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EAST AND WEST:
CONFLICT OR CO-OPERATION?

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EAST AND WEST

CONFLICT OR CO-OPERATION?

BY

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EDITED
WITH A PROLOGUE
BY
BASIL MATHEWS

Essay Index Reprint Series

BOOKS FOR LIBRARIES PRESS, INC.
FREEPORT, NEW YORK

First Published 1936
Reprinted 1967

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER:
67-26764

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

A GROUP of men, meeting in Geneva to share what insight experience had brought to them on the crisis in the life of youth to-day all across the world, charged me with the task of editing this book upon the effect on the future relations of East and West of the present ferment of change.

The men had a definite need in view. They were all leaders of youth and many of them young men themselves. They came from the new nation-states of old Europe and the now senior republic of the New World, as well as from the East and Africa. They found, in pooling their experience, that the young generation in every land on earth faces the impact of new and well-nigh overwhelming pagan creeds and movements that beat in upon their lives. To rally themselves and youth, Asiatic and African, European and American, to a fresh discovery of and obedience to the plan of God for themselves and a new world, however revolutionary it may be, they planned a world-gathering of leaders to be held in Asia under the auspices of the World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.s. The Maharajah of Mysore invited the delegates to be his guests.

That gathering in Mysore was to be, they felt, not an end in itself, but a milestone on a journey of trying to carry through a world-wide process of experiment

and of discussion, of thought and of prayer, through which the new generation might discover how to face effectively and in the long run victoriously the unsolved problems that press in upon them everywhere. This symposium is designed to be just one factor in that process. But its subject-matter is of moment not simply to men technically shouldering specific responsibilities in work for youth. In this interdependent world we are all inextricably involved in the fascinating but bewildering transformation. Our future, and still more the future of those now coming into the world, hangs upon the issue.

None of the writers would claim any finality for his words. Their authority is simply that of their experience and their power of judgment; and each writer alone is responsible for what he or she has written. We are all feeling our way in a new situation. Personally, as editor of the book, I deeply regret the absence from it of contributions from at least three Asiatic writers whose contributions, it seemed certain, would come to my desk, but who, through various preoccupations, have been prevented from carrying their manuscripts through to completion. The book, however, is not so heavily weighted on the Western side as would appear at first sight. If the reader will run his eye over the "Who's Who" that follows this preface, he will discover that the writers are all saturated in knowledge of the East and in some cases have spent the greater part of their working lives in actual residence in the very heart of the problems of Asia.

BASIL MATHEWS.

THE ATHENAEUM, LONDON.
September, 1936.

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WHO'S WHO

Dr. H. Kraemer who was a student in Leyden University, chairman of the Dutch Student Christian Movement, took his doctorate in oriental languages and then went to Cairo to the central university of the Moslem world, the El-Azhar. As linguistic expert of the Dutch Bible Society he has in the Netherlands Indies concentrated on a new translation of the Bible into Javanese and on the production of literature for the indigenous Christian communities in their own languages. A trenchant thinker and powerful speaker, Dr. Kraemer has not only served every field in the Netherlands Indies as an expert on the policy of the Christian communities, but has visited the Mohammedan centres of India and presented to the National Christian Council for India a report on missionary policy among Moslems in that sub-continent. He has received in 1936 an honorary degree from the University of Utrecht and is preparing a volume on *The Christian Gospel and the Eastern World* in preparation for the meeting of the International Missionary Council in China in 1938.

Kenneth S. Latourette, Ph.D., ranks, in the younger generation, with Dr. Julius Richter of Berlin, in the older generation, as the greatest living authority upon the world expansion of Christianity through the centuries. A missionary years ago in China, Dr. Latourette is now Professor of Missions and Oriental Culture in Yale University. His monumental books on the history of missions in China and on the history of China itself are the standard authorities on those subjects. He is now at work on a task to which he has allotted ten years; the writing of a new work upon the history of the expansion of Christianity from its origins down to our own day. In

pursuance of this purpose he has recently spent a long period in Rome where the Papal and other authorities set all the resources of their priceless archives at his disposal.

Kenneth Maclennan put aside a promising legal career in Edinburgh under the guidance that came to him through the experiences of serving the organization of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 and the creation of the Scottish National Laymen's Missionary Movement. He was one of the creative leaders who developed the United Council for Missionary Education which has transformed the character of the presentation of the world mission of Christianity through literature. As Secretary to the Conference of British Missionary Societies and one of its representatives on the International Missionary Council he has been a central influence in the development of world-wide co-operation. During the war, as a Director of Contracts in the Ministry of Munitions, he showed his grasp of intricate economic problems. As a Director on the Board of the London Missionary Society, Chairman of its China Committee and of its Board, he has kept close to the practical problems of the world. His voyage to Japan and China through North America and repeated visits to Moslem lands of the Near East have strengthened his grasp of actual conditions on the field.

Dr. Nicol Macnicol has by his long years of service in India as a missionary of the Church of Scotland won the reverent affection of uncounted Indians and Europeans. His translations of Indian poetry, notably the poems of Tilak and "Psalms of Marathi Saints," reveal a sensitive gift of imaginative insight; while his knowledge of Hindu philosophic and religious thought combined with his unusual gift of lucid penetrating interpretation, give him unexcelled authority and popularity as a lecturer in America and Britain. His Wilde Lectures in Natural and Comparative Religion in the University of Oxford (1932-5) have been gathered into a book that, among his many writings, perhaps most fully reveals his gift, *The Living Religions of the Indian People*. In addition he has been able to carry the administrative burden

of Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon from 1926-9; and in the following two years travelled through India as a member of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India (the Lindsay Commission).

Basil Mathews, who has edited this book but who is not responsible for this paragraph, has been since 1932 Professor of Christian World Relations in the University of Boston and Andover-Newton Theological School where he spends four months of each year. He is, however, best known as one of the most forceful and versatile living writers on missionary and international questions. An Englishman by birth and a graduate of Oxford, he has held many important positions in Christian journalism. The list of the titles of his books fills nearly half a column in *Who's Who*. Perhaps the best known is *The Clash of Colour,* of which over 110,000 copies have been sold in Great Britain, to say nothing of editions in America, Japan, Denmark and Sweden, while the translation of his *A Life of Jesus* is running through edition after edition in Germany.

Dr. John R. Mott's personality and his work are so well known in every part of the world, and his incessant travel through over sixty countries during close upon half a century in the creation of international and inter-racial Christian co-operation, is so vast and varied that a summary of his career in a paragraph is at once impossible and fortunately unnecessary. One of the ablest historians of the expansion of Christianity has declared that, when the history of Protestant Christianity comes to be told, his work must place him among the six greatest men in that story during the past four centuries. The ground for this conviction is that, after centuries of dissidence and divisive separatism, he is the master-builder of the world-wide re-integration of the Churches in every part of the world into co-operative organization directly representative; most notably the International Missionary Council, which is constituted by over thirty national and regional Christian and missionary councils which in turn are responsible to the denominations that bring them into being and support them.

His achievement in recruiting the personnel and ensuring the support of Y.M.C.A. and Student Movement pioneer work in every continent is an outstanding and triumphant expression of the policy advocated in his chapter in this book. Those men have greatly enriched the leadership of the Eastern as well as Western Christian forces.

Soichi Saito, the General Secretary of the National Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Japan, was born in July, 1886. He is a graduate of the Imperial University at Tokyo. While a student in the middle school, at the age of sixteen years, he became a Christian. In 1907 he attended the Conference in Tokyo of the World's Student Christian Federation. There he met Christian leaders from all parts of the world and was inspired by a new vision of the outreach and inclusiveness of Christianity. After seven years as a teacher at the Government College of Kumamoto, he became in 1918 the General Secretary of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. of Japan. Directly following the earthquake and fire of 1923 Mr. Saito became the General Secretary of the Tokyo Y.M.C.A., and in that capacity rebuilt the splendid modern Association. Later he assumed again the leadership of the National Committee. Throughout his lifetime he has been actively interested in world problems. He has travelled abroad no less than twelve times on such missions as conferences of the Y.M.C.A., the W.S.C.F., the International Rotary, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the American-Japanese Relationships and the Sino-Japanese Relations. Mr. Saito is a member of the Baptist Church and of the National Christian Council.

George E. Taylor, born in 1906, graduated in Birmingham University with first class honours in the School of History in 1927, taking his M.A. there in the following year. He studied in the United States from 1928-30 on a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship. From 1930 until 1936 he has studied and taught continuously in China. During the first three of those years he concentrated on the study of the Chinese language and the history of China on a Harvard-Yenching Fellowship in Peiping.

So brilliant was his work that in January, 1933, he was elected Professor of History and of English at the Central Political Institute in Nanking; and was thus at the age of twenty-seven lecturing to Chinese students in Chinese in a Chinese national institution. He has published a monograph on "The Taiping Rebellion: its social and economic background" in the Chinese Social and Political Science Review for 1933; a brochure on "The Reconstruction Movement in China" in the United Kingdom Papers (No. 6) for the 1936 Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations; and various articles in *Pacific Affairs*, *The New Statesman and Nation*, *Oriental Affairs* (Shanghai), *The Fortnightly*, and International Affairs (May-June, 1936). He has found time to travel in China and Japan, including three months' famine work in Inner Mongolia and a tour of the Red districts after the Soviets had gone.

Sir (Alexander) Frederick Whyte, K.C.S.I., son of a great divine, Dr. Alexander Whyte of Edinburgh, won his spurs as a student by achieving first class honours in modern languages in Edinburgh University. A Member of Parliament for Perth City from 1910-18, he was one of the founders and a joint-editor of *The New Europe*. He achieved a very rare capacity for cool, balanced judgment and firm decision as first President of the Legislative Assembly in India in the tense, difficult years 1920-5. His reputation for understanding the position of Asiatic peoples and for wise judgment in situations of great difficulty was shown in the invitation of the National Government in China to him to be its Political Adviser, after Borodin left for Moscow. His books, which have equal authority on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as in Asia, include *Asia in the Twentieth Century*, *China and the Foreign Powers*, and *The Future of East and West*.

Ruth Frances Woodsmall, research student in three continents, author and lecturer, was graduated from the University of Nebraska and pursued further study at Wellesley College, Columbia University, and Heidelberg, Germany. She taught languages in Colorado and Nevada until caught up into administrative Y.W.C.A. work during the war in France, and

in 1919 in Germany. In the Balkan and Baltic states she surveyed the life of girls and young women during 1919 and 1920 and studied student and other migrations in Switzerland, Italy and France. For eight intensely interesting years she carried Y.W.C.A. administrative responsibilities in the eastern Mediterranean in Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Egypt; penetrating into the Middle East (Iraq and Iran) and India from 1928 until 1930 on a Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Social Science Fellowship. Her experience of Asia was further extended by her work on the Fact-Finding and Appraisal Commissions of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, 1930-2, which studied the missionary enterprise in India, China and Japan. In 1931 she was also on a Commission on Christian Education in Japan which included eight Japanese and four Americans, a commission fostered by the International Missionary Council. Since September, 1935, she has become General Secretary of the World's Young Women's Christian Association. Her books, *Eastern Women To-day and To-morrow,* and *Moslem Women Enter a New World,* together with numerous other writings, show her to be the pre-eminent interpreter of the new status of women in Asia.

PROLOGUE

" THERE IS CONFUSION "

BASIL MATHEWS

Irving Babbitt opens the essay that he wrote in Harvard University, to introduce the edition of the *Dhamma-pada* which he completed just before his death, with this provocative assertion:

> " The special danger of the present time would seem to be an increasing material contact between national and racial groups that remain spiritually alien."[1]

Professor Babbitt's suggestion is that East and West are thrown in upon one another by ships, railways, the cinema, the wireless, the press, the factory; but that in their heart of hearts they are alien and therefore hostile.

Within a few months of the publication of those words the flames of the Spanish Civil War could have provided a sensational text for a precisely contradictory thesis. In the murky light of those flames we might have written: " The special danger of the present time would seem to be an increasing tension all round the world between groups within each and every nation

[1] *The American Review*, 1936.

and race holding passionate convictions that are radically contradictory."

The Spanish conflict broke out, not between alien peoples, but within a single nation. It did not spring, as civil wars have sprung, from a dynastic quarrel, but from an irreconcilable antagonism between contradictory schemes of life, clashing standards of value, diverse goals of action. The dramatic strain for us all was at its utmost tension when it became suddenly clear that a sharp line of division was drawn, not simply through Spain itself, but through nations all round the world. The line of conflict is not between East and West, or even between nation and nation, but between Communist and Fascist.

The Chinese have a proverb: "Two people may sleep in the same bed but dream different dreams." Two young men in a Japanese University may sit side by side in a lecture hall but stand intellectually on opposite sides of that divisive line of Communist versus Fascist facing each other. Similar vehement clashes emerge in India, in Turkey, and in Persia as well as in Egypt, Italy, Germany and France. In other words the conflict, the world Armageddon suggested by the illustration of the Spanish War, is not between nations or races but between faiths.

Are we, as this development suggests, on the eve of a new era of "Wars of Religion"? We use the word "Religion" here in the sense of that control of loyalties, those apocalyptic hopes, this call to intense and passionate devotion to a goal outside and greater than the self, that power to give luminous meaning to life, which the Nation-State idea and the Communist doctrine and programme exercise. If anyone had told me as an undergraduate studying for my

'History Finals" that the Wars of Religion, which I had studied as remote bygone affairs, would recur, and that in my own lifetime I should see peoples going to war on a colossal scale to attack or to defend, not national frontiers or imperial possessions, but ideas in action, I should have scouted him as a "crank." Yet that is just what is happening to-day as we see the strange alliance developing between the Nation-State dictatorships of the Far East and of Central Europe against the Bolshevism of Russia: or when we see the aeroplanes of the Nationalist Government in Nanking raining bombs on the Red armies of fellow-Chinese.

Fresh frontiers are thus created which tend, to say the least, to fog, if not to obliterate, the sharp contrast between East and West. In any case the frontiers of this war of ideas in action cut across all geographical, racial or national demarcations.

Yet at places the frontiers seem to coincide. If, for instance, as in Dutch Java or in British India, a subject race faces a dominant nation, wherever you find the class conflict it runs on the lines of race. The Javanese Communist plantation labourer, for instance, faces the bourgeois Dutch planter or governor. Thus the curiously paradoxical situation emerges that Bolshevism, which in idea puts class unity above nation or race, actually emphasizes race or nation when it coincides with a class consciousness.

Let us for the moment look across the map of the world at this class-war idea in its relation to the assertion that East and West are divided by a great gulf. Even the birthplace of Bolshevism (i.e. of Communism in experimental action), its focal world centre, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, straddles from Europe all across Asia to the Pacific Ocean. The class

conflict penetrates from the U.S.S.R. into China and Japan on the east, and across Europe into the Americas on the west. This definite human schism of class against class has no interest in East or West as lines of division. The dynamic missionary "religion" of Marxian Communism sees the cleavage to be, not between Oriental and Occidental, but between exploiter and exploited. A new world order that will know nothing of any contradiction between East and West is the goal of Communist policy; and on that its programme is framed.

Alongside this explosive force of Communism is the other divisive doctrine and practice of nationalism. Whether this emerges in Fascist form as in Japan or Italy, or that of National Socialism as in Germany or Mexico, or in pure secular race purity under a dictatorship as in Turkey, Nationalism is everywhere a secular vehement force which does not align itself as Eastern versus Western.

Under the stress of these pressures, we see the two stupendous pillars that have upheld Western ordered life for the past century—the industrial system and the parliamentary Nation-State—cracking and threatening in its collapse those whom it has sustained.

When, however, the perpetually recurring question is put to us in relation to the future: Will Fascism rule humanity or Communism?—the inevitable answer is "Neither." All these labels try to make a chemical analysis of an incalculable drama; to weigh the imponderable passions and decisions of immortal men and women. A vast creative ferment is in process. Walt Whitman's phrase, "this compost," springs to the mind. Strange leavens have been thrust into the stuff of humanity. Peoples as communities and persons

as individual lives are in turmoil. We are all in it: fighting angrily against frustrations, stung by the torment of wild desires, goaded to violence by base ambitions, fired to heroic action by fervent hopes, bewildered by the call of rival and conflicting voices. We long for a clear authentic lead that at once wins our intellectual assent, irresistibly stirs loyalty, and gives confidence—not that the goal to which it points can certainly be won—but that a man's life is better spent in working toward that goal, although he may drop before he gets there, than in being carried down an easy slope with the " glad herd of Gergasenian swine."

Nor are these ferments at work solely in the consciousness of the educated few or even the literate millions. A deep, uncontrollable restlessness stirs the illiterate millions of the world, from the animistic Indian peons of Latin America, to the primitive tribes of Java and the nomad clans of outer Mongolia. Most unlooked for of all, the sixty million outcastes of India, repelled by Hinduism outside the very pale of humanity, their very shadow shunned by the caste man as a pollution; cringing and timorous, living on the filth into which they have been thrust, are beginning to feel strange pulses of new desire and hope, and to listen to voices that tell them to straighten their shoulders and look the world in the face.

Indeed it is a strange new portent that every outstanding leader of new and revolutionary movements in the world to-day makes the winning of the despised peasant central to his educational task. Stalin knows that all his plans are doomed unless the peasants of the U.S.S.R. serve them. From Gandhi to Nehru the Indian movements toward home rule find their most powerful driving force not so much in the few thou-

sands of vociferous students as in the silent millions of the villages that are India. Maharajahs are setting up broadcasting stations in their capitals and equipping villages with communal receiving sets so that they can persuasively express their will to these remote multitudes hidden in the villages of their dominions. The enigma of China—shall she swing into the orbit of Moscow or give loyalty to Nanking?—lies in the long run in the will of her peasantry—patient for thousands of years, but to-day coming into a new consciousness of rights and the will and the power to wring them from the exploiters' grip.

The complexity of issues raised here is baffling. For instance, Japan's national imperialism, with her sense of Messianic mission, makes her spokesmen declare that she is "the guardian of Asia." In that sense her nationalism may be said to re-emphasize the East versus West division. If, however, we asked for the attitude of either the Chinese or the three hundred millions of India as to their view of a Japanese hegemony over Asia, we should hardly find a picture of a united East facing a hostile West. In fact, part of the agony of China's dilemma at this hour is that, from one aspect, China's ship is between the Scylla of Japanese imperial domination and the Charybdis of Communism. The centre of her problem is, can she steer her national craft between the whirlpool and the rock? Can she create a modern, fully organized state integrated into the commonwealth of the world's nations?

It may seem to add still greater confusion to the scene to reveal still another set of groupings into which man is moving. When, for instance, David Livingstone was brought home in 1873 to be buried in Westminster Abbey, the British Navy silently policed with

unchallenged supremacy the waters of the world in the interests of the free growth of commerce for all peoples, including Britain herself. At that time the Latin-American peoples were emerging from the rule of Spain into helpless nominal republics under feeble dictatorships. The United States of America had, roughly speaking, all her energy concentrated in expanding into her then apparently illimitable prairies. Russia was appropriately pictured as a somnolent bear. The Far East lay wrapt in immemorial static quietude. A very young German Empire had just smitten France, and Europe was a scene in which Britain held the balance of power.

To-day that scene is completely changed by the emergence of four massive new blocks of authority that transform the whole perspective of the world and its future. The United States, with wealth and armaments and stupendous potential capacity, has once and for all destroyed that old British naval and financial supremacy. The Russian Colossus, astride the northern hemisphere, alert, self-conscious, with a high-speed industrialism proceeding with increasing momentum, is a dynamic centre of world-power. The Japanese Empire, ruling from the snows of Siberia down to the Equator, across over two thousand islands that she took from Germany, dominates the Western Pacific. The daily increasing economic and political power of Latin America from Mexico to the Cape is a portent whose significance will become daily greater. Those four new blocks of potent life, with the fifth as the British rule over a quarter of mankind and a fourth of the earth's surface, give us another alignment of world power. Again we are faced by a question, not of East versus West, but of a balance of world-powers in suc-

cession to the old balance of European powers.

In order to throw still one more cross-classification into this confused hurly-burly that we call " the world situation," let us see how the East itself has a divided mind. As we watch a Japanese boy in his peaked cap and tunic say good-bye to his mother at the door of their bamboo house and turn his face toward his school, whose up-to-date educational system is moulding his personality, he seems to live in two worlds. His mother and his home represent in our thought the East, and his modern school, the West.

A score of parallel cases of transition from Eastern to Western modes of living leap to the mind's eye. The Chinese son of a Confucianist father, revolted by the oppression of the peasant, is ready to give his life for the Marxian Revolutionary dogma. An Indian in the International Labour Office at Geneva girds against the Vedantic philosophy of his native land on the ground that it rationalizes and encourages his country's vast inertia. He pleads for pragmatic standards of value and for the use of mechanism and engineering to make a sanitary, economically prosperous India. A Moslem Nawab from an Indian principality remote from British direct rule urged on the writer in 1936 that the only salvation for India lay in scientific industrialization. A Syrian son of Bedouin Arab parentage leaves the ancestral tents to drive his Hupmobile across the plain of Esdraelon to the offices of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company at Haifa. A Turkish girl, throwing off the veil and leaving the harem, discards the Islamic faith of her mother and enters by a secular official ceremony into monogamistic marriage with an agnostic youth in Angora. Every one of these actual situations in the life of Asiatic youths to-day would

have been inconceivable to their grandfathers.

What is the fundamental fact about these Asiatic youths in transition? We glibly speak of their moving from Eastern to Western civilization. Ought we not to pause, however, and ask ourselves whether this classification of East and West is still fundamentally valid? What, at root, is the nature of the transition? If we look, for instance, at Japan, we discover a people fifty per cent of whose inhabitants are in cities, drawn thither and supported there by the swiftest and most thorough industrial revolution that the world has witnessed. The origins of that revolution came from the West; but the industrialism is now Japanese to the roots and has taken forms more drastic and thorough-going in their economic intensity than any that the West can show. What is more, the manufactured goods of Japan are thrust by forced draught into every Western as well as Eastern market from Australia across Africa to Argentine and Brazil, and from Prussia to California. We are conservatively holding on to an outworn classification if we remain content with the word "Western" to describe Japanese industrialism or Japan's educational system; its printing presses, producing more books and daily papers with a higher circulation than anything that even North America can show; or its cinema industry, second only to that of Hollywood.

Japan, whose economic organization of mining or fishing or of the growth of raw materials—their manufacture and distribution out-distances the West —has also her super-mechanized development of Air Force, Navy and Army. They sprang from the nineteenth-century Western world; but if the West reverted to medievalism to-morrow, Japan could sustain

her own mechanistic industrialism and armaments.

A Turkey in which secular education, chemistry and biology have ousted the Koran from the schools; whose legal structure has taken three European codes—criminal, civil and commercial—and relegated Mohammed's decrees to the dustbin; whose Asiatic script has been scrapped for the European and whose political alliances are all with European as distinct from Moslem powers, has no single characteristic that we describe as Oriental. Yet these ways of life and these elements in an organized modern state have become her own.

With Japan at the one extremity of the Asiatic continent and Turkey at the other, it is an anachronism to talk as though the geographical boundaries between Occident and Orient to-day represent a real line between differing civilizations. For the process that has proceeded to extremes in those two swiftly transformed countries is in a milder degree paralleled by the mechanization and industrialization of many areas of Asia, from the miles of cotton spindles of China to the electric power-plant and the potash industry of the Jordan Valley. These processes are transforming large multitudes of the Asiatic populations into an artisan proletariat.

The Asiatic boy to-day, then, is not so much standing between East and West, as trying to discover his bearings between two differing ways of life inspired by contradictory standards of value. The bewilderment of Eastern youth is all the greater because of the ironic paradox that mechanistic commercialism is corroding the Oriental economies of that boy's father at the time when that industrialism is sagging in the Western lands of its origin. The very excesses of the

achievements of modern commerce have destroyed its confidence in itself, by creating colossal unemployment and economic paralysis.

If we try to simplify our problem by saying that the ancient civilizations of the Orient are passing away and modern civilization is replacing them, another doubt forces itself into our debate. We speak glibly of "modern civilization" when really there is no such thing. Civilization exists among people whose life is organized around a great creative idea or springs from that idea as a tree grows from its root. Civilization is a way of life with a shining unity of its own, a unity created by a living reality at the core of it, a reality from which an authoritative standard of values radiates. Our modern mechanized productivity and the consequent dizzy swiftness of transport on sea and land and in the air offer superb tools for civilization to handle, but in themselves they are a technique, an instrument, and not a civilization. The *malaise* of West and East alike are due to the fact that the machines have run away with the men who made them. Zola's hideous picture in his novel *La Débâcle* of an express train roaring through the night with its crowds of passengers while the driver has fallen dead in the engine, is a nightmare parable of the trend of our mechanized world bereft of any authoritative word.

Sharp and fundamental antagonisms between East and West we can easily find if we localize them. Hindu civilization is, of course, in the sharpest and most contradictory opposition to European civilization. For the one reposes on a theory of the universe that, as we see clearly in Dr. Nicol Macnicol's chapter in this volume, contradicts radically that of European Christendom. Hinduism denies the reality of the

material order and has no place for immortal spiritual personality exercising moral responsibility for actions. Hinduism creates a social structure rooted in its philosophy. Of sheer necessity such a structure must contradict a civilization built upon a conviction of the real existence of man's personality and of his direct responsibility for his actions under defined laws governing life. In this sense it is very true that the East—at least the Indian East—and the West are radically different. But Japan is as sharply different from India as is Germany. The contrast, the challenge, the divergence goes back once more to ideas-in-action.

Not only so; but in an India with air-routes, railway systems, motor-buses jolting into every village, a daily press, a growing industrialism, the presupposition of Hinduism that all these vivid, vigorous, scientifically organized systems of commerce are rooted in illusion becomes less easily tenable. Our contention is, not that the difference between East and West does not exist, but that a ferment of decomposition and of regrowth is at work that progressively crumbles those old sharp frontiers of East and West.

As we look to and fro across the human scene from America and Europe to Asia and Africa and back again, we discover a parallel blurring of sharp outlines in the region of religion. Half a century ago we could with easy confidence talk of the Christian West and the pagan East, the latter populated by people whom Bishop Heber taught us to sing about as "the heathen in his blindness" who "bows down to wood and stone."

A treble transformation of crucial importance invalidates that sharply contrasted geographical picture. First, we no longer see the peoples of the world in the old

perspective of " Christian " and " heathen." The new secularisms are now so powerful in the West, which used to call itself Christian, that any world-mission of Christianity must regard Europe, Britain and America as in essence pagan. Secondly (and as a direct consequence of this first change), Christianity sees the moral and spiritual positive affirmations of non-Christian religions as being friendly to her world-mission, as she stands face to face with the harsh, uncompromising, hostile materialism of the new paganisms. Thirdly, in every considerable area of the East to-day the Christian Church is a living radio-active conscious community. It not only lives as leaven within the mass of its Hindu, Moslem, Confucian or Buddhist environment, but also sends westward prophetic voices and revolutionary personalities. Those in America and Europe to whom the names of K. T. Paul, S. K. Datta, David Yui, T. Z. Koo, Soichi Saito and Toyohiko Kagawa are familiar, or who met members of the Indian Mission of Witness who came West to share their experience of Christ, know full well that these Asiatic personalities have given to every part of the Western world living glimpses of the Christian faith. They are not isolated phenomena. They are leaders in growingly Asiatic yet increasingly ecumenical Christian communities. From the point of view of Christian reality, then, we can no longer speak of East and West as standing for fundamental differences. The younger Churches of the East, with the older Churches of the West, are—despite all their differentia—moving steadily toward a common consciousness across the racial, cultural and linguistic, as well as geographical, frontiers of the world. This consciousness of oneness is being strengthened continuously by the processes of common think-

ing and co-operative action developed through the World Student Christian Federation, the Y.M.C.A. and the National Christian Councils of Asia and Africa, which act together in the International Missionary Council. The Message of the International Missionary Council that came to birth on the Mount of Olives in 1928 is the most creative and authoritative expression of an outlook and policy for the world mission of Christianity that has been given to us in modern times.

These younger Churches of Asia are, of course, the result of a process that was initiated from the West. European and American Christians have in the last hundred and fifty years projected into Asia as well as Africa and the Islands scores of thousands of schools, colleges and universities dedicated to the purpose of educating intelligent Christian communities. This sustained proclamation of the Christian Gospel has drawn millions of Asiatics into those communities whose character is described by Professor Latourette in another chapter of this book. The ultimate goal is as great as any that has dawned on the consciousness of mankind, a world-society whose members are one around the earth by virtue of the sap that flows through their branches from their one divine Lord.

Originating from the West and bearing in their theology, hymnology, organization and architecture all too strong an imprint of the West, they are nevertheless essentially neither of the West nor of the East but " colonies of heaven," to use St. Paul's phrase.

The new era that is breaking upon the world puts into any hand that has the skill and strength to use it, the power to control thought and even mould character on a scale never before available. The machines that offer this power have been damned as pagan.

That is a fatally false generalization. They are neutral; they are tools. A Roman road two thousand years ago could be the route along which soldiers might march to crucify the Lord of life; or a channel along which a Paul carried the Good News of new life for man. It was a tool. Broadcasting, the cinema, and the printing-press are tools lying ready to the hand either of the new missionary paganisms or of the Christian meaning of life. Along these new roads ideas travel with a world range and at a speed to which no earlier age has any parallel. If we look at broadcasting alone and consider its potentialities as an educative medium for spreading ideas among the illiterate hundreds of millions of Asiatic peasants, a new horizon of possibility opens to our enterprise. Throughout all historic time ideas could only be spread to the few within the reach of a man's voice or to those who could read and could obtain the books to read. To-day by broadcasting, making use of communal loud speakers in villages and by the use of different languages, the horizon of expression is unlimited. To give two examples of contemporary Christian experiment we have the Y.M.C.A. broadcasting in India and the Chinese Christian broadcasting company in Shanghai, to whose programme Chinese listen in places as remote from Shanghai as the Philippine Islands to the east and Singapore to the west, as well as within China itself. The machine then is an ally of immense potentiality; an ally to which the terms East and West have no longer any decisive meaning.

I have deliberately in this introductory prologue thrown into relief confusing movements and forces that bewilder us as we face the problem of human relationships between East and West and the question

whether they shall be hostile or friendly—relations of conflict or of co-operation.

The first reason for presenting that confusion is that the whole situation is like a cross-channel choppy sea with conflicting tides and whirling gales. Any statement that makes the situation straightforward and simple is, to put it baldly, a lie. And it is a pestilent lie, for one of our greatest perils to-day lies in disastrous over-simplifications. They arrive at simplicity by ignoring vital factors, and therefore policies based on those simplifications head straight into tragedy.

A second reason for presenting the confusion lies in its fascination for all who are eager to gird their mental loins for some strenuous effort that will achieve good for man. If we can find the true way through the jungle and up the hills, man may well reach a plateau of comradeship more bracing and splendid than we can even imagine, caught as we are in the thickets.

God-controlled youth can achieve results that will appear miraculous, if instant to grasp every available means to discover what He wills them to do in order to change their own lives and the world toward His divine purpose. The changed life of itself cannot have the knowledge to do the right thing in situations calling for technical skill. A surgeon facing an operation may have given his entire being to God, but if he has not disciplined his mind, nerve, muscle and will to exquisite technical perfection he cannot save his patient's life. The same is true of the world-situation. The crises that stagger us spring from hidden sources in the world of, for example, the economics of currency, race-fertility, transport, or mass-psychology. For Christians to bring creative offerings they must equip themselves with skilled techniques in one or another field—

as teacher or industrialist, labourer or lawyer. To discover the will of God for to-morrow in the building of creative international and inter-racial relations, or of a new social order, or again in one's duty to state and nation, involves sitting at the feet of men who have made those fields of thought and action their own. That is what we are setting out to do in this book.

To-day in each of those three areas youth is faced by direct life and death challenges that compel decision. Those decisions will in numerous cases involve martyrdom. They are already doing so. The Christian pastor tortured in prison in the Far East in 1935 who, on being released, publicly baptized on the following day seventy persons—he and they all knowing that the act was calculated to bring prison and torture on themselves—has to-day parallels in every continent, in perhaps less dramatic but not less exacting situations. But those decisions by youth in face of these challenges must be reached on bases of knowledge and in the comradeship of a dedicated community. To try to reach some such richer and more realistic comprehension of the problems of relationship of East and West is a *raison d'être* of this composite book. Many processes of thought and action are being directed to that end in our day. The World's Alliance of Y.M.C.A.s, after years of preparation, brings its national groupings of youth and of leaders of youth out of some fifty nations to grapple with these issues in a world conference in 1937 in India. The World's Council of the Y.W.C.A. confronts those world issues in China in 1938; while in the same year the World's Student Christian Federation meets in Japan. The International Missionary Council harnesses intensive processes of co-operative thought and devotion to a meeting in China in 1938 whose significance runs

far beyond itself as a meeting. In all these movements, what is significant is the vigorous, sustained grappling with the tremendous issues of life and death for the spirit of man that are to-day in play on the stage of the world as they have not been since the first Christian centuries. That wrestling goes on through the years in a fellowship of outstanding leaders from every race under heaven. All the laws of psychology and all spiritual experience are falsified if such processes carried on under continuous conscious submission to the guidance of the God who is Ultimate Reality do not release into the life of man transforming streams of power that may well change the channel of history.

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

NICOL MACNICOL

HERODOTUS, the Father of History, looking out upon the world, at the beginning of his book, for a theme on which to exercise his skill, chooses that of the conflict of Europe and Asia. That was then the most notable cultural divergence that divided mankind; perhaps it is so still. The distinction that is indicated is not, indeed, except, as we may say, by accident, a geographical one. It reaches deep down into the soul of man. But, whatever the reason for it may be, as a fact of history the division holds and has often furnished a useful guide to the researches of the student. What then, we may ask, is the actual contrast that we seek to symbolize when we speak of these two divisions of the human race. What do we mean—if we mean anything—when we say that East is East and West is West?

We may illustrate what lies behind this distinction by reference to two spheres of life and conduct, politics and religion, and we shall select for each sphere a fully competent guide, for the former Mr. Lionel Curtis, for the latter Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Mr. Curtis, discussing in his *Civitas Dei* the early clash of East and West,

when the peoples concerned were the Persians and the Greeks, points out that the conflict was not in reality racial. "The issue at stake arose from a struggle between two systems of society, which is still in progress and cannot be ended till one of them has completely destroyed the other." He goes on—"But the secular struggle of Europe with Asia is blurred by the fact that the principle of monarchy, first developed in Asia, for ages mastered Europe itself, whilst the principle of the commonwealth which first sprang from Greece is now profoundly affecting Asia."[1] If we turn to the sphere of religion, we find Sir S. Radhakrishnan emphasizing "the distinctive outlooks associated with the two great currents of humanity, the Asiatic and the European."[2] "In the history of human culture Asia and Europe represent two complementary sides, Asia the spiritual, Europe the intellectual." These words require further definition, and it is, no doubt, with that end in view, that he goes on to say, "The Western mind is rationalistic and ethical, positivist and practical, while the Eastern mind is more inclined to inward life and intuitive thinking."[3]

We have here, then, two contrasts placed before us, and alleged to indicate in their differences characteristic products of two regions of the earth. The one contrast is that of the principle of monarchy as over against that of the commonwealth. The other is a contrast of two kinds of outlook upon the whole of life and its concerns. Radhakrishnan at the same time truly urges that there are no qualities of mind and spirit which are the exclusive possession of any one race. He suggests

[1] *Civitas Dei*, p. 45.
[2] *East and West in Religion*, p. 43.
[3] Op. cit., p. 48.

an imaginative explanation of the divergence; " the great stream of life carves out its bed for itself according to the slope of the region traversed."[1] He may be here indicating that the environment of the human spirit—climate, for example, and circumstance—goes some way to create the contrast he is emphasizing. But allowing for these influences and recognizing also that there are creative forces lodged within the spirit of man that we cannot estimate, it remains the case that we may be able to probe some distance into the sources from which these characteristic products of the Eastern and the Western mind have issued, and to discern at least secondary, if not primary, causes at work to produce them.

We may ask, for example—Is there a common root —some premise of idea—from which these differences, in the narrower political sphere as well as in the wider sphere of life and conduct, take their origin? Radhakrishnan repeatedly emphasizes the mystical and intuitional character of the Eastern mind, and when he says Eastern he looks specially at India, which, he holds, " typifies the East."[2] Does such a characteristic, in contrast with the " critical intelligence "[3] of the West, explain the identification of empire and monarchy with the one point of the compass and of " the principle of the Commonwealth " with the other? Perhaps it does. It may not be fantasy that leads an Indian publicist to describe Dictatorship as " an application of the Advaita principle to political government."[4] That principle, indeed, with its divorce of the unqualified

[1] Op. cit., p. 45.
[2] Op. cit., p. 46.
[3] Op. cit., p. 48.
[4] *Indian Social Reformer*, vol. XIV, p. 708.

Brahmin from the world and human life, leads even more directly than does the worship of the solitary and exalted Allah to systems of despotism and to their passive acceptance by the multitude of their unconsidered subjects. "In the West," writes Radhakrishnan, " religion is a social phenomenon, a matter of the ecclesia, of the community."[1] Certainly the Christian religion has restored to the community its rights in fellowship with a God who is not far off but near, and this difference is implicit not in Christianity alone but in every theistic faith. Democracy and not Dictatorship seems to be a corollary of theism. But, however the case may be in the region of politics, it can hardly be questioned that the Indian religious tradition has been created by Vedantic monism, nor that this also has been the influence that has moulded the Indian character into the form that Radhakrishnan describes. Its " spirituality," its inwardness, its mysticism, its " emphasis on the passive virtues," all these notes of Hindu mentality and, indeed, if Radhakrishnan is right, of the East generally, issue from a conception of the world, of God, and of their relation to each other which may be said to be the supreme intuition of the Indian sages. The key to " the ancient wisdom of the East " lies here, and it is between this type of system and Christian theism that the ultimate choice in the realm of the spirit will fall to be made. Here, one may maintain, is the sacred battleground of humanity, the Kurukshetra not of India alone but of the world, upon which the final decision must be reached as to the meaning of the universe. It has to be repeated that this is no geographical warfare; it is a battle, as Kabir, an Indian seer who does not belong

[1] Op. cit., p. 54.

to the main tradition of his land, has described it, " for the Kingdom of truth, contentment and purity." That the strength and preciousness of the one view of life's significance has been made known mainly to peoples of the West, while the other view has its great headquarters in the East may appear to us what we call an accident—that is, something for which we can adduce no clear reason. Nevertheless the fact remains that there are here two aspects of the universe between which a vital choice has to be made. We cannot say of them " both—and "; we must say " either—or."

What is this aspect of the universe which may be described as specifically Eastern or as Indian? Radhakrishnan would have it that it is " the perception of the oneness of man with the spirit of truth, love and beauty."[1] It is certainly a determined endeavour to perceive all things as one, but this end is achieved by denying difference, by reaching forth beyond good and evil, beyond truth, love and beauty, to an Absolute, a Brahmin, which includes all things by emptying all things of reality. Thus Brahmin has no qualities; all we can say of it or him is " No, no." It cannot, therefore, be an object of worship or of fellowship on the part of men. Schopenhauer, who was deeply influenced by Eastern ideology, agreed that Nirvana, the Ultimate into which the soul melts as into a silent sea, might, if it were not for possible misunderstanding, be called God. But it is evident that that word has a wholly different significance in this context from what " the West " understands by it. We know at the same time that, West or East, men in all lands and in all ages have sought, and will go on seeking, fellowship with God, and no system can ever content them which

[1] Op. cit., p. 51.

bars out such fellowship. For that reason, even to this Eastern Brahmin doctrine which seeks to satisfy the speculative mind, there has been attached another doctrine which is meant to satisfy the heart. In the region of man's spiritual longings and moral strivings, they say—that is, in the region of " māya " or unreality—man may worship a god of his own devising whom he may call Siva or Vishnu or what he will. The Ultimate Brahmin belongs to one mood; the lower god belongs to another. They cannot be related except as the Real is related to the unreal or as Substance is related to shadow, or, to quote Sir S. Radhakrishnan again, as " the Absolute from the cosmic point of view " is related to " the Absolute from the human point of view."[1] That is, then, in the most general terms, the background of ideas against which India and the East have lived their lives.

How irreconcilable this view of the universe and its significance is with the view that has prevailed in the West, and especially with the view of Christian theism it is not necessary, surely, to show in any detail. How different the impersonal, unqualified Brahmin is from a God whom we can call Father is manifest. The God of theism is essentially one

> " whom the hours of mortal, moral strife
> Alone aright reveal,"

but that strife is to the " Eastern " mind a battle of shadows, a " game," as it is called, and reveals no reality. The inevitable consequence from such a view as that is what the East and Radhakrishnan consider to be the supreme virtue of passivity. The sense of sin has no place there. That is, of course, a sense that

[1] Radhakrishnan, *An Idealist View of Life*, pp. 344, 345.

makes itself felt within man and his being everywhere, in India no less than elsewhere. It was only after a long struggle that Swami Vivekananda overcame the instinct that taught him that to speak of "God, the wicked," and to say, "*We* are the greatest God," was blasphemy. For we must not forget that there has been all through the centuries in India a strain of devout theism, of which Kabir, who has been already referred to, was a single and notable example. The dominant monism overshadowed it but never quite extinguished it. Many a saint, such as, to name only one, Tukaram, who calls himself "Fallen of fallen," has confessed his sinfulness. Yet it remains true that the background of the thought and life of the East, if any generalization is to be made in regard to it, must be described as consisting of one Being, beyond thought or aspiration, who is the All, and outside of that remote and empty circle nothing.

This thought environment of India, destroying history and creating moral apathy, contains much to explain the record of its journey down the ages, and even, perhaps, the politics that have accompanied it. There is here, as has been said already, something which deeply contradicts the Christian conception of the significance of our life and our relation to God. It creates stagnation and eliminates hope. Much of the story of recent efforts to awaken Hinduism to a new life bears testimony to the discovery by men of insight, such as Radhakrishnan himself, of the need, just because of these fatal faults in their outlook to rebuild their religion. One must wish them success in these efforts, for upon the success of such rebuilding rests the hope that India may yet inherit the future. A choice has to be made. On the one hand stand those

religions and philosophies which view all things as holding within themselves a purpose that may be discovered and realized; on the other those for which, sooner or later, life is accepted as being no more than a chaos of unreality, a region of night and death. This is the conclusion to which the distinguished American humanist, Mr. Paul Elmer More, has come, as he surveys the religions of mankind. "Beat about it as we will," he writes, "there are only two conclusions in which the philosophic mind can abide. Either, as the Hindu in his most courageous moods taught, the whole thing, this globe and this life are utterly without design, a phantasmagoria in which we can detect no meaning and to which we have no right to apply any interpretation, not even that of chance, a huge illusion of ignorance which simply vanishes into nothing at the touch of knowledge; or else, if we see design in the world, then there is no holding back from the inference of the theist."

Mr. More was, no doubt, quite aware when he wrote these words that he was dealing with alternatives between which men all over the world, in America as well as in India, were choosing. This, as has been already emphasized, is not a matter of geography but of idea. The choice has been made in all lands and in all times and is still being made.

In America it is possible to see the conflict between these opposites in active process at the present time. The type of philosophy that has been prevalent there in recent years, as might be expected in the case of a people so engrossed with the business of subduing the external world, has been pragmatism, and ultimate solutions have not greatly concerned them. But while the need for an ultimate solution may be put aside for a

time, presently it begins to haunt and disquiet the soul. It is then that some form of Pantheism or Absolutism looms up upon the horizon of the philosopher, and a message like that of Indian Vedanta thrusts itself into the empty house. Thus it came about that forty years ago Swami Vivekananda was listened to in America, and it was said that the religion of many was "a mixture of the *Bhagavadgita* and the *New York Herald*." But that strange brew could scarcely prove acceptable for long to serious minds. The synthesis of Josiah Royce of Harvard, when he brought together the Absolute of Hegel and the Brahmin of the Upanishads, was on a higher plane, but when he endeavoured to combine this Absolute Idealism with the social realism that was the working religion of his Christian inheritance, he found his task impossible.

Is there then no way of reconciling the hopes and strivings of time with an ultimate solution that is rooted in eternity? Some in the West are pillowing their heads on what H. G. Wells calls "that bladder of nothingness, the Absolute," and so, obtaining an escape from "harsher aspects of life."[1] Others, like Wells himself, are contenting themselves with a human God, a struggling deity who is at least a helper in the moral struggle. Others again would guide their lives by a Christianity which is a religion of this planet and its transitory history while they render a distant homage to the overarching impersonality which they may or may not describe as God. This Being, Professor Kirsopp Lake tells us, is impersonal, and, therefore, one would judge, no object of man's worship. Professor Wieman of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago defines God as "the integrating process at

[1] H. G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, vol. II.

work in the universe," and the noblest religion as " man's recognition of this creative cosmic struggle and his personal allegiance to the process of personal integration."

Such deities are dead idols, as far apart as the Poles from the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, and integration with them is integration with a stone. Only those, whether in Europe or in America, who have admitted the presuppositions of pantheism could be content with such a Being to ease their sad and sinful hearts. No stream of life and power issues from these rocks of flint. No more than Siva can Christ save men if He is not One who is in the bosom of the eternal Father. The Deliverer whom the world needs is One who is not of the East nor of the West, who is not Brahmin or Siva or Creative Co-ordination. " He that is of the earth is earthly and speaketh of the earth. He that cometh from heaven is above all."

CHAPTER II

THE POLITICAL NETWORK

FREDERICK WHYTE

In approaching, once more, the vast and vital subject of the relations of East and West, and specifically in taking to counsel the problem of their political contact, I am reminded of Emerson's saying: "If the East loves infinity, the West delights in boundaries." Western man is inclined to believe, with *Diana of the Crossways*, that politics is the "first business of man," and that political problems belong to a category of their own, separated somehow from other human interests. But experience soon proves that the boundary which thus seems to divide politics from culture, custom and religion is a figment of unreality, and that the great problems of our time spread their scope across the whole field in which their solution is not to be reached by any single line of approach. Politics have been defined as "the strife of wills on the ground of social action"; and while statesmanship requires a long training in political experience which leaves little time for the study and mastery of other and more important interests, human and divine, the statesman cannot succeed if he ignores the vital part played by the latter even in his own field. If this be true of the statesman

in action, it must be doubly true for him who seeks to explore the problems of politics in the world of to-day. Political action is but a part of the whole way of life.

Now, it is our present purpose to pass in review the political relations of East and West, with their attendant problems and controversies, in their broadest aspect. There is little room in this compact book for the examination of particular policies: and, therefore, we can only use such immediate questions as the currency problem of China, the issue of Naval Parity in the Pacific, or the prospects of the new Indian Constitution, to illustrate the central theme. Each of these, and many others, compose the network of contact which binds Europe, Asia and America in its meshes. And it is probable that, contrary to the belief of many to-day, and in spite of the powerful isolationist force now at work, the net will be drawn closer, and the problem of the relationship of East and West will compel the races of Earth to seek its treatment by common action.

The alternative is chaos. In former times Europe acted with a sense of its own self-centred importance. The world was then but a broken arc, and America and the East have since come in to make " the perfect round." Henceforth, the world must revolve on the poles of Orient and Occident; and if we conceive of the civilized earth, politically, as identical with its astronomical self, it is a sphere of unbroken circumference, composed of the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. The problem of international relations on their world-wide scale is that of making the component parts of our globe obey, in politics, the laws which in astronomy guide the planet on its orderly course through space. This implies co-operation towards an

agreed end upon generally accepted principles. In nature, the hemispheres, bound by gravity, co-operate because they must: for them, there is no escape from one another, for they are held together like "an army of unalterable law." In human nature, that lesson has yet to be learned, the end is not yet agreed, nor the principles of co-operation generally accepted. Indeed, in the mood of to-day, the component parts of the civilized globe appear to be on the verge of a catastrophic schism, which threatens to rend mankind.

All the more urgent, therefore, is it for those who see the coming danger to set up a warning signal, and, even in the forlorn hour of a dying hope, to recall the world to the destiny to which the progress hitherto made seems to lead. The stable states of the world have established domestic peace and order on a foundation of law and liberty; and, though some of the great nations still linger in the nursery of political adolescence where they may perhaps be learning something from the fasces of Roman discipline, the goal to which all must strive is the creation of a new world order in which the rule of law will prevail between nations, as it now does between the individual citizens of all advanced States.

With this ultimate aim in mind, we turn to the question to which this book is dedicated—the future of East and West, which is one of the great problems of our time. Europe and Asia, and for this purpose America may be reckoned as a partner in the European tradition, have profoundly influenced one another throughout history. Between them, they have made the world as it is today, and their treatment of present relations, in religion, culture, trade and politics, will

make the world of to-morrow. There have been periods in which they developed in isolation, the one from the other; but the new relation in which they stand to-day is the result of the world-wide expansion of European influence since the Renaissance, which has, as it were, created a new Asia. Since the days of Vasco da Gama and Queen Elizabeth, and with an increasing momentum throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the "ocean men" of the West pursued the discovery and exploitation of the East in an imperial movement of impressive scale. The dawn of the twentieth century found the Asiatic in the grip of forces greater than any he could himself command. But, at the very moment of his greatest apparent weakness, the tide began to turn; and, watching the Boxer Rebellion from within the beleaguered Legation Quarter in Peking in 1900, Sir Robert Hart could write with prophetic pen, "this is the prelude to a century of change and the keynote of the future history of the Far East." Yet few, indeed, there were in his day who knew what Hart's words meant. Europe still appeared as the dynamic continent, pouring forth from some inner reservoir of power a continuous stream of conquest. The European took hold on life and sought to wrest from nature all that physical power, skill and intelligence could make her yield. He had the reward of his efforts in an apparent mastery of the forces of nature and could bend them to the service of his will. The control of matter gave him the control of men; and the less advanced peoples fell under his sway, either by direct conquest or by commerce and education. It was natural, indeed inevitable, that European power should therefore be ascribed to an ever-increasing control over nature, and that the essence of

European civilization should seem to lie in its material and physical competence. The complementary feature in Asia is that man is there, not the master but the plaything of forces in earth and heaven too strong for him to control. In the East, both in the dry desert and in the humid tropics, Nature, the all-powerful, oppresses her human children. Hence the patience and fatalism of the Orient: hence too its other-worldliness.

But the rude impact of western force shook the Oriental out of passivity, and the invisible power of western thought set up new ferments in his mind. The suspicion began to dawn on him, against his will and despite his cherished conviction, that the West possessed a secret life and power which had hitherto been denied to him. He came to that conclusion only with heart-searching and incredulity: for, be he Confucian Chinese, or Indian Hindu, he was convinced that he already knew the better Way of Life, and that his faith and civilization were superior to all others. He could hardly conceive of the barbarians from overseas as the bearers of a message worthy of acceptance; and thus he at first resisted Christian missionary and western merchant alike, until he found that these intrepid visitors were not to be denied. The nature of this resistance varied from time to time, and from country to country; but, in the end, it gave way to its exact opposite, an almost unthinking adulation and imitation of foreign ways. Early in the nineteenth century in India, for instance, indigenous culture had sunk so low that it seemed as if no revival or reform could come from within; and when the instrument of reform was offered in the shape of western language and culture, India seized it with zest and, aided by the

patronage of British scholars and officials, attacked the fortress of orthodoxy. The same phenomenon appeared in China, but was delayed for nearly a century: while in Japan no such complete capitulation was made; for, instead, the Imperial Charter Oath, which inaugurated the Meiji era in 1868, signalized at once a " restoration " of the imperial tradition and a programme of far-reaching change. It was, if you like, a revolutionary-conservative declaration; and showed that the determination to restore traditional authority was no reactionary purpose, for its fifth paragraph proclaimed that " knowledge shall be sought abroad, and thus shall be strengthened the foundations of the Imperial polity."

In their varying ways, therefore, the three great representatives of Asiatic culture turned to western sources for the new inspiration which they needed in the unfamiliar circumstances of modern times. And for a considerable period in our own time, almost every influence combined to swell the tide which carried them in a western direction. No doubt, opinion will differ as to the extent to which the inner life of any of them was affected: but no one can doubt that the prestige of the West stood high in their minds, and that therefore the process called " westernization " proceeded apace and, for a while, encountered little effective resistance. The tide has now turned, and though Asia will not relinquish the material instruments of progress which she has learned to use, she is now returning to her own traditional sources of life in a mood of disillusion with the promise of what the West offered to teach her. It is not easy to say exactly where and when this revulsion began in India, China or Japan. In India it showed itself in Tilak's cam-

paign in the late nineties, though the recovery of Hinduism from the stagnation of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries preceded by many years the militant politico-religious movement led by that intrepid Chitpavan Brahmin of the Deccan. In China, it came later still; and in Japan, as we have already seen, there had never been any complete break with the traditional past, and therefore the change which we are now considering was rather a matter of relative emphasis than of an abrupt alteration.

Of the three, China reveals most clearly the causes which now make for a revival of specifically Asiatic ideals. They are of two kinds, derived from two separate sources. China embarked on revolution in order to overthrow an effete dynasty, incapable of domestic reform or of defending the country from foreign aggression. This had happened many times before in Chinese history. Dynasties fell in past times before waves of popular feeling: but after each successful rebellion, tradition still remained intact and a new dynasty arose upon the ashes of the old, still exercising its authority by the Mandate of Heaven. The new Son of Heaven, the Emperor founding a new line, derived his sanction as ruler from a source which was still sacred. Sun Yat Sen's Revolution sought a new sanction. The belief in Heaven, in the Mandate, and in the Sonship alike had fallen into decay; and sovereignty was offered to the Chinese people in its western form of an authority derived from the popular will and not from the divine right of personal autocracy. But the Kuo Min Tang went too far and attempted too much. Sweeping away tradition, and dethroning Confucius from his enshrined place as the Sage of Sages, they sought to revolutionize everything

by the wholesale adoption of western culture and ideas. They did not realize that the Manchu Empire fell mainly because it was ripe for dissolution, not because they themselves were capable of replacing it, or because China was ready for so radical a transformation of her life as they dreamed of.

Hence it is that at the end of a quarter of a century of their revolution, the Chinese people and the Nationalist Party alike have been driven up a blind alley and forced to call a halt in order to take stock of their condition. They were warned by Liang Chi-chao, years before, that " the reconstruction of China's thought is not to be accomplished by the wholesale transplantation of the thoughts of another society; it must follow the natural development, and must begin with the proper retention of elements of the old social heritage." To-day they know the truth of his words; and the most significant event of our time in the Far East was the official restoration of the birthday of Confucius to the national calendar of China in 1934, with (and here the imp of irony may well have smiled) Wang Ching-wei presiding at the ceremony. It was symbolic of the major cause of the reversion to indigenous ideals which lay in the knowledge that, no matter how useful and perhaps indispensable foreign teaching might be in the task of Chinese reconstruction, the structure itself and its foundations must be Chinese. In the first moments of this newly acquired conviction the Chinese may perhaps swing too far in a purely nationalistic and apparently reactionary direction, and they may for the moment be in a mood to accept the Japanese slogan of " Back to Asia." Be that as it may, this recoil upon themselves is in itself a healthy movement. It denotes the passing of the

emotional and destructive phase of the Revolution, and the dawning of a more constructive era in which China will gradually create her own new polity, free from the dangers of the wholesale importation of foreign models.

The second cause of this reaction is to be found in the predicament into which western civilization has fallen as the result of the War and the Great Depression. No doubt, Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 struck the first blow; but, as to that, it must be remarked that Russia was not a *representative* European Power, though always reckoned as one of the Great Powers of the pre-war world, and that in consequence the military repute of Japan was probably too highly estimated after her comparatively short struggle. A much more damaging blow was struck by the Great War, which Asia saw as a civil war in the European family—as indeed it was—and which so greatly impaired the material power of Europe that the hastier interpreters of the East were prone to proclaim it as the end of all western prestige. Even more injurious to the pride of the West is the present disarray of Europe, and the deep-seated disease of its economic life, in which it almost appears as if the very authors of political progress and of material success had failed in their most congenial task.

These, then, are the two agents of the return to the past—or, more truly perhaps, the return of Asia upon herself. Their effect is to create a new scene for the relations between East and West. To a large extent the Asiatic fear of western material power has been dispelled, and it may be that the old sense of inferiority will be replaced by a dangerous arrogance which, as in Japan to-day, will prompt the Eastern World to be-

lieve that it can pursue its own course regardless of the West. Doubtless, and as long as the unrelieved crisis hangs over Europe, the Asiatic observer is entitled to say that the West must put its own house in order before its prestige in Asia can revive once more; and the truth of that no candid Westerner can deny. Indeed it is the indispensable pre-requisite of stable relations between the two hemispheres; and since Europe, despite her present calamities, remains the central political area of the world, her condition will react upon other parts more vitally than the condition of those other parts can react upon her. Hence it is true to say that the starting point towards any solution of the problem of East and West lies in the recovery of the West.

This denotes a very different state of affairs from that to which both East and West had grown accustomed until recent years. Asia is no longer supine, nor Europe arrogant. The mutual contempt in which each used to hold the other, and to which Meredith Townsend drew attention in the words "as the European has never to obey, his contempt is kindly; as the Asiatic always has to yield, his contempt is often vitriolic," is changing, but whether the Asiatic has yet recovered from the sense of *claustrophobia* which his former helplessness engendered is perhaps to be doubted. Neither the European, nor the Asiatic, has yet reached the true equipoise of feeling, arising from respect for the complementary qualities which each can bring to the total equation of mankind. For instance, the attitude of western nations towards Japan is full of contradictions; for, on the one hand, we still think of the Japanese as "surprisingly clever little people," whom we praise with an air of patronage

which is insulting, and, on the other, we speak almost in tones of panic of their competitive power in trade. This combination of fear and condescension is the worst possible foundation for good relations; and, since neither attitude in the least corresponds with the true facts, it is high time to face realities and to take an objective view of Japan which will enable us to see that we can respect her qualities without patronage and meet her competition without fear.

Thus it is evident that neither the East nor the West has yet been able to " find itself " in the confusion of the transitional stage which the world is now traversing. The uncertainty of their relations, and all the contradictions in their attitudes, are due to the influence of their former position (as of " superior " and " inferior ") on their present temper of mind, and to the fact that neither has accommodated itself to the fundamentally necessary conception of an equilibrium. He who has long been weak thinks of his salvation as power, and necessarily as power so great that it will enable him to defeat his former overlord. The revulsion from an inferiority complex leads to a determination to be not the equal, but the superior of others. Thus the pendulum swings, and we are witnessing to-day a violent oscillation which is perhaps the inevitable concomitant of the revival of Asia from its long coma. Japan conceives of herself as the leader of the movement, at once the brain and the spear-head of a campaign designed to complete what her victory over Russia began thirty years ago. Her easy success in Manchuria encourages the belief that the military State, equipped with power, is irresistible, and the course of European affairs not only seems to give her a free hand, but to clinch her conviction that the

twentieth century will be dominated by conflict and not by the spirit of co-operation.

We shall not stop to inquire whether Japan possesses the necessary resources, both of material equipment and moral virtue, to enable her to achieve her self-chosen mission in East Asia; for the problem of her expansion has something more than an Asiatic significance and might conceivably be solved, without conflict, by a new economic policy such as the British Foreign Secretary hinted at in Geneva in 1935. Setting aside for the moment the latter prospect, we must not conceal from ourselves the possibility that the nations, now dissatisfied with existing conditions and seeking outlets hitherto denied to them, may form a new coalition of power to wrest from their present holders the colonial control of the world. In these circumstances the impending conflict would divide the world not between the insurgent East and the West, but between new Imperialism and old. And in such a division is it likely, or possible, that Japan could carry with her all her fellow-Asiatics who have been the victims of the old.

To answer this question in the affirmative would imply a fundamental unity of feeling and purpose in the widely diversified continent of Asia which can hardly be said to exist. A generation ago, many European writers assumed the anti-European unity of Asia as an axiom, and in their prophecies of the "rising tide of colour," of the "revolt against civilization" and of the "Yellow Peril," they conceived of Asia as an embattled force preparing a great revenge against the West. The teeming man-power of the East was paraded as armies of invasion, and the eye of fear saw our western civilization as a giant with feet of clay,

destined to fall before the eastern foe. Had this alarm ever any substance? Did Asia then possess that unity of purpose which alone could make such a mighty campaign possible? No! And the matter of our concern to-day is not this terrible threat from without, but trouble arising within western civilization itself. Doubtless we must read the awakening of Asia as a many-sided challenge to the prestige of Europe, but the problem is not now in the form prophesied to us when the Boxer Rebellion opened the new era in the Far East. The war which is now germinating in embryo in Europe, and which if it breaks out will not be confined to Europe, will not be a battle of " colour," but of the dispossessed against the possessors, of the " Haves " against the " Have-nots." It will cut clean across the division between East and West; and, in reckoning the forces of this Armageddon, those who add up the millions of China and India, and multiply them by the power of Japan, will find that theirs is the arithmetic of Bedlam. India, for instance, is not going to march in that war, merely to displace British rule by a Japanese Raj.

Now it is beyond the scope of this volume to discuss the remedy by which so great a cataclysm may be avoided. All that can, or need, be said here is that the new economic policy which Sir Samuel Hoare seems to have had in mind when he spoke to the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 11th, 1935, is surely a sign that the old Imperialism is not unmindful of its obligations to the rest of the world, and that the conception of collective action for security must be accompanied by collective sharing of wealth and opportunity within the family of nations. The British Empire is not so blind as to suppose that the

growth of the world in the twentieth century will not require considerable changes in the *status quo*, and the British people have already shown that they can move with the times. They have supported their present Government in offering to place under international inquiry the effects of their own control of so large a part of the world's raw materials. They realize that markets and the control of capital investment are even more important than primary products; and, more significant still, they are convinced that liberty, justice and the orderly growth of the whole British Commonwealth demand the progressive development of self-government in India. These considerations are not offered as a complacent justification of British policy; but they are relevant to the subject of this book because, in the first place, they are evidence of a certain internationalism in the British outlook at a time when the policy of all the Powers, including Great Britain, is predominantly " nationalist," and, in the second place, they reveal the character of the contribution which the British people believe they can make in their Indian policy to the treatment of the problem of East and West in our time.

Is it too much to claim that the course pursued by Great Britain in India since 1917 *is* a sign that the old Imperialism is not unmindful of its obligations? To that question the Congress Party, no doubt, has its own answer. But the Congress Party is not all India, nor is it the final judge. Nor am I. But, in accepting the invitation to contribute a chapter to this book, I welcome the opportunity of setting out the problem as it is seen by the liberal mind of my own fellow-countrymen. The frame of the problem is the whole relation of East and West, and the salient features of the

picture are to be found in India, where one of the greatest of western nations is in daily contact with one of the greatest eastern nations, touching each other more closely and at many more points than is the case in any other part of Asia. It is therefore true to say that India is the supreme test, not merely because the problem of race relations is there posed on its grandest scale, but because the gulf to be bridged and the differences to be reconciled are wider than anywhere else.

Nowhere is the contrast between East and West sharper than in India. India, representative only of herself, but what an elemental self! is an altogether different world to which Europe finds no easy access, and in which there is much that other Asiatics neither value nor understand. Indeed one suspects that many of the generalizations about East and West are really drawn from Indian evidence, and are not so apt for other parts of Asia. This apartness of India is of the very essence of the problem, and if Britain and India together can find a lasting basis for their partnership within the British Commonwealth, there is no other part of the East in which the difficulties of race relations need prove insurmountable.

With the enactment of the Government of India Act (1935) the relations of East and West in India enter their most critical phase. During the preparation of the measure, and in the time required for its inauguration, the public mind in both countries was naturally concerned with the political problems then on the anvil. But beneath the politics of the moment, and overshadowing the constitutional details of the Act, was the fact that progress in India must be measured, not by the creation of the political institutions of self-government, but by the development of

human capacity for responsibility. It was obvious and necessary that a big risk had to be taken in providing the field for this development. There are too many in India who ignore the risk in their desire for rapid progress: but risk there was, and is. The risk has been taken in the knowledge that the opportunity for developing self-governing capacity could not be given without it. Every student of the Reforms of 1919 knows that mere tutelage could not do it. Those Reforms blended tutelage with responsibility in a manner which inevitably prepared the way for further changes. The Constitution now enacted so greatly extends responsibility in Provincial self-government that it is a fair prediction that the nationalist energy of India will at last find real scope for itself in constructive work.

But once more, we must remind ourselves that it is the man not the machine that matters, the nation not the Constitution; and the deciding factor in India will be the mind which India brings to her own problems. Professor Radhakrishnan told us a little while ago that " after a long winter of some centuries, we are to-day in one of the creative periods of Hinduism. We are beginning to look upon our ancient faith with fresh eyes. We feel that our society is in a condition of unstable equilibrium. . . . Leaders of Hindu thought are convinced that the times require, not a surrender of the basic principles of Hinduism, but a restatement of them with special reference to the needs of a more complex and mobile social order." This surely means that in the many adjustments and adaptations required to-day, the political aspect of the Indian problem is but one facet of the whole and probably not the most important. It lies in the fore-

front of the stage, the most visible, insistent and arresting feature of the scene; but those who endeavour to get the true and objective view of India will soon see that the merely political view gives an inadequate picture, nay, an altogether false colour, and that beneath the active controversies of the moment, the forces of a much greater contest are arrayed against each other. It is in the whole world of thought, of which politics is only one of the lesser heights, that the essential problem of East and West is to be found. Indian thought, in its characteristic Hindu mould, is the real antithesis of the western scientific spirit; and thus the fate of something much more vital than any political institution is at stake in the, as yet, not wholly answered question whether Hinduism *can* " look upon itself with fresh eyes " and remould its doctrine " to meet the needs of a more complex and more mobile social order."

When I met my old friend and successor in the Chair of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. V. J. Patel, in public debate on India in Baltimore, not long before his death, I said that, despite the intensity of feeling and the sacrifice of life which the present struggle in India still entails, the battle was unreal, because the principle of Indian self-government was already accepted, and the foundation already laid. The real war is between India the old and India the new, and perchance this strife is the price of her true emancipation.

Now the reader will see that in the limited scope of a single chapter there is only room for general comment on selected points in the whole field of the relations of East and West; and in the remaining pages of this contribution I can only endeavour to discover where the heart of the present study lies. I believe

it is to be found in the " separateness " of the two: and if it be said that this is so obvious a commonplace that it needs no emphasis, I hasten to explain why this truism is selected. The distance that separates East and West seems to have taken on a new significance for the reasons already given. The old question arises in a new form—whether that apparently widening gulf can be bridged. In many ways we appear to be nearer one another: in others we are still far apart. A little way back in this survey Europe, in its former self-centred importance, was described, in Browning's words, as " a broken arc," and the entry of America and the East into the effective contacts of world politics was conceived as helping to make the perfect round. But do they in fact come in? The steadiness of our globe in motion depends upon the counterpoise of its component parts; and as long as there is doubt whether these parts can or will co-operate, the globe will revolve in unstable equilibrium. If America, China, Japan and India do not " come in "; if there is, as many believe, a " separateness " in the Pacific Ocean which demands a separate and specific treatment; if the United States find in the present condition of Europe and in the Pacific area a combination of reasons for maintaining their historic isolation; if the recoil back to indigenous tradition carries the Far East away from western civilization; the equipoise and counterpoise of the two hemispheres will be lacking and the calamities of the past will be repeated in the future.

The desired equilibrium is to-day disturbed because some of the parts are unequal in essential weight, unstable, lacking internal cohesion, and therefore uncertain of their function in the political evolution of the planet. A bird's-eye view reveals each of the three great

Asiatic peoples as faced with the double problem of finding its own true character and institutions for orderly life within and of bringing itself into line with international changes now in progress without. But the disturbance spreads more widely than that, and the " separateness " is due to something more than the reversion of the East to its own historic culture. Separateness is, indeed, the prevailing characteristic of each of the national units comprising the international globe; and before policy, in the sense of the official action of Governments can begin to apply the remedy of co-operation, the sense and spirit of co-operation and the conviction that there is matter to co-operate upon must be reawakened in all the peoples. The West is as much the victim of the isolationist spirit as the East. We are all suffering alike; and out of community of pain we can only escape by community of feeling.

Even at the worst, the sense that we are members of one another has not been wholly absent from the relations of East and West in recent years. In China, for instance, the internal stress of revolution and economic depression has been not a little relieved by assistance from other nations, given in the form of the co-operation of the experts of the League. An international solidarity exists and survives all attacks of the forces that would destroy it, and there is probably a wider mutual understanding between the thinkers of all nations to-day than there ever has been before. But there is an almost complete divorce between this community of intellectual effort and the instinctive reactions of the mass or the official policies of governments. Mass-contacts do not obey the wisdom of philosophy. When they are embittered by differences of race and colour there is acute friction and the path

of co-operation is blocked. Until the level of toleration and self-discipline in each people is raised by education and experience, it must be the part of statesmanship to prevent them wherever possible, and where they cannot be avoided, to moderate the violence of their impact. The individual can always surmount the obstacles of race and colour, and, whatever be his own origin or colour, if he approaches the problem of the relation of East and West, in his own person, in the right spirit he will find that for him the obstacle ceases to exist. This has been proved many times over by men and women of all races, and happily I know it to be a most fortunate fact: but, personal success is not easy to repeat in the field of public affairs, and for the failure to find an even tenor in these relations and a *via media* of reciprocity, both parties to this great dispute are to blame.

Recent history provides three instances in which the western nations have raised a bar to equality with the East: the defeat of the Racial Equality Resolution proposed by the Japanese at the inauguration of the League of Nations in 1919, the exclusion of Asiatics from America, and the position of coloured India in the white Commonwealth of the British Nations. In each of these the instinctive recoil of one race from another has embittered their political relations; and the manner in which the bar was raised was often more wounding to eastern pride than the policy of exclusion itself. Here the political offence was committed by western Governments; obeying either an economic or a racial behest which worked powerfully in the mind of their respective peoples. But, after granting the responsibility of the white races and deploring their action, we are still confronted with the plain fact that

the problem is not one-sided, nor does the provocation come from the white peoples alone. The Shanghai Club and the Bengal Club may have refused to open their doors to Chinese or to Bengali members, but in so doing they only followed the example of their Asiatic brethren, at least in orthodox castes in India, where entry across the family threshold is often jealously guarded against the contamination of the unorthodox. And as long as caste governs Hindu society, certainly as long as it maintains barriers between Indian and Indian, no Asiatic can say that the West is sinning alone in its attitude of exclusion. This is not put forth here in recrimination but to correct the perspective of those who denounce the West as the sole transgressor of good manners and good morals in social relations. And I hasten to add that the Chinese can read us all a lesson in this matter, for they are singularly free from race-prejudice and have proved that they can mingle freely and easily with other peoples.

The solution of this problem is not yet in sight; for though the long intercourse of East and West has made a breach in the barrier, the sense of division is still too strong to admit easy intercourse, and as a factor of political bitterness it still stands between us. No one believes or hopes that the many families of mankind will lose their diversities of talent and culture which have so enriched the heritage of humanity. And it is not by the obliteration of our dividing contrasts that we can seek the way out. Difference deep and abiding there will always be; and one race will doubtless display a superiority in certain ways, while another will reach a totally different kind of eminence. The barrier may continue to exist as a physical fact,

perhaps even as the symbol of moral contrast as well; but the exercise of tolerance and mutual understanding can, if the will be there, transform it into a uniting bridge.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW LIFE OF EASTERN WOMEN

RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL

In the remarkable process of change that is taking place in the East to-day, there is no more arresting evidence of new life than the far-reaching transformation in the position of Eastern women. No one who lives in the East to-day or travels through Asia even as a casual tourist can fail to realize that the emergence of women is a significant reality of the changing East.

Nothing in the past has so sharply differentiated the life of the East from that of the West as the difference in the position of women. The East as a whole, regardless of religion, has developed a different conception of the status of women from that accorded to women in the West. Women in the East have been set off in a world apart; their sphere of activity limited to the home. This traditional Eastern ideal for women has been further re-enforced for the women of certain faiths by their religious teachings; for example, the closely integrated socio-religious system of Islam has derived its authority from the Prophet's teachings and their later interpretation. Similarly child marriage in India has been defended as being in accord with the religious teachings of Hinduism.

But the present reorientation in Eastern thought and life is radically changing the attitude towards women, and also the concept of women themselves concerning their true place in the world. The old psychology which set women off in a world apart is being supplanted by a new psychology, which recognizes women as equal partners in the forward movement of the East. There is an increasing realization that society in the East must be a unit as in the West; and that it is impossible to promote successfully twentieth century politics and economic progress and at the same time maintain a medieval status of women. The East, in seeking to bring itself up to date in order to take its rightful position in the modern world, has become keenly conscious of the need for a synthesis of change.

In some countries this reorientation in the position of women is already a *fait accompli* as in Turkey; in others the current of change moves more slowly, so that a study of the changing status of Eastern women becomes a study in tenses. But even where conservatism is most strongly entrenched, one finds at least a quiver of change in the life of women. The modern spirit of freedom, which dominates the coffee-house, will eventually pervade the harem. Just as the wavelengths of the radio are not blocked by walls, so new ideas are beginning to penetrate the walled-in seclusion of the life of many Eastern women who are as yet scarcely conscious of any urge for change. But in every country in the East an active minority of women is keenly aware of their new opportunities and very rapidly moving forward.

As evidence of this rapidly developing new life of Eastern women, one can select random and unrelated illustrations drawn from Istambul to Tokyo. To-day a

number of women judges preside over the courts in Turkey, whereas formerly it required two women to equal the testimony of one man. Seventeen Turkish women deputies have been elected to the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. In Cairo last year a Moslem woman leader in a public lecture openly defended her position against polygamy even in the face of the vigorous opposition of learned leaders of Islam. A young Moslem Egyptian last year passed the aviation test and won her pilot's licence.

At the Round Table Conference between England and India, held in London in 1931-2, two Indian women delegates, one of them a Moslem formerly in purdah, contributed to the discussion a well-balanced opinion on national affairs. A year or so later a delegation of three Indian women leaders—a Hindu, a Mohammedan and a Christian—served on the Committee for the new Constitution of India, which was established by the British Government. Representing three great religious faiths, they expressed the united opinion of women against making communal divisions the basis for political rights. Their unity of thought was in striking contrast to the communal discord of India, that has always been considered the main barrier against national unity.

The voice of Chinese women to-day is heard in government councils, and women participate actively in official organizations for national welfare. Chinese women students, some of them high school girls, have played an important rôle in public demonstrations to maintain the national integrity. In the forefront of the leadership of the new China have been a number of Chinese women, notable among whom are Dr. Wu Yi-Fang, the President of Ginling College, and Chair-

man of the National Christian Council, and Miss Ting Shu Ching, National Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. whose death recently means such a tragic loss for China and for the Orient as a whole.

At the London Naval Conference the women of Japan gave a dramatic evidence of their widespread interest in peace when their two representatives presented a great basket of one hundred and eighty thousand women's signatures advocating disarmament. In these recent years of tension some of the Japanese women leaders have continued to exert their efforts for peace. Japanese girls, competing successfully in the Olympic games in Los Angeles and Berlin, have shown how the romantic ideal of girlhood has been supplanted by the realism of modern Japan.

These high lights of change in various phases of the life of the girls and women of Asia are all alike significant of the passing of the traditional Eastern idea of seclusion. From the harem in Turkey and the Near East or the zenana in India, the inner courtyard in China, or the " honourable back room " in Japan, women are passing into a freer and more active life. The emergence of Eastern women is a barometer of progress in the East which even a casual traveller may read.

A fundamental evidence of this period of progress in the East is the educational awakening which one finds everywhere in Asia. Without this renaissance in education for girls, the lifting of the veil and the new social freedom would be only an empty shibboleth. Through education the dualism between an educated manhood and an illiterate womanhood, which has always been the greatest obstacle to progress in the Orient, will be ended. Co-education is the recognized

national system in Turkey and in China, and elsewhere there is an increasing trend towards co-education. The promotion of girls' schools and colleges with ever-growing momentum proves that the argument has ceased as to whether girls should be educated; the question now is how the schools can be multiplied rapidly enough to meet the public demand.

Even conservative parents recognize the value of an education for girls, as the marriage advertisement in a Lahore paper some years ago testifies: "Wanted a beautiful educated girl for a B.A. London returned Hindu. No caste restrictions. Large personal income." The significant new word in this advertisement, needless to say, is the word "educated." This indicates that the Eastern concept no longer holds that education for girls is useless and wasteful; the Chinese proverb to-day is entirely obsolete: "The ignorance of a woman is her virtue." The almost universal literacy of Japanese men and women (school attendance of boys 99·49 per cent, of girls 99·43 per cent) shows the remarkable achievement of Japan in educating women.

To realize the eagerness of Eastern girls for education one needs only see the crowds of young schoolgirls in Peiping; the hundreds of girls travelling daily on the trains between Koba and Osaka or Tokyo and Yokohama; the schoolgirls in India thrilled with the daily adventure of attending schools, even though they may still be in purdah. A day spent in any one of the women's colleges in the East, whether Lucknow or Nanking, Seoul or Tokyo, leaves the same vivid impression of the keen response of Eastern girls to a college education. And to-day also one finds Eastern women sharing in a university education, side by side with men, already in large numbers in Istambul, and

increasingly in the Far East, especially in China.

Naturally the growth of education and general social advance have brought a change in the economic status of women in the East. In Turkey and Japan women are participating as fully in the business of earning a livelihood as women in Europe or America. In other countries each year adds to the number of women in business and professional life. Women teachers everywhere play an important rôle. Women in the medical profession are finding their place more easily in the East than in the West, as for example in China. As rapidly as women are prepared or feel the need to enter new fields of activity, the opportunity is not lacking.

Strangely enough, or, perhaps, quite naturally, the East does not share the prejudicial attitude towards married women in professional life, which in the last decade has been increasing in the West. In some countries of Asia, because of existing social conditions, marriage in fact is considered an advantage not a detriment for a woman to earn her own living. The right of married women to work has not yet been questioned in the East as it has been in the West on the grounds of economic competition or unemployment, as there is a paucity of trained workers, both men and women, in proportion to the demand in various lines of work.

Generally speaking, the economic opportunity for Eastern women, whether married or unmarried, depends upon the measure of social advance. In the East, as in the West, economic and social conditions are closely related. But in the East, save for Japan, social change is the necessary preliminary for economic advance. The rapid industrialization of Japan has necessitated the widespread wage-earning of Japanese

women; hence their economic advance has preceded the change in their social status just as the industrial revolution in Europe laid the foundation for change in the social status of women.

As a natural result of the new social freedom, the marked educational advance and increase in economic independence, the horizon of the Eastern woman's life has steadily widened. The periphery of her life is no longer bounded by the four walls of her home, but includes civic and national interests and international relations. To-day there is scarcely a small town in the East without its women's club or group, usually organized for some welfare activity. Aside from these simple local clubs, a number of countries have developed national organizations which represent the growth of something like a conscious woman's movement. Social reform and civic and national progress are the main goals of action for the women of the East. The acquisition of suffrage without any effort in certain countries of Asia—China, India, Turkey—offers a striking contrast to the years of struggle of leaders in Europe and America—a struggle not yet everywhere crowned with success. But in Japan women have not been as fortunate as elsewhere in the East. The lack of struggle in the East as a whole is doubtless in no small measure due to the previous suffrage campaigns in the West, by which the principle of equal political rights for women has been generally established.

We have already mentioned some of the striking examples of the participation of Eastern women in national and international affairs. The few outstanding Eastern women who are actively engaged in public life are in no sense typical of the overwhelming

majority of women in the East, who are not yet socially or politically conscious. The activity of the enlightened few stands out, however, in sharp relief against the background of the uneducated masses, for whom change will come slowly but surely. What is happening to-day in the great cities of Calcutta, Shanghai and Tokyo will happen to-morrow, or the day after, in towns and villages remote from the pressure of modern life.

The changing life of the women of the East makes us conscious that the West has contributed greatly towards these changes, directly and indirectly. The immediate impetus for change in the life of the East has come through the growing spirit of nationalism, which has been awakened by the sense of need for self-protection and competition with the West. Before the World War the East was turned Eastward; religion was the lode-star. To-day in the Eastern world nationalism and not religion is the controlling spirit, determining the life and thought of Asia Many Eastern eyes now look Westward, since the models for nationalism are in the West.

The vibrant spirit of nationalism in the East has had a direct effect on social progress and, therefore, on the life of Eastern women. As the East has awakened to self-consciousness and self-respect, it has become sensitive to Western criticism of Eastern social customs, and realized that the claims for political equality should be justified in the eyes of the West by a social system in harmony with modern ideas. The vulnerable point in the Eastern social system, in the opinion of the West, has always been the seclusion of women.

The spirit of nationalism, however, has furnished another deeper motive for social change than self-

justification and reinstated self-respect. Social advance has been genuinely recognized as a *sine qua non* of national development. Hence the great national leaders of the East—Kamal Ataturk, Mahatma Gandhi and Sun Yat Sen—have promoted the advance of women as a primary necessity in nation building. To have half the population cut off from effective service to the nation has been repudiated as an impossible basis for a modern state. Naturally the programme of advance for women in the East has followed the accepted Western goals of equal opportunity and equal responsibility. Social freedom, educational privilege, economic self-sufficiency and political participation are all considered elements of Western progress, and, therefore, necessary for progress in the East. Perhaps only a few leaders have thus consciously defined the new position of women, but the main current of thought in the East to-day is changing the direction of Eastern women's life from inward to outward bound.

Although the immediate impetus for social change has come through the newly awakened spirit of nationalism in the East, there are other causes for the present social advance. It would be a mistake to consider the reorientation taking place in the life of Eastern women to-day solely as the result of a post-war period of social revolution. The present era is in fact the fruition of influences from the West, which have been silently at work in the East over a long period. These forces have perhaps exerted a more direct effect on the life of women than on any other phase of life in the East.

No one who has seen the chain of Christian schools and colleges and Christian hospitals across Asia can fail to realize their direct influence in promoting the

ideals of advance for women, and in preparing Eastern girls and women for the opportunities which the new era has now brought. As pioneers in the field of women's education and health, these Christian institutions from the West have offered a powerful example of equal opportunity for women, which may be said to have stimulated in no small measure the educational awakening of the East.

In addition to the direct result of Christian institutions, there are other evidences of the effect of Christian thought on the life of Eastern women. Meeting with Eastern leaders, men and women of different shades of opinion and different religions, I have been impressed with frequent expressions of opinions like that of a member of the Servants of India Society, " Christianity and contact with Christian missions has changed the social concepts of India and is bringing back to Indian womanhood liberty, well recognized in the past, but lost in later times. . . . There is no doubt that Christianity and Christian missions have given an impetus to the advance of freedom among Indian women. They have helped to establish social standards by attacking vice and social evils, and by co-operating with Indian leaders in progressive social reforms."

It is not, however, possible to segregate entirely the distinctive Christian influence from the composite of Western thought and influences in the East. Dr. Wu Yi-Fang stresses this inter-relationship of the influence of Christianity and Western civilization. She says: " It is quite difficult to distinguish the effects of Christian Missions in China from the contact of Western civilization in general. I do not mean that they are at all identical, but rather that what the

missions started, such as the idea of equality between men and women, non-Christians and liberal Chinese leaders have promoted also, especially since 1900 and 1911."

The fact that it is impossible to determine with scientific exactness the influence of Christianity on Eastern life, especially in reference to the change in the life of Eastern women, is an evidence of the leavening power of Christian social ideals. As Miss Michi Kawai, one of the outstanding Christian leaders of Japan, says: "Christianity has influenced Japanese life like leaven in the lump or like salt in the substance which it savours. The value of salt and leaven lies in the fact that they lose themselves in the materials in which they are to work. And so it is with Christianity, which influences whatever it touches but without any conscious signs."[1]

A significant evidence of the leavening force of Christian ideals is the fact that to-day the Christian concept of the position of women is being incorporated into the thought and practice of other religious faiths. This represents for some religions a radical re-thinking of the whole socio-religious system. As we have already mentioned, the women of Islam and Hinduism have suffered under restrictive social customs, which have had the validity of religious sanctions, whether such customs were actually prescribed by religious teaching or merely the result of a later interpretation by religious leaders.

The attitude of different countries towards this problem of the relationship between religious authority and social customs varies greatly. Turkey has cut the

[1] Michi Kawai: "The Social Life of Japan Influenced by Christianity"; *Japanese Mission Year Book*, 1929, pp. 213-15.

Gordian knot of the binding power of Islam over social custom by repudiating the authority of religion over the State and society. In other countries an attempt is being made to reinterpret the social teachings of religion in harmony with modern life. In this connection it is significant that the enlightened Eastern women leaders themselves have begun to question the restrictive social-religious customs. The Social Reform Movement in India against child marriage, purdah and other harmful social customs, has challenged Moslem and Hindu women to find a freer interpretation of their faith.

In speaking of purdah in a public address, Lady Abdul Qadir, one of the outstanding Moslem women leaders of India said, "Purdah, as observed among certain classes of Indian Mohammedans, is far beyond anything enjoined by Islam, and requires modification according to the needs of the day and the rapidly changing times."[1] A prominent Brahmin woman expressed the general feeling of Hindu women when she said very forcibly in her evidence before the Age of Consent Commission,[2] "If the Hindu Shastra (religious law) allow child marriage then we'll have to get another Shastra." Such statements do not mean a break with the old faith but an assertion of the right of the individual to interpret it. Although the great majority of Eastern women have still retained their fatalistic acceptance of the limitations of religion, at least a thinking minority believe that their religion should not be a retrogressive social influence but must

[1] Lady Abdul Qadir, "Muslim Views on Purdah and Marriage," *Stri Dharma.* March, 1931.

[2] *Report of the Age of Consent Committee 1928-9 Calcutta Government of India.* Central Publication Bureau, 1929.

be interpreted to meet modern needs. This permeation of the non-Christian faiths of the East with new social ideals is one of the most significant changes of the new day, not merely because of its bearing on the status of women but because of its ultimate effect on the larger problem of the relationship between religion and society.

To some Western observers the rapid emergence of Eastern women may bring a feeling of apprehension and regret. Their quiet seclusion, where they have guarded their family treasure with rare devotion and sacrifice, has given an impression of charm and security, without any idea of the repression of personality and the limitation which such a family bounded life may have meant. To those who have seen the East only with a halo of romance, the idea that the Eastern woman is passing from her highly sheltered home into the limelight of the outside world may come as a rude shock. Is not the price of freedom too high? This is the very natural question which presses for an answer as one views the changing Eastern scene.

Thoughtful leaders of the East will admit that there is undoubtedly some loss of old values, but to deplore change seems unrealistic and futile, since the new freedom of women is only one current in the irresistible tide sweeping over the Eastern world. The East to-day is on the world's highway. The isolation of Eastern women is passing or is already a thing of the past. Their answer to the pressure of change is not to retire within the harem and close the doors to progress—even if they could—but to accept with their new privileges also their new responsibilities, and seek to solve the problems which their new freedom inevitably brings.

The advance of the women of the East has drawn women, East and West, more closely together in a new relationship. The growing consciousness of common tasks and common goals makes possible to-day a new basis of intellectual congeniality and spiritual fellowship scarcely dreamed of in the past. There is to-day a new consciousness of equality between the East and the West. The old artificial prestige of the foreigner in the East has vanished. The blind imitation and indiscriminate admiration of all things Western is discarded. This was perhaps the natural characteristic of the period when new patterns and standards were transplanted from the West. But the patterns now are being modified to suit Eastern needs and taste. Things Western are no longer regarded as superior, merely because of the Western label. As a Turkish woman educator once remarked to the writer: "Formerly any foreign school was better than any Turkish school, but this is no longer true." To-day the East carefully appraises and selects Western values. There is no less appreciation of what the West has to offer to Eastern life, but the East asserts the right of selectivity and has an increasing appreciation of its own distinctive values. A Chinese student comments on this fact in reference to language. "Formerly it was considered a special evidence of progress to know English. Now it is a reproach not to speak and write good Chinese. People say, 'Don't you speak Chinese? Why speak English at all?'"

In the details of daily living the thoughtful appreciation of Eastern values is evident. More Eastern women now wear sandals instead of Western shoes. The Japanese woman in her choice of dress demonstrates Eastern capacity of choice and adaptation; for her

business and professional life she wears the more practical and comfortable Western style of dress; for her social life she retains the charming kimono.

The new attitude of the East towards the West makes possible a new and more normal relationship between West and East. Because of the rapid development of Eastern women a new partnership between Eastern and Western leaders is now possible. Such a partnership is especially welcomed by Eastern women, and keenly aware as they are of all that the contact with the West has meant in the past, they are even more alive to what it may mean to-morrow as their life extends its range from purely personal problems into social reforms and the fundamental problems and larger interests of national life and international relations.

Obviously the time has gone when the Western leader assumed a position of front line leadership, either in institutions, in social reforms, or in promoting women's movements in the East. Her main contribution in the future will consist rather in working quietly side by side with Eastern colleagues, giving assurance and support, truly sharing her technique in organization and her accrued experience of professional life and public activity in the West. Her longer contact with social problems makes the Western leader's advice valuable in planning social reforms and lines of social service. Her sense of social responsibility, the natural result of her Western background, will be a constant stimulus to the Eastern leader whose life has hitherto been centred in the responsibility for the family, not society. The development of life outside the home with its emphasis on the community, not the family group exclusively; the change from the patri-

archal family system to the single family unit; the appreciation of the family as a part of the larger community group—these are new concepts for the East, which the Western leader may help to interpret. The Western leader will share not only in the personal problems of Eastern women but also in the interpretation of national and international problems, which in the last decade have entered deeply into the consciousness of the women of the Orient. From another environment and culture she may bring to the Eastern woman the sense of a larger setting for current national problems, and together they may work effectively for world peace.

The Western leader, however, who is privileged to identify herself with the life of the East, is far more conscious of all that she receives from the East than of what she herself may give. Although the full contribution of the East may elude analysis, no one who has been associated with Eastern women can fail to realize certain values from such a contact. Their quiet poise and unhurried capacity for reflection, and a certain timeless quality of leisure, which are characteristic of the Eastern woman, leave their impression on one who is accustomed to the restless *tempo* of the West.

As a result of her adaptation to a large family system, the Eastern woman often has a skill in personal relationships and a certain technique of adaptation to difficult situations from which the Western woman may learn something of value. She may well reflect on the value of the reasonable compromise, the ideal of the golden mean, particularly characteristic of China, but also of the East in general, which does not mean the sacrifice of an ethical principle but a recognition of the necessity of safeguarding self-respect. This

may be the secret of the Eastern woman's success in personal relationships.

Although she has only recently begun to enter public life, the woman of the East often brings to this new experience a certain balanced wisdom which has been matured through sacrificial service in the silence of a long waiting. Moreover, from her background of the complex family system in the East, the Eastern woman may also contribute to the understanding of the difficulties of peaceful living in a world family.

During the last decade the orbit of the Eastern woman's contact and influence has steadily widened. No longer is it limited to those leaders from the West who have the opportunity of living in the East. To-day Eastern women are in contact with the world movements of women, and are having a conscious influence on them. Formerly the East was represented in international gatherings of women only by Western women who lived in the East and were familiar with its problems. To-day no world conference is complete without its Eastern delegates. To these international assemblies Eastern women bring a keen interest and an untarnished enthusiasm for world problems.

To the woman's movement in the West the leaders in the forward movement of the East at this moment may bring a rather special contribution. The present situation in the West is full of irony. During the same decade in which Eastern women have been outward bound, following the traditional example of the West, the women of some of the advanced countries of the West have been turned inward and the whole direction of their lives reversed. Such a change has raised grave questions and challenged explorative thinking on the true position of women in a modern world. The age

of militant feminism is obviously past as it is neither timely nor consonant with the present goal of a harmoniously orchestrated world. But the supine acquiescence of women to a limited sphere of activity, arbitrarily determined for her, is also not the goal. To find the golden mean which gives full scope for women to develop their highest powers in order to assume their full responsibilities as individuals is the present problem. To the solution of this problem the women of the East will undoubtedly contribute. As we have already said, Eastern women for the most part (the women of Japan are an exception) have been spared the conflict for rights, since their advance has been in harmony, not against, the current of their times. Hence they bring to the consideration of the woman's movement a freshness and freedom from any spirit of militant conquest. Perhaps this lack of a sense of struggle for rights may be an inherent character of Eastern feminism, which is not due alone to the fact that conditions have been conducive to its rapid growth. But whatever may be the cause, there is a new stream of influence in the woman's movement, and a new synthesis of effort of Eastern and Western women which may lead to a better understanding of the true position of women in a modern world.

As the women of the East and West move forward towards a common goal there is a growing consciousness of an interchange of gifts. Eastern women have long been aware of all that the West has to offer. But the West has scarcely begun to realize the value of the contact with Eastern leaders, men and women, who have much to contribute to Western life and thought. For many years the West has poured its contribution into the East through institutions and personalities, but

has failed to realize the mutuality of giving. Contacts from West to East have been steadily multiplied, but as yet the West has given little serious consideration to the building of relationships from East to West. The reorientation, however, has now begun.

In a number of ways the distinctive influence of the East may be brought into the stream of world thinking. Women's colleges perhaps in England or America could use occasionally Eastern specialists to give a sense of world relationship in distinctive branches of knowledge. The value of this idea was demonstrated several years ago by an Indian woman on the faculty of Wellesley College for a year. Opportunities might be made also for outstanding Eastern women leaders to travel in the West, and thus bring individuals and larger groups into contact with the culture of the East, its present-day concerns and problems. World organizations could, in a larger measure, avail themselves of their Eastern leaders so that these organizations would be more truly world-minded. In this new relationship between the East and West there is special need and opportunity for the West to have more personal contact with the Christian leaders from the East. Through many individuals the West has given the East its Christian message. Many Christian leaders from the West have been privileged to enter into Christian fellowship with the East and bring to this fellowship their interpretation of Christ. But very few Christian leaders from the East have had a similar opportunity in the West.

Christianity can never be fully oriented to its world task unless the East shares more fully with the West its interpretation of the Christian message. One has the feeling that the Orient, and perhaps especially the

Oriental woman, may have an unusual appreciation of the essential meaning of Christ and may enter without difficulty into His way of life. One of the lasting impressions of the Jerusalem Conference, for many who attended it, was the distinctive contribution made by the group of women leaders from the East. One would wish that this contact of Eastern women might be shared more widely in the West.

In the past the voice of the women of the Orient has been little heard in interpreting religious life. But to-day the widening world for Eastern women has brought to them also the opportunity and responsibility to make a vital contribution in the expression of their religion. The East, as also the West, faces to-day a modern world with all its tangled problems—social, economic, political and spiritual. In the solution of these problems Eastern women are destined to play an important rôle, imbued with their own rich heritage from the past and endowed with the privileges and opportunities of the new day.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN ASIA

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

I

One of the most prominent phases of the impact of the Occident upon Asia is the Christian missionary enterprise. To-day this is represented by between twenty-five and thirty thousand missionaries, most of them from Europe and America. About half are Roman Catholics and about half Protestants. They are to be found in the majority of the countries of Asia, and are distributed among them roughly in proportion to the population. More than half, therefore, are in China and India. While strongly represented in the chief centres, they are also to be found in many smaller cities and villages and among the remote hill tribes of India, Burma and China. Although chiefly concerned in building up a Christian community, they carry on a variety of enterprises. In education especially they have been active, and they have engaged extensively in medical work, in preparing literature, in fighting famine, and in attacking a number of conditions which they deem social and moral ills. The impact of the West upon Asia has, accordingly, been modified profoundly by them.

Both the Roman Catholic and Protestant wings of

the missionary movement are the result of a great outburst of religious and humanitarian zeal in Europe and America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1800 Protestant missions were almost non-existent, and in Asia were to be found only in very limited sections of India and the Dutch East Indies. Roman Catholic missions, after the great activity of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the early part of the eighteenth century, were at a very low ebb and seemed to be dying. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, both Roman Catholic and Protestant missions rose to unprecedented proportions. Never in the history of the human race had any religion (or, for that matter, any set of ideas of any kind) been propagated over so large a proportion of the earth's surface by so many professional missionaries. Never before, moreover, had missionaries of any faith been supported by so elaborate an organization or maintained by the financial contributions of so many thousands of the faithful. Beginning about 1925, the growth of the Protestant missionary staffs came to a pause and began to decline. Whether that decrease is permanent cannot yet be predicted with assurance. Changes which now seem momentous are occurring both in Asia and in the Protestant churches of the West, which make it clear that the Protestant wing of the enterprise is entering upon quite a new phase of its history. It now seems probable that the foreign personnel has passed its peak. The body of Roman Catholic missionaries is still increasing, although quite slowly since the beginning of the world-wide depression in 1929. That portion of the movement is not passing through quite so marked a period of transition as is the Protestant half.

Both Protestant and Roman Catholic missions are carried on through a large number of different organizations. Protestant societies mount into the hundreds, and Roman Catholic congregations, orders and societies to several scores. This does not mean as much duplication and competition as might at first be supposed. Between Protestants and Roman Catholics no co-operation exists, but comparatively little attempt is made by either to win proselytes from the other, and seldom are the two seriously in each other's way. Roman Catholic missions are co-ordinated through the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and the majority of Protestant societies and churches co-operate through the International Missionary Council and its constituent national councils. Because of the nature of Protestantism, much greater variety in training, programme and outlook exists among its missionaries than among those of the Roman Catholic Church.

In addition to differences in doctrines and organization, Roman Catholic and Protestant missions are distinguished from each other in a variety of ways. Roman Catholic missionaries are drawn chiefly from the continent of Europe, with the French still having more than any other nationality. Protestant missionaries are predominantly from Great Britain and the United States, with the Americans in the majority. Roman Catholic missions give their attention almost exclusively to the creation and training of a Christian community and the provision of the necessary clergy, lay brothers, teachers, catechists and sisters. They concern themselves little with attempts to mould a culture as a whole, or with efforts at social improvement which do not contribute to the building up of the Christian Church. Protestants in theory have as

their chief objective conveying a knowledge of the Christian message to all men and bringing into existence self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating churches. In practice, however, they have devoted a large proportion of their time and energy to projects which have, as a direct or indirect object, influencing the entire community. Partly as a result, Protestants thus far have had a much greater effect upon the changing cultures of Asia than have Roman Catholics. For some reason, moreover, Protestantism has seemed to be able to impart more vitality and initiative to those touched by it than has Roman Catholicism. Certainly the creative individual Christians who have been outstanding in their influence on their non-Christian fellow countrymen have been almost without exception Protestants, and movements which have effected social changes outside the Christian constituency have been Protestant and not Roman Catholic.

Taken as a whole, the numerical strength of the Christian groups which have come out of this extensive missionary effort is not great. In no country do the Christians who are the fruitage of nineteenth and twentieth century missions total more than two per cent of the population, and in most lands they are considerably less. In nearly every land, however, the percentage of their annual increase is much greater than that of the population of the country as a whole. The relative numerical strength of Protestants and Roman Catholics varies from country to country. In Japan and Korea, Protestants outnumber Roman Catholics. In China, Roman Catholics are about five times as numerous as Protestants. In French Indo-China almost no Protestants are to be found, as against about a million and a quarter Roman Catholics. In

the Philippines the vast majority of the population are Roman Catholics, but that is due to the missionary efforts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In India the two branches of Christianity are not far from the same size, Roman Catholics being slightly in excess of Protestants.

The reasons for the comparatively small size of the Christian communities which have resulted from this extraordinarily extensive and zealous missionary effort must be sought in several factors. Among them are the resistance of the existing religious systems, the brevity of the time in which missionaries have been at work, the loss of interest in religion of any kind among some of the educated (for those attracted to Occidental civilization often believe its most desirable feature to be its mechanical equipment), and the comparatively high standards of instruction in Christian doctrines which most missionaries have set for membership in the Church.

The groups from which the Christians are drawn differ from land to land. In Japan the Christians are confined almost entirely to the cities and are chiefly from the middle classes. In Korea the churches are largely rural. In China they are in both country and city and come from various strata of the population. In the Netherlands East Indies the Christians come from several groups, noteworthy gains having been made among primitive peoples. In India the vast majority of Christians, and especially of Protestant Christians, are from the depressed classes and the animistic tribes. In Burma Christianity has appealed but little to the Buddhists and has grown chiefly from accessions from the animistic folk in the hills which flank the valleys. In the Near East almost no converts

have been made from among the Moslems, and the Protestant and Roman Catholic groups have been attracted almost entirely from the older Christian churches of that region.

II

From the standpoint of the student of culture contacts, the importance of this Christian missionary movement lies in its effects upon the peoples of Asia. How far and in what ways has it modified the impact of the West upon the East?

First of all, it must be noted that from time to time missions have been closely associated with Western imperialism. Occasionally they have been made the occasion for territorial aggression. Thus the French participation in the Franco-British war of 1856-60 with China had as an excuse the death of a French missionary in Kwangsi. The French political interest in Indo-China began through the attempt of a missionary bishop to gain support for his work. The French conquest of that region had its inception in retaliation for the persecution of French missionaries. The German seizure of Tsingtao in 1898 pretended to be in revenge for the murder of German Roman Catholic missionaries. The toleration clauses in the treaties of 1858 under which missionaries gained access to the interior of China were portions of the concessions wrested from China after her defeat by France and Great Britain. Mission schools in British Colonies and India, but not elsewhere, have been extensively subsidized by the Government. However, if the situation is to be seen in its true proportions, it must immediately be said that the French participation in the

Chinese war of 1856-60, and the German occupation of Tsingtao, would almost certainly have occurred had no missionaries been involved. Whether Indo-China would have been conquered had no missionaries been present is not so clear. It seems probable that this particular piece of European political aggression must be ascribed very largely to the missionary. British subsidies to mission schools have usually been made not because they are Christian, but because they are schools in their own territory. Religiously, in its imperial possessions in Asia, the British Government has usually preserved an attitude of neutrality. For many decades, indeed, the East India Company, through which Britain ruled India, opposed Christian missions and favoured Hinduism. In Asia Protestant missions have had almost no direct and probably but very little indirect effect in furthering European imperialism. Roman Catholic missions have been somewhat more involved, especially in French policy, but in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries they have not been nearly so closely associated with Western territorial expansion as from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

Far more important has been the rôle of Christian missions in the introduction of Occidental types of education. Here the missionary, and especially the Protestant missionary, has repeatedly been a pioneer. In the Near East practically all the older schools of secondary, college, and university grade, which have introduced Western curricula and educational ideals and methods, have been those founded and maintained by missionaries. Most of these are American and Protestant, but a few are Roman Catholic. Such institutions as Robert College at Istambul, the Jesuit

University at Beirut, and the American Universities at Beirut and Cairo are but the more prominent representatives of schools whose graduates have had an important part in reshaping the cultures of the Near East. In India Christian missions, and especially Protestant missions, have been responsible for a large number of schools, from those of primary grade up through those of college rank. More emphasis has been placed by Protestants on higher than on secondary and primary education, with the result that the colleges are, from the standpoint of technical educational efficiency, usually superior to the schools of the other two classes. Roman Catholics have laid rather more stress upon secondary schools. In India, as in other British domains, the development of schools has been stimulated by Government educational grants, offered impartially to all institutions, no matter of what religious complexion—Mohammedan, Hindu or Christian—provided they conform to the curriculum and maintain certain standards set by Government. In Burma, in Ceylon, in British Malaya, and in Siam, mission schools have occupied an important place in the introduction of Western types of education. In China schools founded and maintained by Christian missions have played an especially influential rôle in pioneering in Occidental forms of education. Here, until after 1900, the Government for the most part supported the traditional curriculum, and for two generations Christian schools were almost the only representative of Occidental education.

When, after 1900, the Government and private individuals sought suddenly to adopt and adapt what were now felt to be the inevitable Western forms of learning, dearth of teachers and political instability proved

serious handicaps. Mission schools, as the best representatives of the new education, became a source of a fairly large proportion of the teachers. In the midst of the kaleidoscopic governmental changes, the civil strife, and the banditry of the first three decades of the twentieth century, moreover, the Christian schools have been less subject to violent fluctuations in financial support and efficiency than have been a large proportion of the schools under purely Chinese auspices. They have continued, therefore, to have a large place. In China, even more than in India, Protestant schools have been more prominent than Roman Catholic. In China, too, Protestants have stressed higher and secondary rather than primary education. In Korea Protestant schools were pioneers of modern educational methods. In Japan mission, and especially Protestant, schools have been fairly important, and in some types, such as kindergartens and higher education for women, long held a unique position. The Government, however, much earlier succeeded in establishing its own Westernized system of education than was the case in China, and for some years mission schools have receded into the background and have tended to be the resort mainly of those unable to gain admission to the institutions maintained by the state.

In most of the major countries of Asia mission schools are declining in relative prominence. This was almost inevitable. They were the forerunners of an educational revolution. When, under increased contacts with the Occident, the governments and peoples of Asia began the development of schools on Western patterns, they were often influenced and aided by what Christian missionaries had already done.

However, usually having much ampler financial resources, and, in a day of nationalism, not being burdened with the onus of a foreign connection, they have outstripped the Christian institutions in equipment and numbers of students. In a few places this trend is not yet very evident, but these are the exceptions.

Protestant mission schools, being mostly of British and American foundation, have had a large share in the dissemination of the English language. At least one European missionary, indeed, has complained that Anglo-Saxon missionaries have interpreted the Great Commission as reading, " Go ye into all the world and teach the English language to every creature."

In the preparation and distribution of literature missionaries have a marked influence in Asia. To them several languages owe their reduction to writing. In this respect missionaries have not needed to be so active as in Africa. In the latter continent they found very few languages possessing alphabets, and, in the process of preparing a Christian literature, reduced scores of them to writing, and in most of these have prepared practically the only existing literature. In Asia, on the other hand, long before the advent of the missionary, most of the major tongues had been provided with a vehicle for writing. Here and there were primitive peoples for whose tongues the missionary had to devise alphabets. These, however, have totalled only a minority of those to whom the missionary has ministered. The task of the missionary, therefore, has been chiefly the preparation of a Christian literature. Here his outstanding achievement has probably been the translation and distribution of the Christian Scriptures. Tens of millions of copies of portions of the Bible, chiefly of individual books of the New Testa-

ment, have been printed and circulated. What the precise effect has been would be impossible to determine. In at least one region the appearance of a secular literature in the vernacular has been stimulated. The missionary, too, has often been the first to compose textbooks of a Western type for highly civilized peoples. In China, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, missionaries led the way in creating a literature which served to introduce the reading public of that great nation to wide ranges of Occidental civilization. Almost inevitably, however, as the changes due to the impact of the Occident have progressed, the educated in the country concerned have taken over the task of preparing a Westernized literature for their own people, and the missionaries' activities have more and more been confined to translating, writing and distributing Christian religious books, pamphlets and periodicals.

In medicine missionaries have repeatedly been pioneers in introducing Occidental techniques. In China especially the modern medical profession is almost entirely the creation of Protestant missions. In most cities and rural districts Protestant medical missionaries were the first to practise medicine of a Western type. All of the older schools in which Occidental medicine has been taught were founded by them. What is still the best in China, the Peking Union Medical College, owes to them its foundation. In Japan, because of the promptitude with which the new Government undertook the task of promoting Western medicine, medical missionaries have not been so prominent as in China, but even here, in Tokyo itself, one of the very best hospitals is St. Luke's, whose name indicates its origin, and St. Luke's led the way in a training school for nurses. In India and Burma

medical missionaries have shared with the Government the burden of caring for the sick by Western medical procedures. In Persia and the Near East the missionary has often been the only representative of Western medicine, and has had a large part in developing medical education.

Missionaries have not remained content with seeking to cure disease, but have sought to prevent it. Thus a nation-wide campaign of public health education was for several years conducted in China under the Young Men's Christian Association. Missionaries have also undertaken many other less extensive programmes for the reduction of illness.

Missions, moreover, have been responsible for the introduction or at least the promotion of the types of sports familiar in Great Britain and the United States. Here the Young Men's Christian Association has been active, while the schools and colleges maintained by missionaries have been prominent. The revolution in habits in which these agencies have had a share has in some countries been very striking. In China, for instance, the scholar classes had traditionally been quite inactive physically. Vigorous athletic sports seemed to them undignified. Women, too, in almost all Asiatic lands, have not engaged in physical sports. Along with the sports have come Anglo-Saxon ideals of good sportsmanship, with the discipline of subordinating the individual to the team and of taking defeat gracefully.

Famine relief and famine prevention have been problems with which missionaries have concerned themselves. Again and again they have borne a large share of the burden of raising funds and distributing grain to abate the recurring food shortages in China.

Through the building of roads, the digging of wells and irrigation canals, and the repairing of dikes by the labour of famine refugees, they have endeavoured to prevent pauperization of those assisted and to forestall future dearth. The best school of forestry and agriculture in China, that of the University of Nanking, was begun by missionaries from the desire to deal with some of the basic causes of famine. The mammoth Near East Relief, with its care for some of the thousands of children cast adrift by the Great War, while not officially an arm of the foreign mission boards, drew its inspiration and personnel very largely from missionaries, and its funds were to no small extent gathered through the churches.

Latterly, too, Protestant missions have been making much of "rural reconstruction." By this has been meant the organization and education of rural communities in such a fashion as to raise the level of living—economically, intellectually, socially and morally.

Missionaries have devoted much attention to the elimination of certain chronic evils, among them especially, in China, the opium traffic.

One of the sets of *mores* in which Christian missionaries have wrought notable modifications has been that connected with the family. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants have insisted upon monogamy, and have resisted both polygamy and concubinage. They have also sought to prevent frequent divorce. In India, where the age of marriage for girls has traditionally been low, they have striven to raise it. In India, too, where among the Hindus the remarriage of widows has been frowned on and the lot of the widow, especially the child widow, has often been

desperately unhappy, missionaries have sought to end the custom.

Closely connected with the changes in the family has been the alteration in the position of women which missionaries have sometimes initiated, and to which they have again and again contributed. The nineteenth century was marked in the Occident by movements for greater freedom for women, and for opening to them many doors in education, occupations and politics which had formerly been reserved for men. In the Orient missionaries, and particularly Protestant missionaries, have tended to think of the promotion of these standards as part of their duty and privilege. This attitude has been especially furthered by the fact that women have constituted an increasing majority of the Protestant missionary staff and a very large proportion of that of the Roman Catholics. Particularly have unmarried women and the wives of missionaries been active in modifying the lot of the women among whom they have found themselves. Their influence has been exerted chiefly through schools for girls, through Bible classes for women, and through trying to create homes in which the wife is regarded and treated as the equal of the husband.

Christian missions have had an effect, often fairly considerable, upon the morals of many thousands of individuals, and, at times, upon the ethical standards of groups who have had no official connection with the Christian churches. It is, of course, quite obvious that Christianity has worked changes in the morals of at least the majority who have come into the membership of the churches from a non-Christian environment. Missionaries have usually insisted upon a period of instruction for neophytes, sometimes fairly pro-

longed. In Roman Catholic circles and in many Protestant missions this instruction has been a prerequisite to baptism. Some Protestants have delayed it until after baptism. The instruction has almost always, and perhaps always, included some inculcation of ethical standards which the missionary has deemed important. The Ten Commandments have been widely taught. Discipline has frequently been applied to those Christians who have departed from what have been regarded as Christian ethics. Often these standards do not differ widely from those approved by the non-Christian community, and the change involved in becoming a Christian has been chiefly towards a closer approximation to these ideals. Repeatedly, however, both standards and practices have been altered. Some forms of Protestantism, with their emphasis upon spectacular and sudden conversion from moral degradation, have been able to point to scores of individuals who have been radically transformed. Changes in the ethical practices of non-Christian groups are not always so readily traced with certainty to missions. It seems fairly clear, however, that some of these modifications can be ascribed to the missionary. Thus the reduction of the numbers of temple prostitutes in some parts of India can probably be attributed at least in part to him.

Facing, as they have to do, the vigorous competition of the Christian missionary enterprise, it is not strange that some of the other faiths of Asia have been affected. Nor is it remarkable that new religious movements have been evoked outside the Christian Church. In Japan some Buddhist organizations have deliberately copied or adapted to their own use Christian hymns and Christian methods of social service and religious

education. Some of the popular sects of Japan, usually classed under Shinto, show the effects of contact with Christianity. In China Taoism and Buddhism have been too decadent to have sought to offset the Christian menace by borrowing from it. A number of syncretic religious movements, however, have endeavoured to combine elements from Christianity with some from other faiths more familiar to the Chinese. In India Hinduism, protean and in many ways very adaptable, has been modified in some of its forms. For instance, the Brahma Samaj, which, while not possessing a very large number of adherents, has been very influential, is a direct result of Christian missions. It is eclectic, but it bears very distinctly the impress of Christianity. The Ramkrishna Mission owes its origin and part of its ideals to contacts with Christianity and the example of Jesus. The Arya Samaj, while vigorously anti-Christian, has adopted some methods learned from Christian missionaries. Many a Hindu, although not formally breaking with his ancestral faith, has honoured Jesus and has modified his life accordingly. In India especially are many who, although not members of any Christian Church, have been attracted by the life and teachings of Christ.

One of the outstanding effects of Christian missions upon Asiatic society has been among the depressed classes of India. As we have said, the large majority of Indian Christians, and especially of Protestant Christians, have come from their ranks. For untold generations these outcastes have been scavengers or confined to other menial occupations. By the accident of birth they have been condemned to inferiority, ostracism, ignorance, and servitude from which no escape has been possible. To them the Christian

Church has been a door of opportunity. Hundreds of thousands have flocked into it, hoping to find in it an improved economic and social status and education for their children. Often the missionary staff has been too scanty to give the nominal converts the training and guidance which were necessary if this hope was to be realized. Thousands, however, have found in the Church self-respect, a higher level of living, and education. In some places, impressed by the change, some of their caste neighbours have sought admission to the Church. More important still, the widespread movement among the outcastes, including those not in the Church, to win from Hindus of higher ranks more privileges, has probably been stimulated by what the missionary has accomplished for the outcastes. The efforts of many Hindus, among them notably Gandhi, to improve the lot of the outcastes, must be ascribed in part to the example of the missionary. Some, for instance, fear that unless Hindus accord them better treatment, the outcastes will move into the Christian Church and be lost to Hinduism. All of this is producing a revolution in the Indian social structure.

A number of animistic tribes have been profoundly altered by Christian missions. Notable among these are the Karens. The Karens are in size the second largest of the racial groups of Burma, constituting about nine per cent of the population. A hundred years ago they were a primitive, backward folk, living in the hills and held in disdain by their civilized Burmese neighbours. To-day about thirteen per cent of them are Christians, the large majority of the latter being connected with the American Baptist mission. They had taken eagerly to schools. These schools and their churches are almost entirely independent of

foreign financial aid, and have developed a strong racial consciousness. This racial particularism, indeed, heightened by their Christian connection, constitutes a serious political problem. The culturally and numerically dominant Buddhist Burmese look upon it with annoyance.

In the great national movements in Asia in the past eighty or ninety years, with their accompanying revolutionary changes, Christian missions have had a large share, chiefly by touching the leaders who have shaped them. In Japan a number of the young samurai who had outstanding parts in the Westernization of that land, and later became the prominent statesmen of the nation, had intimate contacts with Protestant missionaries. Very few of them became professed Christians, but some of them owed to the missionaries part of their introduction to Occidental civilization and languages, and a few of the missionaries became their confidential advisers. To-day one of the most potent leaders in social reform for the benefit of the underprivileged classes is Kagawa, who ascribes what he is to his Christian faith. In China the Taiping Rebellion, an uprising of the discontented elements, which in the middle of the last century laid waste some of the richest sections of the Yangtse Valley, and which some now regard as the first wave of Westernization, owed its initial impulse to the contact of its head with Protestant missions. The most potent single individual in bringing about and shaping the Chinese Republic was Sun Yat Sen. Sun Yat Sen obtained almost his entire formal education in Christian schools and from missionaries in Hawaii, Canton and Hong Kong. It was from Christians that he imbibed the ideas which started him on his career of a propagandist for political,

social and economic revolution. A very large proportion of the present outstanding figures in the Chinese Central Government, including the most powerful, Chiang K'ai-shek, are Protestant Christians. Part of this prominence is due to the fact that Protestant schools were long the best of the modern type to be found in China. Graduates from them, many of whom were Christian, have naturally had a large share in inaugurating and guiding the changes. This alone, however, does not seem to be sufficient to account for these leaders. At least one non-Christian Western observer ascribes them to something in Christianity which produces individuals who are willing to champion unpopular causes and who have a larger public spirit for which they are prepared to make the sacrifice of personal interests than have most of their non-Christian fellows. In India Tagore and Gandhi, probably the two most influential men in a generation which is just about to pass off the stage, have been profoundly affected by direct and indirect contacts with Christian missionaries. Tagore comes out of the Brahma Samaj which, as we have suggested, derived many of its leading ideas from Christianity. In South Africa, when he was working out the ideals and methods which he later applied with such striking results in India, Gandhi had intimate relations with some Christians who befriended him. In India several of his closest companions have been Christians. Among his favourite hymns is at least one of Christian origin. Neither Tagore nor Gandhi is a professing Christian, but both are what they are in part because of that faith.

In the international relations of the Pacific Basin, a prominent body which has as its object the furthering

of friendly co-operation in the solution of the problems of that area, is the Institute of Pacific Relations. Although it has never had an official connection with any ecclesiastical body, and to-day would disavow any specifically Christian character, it was brought into existence by Christian missionaries.

So far we have concerned ourselves only with the impact of the Occident on the Orient. It would not do, however, to ignore the reflex influence of the Orient upon the Occident. This has been by no means so revolutionary or so extensive as the other. It has, however, been present. It is interesting to note that a very large proportion of the interpreters of the Orient to the Occident have been Christian missionaries. It was from Roman Catholic missionaries that Europe derived that knowledge of China which, in the eighteenth century, led to a strong sinophile movement. The foundations for the leadership of the French in the scholarly study of China in Europe were laid by these same missionaries. In Great Britain and the United States a large proportion of the sinologists, whose profession it is to specialize on China and to interpret her to the West, have either themselves been missionaries or are the children of missionaries.

All of this may well sound like an apology for Christian missions. It is not meant as such. An appraisal of the effects of the missionary upon the contacts of the Occident and the Orient would necessitate the setting up of standards of judgment and of processes of measurement which would require far more space than could properly be allotted. Most of the results here recorded missionaries would declare good and would point to as justification for their activity. The correctness of their conviction could be established

or disproved only by a prolonged analysis of the various effects, some of them quite unexpected, of the movements which the missionary has inaugurated or in which he has shared. It must be reiterated, however, that the transformation of the Orient by the Occident would have occurred had never a missionary landed on the shores of Asia. By his enterprise the missionary has modified the ensuing revolutions, sometimes very profoundly. It is upon these modifications and not upon the total transformation that any accurate evaluation of the missionary must be based.

III

To-day Christian missions to Asia, as with so much else in our world, are in the midst of marked transition. Conditions which prevailed in the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century are being drastically and rapidly altered. What the future has in store no one ought confidently to predict. Too many variable factors are involved and too many others may put in an unexpected appearance to permit of reliable prophecy. It is, however, possible to describe the chief new factors which have recently become evident and to point out some of the changes which these already involve.

First of all is the slowing down of the advance of Protestant missions. During the little over a century and a quarter from the date which is usually given as the beginning of the modern Protestant missionary movement, the organization of the (British) Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, to about 1925, the Western staff of the enterprise showed a continuous, although irregular, increase. Most societies were chronically

short of funds, but that was because they moved ahead of their giving constituency. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the slogan " The Evangelization of the World in this Generation " was coined, and for thirty years or more was in the forefront of missionary thinking. By it was meant giving to every human being in each generation the privilege of hearing the Christian message. Men were engaged in a high adventure in which the horizons were bounded only by the globe itself. New fields were entered and new stations opened. However, in about 1925 the Protestant missionary staff reached its peak and since then has declined. For the first time in their history many of the major boards have been recalling missionaries because of lack of funds. The reasons for this are various. They are to be sought partly in the blows which the War of 1914-18 dealt to the supporting constituencies in Great Britain and the continent of Europe. They are partly to be found in the reaction in the United States from what is now seen to have been an unnatural and forced growth immediately after the War. The world-wide financial depression must be held accountable for some of the loss. It is significant, moreover, that for some time before 1925 the older mission boards had been adopting what was called the " intensive " as contrasted with the " extensive " method. They were seeking to strengthen the stations already occupied rather than to open new ones. Geographically they were " digging in " rather than reaching out into fresh territory. To be sure, in other than geographical fashion they are still advancing. They are dreaming of new things to be done in regions where they are already at work. However, the day of indefinite advance is coming to an end. In missions

as in political imperialism the wave of Occidental advance seems to be pausing and in places actually retreating.

Roman Catholic missions have not shown this retardation as markedly as have Protestant missions. Up till 1930, when the depression began to take effect, they were still increasing their staff and new mission territorial divisions were being created. With the loss of funds due to the depression they have tended to mark time in their advance, but they seem to have withdrawn no missionaries.

The cause for the difference here between Protestants and Roman Catholics is not very clear. Probably it must be ascribed partly to the fact that Roman Catholic missions did not experience so extremely rapid a growth just after the War as did American Protestant undertakings, and hence have not had to face so marked a reaction. The Protestant fluctuation has been most violent in the case of North American boards, and Roman Catholics have depended chiefly upon Europe for support. British, Scandinavian and Dutch Protestant boards have shown fairly steady incomes and even some advances.

When all of these factors are taken into consideration, it seems fairly clear that the geographical advance of both Protestant and Roman Catholic missions as a movement from the West to the East has been slowing down.

This retardation of growth in Christian missions, as we have suggested, is synchronizing fairly closely with the retreat of European political control in Asia. In some countries the two are partly chargeable to the same cause, the rise of nationalism and the attempt to be rid of Western domination. The nationalism

which is sweeping across Asia seeks to liberate its peoples from any form of Occidental control. To be sure, it often endeavours to do this by adopting Western machinery and political, educational and social institutions. The two Asiatic countries most free from European political control, Turkey and Japan, have won their independence by becoming more nearly Westernized than their neighbours. However, Asiatic peoples have as a rule believed that in religion they have nothing to learn from the Occident, but, rather, that they have something to teach. They tend to regard Christian missions as impertinent, a patronizing attempt of those claiming superiority to teach "inferior" peoples. Or they believe Christian missions to have an ulterior motive and to be an integral part of Western imperialism.

In the attempt to meet this criticism has come a second movement in Christian missions—an effort to make Christianity appear as little alien as possible and to naturalize it in its new habitats. This tendency has been especially strong since the accentuation of nationalism in the post-war years, and is present in both Roman Catholic and Protestant circles. It has taken several forms. One of these is the transfer of leadership in the churches to native-born leaders. Roman Catholics are stressing the training of a native clergy, and in China, India and Japan have consecrated a number of bishops from among them. Protestants, too, are rapidly turning over the control of their churches and schools to the nationals. In Japan this process made marked strides as early as the eighteen nineties, and has now been nearly completed. In China and India it was later in beginning, but has been greatly accelerated since the Great War. Both

Roman Catholics and Protestants have also sought to adapt to Christian uses various forms of indigenous artistic expression. Of this the architecture of schools and churches shows notable examples. Roman Catholic paintings of religious subjects are being made in Chinese and Japanese styles. Here and there are attempts to use native forms of music and poetry. In India some Roman Catholics are making earnest efforts to state Christian theological concepts in terms not too alien to Indian philosophy, and so to cause the latter to lead to the Christian position. In India a few Protestants are experimenting with such Indian religious institutions as the *ashram*. Protestants, too, are attempting to devise a terminology which will prove less offensive to Asiatic ears, and so to eliminate any semblance of an attitude of superiority. "Native" is disappearing from their vocabulary and is being replaced by "national." "Mission lands" is giving way to "the lands of the younger churches," and "sending churches" and "home base" to "older churches." Leaders from the younger churches are being welcomed in Great Britain and America to assist in strengthening the religious life of the older churches. In many ways the attempt is being made to place the younger Protestant churches on a plane of equality with the older ones, and to strengthen the former to bear the burden of the Christian witness in their own lands.

Closely related to this second movement is a third, increased co-operation. It may seem strange to speak of this as occurring in the Roman Catholic Church, which is supposedly highly centralized and closely knit. Yet, until comparatively recently, in such a land as China each order and society tended to go its own

way without much reference to its fellows, and with little organizational expression of a united front. The creation of an apostolic delegate for all India several decades ago helped to alter this situation for that country. More recently the appointment of similar officials in China and Japan is having a like result in these two lands. Since 1910, and especially since the World War, Protestants, usually so fissiparous, have made phenomenal strides towards co-operation on nation-wide and international scales. "National Christian Councils" have come into existence in India, China, Japan, and several smaller countries. Each of these includes in its membership a large proportion of the missions or churches in these lands. All of these national councils are in turn members of The International Missionary Council in which the missionary organizations of the older churches also have representation. Never before has Protestantism succeeded in creating an organization in which so much of it co-operates. In a few places actual unions are being effected between denominations. All this is partly a concession to nationalism. It is also the attempt to insure a world-wide fellowship which will transcend nationalism.

A fourth movement which must be noted is that away from all religion. Just as among many circles in the Occident, Christianity seems to be outmoded and men appear to be ignoring it, seeking through other channels the things which they most want, and giving their exclusive allegiance to such movements as fascism, socialism and communism, so in the Orient, especially among the intellectuals, religion, both native and imported, is being dismissed as superstition and an impediment to progress. How far this will continue no

one knows. Christianity has shown a marked capacity for outliving those who have predicted its early demise. Eighteenth century "Enlightenment," with its indifference or open hostility to Christianity, was followed by the new movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which showed Christianity to be more vital than ever, and which gave rise to the greatest missionary effort in its history. For the present, however, the current seems to be setting the other way.

The ultimate fate of Christianity in Asia still remains to be determined. In its Protestant forms it has had a marked influence upon most of the peoples and nations of Asia in their transition into the new world culture which has followed as a result of the impact of the Occident. In no land except the Philippines, however, are the Christian communities more than a very small fraction of the total population. While proportionately these are increasing in most lands at a more rapid rate than is the population as a whole, in no large country does there appear any likelihood of the Christian groups attracting into their membership in the near future as much as one-half or even one-fourth of the nation. Should support from the West diminish and the tides of nationalism and materialism continue to rise, the rate of growth may diminish and the Christian groups either persist as small minorities or slowly disappear. Thus far few indications have appeared that they are to meet this gloomy fate. The future of Christianity in Asia, however, is and must continue to be one of the most fascinating of the questions which only the future can answer.

CHAPTER V

FELLOWSHIP THROUGH ORGANIZATION

SOICHI SAITO

SOME years ago Dr. Nitobe presented me with a copy of one of his own books in which he was discussing the contacts between East and West. On the fly-leaf of the book Dr. Nitobe kindly inscribed the following sentiment: " The East is in the West and the West is in the East—there are no points in the compass of the soul."

In the case of many rare individuals this is unquestionably true; they have risen above the complex differences between the populations of these two great divisions of the human family. It is also true that, owing to easy and rapid communication and the countless interactions of modern life, some of these differences are gradually being worn down. Cultural and commercial relationships are at least bringing East and West together, and where these relationships are infused with a genuinely human spirit the result is invariably deeper mutual understanding. The fact remains, however, that the differences so characteristic of varying modes of thought and living are frequently profound enough to act as a hindrance to genuine communion of spirit and interests.

The term " international relations " is a very broad one. The problems it suggests in our modern world are perhaps too many and too complex to be discussed under so general a topic as East and West. There are too many variations in the factors that control the contrasting outlooks of the peoples of the East and West to make a general discussion profitable without first taking into account the different elements that lie at the basis of the broad differences between East and West.

I cannot, of course, go into a detailed discussion of these factors. Let me briefly suggest two or three. In the first place there are what we describe as psychological differences, differences in mode of thinking. While it may be difficult to analyse the actual contrast which would be described under this heading, the fact of difference is obvious to anyone who has had experience with the peoples both of East and West. To say this is not to minimize the many primary human qualities that are a common possession, but is rather to point out that different psychological approaches to some of the questions of international relationships, may easily account for the difficulties and misunderstandings that frequently arise.

In the second place, economic factors are of primary importance in all attempts to harmonize international relationships. Between East and West, and also between neighbouring nations within those two great divisions, there are striking differences in standards of living. While there are undoubtedly forces at work in the modern world to equalize these standards, the fact remains that the tendency among nations to-day is to erect a variety of artificial barriers which tend to perpetuate the differences. Theoretically, most intelli-

gent men are aware that such barriers are unwise and even provocative, but the world seems to be in the grip of economic forces which compel individual nations almost everywhere to adopt measures which, though practically necessary, are theoretically and ideally unwise.

In the third place, those of us who have moved about from East to West know that such rather superficial matters as differences in manners and customs often constitute a source of rather serious misunderstanding between individuals, and therefore between nations. The conventions of life, so acceptable and so productive of easy human relationships within any given nation, are not infrequently the source of irritation and even of serious misunderstandings when practised within the borders of a so-called foreign country. I believe that the charge of insincerity so often made by statesmen of one country against another can usually be traced to the superficial distinctions covered by the word "manners."

The speed of modern life with its multiplicity of contacts has some advantages. It also has striking disadvantages, the most serious of which is superficiality. Real understanding, true mutual appreciation, requires time. The speed of our life to-day often precludes this. The feeling so common among Westerners that the East is mysterious may be due, partly at least, to this cause. That is to say, contacts are too momentary and therefore too superficial to permit thorough understanding. In the past the East has generally yielded to the speed and the pressure of the West. In some sections of the East, at any rate, this pressure is no longer effective. This situation makes all the more urgent every attempt to introduce harmony between

East and West. The only other alternative may be conflict, conflict in commerce, in political relationships, and even in culture. Consequently the present situation calls urgently for all the influences represented by organizations such as ours, in order that tendencies that lead to harmony may prevail over those that lead to conflict.

Are there methods of approach to these genuinely serious international questions, that may be called Christian? It goes without saying that we believe there are. Did we not share this faith in the practical effectiveness of Christianity, we should not be devoting our lives to such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association and the World's Student Christian Federation. Having this faith, we must nevertheless keep our eyes open to the difficulties. As one looks over the modern world, one finds much to discourage optimism. In Eastern countries, for example, the Christian groups are all but insignificant minorities, too small often to be effective in the crises that frequently arise between nations. Even in the West, where Christians are nominally at least in the majority, a Christian approach to these problems is often exceedingly difficult. Perhaps it is true that the Christianity of most people to-day is too closely intertwined with their national citizenship to be effective in a world in which political divisions often run counter to the clear mandates of science and economics. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Christianity at times is criticized as being less effective in this realm than it should be considering its great number of adherents.

But hopeful signs are not lacking. Pervading and influencing more and more this wide realm of growing contacts, competition, and conflicting points of view,

which in our modern world we describe as international relations, are the deep, common interests of Christians. We share in the citizenship of a kingdom that comprises the world. To all true Christians this common citizenship is a bond that cannot be broken. Because of it we trust each other and find it easier to discuss among ourselves the questions that tend at times to set our respective nations apart from each other.

It is true that measured against the forces of disruption, personal friendship may sometimes seem ineffective. As Christians, however, we must stress the ultimate significance of these bonds of friendship. Quite recently the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Ellery Sedgwick, delivered an address at a dinner of the America-Japan Society in Tokyo. He spoke of the many ties of friendship between individual Americans and individual Japanese. He illustrated the force of these friendships by explaining that in building a suspension bridge, one of the first steps is to stretch a single steel cord across the body of water to be bridged. This single cord spanning the distance seems at first like a mere spider's web, but slowly others are added until the strength of all combined is sufficient to hold up under almost any conceivable strain. It is in this light, said Mr. Sedgwick, that we must view the effectiveness of close personal friendships between the individuals of different nations. Each friendship is a single strand. As these strands multiply in number they become an unbreakable bond, a bond that can bear up under the severe tests that mark so many of our international relationships to-day. The process of building these unbreakable bonds through the multiplying of personal friendships may be slow. It may at times seem inadequate. In the long run, however,

it can be made effective. And in the meantime we Christians must learn to act wisely and intelligently in bringing possible influence to bear at the points of special danger.

In this connection international conferences are of real value. The world to-day may indeed seem to be in an unhappy state, but I am convinced it would have been very much more serious but for the bonds of friendship that have united Christians of the various nations through international conferences and countless unofficial contacts of the past generation or more. In the promotion of these international gatherings the Young Men's Christian Association and the World's Student Christian Federation have played an honourable part. As a matter of fact, it can be said that these organizations go back to the very beginnings of the tradition. They are international not merely by design and by the setting up of certain institutional arrangements, but in spirit and essence. The machinery they have constructed is a true expression and embodiment of the inner spirit. The fact that they unite in bonds of fellowship the Christian youth of the world lays upon them responsibilities, and places at their doors opportunities which make us truly unique among the international organizations of the modern world. Nothing but the impulses of undue haste, of wishing to achieve great results in too brief a period, can lead us to underestimate the significance of this fundamental strategy. This strategy does not preclude efforts to relieve the acerbity of crises. But it nevertheless derives its primary significance and effectiveness from what may be described as its personal emphasis and its long-term influence upon national policy.

A recent inquiry has been made on the influence

of Christianity upon Japanese culture during the past seventy-five years. I mention it here because it illustrates the point that significant results can best be seen perhaps when a fairly long period comes under review. It is only as investigation penetrates below the surface and takes account of a considerable period that the influence of Christianity in modern Japanese life can be comprehended. The results of this study indicate that Christianity has been a powerful influence in three important respects: (1) it has raised the status of Japanese women; (2) it has set a worthy example before other religions and organizations in its efforts to soften the impact of modern industry upon Japanese life; and (3) it has widened the international outlook of the Japanese people. There are doubtless those who would hope for more from Christianity after seventy-five years of influence. But I submit that these three points suggest the inauguration of movements and influences that will profoundly affect Japanese life as the years pass.

The illustrations I have used from the record of Christianity in Japan can be duplicated and enlarged from a study of its record in other countries. It suggests that there are constructive steps that can be taken. International Christian organizations of youth and for youth need to keep this in mind as they plan their own programmes. They need first of all to work persistently at the primary job of training Christian youth to live up to the possibilities of their citizenship in a kingdom that recognizes no barriers of race. The challenge of this task is sufficient to call out our best efforts, constant experiment with techniques and methods, and unwavering devotion to the essential qualities of the Christian point of view.

Furthermore, by means of these widely ramified organizations with their national groups in all parts of the world, effective service can be rendered in the education of public opinion. It is not always easy to do this, but the presence of difficulties should not deter us. The Associations and the Federation have access to young men and women, and in many cases to lay leaders of influence which place upon them a real burden of responsibility in the formation of an intelligent public opinion. International conferences and the growing tendency to exchange visits between different countries make the development of improved international relationships one of our peculiar responsibilities.

The principles with which we as Christians would infuse international relationships can be stated very simply; they are embodied in the Golden Rule, that we act towards others as we would have them act towards us. This is a far cry from modern practice. It is easy to keep such a principle upon our lips, but extraordinarily difficult to embody it in the complex diplomatic and economic relations between the nations. Perhaps this is particularly true of the post-war world of which we are all a part, and of which we are in grave danger of becoming the spiritual children. Specifically the Christian stands for co-operation, for working out in a spirit of mutual give-and-take, the only remedies that can actually heal the deep wounds that have been made in the world's body politic. Confronting this method is another, based upon a radically different spirit, namely, isolation, imagined economic self-sufficiency, separatism, etc. The contrast in these approaches to the problem epitomizes strikingly the task of Christians who would infuse the spirit of the Golden Rule into the life of the world.

Once we see the problem, the necessity of realistic treatment becomes obvious. There is no virtue in hugging our principles and at the same time letting the world pass on to the perdition that clearly awaits it if it continues to exalt isolation, self-sufficiency, and separatism. If we would be true to our mission in the world we must, therefore, look upon our task with more realistic appreciation of its enormous difficulty.

This means first of all that we must eschew all superficialities. The optimism with which Christians sometimes view the world can usually be traced to a superficial conception of its really dangerous ailments. This is inexcusable, and reflects upon the intelligence of Christians. In the second place we must avoid the dangers of sentimentalism. The confidence of the Christian in the ultimate goodness and power of God may account for the sentimentalism with which he looks upon the world's immediate distresses and disturbances. But this confidence must challenge us to action. In the third place we must have at our disposal more accurate information if we would pretend to serve our generation in the spirit of the Golden Rule. The old aphorism that a man's judgment is no better than his information should be taken to heart by all of us who labour in the interests of international Christian organizations, and especially those existing to serve youth. The practical statesman may not always stir our admiration, but the charge which he so often levels against us, namely that we proclaim our principles without accurate knowledge of the facts, is unfortunately too true.

This is not to affirm that accurate information, knowledge of the real facts, is sufficient. The principles of the Golden Rule and sound information go

together. Either without the other is like a bird with one wing. Those who direct the activities of these great organizations of youth should strive to be experts not only in knowledge of facts but also in advocacy of the Golden Rule in international affairs.

This leads me to offer in conclusion a few suggestions which, while in no sense new, need to be taken seriously into account. In harmony with what I have said in the preceding paragraph, let us not abate our efforts to train youth in the knowledge of international affairs, to broaden their outlook, and to teach them to understand the close cultural, social and economic interdependence of all the nations. Every individual whose outlook is broadened, adds to the strength of our cause. We will all welcome testimony from our various affiliated movements indicating the concrete steps by which results have been achieved in this realm.

In the second place the most thorough-going preparation should precede all our international gatherings. Furthermore we need to work out a more careful system of follow-up in order that results achieved at conferences may not be dissipated. An excellent approach can be made to the problem of the individual's better understanding of other nations by stressing the importance of what I may term the topical approach. This is perhaps the best way for us to learn of each other. For example, I have an American friend who has entered into a deep understanding of Japanese life through a study of the *No* drama. In like manner one of my intimate Japanese friends has entered into an equally profound understanding of American life through a study of American constitutional history. Simpler and less technical lines of approach could easily be suggested, but I am certain

that in practically all cases such studies would result in spreading the kind of knowledge that would make easier the application of the Golden Rule.

In these days we hear much about the Third International. Perhaps it would not be amiss for us who deal with youth to take a leaf from the note-book of Communism by striving to build up a truly Christian International. This would force us to think very concretely regarding the principles of our faith, and concrete thinking is always a very healthy exercise. In the promotion of these studies and activities a larger measure of co-operation is perhaps needed. It is needed in the planning of these activities no less than in their execution. It is doubtful if any secular organizations dealing with youth are better prepared than these Christian federations for planning a programme that will increasingly actualize the spirit of the Golden Rule in individuals and, through them, in the life of the nations. Our modern world offers a grave challenge to the basic principles of Christianity, namely the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Shall we not accept the challenge?

CHAPTER VI

THE QUEST FOR A CHRISTIAN WORLD-OUTLOOK

H. KRAEMER

We are living in a time of rapid and colossal changes. To state this may almost be considered a truism. These rapid and colossal changes do affect as well the realm of ideas as that of actual occurrences. As a matter of course, therefore, thinking men and women find themselves in the inescapable position of restating and rethinking all problems and situations. The deeper undercurrents of historical life manifest such an irresistible force, that the life of all peoples and individuals is thrown, in a process of rearrangement and reshaping; whether for better or for worse, nobody can foretell.

At the same time the external relations and the external and internal interests of the peoples and countries of the world of to-day have become so inextricably intertwined that the effect of all the rapid and colossal changes we witness to-day, is far swifter and more thorough-going than we have been accustomed to twenty-five years ago. One of the most dangerous and solemnizing aspects of our present day is perhaps that, on one side, the heavy strain and stress of everybody's special situation, packed with urgent economic, social

and political problems and issues, seems to drive irresistibly towards an intense concentration on self-centred absorbedness in one's own interests and problems; whereas, on the other side, to view all situations and problems from the angle of our world-wide interrelatedness and of our being partners in a common world-destiny, cries for minds that are bent on the urgent necessity for a world-outlook. Particularism or universalism is one of the most decisive alternatives in our present-day world.

The Christian Church and its world-wide enterprise is naturally also deeply affected by the universal upheaval in the realms of thought and action. The great old problems of the relation of science and Christianity, or of civilization or culture and Christianity, although they are really great, fundamental and perennial problems, do get in the light of the present situation almost a shadowy, irrealistic aspect. The Church is now pressed by still more pertinent and crucial questions, as: Who are you? What is your real nature and purpose? What is the right of your existence? And what do you stand for? The Church and its whole world-wide enterprise is nowadays not only weighed in the balance of critical thinking and cultured idealism, but in the balance of essence and effectiveness. It is measured by a searching reality test. The call for rethinking and reconstruction in the domain of the Christian Church is therefore a natural phenomenon.

What is urgently needed in this situation is a Christian world-outlook, that is to say, not to think in the terms of ecclesiastical or sectarian or so-called " Christian " interests and outlooks, but in the terms of the stress and distress of the world and the certainty that the real purport of Christ's Revelation is to

be the deepest answer to the deepest needs of the world.

This necessity for a Christian world-outlook applies as well to the West as to the East. Within the scope of the book, of which this chapter forms a part, we confine ourselves to the East.

In order to outline our subject, I propose to answer three questions:

What is implied in the expression: Christian world-outlook?

How can it be applied to the Eastern situation and the rôle which the Christian enterprise has to play therein?

What kind of result may we expect from a Christian world-outlook that has become perceptible in action?

I

Notwithstanding the fierce criticisms and denunciations which the Christian Church, deservedly and undeservedly, has been exposed to in the course of the ages till the present time, the word "Christian" still continues to be the expression for what is thought sublime, pure and good in the best sense of the word. Notwithstanding occasional slights on the word "Christian," it stands, generally speaking, for a synonym of "best," it is meant as an ethical superlative. We do not owe this to an unbroken record of moral sublimity of the Christian Church; although it is fair to say too that its record, however many flaws and deficiencies it may show, is also one of the reasons of the significance of the epithet "Christian." We owe it to its being derived from Christ. His universal moral and religious prestige, if this expression may be

permitted, is the real cause of the high value of the word " Christian." This holds true as well for the East as for the West. It has been repeatedly my personal experience, during the time I stayed in the East, that non-Christian people, who intended to express the highest moral praise, used the expression: this is a real Christian man or act; he is a Christ-like man. " Christian " stands for the highest thinkable standard. The greatest reason why the attitude and dealings of Europeans and European powers with Orientals and Oriental peoples are so mercilessly criticized, more merciless probably than any people has been criticized for its dealings in any previous period of history, is that they are known as " Christian " peoples. Their conduct is measured by the " Christian " standard and found wanting. Before the World War, notwithstanding the opposition and hate against European or Western conduct and aggression, arising in the bosom of many Eastern peoples, European civilization and European standards enjoyed great respect, mainly because they were identified with Christian standards. The great moral confusion, as to how to judge Europeans, that resulted out of the World War in the East, was mainly due to the fact that this war raged between " Christian " peoples. This may be a colossal misunderstanding, still it demonstrates the subtle and deep implications the word " Christian " has. We must, therefore, be aware of the important fact that to write about a Christian world-outlook contains an extraordinarily high pretension, which makes those who try to indicate it extremely vulnerable and open to criticism. But there is still another side of the medal. Wittingly or unwittingly, opinion in the East demands from those

who represent this Christian enterprise a Christian world-outlook, nothing less. So our subject treats a very urgent problem.

In the present time, whether we grapple with the situation in the West or in the East, a Christian world-outlook is inevitably showing a tendency in the social direction. Since Christianity started its career in the world there has been a Christian world-outlook. In the first centuries the dominating trait of the Christian world-outlook was the conviction that this world, with all its splendour and abomination, its power and injustice, was soon going to perish, consumed by the Kingdom of God, a new and divine order of life, that of the Lord Jesus Christ, Judge, Saviour and King of the Universe. The purpose of life, individual and communal, was to prepare oneself for this decisive Event by a life of humble striving after the "fruits of the Spirit," joy, peace, kindliness, righteousness, etc. The then Christian world-outlook emphasized the Christian's being sentinel on the threshold of eternity, a sentinel full of eager expectation.

When the Church, in the fourth century, became acknowledged and protected by the State (a rather ridiculous situation for the "ecclesia militans" of the first ages), the Christian world-outlook altered considerably, or more exactly, the alterations of Christian outlook, already operating, came to the surface and dominated the outlook as a whole. The Church, now being in power, did not think about setting itself to reconstruct radically the whole fabric of life, society and State, according to principles and incentives contained in the Gospel. It acquiesced in the broken and sinful condition of the world, viewing this condition as a result of the reality of sin. This passing world

had to be tolerated, and ought to be influenced and corrected by Christian education, philanthropy and occasional resistance against vice and injustice. The Church-Sentinel became largely the Church-Educator and the Church-Philanthropist. The mystics were looked upon as the highest form of Christian world-outlook, who turned their backs on the fleeting reality of the world and fixed their eyes on the changeless realities of the Eternal World. This corrective, pedagogic and philanthropic note in the Christian world-outlook has been also a distinctive trait of mediæval Christianity, and, I believe, it is still the general attitude of the Christian Church, in the broad sense in which we have spoken here of it.

This Christian world-outlook, in its above-sketched variety, has exercised an enormous influence in the history of Europe and the world. It is not our present duty to try to evaluate this influence; to be sure, it has been of great importance. Yet, if we compare it with the Christian world-outlook as implied in the New Testament, and with the urgent call for reality in our days, we feel that the Christian world-outlook of to-day has to be more daring and vigorous. We are not living in a period of decay and dissolution, as began in the fourth century, nor are we in a period of chaotic, untrained, youthful peoples, that have to be welded under the unifying and transforming power of a higher civilization and tradition, as in the Middle Ages. We, children of our own day, witness a period of huge transition, of silent or open revolution in state, nation and society. The deeper causes of this crisis are to be found in the throwing over of the equilibrium of continents and races, the shifting of the economic centre of gravity of the world, and, last, but not least,

the severe retesting of religious and moral values that is in operation all over the world.

As I said once before, in the present time the Christian world-outlook shows a tendency in the social direction. Face to face with this situation, the Christian world-outlook of to-day, I think, should bear one outstanding mark, that is to say, *a new and intense resoluteness to manifest in life and work and faith the spirit of Christ and to labour for its realization.* What does that mean: to manifest the spirit of Christ? This question needs to be asked in order to avoid falling into the trap of appearing to repeat a current Christian platitude. Does it mean that we should put as the purpose before us to become duplicates of Christ, or to strive to become in all our dealings nice and charitable persons? The first purpose is an impossible and illegitimate one, if we really understand the uniqueness of Christ's being and position. The second purpose, however necessary and laudable it may be, is a quite inadequate and insufficient one.

To manifest the Spirit of Christ means to enter into the divine purpose for man and the world, as manifest in God's revelation in Christ. The main features can be summed up as follows. Man and the world are God's creation, destined to worship, love, serve and obey Him by holiness and righteousness. Man and the world are His lawful dominion. The greatest riddle and at the same time the greatest reality about man and the world is that by natural inclination they are in secret or open revolt against God's dominion and purpose. In this enigmatic but undeniable situation is contained as well the greatness as the misery of man and the world. In the sending of Christ, God revealed the steadfastness of this original purpose, and

this yearning for a renewed world by manifesting this self-sacrificing love towards man and the world in the life, death and resurrection of Christ, His Son. In the life, death and resurrection of Christ is expressed God's condemnation and God's Salvation of man and the world at the same time. Therefore the New Testament is the only book in the world where the *most burning hate of sin* is combined with *the most burning love of the sinner*, in indissoluble unity. Therefore Jesus Christ was as the prophets, speaking with divine authority, yea He was the divine Voice Himself; He was the true and truly efficient High Priest, Who gave Himself in obedient and loving service. To manifest the Spirit of Christ is to be kindled by the experience and vision of this divine attitude towards man and the world, and to strive to translate it in life, work and faith, as a humble though poorly insufficient answer to God's call to a new life in Christ. In order to remain realistic, we have to stress the humility and insufficiency of the answer, because the key-note of New Testament ethics is the summons towards pursuing unremittingly " the fruits of the Spirit " and the attainment of loving brotherhood, combined with the conviction that even when we have done all this, by the divine standards we are still " unprofitable servants."

II

Let us now turn to our second question: how can this Christian world-outlook be applied in the Eastern situation, and to the rôle which the Christian enterprise has to play therein? In order to be able to answer this question, we must first glance over the situation

in the East. Let it be clear that we practically mean by " the East " the peoples of Asia and Africa, with which the West and the Christian enterprise, within the last hundred years, had come into steadily increasing and significant contact. The situation, included in this definition, is a very complex one, especially nowadays, as we are still apt to think about this situation in terms that are the product of vanishing or already vanished conditions. These terms are that we, broadly speaking, put on the one side the powerful and victorious West, penetrating by its alleged superior political, economic and cultural impact in the life of the peoples of Africa and Asia, which are partly belonging to the so-called " primitive " tribes, and partly represent very old and rich civilizations or political units, and on the other side this medley of tribes, peoples and civilizations, living in a state of stagnation.

It is true that this remarkable coincidence of the emergence of a part of the West, creative and conquering in the spiritual and material domains of life, and the receding strength and creative power of the East, brought into being the broad setting in which the eventful meeting of East and West took place, and grew to become one of the most decisive factors of contemporary history. When, four centuries ago, representatives of the European peoples, driven by an amazing outburst of energy and thirst for adventure and gain, appeared on the shores of Africa and Asia, they were, in many respects, not the cultural superiors of some of the peoples and civilizations they came in touch with. Indian and Chinese civilizations were, in many respects, richer and more refined. They were, however, endowed with more dynamic energy, excelled the Oriental peoples by their military equipment and art,

and issued from a society more diversified and elastic in its social stratification.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the progress of science inaugurated the age of invention, followed in its trail by the eventful industrial development, which gave our modern history so many of its distinctive features. This development determined in a very essential way the balance of power and significance between East and West. In the eighteenth century the actual superiority of Western over Eastern powers manifested itself already in the inchoate foundation of colonial dominion, here and there. In the nineteenth century this initial development not only rushed on, but broke forth with irresistible force. Industrial development and technical inventions equipped the Western peoples, already possessed by strong and intelligent economic appetites, with an economic armature, which emphasized the inferiority of the East, with its archaic social and economic organization, still more.

This conjuncture of history, however, has not only led to the conquest and domination of Africa and Asia by the West. That was only the first result and the immediate purpose. One of the most solemnizing things in human history is, however, that the actual result of historical events, nearly always, differs from and transcends by far the result that was consciously sought. The original intention was to trade with the Oriental peoples, and to do this as advantageously as possible. Hesitatingly one proceeded towards territorial conquest. This meant administration and government. And then it dawned gradually on the minds of the conquerors that one was launched on an unexpected and unprecedented adventure. Administration and govern-

ment turned out to be more than just keeping law and order, and for the rest to be free to get as much profit out of the business as seemed possible. Administration and government meant to penetrate into an entirely foreign world, foreign in its presuppositions and in its conditions; it meant to alter and, sometimes to undermine, these presuppositions and conditions by new regulations, ordinances and institutions. The silent forces of a very important fact began to operate, that is to say, the bearers of Western domination gradually learnt the far-reaching consequences of the fact that they were utterly different from, utterly alien to, the Orientals in manners, in feelings, in outlook on life and the world, in religion, in culture, in the ways in which they react on things and men, in conducting affairs, etc.

This meant that it is impossible to govern and administer a foreign world according to objects and methods, thoroughly alien to it, without changing it. So, conquest, penetration and domination quite unexpectedly led towards a big complex of new duties and responsibilities. Besides that, the foreign rulers needed the help of a "native" personnel, partly to keep the old social fabric of the Oriental peoples running and intact, partly to work it for new ends, and thereby change it. This employing of "native" personnel had other consequences, only dimly foreseen. It required the training of these people in European knowledge and methods, and so, originally without any wider purpose of synthesis or assimilation of cultures and civilizations, the mutual interaction of Western and Eastern civilization in its higher aspects, came into full swing, soon quickened in its pace by a more conscious policy of education and emancipation.

In India, for instance, the great controversy between the Occidentalists and the Orientalists, which ultimately resulted in Macaulay's famous Minute on the Introduction of Western education, is one of the important stages in this development.

The result of all these measures and movements we see in the present day clearly before us. Eastern societies and communities which, before the impact of Western civilization and power, rested in a relatively quiet isolation, are thrown into a tremendous crisis in every domain of life. This holds true as well for the "primitive" tribal organizations as for the grand old civilizations and political units in the East. The convulsive state of Japan, as it manifests itself in the last few years, is one of the most striking examples of this development, the more striking as it occurs amongst a people that never had to submit to Western domination, and that is itself one of the representative political and economic powers of the world. Amongst the subject peoples nationalism everywhere sprang into existence as the inevitable and natural reaction against foreign domination. Western political idealism taught the Orientals the theoretical foundation and justification of their nationalist claims and aspirations. Intellectual emancipation fermented the new intellectual life and fomented a general questioning, demolition or defence of the ancient spiritual heritage. Therefore we can observe now a spirit of religious unrest, revolt or reform in many Eastern countries. The social and economic fabric of life is shattered to pieces by the inrush of modern trade, means of transport and industrial organization. This does not only imply a social and economic reconstruction and readjustment, but also a sweeping destruction of ancient moral foundations,

and an urgent demand for moral reconstruction. The huge task which emerges out of this process of mutual interaction for the Oriental peoples is to perform a radical reconstruction of their life in the face of entirely new conditions and exigencies. This process is already afoot, and has effected many big changes. The period of stagnation for the East has definitely passed. That is why we made the remark that the well-known contrast of the active and dynamic West with the passive and static East is already vanishing.

The root of the whole problem is that the East has to accomplish this radical change by inadequate means. Its ancient foundations and structure, suited to its former situation, but radically unsuited to the new situation, are still, largely, the chief instruments available. This whole situation simply clamours for a Christian world-outlook as outlined above. For those who serve the Christian enterprise in the non-Christian world, this whole situation makes a truly Christian world-outlook, in the sense of an intense resoluteness to manifest in faith, life and work the spirit of Christ, an imperative duty and a splendid opportunity. An imperative duty, because this travailing world stands in dire need of men and women whose sole absorbing interest is to serve Christ and His Cause, in order to serve in the most effective way a humanity that is struggling for a new life. A Christian world-outlook means in this context the striving after that attitude of self-forgetful disinterestedness and of self-sacrificing other-interestedness which was revealed in Jesus Christ as the impelling force in God's decisive handling of the secret sore of man and the world. A splendid opportunity, because the amount of work that lies ahead cannot be estimated, and the incessant clash and

strife of Western and Eastern interests, that has been going on for more than a hundred years, has obscured in the East what Christianity really stands for. The word " Christian " has not merely the significance of ethical superlative we indicated above. It has inevitably become identified with Western. In the past, when Western civilization enjoyed universal prestige, the supporters of the Christian enterprise themselves made the mistake of identifying too easily Christianity and the fundamentals or so-called glories of Western civilization. By now we have learned to make better and clearer distinctions, but still this identification of Christianity with the West in all its ramifications keeps the eyes of the Orient, in many respects, closed to the real purport and spirit of the Christian message and activity. We ourselves, in the light of the defined Christian world-outlook, have to purify ourselves from many wrong tendencies and intentions. In relation to and co-operation with Oriental fellow-Christians, and in the endeavour to join in the struggle for the reshaping of Oriental man and society, the rule contained in the words: " One is your Master, and ye are all brethren," calls for ever deeper application.

The Christian world-outlook is imperative, because, as I said elsewhere, those who serve the Christian enterprise claim to be the representatives of the Gospel of Christ amidst a world of strong, age-old religions and civilizations, the products of sublime aspirations, deep longings and grotesque and painful errings. In this world spiritual and material need and suffering, as well as nobility of life and standards, social and moral backwardness as well as intellectual poverty and backwardness, spiritual haughtiness and stubbornness, as well as real meekness and humble openness of mind,

call for all the qualities which should belong to the representative of Christ's Gospel. They call for the Apostle of Christ, bearing witness of the Lord and His Word; for the disciple of Christ, always ready to serve and to support; for the Samaritan of truly priestly mind toiling for the lost and the least; for the prophet who in his opinions, words and actions is dependent only on God and His holy Will.

As applied to the Eastern situation, the Christian world-outlook, advocated here, has to be the guiding principle, however poorly it may often be executed by our many imperfections. It implies, therefore, a deep, sincere and devoted interest in all things that are bound up with the spiritual, moral, social and intellectual rebirth of the Eastern peoples. The activity which springs from this outlook and attitude will, of course, be conditioned by material means and circumstances.

III

The third question we proposed to treat was: What kind of result may we expect from a Christian world-outlook, that has become perceptible in action? Will the result be a clear distinction, made by Orientals themselves, between Christianity and the Western world? Shall we become released from the heavy burden of the suspicion that all Christian activity, however profitable it may be for those who are its objects, or however respectable it may be as a moral endeavour, after all is a more subtle form of that invincibly domineering spirit which reveals itself undisguised in imperialism? I am afraid that this result will perhaps not come soon. One does not easily overestimate the depth to which the mistrust of the average Oriental

in Western activity, even the noblest, goes. And if he is not inclined to mistrust, he is at least easily induced to develop it. Nobody should entertain any illusions on this point. This is a white man's burden, which a Westerner, engaged in the Christian enterprise, should bear gracefully, without the hypocritical unction, often attached to this expression, when used for a different situation. The most effective and practical way to deliver Christianity as a faith and way of life from its identification with "foreignism," will be the steadily increasing participation of Oriental Christians and Churches in the execution of the Christian enterprise, inspired by the Christian world-outlook as has been indicated. The main result that may be expected is of quite a different order.

The Christian enterprise in the world needs two justifications: a divine and a human one. The divine justification is its real Magna Charta, and consists in God's out-reaching towards the world in Christ, and His Will to make this the great Announcement for all mankind and all ages. This divine justification is at the same time a divine constraint, which lifts the whole problem of the presentation of the Christian Message above the plane of the well-known controversies, whether this presentation is justified amidst highly developed religions and civilizations, or whether it issues from a detestable religious superiority-feeling. The human justification is of secondary though important significance. The Christian world-outlook, which implies the disinterested service of individuals and communities by apostolic, priestly and prophetic fervour, imparts a moral justification to the Christian enterprise, as being not there to seek its own ends but that of the others. It may be that this moral justifica-

tion, by the complexity of the situation, will win general recognition but slowly. Nevertheless, those who believe can wait, because the highest object of the Christian enterprise is not to gain favour or to escape disfavour, but to be loyal to the divine command.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC INTER-RELATIONSHIPS OF EAST AND WEST

KENNETH MACLENNAN

I

THE world economic situation, like Topsy, "just growed." No malignant mind designed or willed it, no peculiarly wicked people created it, and no special group of men are responsible for it. But two facts are sure: it is here with us, and men of goodwill are grievously disturbed by the menace of its problems.

For long the history of modern economic relationships was the history of trade, industry and commerce in Europe. Inevitably with the expansion of Europe there came the scramble for trade and empire. During the latter half of the nineteenth century Russian tentacles stretched eastward to the Pacific and southward to the borders of Persia and Tibet; France established a second colonial empire; by the end of the century Africa was divided; Germany founded extensive colonies; and Italy had expanded into North Africa, Eritrea and Somaliland. To Canada, Cape Colony and Australia, Britain had added India and a large part of Africa.

The facts set forth in this chapter are based on figures given in that indispensable handbook, *The Statesman's Year Book*.

With the growth of empire, European powers and peoples, competing for control of raw materials and for new markets, became ever more closely tangled in a mesh of economic relationships. The nations of the West concentrated in the main on an ever expanding and ever enriching European trade, reserved for them alone. By and by the United States of America, closing their own frontiers and developing extensive manufactures, sought and secured a share in the world trade; but until quite recently, the countries of the East were merely regarded as areas to be exploited, potential markets and fresh sources of raw material.

During the last few decades, however, the great lands of the Orient, containing one-half of the population of the globe, have been swept into the current of world-wide trade, industry and finance. Only a tithe of that mass of humanity have as yet come under the influences of these new relationships, but these ancient countries are already, for good or evil, in the vortex of economic problems which touch the life of both East and West at a thousand points.

Large tracts of Eastern territory, notably India, Burma, Siberia, French Indo-China, the Straits Settlements and the Netherlands Indies, form part of Western empires, and so to a large extent their economic development is directed or conditioned by the West. But the great lands of China and Japan are sovereign states, directing and controlling their own development, with distinctive national economic interests.

In the West the present economic system is a growth of one hundred and fifty years—the outcome of the industrial revolution, the expansion of Europe and the harnessing of the secrets of nature to the service of man; but the development of the Orient has been

recent and swift. Drowsy trading contacts between East and West are as old as time, but down the ages the Orient was effectively shut off from the West. The romantic days of picturesque caravans from cloistered lands have now passed for ever. In the case of India there was from time immemorial a certain amount of trade with the West; "the gold of the Indies" was the lure of many a European adventurer. It was not, however, until the abolition of the East India Company that the spirit of modern commerce and industry really began to touch India vitally, and not until this century were Lancashire and India convinced that their conflicting interests were irreconcilable. China had for ages presented a closed door to foreign merchants; until a hundred years ago Canton was the only port open to Western trade, and for long commerce with the West was a tiny stream. The modern trade and commerce of Japan dates from the day in 1853 when Commodore Perry of the American Navy sailed into the Bay of Yedo and paved the way for commercial treaties with the outside world.

The economic development of Eastern lands has been bewilderingly swift. It is no longer a pedestrian affair but throbs like a huge engine. New reservoirs of raw material and the varied produce of rich territories in the East are being made available for the needs of all the world; and the trade, industry and commerce of the Orient has grown by leaps and bounds. Already its merchandise is carried on the seven seas by great fleets of ocean-going steamers. The problems between East and West are greatly accentuated by the rapidity of this development.

India is an agricultural country, but a tenth of the land tilled is under cotton, and large crops of jute are

raised annually. India, with Ceylon, supplies most of the world's breakfast and afternoon tea, and the growth of cotton and jute has led to great textile development. In 1932 there were in Bombay and Madras and other towns, three hundred and seven cotton-spinning and weaving mills, employing about four hundred thousand people, and operating almost nine million spindles and over a hundred and seventy-three thousand looms. In the Calcutta area there were over a hundred jute factories employing over a quarter of a million workers. The great Tatanagar iron works are known all over the steel world.

Although China is essentially a land of farmers, the mineral wealth of the country is already of great importance. Iron ores are abundant. The Tayeh iron deposits near Hankow are among the richest in the world, tin is plentiful in Yunnan, while the coal-fields of Manchuria are as extensive as those of Pennsylvania and South Wales and the Ruhr. Silk, cotton and tea are produced for export in ever-increasing large quantities. At the beginning of the present century there were two modern cotton mills in China. In 1934 there were a hundred and forty-three mills, with more than five million spindles and almost forty thousand looms. It is significant that nearly a third of the total of both is Japanese owned, is run by Chinese labour, and is competing acutely with the great mills of Osaka.

Fifty years ago Japan was also classed as an agricultural country. To-day almost half of the population are engaged in trade, industry and commerce. The industrial development has been phenomenal. For example, the production of steel alone is about a fourth that of Great Britain, while the competition of the

cotton mills of Osaka is felt keenly throughout the world. Japan produces raw silk in almost superabundance. She herself has coal, iron, copper and petroleum, and, in addition, has at her doors the minerals and produce of China.

The complexity of the inter-relations is further increased by the vast range of economic contact in what has become a very small world. The traveller motoring on the Manchurian plain realizes how its enormous wheat-fields may compete in the world's wheat markets with far-away Canada, Egypt and the Argentine. Say "cotton" and you are compelled to think of the stranglehold between India and Lancashire, and the competition with both of the great mills of Osaka and Shanghai, as well as about supplies of raw material from places as far apart as India and Alabama, the Sudan and China. As the Westerner listens to the clang of the riveters in the shipyards of Kobe, he thinks of the answering clangor of the Tyne and the Clyde, and cannot fail to realize that a tense challenge is being flung back and forth across half the world—between the Yangtse, Hong Kong and Kobe, and Belfast, Barrow, Tyne and Clyde. Persia and oil suggest at once the grave problem of war supplies. Rubber takes us not only to far-away Malay, Borneo and South America: it recalls the efforts of the United States to create an American subsidized rubber state in Liberia. For all lands, great or small, remote or near, economic relationships have to be adjusted on a world scale. The whole world is bound up in one common economic development.

The effect on world trade of all this growth and tangle is reflected in the figures of traffic passing through the Suez Canal, that great arterial waterway

between West and East. In 1912 twenty million tons of mercantile shipping passed through the Canal. Twelve years later the figure was twenty-five million tons. In 1935 it had increased, despite the world depression, to nearly thirty-three million tons, and it has to be borne in mind that of that tonnage, no inconsiderable part flew the flags of the East. The mercantile marine of Japan has grown with "a hop, skip and jump": since 1914 it has multiplied three-fold. It is now almost a fourth of that of the United Kingdom, and ranks above those of Germany, France, Italy and Holland. Japanese liners challenge the old shipping companies of the West on the ocean passenger routes of the world. Great ports have grown up in the Orient. The population of Shanghai, the centre of China's trade and industry, is exceeded in the West only by that of London, Berlin and New York. Great Britain is peculiarly bound up in all this development —a seventh of all her imports comes from Asia, and more than a fifth of all her exports go there.

The pressure of increasing population adds to the tangle of the new situation. The position in Japan cannot be understood if this element is left out of consideration. Overcrowded countries are compelled to turn to industrialism; and where the natural resources are favouring, raw material at hand, cheap labour and capital available and ready access to markets, economic development is swift and far-reaching.

II

Economic inter-relationships create distinctive problems in different areas all the world over. There are not only special problems between the East and

the West; there are problems of a different kind between the various countries of the Orient themselves —notably between India and Japan, and China and Japan.

In thinking of the industrial situation in Japan, one thing must never be forgotten. They believe they have a gift denied to others. The Japanese have something of the nature of a religious faith in the conquering perfection of their industrial organization. With this gift, allied with cheap and most efficient labour, they feel that they can triumph over all rivals. No country has carried industrial organization to the pitch of perfection it has attained in Japan. United buying and selling organizations are commonplaces in industry, production is rationalized, and there is a great saving of overheads by the running of plant for long double shifts—with the incidental advantage that plant can be replaced before it becomes obsolete.

Japan claims the right to free world markets and access to raw material, and she feels that this is denied to her by the tariff walls erected against her by the empires of the West. There is a school of economists who continually assert that empire gives no advantage in the market for raw materials, but the attempt of country after country to corner raw products belies this. Rightly or wrongly, Japan feels that she is differentiated against, and the use of her talent of organization hampered.

The problems of economic inter-relations between the West and China are of an entirely different order. Here the interests of both East and West can best be served by helping to establish Chinese trade and industry, putting currency on a sound basis, improving transport, extending communications, and lowering

every trade barrier. The mission of Sir Frederick Leith Ross in 1936 showed what can be done. The West can best serve both itself and China by adjusting economic inter-relationships in these ways.

In India the problems, apart from the fierce competition in the cotton industry (Japan can sell most beautifully coloured rayon in India at less than the Indian mills can produce their poorer qualities of cotton), mainly circle round problems of trade within the empire.

A specially difficult element in the problems under consideration is that competition between East and West is necessarily on varying economic levels, and not only between people of different nationalities, but of different race. These factors alone are sufficient to create perplexities.

Commerce and industry are necessary in the modern social system, but they create most baffling problems for those who are concerned with the spiritual conception of life. The development of trade, industry and commerce in East and West inevitably brought certain things in its train.

It gave rise to the modern capitalist system. Men have discovered that the control of massed finance is a sure way to influence human affairs. Money has become one of the great forces of our age, playing a dominating part in human relations. It is a channel of collective energy that has come to exercise a powerful influence in international relationships. The seriousness of this aspect of the situation is increased by the fact that much of the new development in the East is financed by Western capital, used to exploit abundant cheap labour in the Orient, with ready access to low priced raw material and large potential markets. The

curious thing is that capital has no national frontiers. Men who talk easily about "patriotism" and the sanctity of national honour, find no difficulty about international finance; massed finance is one of the most potent elements in the world situation of to-day.

What can the individual do against the Moloch? Over a large sphere of his life, man has ceased to be captain of his soul. Surely something serious in human history happened when man, who had been created a living soul, lost his personality in a soul-less collectivism. The mastery of his life passed with the control of his possessions to a force regarding his existence as a unit to be used as a tool. The successful financier is he who can corral the experts of science and industry. The increased power of finance over man is without question. Its silent pressure seems irresistible. The general staffs of the world of finance find themselves in a position of almost unlimited power over their fellow-men. No men are good enough to be entrusted with power of that kind.

Further, the development of modern trade and industry has meant the mushroom growth of great industrial towns and port cities, with consequent problems of urbanization—housing, overcrowding, public health, infant mortality. Glasgow, Birmingham and East London have their problem of overcrowding. So have Kobe, Osaka, Shanghai, Canton, Calcutta and Bombay. Many industries have bred diseases hitherto unknown to the physician. These are now common to East and West. Distressing problems with regard to the employment of women, young people and children are inevitably raised by economic development in every land.

Again in the East as in the West there are problems

of unemployment, for industry everywhere assumes the necessity for a surplus reservoir of labour. Such a reservoir is not only a physical problem; in these days of great depression it has become a social pestilence.

Trade and industry have created impersonal relations between employer and employed. Industrial competition demands mass production. The worker is bereft of his individuality. He becomes an automaton in the complex machine, first physically, then mentally, and finally spiritually. The bilateral relations of life are to a large extent destroyed. With great bitterness of soul the individual realizes that he is not expressing his life in the service of his fellow-men. He recoils against what is really a denial of his manhood. Human relationships involve mutual obligations and rights. They should produce reverence and respect for men, women and children. But with standardization and mass-production modern trade and industry in all lands have become so impersonal as to submerge the individual into a labour unit or human automatic tool.

Broadly the situation is that in East and West we have a huge complex thing, which, while rendering unique social service and meeting the daily needs of men, is controlled by capital, with the sole end of economic gain, with all relationships reduced to the impersonal. Employer and employed tend to be driven into hostile camps. It is all carried on in the severest competition. There is competition for markets, a scramble for raw materials, and a continual effort to eliminate rivals. The strong put the weak to the wall, and the large absorb or crush the small.

This tangle of economic inter-relationships has got beyond the control of the men who are bound up in it. All countries find themselves in economic difficulties.

The world is producing more than men can consume, and yet millions are in want because the channels of distribution are clogged. Surplus products are not made available to those who need them. International trade shows great shrinkage; frontiers have become barriers; there is much unemployment and great distress; huge expenditure is made on schemes to overcome the difficulties; and there is a universal economic strain under which the whole fabric of government and society threatens to break down.

In the modern world the life of East and West is inevitably intertwined, and there is a growing conviction that in such circumstances the nations should face the situation together. Nothing would constitute a greater danger than that economic problems should resolve themselves into regional or racial interests; and yet the world is drifting perilously near such a position. East and West are full of an assertive nationalism and exclusive racialism inflamed by suspicion, irritation, rivalry and friction. Japan aims at dominating politically and economically at least the lands on the Asiatic shores of the Pacific. America fears and opposes an extension of that domination southward and westward. The European countries seek to exclude Japan from the markets of the world. And so East and West drift on to separation, while all their problems are really collective problems and all their truest interests are collective interests. They are all in the one ship, and " the ship is more than the crew."

III

This paper is being written in face of a conference of Christian young men from fifty nations, who have a

concern that an attempt should be made to achieve some real understanding of the problems arising out of the economic relations between the nations, especially between those of East and West. At the outset we have frankly to realize that there are few, if any, who are competent to give any guidance on the subject, for the great mass of Christians both of East and West can hardly help, being hopelessly ignorant of it all, while far too many are entirely indifferent.

The matter is faced in several ways. In the first place there are a great number of very good people who have a sincere conviction that religion and economics have nothing to do with each other, or at least that Christians should leave the problem alone. There is little use beginning any study of the subject with these folk in view.

Secondly there are others, sincerely conscious of a problem and its relevance to the Kingdom of God, but who have only a sense of frustration and helplessness as they try to understand the situation. Its complexity entirely baffles them. They feel that the tares are abundant amongst the wheat, and when they try to discern the wheat and how to handle the tares, matters seem so technical that mere goodwill is helpless. The simple honest Christian man hesitates at the idea of mobilizing the Christian conscience and making it effective in matters which are so terribly technical, and in a region which baffles the expert. He sees that the world is cluttered with half-baked ideas on this and other subjects, and he knows that they are half-baked because of the lack of adequate knowledge of the facts and insufficient understanding of how to handle these. He realizes that there has to be a complete technical understanding of the situation—an understanding of how

economics work, and of the extent to which changes are possible in any particular set of circumstances, and the pace at which these can be accomplished.

A third group take refuge in the assertion that we are bound up in economic determinism. If that is true we can only take a materialistic view of life and must accept the position that there are great regions of human activities to which Christianity cannot be applied. Is there a frontier in human life beyond which religion does not and cannot go? Is it true that the Writ of Christ must run through all life or it cannot run at all, that religion must be sovereign or completely subservient? Economic determinism is not the whole truth. Even the casual onlooker can see that the economic situation can be controlled and re-adjusted. A brief study of the system will show that it is not unchangeable—in fact that it has been changed, and that men with varying motives, good and bad, are changing it now and attempting all the time to change it still further.

Another group think that the Orient must go its own way. They point out that the East is reaching back to her own heritage and is seeking to draw away from the more materialistic West. The East is still half in the age of Buddha and Confucius. The West is wholly modern materialist. But economically both are in the flood tide of the world's life, and neither can escape the cultural or political consequences. The East may try for long to go her own way, but in this region of economic relationships she must live in the very inner core of her life cheek by jowl with all the world; and here is a very acute problem of adjustment. It involves different cultural and social inheritances, and different races with colour complexes.

The unity of world politics makes world-wide adjustments absolutely necessary however difficult. All men admit that there must be political agreement between East and West. Practice, however, lags far behind precept. The world to-day is working furiously on new political alignments that will endure: at the same time the nations are seeking economic relationships that would mean for each group or nation advantage over the other. How can they hope to succeed in working out any sound political settlement if economic alignments are maladjusted?

There is a growing conviction that the international scene is slowly shifting from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The situation in Europe may temporarily occupy the mind of the West, but all the time political events are moving swiftly in the East. The economic situation is always bound up in the political, and is shifting eastwards with it. Undoubtedly the changing world scene tends more and more to centre round the Pacific. The greatest potential markets of the world are in the East. There, also, are the greatest reservoirs of raw materials and produce, the development of which has only now really begun. To the East capital is flowing. There labour is cheap and abundant, and it is from there that the keenest competition will come to all other lands. It is there that the most far-reaching adjustments in economic relationships will have to be made.

IV

The old theory was that the dominating things in the economic situation were impersonal, but Christian men are becoming more and more acutely aware that

the whole game is played with human counters. It determines a man's bread and butter; it determines opportunity and fitness for culture and leisure; and it colours character. It warps or develops a man physically, mentally and spiritually; it creates cupidity, suspicion and distrust; it lives on competitive struggle, conflicting interests and the pressure of success. It rouses racial and national antipathies and does not so much seek right relationships as personal or group advantages.

How can barriers be broken down, prejudices removed, service emphasized, the individual reverenced? Can East and West acquire together a higher sense of human values? A readjustment of values goes very near to the heart of the problem. So far as Christian men are concerned both in East and West, these values must be referred to the character of God. So will there come to men a truer sense of the value of men and things, and of work and activities, and instinctively their judgments and decisions and actions will tend to be ever more just.

One of the very hopeful elements in the situation is that many of the world's leading economists are truly Christian men to whom we can turn for leadership and guidance. How can they help us? We want them to take a lead in forming some agency which would do in this realm of economic reactions what the Royal Institute of International Affairs does in the realm of political affairs. We need to be led into an understanding of whether we are bound up in immutable economic laws, and so must just let the world economic inter-relations be left to economic determinism. We want to be led into an understanding of whether Christian principles have any relation to the

situation, and if so how they can be effectively applied. Certain steps seem to be obvious: (*a*) wider education on the subject; (*b*) a clearer elucidation of the problems; (*c*) a study of the relevance of Christian principles to them.

The beginning in the upward task must be simultaneous in East and West, and we must not be discouraged by the fact that the Christian forces are so pitifully small. There are many good men outside orthodox Christianity and, in the East, inside the old religions, to whom we can turn with great hope although they do not share the general tenets of our faith. We must not be scared by the apparent gulf between the religions and cultures of the East and of the West, nor by the perplexities of the situation. Spiritual unities and simplicities are always to be found at the heart of things. The one impossible conclusion is that nothing can be done.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FAR-EASTERN NETWORK

G. E. TAYLOR

I

Politics and economics are twin sisters whom it is unwise and even dangerous to separate. There are certain periods, however, in the development of human affairs when political considerations appear to have been dominant and others when economic considerations have been the more important. The present century may be counted among the latter. In the contact between East and West the economic aspects of the clashes which have often occurred and are still likely to occur are at the present time decidedly predominant. It would obviously be unwise to overemphasize any single aspect of the enormous network of racial, political, religious and economic relationships which now bind together the world in one indissoluble unit. But it is easy to understand that in the minds of the average Chinese, Indian or Japanese the economic effects of the coming of the West are not the least obtrusive. It is more apparent to them than to us that the great agrarian nations of the East have not found the growth of capitalism within their economy to be an unmixed blessing.

To take an example of the relative importance of racial and economic factors one might compare the

Western attitude towards China in the early eighteenth century with that in the late nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century Western travellers and thinkers were unanimous in their praise and appreciation of the Celestial Empire. The cities of China compared well in the eyes even of official delegates to Peking with the squalor and dirt of Berlin and even London. Chinese philosophers naturally found favour in the Age of Reason, and Confucian ethics were thought by many to be the highest form of human thought. There appears to have been no racial enmity or discrimination between East and West. The economic position of China was stronger perhaps than that of most European states. In the nineteenth century, however, the situation from the economic point of view had changed, and Europe had acquired an iron grip upon most Oriental countries. The attitude of the West towards China and things Chinese underwent a corresponding change. To some extent the growing contempt for Chinese philosophy and forms of government was an expression of philosophical and political developments in the West; but in the main the changing attitude was a reflection of a changing economic position.

The most remarkable aspect of economic growth in the world during the last century has been the tendency for the world to become one economic unit. That this economic unity has not brought about a corresponding political unity in spite of tentative efforts before 1914 at The Hague, and after the World War with the League of Nations, has been due to some extent to racial and purely nationalistic feeling, but fundamentally has been due to the very conflicts of interests that the Western type of economic expansion inevitably

sets up. The West, it is important to remember, discovered the East: the East did not discover the West. The only explanation of this apparently simple observation is that the West needed the East more than the East needed the West. China, for example, appears to have achieved a type of economic life that needed no external safety valve. If foreign goods or foreign markets had been essential to the balance of Chinese economy, there is no reason to suppose that the Chinese could not have built ships big enough to have taken them to the farthest parts of the world. On the other hand, it has come to be more and more the distinctive feature of Western capitalist economy that markets for the sale of surplus goods must be found in order to maintain ever-increasing populations and ever-rising standards of living. This movement is known historically, of course, as imperialism. But Western Imperialism cannot, as youthful Oriental patriots sometimes suppose, be explained solely by a reference to the age-long intractability or aggressive greed of the West. It owes its origin to the French Revolution, which gave to it the element of bourgeois nationalism, and, more fundamentally, to the Industrial Revolution, which was responsible for an enormous development of productive forces.

Any analysis, therefore, of the effects of Western Imperialism on the East must be made in a scientific spirit, for the system is far more at fault than the man. And the apparent contradiction between the various representatives of Western civilization such as the missionary and the soldier, the scientist and the statesman, can only be explained in terms of the contradictions within the civilizations which they represent.

What has happened? Since the middle of the nine-

teenth century, with very few exceptions before this time, Oriental self-governing states have been presented with the choice, either of spontaneously developing Western forms of organization, or of submitting to Western domination. A varying fate has overtaken the nations of the East. India, which came under Western influence earlier than China or Japan, has been under British control for something like two hundred years. China, after a long period of more or less overt subjection, was at the beginning of this century, as Sun Yat Sen expressed it, "a sub-colony of the powers." Since 1911 she has been attempting with varying degrees of success to establish herself as a free and independent nation, and into the last eight years she has telescoped enormous changes. Although considerably weakened by recent developments, she is at last in a position to claim her place as one of the nation-states of the world.

What of Japan? Here was a country that immediately and spontaneously developed Western forms of organization when challenged by the threat of Western domination. Why could Japan change immediately? Why did China find it so difficult? Why did the Empress Dowager when she raised a loan for the building of the Chinese navy build a marble boat in a luxurious summer palace and use the rest of the money for her own purposes? Why did Japan, on raising money for the building of a navy, actually put the money into guns and ships? The explanation does not lie in racial or temperamental differences so much as in the political and economic differences between China and Japan. Modern scholarship has shown that whereas China, before the coming of the West, belonged to the great agrarian Empires like India, Egypt

and ancient Babylon, Japan was feudal in the structure of her society. A feudal society breaks up easily into a capitalist, especially when we find, as in Japan, that early forms of capitalism were already developing. The dominant type in Japan has been the soldier, not the official. In China, on the other hand, the dominant type has been the official and not the soldier. Chinese government had to be bureaucratic in character because so much of Chinese agriculture depends upon great irrigation schemes and the control of mighty rivers such as the Yangtse and the Yellow River. For the effective administration of internal peace, all-powerful officials are essential. Feudalism came to an early end in China; the warrior, to put it briefly, got in the way. His petty feudal wars took men away from the dykes and the irrigation schemes and undermined the basis of agricultural prosperity. The small sovereign state, as it were, had to be abolished, and by the time of Confucius was already beginning to go. Added to this, China was ruled by a foreign dynasty which could always retreat to its former hunting grounds in Manchuria, and whose only knowledge of economics was confined to the collection of land taxes. The first task of China, therefore, was to eliminate her rulers. The first task of Japan was to follow them.

The contrast between China and Japan is the most vivid because both countries were presented with the same external problems. India and Egypt, on the other hand, have undergone a different line of development because they have been under the control, not of many, but of one great power; so that in a sense they have been protected from many of the forces which have done so much to change the face of China, in particular, during the last hundred years. Con-

sequently they have not changed and developed so much as China.

In the space of this chapter it is not possible to make a detailed analysis of all the important Oriental countries which have come to be bound up with Western development.

II

It is only possible to take one great example of the interaction of Eastern and Western civilizations during the last century. And if China is taken as the example, it must be remembered that developments in that country considered separately may be typical, but taken as a whole are not necessarily characteristic. By studying in some detail the line of development and the present situation in China, it may be possible to throw some light on certain aspects of the problems which concern us all. For the problems of the modern world are not isolated, as the weavers of Lancashire have come to appreciate since the rise of textile industries in Eastern countries. In spite of the fall in international trade since the Great War, no country can hope to be economically self-sufficient. There are no economic boundaries, as there once were, in the world to-day. "Depression" spreads like a contagious disease, bringing with it political ills such as economic nationalism. Similarly action, to be effective, must be general.

Indeed, as the Western type of economy tends to spread over the whole world, the very terms "East and West" cease to have any meaning. They can be usefully employed only to distinguish between types of civilization rather than races or peoples.

What has been the outcome of the clash of East and

West in China? At first Western penetration, largely centred at Canton, was of a peaceful nature; the trading of the East India Company did little to disturb the balance of Chinese life. But by 1840 the pressure of the West became more insistent. The so-called Opium War started two decades of fighting, culminating in the treaty of 1860, which opened up Chinese ports to foreign trade along the whole of the eastern seaboard, far up the Yangtse River. During this period, which many consider should have been the natural end of the Manchu dynasty, there occurred the Taiping Revolution which almost swept the Sun of Heaven from the Dragon Throne. The association of the Taiping Revolution with a spurious and derived Christianity was unfortunate both for Christianity and for the Taipings, for it did not help to commend the social theory of the rebels to the ruling classes, and was propagated by the Taipings in a vulgar and bowdlerized form. The British Government supported both sides in turn, for in 1853 many thought that the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace would be a welcome alternative to a Manchu Government whose corruption, according to one British consul, was only limited by its weakness. Many missionaries thought that their work was over, and that the Bible would soon replace the classics in the imperial examinations, as it had already done in the civil service examinations conducted by the Taipings. But receipts from the Maritime Customs, now coming under British control, were sent to Peking, not to the new Government in Nanking, and the treaty of 1858, when ratified in 1860, turned the Taipings from possible successors to the Manchu dynasty into mere rebels who interfered with the carrying out of its provisions. The torch of

Christianity, used to scare away the Manchu demon, found that demon to be but a shadow, through which it passed to burn itself out on the living body of China. After the suppression, with British help, of the Taiping Revolution in 1865, the ghost of the Manchu Empire lingered on in the courts of Peking. Now began a period of violent Western penetration, during which manufactured goods were pumped into China. Spheres of interest and influence became pawns in the struggle between rival imperial powers, and Chinese politics the sport of statesmen. A measure of the change which had occurred in China and in Japan was the conclusion on the one hand of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, and on the other hand of the unsuccessful Anglo-Russian Yangtse agreement of 1900, which envisaged a new balance of power in China. China had disintegrated. Japan was recognized as a great power.

The political effects, therefore, of Western penetration in China were disastrous. The country was broken up under the eyes of its rulers; the growth of foreign interests was accompanied more and more by the growth of foreign political and administrative control. Yet the reaction of China was slowly but surely coming. A new society was growing up within the framework of the old; the growth of Western trade had created in China new classes and new interests; the impact of Western ideas had provided new hopes and aspirations. More and more students went abroad to study, their chief interests being political science, literature and law.

The growth of the great port cities like Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, Amoy and Tsingtau created new economic centres in China. Chinese civilization

historically had spread from the interior to the coast. Now the new civilization was beginning to spread from the coast to the interior, and the new educational movement was naturally centred in the great towns. It is not surprising, therefore, that Chinese students came to have an urban conception of life, encouraged by the wholesale adoption of Western—particularly American—standards of education. It was natural also that the leaders of China should feel that a civilization as powerful as that which had apparently broken down the prestige and unity of the Celestial Empire must be imitated in order that the power it gave might be acquired. The fact that China was an agrarian country was lost sight of by those urban idealists who dreamt of a great industrial future for a united China.

More serious, however, than the tendency to exaggerate the importance of Western civilization was the bifurcation of interests within certain Chinese social groups. If we remember that trade, industry and banking in their modern form came from the West, and that foreigners themselves controlled the major part of these economic enterprises in China, we can well understand that the new developments in Chinese economy were fundamentally bound up with foreign interests. To have driven the foreigner out into the sea, as many may have wished, would have been to undermine this new and profitable economic activity, so that the social effect of the existence of foreign interests in China, therefore, was to weaken the nationalist movement in the commercial and industrial classes, where it should have been strongest. The Chinese " middle class " therefore did not readily come to play that part in the unification of the nation that the English middle class did in the Tudor period.

Consequently the backbone of the nationalist movement has been the student class, for here there was no divided economic interest to dilute a natural idealism.

The most important political expression of the new groups and ideas which were arising in the cities was the Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang, as it came finally to be called. The new elements of the Chinese society were strong enough to give the final blow in 1911 to the Manchu dynasty which, however, had practically withered away of itself. But they were not strong enough to replace the old order which had gradually collapsed. The establishment of the Republic was the beginning, not the end, of the tendency for China to become an independent world power.

From this time up to very recent years the struggle in China has been not for the seizure but for the creation of government. And in order to create a modern form of government to correspond with economic and social changes, a horde of rapacious militarists, thrown up by the disintegration of the old order, and whose only social function consisted in the collection of land taxes or the robbing of banks and merchants, had to be eliminated. So the second revolution of 1926 came to have two main objects: internally it was directed against the independent militarists who had preyed upon the country for two decades; externally against foreign imperialism, which was considered to be responsible for so many of the ills of China. In the light of this, the playing off of one militarist against another, as some of the powers were in the habit of doing, cannot easily be defended by an impartial historian.

The second revolution achieved some but not all of its objectives. When it left Canton the marriage be-

tween the Kuomintang and the young Communist party was not expected to be permanent, but few anticipated that the revolutionary honeymoon would come to an end before the armies reached Nanking. The truth of the matter was that the most powerful backers of the Kuomintang had no sympathy with the Communists, and having used them in the successful struggle against the Northern militarists, felt that they could then be dispensed with.

The essential achievements of the revolution were somewhat similar to those of the French Revolution. The agrarian situation in France and China is different, but the predominance of the military, the building of roads, the codification of laws, the reform of the financial system, and later, the attempted boycotts of Japan—as Napoleon tried to boycott England with his Continental System—all bear a close resemblance to the work of the French Revolution. The urban groups, however, did not gain complete control of the Government. In a great agrarian country such control would be neither possible nor desirable. It is difficult to have patience with those who state defiantly in one breath that China is an agricultural nation and in the next complain that she does not have the forms and institutions of a highly industrialized modern state. The new Government, which formerly came into being in 1928, represents more closely than any of its predecessors the most powerful of the new social and economic groupings in China.

Put in its simplest terms, the new Government is composed of three groups. The most important is the army, the successor of the revolutionary army which came from Canton. The incorporation within its ranks of many non-revolutionary provincial forces has

changed its character to some extent by diluting its pristine revolutionary ardour. It is composed of a nucleus of highly trained and well-equipped divisions and a larger number of inferior provincial troops. The army depends on the other two groups, which are the bourgeois classes and the landlords and gentry. The latter control the land tax collecting machinery in the provinces, but do not always pay taxes themselves. As they are the only body that can finance the peasant, and as there is no civil service to take over their tax collecting functions, they are essential to the support of the army. The bourgeois group is essential for the maintenance of the financial structure and the importation of foreign goods, including armaments. The most important element is the banks: in personnel it would be difficult to say where the Government ends and the banks begin. But the army, therefore, though dependent upon these groups, holds the chair, and attempts to adjust the real conflict of interests between its urban and agrarian supporters. It is generally agreed, for example, that in China industrialization is no alternative to agricultural recovery: all efforts are being directed towards increasing agricultural productivity. These efforts, in so far as they are technical, arouse no opposition. The struggle is for the farmer's increased margin of production. Shall it go in land taxes to the gentry and the army, or shall it go to the peasant, who by purchasing Chinese manufactures, will so benefit the commercial and industrial classes? Military necessity has, up to the present, compelled provincial governments to increase the land taxes, and it is highly doubtful whether the peasant has gained anything from the great technical advances that are being made in agriculture all over China.

This type of Government is the only one that could have arisen out of the conditions prevailing in China. Whatever the wishes of the Chinese might have been, the foreign powers would never have permitted a purely Communist Government in China. As it was, the Kuomintang could not enlist in its early days the support of the foreign powers, and found that Russia was the only country willing to lend her aid to the Chinese nationalist movement. Chinese writers have pointed out that the Yangtse Valley is different, economically speaking, from Canton; it is the centre of industrialism and foreign interests. It is more difficult to be anti-imperialist here than in Canton. The revolution, therefore, had to compromise, and, as a distinguished member of the Kuomintang has pointed out, one of the chief obstacles to the anti-imperialist aims of the revolution was the group of Chinese middle men or "compradores," who were bound up with foreign interests. Russia gave to the Chinese nationalists her distinctive form of one-party government and the "committee" system, as well as direct help in men such as Borodin, who did so much to stir up the idealism of Chinese youth. The European powers, on the other hand, helped to keep the revolution in the paths of Capitalism.

Whether Communism is either possible or desirable in China is a question we have not the space to discuss. It would be foolish, however, to shut our eyes to the fact that China has been a battle-ground for the peripheral struggle of Capitalism and Communism. Furthermore, one of the staunchest defenders of European civilization in this respect is Japan, who has picked up the torch of imperialist expansion at a time when some of her teachers would be only too glad to

lay it down. The truth is that Western influences have started developments which Western interests have often blocked. The beginnings of industrialism in the East are not welcomed with hymns of thanksgiving in the West, although ultimately any increase in the material prosperity of the East is bound to improve conditions in the West. But men do not always act for the best economic advantage; they are pulled in other directions by more intangible forces.

The West is, therefore, in many ways responsible for the present condition of China, but it is not, as in the case of India or Egypt, shouldering the burden of this responsibility. The political and economic developments in the Far East have reached an extraordinarily interesting stage. The period of the " Holy Alliance " of the powers, the days of the Banking Consortium have gone now that Japan is strong enough to act as she sees fit and without the co-operation of her former partners. There has been for some time a growing conflict of interests between England and Japan over the whole of Eastern Asia which cannot be settled, apparently, by bargaining between the two powers, for England has little to offer which Japan would accept. Only a quarter of a century ago this antagonism could have been resolved according to the best traditions of European diplomacy, that is, by the division of someone else's property, but developments in China have made this a highly dangerous and costly solution. The growth of Chinese nationalism and the achievement by the Central Government at Nanking during the last eight years, of a superficial but powerful superstructure of government, to say nothing of the growth of public opinion, have made it impossible for any Chinese Government openly to accept foreign political

or administrative control. There are few countries which could have done as much in the time and with the means at their disposal as the National Government of China has achieved. This achievement has made a qualitative change in the situation. It means that the safest bulwark for British interests in the Far East lies in the stability of the Nanking Government.

What can China do under these circumstances? Never has a country been forced to face a more difficult dilemma. So long as the powers which controlled her could be played off, the one against the other, she was in a stronger diplomatic position than she is now, when Japanese military and naval power in Eastern Asia cannot be challenged. The question as to how much support she can expect from Great Britain can only be answered in terms of the European situation. Meanwhile, as all Chinese have come to recognize, China has to face Japan alone, save perhaps for the sympathetic support from friends in other countries. The core of the dilemma is—to fight or not to fight? It would obviously be disastrous to declare war on Japan, but it might be even more disastrous not to do so. China would undoubtedly lose the first round of a conflict with Japan. This would mean retreat towards the interior provinces, which some say are being prepared now against such a contingency, loss of the port cities and industrial centres, collapse of the financial system and a weakened front against the Communists. Not a pretty picture for those who have spent so much effort in the building up of modern China. Not to fight means that Nanking is open to exploitation of its position by the Japanese and Cantonese. It means that the terms of the Tangku Truce must be kept secret, the press be

strictly censored, anti-Japanese feeling be suppressed and nationalist sentiment be forfeited. But how can men who are kept in the dark as to things which affect their country so vitally be expected to put a sympathetic trust in their Government? There are many who think that if those in charge of policy would only take the people into their confidence there might be a hope for a policy of passive resistance as a weapon against Japan. Such a policy is difficult, if not impossible, when a Government is forced to control rather than depend upon public opinion. Only a Chinese Gandhi could lead such a movement, for passive resistance requires a high moral discipline and a rare degree of confidence between those who lead and those who are led. It is a question of leadership.

So long as the Nanking Government does not openly fight Japan, the anti-Japanese Movement among the students in particular has to be controlled. This causes disillusionment among the students and weakens the popular support for the Government. I asked a student why there had been so few student demonstrations during the last few years. Had they become tired of making history? The answer was that those who had too lively an interest in political affairs, and were not satisfied with the Government, soon found themselves removed from the universities. One had to be careful, there were spies everywhere. Young Mazzinis are not encouraged; they disappear. On the other hand, when student delegates came to Nanking early in 1936 to demand action by the Government, they were entertained to such an extent that they forgot why they had come. Many a European Government would have dealt more harshly with them. A group of students from a big national university, which

had had something like five presidents in one year, called on Mr. Wang Ching Wei to ask him for a more permanent president. As the last one had almost been lynched, the job was not popular. Mr. Wang invited them into the National Government building and talked for an hour about Japan. It was not until the students returned to their rooms that they realized that their demands had not even been considered! It is a wise Government that tempers force with sweet reasonableness.

Where can the key be found? Some turn to Fascism. China must build up a "strong nation." Germany, smarting, like China, under the Treaty of Versailles, has brought about a "national revival" in the teeth of foreign opposition and economic depression. China, while deploring the fate of Abyssinia, can do the same. Learned professors argue in the Chinese press that China must have a strong centralized and military force under some dominating personality, that unity is blocked by feudal militarists who must be crushed, that political and constitutional governments are at present impossible, for personal allegiance is the strongest of binding forces in China. Opposing pundits point out that dictatorship is an advanced, and democracy an elementary form of government; China is ready for democracy and should have a constitution immediately so that she may become expert in its use; it is not wise to unite the country by force, for unity consists in the material and spiritual well-being of the people. The academic battle continues, but actually China is not a democratic country, and very little overt criticism of the Government is aroused. Circumstances have left China with no choice; the war with Communism, the struggle with Japan and the con-

sequent predominance of the military have determined the nature and direction of Chinese reconstruction. Those who look upon the growth of militarism with regret would do well to remember the responsibility of Western civilization in forcing China into that channel. No country in the world is more reluctant to accept the soldier and the merchant as the dominant types in her society.

There are other points in the dilemma of the Chinese which may help us to sympathize with their attitudes and actions. The educated Chinese, brought up very often to know more about the West than their own country, inspired with anti-Japanese feeling and lectured daily on their responsibilities to the nation, represent only a small proportion of the total population. They are the guardians of public opinion in China, and they have taken this responsibility with great seriousness. We in Europe have yet to see the spectacle of university and public school students lying on the rails of the great railway lines in order to secure free transportation to Geneva for the purpose of protesting against the inactivity of the League of Nations. No one seriously expects the Oxford Union to go *en masse* to Whitehall and stand for twenty-four hours in the rain waiting for Sir Samuel Hoare to explain the foreign policy of the Government! Nor do we anticipate that wild-eyed boys of Eton and Harrow will parade the streets of London searching cars and pedestrians for goods from countries placed under sanctions! Such things happen in China. The reason lies partly in the fact that the channels for the expression of public opinion are limited, but mainly in the urgent and vital concern of the Chinese intelligentsia in the fate of their country. To the peasant, the

speeches of the middle-class patriots have become familiar; but the peasant is more receptive to heat than to light!

This brings us to another aspect of the Chinese dilemma, that is the gap between the educated and the uneducated, a gap which is widened by the nature of education in China to-day. It is the despair of the intellectual that the path of the invader is not blocked by a host of "embattled farmers"; that peasants in uniform have no stomach for the fight. Why indeed should they? The peasant expects little more from government than protection and tax-collection, so why, he argues, should he die fighting to prevent the exchange of one tax-collector for another? The peasant may be ignorant and superstitious, the enemy of hothouse progress and the despair of urban idealists; but he is not, from his own point of view, an unreasonable man. Nor is he averse to change as such. On the contrary, he welcomes new methods and new crops, if it can be demonstrated that they are superior to the old. But he can be forgiven a certain sceptical hesitation in following the leadership of those from whom he has never expected a disinterested action. An illiterate peasantry cannot be bound in loyalty to its government by written propaganda, nor be bought off by cheap amusements; it judges the value of a government by its actions. There was a time from 1924-7 when a united front of peasants, industrial workers, merchants, students and soldiers was a reality; but when the Kuomintang broke with the Communists it restored the gap between governed and governing and drove a great deal of idealism underground.

There is an even more important aspect to the dilemma of educated Chinese; that is, the burden of

responsibility without power. The peculiar social and economic composition of the Central Government to which we have referred above, has led to a thinly veiled military control and usurpation of the functions of the Government. The thin crust of highly educated officials, more often than not graduates of foreign universities, conceals from the foreigner, as it does sometimes from the Chinese, the realities of the situation. These men have made reconstruction in China an indigenous movement with a momentum of its own; they are the backbone of nationalist sentiments. They are the men who staff the banks, the commercial houses, the press, the professions, the Academia Sinica, the Government departments and technical positions in public enterprises. They are active in the passing of legislation, the ventilation of Chinese problems and the development of the educational system. While modern government could not function without them, they are themselves directly controlled by the military. They reign but do not rule.

When students crowded to Nanking to demand war with Japan, Chiang Kai Shek invited them to join the army. The offer was refused, and foreigners in their wisdom smiled, for was not this a genuine offer to test the quality of their patriotism? It was not. By joining the army they would not have secured war and would have condemned themselves to eternal silence. There is nothing that the educated man finds it harder to accept than the rising social position of the soldier, and he resents to the bottom of his soul the power of the military within and without the national frontiers.

The final dilemma of the Chinese is the tendency for national patriotism and Communism to become

identical. If the Nanking Government fears the Chinese Soviets, as it apparently does, more than the Japanese, is it going to allow China to become a protectorate of Japan rather than compromise with the Communists, whose extremely able leaders—Chu Teh and Mao Tse Tung—are only too willing to lead the nation in a struggle with Japan? It is not so easy to suggest a way out, for the factors involved include the interests and policies of foreign powers over which China has no control. The internal situation is indissolubly linked with the external.

III

Imperialism usually sows the seeds of its own destruction. The growth of productive forces in colonial countries, which follows the investment of foreign capital, is inevitably reflected in a growing nationalism in that country. This is naturally anti-imperialist, together with a conflict of interests within the ruling power itself. So to develop another country is ultimately to lose it, whereas not to develop it means drawing little value out of it. Japan, however, is aiming to avoid this all too common disease within the imperialist system. Judging from the statement of her policy towards China, she evidently conceives it possible to guide the economic development of China so that the Chinese shall provide agricultural products and raw materials, especially coal, iron and cotton, for Japan, and in return buy Japanese manufactured articles. By controlling this large economic area, Japan will be able to prevent the growth of Chinese industry and the Chinese National Movement, and thus guarantee her own security and her standard of

living for an ever-increasing population. Gradually the influence of the Western powers is to be undermined and the peoples of Eastern Asia are to live in amity under the flag of Japan. This new kind of imperialism is a natural consequence of several factors. The industrialization of a group of islands which are notably poor in raw materials involves political control of countries which can provide them. The poverty of the Japanese peasant, the limitation of the home market, make imperative the seeking of markets abroad. The threat, or rather the possibility, of economic sanctions in a world where this is coming to be the most common form of warfare makes the political control of countries rich in raw materials even more urgent than it was under the old imperialist system. Lastly, the very weakness and internal difficulties of China have been a stimulus to the expansion of Japan.

This last condition is changing. Since the inauguration of the Nanking Government in 1928, China has been slowly united by the national armies. The so-called "reconstruction movement" has been the dominant feature of the last eight years. Reconstruction is not synonymous with nationalism, modernization, or industrialism; these latter developments were more or less an inevitable accompaniment of world evolution. They have determined, rather than been determined by, the reconstruction movement itself. Its definition must include all these efforts—national or provincial, official or private, progressive or reactionary—which consciously aim at controlling or directing, according to some definite pattern, the conditions which have arisen out of the contacts between China and the West.

It is now possible to discern the main achievements during the last few years. Of these the political rehabilitation of China has been the greatest; all the provinces of China proper are now under the more or less effective control of the Central Government. This Government has also come to be aware of the great economic problems which face the country, and progress has been made in the solution, for example, of the agrarian situation in so far as the difficulties are purely technical. Thousands of miles of roads and hundreds of miles of railways have been built and great flying fields have been established near most of the provincial capitals. We can now talk of China as one country; the day when the investment of foreign capital could be accompanied by foreign administrative or political control has gone. Great Britain, the chief of the Western powers interested in China, appears, since 1927, when she was the butt of the revolution, to have accepted the change. Japan has not. She feels that her security is not compatible with the existence of a strong united China. This situation illustrates most vividly some of the essential contradictions within the imperialist movement. China will find it extremely difficult to develop her own industry and so secure for herself the sinews of war or, in other words, the possibility of self-determination. In the first place she is frustrated by the policy of her neighbour who, as we have seen, aims at keeping China as an agricultural nation. In the second place she has discovered that industrialization is not for her an alternative to rural rehabilitation. Unlike many other powers, she is denied the opportunity of compensating for the lack of a market at home by the political control of markets abroad.

IV

Such are some of the stresses and strains set up by the economic contacts of East and West, explained in their simplest forms. It is the story of the peculiar effect of Western capitalism on Eastern agrarian societies. The example we have taken of China is the most comprehensive. For her the contact has been the most violent and disturbing partly because of her unprotected position, as compared with India, Egypt or Japan, partly because she was herself in a state of internal crisis from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards. Her peculiar pathological condition is not characteristic, as we have said, of the contact between Eastern and Western civilizations, but it includes all the possible consequences of such contact. For example, the type of nationalism which has grown up in India and Egypt, characterized as it is by the idealism of students, can be paralleled in China. The exploitation of the peasant by industrialists and financiers in Japan can also be found in China.

These are only some aspects of the general picture, but they may throw light on the problems of international relationships as they present themselves to the individual. It is both natural and necessary to ask what are the responsibilities of the individual in these matters. With what groups can he ally himself in order to bring about the changes he considers to be desirable? What changes are desirable? On what grounds? In the first place, no thinking can be done without clearing the ground. We must beware of terms. The very words "East" and "West," as we have suggested, are already losing whatever meaning they might have had. There is no such person, for

example, as "the mysterious Oriental." He is a mythical creation of English hack writers or an appendage of the shoddy shibboleths of Empire journalists such as Kipling. Differences in custom and tradition there are, but the sooner we remember that whether we come from East or West we are all men with the same fundamental needs, the sooner shall we solve the difficulties that divide us.

The spread of European civilization is daily eliminating national differences all over the world. Out of its contact with such different types of society as those of China and Japan or the Philippine Islands, there have been born new societies which are not exact replicas either of the old or the new. But Japan and England, for example, have far more in common than either have with China. China and England have more in common than either has with Russia. It is difficult, therefore, to maintain that there is, as the ballad monger suggests, an inevitable separateness between East and West, for it is becoming more and more impossible to determine where the one begins and the other ends.

It would be foolish, secondly, as indeed it would be a misreading of history, to attempt to apportion blame for the less desirable consequences of the expansion of Western capitalism. Individuals must bear some of the responsibility; but it is the system, the acquisitive nature of society, which is the more at fault. We have seen how, on the one hand, the forces bringing people together tend to obliterate their differences; for example, in dress, in customs, and even in education; and how there are many who have tried to spread abroad the more humane and idealistic aspects of Western civilization. But, on the other hand, we have observed that these same forces inevitably sow the seeds

of disruption; for example, the conflict between China and Japan. We must accept the fact, thirdly, that change is of the very nature of society. In theory, one quarter of the population of the globe might claim the right to live as it wished, but such a right could only be maintained in a world where economic forces did not exist. Neither East nor West has produced the perfect society. China, for example, developed some of the finest human types; she had a rare knowledge of the ends of life. On the other hand, her peasantry, by modern standards, was denied the enjoyment of many of the elementary amenities of a civilized existence. There are many qualities associated with the name of England of which she may well be proud, but no one has boasted of the intellectual or physical attributes of the latter generations of industrialism. In other words, there is nothing sacred in any form of society.

The essence of the question is one of human personality. To what extent does any specific type of society provide the conditions for the full development of man? In any of the solutions which may be offered for our present difficulties, the most important aspects must be economic, for the human personality can only reach its highest possible development in economic conditions which stimulate rather than atrophy the creative and co-operative instincts of mankind. It is neither possible nor perhaps desirable to discuss here the relative merits of the more popular panaceas for the ills of the world. It may not be out of place, however, to observe that international relations are both necessary and inevitable, and that these relations will be merely formal if there is no common interest to unite and bring peoples together. What better interest

can there be than the attempt by study and discussion, to achieve that mutual understanding and common conception of social purpose which alone can give the key which will finally open the door to the brotherhood of man?

CHAPTER IX

THE LEADERSHIP FOR THE NEW DAY

JOHN R. MOTT

To bring about a deeper understanding, a more intimate fellowship, and a more creative co-operation and unity among the peoples of the East and West is a matter of supreme and urgent concern. The hope of achieving this vital objective depends largely upon youth. The older generation, now in charge of the affairs of the nations and of the constructive agencies of co-operation, will not live long enough to effect the extensive and profound changes so imperatively needed in international and inter-racial relations, but the young men and young women now coming forward will. It is of central importance, therefore, that they be brought under the sway of Christ and related to the expanding plans of His Kingdom. Thus far they have by no means been won to His allegiance and programme, notwithstanding highly encouraging developments in different fields both in the Orient and in the Occident.

The key to the situation lies in augmenting greatly the leadership of the Christian forces concerned with youth. This demands an increase in the number of leaders, both professional and lay; and likewise, in many places, a raising of the standards or qualifications of leadership. The number must be increased in order to fill gaps which already exist. It is disconcerting to

note the many existing vacancies in posts of major importance from the point of view of influencing the faith, the character, the relationships, and the action of youth. The number of wise guides, interpreters, and teachers of youth must be augmented in order to provide worthy successors for many workers who, relatively soon, must yield their burdens to younger shoulders. The most optimistic students of the sources of supply agree with me that we do not see on the horizon enough men and women of requisite ability to meet this need. Moreover, additional workers are needed to supersede here and there incompetent men who are holding positions of great trust simply because there are not available those fully qualified to man them. We are suffering in not a few situations not so much from bad leadership as from small leadership. The personal character and routine ability may be above criticism, but the leaders conceive their positions diminutively. Too often they are blind leaders of the blind. In field after field reinforcements are needed to keep leaders who are now bearing impossible loads from breaking down. We should increase greatly the number of well qualified leaders in order to make more highly productive the labours of those already in charge. As a result of my observation on recent journeys in the East and in the West, I came to the conclusion that an increase of from ten to twenty per cent in the number of Christian workers on behalf of youth might well result in an increase of possibly one hundred per cent in the fruitage. The stage of higher specialization upon which the Christian Church and its auxiliary agencies have entered urgently demands a great strengthening of leadership.

The day of the pioneer is not over. There are to-day

wide areas in Asia, Africa and Europe and in the Western Hemisphere where the Christian movement is not touching the life of youth. Such a situation demands aggressive, heroic measures. Above all, there should be put forth statesmanlike efforts to strengthen the leadership of the Christian forces in order to profit by the unprecedented advantage afforded by the present-day expansive, emergent and dangerous world situation.

I. THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP NEEDED

Important as it is that there be a marked increase in the number of leaders in the Young Men's Christian Association and in all other Christian youth organizations, it is of even greater importance that the qualitative aspect of the leadership be emphasized. This at once raises the question: What should characterize the present-day leadership of these movements if they are to accomplish most towards weaving together East and West in larger understanding, goodwill, triumphant unity, and effective action?

Without doubt it must be a truly comprehending leadership. The leaders, and increasingly the members, of these organizations must understand the antecedents and the background of the peoples of other parts of the world, and likewise their cultures, their most sacred and powerful traditions, their aspirations and their wants. There must be recognition of the trends of thought and feeling which are moving among them, and of their greatly changed psychology. They should not only be aware of the weaknesses or disappointing aspects in the life of other nations, but even more should they know and appreciate their strong and

favourable points. They should seek to understand sympathetically their problems and burdens, and should study how to develop most helpful contacts and friendly relationships. Charles Cuthbert Hall and J. N. Farquhar had developed a remarkable understanding and appreciation of the mentalities and faiths of the Orient, and their services as mediators between East and West were truly notable. This was not a matter of temperament alone, but of most intense and prolonged study and, above all, of entering into friendly relations with those of other races and religions.

My impression, however, is that with not a few exceptions the leaders of the East understand the West better than those of the West understand the East. To illustrate: only a few hundred Western scholars, diplomats and business men know the Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Siamese, or Turkish languages or any of the main languages of India and read the periodicals published in these tongues, whereas thousands of the better-educated class in the Orient know and read one or more of the languages of the West. Again, but a few score of the youth of the West have studied in the Orient, whereas tens of thousands of the intelligentsia of Asia have spent not one year but two or more years studying in the colleges and universities of the West, and from their ranks have come a disproportionately large number of the leaders and men of large affairs in the Asiatic countries. Therefore, this imposes added responsibility on present and prospective leaders in the West to seek by various means literally to Orient themselves. Although by no means a substitute for years of sojourn and study in foreign lands, the multiplying international confer-

ences and camps under the auspices of the Association Movement and also of the Student Christian Movement are an invaluable means in fostering enduring friendship between the future leaders of the Orient and the Occident.

Great is the need of a leadership which is indeed internationally minded. One result of the prolonged world-wide depression has been to make increasingly clear that many of the major problems which each country has been prone to regard as strictly national are those which can best, if not only, be solved in an international or world context. From the nature of the case that is true of the problem of insuring right international relations, and thus of problems of war, disarmament and peace. It is equally true, also, of the baffling questions of race, immigration and emigration.

In the sphere of economics it is most evident that the issues involved in tariffs, currencies, the use of natural resources and of the earth's vacant spaces, must be faced internationally. The same is true of the resisting of such evils as slavery, the trade in opium and other narcotic drugs, the liquor traffic, the white slave trade, and sinister aspects of the use of the cinema. In combating the ominous threat to religious liberty and in meeting rival claims to the allegiance to youth, the hope of arriving at the most satisfying conclusions lies in international collaboration and sharing.

Therefore we must have in each country a leadership which has an awareness of these facts and their implications. Now that the world has found itself as one body it can no longer be a matter of indifference to any part of the body if there be serious trouble in any other part of the body. Living, as we do, in a world neighbourhood, it is necessary that each of us

maintains a world point of view, no matter what our nation, and no matter what our work may be. Carefully planned intervisitation on the part of the youth of different Oriental and Occidental peoples, and also the splendid work of the Committee on Promoting Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, not to mention the hundreds of open forums, discussion clubs and study circles on international subjects, are accomplishing much towards developing true international-mindedness.

The leadership so much needed, both East and West, must be creative. Among the many men holding positions of major responsibility there are in every country all too many mechanical workers and all too few thinkers. Bishop Gore has expressed tersely the reason why, in every field of human endeavour, there are so many unsolved problems and so little progress: "We do not think, and we do not pray"; that is, we do not use to the maximum the highest human power we possess, and we do not avail ourselves of our limitless, superhuman resources. Undoubtedly in the West and, increasingly, in parts of the East, undue stress is being placed on the need of organizers, promoters, men of action. To an alarming degree this tendency is becoming more and more apparent in the educational field, in the Churches, and in the Association Movement. The curricula of the schools and universities are too much dominated by materialistic aims, and religious bodies are feeling, as never before, the secular pressure of the age. Not without reason is the charge made that we are producing Christian activity and organization more than Christian experience, faith, and philosophy. As a result there is a poverty of germinating ideas, creative planning and vital leader-

ship. And as a result of this, misunderstandings, maladjustments, suspicions, and, at times, friction and strife exist between nations in the West and in the East, as well as between West and East. The scores of chairs on international relations now established in universities on both sides of the Atlantic and on both sides of the Pacific, and the exchange professorships between East and West, are beginning to have an appreciable effect in bringing about a more profound understanding among the nations.

A statesmanlike leadership is required to-day even more, if possible, than ever before in all spheres where constructive measures and advance programmes are needed. A number of elements enter into true statesmanship. The statesman is a man of vision—a man who sees what the crowd do not see because he sees further and more clearly. He takes in wider horizons, larger dimensions. How absolutely true it is that where there is no vision the people perish. Conversely, it can be said that where race relationships are inflamed, and where between nations there is distrust and bitterness, and where among religious leaders of different lands there is wanting the spirit of true brotherhood, it is because so-called leaders lack vision, or through disobedience to their vision have allowed it to fade. The statesman thinks out, accepts, and then fearlessly applies guiding principles. In times of perplexity and confusion he turns to these as he would to the North Star. No matter how strong and conflicting the cross currents of national prejudice and passion, no matter how insinuating the voices of selfish ambition or other unworthy motives, no matter how many oppose him or how few go with him—he trusts and follows his principles.

The recognition of the supreme importance of human relationships marks the statesman of widest influence and largest helpfulness. This trait is supremely important in the international and interracial fields. It means in our day, and in view of the present alarming world situation, the creation of nothing less than a new order of statesmanship. One of the greatest leaders in the Orient has said, " We rule by the heart." If this be true, then heart power, or sympathy, is one of the statesman's sources of strength. In far greater measure is it required in those who are called upon to serve more than one race or nation. How true it is that in our Christian youth movements those leaders who have been true to the heart (and also to the imagination), and who have identified themselves with their fellows of other names and racial groups in the midst of poverty, suffering, loneliness and burden-bearing, have had deepest and most abiding influence. We think of Aggrey in his relation to Africans, Europeans and Americans, of Fletcher S. Brockman in his service of Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos and peoples of the West, of C. F. Andrews in his ministry to Indians, Africans and Anglo-Saxons.

Another statesmanlike trait is that of foresight and wisdom in planning. This suggests the aphorism of Theodore Roosevelt, that " nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time." Next to character, possibly the highest gift of the statesman is that prescience which enables him to recognize in time the days of God's visitation. Bacon must have had this quality of mind in view when he characterized it as " longanimity "—that is, long-mindedness, the power to look ahead to the far-reaching consequences of present plans. If this ability is needed anywhere, surely it is in the relations

between East and West during the fateful period which lies before us. Possibly there has been no better illustration in modern times of this particular trait of a high order of statesmanship than that afforded by Masaryk, the distinguished pioneer president of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

To-day as at no time in history the forces of righteousness and unselfishness the world over stand in need of a leadership which is genuinely co-operative. This is due to the recent startling development of divisive influences among men. This divisiveness is equally evident in economic, social, international, interracial and even in religious relations. In view of the magnitude of the tasks to be accomplished, in view of the growing complexity of the modern life of the world which is to be brought under the sway of Christian ideals and principles, and in view of the admitted difficulty and urgency of the undertaking, nothing short of united thinking, planning and action will suffice. Moreover, to insure the economy of energies and to experience the enrichment of life which result from the blending of knowledge, insight and power, it is essential that closer co-operation and unity be effected among the leaders of East and West and among their followers.

Senator Elihu Root, one of the leading international minds of our day, the author of the constitution of the *World Court*, has said that we may judge of the stage of advancement of a nation by its ability to co-operate with other nations. The same is just as true of individual leaders. So we may forecast the extent and depth of the influence of present-day leaders of Christian youth movements in our different countries, by their ability to co-operate with the leaders of other

nations, particularly with those from whom they differ, or with whom they may think they have little in common. We need men with an elasticity of mind and readiness to think in new terms, able to understand both sides, big enough to conciliate, and with that rare quality of creating an atmosphere in which men hate to differ and determine to understand. We have had no better examples of this rare ability than K. T. Paul and David Yui, the brilliant leaders of the Association Movements of India and China. In the midst of the clash of world forces, great mediating and unifying tasks, calling for the highest order of leadership, await the leaders of this new day.

Jesus Christ revealed for all time the secret of the most dynamic leadership in every sphere of life and human relationships when He proclaimed the great truth that " whosoever would be first among you, shall be the servant of all." In other words, the leadership which is ever most highly multiplying in influence must be unselfish. By the test of the generations and centuries it has not been those who exercised lordship, dictatorship, or the dominance of human force over men, who won the deepest allegiance of the people of their day, and are to-day remembered with deepest gratitude; but rather those who lost themselves in great unselfish causes, and whose controlling ambition was to render the maximum helpfulness, especially to those in deepest need. Witness Henry Drummond identifying himself with the students of many lands in their fierce battles with temptation, Baron Paul Nicolay absorbed in Christ-like ministry among the students of Russia in the midst of their terrible hardships and persecution, of Gandhiji and Kagawa of our own day in their sacrificial efforts to ameliorate the lot of un-

numbered depressed millions. Leadership is the ability to help the weakest, most neglected, and least, to the uttermost and to the very last.

Leadership is ever an adventure, and, as such, must be courageous and challenging. In fact, leadership in every land, and in every worth-while cause, involves conflict and coming to grapple with powerfully entrenched systems of wrong. Leaders in the cause of truth, liberty, justice and goodwill must be prepared to suffer pain, to be misunderstood and maligned, to have plans rejected by those in whose interest they were formulated, to endure loneliness, hardship and sacrifice. If the new generation is to be enlisted and afforded an adequate outlet, there must be presented to them an heroic appeal. Only the heroic appeal and example call forth the heroic response. The stern challenge sounded out so fearlessly by Sherwood Eddy in his recent nation-wide campaign among the government students of China on the one hand, and among American students on the other hand, met with just such a response. In Asia, in Europe, in America, in Africa, the call comes, in these days in which we are living, for great renunciations, for fearless breaks with precedent, for befriending and sponsoring unpopular causes, and, at times, for lonely adventures.

The impossible burdens of the depressed classes will not be lifted, the iniquities of forced labour will not be done away, the inequalities and injustices of the machine age will not be righted, the strangle-hold of the liquor power will not be broken, the sinister encroachments of militarism will not be stayed, the root causes of war will not be extirpated, the shocking and sinful practices of race prejudice and discrimination will not be abolished, and the alarming menace to religious

liberty will not be removed—all these, and the other grave ills that beset us on both sides of the earth will not be overcome until the Christian forces of East and West draw far more closely together in Christ-inspired unity and action. If we are travelling towards God, there is bound to be much of the courageous, the adventurous and the aggressive about our leadership.

In all the countries which I have visited in both hemispheres in recent journeys, or with which I maintain intimate contacts through my relation to three world organizations, it is most evident that there is needed a leadership characterized by conviction, certainty and confidence. There are confusion of thought, divided counsels, and conflicting voices, even among those who are supposed to lead, as to what the vital issues are, and as to how those issues are to be met. This means working at cross purposes, with comparatively meagre results. And this is the last moment when such should be the case, in view of the forces arrayed against us.

At such a time there is need in all key positions of men and women who can and will afford a clear and authentic lead. The uncertainty, pessimism and defeatism in so many quarters, qualities which invite defeat or make it inevitable, must be met, and indeed can only be met, by leaders with a clear sense of direction, and an absolutely compelling sense of mission. Such leadership is contagious in influence and triumphant in achievement. The true leader is at his best when the hour is darkest and when others are most confused and dismayed; he not only knows the way, and keeps ahead, but has that magnetic, contagious quality which inspires confidence and impels others to

follow. This goes far to explain the great following of Kagawa, no matter where he has given his burning messages in recent years—whether in Japan, Australia or North America.

To this end our leaders must in the name of the Living God sound the prophetic note more faithfully and insistently. No movement can ever be satisfied with the *status quo*. The true leader is chiefly concerned with opportunities for pioneering, pushing back horizons, enlarging the area of experience, removing causes of disaster, rather than simply dealing with the wounded. The time has come to chart some new courses for mankind in the sphere of human relationships—economic, social, international, interracial. Prophetic leadership involves fresh, thorough, conclusive thinking based on a penetrating study of the requirements of Jesus Christ, and a readiness to bear the full consequences of a fearless proclamation of the complete Gospel. This is of profound concern to youth across the breadth of the world as they crave guidance on the vital, clamant issues of war, industrial relations, sex, and the thought bases of the Christian faith. When one stops to think about it, how few prophetic voices there are in these days. Possibly more alarming is the fact that apparently there is so little attentiveness unto God as He does speak here and there through His prophets. Such a prophetic voice has not only been heard but also heeded in recent years in that hot spot of race relations, South Africa. I refer to the able and courageous lectures and addresses of Edgar Brookes and the equally courageous response of the South African students.

There must be an exalted, a truly great leadership. We are confronting open doors on every hand, and

through them on every continent we look down unended vistas of opportunity for service. In every field under heaven are indescribable depths of human need to be met while men are living. In the ears of no previous generation have sounded such stern and impelling challenges of the will of God. Never has the Christian Church and its auxiliary agencies, such as the Young Men's Christian Association and all other Christian youth movements, faced such a concentration of major unsolved problems. We are indeed living in one of the days of God's visitation in a double sense—in the sense that we are having visited upon us the sins of commission and omission of our own and other generations, and in the blessed sense that He is drawing near His people and manifesting Himself to them in wonder-working power.

We are called upon to think and plan in large dimensions. We are told that " of His Kingdom there shall be no end." The Moravian version expresses it thus: " Of His Kingdom there shall be no frontier." Both versions are true. To command the divine cooperation in human enterprises is to plan for meeting the needs of men on a scale vast enough to make room for God Himself. In the bringing in of the Kingdom of our Lord we have the sum of all great causes. To pray and plan for the establishment of His reign is indeed to think imperially. At such a moment and for such a cause it is well that we pray for great men —great leaders in the sense of great servants—great in mental and spiritual stature. It is the high privilege of such men to strike key-notes, to take positions that decide the course of events for long years. This is literally and in truth a " high calling." No man can plan a campaign as wide as universal dominion of the

human race without being enlarged by the very purpose.

In the characterization of the leadership needed and demanded for the period right before us it is of front-line importance to insist that it must be increasingly a youthful leadership. In a study which I have recently made of the personnel of the various boards and committees of management and executive staffs of the Churches and of their auxiliary agencies, and also of other social betterment organizations, I have been amazed to discover how few of their number are under thirty-five years of age. In some countries this is explained in part by the enormous depletion of virile youth forces as a result of the World War. Possibly quite as disastrous, in the case of both the belligerent countries and of other lands, was the chilling effect of the world-wide reaction and disillusionment following the War. But be the causes what they may, the tragic fact remains that there is to-day a startling shortage of really youthful men in the responsible leadership and direction of the Christian forces of the East and the West.

While it will be more difficult now to remedy this serious lack than at any time in recent decades, for reasons that need not be reiterated, the issues at stake are so great that every effort must be put forth to meet the need. Especially in the case of movements concerned with youth, constructive measures and action on our part are not optional but obligatory. Youth must be brought far more largely, in the years immediately at hand, into the leadership of the forces. Youth have the unspent years and the unexhausted energies essential to initiating and carrying through the needed programmes of pioneering as well as of recon-

struction and advance. They likewise have the qualities absolutely indispensable for true Christian conquest and progress—idealism, vision, hopefulness, enthusiasm, the spirit of adventure and discovery, and the power of initiative and conquest. Moreover, they are attuned to the realities of the twentieth century. New movements have ever been born in young minds, beginning with Christianity itself and illustrated by it in every vital stage of its progress. Therefore, whereever else we fail, we who are in any position to influence policy in the organizations we serve must not fail in resolute and undiscourageable effort to thrust forth youth into the leadership of the entire Christian movement. To this end we must be ready to take risks, and to perform great acts of trust. Youth will respond and will not fail.

> "So near is grandeur to our dust,
> So nigh to God is man,
> When duty whispers low, 'Thou must,'
> The youth replies, 'I can.'"

II. THE SECRET OF SECURING LEADERS

What are the secrets of discovering and enlisting the ablest men for the all-important tasks of Christian leadership? In the first place, there is ample cause for alarm. As we face the demands for augmenting the number and improving the quality of leaders in both East and West, and particularly of leaders in the winning and serving of youth, and as we consider the lack of fully qualified men available for this high endeavour, is it an exaggeration to maintain that, next to the withdrawal of the presence of Christ Himself, there could be no greater calamity than the failure of a sufficient

number of men to come forward, under the call of God, for the leadership of the Christian forces?

Next, let us look upon this undertaking of helping to find and to lay hold of qualified workers as the most important single thing we have to do. The English statesman, John Morley, has well said that "he who does the work is not so profitably employed as he who multiplies the doers." If anyone thinks he has a task even a little more important than that of multiplying the number of highly qualified men for lives of service in the Kingdom of God, then he is not likely to become a fruitful recruiting officer. Moreover, in this quest we should expect to find that for which we seek. It is inconceivable that, at such a time in the life of the world, an All-knowing and All-loving God does not have in preparation for the guidance of the affairs of His Kingdom men and women of right spirit. We are likely to find them in the pathway of our own life action and of our providential relationships.

Let us bring promising candidates for lives of service into contact with dynamic personalities. Scores of the ablest young men of Europe by contact with Albert Schweitzer have been led to turn from self-centred living into careers of unselfish, heroic action. Many a Japanese youth by exposure to Kagawa has been drawn, as by a magnet, into a life of Christ-like ministry.

We should also expose men to dynamic literature. The biographies of Phillip Brooks and of Dr. Chalmers, as well as those of David Livingstone and J. E. K. Aggrey, have influenced hundreds of youths to devote themselves to the ministry or to the missionary career.

Another factor in influencing the life decisions of

literally thousands of men and women of the last forty years have been the many dynamic student conferences and retreats, beginning with the famous Mount Hermon Conference of 1886, the fountainhead of the Student Volunteer Movement, and continuing through the scores of similar gatherings now held each year in the lands of the Orient and of the Occident. God has not ceased to use this means. Times of spiritual awakening and participation in the work of evangelism have also been used by God to thrust forth labourers into His harvest. Witness the outstanding leaders who were the product of the meetings of Moody and of Drummond in the last generation, and of the campaigns of Stanley Jones and T. Z. Koo in the present day. Quiet siege work, or intimate personal dealing, from the days of Christ Himself, has ever been a fruitful means of enlisting strong personalities to dedicate themselves to lives of apostolic ministry.

Christ was very familiar with the problem of the paucity in the number of workers. His solution was absolutely unique. He has let us into the real secret: "The harvest truly is great and the labourers are few; pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest that He thrust forth labourers into His harvest." This language is not open to two interpretations. He might have adopted a different method. He might, for example, by direct action have communicated His call to men. But for some reason, which cannot but move us with awe, He has been pleased to condition the securing of the needed workers on the faithfulness in prayer of His followers. In other words, the meeting of the imperative need of leaders in the Christian movement, which is to bind together East and West in brotherhood and unity, is a superhuman undertaking.

III. HOW TO DEVELOP AND MAINTAIN LEADERSHIP

What is the secret of developing and maintaining leadership of the Christian and other constructive and helpful forces of society? We are all familiar with examples of men who once were outstanding leaders but who forfeited their leadership. Moreover, there is nothing more tragic than to see young men and women, with unmistakable gifts of leadership, who dissipate their opportunities and powers through failure to pay the price which has to be paid, if they are to render their largest service to their generation. It may not be without its advantage, therefore, to consider, in the light of the experience of recognized leaders, what were the attitudes, processes, practices, and means which explain their rise to positions of influence and helpfulness, and likewise the augmenting of their capacities and powers of leadership.

At the very outset it needs to be emphasized that one must learn to master the conditions in which he finds himself and not be mastered by them. This has always been true, but in this particular generation, when life is so much more highly organized and complex than ever, and when means of communication and resulting human contacts have been so multiplied and the pace of life so quickened, it is more difficult, and at the same time more necessary than ever. As a result there is danger lest the gifts of finest leadership be impaired, and that leaders be worn out by mere attrition. Instead of driving their work they are too often driven by it. They become the creatures of emergencies and find themselves working along lines of least resistance. What is the way out and the way to keep

out? They must have a system like the laws of the Medes and Persians. Every leader must have a profound belief in the possibility of dominating, by clear thinking and sheer will-power, physical infirmities and adverse external conditions, including the handicaps which we associate with a machine age. What is a leader for unless it be to turn stumbling-blocks into stepping-stones?

The leader must make a constant study of priorities. In the World War "priorities" became a governing word. In each country there were boards of priorities, and ultimately international bodies with similar powers. Their object, it will be recalled, was to decide, in the midst of countless conflicting claims, which should have right of way. So it is with the growing leader. There are so many and such increasing demands on his time and strength that he must constantly be making selection. Seldom is it a choice between good and evil, but rather of the good, the better, or the best. No leader can begin to do all the things he wants to do, still less all that others desire from him. He must become proficient in separating the essential from the non-essential, in deciding between conflicting claims, and in putting first things first. To this end he must acquire the habit of taking long views and wide views, of seeing things in true perspective and proper proportion. Few are called upon so intensely as he is to estimate rightly relative values. If he fails here, he falls short of high moral leadership.

Great drafts are made upon the nervous energy and vitality of every unselfish leader. In addition to the steady drain incident to the discharge of his regular duties, he must be ready to meet unanticipated demands and crises. This is one of the penalties of

leadership. The leader, therefore, more than any other worker, must lay up and safeguard reserves. We do not get enough silences in our lives. We talk too much and listen too little. Our days are too full of events and our minds too full of things. We have too few open spaces in which we can be at home with ourselves and so begin our preparation for being at home with God.

It is a good practice to break life into compassable units. It is baffling to contemplate too long a period at a time. John Wesley puts in our hands the key to the problem in the words he wrote on the flyleaf of his Bible, "Live to-day." One might venture an addition, and that is that the leader should begin each day in touch with the Living God. I wish to commend the habit of beginning each day with the meditative and appropriative study of the original writings of the Christian faith and with communion with God. I know of no practice better calculated to promote growth in faith and character and fruitfulness in service. Our power becomes rapidly exhausted in our work. If we occupy ourselves exclusively with the world, even for the purpose of serving it, we become worldly, superficial, unreal and ineffective.

One price which apparently has had to be paid by all who have achieved notable leadership is abounding industry. They not only have had the habit of intense application through long periods, but also have been skilful in using the fragments of time.

If a man is to go from strength to strength in a life of service, which I repeat is only other language for true leadership, he must keep coming to grapple with grave difficulties and unsolved problems. He must welcome baffling situations. Like St. Paul he should,

as he confronts great opportunity, regard obstacles and adversaries as an added incentive. This suggests one of the gravest dangers which beset leaders—the temptation to rest on their oars, to count themselves as having attained, instead of forgetting themselves and literally going from victory to victory. And how true it is that the morrow of victory is more perilous than its eve.

Not a little of the greatness of the most creative and dynamic leaders whom we know in the West and in the East, or of whom we have read, is traceable to their intimate fellowship with great personalities or leading minds. This is by no means confined to face-to-face contacts with living persons; it is true also of what has come through the reading of biography. It is said that we are a part of all whom we have met. While this may be an exaggeration, we cannot question that most men, at some critical time in their lives, have been profoundly influenced in outlook, in motive, in life direction by their exposure to certain great characters. It would be a fascinating study to trace the contagious outreach of the influence of any one of scores of great leaders who might be named. Booker T. Washington, the leader of the Negro race, acknowledged his indebtedness to General Samuel Armstrong for all he was or had accomplished. Gandhi again and again has paid feeling tribute to Tolstoy's influence upon him. Henry Drummond told me once that he owed more to Marcus Dods than to all his teachers.

Incomparably the greatest leader the world has ever known, judged by the test of the ages, is Jesus Christ. Well does the writer of the letter to Hebrews characterize Him as " the Prince Leader of the faith," for to Him pay allegiance not only all other leaders who have borne the Christian name, but increasingly, by

word or by implication, those of other faiths and many of those of no religious affiliation. Therefore, the supremely important thing in the discovery, development and enlargement of the highest leadership, so much needed, as we have seen, in the Orient and in the Occident, is a growing acquaintance and a deepening fellowship with this Central Figure. In seeking to augment the leadership of the forces of righteousness and unselfishness it is well to follow His unerring lead —as the Way, the Truth and the Life. Indeed, His lead has been demonstrated beyond peradventure to have been an unerring one. When has He been known to lead one into a blind alley? When has following Him, cost what it might, resulted in contracting the range or weakening the power of one's leadership? Let it be reiterated, He affords the most satisfying definition of true greatness, of enduring leadership: "Whosoever would be greatest [that is, first] among you, shall be the servant of all." He imparts a sense of mission which surmounts all difficulties, opposition, discouragement, and loneliness. To Him we go for those guiding principles which, when resolutely and courageously applied, solve problems and effect revolutionary and transforming changes. In fellowship with Him and contact with His enormous consciousness of God, men catch the spirit which overcomes the world—the spirit of unselfishness and faith. He, by His penetrating word exemplified on the Cross, ushers us into the real secret of the most highly multiplying influence of any leader: "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth by itself alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit." The depth of one's experience in this creative realm determines the outreach of one's

work and influence. Jesus Christ was the Great Visionary. Alone He looked down through the ages and saw the peoples of all conditions, nations and races streaming up to His Cross when He cried, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me." In Him, and in Him only, will not only be discovered but also be realized the unity of the human race.

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