,294	472	2,256

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AFRICA—*continued*

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.		EDUCATION.				MEDICAL WORK.			
Com- muni- cants.	Adherents.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Institu- tions.	Students in Same.	Men Doctors.	Women Doctors.	Hospi- tals, Dispen- saries.	Patients during Year reported.
94,659	207,973	1,365	87,049	32	853	34	3	72	170,527
2,640	...	29	?	1	80	...	...	...	...
...	...	2	50	...	...	...	1	...	?
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	1	20	...	...	...	...
...
...
...
50	200	3	130	...	...	...	...	...	...
609	380	5	240	...	...	...	...	4	9,000
...
...	...	1	60	...	...	...	...	5	...
...
...	...	...	245	3	140	...	...	...	...
110	200	6	200	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	450	34	2,400	...	...	...	...	2	...
98,068	209,203	1,445	90,374	37	1,093	36	4	83	179,527

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF

American Societies

COUNTRIES AND SOCIETIES. AFRICA. AMERICAN SOCIETIES.	Work began in Africa.	MISSIONARY FORCE, EUROPEAN AND NATIVE.					STATIONS.	
		Or- dained Men.	Unor- dained Men.	Mission- aries' Wives.	Mission- ary Women.	Native Workers.	Main Stations.	Out- Stations.
American Baptist Mis- sionary Union . . .	1878	12	1	12	4	121	6	73
American Board of Foreign Missions . . .	1834	18	6	23	17	431	16	24
Board of For. Missions, Evangelical Church, Gen. Syn.	1860	3	1	3	3	12	2	2
Board of For. Missions, Presbyterian Church, North	1842	9	7	8	7	40	6	58
Board of For. Missions, United Presbyterian Church	1854	19	3	18	12	481	10	218
Christian and Missionary Alliance	1887	8	12	11	3	...	11	...
Home and Foreign Mis- sionary Soc., African M. E. Church . . .	1878	32	94	4	1	124	29	105
Home and Foreign M.S., United Brethren in Christ	1855	3	...	3	...	14	3	90
Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	1833	25	2	18	11	132	13	68
Scandinavian Alliance Mission of North America	1892	4	...	3	2	4	4	...
Woman's Missionary As- sociation, United Breth- ren in Christ . . .	1877	7	...	4	3	11	2	8
Carry forward . . .	...	140	126	107	63	1,370	102	646

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AFRICA—*continued*

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.		EDUCATION.				MEDICAL WORK.			
Com- muni- cants.	Adherents.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Institu- tions.	Students in Same.	Men Doctors.	Women Doctors.	Hospi- tals, Dispen- saries.	Patients during Year reported.
2,784	1,110	74	2,622	3	42	3	...	4	...
3,398	15,679	68	3,228	6	505	5	1	3	3,907
96	85	3	85	...	...	2	...	1	?
1,546	...	24	483	...	...	4	...	5	4,614
6,379	...	184	14,246	2	700	2	2	3	18,827
?	?	...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...
10,573	?	7	500	...	...	...	...	...	...
1,500	5,000	5	400	1	65	1	...	1	300
3,991	...	5	86	7	150	...	...	2	...
...
?	?	6	260	...	...	...	1	...	...
30,267	21,874	376	22,010	19	1,462	17	4	19	27,648

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF

American Societies—*continued*

COUNTRIES AND SOCIETIES. AFRICA. AMERICAN SOCIETIES.	Work began in Africa.	MISSIONARY FORCE, EUROPEAN AND NATIVE.					STATIONS.	
		Or- dained Men.	Unor- dained Men.	Mission- aries' Wives.	Mission- ary Women.	Native Workers.	Main Stations.	Out- Stations.
Brought forward . . .		140	126	107	63	1,370	102	646
African Inland Mission . . .	1895	...	3	2	...	...	1	2
Dom. and For. Mission- ary Society, Protestant Episcopal Church . . .	1836	1	...	...	2	103	16	109
Executive Committee of Foreign Missions, Pres- byterian Church, South	1891	5	...	2	2	11	3	2
Foreign Christian Mis- sionary Society . . .	1896	3	...	2	...	...	2	...
Foreign Mission Board, National Baptist Con- vention . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Con- vention	1850	4	...	3	...	11	4	6
Gen. Missionary Board, Free Methodist Church	1899	3	...	3	2	13	3	7
Gospel Missionary Union	1894	7	...	2	...	...	4	...
International Medical Missionary and Benev- olent Association . . .	1896	...	8	...	6	...	4	2
Missionary Society, Wes- t. Methodist Connection of America	1890	2	...	2	1	3	1	...
Mission Board of Seventh- Day Adventists	1895	2	4	4	...	...	1	1
Peniel Missionary Society	1895	...	...	...	3	1	1	...
West Africa Gospel Mis- sion Band	1894	...	3	...	1	1	2	...
Totals, twenty-four American Societies.	...	167	144	127	80	1,513	144	775

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AFRICA—*continued*

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.		EDUCATION.				MEDICAL WORK.			
Com- muni- cants.	Adherents.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Institu- tions.	Students in Same.	Men Doctors.	Women Doctors.	Hospi- tals, Dispen- saries.	Patients during Year reported.
30,276	21,874	376	22,010	19	1,462	17	4	19	27,648
...	...	1	84	...	...	...	...	...	...
1,701	...	18	868	1	...	...	...	...	...
472	1,300	2	55	...	...	1	...	...	...
...	...	1	140	...	...	1	...	1	...
...
382	...	4	104	...	...	...	...	1	...
122	...	5	110	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
...	3	1	3	...
25	...	1	24	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	...	2	41	...	...	1	...	...	...
...	...	1	35	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	2	12	...	...	...	...	...	...
2,978	23,174	413	23,483	20	1,462	23	5	24	27,648

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF

Continental Societies

COUNTRIES AND SOCIETIES. AFRICA. CONTINENTAL SOCIETIES.	Work began in Africa.	MISSIONARY FORCE, EUROPEAN AND NATIVE.					STATIONS.	
		Or- dained Men.	Unor- dained Men.	Mission- aries' Wives.	Mission- ary Women.	Native Workers.	Main Stations.	Out- Stations.
Church of Norway Mis- sion, established by Shreuder	1843	5	...	4	4	8	3	...
Church of Sweden Mission	1876	9	...	6	10	28	5	34
Evangelical Lutheran Mission Inst., Her- mannsburg, Hanover .	1854	45	...	45	...	396	46	103
Evang. Lutheran Mission at Leipzig	1892	15	4	7	...	...	7	10
Evangelical Missionary Society, Basel	1828	59	20	40	4	420	27	216
Evangelical Missionary Society for German East Africa	1887	19	8	15	1	20	8	17
Evangelical National Society	1865	12	5	10	5	28	7	5
French Swiss Mission .	1875	18	4	16	15	50	9	30
Hanover Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission	1892	10	...	5	...	13	8	15
North German Mission- ary Society	1847	16	1	10	6	...	5	33
Norwegian Missionary Society	1849	12	...	12	3	41	15	73
Rhenish Missionary Society	1829	44	3	36	1	215	35	40
Société des Missions évangéliques de Paris .	1833	36	8	25	6	342	35	177
Society for the Extension of the Gospel in Egypt	1870	1	...	1	...	7	2	...
Society for the Prom. of Evangelical Missions among the Heathen .	1834	81	13	75	15	150	68	154
Swedish Missionary Soc.	1882	20	1	8	11	62	8	62
Carry forward . . . .	...	402	67	315	81	1,780	282	969

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AFRICA—*continued*

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.		EDUCATION.				MEDICAL WORK.			
Com- muni- cants.	Adherents.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Institu- tions.	Students in Same.	Men Doctors.	Women Doctors.	Hospi- tals, Dispen- saries.	Patients during Year reported.
323	665	3	180	...	...	...	...	...	...
631	429	19	281	...	...	...	...	1	?
25,400	...	96	6,058	2	?	..	...	...	...
31	37	13	468	...	...	...	...	...	...
9,852	58,416	302	8,436	9	514	2	...	2	?
288	533	17	581	2	18	...	...	?	?
206	502	14	305	...	...	1	...	1	?
958	2,170	45	1,584	1	20	2	...	2	...
3,715	...	17	?	...	...	...	...	...	...
2,257	2,786	45	1,296	1	11	...	...	...	...
1,016	2,060	32	714	1	182	...	...	...	...
10,173	...	60	4,847	2	...	...	...	...	...
12,374	17,396	162	9,725	3	185	1	...	2	?
42	100	2	150	...	...	...	...	...	...
15,845	35,034	?	6,097	2	30	1	...	...	...
1,573	?	101	3,606	1	36	...	...	7	20,000
84,684	120,128	928	44,328	24	996	7	...	15	20,000

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF

Continental Societies—*continued*

COUNTRIES AND SOCIETIES. AFRICA. CONTINENTAL SOCIETIES.	Work began in Africa.	MISSIONARY FORCE, EUROPEAN AND NATIVE.					STATIONS.	
		Or- dained Men.	Unor- dained Men.	Mission- aries' Wives.	Mission- ary Women.	Native Workers.	Main Stations.	Out- Stations.
Brought forward		402	67	315	81	1,780	282	969
Committee for the Mayor Mission at Moknea	1883	...	1	1	...	...	1	...
Deaconesses' Institution at Keiserswerth	1857	...	...	...	21	...	2	...
East African Free Mission	1889	...	1	...	2	1	2	1
Finnish Missionary Soc. French Protestant Mis- sion in Kabylia	1871	5	1	5	3	21	3	9
French Society for the Evangelisation of Israel	1886	2	...	2	1	...	1	?
Holiness Union . . . . .	...	1	...	...	...	1	2	...
Mission Institute at Neu- kirchen, near Moers	1891	10	...	...	...	7	4	5
Sudan-Pionier-Mission in Eisenach	1887	9	...	6	...	2	3	2
Woman's Foreign Miss. Work . . . . .	...	1	...	1	...	3	1	...
	1898	...	...	...	2	...	1	...
Totals, twenty-six Con- tinental Societies . . . . .	...	430	70	330	110	1,815	302	986

International Societies

COUNTRIES AND SOCIETIES. AFRICA. INTERNATIONAL SOCIETIES.	Work began in Africa.	MISSIONARY FORCE, EUROPEAN AND NATIVE.					STATIONS.	
		Or- dained Men.	Unor- dained Men.	Mission- aries' Wives.	Mission- ary Women.	Native Workers.	Main Stations.	Out- Stations.
Moravian Missions	1792	47	10	50	...	459	28	14
Missionary Society of the German Baptists	1891	5	...	2	2	50	4	50
South African Mission- ary Society, Wesleyan	...	11	...	...	...	3,531	68	1,710
Carry forward . . . . .	...	63	10	52	2	4,040	100	1,774

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AFRICA—*continued*

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.		EDUCATION.				MEDICAL WORK.			
Com-muni-cants.	Adherents.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Institu-tions.	Students in Same.	Men Doctors.	Women Doctors.	Hospitals, Dispen-saries.	Patients during Year reported.
84,684	120,128	928	44,328	24	996	7	...	15	20,000
...	15	1	15	..	...	...	...	1	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
...	...	2	60	...	...	...	...	...	...
297	...	2	?	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5,000
...
...	...	3	?	...	...	...	...	...	...
81	560	4	168	1	4	...	...	...	...
...	...	2	150	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
85,062	120,703	942	44,721	25	1,000	7	...	19	25,000

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.		EDUCATION.				MEDICAL WORK.			
Com-muni-cants.	Adherents.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Institu-tions.	Students in Same.	Men Doctors.	Women Doctors.	Hospitals, Dispen-saries.	Patients during Year reported.
4,762	12,593	58	4,030	2	19	...	...	...	...
2,142	650	50	1,240	...	...	...	...	...	...
51,251	209,627	581	37,351	10	...	...	...	...	...
58,155	222,870	689	42,621	12	19	...	...	...	...

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF

International and Nationality Unknown

COUNTRIES AND SOCIETIES. AFRICA. INTERNATIONAL SOCIETIES.	Work began in Africa.	MISSIONARY FORCE, EUROPEAN AND NATIVE.					STATIONS.	
		Or- dained Men.	Unor- dained Men.	Mission- aries' Wives.	Mission- ary Women.	Native Workers.	Main Stations.	Out- Stations.
Brought forward	63	10	52	2	4,040	100	1,774
Native Baptist Church (Lagos)	61	2	4
Pongas Mission or West Indian African Mission	1855	4	5	4	2	...	4	6
Salvation Army
South African Baptist Missionary Society	3	1	2	5	9	6	5
Totals, seven Interna- tional Societies	70	16	58	9	4,110	112	1,789
NATIONALITY UNKNOWN.								
Algiers Spanish Mission	2	2	...	1	...	1	...
Miss Trotter's Mission . .	1888	...	...	...	5	...	1	...
Totals, two Societies of Unknown Nationality	...	2	2	...	6	...	2	...
Grand Total, ninety- five Societies	1,158	634	779	480	15,732	1,032	5,806

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN AFRICA—*continued*

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.		EDUCATION.				MEDICAL WORK.			
Com- muni- cants.	Adherents.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Institu- tions.	Students in Same.	Men Doctors.	Women Doctors.	Hos- pitals, Dispen- saries.	Patients during Year reported.
58,155	222,870	689	42,621	12	19	...	...	...	...
245	580	7	274	...	...	...	...	...	...
...
...
142	...	1	?	...	...	...	...	...	...
58,542	223,450	697	42,895	12	19	...	...	...	...
...
...
...
274,650	576,530	3,497	201,473	94	3,574	66	9	126	232,175

INDEX

- ABBEOKUTA, 115, 144.
 Abeel, Rev. David, suggests the Zenana Mission, 277.
 Adams, Dr., American missionary in Natal, 169.
 African Lakes Corporation, 210, 216.
 Ajawa slave raiders, 135.
 Alaska, 296.
 Amanzimtote, 157, 170.
 American Baptist Mission, 79, 152.
 American Bible Society, 267.
 American International Alliance Mission, 79.
 American Methodist Episcopal Missions, 146.
 American Missions—Congregationalist and Presbyterian, 168-177.
 American missionary methods—education and preaching, 157.
 Angola Mission, 79.
 Angoni Africans, 237.
 Appleyard, Rev. W., 143.
 Arianism, 321.
 Arnot Garenganze Mission, 266.
 Assiout, 157, 174.
 Assouan, 174.
 Athanasius, 59.
 Augustine, St., 59, 293.
 Austrian Roman Catholic Mission in Egypt, 176.

 Bailundu, 157.
 Bain, Rev. Alexander, 237.
 Baker, Sir Samuel W., 16, 78.
 Baldwin, Mr., 150.
 Bandajuma, Wesleyan station in, 145.

 Bandawe, 228, 231.
 Bantu tribes, 81.
 Baptist Mission on the Cameroons, 242 *u.*
 Baptist Missionary Society, 150.
 Barotseland, French mission in, 80, 255; Primitive Methodists, 150.
 Barth, Heinrich, 15.
 Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, 242, 243.
 Basel Industrial Mission, 151, 223.
 Basutoland, French Mission in, 250.
 Basutos, 82.
 Baviaans Kloof, 84.
 Bechuanaland, 95-97, 101, 142, 169, 249, 254.
 Bechuanas, 82.
 Belgium's possessions in Africa, 19.
 Bennie, John, missionary in Kaffraria, 161, 184.
 Bentley, Rev. W. Hoelman, 152.
 Berlin Conference and the Partition of Africa, 18.
 Berlin Missionary Society, 243, 246.
 Berthoud, M., 261.
 Bethelsdorp, 101.
 Bethune, Mr. Joseph, 167.
 Beyrout College, American, 155.
 Bible, translations of the, 152, 296; translated into Kaffir, 143, 249; Sesuto, 251; Swaheli, 136.
 Black, Rev. Dr., 236.
 Blantyre Mission, 79, 162, 208, 210-216.
 Blyth, Captain, chief magistrate of the Transkei, 197, 198, 200.

- Blythwood Missionary Institute, story of the founding of, 196.
- Botschabelo, a station of the Berlin Missionary Society, 247.
- Bowie, Dr., 216.
- Boyce, Rev. W., 143.
- Brahminism, 62.
- Britain's possessions in Africa, 19 ; her share in the slave trade, 21.
- British and Foreign Bible Society, 267.
- Brown's *Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, 85, 158, 167.
- Bruce, James, 15.
- Brunton, Mr., 159, 160.
- Buckenham, Mr., 150.
- Buddhism, 46, 62.
- Buluwayo, 256.
- Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, 152 ; translated into Kaffir, 162, 191 ; translated into Sesuto, 252.
- Burnshill, Kaffraria, 163, 183.
- Burrup, Rev. Mr., 135.
- Burton, Sir Richard F., 16, 78.
- Bushmen, 82, 101.
- Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell, 77.
- Cairo, 157 ; American United Presbyterian Church Mission in, 173-176.
- Callaway, Henry, missionary bishop in Kaffraria, 127.
- Cambridge University, Livingstone's visit to, 133.
- Cameron, Verney Lovett, 16.
- Cameroons, 151, 242 *n.*
- Cannibalism, disappearance of, due to missions, 291.
- Cape Colony, 140, 142, 246.
- Cape Maclear, 228, 230.
- Cape to Cairo railway, 23.
- Cape of Good Hope, 77.
- Cape Town, 80.
- Carey, William, founder of the Baptist Missionary Society, 151.
- Carlisle Institute, Pennsylvania, 157.
- Cathcart, Sir George, 253.
- Cetewayo, 259.
- Chalmers, James, on civilisation and Christianity, 26.
- Chibisa, mission station at, 135.
- China, missions to, 309 ; number of stations and communicants in, 164.
- Chisholm, Andrew, 166.
- Christianism, as opposed to Christianity, 65.
- Christianity the remedy for African troubles, 32-35, 369 ; the universal civiliser, 35 ; contrasted with Mohammedanism, 54, 63, 69 ; the religion best suited for humanity, 60-61 ; the certainty of its ultimate success, 71-72 ; an educator as well as civiliser, 179 ; its aims, 305 ; slow progress of, 320 ; the conversion of the heathen its greatest work, 323.
- Church Missionary Society, 107-124, 132, 164, 338, 347, 348.
- Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 277.
- Civilisation for Africa, Christian or Utilitarian, 23 ; retarded by Mohammedanism, 57 ; civilisation and Christianity, 25, 27.
- Clapperton, Hugh, 15.
- Clark, Mr., of Jamaica, 167.
- Clarke, Sir Marshall, 252.
- Clarkebury, a station of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, 141.
- Cleland, Rev. Robert, 216.
- Coal, discovery of, in Africa, 16.
- Coillard, Rev. F., 255.
- Coke, Thomas, D.D., organiser of the Wesleyan foreign missions, 139.
- Colenso, Bishop, 126.
- Colonial possessions, importance of, 20-22.
- Comparative view of the missions of the United Free Church of Scotland, 164.
- Confucianism, 62.
- Congo Balolo Mission, 79, 153.

- Congo Methodist Conference, 147.
 Congo Free State, 20; cruelties in, 317-318 and *n.*
 Congo Valley, Baptist mission in, 151-152.
 Constantinople, 155.
 Corfe, Bishop, 133.
 Creek town, 166.
 Creux, M., 261.
 Cromer, Lord, on the Sobat River Mission, 174-176; his Report on Egypt, 241, 371.
 Cross, Dr. Kerr, 222.
 Cross River, 165.
 Crowther, Samuel, slave and bishop, 116.
 Cuba, 30.
 Cunningham or Toleni, 163.
- Dale, Sir Langham, 197.
 Daly, Rev. J. Fairley, 234 *n.*
 Damaraland, 246.
 Delagoa Bay, 261.
 Denham, Major, 15.
 Dennis' *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions*, 275.
 Dieterlin, M., 255.
 Dingaan, king of the Zulus, 169.
 Doppers' Church, 263.
 Douglas, Principal, 225 *n.*
 Dublin University, 134.
 Duff, Dr., on education as part of missionary work, 157.
 Duketown, 166.
 Durham University, 134.
 Dutch antipathy to natives, 100; the Dutch Government opposed to missions, 84.
 Dutch East India Company, 77.
 Dutch Reformed Church Missions, 261.
- East India Company opposed to mission work, 76.
 Ecclesiasticism, 321.
 Edgerly, Mr., of Calabar, 166.
 Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, 267.
- Edinburgh Missionary Society, 158.
 Education as a factor in missionary work, 155-157, 178-180, 274.
 Egypt, the birthplace of civilisation, 12.
 Ekwendeni, 231.
 Elliot, Major Sir Henry, 205.
 Elmslie, Dr., of the Livingstonia Mission, 236.
 Engwali, United Presbyterian mission at, 162.
 English Baptist Mission, 79, 150.
 English Primitive Methodists in Barotseland, 150.
 Entumeni, 261.
 Ethiopian Church movement in South Africa, 131, 185 *n.*, 371.
 Export slave trade, 21.
 Exploration in Africa, 15-16.
- Faith and finance policy in mission work, 122-123.
 Fashoda, 48-49.
 Fatalism, 51.
 Faulkner, Captain, 227 *n.*
 Finance and faith, 122-123; financial position of the missionary situation, 271.
 Florence Bay, 231.
 Forced labour, 29-30.
 Foreign missions, the beginnings of, 322; money value of, 289-306.
 Fort Hare, Kaffraria, 183.
 Fourah Bay College, 114.
 France and her possessions in Africa, 19.
 Free Church Mission proposed in Central Africa, 161; its report, 224-226.
 Freetown, Wesley chapel in, 145.
 French Mission, 250; in Barotseland, 80, 255.
 French, Thomas Valpy, bishop of Lahore, 130.
 Frere, Sir Bartle, 99.
- Gaboon-Corisco Mission, 171-172.
 Gaika, a Kaffir chief, 183.

- Gambia, 143, 145, 146.
 Gardiner, Captain Allen, and the Zulu Mission, 111.
 Garengenze Mission, 79.
 German missions, features of, 249.
 Germany's colonising ambition, 18 ; her possessions in Africa, 20.
 Giffen, Mr. and Mrs., 175, 176.
 Giffen, Sir Robert, his estimate of Britain's wealth, 271.
 Glasgow Missionary Society, 158, 161, 184.
 Glenny, Mr., of the North Africa Mission, 266.
 Gnadendal, 84, 85.
 Gold Coast, 143, 145.
 Gordon, Hon. Charles, 162.
 Gordon Memorial College at Khar-toum, 240.
 Gordon Memorial Mission in Natal, 162.
 Grahamstown training institution of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 127.
 Grant, Col. J. A., 16, 78.
 Grattan Guinness Mission on the Congo, 153.
 Gray, Robert, bishop of Cape Town, 126, 134.
 Great Namaqualand, 141, 142.
 Greig, Mr., 159 ; murder of, 160.
 Grey, Sir George, 99.
 Griquas, 101,
 Grogan's *Cape to Cairo*, 202-205.
 Guinness, Dr. and Mrs. Grattan, 152.
- Hampton Institute, Virginia, 157.
 Hankey, Cape Colony, 102.
 Hannington, Bishop, murder of, 120.
 Harley Institute, 153, 154.
 Harms, Pastor Louis, 247.
 Hartwig, Mr., of the Church Missionary Society, 113.
 Hartzell, Bishop, on the Methodist missions in Liberia and the Congo Valley, 149.
- Hausaland, 115.
 Healdtown, a station of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, 141.
 Henderson, Henry, pioneer of the Blantyre Mission, 212, 214, 215, 228.
 Henry, Dr. and Mrs., 237.
 Henson, Canon, on divisions among Christians, 129-130 ; on missionaries from an outside point of view, 283-287.
 Hermannsburg Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society, 243, 247.
 Hetherwick, Rev. Alexander, of the Blantyre Mission, 216.
 Hinduism, 46, 62.
 Hofmeyer, Rev. Mr., 263.
 Hogg, Mr., missionary in Cairo, 173.
 Hore, Captain E. C., 103.
 Hottentots, 81, 82.
 Howe, Mr. and Mrs. Osborne, 265.
 Huskisson, Frank, 265.
 Hymn-singing, popularity of and use among natives, 251 and *n.*
- Ibadan, 115.
 Impolweni, 162.
 Inanda, 170.
 India formerly closed to missionaries, 76 number of stations and communicants in, 164.
 Infanticide, 294-295.
 Inhambane, Methodist Episcopal mission at, 150.
 Inland Flotilla Company, Zambesi, 220.
 Irving, Edward, on missionary methods, 302.
 Islam, 51.
 Italy in Africa, 20.
- Jack's *Daybreak in Livingstonia*, 224.
 Jamaica, number of stations and communicants, 164 ; formerly closed to missions, 167.

- Japan opposed to the introduction of Christianity, 76, 309.
- Jews and their experiences of Christianity, 318-319.
- Johnston, Sir H., 222, 238.
- Jones, Archbishop, 127.
- Judaism, 62.
- Kaffir Bible, 143, 249; literature, 143.
- Kaffirs, 82.
- Kaffraria, 142; Scottish mission to, 161; number of stations and communicants in, 164; the home of the Lovedale Mission, 183.
- Kalabasi, 162.
- Kambole, mission station at, 105.
- Karonga, 231.
- Kavala Island, 103.
- Kawimbe, mission station at, 105.
- Keiskamma Hoek, a training station of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 127.
- Keltie, Dr. J. Scott, on mission progress, 305.
- Key, Bishop, 127.
- Khame, King, 97.
- Khartoum, transformation of, 240.
- Kidd's *Control of the Tropics*, 359.
- Kidd, Dudley, 265.
- Kingsley, Miss Mary H., *Travels in West Africa*, 368.
- Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana*, 145.
- Koran, the, 52.
- Koranas, tribe of, Orange River, 101.
- Korea, 309.
- Koyi, William, Lovedale evangelist, 232, 237.
- Krapf, J. L., missionary at Mombasa, 78, 117-118.
- Kronlein, Rev. Mr., 246.
- Kropf, Rev. Dr., 249.
- Lagden, Sir Godfrey, 252.
- Lagos, 115, 143, 145.
- Lake Nyassa, 136, 209, 263.
- Lambeth Conference and Foreign Missions, 111.
- Lansing, Rev. Dr., 173.
- Laws, Dr., of the Livingstonia Mission, 214, 217, 228, 232, 235.
- Leipsic Missionary Society, 243.
- Leper hospitals, 297.
- Letia, son of King Lewanika, 258.
- Lewanika, King, 257-259.
- Lewis, Rev. T., 152.
- Lialuyi, 256.
- Liberia, 147; mission to, 171-172.
- Likoma, a station of the Universities Mission, 136.
- Little Namaqualand, 141.
- Livingstone, David, 16, 78, 94-96, 101, 102, 225, 286, 326; his influence on African missions, 133; death of, 227; his boat left at Murchison Cataracts, 209.
- Livingstone Inland Mission, 152, 154.
- Livingstonia Mission, 79, 161, 208, 210, 223-239, 309; success of, 121; number of stations and communicants, 164.
- Livingstonia Training Institute, 231.
- Lobengula, 255, 257, 258.
- London Association in aid of Moravian Missions, 91.
- London Medical Missionary Society, 267.
- London Missionary Society, 94, 109, 158, 246, 326, 347.
- Lorenzo Marques, 261.
- Love, Dr., Secretary to the London Missionary Society, 183.
- Lovedale Missionary Institute, 157, 162, 165; its system, 180-182; its geographical position, 182-183; how it came into being, 184; its progress, 184-186; its educational work and results, 186-189; its industrial aspect, 190-192; position medically and financially, 192; the builders of, 194; its chief aim, 206,

- Lugard, Sir F., 222.
 Lull or Lully, Raymond, 337.
- Macarthy, Sir Charles, governor of Sierra Leone, 113.
 Macdonald, Rev. James, his *Religion and Myth*, 335.
 MacEwen, Alex., C.E., 237.³
 Mackay, Alexander, of the Uganda Mission, 119-121, 196, 331.
 Mackenzie, Charles Frederick, bishop of Central Africa, 134-135.
 Mackenzie, John, missionary in South Africa, 95.
 Maclachlan's *David Livingstone*, 224.
 M'Laughlin, Dr. and Mrs., 175, 176.
 Madagascar, 105, 127, 242 *n.*, 260.
 Madras Christian College, 164.
 Magila, a station of the Universities Mission, 136.
 Magomero, first station of the Universities Mission, 134, 135.
 Mahomet, 69, 70.
 Makololo, mission to the, 94.
 Malo, island of, 135.
 Mamboia, mission station at, 120.
 Mandala, headquarters of the African Lakes Company, 222.
 Mankanjira, 229.
 Maples, Bishop, of the Universities Mission, 137.
 Maritzburg, 162.
 Martel, Charles, 47.
 Martyn, Henry, first missionary of the Church Missionary Society, 111.
 Mashona revolt, 257.
 Matabele Mission, 229.
 Matabele war, 257-258.
 Medical missionaries, 267, 268, 295.
 Medina, battle of, 69.
 Miller, Edward, 166.
 Milner, Lord, 13.
 Mineral wealth of Africa, 16.
- Missionaries, dissensions among, 87, 159; missionaries from an outside point of view, 283-285; salaries, 304; the training of the missionary, 329-344.
 Missionary Evangelical Alliance, 148.
 Missions, necessity for, 25, 32; establishment of, 79, 309; missionary societies, 82; mission work in Africa during the last century, 73-106; necessity for toleration and sympathy, 127-132; the influence of Livingstone on African missions, 133; self-supporting missions, 91, 101-102, 147; expense of, 148; missions of the U.F. Church of Scotland, 164; the missionary situation of to-day, 269-288; results, 291; slow progress of the work, 305-328; missionary magazine, 345-355; desirability of *Missionary Year Book*.
 Moffat, Robert, missionary, 95, 96, 101, 286.
 Mohammedanism, early history of, 46; its influence in Africa, 50; its chief features, 51-52; a power for good, 54; contrasted with Christianity, 54-55, 63, 69; the cause of its success, 65; misgovernment of Mohammedan States, 66-68; gaining ground in Gambia, 146; Mohammedan university at Cairo, 177.
 Moir, Frederick L., 220, 222.
 Moir, John M., 220, 222.
 Moir, Rev. W. J. B., of the Blythwood Institute, 199.
 Mombasa, 117, 118.
 Money in relation to Foreign Missions, 289-306.
 Montego Bay, 168.
 Moore, John, archbishop of Canterbury, his attitude towards the "Society for Missions to Africa," 109.

- Moravian Missions, their method and aims, 83-93.
- Morel's *Affairs of West Africa*, 204.
- Morijah, Basutoland, 251.
- Moshesh, chief of Basutoland, 252-254.
- Mount Morumbala, 136.
- Mpata, a slave raiding station in Nyassaland, 221.
- Mphome, a station of the Berlin Missionary Society, 247.
- Mponda, 229.
- Mpwapwa, mission station at, 120.
- Mullens, Dr., foreign secretary to the London Society, 103.
- Müller, Rev. Mr., 248.
- Mullins, Rev. Canon, 127.
- Murchison Cataracts, 134, 135, 209.
- Murray, Dr. Andrew, 261; his *Key to the Missionary Problem*, 323.
- Murray, Rev. Charles, 263.
- Mwanga, murderer of Bishop Hannington, 120, 121.
- Mwenzu, 231.
- Mweru, Lake, 222.
- Namaqualand, 141, 246.
- Namaquas, 101.
- Natal, 142, 162, 169, 246.
- National Bible Society of Scotland, 267.
- Native problem of Africa, 202-206.
- New England Company, 151 *n.*
- New Hebrides, number of stations and communicants, 164.
- New Hermannsburg, 247.
- Newton, John, rector of Olney, engaged in the slave trade, 160-161.
- New Westminster, British Columbia, 125.
- Ngombe, Lower Congo, 152.
- Ngqamakwe in the Transkei, 198.
- Ngunana, S., Kaffir evangelist, 237.
- Niamkolo, mission station at, 105.
- Niger expeditions, 15, 78.
- Nigeria and the Church Missionary Society, 115.
- Nile sources, 15.
- Nile Valley Presbyterian Mission, 173-174.
- Noble, Dr. Perry, his *Redemption of Africa*, 92, 352.
- North Africa Mission, 265.
- North German or Bremen Missionary Society, 243.
- Norwegian Church Mission, 259.
- Norwegian Missionary Society, 259.
- Nyassaland Mission, 263.
- Old Calabar, number of stations and communicants, 164; U.P. mission at, 165.
- Old Lakatoo, 101.
- Old Umtali, Rhodesia, Methodist Episcopal mission at, 150.
- Omdurman, results of the battle of, 48.
- O'Neil of the Uganda Mission, 119.
- Orange Free State, 254.
- Orange River Colony, 140.
- Orphanages Mission, 297.
- Oudney, Walter, 15.
- Overtoun, Lord, 231, 233.
- Oxford University, 134.
- Paganism, 40-46; the message of Mohammedanism to paganism, 50.
- Panda, Zulu king, 259, 260.
- Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in Basutoland, 250.
- Park, Mungo, 15.
- Parker, Bishop, successor of Bishop Hannington, 120.
- Pearce, Mr., of the North Africa Mission, 266.
- Pearson's *National Life and Character*, 359.
- Peshawar, 241.
- Philip, Dr., missionary, 95, 97, 98.
- Plymouth Brethren, 266.

- Polygamy, 293.
 Port Herald on the Zambesi, 265.
 Portugal in Africa, 20.
 Posselt, Rev. Mr., 247.
 Pretoria, 80, 247.
- Quaque, Philip, 126.
 Quillimane, 216, 227 *n.*
- Race restoration, essentials of, 14 ;
 races of South Africa, 81 ; the
 future of the African races, 356 ;
 characteristics of the African,
 362.
- Rebmann, J., of the Church Mis-
 sionary Society, 78, 117.
- Reid, Mr., of Jamaica, 167.
- Religion the chief influence in race
 advancement, 241.
- Religious Tract Society, 267.
- Renner, Mr., of the Church Mis-
 sionary Society, 113.
- Rhenish Missionary Society, 142,
 242, 245.
- Rhodes, Cecil, and the Lovedale
 Institute, 194 *n.*
- Rhodesia, 140, 142.
- Robert College at Constantinople,
 155, 156.
- Robertson, J. and Wm., 119 *n.*
- Roman Catholic missionaries, 76,
 338.
- Ross, Rev. John, missionary in
 Kaffraria, 161.
- St. Helena, 127.
- Saker, Rev. Alfred, of the Baptist
 Missionary Society, 151.
- Salaries of missionaries, 304.
- Sandilli, a Kaffir chief, 199.
- Sarawak, 125.
- Saskatchewan, 125.
- Schmidt, George, missionary of the
 Moravian Society, 83.
- Schreuder, Bishop, 260.
- Scotia Institute, North Carolina,
 157.
- Scott, Dr. W. Affleck, 216.
- Scottish and American Presbyterian
 and Congregational Missions,
 155.
- Scottish Missionary Society, 167.
- Scottish Presbyterian Missions, 158.
- Sechele, Chief, 97.
- Self-supporting missions, 91, 147,
 182, 185, 266.
- Shaw, Rev. Barnabas, pioneer of
 the Wesleyan Mission, 141.
- Sheppard, Rev. W. W., 172 *n.*
- Shesheke, 256.
- Shiré River, 135.
- Sierra Leone, 112-114, 143, 144 ;
 confusion of dialects in, a barrier
 to missionary progress, 145.
- Simpson's mission in the Congo
 Valley, 148.
- Slavery in Africa, 21, 112, 115, 160,
 209 ; abolition of, 77, 292 ; slave
 emancipation, 77, 97 ; slave trade
 in Nyassaland, 220-222, 229.
- Smith, Dr. George, his *Handbook
 of Missions*, 321.
- Smith, Sir Harry, 183.
- Smith, Dr. John, of the Uganda
 Mission, 119.
- Smith, Lieut. Shergold, R.N., of
 the Uganda Mission, 119 *n.*
- Smith, Rev. Dr. Thomas, 225, 308.
- Smithies, Bishop, of the Univer-
 sities Mission, 137.
- Sobot River Mission, 174-175.
- Society for Promoting Female Edu-
 cation in the East, 278.
- Society for the Propagation of Chris-
 tian Knowledge, 151 *n.*, 267.
- Society for the Propagation of the
 Gospel in Foreign Parts, 125-128,
 132, 151 *n.*
- Soga, Dr., medical missionary, 162.
- Soga, Rev. Tiyo, 162.
- South African Dutch Reformed
 Church, 230.
- South African General Mission,
 264.
- Southon, Dr., death of, 103.
- Spain in Africa, 20.

- Speke, J. H., 16, 78.
 Sphinx, statue of the, 11.
 Stanley, Henry M., 16, 102.
Statesman's Year Book, 350.
 Steere, Bishop, of the Universities Mission, 136, 137.
 Stephen, John, chairman of the African Lakes Corporation, 219 *n.*, 227, 263.
 Stevenson, James, of Hailie, chairman of the African Lakes Corporation, 219 *n.*
 Stewart, James, C.E., 236.
 Students' Volunteer Movement, 349.
 Swaheli Bible, grammar, and dictionary, 136.
 Swedish Missionary Society, 79, 154.
 Swiss Free Church Mission, 261.
 Sykes, Rev. Mr., of the Matabele Mission, 230 *n.*
- Taberer, Rev. C., 127.
 Tanganyika, 102-104, 222.
 Taylor, Isaac, 313-314.
 Taylor, Bishop William, 148; failure of his experiment in self-supporting missions, 148-149.
 Theal's *South Africa*, 98.
 Thomas, S. B., of Fourah Bay College, 114-115 and *n.*
 Thompson, A. E., his *Century of Jewish Missions*, 319.
 Thompson, Rev. Thomas, 126.
 Thomson, Rev. W. R., missionary in Kaffraria, 161.
 Threlfall, Mr., murder of, by natives, 142.
 Tours, battle of, 47.
 Tozer, Bishop, successor of Bishop Mackenzie in Central Africa, 135.
 Trade and civilisation, 23-25.
 Transvaal, 140, 142, 247.
 Trinidad, 166; number of stations and communicants in, 164.
 Tucker, Bishop, of the Uganda Mission, 121.
 Turkey in Africa, 20.
- Uganda, British Protectorate over, 120; railway, 49.
 Uganda Mission, 79, 118-124, 233, 309.
 Ujiji, mission at, 102, 103.
 Ukerewe, king of, 119.
 Umlazi River, Natal, 169.
 Umsinga, 162.
 Umtata, 127.
 United Presbyterian Mission in Central Africa, 161, 162.
 United Secession Church, 167.
 Universities Mission, 79, 133, 210, 226.
 Utilitarian civilisation, 23-25, 31.
- Valdezia, 261.
 Vanderkemp, sceptic and missionary, 95, 101, 183.
 Venn, John, 110.
 Victoria Falls, mission station at, 256.
 Victoria Nyanza, 209.
 Vivi, 149, 150.
- Waddell, Rev. II., of Calabar, 166.
 Walton, Rev. Spencer, 265.
 Warneck's *History of Christian Missions*, 97, 200 *n.*, 259, 261, 308, 351.
 Washington, Booker, 172 *n.*
 Wathen, Lower Congo, 152.
 Wealth of Great Britain, 271 and *n.*
 Wesley, John, 138, 140.
 Wesleyan Missionary Society, 113, 138, 144, 164, 246.
 White, James, of Overtoun, 218.
 Wilberforce, William, and the slave trade, 77.
 Williams, John, missionary in Kaffraria, 161.
 Wilson, Rev. C. T., of the Uganda Mission, 119 *n.*
 Witchcraft, belief in, 232.
 Woman's work in missions, 276-278.

- Yoruba and the Church Missionary Society, 115.
Young, E. D., 228.
- Zambesi Industrial Mission, 266.
Zambesi Traffic Company, 220.
Zambesi Valley, 255.
Zanzibar, Universities Mission at, 136.
Zenana mission work, 277.
- Zimbabwe, ruins of, 13.
Zinzendorf, Count von, 93.
Zoroaster, 62.
Zoutpansburg Mission, 263.
Zululand, 249; Zulu mission under Gardiner, 111; American mission to, 169; Bible translated into Zulu, 170.
Zulus, 82.

276
St49d

