

STUDIES of
MISSIONARY
LEADERSHIP

ROBERT E. SPEER



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STUDIES of MISSIONARY LEADERSHIP

The Smyth Lectures for 1913

Delivered before the Columbia Theological Seminary,
Columbia, South Carolina

By
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PHILADELPHIA
THE WESTMINSTER PRESS

1914

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FOREWORD

It is not by prescriptions of modes of action that the world's work gets itself done, but by the power of God operating through men. Some one once asked John Lawrence, on whose iron will and immovable faith in God and his righteousness the Indian mutiny broke like foam upon a cliff, by what methods he achieved such unique results in his administration of the Punjab, the most wonderful piece of provincial administration in modern times, if not in human history. "It is not my methods," Lawrence replied; "it is my men." Methods of action were of small significance when the men acting were John Lawrence and Henry, his brother, and Donald McLeod and Herbert Edwardes and Richard Temple and their associates. Such men were fountains of ever fresh and varying modes of achievement. Problems unfolded their solutions before them simply because these men, with their luminous and creative energy, moved forward upon them. Men succeed not because they use successful methods. They use such methods simply because they open themselves to the energy of the divine will, which is ever seeking unhindered channels for its flow through human lives.

It is with some men of this type that we are to meet in these lectures. We are to study in them

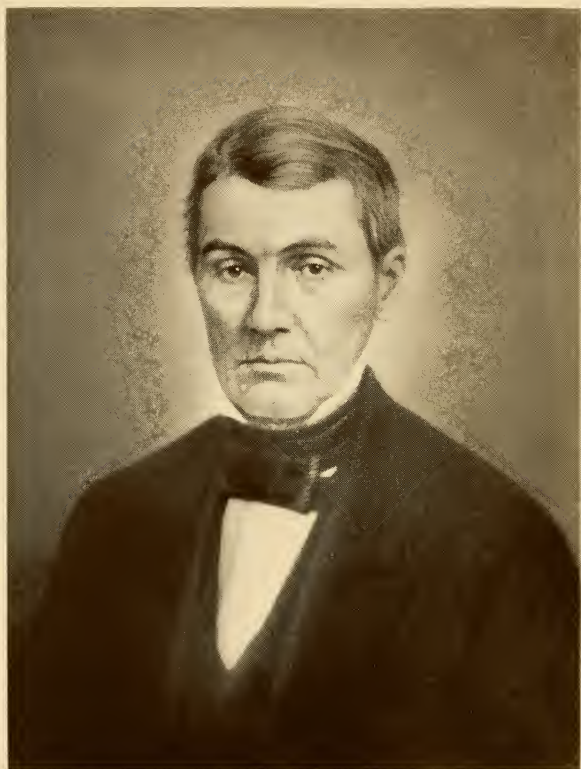
FOREWORD

some of the great elemental problems of the Church, in her work of accomplishing the world mission of Christianity. Three of the six men whom we shall consider, the first two and the last, were men who dealt with the world problems of Christianity from the base of the Church at home. The other three men worked with some of the most fundamental issues of the missionary task on the foreign field. One of these last was an American who gave his life to the problems of the foreign community and religious liberty, another a Japanese who lived and died in the triumphant solution of the problem of the independent national Church, and the third a Hindu who brought his rare mind to Christ and sought by a long and weary way for that simplicity of faith which was nearer to him than his own soul.

The questions which we are to consider are questions of the foreign missionary enterprise, but they are also the central questions of the life of the Church at home. What are the secrets of leadership? What are the great aims and methods of the Church's undertaking? How can the Christian Church be made anywhere a living and enlarging power, drawing its nourishment from above and beneath, from God and the people, without weakening support from the side? What is the universal and essential kernel of the gospel, and what the racial or national husk? How much may a human life ask God to do through it and in its own time? These are not questions of a far-away work. They are the living issues of our own land and our own time and our own lives.

R. E. S.

STUDY ONE



HON. WALTER LOWRIE

WALTER LOWRIE

AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

I

WE are to begin with some of the men of faith and courage who dared to project the missionary enterprise, imperiling in doing so their reputation for sound judgment and incurring responsibilities which still outreach our comprehension, and which far transcended their own—men whose devotion and ability were as necessary to the successful inauguration of the new movement as the heroism and genius of the first missionaries themselves. Indeed, it has been true throughout that the missionary movement has been given its direction and has achieved its effects scarcely more through its agents on the field than through the men who have been its representatives and administrators at home. At the outset Carey recognized the necessity of such coöperation, and it was agreed between him and Fuller and those who aided Fuller that they would carry forward a joint enterprise in which holding the ropes at home was recognized as a missionary service as distinct and essential as going down into the mine abroad. Andrew Fuller, who entered into this relation with Carey, was the first of the foreign mission secretaries. At the outset he was a young man, only seven years older than Carey, and of little greater prominence, though he

was beginning to attract attention by the qualities which soon made him one of the most notable men of his time. "When we began in 1792," as he said later, "there was little or no respectability among us, not so much as a squire to sit in the chair, or an orator to address him with speeches. Hence good Dr. Stennett advised the London ministers to stand aloof and not commit themselves."¹ The enterprise was to become one of the greatest of all the movements of church history, and the men who founded it were to win abiding fame. However, it was not the anticipation of this, which the boldest faith scarcely foresaw, but a firm conviction as to the principles which required the enterprise that won Fuller's adhesion to it. Indeed, Fuller was the great force in disclosing these principles and obtaining their recognition in the Church at home. He was a farmer's son and self-educated. Like Carey, he had been unable to reconcile "the grim dead theology of his church with the new life and liberty which had come to him direct from the Spirit of Christ and from his Word." The Baptists were as dead as the Established Church. The evangelical gospel was almost unknown. Among the more earnest Baptists a hyper-Calvinistic view prevailed that forbade missionary zeal because it denied the duty, or even the possibility, of every man's acceptance of the gospel, and asserted accordingly the futility of preaching it to every man. Beginning with his gospel "worthy of all acceptance," Fuller probably did more by his writings and his

¹ Marshman, "Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward," Vol. I, p. 17.

addresses than any other one man to lay the doctrinal basis of the modern missionary enterprise. It was his first treatise which had brought to a head the thinking of Carey, who had reasoned, "If it be the duty of all men, when the gospel comes, to believe unto salvation, then it is the duty of those who are intrusted with the gospel to endeavor to make it known among all nations for the obedience of faith."¹

When the Baptist Missionary Society was organized at Kettering in 1792 Fuller was appointed secretary. For a quarter of a century he filled the office, setting an ideal for all such service since. He was a man of executive energy. He once said to Ryland and Sutcliff, who, with Carey and Hogg and himself, constituted the first committee: "You excel me in wisdom, especially in foreseeing difficulties. I, therefore, want to advise with you both, but to execute without you." His missionary relations to Carey, when the latter had gone out, became a great reflex blessing. If his principles led to the enterprise, the enterprise reacted to confirm and enrich the principles. Chalmers' relation to Duff, of which I shall speak later, acted in the same way. In comforting the erratic Thomas, Carey's first associate, Fuller wrote of what his missionary interest had done for him in the midst of spiritual death and despondency: "Before this I did little but pine over my misery, but since I have betaken myself to greater activity for God my strength has been recovered and my soul replenished."²

¹ Smith, "Life of William Carey," p. 42.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

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But Fuller gave as much as he got. He had clear and independent judgments as to the work of the Serampore missionaries. He made his own original proposals. He condemned some of their courses of action where he felt that his opinion was clearer and less deflected than theirs. He put forth an influence in their behalf and in behalf of all such effort in India, in modifying the character of the East India Company's administration, which was one of the great factors in the improvement of the company's policy toward missions. He carried on a powerful home propaganda, and in 1807 used to excellent effect the opportunity of a bitter public discussion of the intrusion of the missionaries upon the religions of India. On one trip, in 1808, he preached forty-two missionary sermons in six weeks, and collected two thousand pounds for the Serampore translations. His own reality of spiritual character enabled him to give the missionaries the freshest and most fruitful spiritual counsel. After the great fire which destroyed their press and translations he wrote:

This fire has given your undertaking a celebrity which nothing else could; a celebrity which, after all, makes me tremble. I see the eagerness of men after this celebrity passing all bounds, and we are men. I see great undertakings blasted apparently by this cause. Ought we not to tremble? The public is now giving us their praises. Eight hundred guineas have been offered for Dr. Carey's likeness. If we inhale this incense, will not the Lord be offended and withdraw his blessing, and then where are we? Ought we not to tremble? Surely we need more grace to go through good report than evil. I have less jealousy of you than of ourselves, but we are all in danger. When you pitched your

tents at Serampore, you said, "We will not accumulate riches, but devote all to God for the salvation of the heathen." God has given you what you desired, and what you desired not. Blessed men, God will yet bless you, and make you a blessing. I and others of us may die, but God will surely visit you. Only beware of flattery and applause, for now you may expect a tide of this to try you. You have stood your ground through evil report; may you stand it under good report. Many who have endured the first have failed under the last. The icy mountain that can stand the winter's blast may melt before the summer's sun. Expect to be highly applauded, bitterly reproached, greatly moved and much tried in every way. O that having done all, you may stand."¹

When Marshman once felt aggrieved by a judgment of Fuller's which disapproved of certain letters of his, and Carey had written in his behalf, Fuller replied:

As to the correspondence with Mr. Ricketts, in remarking on which you consider me just but not merciful, having expressed my thoughts, I thought no more on the subject, and I hope Brother Marshman was not greatly wounded. I feel my deficiency in not being able always to express my sentiments so as not to "break the head." I hope I need not say I love you all, and hope to live and die with you.²

And in his last letter to Serampore, addressed to Marshman, he refers to the matter: "Brother Carey seemed to think me severe in my remarks. It might be so. This is a fault of which I have often had to

¹ Marshman, "Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward," Vol. I, p. 472 f.

² Ibid., p. 508.

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repent. I hope, however, that there are no painful feelings left on your mind."

Fuller died on May 1, 1815, at the comparatively early age of sixty-two.

His athletic frame and robust constitution gave promise of a longer life, but he had worn himself out in the cause of Christian benevolence, and more especially in the service of the mission. The important influence of Mr. Fuller's labors on the character of his own denomination, and the interests of Christian truth, and the progress of missions, it would be difficult to exaggerate. If the man who gives the impulse of improvement not only to his own age, but to succeeding generations, be justly esteemed great, few men have been more fully entitled to that distinction than Mr. Fuller. He found his own denomination, with some bright exceptions, bewildered in the mazes of hyper-Calvinism, and stagnant in Christian benevolence. By his exertions in the pulpit, and through the press, he introduced sounder and more elevated views, and quickened it into evangelical activity. The Baptist denomination of the nineteenth century is more indebted for the position it occupies as a Christian agency, at home and abroad, to the labors of Mr. Fuller than to those of any other single individual.¹

Dr. Smith says of him:

Andrew Fuller was not only the first of foreign mission secretaries; he was a model for all. To him his work was spiritual life, and hence, though the most active preacher and writer of his day, he was like Carey in this, that his working day was twice as long as that of most men, and he could spend half of his time in the frequent journeys all over the kingdom to raise funds, in repeated campaigns in London to secure toleration, and in abundant letters to the missionaries. His relation to the committee, up to the last,

¹ Marshman, "Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward," Vol. II, pp. 101-103.

was equally exemplary. In the very earliest missionary organization in England it is due to him that the line was clearly drawn between the deliberative and judicial function which is that of the members, and the executive which is that of the secretary. Wisdom and efficiency, clearness of perception and promptitude of action, were thus combined. Fuller's, too, was the special merit of realizing that, while a missionary committee or church are fellow workers only with the men and women abroad, the Serampore Brotherhood was a self-supporting, and to that extent a self-governing body in a sense true of no foreign mission ever since.¹

But, above all, he was a man of God. That is the first requirement of effective missionary administration. Devout as the missionaries were, the secretary at home was yet more notable as a spiritual force, a man of energy and independent devotion. He was a spiritual leader of the Church. There should be such a superior moral influence in every missionary administration. It saves authority from authoritativeness, and it bathes relations in warmth and love. Sutcliff's dying words had been, "I wish I had prayed more." Fuller had often commented on these:

I do not suppose he wished he had prayed more frequently, but more spiritually. I wish I had prayed more for the influences of the Holy Spirit; I might have enjoyed more of the power of vital godliness. I wish I had prayed more for the assistance of the Holy Spirit in studying and preaching my sermons; I might have seen more of the blessing of God attending my ministry. I wish I had prayed more for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit to attend the labors of our friends in India; I might have witnessed more of the effects of their efforts in the conversion of the heathen.²

¹ Smith, "Life of William Carey," p. 310 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 309, footnote.

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In the Scotch Church the first great missionary leader at home was Thomas Chalmers, but Chalmers did not fill in the Scotch Church and in his relations to Alexander Duff the relation sustained by Fuller to the Baptist Mission and William Carey. Dr. Inglis was Dr. Duff's official correspondent, and in a real sense the founder of the India Mission of the Scotch Church. But Chalmers very well illustrates a different type of home service. He sustained no secreterial relationship to the missionaries, but he was a member of the Missionary Committee, and he was the greatest force of his day in the home life of the Church. It happens too often that such men are so engrossed in church political issues, or theological controversy, or some form of home activity, that they have scarcely room in their minds for the largest interests of all. I could easily illustrate what I mean by personal instances. Or, if such great men express a missionary interest, it is rather in the way of vindicating their catholic and comprehensive intelligence than in the way of such a direct and passionate devotion as alone amounts to much in driving forward the greatest and the most resisted of all the enterprises of the Church. Chalmers had a deep personal interest in the mission. Duff had been a student under him at Aberdeen and one of his favorite pupils. To Chalmers Duff wrote for advice when the call to India came to him. To Chalmers he wrote his last letter before leaving England; and he wrote on the voyage to Capetown, urging him to use his influence that the wreck of Duff's ship "may not be permitted to cool zeal or damp exertion, but

may be improved, to kindle a new flame throughout the Church and cause it to burn inextinguishably."¹

The first member of his committee on whom he called when he returned to Scotland in 1835 was Chalmers, and during all his campaign at home Chalmers gave him his constant support. When he sailed for India again Chalmers gave the parting address, as he had done ten years before. He defended Duff's method abroad, approved his financial policy at home and brushed away the idea of any disagreement between home and foreign missions:

Our two causes, our two committees, might work into each other's hands. Should the first take the precedence and traverse for collections the whole of Scotland, the second would only find the ground more softened and prepared for an abundant produce to itself. It acts not by exhaustion—it acts by fermentation.²

When the disruption came, Chalmers rose up as a rock against the idea of any curtailment of the missions. The missionaries, without exception, stood with the Free Church. All the properties and endowments remained with the Established Church. It was necessary to begin anew at home. Surely the mission would have to be sacrificed for a while. Gardner Spring made some such argument under far less warranting circumstances before the General Assembly of the American Presbyterian Church when he advocated a postponement of foreign missions for a few generations, as though fifty had not sufficed. "I state my confident belief," wrote Chal-

¹ Smith, "Alexander Duff," Vol. I, p. 79 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 385 f.

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mers to Duff, "that, notwithstanding the engrossment of our affairs at home, the cause of our missions will prove as dear and be as liberally supported as ever by the people of Scotland."¹

It was upon the lines of Chalmer's life that Duff himself moved. His eloquence was almost the replica of Duff's. A stranger picking up the addresses of the two men would probably think that they were the utterances of one mind. In his comprehensiveness, in his loss of the sense of perspective, in reading the whole human movement into his own plannings and speculations, in his extension of his nationalistic conceptions into universals, in his loftiness, almost grandioseness, which was the frill of real practical greatness in that day, in his conscious amplitude of speech and opinion, in his spiritual humility and simplicity, Duff was the duplicate of Chalmers, and took his place in the Free Church as its great leader when Chalmers had passed away. To the character and the value of Chalmers' missionary influence Duff bore the highest testimony in a letter of April 7, 1847, to Dr. John Buchanan:

It is impossible for me to forget that one of the first steps in his splendid career as a Christian philanthropist was his unanswered and unanswerable defense of Bible and missionary societies. It was, indeed, a defense which swept away the wretched sophisms of the indifferent and ungodly like chaff before the whirlwind. It demonstrated to the world that, if such societies threatened to become popular, it was not from poverty of intellect on the part of their friends or from drivelling, irrational pietism on the part of their champions. From Bibles the transition was easy to the

¹ Smith, "Alexander Duff," Vol. II, p. 12 f.

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translators and distributors of Bibles and the promulgators of Bible truth. Accordingly, at a time when missions were most despised and missionaries held most despicable by the great and the wise and the mighty of this world, he stood forth, the intrepid and triumphant vindicator of both. In his two discourses, entitled "The Two Great Instruments Appointed for the Propagation of the Gospel" and "The Utility of Missions Ascertained by Experience," preached and published upward of thirty years ago, there are bursts of eloquence which he himself never subsequently surpassed; downright genuine eloquence, which does not lead us to the goal by slow marches of argument, or parade of verbal logic, or ingenious devices of subtlety, but flashes upon the subject with the revealing power of heaven's lightning, and at once makes every understanding to perceive and every heart to feel. In the whole range of missionary literature it would perhaps be difficult to meet with any treatises which, within a shorter compass than that occupied by the discourses now named, portray more strikingly the unrivalled claims of the Bible, exhibit a finer delineation of the missionary character or embody a more powerful exposition and defense of the great object of the missionary enterprise. . . .

And now, if by general consent, he who has been so suddenly laid low was long acknowledged, in point of real intellectual and moral greatness combined, to be the master mind of his own country, if not his own age, it only remains to be added, in justice to the character of the departed, that though not a missionary himself, in the ordinary technical use of that term, or even no very active member of any missionary board or committee, yet, in all that constitutes the real grandeur of wide, all-comprehending, Godlike philanthropy, he has been for years the leading missionary spirit of Christendom.

Standing, as we do, in this great metropolis of Asiatic heathenism, surrounded by myriads that are perishing for lack of knowledge—myriads amounting in the aggregate to more than half of the race of man—it need not be wondered at that the mind should rapidly pass over all other

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features, however brilliant, and instinctively fasten on the missionary element in the character of our late reverend father and friend.¹

The mission cause needs such representatives as truly as it needs its Careys and its Duffs. It was a great thing to have the dominant personality in the church the greatest and best informed advocate of its foreign missions. We have not seen this spectacle in any American church since the days of Charles Hodge.

¹ Smith, "Alexander Duff," Vol. II, pp. 113-116.

II

THE first foreign missions of the American churches were administered by an altogether different type of man from either Fuller or Chalmers. The two most conspicuous of the early missionary secretaries of our own country were two laymen, both trained as lawyers or public men, and giving by their gravity of personal character and their directness of spiritual view a distinct caste to the missions of the two great churches they controlled. One was Walter Lowrie and the other Jeremiah Evarts. For thirty-two years Walter Lowrie was secretary of the Presbyterian Board, and Evarts gave his great abilities for twenty years, first as treasurer and then as secretary, to establishing at home and abroad the work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Walter Lowrie was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, Dec. 10, 1784, as he says, "of poor, respectable and pious" parents. The same conjunction served him that David Livingstone chose, when he rejoicingly recognized that the parents whom God had given him were "poor and pious." When Walter Lowrie was eight years old the family emigrated to the United States, and were among the pioneer settlers in central and western Pennsylvania. There the boy was severely disciplined, working in the forests and on the farm, making a gristmill or sawing wood, learning to read from his mother and picking up at winter schools

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during a few months of the year a little fuller knowledge. Many a long winter evening he spent studying "Morse's Geography" in two large octavo volumes. "With the historical books of the Bible," he says, "I was well acquainted, but I had very little taste for the New Testament Scriptures."

He was converted in one of the local manifestations of the great revivals at the dawn of the last century, when he personally experienced the curious bodily disturbances which characterized those revivals. His account of the matter is of interest as coming from one whose Christian life was always exceptionally grave and sedate:

In 1803 various rumors and reports reached us of revivals of religion in Kentucky and other places, accompanied with most extraordinary bodily exercises. This work was brought to our neighborhood in the summer, when I saw it for the first time. The subject was a young woman, an acquaintance of one of my sisters, to whose home I had come on a visit the day before. On seeing it I was very much surprised, but perfectly at a loss to account for such involuntary agitation. It continued during the whole of the sermon. Nor was I inattentive to the words of the preacher, Rev. Robert Lea. He spoke with great earnestness and solemnity, and every word seemed to reach my heart. There was left a deep impression that I was indeed a sinner in the sight of God. We had regular preaching at home every alternate Sunday, and every sermon deepened my distress of mind. Every evening, after service, our pastor, Rev. Robert Johnston, had a prayer meeting at his own house. At one of these meetings the exercises of my mind became extremely painful and distressing. Soon after the service had commenced I was struck with this extraordinary influence, as were several others about the same time. To convey a correct idea of this sensation to others is perhaps impossible. In

an instant I felt that the will had no power or control over the muscles of the body. I fell backward and suffered violent agitations, particularly of the arms, the muscles of the breast and upper part of the body. There was no sickness, no pain and the faculties of the mind were not the least obscured; if any change was felt, it seemed to be an acuteness of perception, more than usual, as to everything around me. Two of my neighbors immediately raised me and supported me between them during the evening. When the service was ended the influence left me, and I walked home with several others, but preferred to be silent rather than to converse with them. For about six weeks the exercises of my mind were painful and often distressing. I then obtained, or thought I obtained, "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." I know not that further details would promote any good purpose. It may be very satisfactory for a Christian to be able to say, "At such a time and place I was born again."

I do not doubt that there are such cases. I do not now set so much value on such an ability as I did formerly; nor do I know that any Christian was ever able to derive much consolation from this kind of knowledge. It is a far clearer point to me that the follower of Jesus Christ will derive more true comfort from a constant discharge of his duty toward God and toward man, in the exercises of faith, and under the influence of deep humility, with watchfulness and prayer, than he will derive by looking back to the state of his feelings at the time of his supposed consecration to Christ. It is the duty of the Christian to have his evidences always bright, and when they become otherwise, to seek again the highway from which he has departed. For the soul to take comfort when in a cold and lifeless state, from its former experience, is a comfort not free from danger, and not, at least very clearly, indicated in the Word of God. Had David quieted his fears after the murder of Uriah by referring to his former experience, had he even taken comfort to himself from the near and intimate communion with God he had often experienced, we are warranted in saying he would

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have shown far less evidence of true religion than does the spirit which breathes in every line of the Fifty-first Psalm.

About the time I obtained a hope of an interest in the Saviour the mysterious influence, which caused the bodily agitation, left me. Nor was I ever subject to it again. In the fall of the same year I made a profession of religion, and it has been my sincere desire to live agreeably to that profession; but, alas! how unfruitful has my life so far been in the eyes of a pure and holy God! How often have I departed from the way of holiness! But by his grace I remain unto this day, and his grace is still able to sustain me to the close of life, and give me an abundant entrance to the inheritance of the saints in light.¹

He now had a strong desire to study for the ministry, but could not be spared from the family support. By selling lumber and rendering other help, however, he succeeded in doing what was needed and went off to study with a neighboring minister. His teacher had a large family and a full home, so Lowrie built himself a small twelve by twelve cabin just adjoining. After several years of study he opened a school in Butler, Pennsylvania, where he taught forty pupils, and acted as clerk of the county commissioners. Several months after taking charge of the school he married the daughter of his former teacher, Rev. John McPherrin. I have been told that the parents were not wholly ready and that there were some of the features of an elopement about the marriage. I believe Walter put his bride on a horse and rode away with her. This has always given me a more tender and human interest in one whose after life was a model of grave demeanor. I spoke

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," pp. 7-10.

to Dr. John C. Lowrie once about this matter. "Yes," he said, "there were some providential circumstances in connection with my father's marriage." Perhaps it was the circumstances of the rather energetic marriage and the increasing interest of the young schoolmaster in civil affairs as seen in his clerkship, and the opportunities for a prosperous work as a surveyor, which led Lowrie to give up his plans for the ministry. In 1811, three years after his marriage, he was sent to the State Legislature, where he was kept for several years, one year in the House of Representatives and six in the State Senate. He was a useful representative and served as chairman of an interstate commission, representing Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana, to survey and clear for navigation the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to Louisville. In 1818, while still in the State Senate, he was elected to the United States Senate for the full term of six years. He seems to have been a sober and useful member, taking special interest in questions of finance and public lands and in the problems of slavery and the Indian. He made a speech against the Missouri Compromise, which he closed by saying, "If the alternative be this: either dissolution of the Union or the extension of slavery over this whole western country, I, for one, will choose the former." Upon the completion of his term, so greatly had he commended himself to the Senate that he was elected secretary of the Senate and held that office from 1825 to 1836, when he resigned it to become secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

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For such work Mr. Lowrie's tastes and training had been specially preparing him. In Washington he had become interested in the American Colonization Society. That Society represented a real missionary impulse. It rested, as history has shown, upon erroneous principles, but it was a good school of missionary duty. Mr. Lowrie was active also in a Congressional Temperance Society and held a weekly prayer meeting at his home during sessions for members of Congress. He kept up his interest in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and about the time he became secretary of the Senate he took up Chinese and was able, by teaching himself, in a few years "to make translations of the simpler Chinese works." In 1833 his oldest son went out as one of the first missionaries to India. Of Mr. Lowrie's attitude toward his son's action, as shown at the farewell meeting to the missionaries and their wives in Philadelphia, it is said:

He assured his Christian friends that though he felt, and felt deeply, at parting, . . . yet, instead of any reluctance or regret, he would say that he was willing and even anxious that they should go; if there were any station that he envied it was that which they were about to assume; and that he would freely part with every child he had if they were called to leave their native shores on such an errand.¹

The deep religious earnestness of his character and his own personal meditation on the world's need of the gospel further prepared him for the call that came to him. Among his papers of the year 1830 was a

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 29 f.

long "Treatise on Divine Revelation," which contained the result of his religious studies. In it he spoke with a rather bold view, beyond the mind of many, on the subject of inspiration, and although this was two generations ago it is interesting to note that no charge of heresy was ever brought against Walter Lowrie. In the same treatise Lowrie considered the condition of the world without the gospel:

With these remarks [upon the Necessity for a Divine Revelation] let us look at the condition of those nations, ancient and modern, which were without the light of divine revelation. Through a long course of ages, what has unassisted reason achieved for them?

The Egyptians, Greeks and Romans were enlightened and civilized nations, but without divine revelation. There we find them grossly ignorant of the most vital and important truths. Their gods were multiplied almost without number. The sun, the moon and the stars; demons and departed heroes; animals, noxious insects, and even rivers were their gods. Statues of gold and silver, blocks of wood and of stone, the work of their own hands, were the objects of their idolatry; and human sacrifices, obscenity, prostitution, drunkenness and bacchanalian revels formed a great part of their stated worship.

They were ignorant of the true account of creation—of God's design in making the world—of the origin of evil and the original dignity of human nature. Socrates, Cicero and Seneca, their wisest and best men, doubted even the immortality of the soul. Of the resurrection of the body they knew nothing. When such men were thus enshrouded in doubt, what must have been the darkness of the mass of the common people who on all these points had an equally vital interest?

A further state of rewards and punishments was too little understood to have a proper influence on the conduct. Hence, their morals were corrupt and corresponded with the moral

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darkness of the mind. It could not be otherwise. Man is a creature actuated by motives. But where was the motive for holiness, for purity of heart and life, when holiness and the worship of the heart were not known? It is remarkable also that the most civilized and barbarous nations were nearly alike in their ignorance of divine things and in their moral depravity of conduct. This picture of the nations of antiquity, drawn at large by their own historians, will suit the heathen nations of our own time; and here, too, moral darkness and depravity bring to a level the most civilized and the most barbarous.¹

An honest man cannot talk this way without preparing himself for missionary duty.

This last question is interesting from another point of view. We are told that the early missionary motive was purely eschatological, that it sprang from a desire to rescue the heathen from a future punishment, and that the argument for missions from the present moral needs of the world was not recognized, that the decay of the old ideas makes it necessary to shift entirely the basis of missionary appeal. This theory rests upon an ignorance of the character of the missionary argument advanced at the beginning of the missionary enterprise. I find in the writings of Lowrie and Evarts an almost exclusive appeal to the moral need of the world. It needs a spiritual regeneration now. It needs the establishment of Christian institutions now. The charge of a narrow eschatological appeal never did hold against the missionary movement. An adequate knowledge of the official statements of the missionary organizations would lay them open,

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 34 f.

I think, rather to the charge of error for over-moralizing and over-socializing the aim of the missionary enterprise; of not emphasizing enough those considerations of eternity which are supposed to have been their only care. Evarts' language is almost constantly of the broadest sort:

Where is the man emulous of a distinction which God will approve, and panting after a renown which shall never mock the possessor? . . . Is he called to the high office of a Christian missionary? . . . He may lay the foundations for Christian institutions that shall shed around them a healing power, and remain an expression of the divine beneficence to the end of time.¹

In the conclusion of his annual survey of the work in the "Annual Report of the American Board for 1830," Evarts wrote:

Christians have for twenty or thirty years past distinctly avowed the determination to labor for the conversion of the world. They have professed a full belief that the time is rapidly approaching when all men will be brought under the influence of the gospel; when nominally Christian nations will be so reformed and purified that vice and infidelity, and superstition and crime, and a merely secular profession of religion will have disappeared and been ultimately banished by the power of divine truth operating kindly but irresistibly through the medium of correct public opinion, pervading a truly virtuous and pious community. In accordance with this belief the friends of Christ have put into operation certain principles and causes which are evidently adapted to change the condition of mankind; and the effects of these causes are already becoming manifest to the world.²

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 258.

² *Ibid.*, p. 388.

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Again and again Lowrie and Evarts recur to the mission of the gospel to transform the present life of man, and appeal for support of missions on the ground of man's present need of the stimulus and restraint of Christianity. In an "Address to the Christian Public," issued by the American Board in 1812, Evarts says:

It is now generally seen and felt by those who have any claim to be considered as proper judges that Christianity is the only remedy for the disorders and miseries of this world, as well as the only foundation of hope for the world to come. No other agent will ever control the violent passions of men; and without the true religion all attempts to meliorate the condition of mankind will prove as illusory as a feverish dream. The genuine patriot, therefore, and the genuine philanthropist must labor, so far as they value the prosperity of their country and the happiness of the human race, to diffuse the knowledge and the influence of Christianity at home and abroad. Thus will they labor most effectually to put a final period to oppression and slavery, to perfidy and war, and to all the train of evils which falsehood, ambition and cruelty have so profusely scattered through the world.¹

Undoubtedly missionary arguments need ever new restatement, but, after all, they need less than is usually supposed. The vocabulary, of course, alters with the vernacular of the time, but the fundamental principles abide. Evarts proved this, and contended that one of the advantages of the mission cause was that its principles remained unchangeable while its agents died and all antagonistic systems shifted their ground of self-justification. In his last report he said:

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 101.

When it is considered that the missionary cause has now, for a long time, been exposed to the scrutiny of friends and enemies; to the doubts of the timid, the scoffs of the profane and the sophistries of the skeptical; and when the solidity of its foundation is proved by every trial, there need be no apprehension as to its permanency and its ultimate triumph. All systems of false doctrine and all codes of unsound morality are subject to continual variations. They are sustained, so long as sustained at all, by a series of temporary expedients. The reasons assigned at one time, especially in all cases of practical error, are essentially different from those which had been assigned at another. The inference is inevitable. But though the principles upon which missions to the heathen have been urged are unchangeable, the agents and the circumstance are constantly experiencing that mutability which belongs to all terrestrial objects.¹

These were the careful, far-seeing, undimmed views of the strong men who laid the foundations of our American foreign missions. Their tone is not unnaturally a little more moral and political than that of the British founders. Our nation was then young and Christianity was conceived of in its institutional aspects as the indispensable source of a happy society. The personal evangelistic element was never forgotten, but I recall, as against much of the cheap talk of our day regarding the changed basis of missions, the fact that while the emphasis as compared with one generation ago may have changed, it is perhaps not so social and philanthropic to-day as it was two generations ago.

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 386.

III

WALTER LOWRIE took charge of the foreign missions of the Presbyterian Church at the conclusion of a long controversy involving the principles on which the American churches should prosecute their mission work, whether by voluntary societies or officially and organically as churches. The Baptist Society in England had been a denominational organization, but it was, of course, on the basis of the independent system of the Baptists a voluntary organization within the denomination. Shortly afterwards the tide of missionary interest begun by Carey led to the formation of the London Missionary Society, which was designed to be undenominational, voluntary, of course, and to represent the interests of all bodies which would coöperate. The A. B. C. F. M. was formed by Congregationalists, but on the model of the London Missionary Society, and with the same ideal. It desired to become the national American Society and to do the foreign mission work of all churches which would work through it. The acceptance by Judson of immersionist views led to his withdrawal from its force, and his support denominationally by the Baptists, but, of course, in a voluntary way that church lacking any central ecclesiastical authority. The Presbyterian Church had no central representative agency. The Western Missionary Society of the Synod of Pittsburgh was the most advanced missionary organization in the Church.

Evarts' desire was to get the General Assembly and also the Dutch Reformed Church to adopt the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as their foreign missionary agency. He wrought tactfully to bring this about, but there existed in the Presbyterian Church what in some was doubtless a sectarian spirit, in others a fear of the doctrinal laxity of a New England organization, but what with many was a firm conviction that a great principle of Christian policy was involved. This latter class thought that the Presbyterian Church, which was a compact ecclesiastical organization, had no right to leave foreign missions to the voluntary interests of its members or to relegate the administration of the cause to an independent society, but was in duty bound as a church to take up the work as a distinct activity of the Church as a whole. There were other debated questions when Mr. Lowrie accepted the secretaryship. As his son says in his memoir of his father:

Serious controversies existed between the old and the new school parts of the Presbyterian Church, tending to the separation, which afterwards occurred. The cause of foreign missions was not much affected at first by these dissensions; but for a time it was feared that great evils would result from extreme measures. Mr. Lowrie was in sympathy with the views commonly taken of controverted questions in western Pennsylvania, where but little mere party feeling existed on church questions, but where the Western Foreign Missionary Society was awakening much interest in the cause of foreign missions, in which he felt the deepest concern. The Scriptural principle that the work of missions at home and abroad appertains to the organized Church, and not chiefly nor incidentally to voluntary societies, was recognized by

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the first General Assembly in 1789, and by synods and presbyteries long before that time. This principle was not held by all in later days; but it is now recognized by the reunited church, and it is remarkably verified in the great enlargement of its foreign missions.¹

The principle was given very clear and satisfactory expression in many General Assemblies, but especially in the Assembly of 1867, when the following resolution was presented by the standing committee on foreign missions of the General Assembly and was by the Assembly referred to the Board:

That this Assembly regards the whole Church as a missionary society whose main work is to spread the knowledge of salvation; that individual Christians are not merely to enjoy religion themselves, but to be actively engaged in efforts to lead others to Christ; and also, that this Assembly recognizes the right as vested in presbyteries to select and appoint to the foreign as well as to the domestic missionary work any and all such of their number as they believe to be fitted for, and to be needed in, the foreign field, and that the persons so designated and called may not refuse to obey unless God by his providence clearly shows that his will is that they remain at home, and that until we come up to this standard we cannot be satisfied that with entire sincerity we can ask, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"

The principle for which, under Mr. Lowrie, the Presbyterian Church stood, has been acknowledged by many churches and is recognized now by almost all as the ideal. The A. B. C. F. M. and the London Missionary Society have both become church societies, though the polity of the Congregational churches which they represent prevents their having the same

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 110 f.

formal representative character as the Presbyterian, Methodist and Episcopal missionary boards possess. The right ideal triumphed even over such wisdom and Christian spirit as animated Evarts.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, which Lowrie served, was formally organized by the General Assembly of 1837 and it took over and consolidated the various foreign missions of the Presbyterian Church, the work among the Indians being then and until recently regarded as foreign. It is not essential here to trace in any detail Walter Lowrie's administration. When he took charge of the missions in 1837 there were three missionaries among the Indians, in India ten and in Siam three, with a view to a future mission in China. The annual income was \$44,748. And there were in 1867, at his death, seventy missionaries in nineteen missions, and the income was \$218,855.

Three classes of mission problems greatly concerned him, with which the Board has now almost nothing to do: (1) The Indian work which was very extensive and effective has now ceased, through the disappearance of the Indians, its absorption in the local activities of the churches, or the fact that it has been taken over by the Board of Home Missions. The same thing is true of the extensive Indian work which called for a great deal of Evarts' time. (2) For years great interest was felt in work for Roman Catholics in Papal Europe especially, the political conditions of Europe inviting such attention. The American Presbyterian Church does not at present deal with this problem except in Latin America. (3) Missions among Jews

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were maintained, and gave rise to the characteristic problems of such missions. The Board has had no such missions, save to Jews in Persia, for many years.

Mr. Lowrie supported an interesting principle of missionary administration in the matter of raising funds which differed from the methods of Mr. Evarts, the difference running back into their diverse principles regarding the relationship of the Church to missions. Mr. Evarts advocated the employment of agents to represent the cause and to solicit funds. Such agents were practically necessary to a missionary society. They may have been necessary also at first even to a church organization. At any rate, they were maintained by the Presbyterian Board until 1855, when they were discontinued. The expense for salaries from 1838 to 1855 had been fifty thousand dollars, a small sum, three thousand dollars per annum on the average, but proportionately great and it was felt that the principle was weak. If the Church itself was a missionary society, then the officers of the Church were *ipso facto* missionary agents.

Mr. Lowrie was not an eager, enthusiastic man. In commenting on the New Testament writers he remarked in his "Treatise on Divine Revelation":

These witnesses write with impartiality, sobriety, modesty and every mark of sincerity. They relate their own mistakes and record their own follies and faults. There is no enthusiasm, no exclamations against others, no violence.¹

His vindication of the New Testament writers from the charge of enthusiasm is significant. It reads

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 37.

like that epitaph of a bishop of Hereford which declares that he was the consistent foe of all novel-
ties and enthusiasms. Lowrie was himself grave
and sober. He did not stamp the missionary activi-
ties with any tone of exuberance. I do not think
that he was a man of the penetration or range of
Evarts, or of the organizing quality and constructive
power of Henry Venn. But he was a solid, moving
man, a man of discernment and of progressiveness.
He expressed the best characteristic temper of his
church, lacking some things that are desirable, but
more, I think, that are elsewhere found and that can
well be spared. His addresses and writings show him
to have been somewhat unelastic and unimaginative.
He states fact, but there is little play of fancy, and
the emotion, which it is said was not absent, was of a
sober type. He had a solemn and depressing and
yet not an uncharitable or indiscriminating view of
the condition of the heathen nations, to which he
gave careful and deliberate utterance. He offered
good, sensible counsel to the missionaries. Nothing
short of a perfect knowledge of the language, even of
Chinese, would suffice. He saw many fundamental
principles clearly and gave them orderly and prudent
utterance. In the report of 1837 he wrote:

The first instruction to be given to all missionaries is to
preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. To the Jew this may
be a stumblingblock, and to the Greek foolishness, but to
them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ is the
power of God and the wisdom of God. Let no missionary
society place any other agency above that of the living
preacher, lest they be found wise above what is written.

Next to the direct preaching of the gospel, the attention

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of the missionaries must be strongly called to the importance of rightly using all proper human means for raising up a qualified native ministry. On this part of the subject it is believed that a serious mistake has existed, even in the minds of most devoted friends of foreign missions. The agency of a native ministry has been overlooked, and the most pressing calls have been made on the churches to supply pastors, and to provide for their support, for the whole heathen world. But in the experience of every missionary society no truth is more clearly indicated than that the conversion of the heathen must be effected principally by ministers from the heathen themselves. An experienced missionary, writing from Africa, says, "You may as well attempt to supply the people with bread from England and the United States as to supply them with all the ministers they want." Another, writing from India, says, "Did a native missionary possess the same knowledge and the same grace as a European, he would be worth ten Europeans. In knowledge of the language, in access to the natives, in capacity for enduring the heat of the climate, in the expense of his education and support, and in the probability in the continuance of his life, there is no comparison." This view of the subject is abundantly sustained by many others most experienced in the work of preaching the gospel in person to the heathen. Such also we find was the practice of the first missionaries when they went out from Jerusalem to make known the gospel to all the world. In following their example in this and all other matters no missionary society need fear any mistake.¹

He was thoroughly practical. In sending a missionary family to the West Coast of Africa he sent a house large enough for two families, all prepared to be set up. He was one of the first to realize the importance of the mission press in China and the

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 121 f.

value of movable types, and though the Board was poor he led it in 1856 to join with King Louis Phillipe and the British Museum in providing five thousand dollars each for casting the first font of movable Chinese type. He had thus far but calm vision in many things, and he planned for large developments with a simple faith. He lacked all petty sectarian spirit. In sending missionaries to China, he told them, "In the permanent location of your mission care must be taken not to interfere with any existing Protestant mission."¹ He laid the foundation of the Library of the Presbyterian Board, which is one of the best missionary libraries in the country, especially rich in foreign volumes of his time. He exalted high views of missionary devotion and sacrifice. To some missionaries going to Africa in 1841 he said:

Let it be admitted that to plant the Church in Africa will cause the death of some of God's servants. If we take the example of the apostles for our guidance, we will not find in this a sufficient reason for leaving the millions in this country in the unmolested possession of Satan. . . . In no instance did the fear of death deter them from preaching the glorious gospel of the Son of God. They were influenced by his Spirit and acted in view of his high and holy example. "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." There is a tendency in some minds to draw an inference against the missionary work from the death of a missionary, which is not thought of in the death of a minister among the churches at home. But this position will not bear examination. Within a few months how large has been the number of beloved brethren, most of them in the prime of life, who have been called home from their labors; yet no

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 94.

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one infers from these dispensations of divine Providence that it is not the duty of the Church to use every means to supply their places. Nay, all agree, that for this purpose increased efforts and increased prayer to the Lord of the harvest, together with a deeper humility and repentance for her unfaithfulness, become the special duty of the Church in these seasons of rebuke and affliction. These principles apply in all their force to the death of our dear brethren in the foreign field; and the Church is not at liberty to apply one rule of duty in regard to her ministers at home and another rule to her ministers abroad. The Word of God makes no such distinction; the field for her agency is the world. Although there be a risk to human life in sending to benighted Africa the knowledge of the Saviour, his commission, the spirit that was in him, and the example of his apostles require it to be done.¹

In closing, he reminded them how "dark and waste and dreary" "the moral desolations" of the people were, and yet how encouraging the opportunity, and he warned them:

No privations or sufferings of his followers can equal his while fulfilling his divine mission. The trials you may be called to endure cannot be compared with his in the Garden of Gethsemane, when his sweat was, as it were, great drops of blood falling down to the ground. Should you even be called to an early death, it will not compare with his on the cross, and his contest there with the powers of darkness. You may indeed be called to fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ "in your flesh" for his body's sake, which is the Church, but, even then, you have his blessed promise that he will never leave you or forsake you. You will find it profitable, and so will all his followers, to review and meditate upon the terms of discipleship as laid down by our Lord himself. "The disciple is not above his master,

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 99.

nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord." "He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me is not worthy of me." "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."¹

Walter Lowrie could speak thus because he himself lived thus. He gave three of his own sons to the work, one in India and two, one to die a martyr's death, in China. In the Board's resolutions upon his death in 1868 mention was made of this spirit of sacrifice in him:

That we record our high estimate of the ability with which he managed the affairs of this Board; of the indefatigable industry with which he guided its policy in times of difficulty; of the humble, earnest and prayerful confidence with which he always carried forward the work; of the persuasive and effective eloquence with which he urged the claims of missions upon the churches; and of the self-denial to which he submitted in sacrificing high secular position, in consecrating his fortune and his life, and giving his children to be laborers in the great work of the world's evangelization.²

His great service to the cause lay in his own character. He laid the cause upon the confidence of the church because the church wholly trusted him. I have been told by old men that it was a delight to see him appear before the General Assembly. Other ad-

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, p. 171.

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vocates appeared and the Assembly listened warily, knowing that with some of them there was need to be on guard. They did not intend to deceive, but they were wont to have occasionally some hidden end to serve. But when Walter Lowrie rose the whole atmosphere changed. Now all knew they were listening to a man of transparent sincerity. He had no concealed opinions or purposes. He was a great open fountain of fidelity. He flung over the missionary organization of his church the priceless benefit of his spirit, and it rejoices in it, I think, to this day.

In his address at Mr. Lowrie's funeral Dr. William M. Paxton said:

The chief distinction of our departed father was the character of his religion. It was a religion of principle. He acted from a conviction of right and duty, and at the point of his conscience. He was never carried away by emotion. He had the tenderest sympathy for the suffering, and always melted when he spoke of the love of Jesus; but he never suffered his emotions to sway his judgment. He was never influenced by excitement or carried away from his position by epidemical impulses. He had a calm mind, a clear discrimination, a sagacity that perceived the truth amidst much mist and confusion, a judgment of men and things, cautious indeed, but certain in its conclusions and therefore firm and persistent in their maintenance. It was this that made him a man of decision and will. His simple question was, What is truth, what is duty? And when this was ascertained, he knew of no motives of policy or expediency to make him halt or swerve in his course of action. It was this that gave him power.¹

And this will give any man power. Those who lead or would lead their fellows and who seek for the

¹ Lowrie, "Memoirs of the Honorable Walter Lowrie," p. 187 f.

secrets of power over men err greatly if they think that any cleverness of mind or skill in organization, any self-confidence or self-assertion, or any gift or grace of any sort whatever will bring them success. They may for a little time appear to do so, but in the end power is with the truth and with the truth alone. By truth-loving, truth-speaking and truth-doing, without a soldier and without a gun, Townsend Harris won Japan to enter into treaty relations with the outer world. By truth as a light in his eyes, a law on his lips and a girdle about his loins, Chinese Gordon saved an empire, ruled a vast and imperial province, and laid an immortal mastery upon the affections of the British race. By truth he who was the Truth wrought the true salvation and set up the one true throne. Not in wit or cunning, nor in any human might or power, but in truth and candor and the sunlit openness of humble trust in God will we who seek them find, as Lowrie found, the springs of the strength that shall prevail.

STUDY TWO



JEREMIAH EVARTS

JEREMIAH EVARTS

AND THE EARLY PROBLEMS OF MISSIONS

I

THE service which Walter Lowrie did for the Presbyterian Church was done for the Congregational Church through the American Board by Jeremiah Evarts. After Mr. Evarts' death the Minute of the Prudential Committee said of him:

There was in Mr. Evarts an assembly of qualities and an attention to every duty, constituting a completeness of character seldom found. He could originate or comprehend the largest plans, and yet attend to the minutest details; he was equally familiar with principles and facts; he could devise or execute, feel or reason; he could transact the retired business of an office, or manage his cause in writing or debate before the public; he could meet worldly men or religious men; could perform every duty to the public and every duty to his family; could be firm and energetic in his purposes and yet coöperate harmoniously with his associates; he could be intensely and almost constantly occupied with business, and yet be habitually spiritually minded. Probably few men have sustained through life a more amiable or irreproachable character, or possessed the really useful talents in a greater variety or measure, or have used them with more benevolence, wisdom and industry for promoting the highest well-being of his fellow men. Few have been so ready and adequate to every service to which they were called.¹

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts, Esq.," p. 426 f.

For twenty years the churches of America knew that there were men of this integrity in office in the American and Presbyterian Boards, and I think that in this fact these Boards had their greatest asset, the influence of which they still in some measure feel. It certainly has been proved to be possible for a man to bequeath his spirit to a movement or an institution. All over the world to-day men are living who have been long dead, their temper and principles still dominating the men who have succeeded them as though they themselves still walked among us. In Lexington, Virginia, one sees and feels General Lee and Stonewall Jackson in the two schools in which their memories are enshrined as truly as though they themselves in bodily form were moving about the paths as in bygone days. It ought to be our aim to repeat and advance upon our past. Missionary work ought to commend itself to the churches not only by its moral excellence, but also by the unblemished moral fidelity of those who administer it at home and represent it abroad.

Jeremiah Evarts, one of whose children was the famous lawyer and statesman, William M. Evarts, was born in Sunderland, Vermont, February 3, 1781. Like Lowrie, he was a pioneer farmer's son and enjoyed as a boy the hard and priceless discipline of frugality and toil. His mother taught him to read before he was three, and he read during all his boyhood, whenever he did not have to work. After a grave and unblemished youth he entered Yale in 1798. A classmate who visited him long afterwards in Boston described him as being the same Evarts as in college

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days: "Calm, cool, dignified, of unbending integrity, with the spirit of an acute jurist, of a statesman, an apostle and a hero; fearlessly sustaining the truth to the honor of his country and the good of men." He was one of President Dwight's favorites "as a scholar, as a Christian and as a friend." When the senior class was discussing once before the president the question, "Is dancing a useful employment?" Evarts took issue with the president, who had justified it "to any extent within the bounds of decorum and sound argument," and overpowered him with his argument against dancing as a source of temptation and an influence to frivolity.

As his classmate said, what Evarts was as a student, he was always, and incidents picked at random from his life illustrate the same qualities of character. One of his classmates said:

Mr. Evarts was naturally inclined to be most accurate and particular about everything. Whenever he examined a subject, he wished to know all about it, and to understand it just as it was. Whatever he undertook to do, he endeavored to do well. Yet there was nothing in him which we usually denominate plodding. His perceptions were quick and he grasped a subject with great readiness, but without parade; and having grasped it, he never relinquished his hold. He possessed also much acuteness of mind. It was a hard matter, indeed, to impose upon him with false appearances. I was never acquainted with a man who was naturally a greater lover of truth, relate to what it might; and few, I believe, have been better able to comprehend it. It is difficult to say in what department he particularly excelled. His mind was of such a structure that it made little difference to what branch of study his attention was directed. . . . It was not until the middle of his senior year

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that Mr. Evarts became a Christian. Before this event, however, his moral principles and conduct were strictly correct. No one ever possessed greater natural integrity, or was more punctilious in the discharge of what he deemed to be his duty. He was always conspicuous for his industry, and his love of order, punctuality and method, in whatever he undertook. Few scholars had ever less occasion for self-reproach on account of time misspent. In his intercourse with his companions he was open-hearted, sincere, honest. He appeared to have an instinctive dislike for whatever was morally wrong, vain or frivolous; and he was forward to reprove it, wherever discovered. No one in the class was allowed to administer reproof with equal freedom, or could do it with so little offense. Such was his reputation for integrity and judiciousness that none seemed to question his motives, or refused to pay deference to his opinions. Some might have thought that his tendency was to be somewhat too censorious, but no one doubted the purity of his intentions or the benevolence by which he was actuated. He was not prone to consider any faults as venial; and for that reason he did not admit as justifications many of the excuses which might be pleaded in self-vindication. At any rate, he was impartial; for he judged himself by the same rule that he applied to others, and practiced favoritism to none. . . . Notwithstanding his natural gravity and seriousness, few men ever had a stronger sense of the ridiculous, or were more easily provoked to a laugh by the sudden presentation of a ludicrous object.¹

He was not fond of levity, however. In closing the chapter on his college life his biographer says:

While he was an undergraduate there was a periodical meeting of the literati of the college, to which a select number of his class were to be, for the first time, admitted, and to which he looked forward with high anticipations of pleasure and improvement. "I well remem-

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 15 f.

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ber," says a classmate, "his strong expressions of disappointment and indignation when the ill-timed levity of some of his associates prevented the benefit which might have been expected from such society." Again, his mind was always awake to what passed around him, and industriously gathered materials for future use from every quarter. His journals and notebooks are replete with the fruits of this activity. . . . His habit of calling himself to strict account at regular and short intervals is another point that deserves remark. He acted in the spirit of that Scripture, If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. In his pecuniary accounts he was equally strict. He never avoided any expenditures that were proper, and always made liberal provision of conveniences and comforts both for himself and his friends; but every cent was rigidly accounted for. This was habitual from his boyhood. To secure more perfectly the object of it he adopted while in college the practice of a careful monthly examination of his accounts, when every item of expenditure was brought under review and criticized. On leaving college, the whole expenditures of the four years were faithfully reviewed. The items were arranged under distinct heads, with remarks upon each. The habits thus cultivated were of inestimable value to him afterwards, especially in connection with various religious charities.¹

As a young man out of college he tried the discipline of rigidly ordering his days. On May 16, 1804, he wrote in his diary at Peacham, Vermont, where he was teaching school:

I have concluded that it is best to draw up a plan for the regulation of my conduct for three months to come. I wish to be regulated by it so far as I shall find it salutary only.²

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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Here follows a minute plan for all the hours of the day, for the observance of the Sabbath, and so forth, ending with a few special cautions. At intervals later he kept journals accounting for all his time.

It was obviously not his object when commencing these minute records to continue them for a long time. He thought it useful, occasionally, in order to assure himself that his moments did not run to waste, and to strengthen his habits of activity and diligence; and these ends were attained by the watchfulness necessary for such a record for a few weeks at a time. As mere records they would cost more than they were worth. He used them as a means of discipline.¹

Both he and Lowrie were men who knew the secret of Symond's words:

Soul, rule thyself. On passion, deed, desire
Lay thou the laws of thy deliberate will.
Stand at thy chosen post, Faith's sentinel. Learn to endure.
Thine the reward of those who make living right their Lord.
Clad with celestial steel, these stand secure,
Masters, not slaves.

But to our modern mind these lives appear a little stern. There is no trace of lightness, of humor. "Mr. Evarts felt a solemn responsibility for using all his faculties and time so as to accomplish the most good," says the memorial Minute of the Prudential Committee. In a paper, to which I shall refer, he deals with the qualifications and disqualifications of missionaries. Among the former he mentions "an amiable temper: the countenance of a missionary should indicate a pleasant and cheerful state of mind, and should be to him, wherever he goes, his letter of

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 183.

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recommendation.”¹ Among the latter he speaks lastly of levity: “No person can gain the respect and confidence of uncivilized men, especially of our Western Indians, if given to lightness of mind; and the example of levity is extremely unprofitable to a mission family.”²

Did the bow never unbend? We are told that these men were greatly beloved in their families and they had wide circles of friends. There must have been some play in their lives. But is there not too much in ours? Do we not slip too easily into levity? Has not consecutive thought and serious expression of it become too rare, social intercourse having become just a light-footed, flippant gossip about persons and places, with no grave discussion of the deeper principles of life and action? Might it not be a good thing for many of us to refuse to act upon a few at least of the impulses of frivolity and carelessness which come to us and by which we constantly disrupt thoughtful conversation?

After much consideration of his duty to enter the ministry, Evarts decided to study law, partly because his health was such that he thought he could not do the work of a minister, partly because he felt that where religion was at such low ebb, where lawyers and other men in public life at the time were so openly hostile to Christianity as they were in Vermont, he could do more good as a lawyer than as a minister. In explaining his decision he wrote to his friend Swan:

¹ Tracy, “Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts,” p. 297.

² *Ibid.*, p. 298.

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With respect to engaging in any business, it has ever been my opinion, at least ever since my thoughts have been in any considerable degree occupied by religion, that the welfare of immortal souls ought to be the ultimate object of every Christian's labors; and, consequently, that every Christian ought to make it the business not only of his life, but of every day and every hour, to be employed in such a manner as he shall judge most conducive to the accomplishment of this glorious design. This obligation does not lie upon a minister, or upon a person qualified to be a minister, exclusively, but is binding upon every humble laborer, upon every mother of a family, in short, upon every Christian and upon every man.¹

When he came to begin his practice in New Haven, however, he found that the very loftiness and rigidity of his principles interfered with his success. He had made himself unpopular as a member of the Grand Jury for New Haven County by taking conscientiously the oath of office and prosecuting some individuals for violations of law which had been "uniformly winked at before," and he had not time to live down this unpopularity and make the success he undoubtedly would have made by his great abilities, when the call came to him to take up the work for which, without his knowledge, God had been preparing him. God had allowed his decision as to his profession because he knew that the discipline Evarts was choosing for himself would fit him for the work God had already chosen for him better than any technical theological courses. The technical theological course is useful and proper, but God's men never have been and are not to-day to be ground out by any

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 41.

device of uniform discipline. It is good for us to make room in our schemes for the free and surprising operations of God.

Evarts was admitted to the bar in New Haven in 1806. He removed in 1810 to Charlestown, Massachusetts, to become the editor of "The Panoplist." "The Panoplist" had been established by Jedediah Morse in 1805. It was the organ of Congregational orthodoxy as against Unitarianism, widespread in the Church, but not yet defined and coalesced and separated. Evarts had already contributed to the paper and was in full sympathy with its purposes. He felt that it was necessary to bring the Unitarian heresy to bay. It was permeating the Congregational churches and bringing what he regarded as Christian truth and piety into contempt, and yet it was so hidden and often unperceived that it could not be dealt with. He began by presenting the truth which he felt was imperiled, then by exposing the errors which imperiled it. He strove to define the issue which he felt was vital, and as those who held what he deemed error broke off and congregated, he strove to draw evangelical believers together so that they could act "efficiently in labors of Christian philanthropy." He had no petty or destructive end in view. He desired "The Panoplist" and his own life and the whole Church to tell for the positive accomplishment of good. He wrote:

If "The Panoplist" has any merit, it consists in the aid which our pages impart to the various plans of Christian benevolence now in operation. The noblest aim to which it aspires is that of being an auxiliary in the great cause which

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now unites the hearts and hands of so many active and pious men throughout the world. The American people, if not blind to their own permanent interests and stupidly ignorant of their own advantages, can perform wonders in the accomplishment of the grandest designs which ever claimed the attention or employed the activity of mortals; designs of no less magnitude than the establishment of schools, churches and the regular ministration of divine ordinances in all the destitute places of our own country; the distribution of the Bible, and the support of missionaries to preach its doctrines, in every part of the globe; the alleviation of human suffering of every kind, wherever men are found—in a word, the entire subjugation of the world to Christ, and, of course, the eternal salvation of unnumbered millions in all future generations. Who does not give thanks to God for the opportunity to exert even the humblest agency in promoting so blessed a consummation? If all professed Christians were plainly distinguished by that grand characteristic of the Saviour, that he went about doing good, how soon would the face of the world be changed; how glorious would be the alteration; how divine the effects! Every individual is answerable to his conscience, and to God, the Judge of all, if he does not contribute his full proportion toward bringing about so immense a good. Time is rolling on; the active years of those now in their prime are fast speeding; health is impaired in ten thousand instances, and life is lost in ten thousand more; opportunities are passing by, never to return; and yet how slowly does the good cause advance, compared with the wishes of Christians and the exigencies of mankind! What enterprises must be undertaken, what labor performed, what perseverance exhibited, what an amazing combination organized, and what extended operations carried on, before the world shall be evangelized. Every year of delay in this work ought to be a year of deep regret. The most noble of sciences, the science of doing good, is too little studied. If it were better understood and made the subject of daily contemplation, the way would be prepared for a grander display of benevolence on a large scale than the world

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has ever yet seen. The ultimate object aimed at would, indeed, be the same which has been pursued by the truly virtuous in every age; but a peculiar sublimity would mark the enterprises in which Christians of every nation and every language should engage with enlightened minds and united efforts; and a peculiar glory would crown these enterprises. The employment of doing good—of aiming directly, by prompt and vigorous action, to promote the permanent good of others—should be made a part of the regular business of every Christian. It should be reduced to a system and have a large share of time and property assigned to it. This time and property should be sacredly devoted to God, and employed in the best practicable way; not squandered on doubtful or useless projects, nor hoarded up for future occasions which may never arrive; but wisely apportioned to purposes of unquestionable utility, of great importance and pressing urgency.

The day will arrive when one exertion put forth with a sincere desire to benefit the souls of men will be of more value to the person who made it, and will be more highly appreciated by the intelligent universe, than all the riches that avarice ever desired, and all the power for which ambition ever toiled.

This world, especially at the present period, affords as encouraging a place for doing good as the sublimest imagination can create, or the most benevolent heart desire.¹

Views like these explain the ready and eager interest which he took in the organization of the A. B. C. F. M., of which he was one of the founders. He was present at its organization in Bradford, on June 27, 1810, and was influential in procuring the unanimous vote of the General Assembly of the Evangelical churches of Massachusetts, which met that day, in favor of its establishment and in arranging the plan of organi-

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 64 f.

zation. "The Panoplist' was from the first the medium through which the Board addressed the Christian public."¹ At the annual meeting of the Board in 1811 Mr. Evarts was elected treasurer, and the next year, in addition, a member of the Prudential Committee. He also continued "The Panoplist." In 1821, however, finding it impossible to keep up both the paper and his mission work, he gave up the publication, and it was discontinued at the close of the sixteenth volume.

For ten years Mr. Evarts acted as the first treasurer of the Board. Dr. Worcester was the first secretary. Evarts was far more than a mere custodian of funds. When, in 1815, the missionaries encountered difficulties in the effort to settle in Bombay, he wrote to Dr. Worcester as follows:

I am decided, however, as at present advised, that even the return of our missionaries to this country should not prevent or impede our mission to Ceylon. If we are to be the instruments of doing anything worth mention for the Church of God and the poor heathen, we must exhibit some of that enterprise which is observable in the conduct of worldly men.²

He made a visit to the South in the winter of 1817-1818 for the benefit of his health, but under commission as general agent of the Board. He gathered information, advocated the cause and visited the Board's first mission to the Choctaws. On his way home he visited Washington and saw the President and the Secretary of War with reference to the Board's

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

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existing and proposed Indian missions. From the beginning the American Board wisely perceived the importance and value of such visits to its missions, not only among the Indians, but also in foreign lands. The Presbyterian Board, under the leadership of Walter Lowrie and his son, who had returned from India on account of health, and become his father's associate, followed a narrow and less wise policy. In Dr. John C. Lowrie's "Memoirs of Walter Lowrie,"¹ the view adverse to such visits is stated unhesitatingly. The work of the American Board in some of its older fields shows to this day the influence of the great visit of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Thompson in 1855. No secretary of the Presbyterian Board visited its fields abroad until Dr. Ellinwood was allowed to secure his own expenses and visit the missions in Asia in 1874. Since then the Board has followed an enlightened and advanced policy, and provided for a visitation of some of its missions by some of its officers or members at least once every five years.

¹ Pages 162-164.

II

IN 1821 Mr. Evarts became secretary of the American Board to succeed Dr. Worcester, having for one year, until the matter could be settled, filled the offices of both secretary and treasurer. The latter was now otherwise provided for. Mr. Evarts continued as secretary until his death in 1831. It is not necessary to draw any sharp lines between his service as treasurer for the first ten years and his service as secretary during the last ten. The same views and the same spirit are evident in each period of service. One of the first problems, in a real sense the first, was the money problem—how to lead the churches and their members to a readiness to provide what was necessary for the support and extension of the work. This was the great practical need—not missionaries, but means. In the first report he prepared as secretary he wrote:

It is important to bear in mind that, so far as our own country is concerned, there are young men and women, in sufficient numbers and of the requisite qualifications, to fill every department of missionary labor. . . . There are in our country young men enough to carry forward the work of missions to an indefinite extent; young men of undoubted piety, qualified to rank high in their several callings as evangelists, pastors, founders of rising churches, translators of the Bible, directors of the press, teachers of children and youths, magistrates of colonies in their incipient state, husbandmen, mechanics of every useful occupation, and seamen of every class, from the experienced navigator, who

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can guide his gallant ship in unknown waters, to the hardy sailor, who is willing to buffet the waves of every ocean and run the hazard of every climate. Persons of all these descriptions stand ready, and wait only for the word from our churches to go forth into all lands and proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ to the ends of the world.¹

This was the way he made the appeal to the public. Within the circle he wrote with pathetic practicalness to one of the missionaries:

You will be aware from what I have already written that it would be highly improper to think of sending out more laborers while our present embarrassments continue. We cannot send them without great expense—we have not the money—we have not time to select suitable persons—and our feeble powers must be directed to save from sinking the missions already in existence and the missionaries already on the ground. So much writing as I have been obliged to do has produced a weakness in my breast, which threatens at least to suspend my labors. The whole care of “The Missionary Herald,” with my increasing correspondence and a thousand little concerns of all the missions, is more than I can well bear. I rejoice to labor in this cause and to wear out in it. The Lord enables me to apportion my attempts to serve him that I may be an instrument of accomplishing something for his glory.²

There was no adequate provision for clerk hire and he expected soon to have no regular help of the kind. “Let us be willing,” he wrote, “to wear out as fast as duty requires, taking all prudent measures to preserve health and life.”

In such circumstances it may well be believed that

¹ Tracy, “Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts,” p. 153 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 140 f.

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Mr. Evarts thought carefully and sagaciously about the problems of increasing the resources of the Board. He was as truly animated by the spirit of faith as the most extreme of our modern "Faith Missions," but he realized that James's firm word was true, that "faith apart from works is dead," and he wrought earnestly for that for which he prayed. Even in those days the problem of how to reach rich men was distinctly before the minds of missionary workers. We think of that as largely a problem of our own day, with the rapid increase of large fortunes. But Mr. Evarts worked at it eighty years ago. In 1818 he wrote:

I have thought much of a circular letter, not of the common sort, than which nothing can be more inefficient; but one adapted to make each individual addressed feel that the appeal is made to him particularly, and aimed directly and boldly at his heart. We have conversed together about a letter for very rich men. This is wanted and will do good. We want at least two others, which I thought much of while at Georgetown: one designed for persons possessed of a competency, who maintain the character of exemplary Christians, calculated to induce them to make regular, unsolicited and punctual remittances for our objects. The other should be addressed to persons of whom less can be hoped in a systematic way, but who would do something handsome if the subject were brought powerfully to their minds by a concise abstract of facts and arguments.¹

He presented the privilege of the sending out of missionaries by individual gifts:

The man who sends a missionary to Africa or Asia, though his missionary should die on the passage, will have it remembered to his honor, when this world shall have passed away,

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 116 f.

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that he stretched out his hand to raise his distant fellow creatures from degradation and sin; that he made a serious effort, at a personal sacrifice, to impart to the sufferers on another continent the blessings which he valued in his own case; and that he set an example of benevolence and public spirit which, if followed by all who entertain similar hopes, would soon change the condition of the world, and fill it with righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.¹

He wrote in 1821 to Mr. Bissell, of Rochester, of a plan which he had often contemplated:

It is thus: to send out an agent to call upon rich men who profess to be followers of Christ, and spend time with one after another in succession, at their own houses, till they would cheerfully take upon them an engagement to pay a handsome sum annually as long as God shall give them ability.²

While eager to reach men of wealth, he recognized that education was necessary. In 1829 he wrote from Baltimore that some agents of the Board there prepared the way for another agent, though they could not succeed themselves. They set the mark so high that the rich men were not prepared to reach it. They asked for hundreds, which they could not obtain, though they excited the people so that they would willingly have given tens.³

This inadequacy of men's gifts in response to the appeal weighed on him. He wrote once to his associates of a meeting in one of the wealthiest New York churches:

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 260.

² *Ibid.*, p. 280.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

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Those who were present appeared gratified; and if I had not thought of the numerous disheartening things which I have witnessed elsewhere I should have been altogether pleased with the appearance of the people, and should have been full of sanguine hopes as to the result. As it was, I could not help hoping. No objection was made—all were interested and pleased—none were disgusted or offended—all were ready to subscribe—and how much do you think they did subscribe? I was told by one who summed up the different papers that eighty-nine dollars were entered; and I observed that the sums varied from ten dollars to fifty cents. I presume that everyone felt fully satisfied that he had done his duty. I know not what to say, and therefore say nothing.¹

But he did not lose his patience and scold. He wrote to the Ceylon missionaries, advising

that in the communications of missionaries with home they should avoid the language of direct reproach, accusation or crimination of professing Christians for their supineness in the missionary warfare. However just the language of crimination may be, and however necessary that professed Christians should be made to feel their guilt in this matter, it is not best that a formal accusation should be preferred by a missionary. He may accomplish the business of arousing his countrymen by the language of gratitude for what has been done; the language of encouragement for future exertions; the language of deep and feeling lamentation for the desolations which surround him; by the exhibition of the motives which constrain him to labor for the heathen; and by the description of inviting fields of labor with which he is acquainted. Let him urge the claims of perishing millions as claims which press on the heart and conscience—as claims which he cannot neglect or disregard. Let him represent all that is done for the heathen, though in itself a foundation for gratitude and praise unspeakable, yet as very little, when compared with the wants of the heathen world. Having

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 261.

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done this, let him hope that others will follow his reasonings to their various conclusions; or that Christians will make the application to themselves.¹

In a letter to a friend associated in the offices he wrote:

In regard to reasonings and motives presented to the Christian public, there is need of still greater caution. I have never felt the weight of my employment so much, in regard to any one thing, as in regard to this. Not to say anything which shall let down the standard of missionary feeling, and of the duties imposed upon Christians by the missionary cause, or which shall, by its boldness and apparently severe requisitions, offend some of the real friends of the cause is a difficult and delicate point.²

To Mr. Bissell, a generous supporter of the Board, he wrote:

I would caution you, however, against saying severe things against the rich. Our Saviour knew the hearts of all men; but we are weak and ignorant, and may be too much influenced by the pressure of circumstances, partial views and various passions. The principle of universal consecration may, indeed, be insisted upon; and the obligation to do all we can, and to do it now.³

At the same time, he realized what the real impediments to missionary giving were:

The great enemy of charitable exertion is expensiveness of living—and this threatens to destroy everything good in this country. The Moravians could send missionaries. Why? Because the plainest style of living satisfied them, and a

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 185 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

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large part of their scanty earnings could be spared for the sake of the gospel.¹

And he advocated no spirit of truckling or of obsequiousness. He deemed the solicitation of missionary contributions the offer of a privilege. He himself always acted on these principles. He made his appeals to the conscience and the judgment first, though underneath was ever the deep appeal to the noblest feeling. He was especially clever at effective calculations as to work that could be done in missions by the money spent on war or drink, and his reports are full of such ingenious practical appeals.

There was need in those days for a wise and undiscourageable missionary agitation. Principles which are now established among Christians, at least in theory, were not yet accepted, and Evarts often answered objections to missions which are not made to-day, such as that they export specie which cannot be financially spared at home; that the contributions are not accounted for; that missions are too far off. But many of the arguments which we meet to-day are the same as those he encountered. The human heart is the same, and selfishness pleads the same old excuses, and needs to be met just as Evarts met it. One illustration will suffice to show his method:

There is one objection to sending missionaries abroad so common and so plausible at first view that it ought to be mentioned here. It is this: That many ministers of the gospel, more than can at present be supplied, are imperiously needed at home. This objection states a melancholy truth, but proceeds on a mistaken principle. If the apostles had

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 191.

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argued thus they never would have quitted Judea; the Gentiles would never have heard the gospel till many ages after the Christian era; our ancestors in Britain would never have been converted. The same objection could have applied, nay, was applied, to sending missionaries from Connecticut and Massachusetts to our new settlements, when the domestic missionary societies first began their operations.

But not to dwell on this consideration, there is another which settles the debate at once, which is, that the readiest and most efficacious method of promoting religion at home is for Christians to exert themselves to send it abroad. On the most thorough examination this position will be found strictly and literally true. When missions to the heathen were first contemplated in England, the above objection was strongly urged and with as great plausibility as it can ever be urged here. What has been the event? The number of evangelical preachers and professors of Christianity has been increasing in that country in an unexampled manner during the whole time since the first missionaries sailed from England. The increase of faithful preachers alone has more than twentyfold exceeded the whole number of missionaries sent abroad.

When it was objected on the floor of the Senate of Massachusetts, to the act for incorporating the Board in whose behalf we speak, that it was designed to afford the means of exporting religion, whereas there was none to spare from among ourselves, it was pleasantly and truly replied that religion was a commodity of which the more we exported, the more we had remaining. However strange this may appear to some, it will not seem strange to him who considers the import of these words: "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty. . . . He that watereth shall be watered also himself." "It is more blessed to give than to receive." The Government of God is a government of benevolence, and is intended to convince us that he who does good to others is more secure of receiving good himself.¹

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 106 f.

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He grounded missions on the fundamental Christian morality:

Of all the moral phenomena in the present eventful period of the world, none is more evident than that the cause of religion at home and abroad is one; that the same principles which prompt to the Christian education of our families and to the instruction and warning of our relatives and friends, naturally impel to evangelical efforts for the benefit of every portion of the human race; that this tendency of benevolent principles does not exist in theory merely, but is seen in daily practice; and that henceforth the attempt to separate living piety from expansive beneficence will be as vain as it is unscriptural.¹

Mr. Evarts realized, as Mr. Lowrie had, that what the cause needs is a few earnest and efficient people in every church to aid the pastor where he is a man of their spirit and to supplement him when he is not. He perceived also the importance of a regular, steady income, and his experience with sporadic appeals was not happy. A zealous friend proposed a special half-million fund. At the meeting of the Board in 1827 a plan for raising an extra subscription for one hundred thousand dollars was adopted, and a quarter of the amount was pledged at once. Much of this was pledged annually for five years, but conditioned on raising the full one hundred thousand dollars in twelve months. All this sort of thing is familiar practice now, but at that time the effort failed.

Out of the deep interest awakened by the plan, in spite of its failure, Evarts made the following statement in "The Missionary Herald":

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 281.

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For several years past the number of individuals has been increasing who have deeply felt, and strongly expressed, their sense of the obligation resting upon our Christian community to enter with great energy into the fields now open for missionary labor.

Such have been the indications of Providence in regard to this subject that the committee feel authorized to believe that a new era has dawned upon the American churches; and that the time has arrived when such a number of wealthy and prosperous disciples of Christ will come forward with their liberal offerings unsolicited, as shall attract the attention and gain the coöperation of their brethren in less affluent circumstances; and thus, unless the signs of the times are mistaken, there will hereafter be no delay for want of money to send into any inviting field such well-qualified laborers as God shall furnish and endow with the requisite spirit and zeal. This state of things imposes very solemn duties upon the committee, both in regard to selecting new stations and appointing missionaries and assistants to occupy them.

Looking to Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, and considering the peculiar duties and obligations of the age, the committee feel prepared to say that no man who possesses suitable qualifications to go forth as a preacher of the gospel to the heathen need hesitate a moment lest his services should be needed.¹

How many times since have such utterances issued from mission boards, only to be followed by very different strains in the inevitable ebb of the tide!

“The *Missionary Herald*,” which had been established by the Board as its organ, was a great success. The circulation rose in a few months to fourteen thousand copies, and Mr. Evarts only refrained from pushing it faster lest they should encumber the mails and “endanger the privilege of sending any by mail, as

¹ Tracy, “Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts,” p. 290 f.

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postmasters have a large discretionary power on this subject.”¹

The administration of the Board, of course, did not escape criticism. No administration does. No administration deserves to. Evarts urged that such criticism must be treated seriously.

When we hear any complaining or grumbling with respect to the doings of our Board, we are apt to overrate its importance. I believe this has been the case invariably hitherto. We must not, however, conclude, like the king of England, that we can do no wrong. We must not be offended if people suppose we have actually done wrong. We must take it for granted that some will judge with very scanty means of information; and, although some may hastily blame us, others may blindly applaud our doings. Our only security is in the divine teaching, and this is not to be expected without asking for it, nor without using other means of obtaining it. We must deliberate well before we act, and look carefully on every side of a subject; and when we have done so, we must proceed boldly, not hesitatingly and tremblingly, in what we conceive to be the right course. When we publish, we must see to it that our reasons are in themselves good, and that we make them intelligible. We must avoid giving lame accounts which will need subsequent propping and bolstering.²

There were some types of critics, however, such as many we meet with still, with which he dealt as Samuel dealt with Agag. With hearty zeal he hewed them to pieces before the Lord, and where they were responsible to any authority, he took up the matter with relentless purpose to see justice. One case

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 161.

² Ibid., p. 225.

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involving such action on Evarts' part arose in connection with the Sandwich Islands mission.

There were circumstances connected with that mission that tried his feelings exceedingly, and occasioned much anxious thought and labor for many months. While the mission was exceedingly prosperous in its efforts to elevate and purify the native character, and had secured the confidence of chiefs and people, an outbreak of lust and passion among unprincipled foreigners kept them, in 1826, in the most trying circumstances for the period of ten months. The persecution originated entirely from hostility to the purifying influences of the gospel; and was so abominable in its character, so trying to the missionaries, such an intrusion of the worst vices of civilized life upon a people just waking to a love of truth and purity, and, in view of the official position of some of the actors, so dishonorable to our country's name, as to excite, wherever the facts were even partially known, feelings of the liveliest sympathy for the heroic missionaries and the outraged natives, and unutterable indignation at the conduct of men who were bound by their official station, as well as by all the ties of humanity of a common country and of religion, to place themselves in the attitude of benefactors and friends. On no subject, Mr. Evarts remarked, did he find it so difficult to control his feelings. "But let us cultivate," he added, "the meekness of Christianity; it may be well to publish a full disclosure, but not till after we have deliberated coolly."

Most prominent among the officers was Lieutenant John Percival, of the United States Navy, who visited the Islands in command of the armed schooner "Dolphin," in January, 1826. As this was the first public vessel from their native land, the missionaries had a right to expect civil treatment, at least, if not kind offices, from all on board. But in this reasonable expectation they were lamentably disappointed. Lieutenant Percival at once assumed an attitude exceedingly hostile to the objects of the mission, and the whole influence

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of his visit was destructive of the interests of religion and morality. A law had been enacted by the chiefs forbidding females to go on board foreign vessels, as had been customary, for the purposes of prostitution. Percival demanded the repeal of this law, and by the most outrageous and infamous means at length succeeded in breaking up its salutary restraints.

After Mr. Evarts and his associates had deliberated coolly upon these transactions, it was resolved to make a formal complaint against Percival to the Secretary of the Navy; and in consequence of their representations a court of inquiry was ordered.¹

The result of this investigation and the decision of the President were never made public, but "the next year the United States ship 'Vincennes' was sent to the Islands to repair the mischief that had been done." She was "under the command of Captain William Bolton Finch, with Rev. C. S. Stewart, lately missionary at the Islands, and well known and esteemed by the chiefs, as chaplain, and bearing presents from the government, and all desirable official assurances of sympathy and countenance in every effort to promote civilization, good morals and religion among the people."²

It is doubtful whether, if the tables had been reversed, such amends as this would have been deemed adequate on the part of the American Government.

In 1827 a book appeared in London relating to the Sandwich Islands.³ It was a bookseller's speculation,

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 278 f.

² Ibid., p. 309 and footnote.

³ "Voyage of his Majesty's Ship 'Blonde' to the Sandwich Islands in the years 1824-5. Captain the Right Honorable Lord Byron, commander; London, 1826."

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prepared by another and unfriendly hand, from certain papers obtained from the chaplain of the "Blonde."¹ A review of it was published in "The London Quarterly," grossly slandering the missionaries. Mr. Evarts tore this slander to ribbons in an article in "The North American Review."

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 291, footnote.

III

THE Percival case was only one occasion when Mr. Evarts had dealings with the government. He was especially involved in such political relations on behalf of the Indians, particularly of the Cherokees. On their behalf he frequently visited Washington, seeing the President or the Secretary of War and striving to influence senators and representatives. He was the foremost man in the country in molding public sentiment in behalf of the Indians against the unjust course of the State of Georgia. He issued in their support a series of letters over the signature of William Penn, which Chief-Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court pronounced the "most conclusive argument that he had ever read on any subject whatever." It is insisted by some authorities that missionary agencies should not intermeddle in such questions. Undoubtedly the presumption is against their doing so; but surely they would forfeit their claim to the divine approval if, possessing the knowledge that might enable them to undo wrong or prevent injustice, they should keep silence and so connive at evil. There are no regulations which define for them their duty in such matters. It is simply their duty to do what is morally right.

Of course in such cases all depends on the rectitude of the moral judgment. In this sphere, Dr. Leonard Woods said of Evarts that he "showed as

little liability to mistake as can be expected of any man in this state of imperfection.”

The character of his judgment is shown in the following illustrations. Of the aim of the Board, he wrote:

The object of the Board is one—the promulgation of Christianity among the heathen. The means by which this object is designed to be effected are of two kinds: the publication and distribution of the Scriptures in the different languages; and the support of faithful missionaries to explain, exemplify and impress on the mind the great truths which the Scriptures contain.¹

Here, as throughout, he did not perceive as Dr. Anderson, coming after him and dealing with a more advanced stage of the work, perceived the great lines of principle regarding the native church. He had no thought of Duff's idea of educational missions which that great missionary exalted above one of Evarts' means. Of the general method and character of a mission, he wrote to Rev. Cephas Washburn:

Missions to the heathen are established with a view to the salvation of perishing souls. The object is altogether religious, and should be held continually in view. Piety should be cultivated in all the members of a mission family, and by all the means which are conducive to that end. Still it is evident that much labor of the hands and much care and reflection must be applied to secular things in order that any mission may be prosperous; and especially is this the case with missions where boarding schools are maintained. This secular labor must be undertaken and performed from religious motives; and being thus performed, it should proceed with as much alacrity, vigor and perseverance as are exercised by prudent men in any worldly pursuit.

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 103.

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As missions are supported at great expense, economy in the use of money, time and labor is of very great importance. This should be esteemed an indispensable duty, whether the circumstances and wishes of donors, the obligations of the Board to the Christian community or the wants of the heathen are considered. . . .

The more I become acquainted with missionary concerns, the more deeply impressed my mind becomes with the truth that there must be self-denial, there must be arduous labor, there must be watchful care, there must be unremitting diligence, in order to the successful prosecution of the missionary work. It is not an easy matter to raise up the ignorant to knowledge and virtue, to reclaim the wicked and to minister in bringing to life and holiness those who were dead in trespasses and sins. This labor will beget fatigue and sometimes sickness; all of which is to be meekly and quietly received as part of the dealings of a wise and holy Providence.

These early days were times of keen self-denial and hardship both at home and abroad.

He had a clear vision of the importance of the exact financial training of native Christians. He wrote to a missionary:

Your terms with Mr. — are very reasonable and the expense trifling. I would advise you to adhere exactly to these terms and not contribute any other than the stipulated articles. My principal reason is, that all uncivilized people need to be taught by example the benefit of an exact execution of contracts; and it is quite injurious to them to give a great deal more than you promise to do. It tends to make them dissatisfied, even when they are generously dealt with, and leads them to think that all are indebted to them, while they are indebted to nobody.¹

Such principles would hasten self-support and pre-

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 245.

vent much weak dependence. Evarts knew of no easy prescriptions for missionary efficiency.

The Lord must build the house, or it will never be built. But how will he build it? In my opinion, he will build it by an improved character, a more holy and self-denying service in those whom he employs in every department of the work.¹

He realized that the piety of the home church must be raised if the piety of the missions was to be exalted. The stream which goes out is the best of the church, but it cannot be better than that. He urged:

It should be more generally felt than it seems to be at present that great advances in personal holiness are indispensable to a rapid and successful prosecution of the missionary work. This is a matter of vital importance. If it is overlooked, all the machinery of missions, schools and presses will be a cumbersome apparatus—a laborious, exhausting, useless parade. It is believed, indeed, that true piety at home and abroad is extremely desirable. After all proper allowances on account of the reverence which we justly feel for the memory of saints in ages that are past, where can we now find such men as Baxter and Doddridge, Edwards and Brainerd? Or, if we can fix upon an individual, here and there, who bears a pleasing resemblance to these illustrious champions of the cross, how rare are the instances. But the exigencies of the times demand many, very many individuals, who, in purity of doctrine, holiness of life, compass of thought, enlargement of views, capacity of labor, intenseness of desire, fervor of zeal and assurance of triumph, shall make a visible and near approach to the great Apostle of the Gentiles. The friends of missions, the conductors of missions and the beloved missionaries them-

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 203.

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selves need fresh anointings from on high. O that it would please the God of all consolation and hope to inspire his servants with a pure devotion, accompanied by spiritual influences shed abroad upon others; and thus give the most joyful evidence that the coming of the Lord to reign over the nations is near, even at the door.¹

High Christian character, the spirit of a true and humble love, in a word, the practice of the gospel, Evarts felt to be the essential condition of missionary prosperity. I once asked Dr. Guido Verbeck, of Japan, for an extended statement of his views on the subject of missionary policy. After some days of deliberation he sent this brief paper:

THE SCIENCE OF MISSIONS

The science of missions is (should be) based upon the Holy Scriptures, church history, mission practice and human nature (?).

MISSIONARY CODE

(Based upon the Science of Missions.)

1. A mission in the foreign field should be, as nearly as possible, a homogeneous body, and should, in all matters of missionary policy and methods, as well as of doctrine, act as one body and in perfect harmony.

(“United we stand, divided we fall.” “Eendracht maakt macht.” “Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.” Numerous and calamitous difficulties have arisen between the native church and missions solely on account of a want of unanimity in some or another of the missions.)

2. In order to this end, the home boards should ascertain of every applicant or candidate for the foreign field, whether he is disposed at all times to submit to a majority of the

¹ Tracy, “Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts,” p. 284 f.

mission to which he is to be sent, on all questions of mission policy, methods and work, and whether he is resolved to teach and preach nothing at variance or in conflict with the standards of the church which commissions him.

3. All matters that cannot be satisfactorily arranged or settled by the mission in the field shall be referred and submitted to the home board for its assent or decision.

4. In all cases where a missionary shall feel himself wronged or aggrieved by the action or decision of his mission, he shall have the right of appealing, with the knowledge of his mission, to the home board in reference to the matter in question.

Mr. Evarts saw the same truth. Writing of unsatisfactory conditions in some missions, he said:

The Prudential Committee are appealed to most particularly for a remedy. Now if the committee were much wiser than they are, how could they apply a remedy to such a case as this, when it is confessed that the parties live in habitual disregard of some of the plainest commands of the New Testament, such as those which require them to love one another, and to be of the same mind and of the same judgment; and when, as is too apparent, each one seeks his own good, and few of them the things which are Jesus Christ's? I do not apply these questions to any but those who have made the most ample confessions. The New Testament is the grand directory, and where that fails of regulating the lives of missionaries, what can be done?¹

These judgments and his eagerness for practical, well-ordered, continuous work found frequent expression in his counsel to missionaries, new and old:

Missionaries should endeavor to make some progress every day in their great work. They are apt—and we are all apt—to spend the present in preparation, thinking that in future much time may be spent in action. But if there is a regular

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 264 f.

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progress—if something is done every day—though the advance may not be perceptible at once, the effect will at last be considerable.¹

All the brethren and sisters will do well, I think, to read the New Testament, making personal application to themselves, as connected with a mission, of all the passages which relate to Christian intercourse, Christian sympathy and the bad effects of evil surmisings.²

Lay out no new business unless the state of the mission imperiously demand it. In transacting old business or following up an old plan act as steadily as possible, so that some advances may be made every day. When disappointments occur, receive them mildly and patiently, and limit the evil of them as much as possible.³

It is much easier to expect to be laborious and to resolve to be so than to hold out in a laborious public service for a long succession of years. Most men are induced to labor only by the pressure of necessity, or the strong impulse of avarice or ambition; and it is not every true Christian, nor every missionary, who has benevolence enough to carry him through a life of unremitting exertions made solely for the benefit of others. The virtues of diligence and industry are to be cultivated, therefore, and cherished as Christian graces. They are not to be obtained without an effort. They cannot be formed into a habit except by great resolution and perseverance, and, unless formed into a habit, labor will always be irksome. . . .

Let it be urged upon you then, my dear friends, to make your calculation for obtaining the greater part of your enjoyment as you are passing through the world from strenuous labor. After taking suitable care of your health, let labor be sought as regularly as your daily food, till it becomes as easy and natural to be engaged in some useful pursuit as it is to breathe.

From the very commencement of your missionary life

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 244.

² *Ibid.*, p. 217 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

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cultivate a spirit of enterprise. Without such a spirit nothing great will be achieved in any human pursuit. And this is an age of enterprise, to a remarkable and unprecedented extent. In manufactures, in the mechanic arts, in agriculture, in education, in the science of government, men are awake and active; their minds are all on the alert; their ingenuity is taxed; and they are making improvements with the greatest zeal. Shall not the same enterprise be seen in moral and religious things? Shall not missionaries especially aim at making discoveries and improvements in the noblest of all practical sciences—that of applying the means which God has provided for the moral renovation of the world? There are many problems yet to be solved before it can be said that the best mode of administering missionary concerns has been discovered. What degree of expense shall be incurred in the support of missionary families, so as to secure the greatest possible efficiency, with a given amount of money; how to dispose of the children of missionaries in a manner most grateful to their parents and most creditable to the cause; in what proportion to spend money and time upon the education of the heathen as a distinct thing from preaching the gospel; how far the press should be employed; by what means the attention of the heathen can be best gained at the beginning; how their wayward practices and habits can be best restrained and corrected; how the intercourse between missionaries and the Christian world can be conducted in the best manner, so as to secure the highest responsibility and the most entire confidence; and how the suitable proportion between ministers of the gospel retained at home and missionaries sent abroad is to be fixed in practice as well as in principle—all these things present questions yet to be solved.

There is room for boundless enterprise, therefore, in the great missionary field, which is the world; and blessed will be the name of that man by whose perspicacious diligence new and effectual measures for bringing the gospel to the minds and hearts of the heathen shall have been discovered.¹

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 407 f.

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Holding such views, it is obvious what kind of missionaries he felt to be needed. He wanted to be sure of the men, too. In 1826 he wrote:

Our Committee are so fully convinced of the importance of such an acquaintance as you mention that we now send for the candidates for missionary employment, that they may spend some time in Boston for that special purpose. There is a young man at the Rooms now, who may probably become a schoolmaster in the Choctaw nation, and I expect others for other missions in a few weeks.¹

He realized that, even with all care, mistakes would be made:

It is a solemn and awful truth that there never has been a single mission, consisting of any considerable number of individuals, in which some of the members have not altogether deceived themselves, and disappointed the hopes of their friends. I mean, I have never heard of such a mission, if the history was minutely known. If there is any exception it is among the Moravians. Let these facts be pondered by every man who thinks of offering himself or of recommending another.²

Change of place often affected men:

No man can tell how great a change it makes when the pressure of civil society, and especially of Christian society, is taken off. It is absolutely impossible for an applicant to know the real trials of missionary life. What then shall be done to ascertain whether he can bear those trials? He must have been put to some trials here. His character must, as far as possible, be a tried character.³

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 248.

² *Ibid.*, p. 142.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

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As to the kind of men wanted in missions, he greeted with approval a long statement prepared at "a missionary meeting in the western wilderness," but he himself reduced the requirements for the service to a less formidable list:

After piety, missionary qualifications stand in the following order: good temper, commonly called good nature—a habit of disinterestedness, or attention to the wants of others—cheerfulness—perseverance—energy. They are all necessary to a well-qualified missionary; the first two are indispensable to the comfort of mission families. No man knows the importance of good temper—I have it from experienced judges—who has not been on a long voyage nor seen a number of persons huddled together with slender conveniences.¹

Missionary work has developed in many ways, but these counsels and qualifications can be all repeated in our own time.

His emphasis on the spiritual did not obscure the administrative. In the letter last quoted he says:

All missionaries or assistants sent with the advice and patronage of our Board must be entirely under our direction; and this must be so thoroughly understood that they can never plead ignorance, or feel themselves at liberty to disown the obligation.²

Mr. Evarts was naturally and by virtue of the influence of his work a man of coöperative mind. He was doubtless an earnest independent, but he saw the necessity of association and, if he disliked centralization and authority in the Church, strove vigorously for it in the Board and desired

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 142 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 142.

wider forms of coöperation. He supported the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society and helped in all consolidating movements. His influence probably also secured the recognition on the part of each of its foreign missionary responsibility. He strove to induce the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches to do their missionary work through the American Board, and was successful for a time in good degree, but both of these churches adopted the principle of which I have spoken in connection with Walter Lowrie.

I recur again to the great service of Mr. Evarts, the service of character. He was a man of noblest conscience. He wrote once of himself:

Though sensible of numberless imperfections and aware that my attachment to the cause of God has been feeble compared with its paramount claims, and that my efforts have not preserved that character of uniform strenuousness which the urgency of the case demanded, yet I can deliberately declare that I have never published anything which appeared to me inaccurate, unfair or calculated to mislead; that I have never used an argument which appeared to me unsound or even doubtful; and that I have never proposed or advocated a measure which did not seem to be consistent with the strictest principles of Christian integrity.¹

Others agreed in this judgment. Professor Stuart of Andover, who had been his pastor in New Haven, wrote after his death:

His private character was one of the most faultless and complete that I have ever known. Envy, slander, detraction and everything of this nature, which forms so conspicu-

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 227.

ous a feature in the character of many even that are called Christians, were as remote from him as from any man that I have ever yet known. Then there was an expansive, enlightened, elevated, noble state of mind and feeling, that rendered him incapable of descending to the arts which many employ, either to thwart his opponents or to throw obstacles in the way of those who were treading with himself the path to high esteem and elevated station in the minds of the sober part of the public. All that was or could be gained by his fellow Christians, of true and solid reputation, seemed to him to be clear gain to the Church, and therefore to the stock whose interests he was most engaged to promote.¹

Such a character is itself a great public service.

We have emphasized so much his active personal qualities that it needs to be added that Mr. Evarts was a man of prayer. He often urged prayer as the one supreme missionary agency. He wrote to the Ceylon missionaries:

We have no missionary printers on our list of applicants, although we want one much for the Mediterranean and shall want one for Ceylon. Pray much that suitable men may offer for every department of the great work. Missionaries seem often to think that men enough of the right character can be had at a moment's warning. This is altogether a mistake. Pray that men and women may be found who are thoroughly furnished unto every good work.²

And again:

Missionaries, of all men in the world, should rely much on prayer.³

He suggested in letters specific objects of prayer and

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

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among his papers was found the following undated memorandum:

PLAN OF PRAYER¹

I. FOR MYSELF

1. That I may journey purely in a religious manner.
2. That I may aim at preserving a devout temper.
3. That I may be preserved from rash and imprudent speeches in regard to the government, the opposers of missions or any other subject.
4. That I may cultivate a temper universally mild and amiable toward all men; and whenever I hear of sinful actions, before I say a word by way of censure, remember how much I find to blame in myself, though under so great advantages.
5. That the journey may conduce especially to these three objects: my health, the deliverance of the Indians, the promotion of the missionary cause.

II. FOR MY FAMILY

1. For each member, according to circumstances.
2. That, if we should never meet in this world, my failures in duty may not prevent their meeting, all the friends of God, in heaven.
3. That they may each and all seek the favor of God.

III. FOR THE INDIANS

1. That God would especially protect the pious ones, and preserve them.
2. That inquirers may not be diverted.
3. That those who are tempted to drinking and other sins may be withheld and restrained.
4. That in none of the tribes the poor may be betrayed by their chiefs or abandoned whites.
5. That the friends of the Indians, in Congress and out,

¹ Tracy, "Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts," p. 428 f.

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may be cautious, prudent, and so forth, but especially not lacking in zeal.

6. That our government may be withheld, and so forth.

7. That the minds of the rulers of Georgia may be so directed as not to proceed to extremities.

8. That some peacemaker may arise who shall obtain a hearing for both sides.

9. That the right of the Indians may be vindicated and the honor of the country preserved.

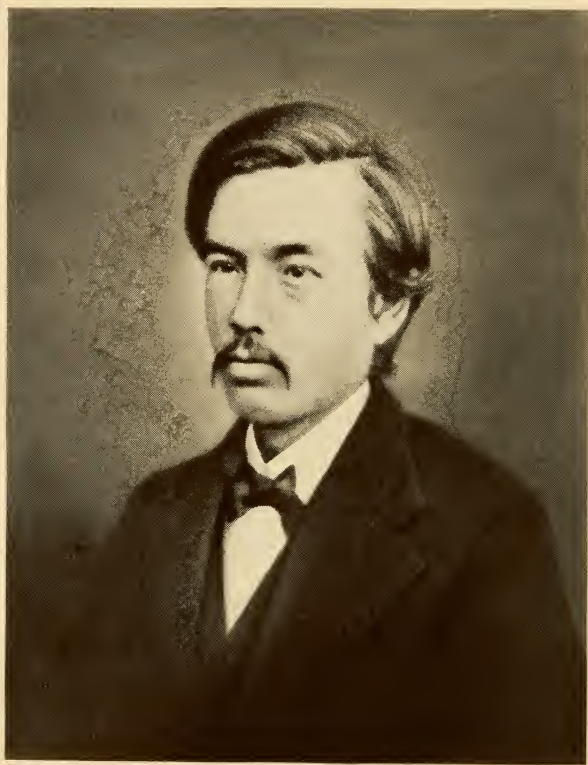
IV. PRAYER FOR OUR BOARD AND FOR MISSIONS GENERALLY

I wish to add a closing word about the interests of these men—Fuller and Chalmers and Lowrie and Evarts—outside of their own distinct sphere. They cannot be called wider interests. But each of these men did a work beyond the limits of his specific missionary service. Fuller was a great evangelical leader in the thought and life of the churches of England and Scotland. Duff in India was the most conspicuous citizen of Calcutta, head of the Bethune Society, the most powerful moral force of the city, and later, when he returned to become the head of the missions at home, he was that and more, stepping in some real measure into the shoes of the mighty Chalmers, as the leader of the church and the moral mouthpiece of Scotland. And so Lowrie and Evarts were men of the noblest public spirit. Evarts was one of the main-springs of a vigorous movement in behalf of the better observance of the Lord's Day and the closing of the post offices on that day. It would be easy to show from their lives how catholic were their interests, how effective their public service and how valuable their contributions as citizens of a Christian nation.

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Surely this is right. The offices of such men give them a platform, from which they have a right and a duty to speak for all righteousness. Such men must needs be more careful than men without official relationship to great public benevolences, for they have no right to compromise or imperil these. But by noble activity in other spheres, by discharging fully their duties as citizens and as men, by contributing to the moral and spiritual force of their time in their own land, they promote also the missionary cause which they serve, and strengthen its foundations by subjecting to it the general confidence and regard of their fellows. Happy should those men be to whom the privilege of following in their steps is given.

STUDY THREE



PAUL SAWAYAMA

PAUL SAWAYAMA

AND THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INDEPENDENT NATIONAL CHURCH

I

THE two preëminent names on the roll of the Japanese who have lived and died for the Christian faith are those of Joseph Neesima and Paul Sawayama. In worldly fame other names have outshone that of Sawayama. There have been Christian statesmen like Nakashima, speaker of the first Diet, and Kataoka Kenkichi, chosen five times to the same high office, and Mr. Ebara; soldiers like General Kuroki and sailors like Admiral Uriu and Admiral Serata; influential women like the wives of Count Katsura, the prime minister during the war with Russia, of Admiral Togo and of General Oyama. But no man accomplished more, or more deeply affected the spirit and ideals of the Christian Church in Japan than Neesima and Sawayama. Neesima laid the foundations of Christian education in Japan, and Sawayama the corner stone of the Independent Japanese Church.

Neesima's story is as well known as any story in missionary history, and what he was and did and the flavor of his rare and loyal life are preserved for us and made available to every reader in the biographies which Dr. J. D. Davis and Arthur S. Hardy have written. It is a life story with significant lessons to the student of missionary problems and racial devel-

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opment, and those lessons, drawn from Neesima's own life and work, and their sequel, have influenced and are influencing still the thought and actions of men in many lands. But Sawayama's name and achievement are unknown outside of Japan and even in Japan have been forgotten by many. President Naruse of the Woman's University in Tokyo has written a loving little memoir of him, but not a finger would Sawayama himself have lifted to perpetuate his memory. He was one whose only ambition it was to lose his life in the triumph of the principles to which his life was given. Those principles are the fundamental principles of the missionary enterprise. There are few lives in which we can better study them than in his, and few which have done so much to show that the highest ideals of missions are entirely practicable, that the zeal and love, the power and vitality of the Apostolic Church are recoverable, and that what the gospel found or created in Paul and the workers who were gathered around him, it can find or create in men of every race to-day.

Mr. Naruse tells us that Sawayama was born in 1851 in the Province of Choshu, under the shadow of Mount Idsumi, just before Perry's visit, in the seventeenth year before the Japanese Revolutionary War, which overthrew the shogun and feudalism, brought the emperor out of his retirement to assume actual sovereignty, and introduced the European system of government and Western civilization and education. The years of his boyhood were exciting years in the shogun's capital, where the shogun himself was slowly opening the country to the new ideas and unknow-

ingly preparing the way for his own downfall by his zeal for the highest interests of the nation. The exciting discussions of the capital could hardly have reached Sawayama's village or have touched the life of the boy who grew up under the order of the ancient times. Mr. Naruse, who was born ten years later in the same village, has drawn a picture of the education which he and other lads like Sawayama, sons of the samurai, or knights of the old feudal order, received in their village. He says:

It consisted chiefly in learning to read and write, in hearing lectures, making poems, calculating numbers, drawing and fencing. In the early morning, before breakfast, we were taught reading; in the daytime we listened to lectures, and in the evening we were taught calculation. . . . Sometimes we were made to go to school barefoot in the snow or over the hoarfrost. These things, which may seem like hard treatment—and there were many such things in a boy's education—were regarded as no less important a part in education than were the studies which we pursued. For by such treatment the parents of the samurai class sought to develop in their children what they call "Yamato-damashi," the Japanese spirit, that is, the spirit of self-denial, of self-sacrifice for prince and country. . . . In all my life I never disobeyed my father, nor can I remember a single instance in which I remonstrated by even so much as a word or sign against any command of his.

It was from this class of the samurai that the Christian Church was chiefly built up in Japan. The destruction of feudalism in 1868 broke up their relationships and destroyed their occupations. They were the most intelligent class of the population and many of them turned to Christianity and embraced

it and became its earnest propagators, supporting it and serving it in the same loyal spirit in which they had maintained their feudal duties. This predominance of the samurai element in the Church is still its chief strength and weakness. As a thoughtful and experienced missionary writes:

If you look for the source of the financial weakness and the unsatisfactory history of the Church in Japan in regard to relations with the missionary body, you will find that one fact explains both. It has been the poor but proud samurai who have filled the churches and the ministry. They have been to us a strength and a weakness, our pride and our torment. The *Heimin*, or plebeian population, have been too ignorant and superstitious, too much under the domination of their Buddhist priests and their Shinto schoolmasters, to open the ear to the Word. But we are at last getting at the *Heimin*, and there are better days ahead. We shall never have substantial, steady churches till they are made up less of samurai officials, army and navy men, teachers and students, and more of plain farmers, business men and workmen. And there is a stronger tendency now on the part of these classes to come into the Church.

As a boy Sawayama was busy in military affairs, rendering brave service in defending his native province from the shogun's troops. He was sent to the best teachers in the province, and after the Civil War gave himself to study, attending the most famous schools of Japan. He was evidently a thoughtful, reverent lad, who was feeling after something deeper than lay upon the surface. As a boy he had heard a lecture on the sennin. Sennin was the name given to an imaginary creature, supposed to be more than a mere man. It denoted a being something like an

angel who had been transformed from a man by extraordinary physical and mental exercises.

The boy was so impressed by what he heard of these happy beings that he aspired to become one, and on the pretext of going to meet a friend "he ascended a mountain and stayed there several days, hoping to become a sennin. When he got hungry he subsisted upon wild fruits or roots of plants, and sometimes he went down to the country and begged food from farmers, and then returned to the mountain again. But he was unsuccessful in these attempts, of course, and he lost all hope of becoming a sennin, and returned home. This incident," adds Mr. Naruse, "shows his intense nature and his determination to realize his ideals."

It is sometimes said that the Japanese are lacking in deep feeling and in reverence and in religious sentiment. One who lived a long time among them on as intimate terms as any foreigners enjoyed wrote:

The Japanese are exceedingly frivolous, are lacking seriousness in their disposition and abound in levity, are little affected by the grand or the sublime, have few enthusiasms and inspirations, are too fickle to know true placidity of mind and too callous to escape from falling into cold indifference, have little acquaintance with deep sorrow, and "there is no Fifty-first Psalm in their language and no Puritan in their history."

But Sawayama, even before his conversion to Christianity, was of a wholly different type of character from this, and in general it may be questioned whether the judgment which I have quoted does any more justice to the Japanese than the representations of

Dickens' "American Notes," or Kipling's "From Sea to Sea," for example, do to the American spirit. It is well to remember, with regard to the lack of reverence and religious feeling, as Mr. Winther points out in a valuable pamphlet on "The Present Religious Spirit and Problems in Japan," "that things are not what they seem."

This is eminently applicable to Japan. And it is the very religions of Japan that are responsible for this condition.

One of the chief requirements of Buddhism is the mortification of all desire, all emotion; but the Japanese are, in reality, deeply and strongly emotional; they are often swayed by emotion in a truly surprising manner. Consequently, they have not been able to fulfill this great requirement; what they have done, as the next best thing, is to conceal their emotions, and as far as possible suppress every manifestation of feeling, even the religious.

They appear so irreligious just because they are religious.

They appear stolid, indifferent, hard, unmoved or "sickeningly heartless," as a newcomer is apt to think and say. But he who learns to know the Japanese as individuals will, as a rule, find a warm, easily moved, sensitive heart behind that callous exterior.

At one time my next-door neighbors were an old couple whose only son was in the war; as they could not read, I generally read such portions of the news from the battle field as I knew would be of interest to them. One day I read of some dreadful engagement in which we had reason to believe that their son had taken part. While I read the tears ran freely down their faces, for they feared they would never see their son again. Then steps were heard outside. In a moment the tears were wiped away and the visitor admitted in the most cheerful manner. When he asked if they had news from their son, they both laughed and joked about "that rake," as if he were of no more concern to them than a worthless dog. Had we not been as good friends as we were,

I, too, would have seen only the smiling face and heard only the joking, apparently heartless, words, and I would doubtless have passed some pretty severe criticism on the lack of feeling and affection in Japan.

The Confucian training and the samurai spirit, which drew far more from Confucianism than it did from Buddhism, taught men like Sawayama to exercise self-control.

“While there are no strivings of pleasure, anger, sorrow or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of equilibrium. When these feelings are aroused, if they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of harmony. This equilibrium is the great root from which all that is good in life springs; and this is the path which all should pursue.”

This was the philosophy which samurai, like all “superior men” in China, Korea and Japan, were taught to obey. Mr. Naruse says:

I remember when my mother and my aunt and my younger brother died, how I, as a child, could not control myself, but wept bitterly; but my father preserved his tranquility of mind perfectly and I never saw a tear so much as start to his eye. In one instant, indeed, he came near losing his envied harmony for a moment; but he only came near losing it and only for a moment. A few days before his own death, while he was enfeebled by a very severe illness, the sad report came to him that my younger brother had died suddenly at a remote place. I was at his side when the news came and I saw him cover his face for an instant with the comforter; but when he looked up again I saw no trace of tears.

But, after all, human nature is not very different, no matter how diverse or prolonged its divisive edu-

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cation may have been. When, in October, 1912, Mrs. T. C. Winn, who for thirty-five years had been a missionary among the Japanese, died in the town of Senkinsai, Manchuria, the Manchurian Railway Company, which had been accustomed to give her passes annually and to open its railroad stations for services, placed a special car at her husband's disposal to take the body to Dairen, crowds came to the stations to see the train pass, the directors met the body at the station in Dairen, the Christians insisted on defraying the entire expense of the funeral, the Japanese women wept aloud in the church, and the railway company had portraits of Mrs. Winn printed, with an account of her life and work, and placed them in all the street cars in Dairen under the title "The Loving Mother." There was the same affection and the same display of affection that there would have been in any Western land. "There is no racial chasm between the East and the West," says Mr. Ebina of Tokyo. "More and more the Japanese are entering into the feelings and looking at things from the point of view of the West; rejoicing with those that rejoice and weeping with those that weep."

Genuine and fervent as Sawayama's religious longings were, there was nothing in any religion of which he knew that could satisfy them. The present-day version of Bushido as an ethical code which is supposed to have satisfied the Japanese heart for many centuries, and the present-day idea of the divine person of the emperor as furnishing in himself and in the shadowy line of his divine ancestors a basis of moral loyalty and a sanction of religion, are both too modern

and too empty to content the hunger of a living spirit. Count Okuma has frankly said as much. The better classes of Japan, he told the missionaries at the Jubilee of Protestant Missions in Japan, "are spiritually thirsty and have nothing to drink." Sawayama awoke to this thirst forty years ago, and found nothing to quench it in Confucianism or Buddhism, in Shinto or Bushido. He went especially to drink at the fountain of one Shuyo Foshimura of Shikoku, noted for his knowledge of the teachings of Confucius and for the constancy of his life as a Confucianist. Sawayama became his disciple and "in time mastered the ethics and philosophy of the great sage," but he found no bread for his hunger and no drink for his thirst.

When he was nineteen years of age Sawayama found his way to the bread that is true bread and to the water of which if a man drinks he shall not thirst any more. Dr. D. C. Greene, the first missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Japan, was then living in Kobe, and in the spring of 1870 two of the retainers of the Daimyo of Choshu came to him to learn Western habits of life that they might be prepared for responsible places in their prince's household. After a while they asked permission to bring with them a son of their immediate superior in the service of the prince, and when permission was given, they brought Sawayama. Dr. Greene says:

He presented a very striking appearance. He had, apparently, but recently recovered from an attack of smallpox, and his hair, which he wore in semiforeign style, had not yet

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become wonted to the new treatment, but there was in his face that expression of mingled modesty and firmness which always conspicuously marked his features. He took up the study of English with much earnestness and made rapid progress, but he was dissatisfied. He thought that if he could spend more time in the family he might familiarize his ear to English conversation and so asked to be allowed to spend the day in my study. We had already become attached to him and readily gave our consent. He used to come every day at about seven in the morning and remain until after four in the afternoon. He was diligent with his books and most careful to avoid causing any inconvenience to our household—indeed, he was always ready with his offers of help when there seemed any chance of his being of service to us. This practice he kept up for nearly a year.

He was a constant attendant at our family worship, but we had no definite evidence of any faith in Christianity, though he seemed to find pleasure in the society of one or two other Japanese who did manifest much interest. One of these, Ichikawa Yeinosuke, had asked for baptism. Ichikawa, with his wife, was arrested in the spring of 1871 (Meiji Yonen) on suspicion of being a Christian and, after confinement for a year and a half, died in the Nijo Castle of Kyoto, a true martyr to his faith.

What was taking place in Sawayama was concealed both from Dr. Greene and from himself, but when in 1872 he came to Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, and the great ideas which had been sown in his soul began to expand, he realized that he was a Christian and that God had called him before he knew it.

He was baptized by Rev. Edward N. Packard in the First Congregational Church of Evanston, and at once began, though his English was still imperfect, to take part in the work of the church and "his words

had a peculiar power about them as if sent by the Spirit." His baptism was a great crisis and testing. When he left Japan, one of his teachers tells us, "his father was required to give bonds to the effect that Sawayama should not change his religion. When he came to make a public profession here he was asked if he did not fear that his father would suffer on account of the bonds he had given? Sawayama replied, 'The Lord will take care of that.' And his faith was honored."

There seemed to be no moral refuse which he needed to slough off. It was good material on which the Spirit of God had chosen to work, and no student in his classes was more earnest and eager, and there was none in whom Christian character was more rapidly fixing itself in purity and strength. For the first three years of his studies in America he seems to have expected to return to Japan for government service, but soon, to him, as to Neesima, came the great purpose which made all political service seem of secondary value. A missionary at home on furlough urged him to prepare for Christian work in Japan. Shortly after, as Mr. Naruse tells us,

he had been reading the biography of some Christian missionary, and the thought seemed to come to him almost as a revelation that the need of Japan was the preaching of the gospel. He thought much, and more and more the conviction grew and strengthened within him that the darkness which covered Japanese society with so many sorrows and sins in its shadow, could never be effectually dissipated except by the power of Christianity; and who could be called of God to preach to Japan, if not himself? He said to his awakened heart, "The people of foreign countries have

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sacrificed their lives to be missionaries to Japan, how can I see the condition of my own people so indifferently?" He decided to proclaim upon the housetops what he had heard in the ear.

This new purpose seemed to fuse the elements of his nature into a glowing and unified energy. It elevated his whole spirit and brought a consecration which forever after deepened without abatement. One in whose home he lived for his last three years in Evanston says that in "his heroic self-sacrifice, his sensitive conscientiousness and the childlike simplicity of his faith he seemed to have caught the spirit of the apostolic age."

When this decision had been made, something stirred in him the premonition that the time was short and that he must work the works of Him that sent him while it was day. Against the judgment of his friends, he decided to curtail his course, and Dr. Packard, while counseling fuller preparation, yet offered to help him in his plan. Dr. Packard writes:

I arranged with him to come to my study from time to time and to talk over the Christian scheme. We used as a textbook Hodge's "Way of Life," and it proved to be an excellent book for the purpose. He became attracted to Paul and his theology, and took the name of Paul for this reason. After weeks of study and conference he suddenly seemed to come out into light and to receive what I can only think of as a "baptism of the Holy Spirit."

His idea as to truth clarified suddenly, and he told me that he felt confident that he could go and meet the objections which his friends in Japan might bring up. Soon after this, to our surprise, he began to plan to get back to his native land, and his persistence and faith were remarkable. I used

to say that, if no other way would offer, Sawayama would take an open boat and row across the Pacific Ocean. . . . No man ever went to a great task with more enthusiasm. I always felt a strong attraction to him for his many fine qualities and for something indescribable, which was the indwelling of the Spirit in him. He had clear views of truth which seemed to have come direct from the source of all truth direct to him, and not through books. His good nature, his plain and simple scheme of living for Christ were a lifelong lesson and blessing to me.

When some one remonstrated with him over his course and urged more learning and more thorough preparation, his reply was, "I have as much learning as the apostles had." His country was in need. Infidelity was not delaying. He had a work given him to do. He was straitened until it should be accomplished. The event justified his course. In eleven short years his summons came. He had, indeed, all the equipment he needed for his task. More might only have been a burden to him and have weighed down the freedom and dauntless activity of his apostolic zeal. Knowledge is not always power; some men take on more than they can use and are made weak and ineffective by it. An elaborate training might have convinced Sawayama that apostolic methods were good enough for apostolic times, but impracticable to-day. Many men go out of our schools with the nerve of a daring faith deadened by criticism or self-consciousness. They have studied so much history that they have missed life, and while they made ready for movement, some of the fires have died down and gone out. It is not always so with

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men, and when it is not so, the issue is the man of largest power, but in many a Christian land and in many a mission field to-day men are overtrained for their work and incapacitated by their training for real leadership. Sawayama went back with all that he needed and for the next ten years was a "lamp that burneth and shineth."

II

THE warm glow and enthusiasm of Sawayama's first Christian experience never subsided. Too often we lay out our work with the expectation that the first bloom and eagerness of Christian faith cannot last, and when we get what we thus expected we comfort ourselves with the reflection that first Christian zeal invariably moderates and wanes with time. Too often this is so, but when it is, it is a repudiation, not an illustration, of the will of God. Men and churches ought to go not from revival to declension, but from strength to strength. Sawayama did not liberalize his theology, dilute his evangelism, or temper the intensity of his adherence to his ideals. The fires of his life burned fine and full to the very end.

It is but fair, also, to point out that Sawayama's education in America was unqualifiedly beneficial to him and his work. That is true of many of the young men who have come from Japan to study in the West. It is not true of most of the young men of Western Asia and perhaps of India. These men seem unable to assimilate and carry the Western education secured in the West. Not one out of twenty, perhaps one out of fifty, of the young men from Turkey, Syria and Persia who have studied in America have escaped injury from it or have gone back to exercise a real and wholesome leadership among their people. The early attempt of the American Board to train natives of mission fields in America, though

so well intentioned and so reasonable to the limited experience of that day, proved a convincing demonstration of the importance of educating men in and for the conditions in which they are to do their work. This principle is clearly accepted here in America. "The American Inter-Church College" in Nashville, for the training of the religious and social workers needed in the South, names this as one of the nine arguments for its establishment:

Because students trained in Northern institutions are not, as a rule, qualified to understand and meet the conditions and needs peculiar to the South. This long-range education for social service is a failure for the reason that one is too often educated out of his life work rather than trained into it.

Sawayama, however, took only good and no harm from his study abroad. Others have not only taken harm from such study, but have gone back to paralyze the native church and to debase the whole missionary spirit and ideal by their scale of life and the subsidies which they have secured from American Christians under the idea that such men, supported from America, are efficient missionary agents. Sawayama, as we shall see, not only went back unspoiled, with a Christian faith won and established, not weakened and destroyed, and with a resolute, devotional, zealous Christian spirit undaunted, but also with Pauline ideas of personal character and missionary policy.

As we have noted, when he formed his purpose to return to Japan as a Christian preacher, he took the name of Paul. He held fast always to the Pauline theology. He never was lured away from Paul's

conception of the Person of our Lord, or from the pure evangelical experience of the gospel. His sermons and letters were full of Paul's expressions. Instead of imagining that we get at the real gospel by eliminating Paul, he knew that the view of the gospel which we get through the Spirit of God in Paul gives us a Christ in comparison with whom the versions of Christianity which repudiate the Pauline view are dead crusts, spent arrows, futile appeals to dry wells to fill themselves—afterglows whose only light is a memory of a sun going down. If we gained a greater salvation, a more supernatural Saviour, a vaster God, by repudiating Paul, it would be different. But the liberal Christianity in Japan, with which some would supersede Sawayama's simple New Testament faith, is a tame and vapid thing, possessing neither the intellectual vitality nor the moral power which alone can satisfy the needs of personal or national life.

It was not alone in his theology and religious experience that Sawayama resembled Paul. He adopted by instinct Paul's great missionary principles, namely, the direct preaching of the gospel, in which he consciously and unswervingly sought to follow Paul as his model, and the creation, as the result of such preaching, of an independent and living Church. His faith that the gospel was the power of God unto salvation, and that the most effective mode of propagating it was by preaching it with a life of limitless love, and that out of such preaching autonomous and indigenous Christian churches would grow to-day as they did in the apostolic age, "flowed like a burning river and took shape in the establishment of the first

independent Christian church in Japan." To him more than to any other one man do the Christian churches in Japan to-day owe the generally accepted ideal of the independent native church as the only right ideal. I use the term "native church" without hesitancy or apology. Some people nowadays tell us that we ought not to use the word "native"—that it is a term of reproach. Some speakers at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference disapproved of it. But of all places in the world Scotland surely is the last where men should surrender the word "native" to unworthy implications—there where Scott asked,

Breathes there the man with soul so dead
 Who never to himself has said,
 This is my own, my native land!

If natives of Japan and other lands dislike being called natives, they should be helped to worthier ideas and not encouraged to lose the pride of their own soil. To substitute "indigenous" and to speak of the "indigenous church" is ludicrous. Are we to call "natives" "indigenes" and to sing of "my own, my indigenous land," or "my indigenous country, thee, sweet Land of Liberty"? And, after all, the words are mere counters. The reproach, if there be reproach, is in the facts that dishonor the old words and would dishonor any new words substituted for the old.

This ideal of the true native church, by which Paul wrought, dominated Sawayama. He did not believe that Christianity could do its work for any land as an exotic, or that the gospel had lost its power to root itself in any soil and live there, in insti-

tutions which draw their nourishment from the soil and not from foreign subsidies. He proved by actual achievement that for which Mr. Allen argues in "Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours," where, with unsparing criticism of work in which he has taken his part, he deplores, in so many mission fields, the want of vitality and independence in native churches, the dependence of mission work upon foreign funds, the feeble type of Christian life developed, the need of living unity, the absence of the glow, the daring, the impact of apostolic religion. And Mr. Allen laments the possibility of the enervating dominance of the foreigner:

If the first converts are taught to depend upon the missionary, if all work, evangelistic, educational, social, is concentrated in his hands, the infant community learns to rest passively upon the man from whom they receive their first insight into the gospel. Their faith having no sphere for its growth and development lies dormant. A tradition very rapidly grows up that nothing can be done without the authority and guidance of the missionary, the people wait for him to move, and the longer they do so, the more incapable they become of any independent action.

Sawayama proved that the Christian church can be set up anywhere on the earth, and live there in its own life, by establishing such a church in Osaka. When he returned to Japan in 1876 the majority of the people hated Christianity with intense hatred. It was still a disgrace for a family to have a Christian in its circle. The educated people believed in no religion; they despised the native priests and hated the Christian ministers. Still the public warnings

against Christianity had been removed and a tide of interest and inquiry had set in. The great era of progress in missions, which lasted till 1888, had begun. Sawayama found a little band of eleven humble Christians in Osaka, and, turning from offers of lucrative employment in government service that would have paid him one hundred and fifty dollars a month, equal to three times as much in America, he was ordained—the first Japanese to be ordained in Japan—and promised to become the pastor of the little company at a salary of seven dollars a month. Japan was just emerging into her new political life and the government needed good men, trained in Western ways, and was ready to pay anything for them. In a similar situation in China to-day the missions find that the only way to hold good native men is greatly to increase their salaries, even though many are found who will stay at a sacrifice. But no such problem presented itself in Sawayama's case. It was not a matter of salary, large or small. He had his own ideal, and, for eleven fellow Christians, he rejected every offer and became pastor of a self-supporting, independent church. He solved at one blow four of the greatest problems of missions—the problem of the native ministry, the problem of self-government, the problem of self-support and the problem of self-propagation.

He showed that the right solution of the first of these problems is to get a converted man who has an ambition to follow Paul. The native ministry ordained in Japan began with Sawayama. It did not begin with a theological seminary or a training school,

but with a truly converted man. Even after we have such men we need the schools, and often where we have not such men we set up the schools in the hope that we can get them. The essential thing is to get the Sawayamas. Alas, that they are so rare!

The second of these problems has advanced in Japan far beyond the stage which Sawayama's work represented. Scores of self-supporting local churches have grown up. These are organized in a few strong denominational bodies, of which the Kumiai or Congregational churches, to which Sawayama belonged, and the Nihon Kiroso Kyokwai or Presbyterian Church, are the largest. Each of these bodies is a competent, independent organization, caring for itself and sustaining relations as sovereign churches to the foreign missions working in connection with them. The working out of these relations has involved many problems, but the question of the relationship of native churches and their leaders to foreign missions and missionaries was not of concern to Sawayama. He was not thinking of spheres of authority or questions of relationship. He was thinking of duty and spiritual ideals, and in pursuing these the problems of organization and interrelationship solved themselves. A real life, pulsing through the work, is a better solvent than any amount of statesmanship. His church was independent, without any declarations or adjustments, because it had its own real, independent life, due to its spirit of entire self-support and aggressive self-propagation. There were the two other problems which at the very outset Sawayama solved without argument, or theorizing,

or schemes of policy, but by simply accepting and following the ways of Paul. Let us speak of each of these. Mr. Naruse says:

From the very beginning Mr. Sawayama held very firmly to the principle that Japanese Christianity should be self-supporting. His aim was to found a living Japanese church; to put within it such a spirit of growth and independence as should set it free from its slavish, feeble condition; to make it a permanent power by the force of its own religious life. This he thought should be the aim of every Japanese Christian. . . . What did Mr. Sawayama mean by self-support for Japanese churches? He meant that the Japanese churches should pay their own expenses, meeting all the expenditures required for home missionary work, for Christian education and for church benevolences, without receiving pecuniary aid for these purposes from foreign missionary societies. Those societies, of course, should continue to support their own missionaries. This program proved a very difficult task for such poor bodies as the Japanese churches; so almost all of the native Christians, except his church, and many foreign missionaries, could not approve of his new scheme at that time.

But Mr. Sawayama had a rare insight into the condition of the time and future of Japan. There were a few Japanese Christian churches and Christian schools at that early day, but they had been started by means of foreign funds and were managed by missionaries. The vast majority of the Japanese people were intensely prejudiced against them because they seemed to be, in reality, foreign churches and foreign schools. They also thought that the foreigners propagated their religion by the lavish use of money. Quite often the native Christians were asked if they received money from foreigners in order to become Christians. Sometimes these haters of Christianity called the Christians beggars because they depended upon foreign funds, and accused them of disloyalty to their own country. It must be confessed that

the native Christians showed a strong tendency to rely upon the financial aid of foreigners in every department of Christian work. They seemed to entertain the feeling that they were the guests of the universal Christian Church, and as such were entitled to free entertainment, as Mr. Sawayama said in his famous speech. In such circumstances there was great need of insistence upon the principle of self-support. And there is no question that Mr. Sawayama's persistence in advocating that principle gave to the Japanese church its strength and aggressiveness.

But his example was his most powerful advocacy. He himself, as I have said, was ordained by Mr. Neesima and a company of missionaries, as the first Japanese pastor of a Japanese church, over the Naniwa Church in Osaka with eleven members, whom he described as "the poorest people, who own neither house nor anything hardly." This meant a readiness on his part to share their poverty and to be willing to starve for an ideal. He did not flinch. As he wrote to a friend in America who sent him a box of clothing two years after his return to Japan:

I have forsaken all and followed the Lord in putting myself in this position. . . . Great self-denial is necessary and I determined to follow the steps of the Lord, who on earth had not "where to lay his head," and so I could not have much comfort in this life, I thought; therefore what a grateful thing to me these presents of my friends are you can imagine. . . . Since I came back I have not bought anything and, of course, I had no means to buy. All these things your presents supplied, and many of them will last all my life, I think, if the Lord will take me before very many years.

Under such leadership the church was self-support-

ing from the outset and moved forward into a great and growing life.

This is exactly what is openly pronounced to be impossible in many lands and accepted as an impossibility even where it is not avowed to be so.

Sawayama himself prepared a most careful statement of his view and the arguments for it and presented it at the first interdenominational conference in Japan held at Osaka in May, 1881. His paper was entitled "The Self-Support of the Japanese Native Church." After a characteristically modest introduction, he took up these points:

"1. The support given to the theory of self-support by the teaching of the Scriptures.

"2. The benefits to the church insured by the adoption of this plan.

"3. A state of self-support is not unattainable."

Sawayama solved the problem of self-support just as he solved the other problems, not by coming up to it and examining it and constructing an answer to it, but by possessing the life in which the forces adequate to the solution of the problem preceded the definition of the problem. There was a living power of faith within, which was equal to the task of dealing with each practical necessity. And "this, it seems to me," wrote a missionary in Mexico some years ago, who had to wrestle with a situation of subsidized inertia in a native church, "is the real bottom question, Is it possible to convert a man so that he shall make a self-sustaining center in the place where he may be and extend the gospel to others? I believe it is, and that we ought to devote ourselves to establishing such

centers. This seems to me to be fundamental. And until we get to right methods of beginning work, we shall always have with us the vexing question of how to get out of what we ought never to have gotten into." Sawayama's church began with a group of converted men and women, led by a truly converted pastor. And from the outset he and they recognized that they were all of them to be evangelists. A month after his ordination he wrote:

I have in my church only eleven members, of whom eight are men and three are women, but they are all active preachers, and we have, at present, five regular preaching places for the church besides our own chapel, and so we are quite busy, but it is a very joyful thing to be busy in the Master's work. I never have experienced so much joy in my heart as these days. I tell you, Mrs. Boutell and my Christian friends in Evanston, that it is a joyful thing to work hard for Christ, as you clearly know.

He added a schedule of the church services, showing preaching, Bible classes or prayer meetings every day but Tuesday and Saturday. His letters show how unceasing he and his people were in their efforts to win others to Christ:

Our church members are all active preachers, men as well as women, and have their own places to preach regularly. I have preaching or instructing services every day except Saturday, on which I prepare for Sunday services. I am quite busy in my works, but they are not heavy to carry on. Christ's burden is light and his yoke is easy.

Self-support and self-government are simple matters in a church which has such a real religious faith and life as this. It is said that in some fields, like

India, the people are ignorant and poor and that we must not expect very much of them, and must have patience to wait for the slow development of Christian grace and strength. But apart from the village outcasts are the people so inferior to the Japanese, and does not the history of Moslem progress in India and China and Africa show that self-propagation and the local maintenance of new religious institutions are entirely practicable?

In a list of Indian (Mohammedan) missionaries published in the journal of a religious and philanthropic society of Lahore we find the names of schoolmasters, government clerks in the Canal and Opium Departments, traders, including a dealer in camel carts, an editor of a newspaper, a book-binder and a workman in a printing establishment. These men devote the hours of leisure left them after the completion of the day's labor to the preaching of their religion in the streets and bazaars of Indian cities, seeking to win converts from among Christians and Hindus, whose religious belief they controvert and attack.¹

It may be said that Christianity is ethically more exacting and spiritually more refined than any other religion, but to admit that other religions can propagate themselves indigenously and maintain themselves in living power without foreign aid is to relinquish Christianity's claim to an actual superiority. Have they life and power and adaptiveness which it lacks? Not if we are to accept the plain evidence of Sawayama's work. Day by day his church grew, as he and his people went about preaching Christ. The same result would follow the same spirit in America

¹ Arnold, "The Preaching of Islam," p. 333.

and everywhere, without secular inducements or social reconstruction of the message or institutional equipments or any other device, all good enough in themselves and necessary as the fruitage of Christianity, but no substitute for the old evangelical story, and ineffective for church building in comparison with it.

III

So Sawayama solved the problem of self-propagation, and solved it, too, at the only time when it can be solved, that is, at the outset. It was put into the Korean Church at the beginning and is there now just because it was put in at the start. If Christians begin by having all their expenses met by others and all their preaching paid for by others, they will continue and end so. When they begin as Korea and Uganda began, a church is created which is a demonstration that Christianity is not inferior to other religions in self-propagating power. Dr. Moffett sets this forth in a striking paper on "Policy and Methods in Evangelization of Korea," read at the conference in 1904 in celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of Protestant mission work in that country:

The infusion of an enthusiastic evangelistic spirit into the first converts and continuously into the whole church—the importance of this can scarcely be exaggerated, and it is worth our while to plan wisely to develop this and to avoid the development of the opposite spirit of service where mercenary motives develop apparent evangelistic zeal. For this reason the employment of men and women to preach in the early stages of work and the use of much money in initiating work of any kind is to be deprecated; for thereby people are attracted by an unintentional appeal to mercenary motives to make profession of Christianity. The inculcation and development of an overwhelming desire to make known to others the message of salvation which brings peace and joy with the sense of forgiveness and reconciliation with God,

simply from an experience of the same in one's own heart, will do more than any other one thing for the widespread evangelization of Korea. When this spirit of voluntary, joyful, enthusiastic propagation of the truth has become characteristic of the early converts and the church, the employment of men proportionately with the development of the church will not be a hindrance but a help to evangelization. I am satisfied, however, that this spirit can be secured only through the deep convictions of the missionary, working out in his own life this same enthusiastic evangelistic spirit, so that by example, rather than by exhortation, he infuses this spirit into the first converts who come into closest contact with him, reading and knowing his inner real self most clearly. Real enthusiasm begets enthusiasm; conviction begets conviction. A man all on fire with and dominated by this spirit is a tremendous power, and the cumulative force of a whole church of such men is more irresistible than an avalanche. A church constantly at work seeking to convert men—peddlers carrying books and preaching as they sell their wares, merchants and innkeepers talking to customers and guests, travelers, along the roads and on the ferries telling of Jesus and his salvation, women going to the fields, drawing water at the well, washing clothes at the brooks or visiting in heathen homes, all talking of the gospel and what it has done for them—is a method of evangelization than which none is more powerful. To Yi Yeng En—now with the Lord—I ascribe the greatest influence in the development of this spirit in our northern work. He never allowed a man to pass the examination for admission to the catechumenate or the church without impressing upon him this as his first duty and privilege as a Christian. From him came the practice of questioning the advisability of admitting to the church anyone who had not first made known to his family and neighbors what great things the Lord had done for him. I do not hesitate to place this as the foremost factor in the widespread development of our work in northern Korea.

I ask again what evidence there is that Christianity

is incapable of doing in India or China, in the people whom it reaches, the same work which it has done in Korea and Japan?

The methods which Sawayama used in his pastoral work and the message which he preached were, as I have said, unqualifiedly evangelical and Pauline. He was very careful about his foundations. He writes:

We received several applications to join our church, but we do not hasten to receive them, as we must examine them thoroughly, so that we may, as far as our human mind can judge, although we cannot say that we proved the depth of the heart, prove that they are true Christians and are willing to sacrifice all things for Christ's sake, even their own lives if it is necessary. Some of the applicants were most bigoted Buddhists. They are working now among their former religious friends; I hope they will lead many of those who are in the darkness into the light of the Christian religion.

His requirements were sternly Puritanic in some matters:

One who received baptism lately in my church was a doctor who is about sixty years old. He was a most bigoted Buddhist. When we examined him it was satisfactory in every matter, and when we asked him if he would give up anything which does not honor Christ and does not make him a useful man, even if the thing may not be bad or wicked, he said he would. Then we asked him to give up his smoking, which is not for any honor for Christ, though we do not say that those who smoke are not true Christians. He said that he was willing to give it up. Few days after he sent word that we should wait his baptism till next time on account of that he cannot yet give up his smoking. Then I went to see him and I noticed that he was reading the Bible and praying

and fasting. He told me that he had been smoking day and night during these forty years, therefore it is very hard for him to give it up. But he said that he is willing to give up even his life for Christ's sake, if it need be. Why cannot smoking be given up? Because he thinks his faith is not yet strong, so he will pray God to give strong faith to overcome these habits; and that time we kneeled and prayed together, and few days after that he succeeded to give it up entirely.

This doctor led an old couple, who were also strong Buddhists. Since they gave up associating with their former friends the former friends with priests came to their house many times to try to lead them back to the former faith, but they told them that this is the true way, so they had better come to hear about the way. They brought the priest to our church and they are now trying to lead Buddhists to hear the gospel of Christ. . . .

One young man decided to be a minister, but his cousin tried to persuade him to become an officer. But if he should become an officer he cannot sometimes keep the Sabbath. So he told his cousin that he preferred rather to be a slave to keep God's holy law than to become an officer to break it; so he was obliged to depart from him immediately. He came here last Saturday and is waiting for baptism. His faith is increasing greatly.

Many will condemn such severity, but it produced a pure and eager and united church filled with a "spirit of broad sympathy and love," and with no division in it. No heresy troubled it, either. The church is like the gyroscope. It wobbles only when its speed declines. Strict though the church was, it naturally gave a warm welcome to little children. The more choice its atmosphere, the safer the little children were in its fold.

Sawayama's message was also evangelical. He and his people sought to convert Buddhists. They did

not take the attitude of the "Concordia Movement" in Japan, which began with the declaration:

The Concordia Movement is founded upon the belief, first, that different ethical teachings, though conflicting in minor points, are similar to one another in essential points, such as seeking after Truth and higher spiritual life; secondly, that though mankind is divided into different races, still there is a common ground upon which each race can understand and sympathize with the characteristics of others; thirdly, though the nations of to-day seem to have conflicting interests on various problems, they can find, if they try and thoroughly understand one another, a way by which each nation might promote its welfare and prosperity without coming to actual clash with others. The movement is an attempt to discover and promote the point of concord between different religions, different races and different nations.

Sawayama did not believe this. Mr. Naruse, who is now promoting the "Concordia Movement," told me so. Sawayama was not seeking truth from Buddha. He was offering men truth from Christ.

He was as direct in his attitude to unconverted people in the church as to those without.

When I was at Arima two deacons of Sanda church came to me and asked me to preach there. I asked about the condition of the church, and they said that the work of God was declining and all Christians were sleeping. I went there last Friday and I preached that night. Next morning the acting pastor called on me and asked me to preach to unchristians from that day. The reason why he expressed such a desire was that the sermon which I preached reflected very severely upon them. Therefore they wanted me to preach to unchristians, as they had some feeling against the truth. I answered that I preach the truths of the Bible; and I think the sermons must be impressive to Chris-

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tians as well as to unchristians. Therefore I cannot preach such a sermon as to make an impression only on unchristians. If unchristians read the Bible, they will fear and repent, and if Christians study it, they will advance in their virtues. And I explained to him about the true preaching. Then he was impressed and confessed the convictions which he had had since he heard my first sermon. And he confessed his selfishness and sins, and he said he is unworthy not only to be acting pastor but to be a church member. Therefore he wished to resign his pastorship and membership, and he would join the church again after his true conversion; and he shed many tears. Then the deacons repented with tears, and ladies also confessed their sins and surrendered all things to God. I preached and held prayer meetings during a week, and many were converted.

Sawayama always used the simple New Testament language, without any twist or abrasion or dilution. He sought to imitate Paul, and he found the method and the message as effective as Paul had found it in his day. He was quiet and direct, evasive of praise, strongly evangelistic, but most simple, and calm and kindly. His life shows that the common phrases about the separation of East and West, and the dissimilarity of the Oriental and the Western races which divides them by a chasm of mystery, are fictitious. As God is one and sin is one, man's nature is the same in all lands and the one gospel is its only need.

Sawayama's faith opened to him that rich world in which, through prayer and love, men recover a joyful confidence in the absolute Power of the absolute Love and in "the liberty of that Love to help them." Mr. Naruse tells us what we could have

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known without a word of assurance, that "he was a man of prayer and devotion. He believed that everything in God's providence was working to perform the will of God. He prayed with a simple faith. Almost childlike in his trust, he seemed never to doubt that his prayer would be fulfilled." Mr. Miyagawa tells us:

When he departed from us we found a list of the names of his church members, by which he used to pray to our Father for individual members every morning and evening, sometimes shedding bloody tears. This list must have been kept for many years, because it was stained with his much handling. In some parts the letters were indiscernible, it was so black. I thought, his much-used list is a monument telling of his appeal to the Father for every member of his church by name. From this also I received the answer to all my questions concerning him, that the secret of his success was in prayer.

To such faith before he died was given the joy of seeing the conversion of his parents, who had been at first filled with shame at his course, and also of his whole family. By such faith he inspired the church throughout Japan to believe that nothing was impossible to men who believed in God. He not only founded the first self-supporting church, but also inspired the first Japanese home missionary society, which he wished to have supported wholly by the Japanese churches, but which for many years drew a subvention from the American Board. He also opened the first self-supporting school for girls. "The school was modeled in some respects after Mount Holyoke Seminary. It was animated by the

same spirit of independence, economy, perseverance and service for others. So the pupils cooked, swept, washed and took care of the schoolrooms and the gardens. For many years no servant was employed." The school grew, but not without sacrifice and struggles, and Dr. De Forest declares that "the evolution of woman's education in Japan, so far as it is based on the innate dignity and worth of woman as taught in Christianity, has its source in the sacrificing work of this young man of Pauline faith, Mr. Sawayama." There was still great prejudice against woman's education, and what Sawayama did, which is now done in hundreds of schools, was pioneer work in the assertion of woman's place in society.

The blazing light of his unresting life burned him away. Him, also, the zeal of his Father's house consumed. Soon after he returned to Japan he discovered that he had tuberculosis and that his years, and even his days, were numbered. A bad cough clung to him and his strength was unequal to what he laid upon it. For ten years he scarcely had a comfortable day. Constant headaches and fever wore him down. In 1878 he wrote:

I am also not well all the time. I have more or less fever, headache, cough and so general feebleness in my entire body. Yet I am very thankful that I believe that "all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose," and am able to say, in whatever condition I may be, "All well, Lord!"

Mr. Naruse says that once, when his wife was sick with a severe hemorrhage of the lungs and a very high fever,

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Mr. Sawayama could not sleep or even lie down for seven days and nights, so severe was his pain; during all this time he remained almost motionless upon the floor, in a position which I can scarcely describe so as to make the reader see it. But as nearly as I can describe it it was this: he kneeled, bringing his hips close down to his ankles, then threw his body forward upon the floor, resting it upon his elbows, which were drawn back under his chest, and supporting his head with his hands. I was taking care of him and his sick wife as best I could. I often offered to rub his muscles so as to relieve him somewhat, but he would not allow me to remit my care of his wife for so long a time. Remaining in this position he did not speak for seven days, but waited calmly and patiently. As soon as his distress began to lessen a little he smiled and said to me: "I never prayed that the Father would take my soul, for it would be a selfish prayer. I am glad to stay in this world and to endure my pain as long as the Father wishes." Then he added: "If at any time death comes, it shall make no difference to me. I will do just the same work just before my death as at any other time." He said often, "I will die on the battle field; I will fight the good fight."

As soon as he could go out again he was preaching, and with more fervor than ever, literally, in his case, "as a dying man to dying men." After these sermons he would have to take to his bed, and once remained unconscious until the following noon. Toward the end he had to lie on his sick bed two-thirds of the time and actually lived in the hospital, although nothing could confine him to it. He would come forth to his work to return again when his work was done. It was out of much weakness that he was made strong, and he gloried, as the other Paul did, that the power of Christ could be perfected in his frailty. For all his

ceaseless toil he paid literally in his own heart's blood.

And yet it was all done in the best of good cheer. He spoke of himself as "the happiest man in Japan." Five coffins were carried out of his house in five years. He still bore joy with him wherever he went. His wife was taken from him. Even in that experience both he and she learned new lessons of God. Mr. Naruse tells us:

A year before her death she began to doubt of her salvation and feared to die. She called her husband and clinging to his sleeves cried bitterly on account of the uncertainty of her salvation. Mr. Sawayama, while usually full of affection and tender love to her, on that occasion bravely forsook her in the view of her soul's welfare, saying: "I am your husband, but I am not your Saviour. You have been relying on me more than on Christ. You made a tremendous mistake. I love you, but cannot save your soul. Christ is your Saviour and he alone. Call upon him and seek your salvation." Then he left her alone and came downstairs. She struggled severely, but was finally driven to Christ, forsaking all her temporal reliances and surrendering herself entirely to Jesus.

The new Japanese eclecticism is a weak affair when confronted with this tragic school of human experience. "My family is in the calamity of disease all the time," wrote Sawayama, "but I am rejoicing and thanking day and night, because I have learned the way of rejoicing in every trouble." "Thank God," he wrote later, "I am very successful in the work which my heavenly Father gave me to do and am very happy. This morning one missionary said to me: 'Good morning, Mr. Sawayama. You are always

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bright and happy these days.' I think it is better to be happy than well, is it not?" The Devil tempted him in the hospital: "Paul, do you not remember that you were lying in this hospital last December, too? You have spent almost all of your time this year in the hospital on this sick bed and you have not been at work for God, but have only been lying down here. What do you think of this day?" But he thought with gladness of his Saviour and rested in his joy. He wrote a little poem in Japanese for his wife in her intense pain:

Spare thou our lives or take them, Lord,
Our deepest hearts at peace shall be,
Our earthly frames with glad accord
To all thy will, we trust to thee.

If, by thy grace, our lives are spared,
We'll serve thee through our earthly days,
We'll linger here, with souls prepared
To render thee eternal praise.

If thou should'st call us in our youth,
We'll hasten through the open gate
Without regret, for there, in truth,
Thy many mansions for us wait.

The bitter pains and struggles sore
Through which our lives are passing now,
Thou knewest them, Saviour, all before:
Thou leadest us; to thee we bow.

For all who strive to enter in
Thy heavenly kingdom, Master, God,
Must walk with anguish over sin,
The thorny path thyself hast trod.

He knew the anguish, but it was always hidden by him under the glow of a great joy.

So he came to the end. Up to the last he toiled at his glad task. As death approached he arranged for the distribution of his few possessions. He was never small-natured. His insistence on self-support was not a matter of petty organization with him, but a great and enlarging principle. He had never asked people for money. Giving, he had taught, was a great privilege and joy, and his generous, thoughtful spirit was with him to the end. He found that the cover of an inkstand which he wished to give to a friend was lost and he at once ordered a new cover of silver. He gave his little eight-year-old daughter for her last present a gold ring. Then he fell asleep.

A personality like this is the adequate Christian apologetic. No religion but Christianity has ever been able to produce such men, so balanced, so devout, so intense, so gentle, so tragic, so genial, so vitally moral, with all of Purun Bhaghat's isolation of spirit from the world, but with the whole of life and not merely its ending given to sacrificial service of mankind, identified with their own race, but in sympathy with all that is human and strong among their own people because rich in the universal qualities of manhood. Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam never made a character like this out of an American or any man of any race. It is the glory of Christianity that it can take a Japanese, and, emancipating him from the racially separatist qualities of his nature, make him a more powerful Japanese than ever by reason of the cosmopolitanism of his new Christian manhood.

Christianity alone can make a man a better man for each place by annulling his localism and qualifying him anew for his local work by the inspiration and power of the universal stamp it puts upon him.

Sawayama teaches us this lesson. And thank God he teaches us also that time and criticism do not change the principles of the gospel, that what it was and did nineteen centuries ago in Philippi and Antioch and Rome it can do to-day in Japan. It can make men who are masters of life and death, and found churches which from the hour of their founding are alive and free.

STUDY FOUR



PADRE NEHEMIAH GOREH

NEHEMIAH GOREH

AND THE RELATION OF WESTERN FORMS OF CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE TO THE INDIAN MIND

I

A MODERN student of world politics and intellectual movements, whose judgments are unusually accurate and just, says, "Nothing has set up a more impassable barrier between the peoples of the East and the West than the profound discrepancy between Christian profession and practice. The deceitful selfishness, the rapacity and bloodshed, with which Christian nations have established their power in the Orient, the viciousness of the earlier adventurers and traders, have thoroughly alienated sympathy and destroyed confidence. When, after the revolting record of the Chinese War, the Western nations offer themselves as moral exhorters, the cultured Oriental is tempted to smile at the incongruity. But the disillusionment which is thus created has its tragic side, too. How pathetic is the blighted hope and utter despair of an ardent convert like Nilakantha Goreh whose high expectations of Christian life are disappointed! After cutting loose from his earlier beliefs, and thereby bringing deep sorrow on all his beloved ones, this young Indian scholar came to England to live in that atmosphere of love and purity whose ideal

simplicity had attracted his soul after he had fought his way through all the systems of Indian philosophy. But after six weeks in London he came to his Oxford mentor with the sorrowful words, 'If what I have seen in London is Christianity, I am no longer a Christian.' His noble and brilliant intellect was ultimately wrecked through his great disillusionment."¹

There is, indeed, a great problem for the new Christians of the East in the enforced readjustment of their thought, when they discover that Christian nations are so far from the kingdom of God and that so few Christian men are of the moral quality of the missionaries through whom the gospel came to them. There is no more picturesque account of the process of this readjustment than Uchimura's diary, "How I Became a Christian." His story covers a very much larger problem than that involved in the discovery that Christian civilization is so unchristian. It is the story of his whole intellectual reconstruction, the passage of a mind from Japanese Confucianism through various types of Christian experience into a definite and ultraindividualistic view of his own. But the process did not wreck Uchimura's intellect. He had far too tough an intellect to be wrecked by strong exercise. And Goreh's noble mind, far more subtle and tender than that of the Japanese, was not wrecked by his readjustment. Indeed, it is not accurate to describe his experience in England as a disillusionment. He was keenly disappointed, but he had seen much unchristian Christianity in India, and his broad perceptions were entirely capable of making

¹ Reinsch, "Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East," p. 10 f.

right distinctions as he observed the life of Great Britain. His real problem was not this, but the vastly more difficult and interesting problem of thinking out Christian theology in the forms of the Indian mind, of discovering the devotional life in which Christianity could best meet the needs of the Indian spirit and of constructing the Christian apologetic which would carry to other Indian consciences the conviction it had carried to his own. In the effort to solve this problem Goreh passed over weary ways alone, and he lamented at the end that God had denied him joy. But God gave him great peace and he was never near the shipwreck of which Professor Reinsch speaks.

We have studied in Sawayama the struggle of an Asiatic Christian to realize the ideal of a true and living Church. In Goreh we shall not see much of this problem. The ideals which consumed Sawayama did not shine for him. They have never shone for Indian Christians. Either because of their age-long habit of submission to alien masters, or because of the taming inertia of their climate, or because of the paralyzing influence of the British political system upon all native initiative and responsibility, or because of the system on which mission work was started at the beginning, or because of the depression of poverty and the bondage of caste, most of the Indian churches have always lived in the acceptance of the idea of dependence, at least of financial dependence. Goreh sought to preserve a self-respecting personal independence, but he never thought Sawayama's thoughts of a purely indigenous, free and self-organized Christian

church. He was an Indian and not a Japanese. What we shall see in him is the effort at an Indian Christian philosophy, a great Indian mind wrestling with the problem of Christian thought and experience under the influence of high ecclesiastical ideas, and in an environment of sacramental conceptions seeking to satisfy his own Indian spirit and work out the problem of the right Christian message and method for his Indian countrymen.

Goreh wrought at this during a long and holy life, seeking to orient his own spirit in the theology of the Christian Church and to mediate to India what the West had learned of Christianity, in order that the truth of Christianity, which is neither Western nor Eastern, might be naturalized in Indian soil.

Nilakantha Sastri Goreh—for this was his name until he took the name of Nehemiah—was born in Kashipura in Bundelkhand on February 8, 1825. He was a Brahman of the Brahmans. His family came from the Konkan, which is counted the district of the most clever of all Brahmans. He was a Brahman not only by ancestry, but also by religion and conviction, thoroughly conservative and orthodox. His name, Nilakantha, is one of the names of Krishna, the most popular form of Vishnu. He was never drawn into any of the reform parties or halfway movements, and even after he became a Christian he had far more sympathy with the strict Hindus than with the compromisers. He knew Hinduism by full experience, both as a social system and as a theology. He once said: "I was never like the Brahmans who belong to the Prarthana Samaj. I loved my religion

and believed in it fully. My father had us very carefully instructed in the Sastras, that is, the philosophical writings of the Hindus, and I grew up to love them with a great spiritual delight. They were the joy of my life." He never entertained, accordingly, any delusion as to the real nature of caste. He always opposed caste and took pleasure in trying to break it down as antisocial and antichristian.

Goreh's home from his first year was in Benares, the holy city. Here he grew up in the most scrupulous and earnest observance of Hinduism.

He was not satisfied with freedom from ceremonial defilement, which is the Brahmanical idea of sin. He was marked out for a Christian by the providence of God while the thought of such a step would have been a horror to him. It pained him to hear of inconsistencies in the life of those who were looked up to as pious Brahmans, and he had extreme reverence for such as really carried into practice what they taught concerning the benefit of contemplating the Supreme, and leading lives of purity, truthfulness and honesty; indeed, it may be said that he ran after saints and sages.¹

His father was devout and strictly orthodox, but not bigoted, and his influence was very great over his son. When the son broke away from Hinduism, it was not from him but from a worldly uncle that he encountered the greatest opposition. At first Nilakantha was a worshiper of Siva, after the example of his old grandfather, but he says:

I changed Siva for Vishnu afterwards. It is curious that one great pundit, from my criticizing on the character

¹ The quotations unless otherwise indicated are from Gardner's "Life of Nehemiah Goreh."

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ascribed to Siva in Hindu books, prophesied that I would one day become a Christian, though at that time such an idea never entered into my mind.

Indeed, this first change in his religious opinions did not in the least affect the contempt and hatred which he felt for Christianity and did not disguise. More than this even; his more active religious thinking led him to conceive the idea of arguing with the missionaries and silencing their foolish preaching. His newly adopted god, Vishnu, had in times long past driven the Buddhists from the field. Hinduism was facing yet more formidable foes. Conscious of his powers and assured of the truth of his course, Nilakantha, with keen and subtle argument, a tranquil and gentle spirit, and ample scholarship, opened a discussion with a missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Benares on the supreme problem of Hindu religious speculation, the problem of Karma; addressing "a question from Nilakantha to Rev. William Smith, concerning human misery and man's being in a state of probation." Goreh later told the story of this discussion:

I heard that the C. M. S. missionary was a man of great piety, and the foolish thought came to my mind that I would go to him, and show him the great beauty of the Hindu religion and convert him. I say "foolish thought" now, but it was then to me an inspiration, and I believed it was from the gods, and so did my father. I went to see Mr. Smith, and came away greatly disappointed, for he would not argue. He asked me to read the New Testament, and offered me a copy. I wished to refuse it, but he offered it so courteously that, though I felt a contempt for him and his book, I could not refuse to take it. I did not read it. I went again and

again to see Mr. Smith, but he would not argue. He only asked me, "Have you read my book?"—which I never answered.

One day I answered him thus, "You won't read my Sastras, and yet you want me to read your Bible." He answered very quietly, "My young friend, I do not know Sanskrit, and so cannot read your Sastras, but you know English and can do as I advise you, and read my Bible." I tried to persuade him to let me translate the Sastras, but it was always the same answer. He had no time. I do not know when I began to read the Bible, but it lay by for a long time; but I continually went to see Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith did not try to evade his questions. He sought patiently to answer his alleged difficulties, and in doing so he spoke out his Christian message unflinchingly and uncompromisingly. He did not in the least seek to win Goreh by glossing over or minimizing the differences between Christianity and Hinduism. He spoke no word of abuse of Goreh's faith, but he set forth with positive conviction the Christian view of Jesus Christ, and with unwavering personal assurance the work which Christ alone can do for men. He gave Goreh a book by John Muir which sketched the argument for Christianity and against Hinduism in Sanskrit verse. For about eleven months after this he heard no more of Goreh, but the young disputant had been confronted with the Christian Scriptures and he could not escape from them. The Sermon on the Mount struck him deep, and the more he read to refute, the more his misgivings grew that this must be a divine inspiration. As he himself said in later years, speaking in the third person:

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It was no desire for conversion, but pride and vanity which first moved him to discuss the truth of Christianity with the English missionaries. He did so only for the sake of showing his own knowledge and power in argument, to confute, as he imagined, their doctrine. While disputing with the missionaries the good providence of God led him to look into the Scriptures, and then it was, by the power of the Word of God, the light of truth entered his soul.

Many wise missionaries have learned to pursue Mr. Smith's method, evading no difficulty, toning down no Christian claim, but leaving the inquiring or even the disputative mind face to face with the Word of God.

After eleven months Goreh again appeared at Mr. Smith's house. This was in April, 1845. He came now not to overthrow the missionary, but to get light for his own life. Mr. Smith says:

"He could not at times conceal the fact that he had convictions of the truth of Christianity and of the futility, to say the least, of Hinduism. He renewed the subject of human probation, and argued with zeal and ability in favor of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls."

But he became more earnest and his private prayer for light increased, and in a few months he declared that

no mere worldly consideration would deter him from becoming a Christian; he wanted only more satisfactory evidence of the truth of Christianity, as he had doubts equally about his own religion and that of Christ. . . . It was now becoming evident that he was losing faith in his old religion in proportion as the beauty of the new religion was being manifested. After comparing his daily Brahmanical rites with

Christian worship, he appeared to feel the contrast deeply and evidenced it by many a sad sigh. He candidly acknowledged that he had now fewer doubts in regard to Christianity than he had about Hinduism. Mr. Smith told him that that was evidence that he should embrace Christianity, and God would remove all doubt. On this, his usual subtilty again manifested itself. He said, "If my one hundred doubts, for instance, on Christianity may be removed, why may not my five hundred on Hinduism?"

The pain of relinquishing old error was keener with him than the joy of finding new truth, for the error had seemed truth and been long loved, and the truth was new and unfamiliar, and it seemed to his soul, so timid and yet so loyal, a fearful adventure. "The dreadfulness of eternal things" was a real dreadfulness to him. It was true to the psychology of a mind that was reasoning its way into the kingdom instead of coming in by the leap of a spontaneous faith, that every step of the way should be beset by doubts and questionings, balancing of evidence, turnings back to make in the interest of Hinduism every intellectual suggestion or concession allowed to Christianity. At last to a doubt regarding the Christian teaching of the future life as contrasted with the Hindu doctrine of transmigration, which was seventh in a long list that he submitted, Mr. Smith replied with the New Testament teaching of eternal punishment. This smote his conscience as with the very thunder of the Judgment Day, and from this hour the issue was settled with him, though his racial and constitutional hesitancies were still to be overcome. His next step, while he still waited at the

gate, was to turn his arguments against Hinduism, and he opened discussion with some of his friends and began to neglect some of the family Hindu observances. His uncle, who was now head of the home, reproached him. His father, with whom he had always been in spiritual sympathy, laughed at him and unconsciously helped him on his Christian way by betraying the indifference to truth which pantheism engenders. It made little difference, his father told him, whether Christianity were true or false. Where everything is Maya, illusion, of course the mist of uncertainty settles over all and reality vanishes. "So the Hindu acquiesces in the idea that one religion may be true for others, while yet his old religion remains true for himself."

Goreh's moral nature revolted from such intellectual degradation. His Hindu friends also drove him on to Christ. They told him that the Bible had corrupted his mind and that he needed to return more deeply into worship of the Hindu gods. He did so, but the mockery and futility of such worship threw him back into the New Testament again, and the moral penetration of the Bible began to uncover to him a new idea of sin. But still he wavered. He had never been an idolater. He had always worshiped not gods but God. Could he not be a Hindu and a Christian too? The crisis came fast upon him. He was a real seeker for the truth, and the truth is not only a light in the mind, it is also a power in the will. He brought two other young pundits to Mr. Smith. But that was easier than for him to come to Christ. Nevertheless, at last he came.

It was a terrible ordeal from his old Hindu point of view. "You English people cannot imagine what it is for a Brahman to become a Christian. It is very awful." The report was circulated about him "that he was a man of no character, and that, having already changed his religion from the cult of Siva to that of Vishnu, his vacillating mind was now being drawn away to Christ. The danger of this temptation was that it set him to thinking whether there might not be some truth in it, and that after all he might become unsteady in his new religion."

His uncle beat him. His father wept and pleaded with him. The young man sought to settle himself once more in his old life, but it was in vain. "I could get no peace," he said. "The Hindu religion was absolutely abhorrent to me, and my whole soul yearned for Christ. So one day I slipped away quietly, saying good-by to no one." He was followed to a distant town and drugged and intimidated, but stood firm against the storm of wrath that fell upon him. Even yet, however, he was not ready.

He began to express a desire to try Hinduism once more, with respect, especially, to its practical part; intimating that, should he leave it now, it might be said that he had not shown it fair play, not having tried its various remedies for sin and means of acquiring divine knowledge. The full and perfect repetition of the Gayatri—the most sacred of all texts—to which most extraordinary blessings are promised, and other holy texts, he was particularly anxious to test. . . . He wished, he said, to be able to tell the Hindus, after he should become a Christian, that he had tried everything Hinduism could offer, and all to no purpose.

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The memory of his father haunted him. He once said:

The image of my father seems to be continually before me. His last look, so full of reproach, of sorrow and of agony—I cannot forget it. It haunts me day and night, sleeping and waking. There is my mourning, unhappy father, present to me. I must—I must return.

All this is a real life story. We who glide into the Christian faith so easily from our childhood training, or who come over to it by positive decision in a Christian land where every creditable influence coöperates with our decision, can have little idea of the wrench involved in a Hindu's coming from pantheism to a belief in a personal God, from a society based on caste to the Christian idea of human brotherhood, from the tenacious, throttling, enervating tentacles of Hindu philosophic thought into the new moral and intellectual world of Christianity. Even in India apostasy from Hinduism was far costlier and more difficult then than now, especially in Benares. But at last Nilakantha came to the hour with strength given him for his need, and, though again and again he drew back, on March 14, 1848, he was baptized as Nehemiah Goreh at Jaunpur, "the force of conviction and the voice of conscience," as he said, compelling him.

This was the unpardonable offense. He was excommunicated from caste as a defiled man, henceforth dead to his friends. His wife was lost to him for five years. His father had told him that if a son of his became a Christian he was sure the blow would

kill him. For thirteen years, however, the father survived, and he never ceased to love and long for his son. Far from never speaking to Nilakantha again, as Professor Reinsch says, the father ceased to speak to anyone but his son. He was distressed unless he saw him every four or five days, and when Nehemiah came the father would give his son of his own food to eat.

While he blamed him for becoming a Christian, he used to implore him never to give it up and become a freethinker or an atheist. "Without religion," he used to say, "man cannot exist. You have changed yours; but still Christianity is a religion—therefore keep to it."

Father and son loved one another to the end, though the father was always seeking, and never found, and could not believe that the son had found that which they had both sought.

II

NEHEMIAH had to meet at once the problem of his daily bread, which is so real in Hindu and Moslem societies, with their utter denial of real human brotherhood. In his caste he was within a wide and wealthy family relationship which sheltered and fed all. Outcast, he was expelled from the family life. More religion and ethics than we suspect are derived among us from daily bread or social environment. The apostasy which results when American Christians emigrate is a sad revelation of the extraneous character of much of our religious and moral opinion. If Christianity meant ostracism and poverty we should have a great winnowing of our church rolls. It meant both of these to Nehemiah Goreh. But loss of mere social position was a small matter to him. It was the utter and forcible destruction of his whole social life which in the intolerance and exclusiveness of Hinduism followed his baptism. Poverty was nothing to him. His father had voluntarily chosen it in the midst of the affluence of the family. Goreh never desired luxury or even comfort. Shelter and the simplest food and the cheapest raiment were all he ever required. Even these he was reluctant to secure by serving as a paid agent of a mission. He was at times employed, but only at salaries that met his mere physical necessities, and he avoided receiving any fixed salary and always disliked doing any work for Christ for a remuneration. Much of the

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time he supported himself by literary work, translation and teaching. Up to the time of his ordination in 1868 his name never appeared on any mission pay sheet.

His unusual scholarship enabled him, however, to do in the way of self-support what less-equipped men might not have been able to do. He had had a thorough Hindu education under the best teachers in Benares. He knew English and something of Greek and of a number of the Indian languages, and was thorough in his scholarship in Sanskrit, and later in Hebrew and Latin. He was very diffident of his own powers and deprecated the idea that he was a learned man. He wrote:

I am not pundit. I am not a learned man. . . . But the small talents which God has given me I have tried to use in writing some books and pamphlets.

These books and pamphlets, however, some thirty in number, are sufficient answer to his own self-depreciation. They show him to have been what all knew him to be—a man of acute intelligence, a subtle metaphysician and an accurate scholar even of the archaic Sanskrit of the Vedas. When he spoke of Hindu philosophy he did so with indisputable authority. In him, as in innumerable other men like him in every land, Christianity showed its power to convince the ablest, most penetrating and most critical minds, provided only that they are sincere and reverent and humble seekers after truth.

As I have already indicated, Goreh's acceptance of Christianity was an intellectual process. He was a

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scholar and not a man of affairs. He had little touch with the actual, struggling life of men. He had come through no great moral conflict which could be settled only by a sheer triumphant act of faith, functioning through the will. He had reasoned his way step by step, beset ever by new doubts or the recurrence of old ones. As a consequence he slipped back again and again on his approach to Christianity. As his biographer says:

He tried to make his way by reason alone, and reason failed him. In consequence, his faith became dim. It lost its first bloom. His great trial in years to come was apparently an inability to discern the truth, where faith and reason failed to appear equally clear.

This produced a morbidity of temperament which showed itself in later life. . . .

If this be the true statement of the case, the fault was more than amply atoned for in that lack of spiritual joy, often amounting almost to a crushing desolation, which so often finds its utterance in his letters, but which was so bravely and manfully conquered by persistent struggle and trust in God.

A nature like this might have slipped back again, even after baptism, or have subsided into a negative and restless inefficiency, if it had not at once plunged into service of others, and it was that instinct of instant, active effort for others, the eager desire to share with others what was known to his own soul to be a great good, in spite of all harassing doubts, that proves the conversion of Goreh to have been genuine. He had come into a great, unselfish love and longing for others that they might come to Christ. Doubts or no doubts, such a man is a Christian.

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He sought first of all—and this was also the last effort of his life—to win his own family. He had a younger brother named Govindrao, whom he loved with a great love, and sought by every persuasion he could use to win to Christ. His last letter was to him. He strove for his father, also, and his wife, and her he won again for himself and also for the Christian faith. His purpose went out at once to others also. Father Gardner tells us what happened:

As soon as he reached what he thought was a favorable locality he took out a Christian tract and began reading it aloud. The crowd that had assembled, however, hooted at him and abused him, and finally took to flinging mud at him. He was, therefore, obliged to desist, and came back all soiled with the mud and dirt—but he was in no way discouraged. He only smiled at the figure he showed and said that he would go again and again until he tired them out of treating him as they then had done.

This was the beginning of incessant, patient effort to win men to the Christian faith. Wherever he went and whomever he met and whatever he did, this was his one aim. If ever a man could say “One thing I do,” Goreh could say it. He was not a man of evangelistic gifts, a great speaker, a man of energetic personality or power, but he was a man who lived in the Christian faith and who lived to propagate it. He was deeply discouraged by what he regarded as the failure of his efforts. “He blamed himself as a useless man and attributed the failure of his mission to his own imperfections,” but Imad ud Din, the most powerful convert from Islam in India, and Safdar Ali, a Sufi, and Pundit Sita Ram, and the learned ascetic

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Pundit Kharath Singh and many others of the strongest native Christians in India were the result of his work, and others also of whom he never knew and of whom perhaps we do not know. For no one can calculate the consequences of releasing the truth of Christ in a nation. God's power is in God's truth, and as no word of his shall return to him void, what God spoke through Nehemiah Goreh lived and still lives. When we are discouraged in our mission work at home or abroad it is well to remember this.

In 1853, at the age of twenty-nine, Goreh went to England as tutor to the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, the young Sikh prince whose kingdom disappeared on the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. The Maharajah was a Christian, and his guardian, Dr. Logan, was a Christian, and, as it was desired that his tutor also should be a Christian, the choice fell upon Goreh. They spent sixteen months in Europe and were lionized everywhere, but Goreh was happy to be allowed to return to India in 1855 on the same steamer with Dr. Alexander Duff.

Not long after Goreh's return to India the development of his restless, ever-questioning mind carried him over from the evangelical views and moderate ecclesiastical position of the C. M. S. missionaries, with whom he had been associated, into relations with the "High Church" or "Catholic" party in the Church of England. In 1857 he went to see Dr. Kay of Bishop's College in Calcutta to consult him on the subject of the incarnation and the heresies which had arisen on the subject in the Church. While with Dr. Kay the question of a memorial to Bishop Daniel

Wilson arose, and Dr. Kay expressed his disapproval of dissenters being asked to join in it. This was a new idea to Goreh. At Benares all Christians had worked together on friendly terms. "This," as Father Gardner says, "it now appeared, could not be done without sacrifice of principle." Dr. Kay introduced him not only to this new idea, but also to Dr. Pusey and to the Church Fathers. Dr. Hooper tells us:

Now for the first time the idea of a society called the Church, having an entity distinct from the individuals composing it, and invested with an authority committed to her and an infallibility guaranteed to her by Christ himself, was presented to our friend's mind; and the more thoroughly he grasped it, the more he felt his feet firm underneath him as regards the logical position of Christianity itself; and the vague doubts which had hitherto clouded his mind, and occasionally made him feel weak when he had every reason to be strong, passed away from him forever. . . . He now began to view dissenters in a different light from what he had before. Not that he would ever for a moment deny them the title of Christians. On the contrary, he once said to me that he expected to find many of them in heaven occupying a far higher place than himself; and yet he could not ignore or minimize the importance of their being outside the historical Catholic Church. I shall never forget the pain with which he once deprecated my allowing my daughter to attend a Presbyterian service at Dehra.

With his customary intellectual tentativeness and scrupulosity, it was seven years before he was ready to leave the C. M. S. at Benares, which worked in hearty coöperation with unepiscopal bodies. Then he went to Bishop Milman in Calcutta, and there

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for the first time went to Anglican confession. He told a friend that he found it "so difficult that he trembled all over and the perspiration ran down him, while his throat was almost choked, but, as he said, the consolation which succeeded more than atoned for the shrinking at the time." Father Gardner tells us that "none of the subsequent occasions gave him so great a sense of forgiveness as the first." As he adopted what were called "Catholic" practices, his mind fitted itself to the theology of the new school which he had joined. He wrote a tract at this time setting forth his new position and lamenting that he had not found it before.

Goreh had been thus far a layman, but, says Father Gardner, "as the Catholic faith came more clearly before him, he learned that the anomalies which embarrassed him were not due to any fault in the English Church, but to the introduction of foreign Protestant customs, unauthorized by her prayer book or other formularies." His own unworthiness still hindered him, but he wrote now to Bishop Milman:

As for my receiving ordination, I must tell you that since I adopted the Holy Catholic Faith, and have become a believer in the grace of ordination, I have been longing for it. My object in wishing to receive it is that I may possess proper authority for the missionary work which I love to do, and that I may obtain the help of God's grace to do it effectually.

He was ordained on December 20, 1868.

Having passed from the Evangelical to the Catholic party in the Church of England, Goreh now passed on in the Catholic to one of the devoted ascetic orders.

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The Cowley Fathers, or the Society of St. John the Evangelist, came to India in 1874. Goreh met Father O'Neill, the first missionary of the Society in Calcutta. "How can I speak of that saintly man?" wrote Goreh in later years. "He taught me more than anyone else about the Catholic faith." Goreh soon joined these earnest men, but was long in doubt as to becoming a member of the Society. A letter which he wrote on May 21, 1875, to Father Benson, the superior of the Society, enables us to study the workings of this Indian soul in its effort to get itself domesticated to Western forms of Christian thought and feeling:

I must tell you, Father, that I am a very peculiar man; peculiar in my viewing things, peculiar in my doubts and difficulties, peculiar, fearfully peculiar, even in my sins, and even peculiar in my bodily ailments. I can never make anyone understand my mental perplexities and the reasons which produce doubts in my mind. . . .

To conclude, I must say with sorrow that, however I try constantly to persuade myself about the truth of Christianity, my mind does not come to the state of certainty, and however I try to persuade myself that my doubts are the results of a diseased mind, and that they are extravagant, and so forth, as I said before, nevertheless those doubts do have their effects on my mind! I often persuade myself in this way, for instance. Christianity has many kinds of evidence to prove its truth. There is the large body of historical evidence to prove the truth of Christ's miracles, for instance. Then there is the evidence of prophecy. Then there is the evidence of the incomparable excellence of the religion which it teaches, which, as the history of the world shows, no human mind could conceive.

Well, then, if each of these evidences is sufficient to make the truth of Christianity morally certain, then the force of

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them all must be equal to that of demonstration. Thus, I say, I often persuade myself; but yet this consideration does not produce that certainty in my mind. And the reason is that many doubts prevent my fully being satisfied that each of these evidences is complete and capable of proving the point morally certain. But, as I said before, I force myself to think, in spite of the secret dissatisfaction, that those evidences are complete, each by itself. And as I try to force myself to think so, so also I speak in speaking to others. Now I should like to know if you think it wrong? If you do, then I must shut my mouth forever.

Is not the state of my mind very curious? It is indeed very curious, and I even feel doubtful whether I correctly represent it, and am not understating or overstating.

The asceticism of the Society appealed to him, but it was less than that which his father had for years practiced. He lived with Father O'Neill, to whom the sacrifices of his simple life were real sacrifices, and whose heroic career was cut short by cholera. Goreh believed that India needed asceticism and celibate brotherhoods, though he himself had been married, and deeply loved his daughter. She had been educated in England under Miss Havergal and had returned to India to render valuable service, and was the author of the familiar hymn, "In the Secret of His Presence." He always wore his simple Indian dress and kept to the plainest Indian food and style of living, but he never took up real Indian asceticism. He lived as a simple Indian scholar might live. All this would be the hardest asceticism for a foreigner, however, as Father O'Neill discovered. Nehemiah tells us:

Father O'Neill felt himself called to a life of greater poverty than the Cowley Fathers even generally lived, and asked me to

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join him. We went to Indore, where he lived with the natives. Fr. O'Neill could not sit cross-legged as we do, for English people never can, and so he used to recline when we sat at mealtimes. I once made Fr. O'Neill angry. I said I thought it was wrong to use pepper, for if we lived on such coarse food to mortify our appetites, we ought not to take pepper, which in some degree made the food more palatable. But Fr. O'Neill did not agree with me, and pepper was admitted at our meals. At last Fr. O'Neill was persuaded to buy himself a chair and table, but it was a miserable place for him; and even of the scanty food we had he scarcely took much, but generally gave away his breakfast to lepers and sick people.

At last Goreh decided to become a novice in the S. S. J. E., and in 1876 went to England to the Mission House in Cowley for the purpose. It was not a happy experience. He spoke of it years afterwards to a friend:

At once I felt miserable. Oh, those cold cells, in which one has no privacy! That horrid English food, and then Fr. Benson told me to wash the floor of my cell. I told him at once I could not do it, and to send some one else. Those fathers do menial work. I have seen the fathers washing the mission-house stairs. Oh, how I hate the life! I used to cry and kneel down to Fr. Benson and beseech him to send me away. He always said, "You will be all right when you return to India." The only consolation I had was going to see Dr. Pusey. I told him all, and he said: "Mr. Goreh, how do you feel in going through a tunnel? How dark it is! How at a loss one feels! Yet, after all, that tunnel will soon lead on to the light, and with what joy we hail the light. Well, your spiritual experience is something like that tunnel; but if you persevere, you will come out into the glorious light." I don't understand what he meant, but I felt a little cooler in my admiration for Dr. Pusey after that sentence; it seemed so silly. Still I love him, only not so blindly as I did.

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It became clear that he had no vocation for the Society, and after a year and a half in England he returned to India to work with the Society, but not as a full member of it, and in 1885 he was released even from the novitiate in a very high-minded and noble-spirited letter from Father Benson. His attempt to duplicate the Anglican experience of the Cowley Fathers was a vain effort. Subtle and adaptive as his intellect was, he could not bring it, any more than he could bring his Indian temperament, into accord with an Occidental expression of the ascetic element in the Christian life.

With sympathetic recognition of his difficulties Father Gardner says:

In his season of struggle we can now easily understand how the routine, the minutiae of the religious life would gnaw his sensitive soul, if he allowed himself to be worried by them. He felt he ought not to remain longer in a community under rule, although at the same time he knew he would not gain by leaving it. He fretted at what seemed to him the impossibility of carrying out the spirit as well as the letter of our rule. The "seven hours of prayer" troubled him. Common sense required that a limit should be placed on the time used in their recitation, but he felt when he read the Psalter he needed to have his own time to meditate upon the words, and not to be hurried or compelled to keep in unison with his fellow worshippers. Meditation was irksome. The rule demanded at least an hour daily, but his mind began to wander at once, and he could not keep it in check. The fact was he was an Eastern, and the Western method of meditation was as foreign to him as Western philosophy is to Eastern. And so he went on examining one rule after another. It was in vain that his superiors, confident of his real vocation to a life of prayer and asceticism, dispensed him or, rather,

allowed him to consider himself dispensed from some ordinary obligations. He found himself unable to accept dispensations.

It was evident that the Indian spirit must be left free to work out its own forms of utterance in the liberty wherewith Christ makes Indians free from all our Western ritualisms. Goreh's mind, sensitive and adaptive as it was, kept its integrity, and the soul, though it had greatly burdened itself, halted before it had gone too far.

The intricate spiritual and intellectual experiences through which Goreh passed and which lasted his whole life long did not interfere with his unceasing work as one of the best-equipped and most-untiring Christian apologists in India. His own countrymen acknowledged his scholarship and authority, and listened to him with respect. He believed in offering the whole body of Western theological conviction to India. He often lost the sense of perspective and proportion and magnified nonessential things, but his voice was clear on the great foundations of the faith. His greatest book, issued in 1860, was entitled, "Shaddarshana Darpana; or, Hindu Philosophy Examined, by a Benares Pundit." It was translated into English under the title "Hindu Philosophical System; a Rational Refutation," but he published also many pamphlets and addresses, including a remarkable treatise entitled "Proofs of the Divinity of Our Lord, Stated in a Letter to a Friend." He wrote this for Pundita Ramabai, whom he had led into the Christian faith, but who had temporarily lost her spiritual footing under the agnostic and Unitarian

influences which wrought upon her on her visit to the West. Goreh seized every opportunity which came to him to reach men, ignorant and poor men as well as the educated, but his main work, just as in these publications, was directed to the thinking and educated classes, first to the thoughtful Hindus who held to the old philosophy, especially the "Vedanta," then to the Brahmos and other Indians who were seeking to reform Hinduism without becoming Christians, and then to the young, English-educated men taught in the government schools.

He was always very positive and emphatic in his declarations of the error and inadequacy of the old Hinduism. The great moral defect of Hinduism, in his view, as his friend and fellow worker, Mr. Hill, wrote, was its ignorance of what sin really is.

Their dilemma is, "Is a thing right because God does it, or does God do it because it is right?" The latter, of course, because the eternal law of right is supreme. But by the former alternative, to which they cling, they seek to justify all the immoralities of their gods, Krishna, and so forth, as well as excuse the evil deeds of the Brahmins who imitate them. It was this which so disgusted Fr. Goreh with Hinduism, for he found in it such perfect confusion between essential right and wrong, in the strongest possible contrast to the Christian commandments and intuition.

He welcomed a translation of the Vedas because, as he wrote:

The Hindus do not know at all what the Vedas contain, and the prevalent notion among the Hindus is that they contain nothing but a most sublime knowledge of divine and spiritual truths. But many of them, when they shall see

what stuff these *Agni Suktas*, *Vayu Suktas* contain, will begin to think that it does not deserve the name of a divine revelation.

He did not believe that even the good of Hinduism was capable of discovery except by the Christian consciousness. In some lectures in Bombay it is said:

He dwells especially upon the incapacity which men have always shown for disentangling what is good among heathen religions from the evil which is mixed up with it, unless they have Christianity to guide them in their selections. However beautiful some extracts from heathen writings may be, nevertheless they do not convey to them that idea of God which the reader initiated in Christianity is able to discover.

He came to be almost hopeless of the conversion of the old orthodox Hindus. He declared:

They are sunk in superstition. Their education in their own Sastras does not enlighten them. . . . The more religious, the more earnest-minded a Hindu is, the more difficult he is to convert. Preachers of Christianity are apt to think that such are the men best to go to, to talk with them on the subject of Christianity. But it seems almost useless to go to such men. Such men are most incapable of understanding your arguments either against Hinduism or in favor of Christianity.

But Goreh himself had been just such an earnest-minded Hindu, and the experience of all foreign missionaries, since foreign missions began in the conversion of Paul, shows that the best Christians are made not from religious indifferents or compromisers, but from the most earnest followers of other religions, who have been earnest enough to desire more than any but Christ, the Desire of the nations, can ever supply.

III

GOREH discovered the truth of this in his controversy with the Brahmōs and the other Samājes. This, for a time, even more than his constant battle with orthodox Hinduism, constituted his chief activity. "The Brahmō was to him as constant an object of controversial antagonism as the Manichæan was to Augustine." It is worth noting this point. Goreh knew Hinduism and Brahmanism far better than Western scholars knew them. He met their adherents with unfailing courtesy and love, but he never slurred over or ignored their errors or falsehoods. He threw all his power into earnest contention for Christian truth, and, so far from alienating men, he kept their confidence and won many to a faith in Jesus Christ, the Saviour. Very early in the career of Keshub Chunder Sen, the best known of all the Brahmō leaders, Goreh met him in Cawnpore, where Keshub came to call upon him. Goreh was astonished to discover that the Brahmō leader had never read any book on Christian evidences, that he was flowing along on an easy tide of sentiment without any of the patient, scrupulous examination of the evidence for and against every point through which Goreh had passed. Keshub almost boasted to Phillips Brooks, who met him in Calcutta in 1883, that he never read. Goreh set himself to study Brahmōism with his customary care and soon issued his firm appeal against it. He visited Calcutta in his studies

and there repeatedly met Keshub. As he came to know Brahmoism thoroughly, he attacked it on four grounds.

(1) As ignorant of Hinduism. In his "Existence of Brahmoism" he refers to this:

When at a meeting at Lahore, convened to hold discussion with the Brahmos, I said that while the teachers of the "Vedanta" taught on the one hand that God and we are one, they also taught on the other that God is distinct from us and we ought to worship him. A Brahmo gentleman said with great vehemence, "They were not idiots!" This shows how ignorant they are of the true notions of Hinduism.

It was very different with him. His knowledge of Hinduism was original and thorough and accurate. The average Brahmo had but a superficial and shifting understanding of his own ancient faith.

(2) As a Westernizing influence of a false kind. In his tract on the divinity of our Lord, written for Ramabai,

he shows that instead of Christianity being a Western religion forced upon the Hindus, it is Brahmoism in its various stages, which is Western throughout, casting aside elements of truth which are the essential characteristics of Christianity, and these are found, however distorted and degraded, as elements of oriental tradition in the Hindu Triad and the Avataras of Vishnu. The Western teaching, beginning from Ram Mohun Roi, has not helped but hindered the purification of Hindu mythology, which the acceptance of Christian truth would have effected.

(3) As uncertain and vacillating in its basis and yet unwilling to search sincerely for truth.

(4) As being nothing but natural religion with ad-

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ditions wholly drawn from Christian sources. He urged that as Brahmos thus got all that was of greatest value from Christianity, they should not stop with their eclecticism, but should inquire into the full teaching of the gospel and accept it. He wrote in his first tract to the Brahmos, in 1867:

I can prove that the notions which you have now adopted as to the nature and attributes of God, and in favor of which you have cast off the contrary tenets of Hinduism, were originally contained only in the professed revelation which we have in the Bible. There, too, they can be traced to the Bible, and no other source. Therefore, it is your duty to accept the whole revelation which we find in the Bible, and not only those parts of it which take your fancy, agree with your predilections and involve you in no social ostracism.

In his "Four Lectures to the Brahmos," and later lectures in 1875 and 1879, he pressed their dilemma upon them, due to the fact that they had borrowed all their true teaching from Christianity. If Christianity was true in what they had borrowed, why did they not take all? If it was not true in what they had not borrowed, how did they know it was true in what they had? He further urged upon them the simple and indisputable fact of human history that all religious progress and, we would dare to add, all political progress for the Christian centuries, had come only from Christianity.

After a time he despaired of reaching the Brahmos. He kept faith in Keshub Chundar Sen as an upright man as long as he could, but lamented his lack of moral courage, and at last had to give up his confidence in him even as a really honest man. With the Aryas

he had no patience from the beginning. He saw through Dayanand Saraswati from the first. He knew too much Sanskrit not to see that he was willfully trying to mislead others. He wrote:

I have a great detestation for the Arya Samajists. The founder of this sect, Dayanand Saraswati, who is now dead, has invented this religion by putting false, glaringly false, interpretation on the passages of the Vedas. It is built on downright falsehood. Brahmoism is not such.

There are hundreds of men who are thus deceived by Dayanand, and are now being deceived by his disciples. I thought that it would be a great thing to undeceive these people in this respect, and show them that the teaching of the Vedas is not what Dayanand told them. They do not teach the worship of the one true God, but their religion is polytheism. This will be the means of turning them toward Christianity. Dayanand may be said to have prepared many men for Christianity.

He abandoned this hope. "They do not seem to care for the truth," he wrote, after toiling for them, "but simply are determined to propagatate their views and to oppose Christianity."

The Arya Samaj is more powerful to-day than it was in Goreh's time, but the situation as to the Brahmos has completely changed. Then the Brahmo movement was very strong. There were many earnest men in it who had repudiated the old Hinduism and seemed to be moving toward Christianity. But Hinduism was too subtle and adaptive to let them go, and to-day these promising movements have practically collapsed. Men whom the new education and the ethical illuminations of Christianity have separated from orthodox Hinduism are now orthodox

Hindus. Hindu orthodoxy has modified itself to provide room for them and for ideas which are the utter contradiction of the older Hindu conceptions. This is a welcome change. It is what was to be expected, and we rejoice in it, though not in the moral inconsistency, in the intellectual self-contradictions which it produces. And the change immensely increases, for the time being, the difficulty of the apologetic and evangelistic task of Christianity.

The form of Hindu philosophy, however, which has been taken up and carried forward in this modern revision of Hinduism is the philosophy of the Vedanta, and it was the Vedanta philosophy upon which Goreh expended his most studious labors, with the result that out of a vast and painstaking examination of the Sanskrit texts he produced the "Refutations," of which I have already spoken. After a careful and detailed examination of the Vedantin views in detail, at the end he comes squarely to the declaration that the Vedanta is not theistic, and cannot be without ceasing to be the Vedanta. This is the way he puts it:

Viewed superficially, it has, I allow, a guise of theism; and yet, when investigated critically, I cannot see that it is anything but a sort of atheism.

The distinctive article of theism is the belief in a God; but God is eliminated from the Vedanta. Its Brahma is neither creator of the world, nor its preserver, nor its lord; in short, the world is out of relation to him. . . .

Moreover, as to a theistic religion, God and the adoration of him are essential, so likewise is discrimination between sin and virtue; and this discrimination is ignored by the Vedanta. . . .

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There is no doubt that the fundamental dogmas of the Vedanta are opposed to all godliness, and are subversive of the principles of morality. It is perfectly certain that, according to them, one is not called upon to fear and to adore God, to detest sin and to love virtue. Inconsistently enough, however, there are Vedantins who are earnestly devoted to the worship of what they take to be God. This comes from their following the dictates of their better judgment, the voice of God, rather than their own chief tenets. . . . Powerful indeed must be the natural instinct of truth, if, in spite of the causes tending to debilitate it, which I have lately spoken of, it still asserts its prerogative, with some effect, among very misbelievers. Even through their mouths it bears witness against false doctrine, and in behalf of God and the truth.¹

This is the real Vedanta, but the modern Higher Hinduism, which is making a habitable place inside Hindu religion and caste for the men who two generations ago were breaking away in the Brahma movement, has set about a great transformation of the Vedanta. Men educated in Western schools and facing the facts and realities of life cannot live by the old Vedanta, with its denial of reality and its dissolution of the very foundations of truth. And yet these men are naturally averse to a rupture with their racial past. Their effort, accordingly, is

to link the past to the present, and so enlarge the outlook by trying to harmonize the older Hinduism with the progressive, scientific spirit of the present century. A Vedantic terminology is freely used, but its exposition by the new school would not be accepted by pundits of the older type. It is altogether too modern. Meanings and senses are read

¹ "A Mirror of the Hindu Philosophical Systems," the latest English edition of the "Refutations," pp. 375, 377, 379, 380.

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back into the old Sanskrit, which probably had no existence in the author's mind. It is very noticeable in the present day, when Western thought and influence are everywhere in the ascendant, how a new kind of style and expression has found an entrance into the writings of those Hindus who think largely in English—those, *e. g.*, of Swami Vivekananda and his master, Ramakrishna Parama-hansa—quite different from that of purely native thinkers who think in Sanskrit, such as the Indian pundits and gurus. There is an application of the language of the Vedanta to new and even opposite conceptions and thoughts. It is further significant that the publications and discourses advocating the revival of the Vedanta are almost entirely in English. The sacred language so long used for religious purposes—the classic Sanskrit—is discarded, and the English tongue is considered good enough for the discussion of the mysteries of the faith. The mere fact that the language of religious discussion has been changed shows how great the new departure is. But the point of chief interest to Christians is this: that while this neo-Hinduism is set forth as a proud rival to Christianity, it is yet saturated with its spirit, and there is an evident desire to harmonize the ideals of Hinduism with those of Christianity.¹

This is the Brahma principle under a new spirit, a spirit of Swadeshi, of nationalistic consistency, of loyalty to the past and a willingness for an evolutionary modification, but not for a conversion. In this spirit India is ready to become Christian, provided Christ is willing to become Indian. But Christ is Christ, neither Indian, American nor Jew, but the divine Truth to whom humanity is to be adjusted, not he to humanity. Nehemiah Goreh clearly discerned the uniqueness and absoluteness of Christianity,

¹ Slater, "The Higher Hinduism," p. 82 f.

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and he neither sought nor offered any compromises. He claimed Christ's sole supremacy.

Yet this man, so positive and courageous as we have seen, was harassed all his life, as we have also seen, by doubts and misgivings. In a letter written February 18, 1884, thirty-six years after his baptism, he wrote:

When I have doubts about certain things, it seldom happens that they are removed by others. I myself get out of them. It was not by the persuasion of any missionaries that I was led to embrace Christianity. After I became a Christian I was troubled and tried very severely by these doubts. Doubt about the truth of Christianity itself, doubt about the divinity of Christ, doubt about the mode of baptism. I resorted to several persons to get my doubts solved. After the first doubt I do not know to how many persons I resorted, even from India to England and Ireland—to Archbishop Whately. This was on my first visit to England in 1854. But I got no satisfaction, at least full satisfaction, about any of the above-mentioned three doubts from any man.

On October 24, 1889, he wrote:

Many years ago, about 1856 and 1857, I was much troubled by doubts about the divinity of Christ. I then thought that I found a solution of those doubts, and I do not think I was troubled by them for many years. That solution now appears to me unsatisfactory, and those doubts have begun to trouble me again.

Dr. Hooper, as we have seen, told us that when Goreh passed from the evangelical view into the sacramental, "the vague doubts which had hitherto clouded his mind, and occasionally made him feel weak when he had every reason to be strong, passed away from

him forever." That was in the sixties. How far from the fact this was these quotations of 1884 and 1889 show. Dr. Hooper himself tells us that Goreh often told him that "while he had exchanged Hinduism for Christianity on an undoubted conviction that the proof of the latter vastly surpassed that of the former, yet he could not be sure that some day some new argument might not be found which would turn the scale the other way."

In 1875 in his letter he wrote to Father Benson: "Doubts and perplexities have never left me." Father Gardner says that 1884 was a year of special doubts and difficulties.

His acute mind, and the great stress which he was accustomed to lay upon the importance of accepting by reason all that came under the domain of faith, made him peculiarly susceptible to such spiritual troubles. He could take nothing on trust; or, rather, when faith opened out to him her treasures, his reason impelled him to turn them over on all sides, and examine each one minutely, so as to apprehend the *rationale* of every detail, as well as the reasonableness of what had to be accepted as a whole. This, in time, no doubt begot scrupulosity. He had been warned over and over again of this danger. But it seemed almost an impossibility for him to avoid it. He regarded it as a temptation if he sought to put it aside. Doubts, difficulties, suspicions would arise in his mind on almost every conceivable subject, and could not be put down. In several of his letters the same thoughts are continually repeated, although those which come between such letters bespeak a joyous freedom. The intervals of refreshment were none the less real because the times of struggle were the more keenly remembered. Inconceivably painful were the occasional temptations to doubt the most elementary articles of the faith, and the clearest evidences of God's working in his own soul. They were assaults of

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the evil one, through which he bravely persevered, but as they arose they seemed to crush him.

Dr. Pusey once tried to help him in his doubts by a letter, as well as by the conversation about the tunnel, closing his letter with the words:

I am sure that you do believe, only there is this mist hanging about you, damp and cold, which shuts out the sight of the sun, but it keeps you in life, although not with the glow which you would long for. God be with you.

And he did believe, with the belief which cries, "I believe; help thou mine unbelief."

His doubts were intellectual, not moral. They made him miserable, but he still clung to God and truth, and his whole moral nature followed loyally on. He was living by the prescription of Bushnell's great sermon on "The Dissolving of Doubt." In 1885 he wrote to Father Page:

I am miserable in more than one way, but I am now speaking only of one way. Doubts constantly arise in my mind from time to time and perplex me very much. . . . Amid all my fearful doubts and perplexities and uncertainties, there is one thing which affords me comfort. When my soul is perplexed with doubts, I say to my soul: "My soul, you are perplexed with doubts, but why trouble yourself by remaining in suspense? Do what you can. Give up Christianity and join the Brahmo samaj or Prarthana samaj, if you can do so. Go back to Protestantism, if you can do so. Be a Roman Catholic, if you can do so." When I say this to my soul, I think my soul feels that it cannot do any of these things. Then I say to it, "Then remain as you are." And I also feel that the reason why my soul cannot do any one of these things is not the fear of man, but the impressions which

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my examining and reading all sides of the question have imperceptibly produced in my soul. This, then, is the instinct, which is the only logic of an unlearned and ignorant man like myself. But a man can rely on such an instinct only if he feels sure that no wrong motive is influencing his conduct, and that he never willfully shuts his eyes to any light. . . .

I said that hitherto it has so happened that by reading the writings of unbelievers, theists and Roman Catholics, the hollowness and baselessness of their systems has appeared to me more and more. But I must tell you this, also, that should the reading of such books make me see the truth of any of those systems, I am not afraid of that. Very doubting as my mind is, still I trust, or rather wish to trust, in the great Father of us all, that if I ever keep the door of my mind open to every light, if fear of man is not preventing me from doing what is right; if I am ever ready to follow my instinct, that which will appear to me to be the truth will be the truth, and why should I fear of embracing it? I cannot say that even a sincere lover of truth may not be allowed to fall into some minor errors, but surely such a man cannot be allowed to fall into an error by which he will perish.

He followed the course prescribed by Jesus. "If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching," but he did not know, as Bushnell knew, that "doubters never can dissolve or extirpate their doubts by inquiry, search, investigation, or any kind of speculative endeavor," and he kept on ceaselessly questioning and investigating all things, great and small, with an intellectual scrupulosity that gave the heart no rest.

Indeed, one wonders, in reading this true saint's inner life story, whether he ever knew the real joy of simple trust in Jesus Christ, not as a reasoned doctrine of the faith, but as the knowledge of a living, loving,

personal Friend and Saviour. There is no trace of his having ever entered into this simple, joyful secret of the Christian life. And yet how could his daughter have been Miss Havergal's dear friend, and the old man never have learned it? He was a scholar, a Christian rationalist who accepted authority on grounds of reason, but he was not a leader of men's hearts, for his own was never satisfied. Mrs. Pope, in whose home he died, said:

Once he asked a friend what was to be understood by Christ's unconditional promise to answer prayer and give what was asked for. On being told that she believed it never failed if perseveringly asked and patiently waited for, he said, "I have made one request to God for forty-two years, and he has not granted it me." This prayer was for joy in religion. He had been converted by those who lay great stress on this feeling, and he longed for it with no common desire, but God never seemed to hear him. He was very saintly, but utterly joyless.

Suddenly at the last, on October 29, 1895, he passed away, out of his pain into the land of peace, where he surely found the joy that he had missed on earth. His was a nature that needed a wholesome objective life, a life with enthusiasm and devotion to outward ends like Sawayama's, and he missed these. He brought Ramabai to an intellectual conversion, but the real conversion of her heart and personality came years later through Dr. Pentecost. If Goreh had fallen under influences which had taken him out of himself, which had given him the ideal of God's rich, saving health and the abundant life of God's Son, which had made religion an affair of the whole

man and of all the life of man, and not ascetic, sacerdotal, concentric, he might have had the joy which he so unsuccessfully sought. Of his first visit to England, Father Gardner tells us:

“He could not endure the cold, stilted church services then in vogue. He used to betake himself regularly to a small Baptist chapel down a back street. The simple and hearty devotion of the people and the earnestness of the preacher appealed to him, and he had, of course, no consciousness of the meaning of the Christian Church as a spiritual body.”

He came later to a very high notion of the Church, but perhaps that did not compensate for his missing the simple, hearty devotion and earnestness which his heart had longed for in London. It would seem, too, that his life diminished rather than increased in its effective power. Dr. Hooper speaks of knowing of only one conversion “as having been due to his efforts during this last period of his life,” while the earlier evangelical years were marked by the winning of some of the most remarkable converts of the Indian church.

There is no doubt about Goreh’s saintly character. He was a saint of the type which is produced by the imperfect mingling of a philosophic Indian personality with the sacerdotal and sacramental type of the Christian spirit, and yet he was a real saint. Mr. Hill, who knew him well, says of him:

Our dear brother Nehemiah was shy and reserved, diffident and humble in an extreme degree. His mild and gentle manner; his profound and lustrous eyes, which seemed to reflect the light of the invisible world rather than the faint

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gleam of this world's lights; his very presence, seemed to speak of the things of the Spirit, to breathe forth faith and hope and charity. It was impossible not to feel you had seen a saint. First impressions are strong, and that—my first—interview with the father made the most vivid impression upon my mind. I have always associated with it the lines in the "Lyra Apostolica":

I dreamed that, with a passionate complaint,
I wished me born amid God's deeds of might,
And envied those who saw the presence bright
Of gifted prophet and strong-hearted saint,
Whom my heart loves, and fancy strives to paint.
I turned, when straight a stranger met my sight,
Came as my guest, and did a while unite
His lot with mine, and live without restraint.
Courteous he was, and grave—so meek in mien,
It seems untrue, or told a purpose weak;
Yet in mood, he could with aptness speak,
Or with stern force, or show of feelings keen,
Marking deep craft, methought, or hidden pride:
Then came a voice—"St. Paul is at thy side!"

But many questions arise in our minds as we study the interesting personality who has been before us. Was his, after all, a typical Indian mind? Was his nature freely wrought upon by the pure spirit of Christ, or was it coerced, oppressed, deflected, stifled in any way? Did he really understand India's need, or what it is that Christ came to do for the world? Is there not a far more catholic interpretation of Christianity than that which he called by this name? Is even the best Hindu philosophy, after all, a preparation for Christianity? Did it prepare Nilakantha Goreh? Is not Father Benson's word proved to be true that "every point of difference between the

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nebulous mysticism of Hindu philosophy and the solidity of Christian mysteries must be purified seven times in the fire of an intense experience before it can shine out with the purity of the Word of God, free from all the dross of earthly imagination."

After all, is not such a life story as this renewed evidence of the human need for such a delivering conviction, such an emancipation of life from scruple and legalism into infinite joy as Luther recovered for the world when he brought back Paul's doctrine of justification by faith from the sacerdotal jurisdiction into which it had fallen? Even for India we are sure that the whole joyous New Testament gospel, rich with the treasure and human reality and divine grace which neither the fathers nor any other teachers have ever been able to handle without some abridgement, is the only gospel, and that gospel must be something inclusive of all our present interpretations, and greater than they, if it is to take the life of India up into itself and perfect and complete and satisfy it.

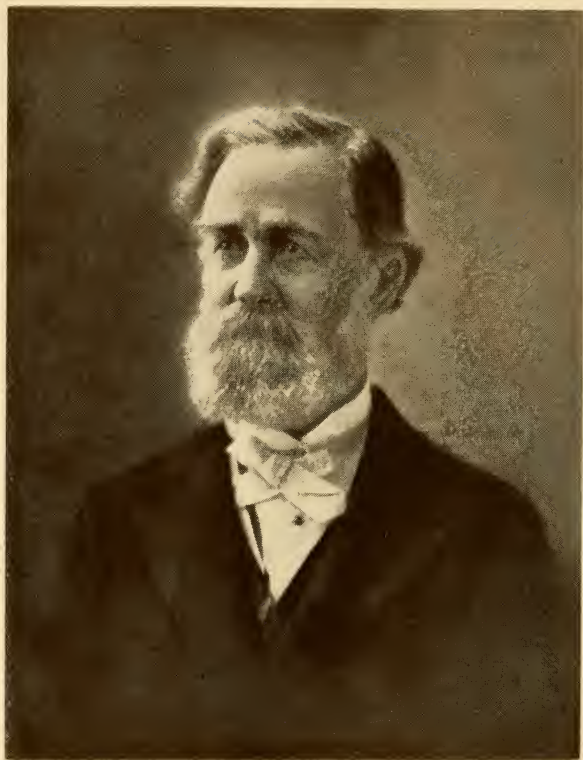
He was a unique personality, and as a witness to the truth of Christianity drawn from the highest caste of subtle-minded, thoughtful Brahmans, it will be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to replace him.

This was Sir Monier Williams' estimate of him. He was a good man and a useful man. He was indeed, as Sir Monier Williams has said, a unique man. But he will be replaced, and while there will always be room in the Indian church for men like him, the problem of fitting Christianity to Indian

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spiritual experience, of naturalizing Christian truth in the Indian mind, must await a larger and richer and truer answer than it found in this true and humble spirit who sought for his peace and found it not until he came at last in the quiet of the evening to the rest that remaineth for the children of God.

STUDY FIVE



DAVID TRUMBULL

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THE FRIEND OF CHILE, AND THE PROBLEMS
OF THE FOREIGN COMMUNITY AND RE-
LIGIOUS LIBERTY

I

SIX years before the courageous but pitiful death of Captain Allen Gardner in Terra del Fuego, when he was still busy with his missionary researches in South American lands and with his advocacy of work for these countries among the churches of Great Britian, a call was issued by the Foreign Evangelical Society for a man to go to the South American coast, then without a single evangelical missionary. In response to this call David Trumbull offered himself, and was sent out to Valparaiso, to begin a long career of forty-four years of missionary ministry, which made him one of the best-beloved and most influential men in South America, and which enabled him to render to his Master, his adopted country and to the world a unique and abiding service.

Trumbull sprang from some of the oldest and best family stock to be found in America. His first American ancestors came over in the "Mayflower"—John Alden and "that Puritan maiden, Priscilla," whom Longfellow has immortalized. His great-grandfather, Jonathan Trumbull, from whom the typical American

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character has received its personification in "Brother Jonathan," was governor of Connecticut during the Revolutionary War and George Washington's constant counselor and trusted friend. The originality and persistence and zest of character which made Jonathan Trumbull a steadfast, resourceful and exhilarating mainstay of Washington and of his country in its darkest hours, were characteristic also of his great-grandson. The family line was full of great and useful men, including John Trumbull, the painter, and, in one of its collateral branches and contemporaneous with David, Dr. Hammond Trumbull, our most-learned scholar, and Henry Clay Trumbull, one of our greatest Civil War chaplains and religious teachers. David Trumbull was happy in the glory of this ancestry, and it pleased him to gather notes and stories of his people, which he succeeded in doing as far back as the year 1640. His daughter tells of his delight upon discovering evidence while at home on a furlough that the only Trumbull ancestor who had been charged with illiteracy had written his own will. He spent some time trying to clear the family line of this disgrace, and when he had secured the evidence he came home dancing like a schoolboy. No one, however, would have accepted more humbly than he the solemn but playful doctrine of his kinsman, Henry Clay Trumbull, who wrote in his sermon on "Our Duty to Make the Past a Success":

As to your family, my young friend, if you are doing more nobly than your grandfather did, you may well rejoice that he lived an honored life; but it were better for you to have been a bushman of South Africa, and improved all your privileges

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and opportunities, than to belong to one of the best old families of Massachusetts or Virginia and not make a gain on its record. The question is, not whether you are proud of your grandfather, but whether your grandfather would be proud of you. It is a good thing to be in a family line which had a fine start long ago, and has been and still is improving, generation by generation. It is a sad thing to be in a family line where the best men and women were in former generations.

David Trumbull's spirit was so sunny and natural and true that any false pride either in ancestry or in himself was a moral impossibility. Nevertheless the great lives that lay behind him never flowered out into anything greater or richer than he.

He was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, November 1, 1819. The family home, however, was in Connecticut, and thither his father, John Trumbull, returned, so that when David went out to Chile, it was from Colchester. For a while after his early school days he was employed in a store in New York, and in later years was accustomed to refer playfully to his "commercial experience." His thoughts were, however, turned toward the ministry, and he entered Yale College and was graduated in 1842. He was a classmate of Hammond Trumbull and also of James Hadley, the eminent Greek scholar and the father of the present president of Yale. One who knew him in college wrote:

We cannot refrain from alluding to what we ourselves remember of the impression that he made upon those who came in contact with him. In all that he said or did there was displayed a certain nobility of character which was the

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more attractive as it seemed so natural to him. He had a rich vein of humor; and we will add—as it seems to have been a characteristic that was often made a subject of remark wherever he went during all his life—his face wore a peculiarly joyous expression which was quite remarkable, and gave an additional charm to the genial smile with which he always greeted those to whom he spoke. Yet the impression which he gave to all was that of a man of marked independence of character, and no one could even then have doubted that he possessed, and would retain through life, the full courage of his convictions.¹

Just what he was in college he remained all his life, with the added enrichment of the years.

From Yale Trumbull went to Princeton Theological Seminary, where he was graduated in the class of 1845 with John B. French, who went as one of the early missionaries to China. This same year he heard the plea of the Foreign Evangelical Society, which was afterwards merged in The American and Foreign Christian Union, and accepted the commission to go out to Valparaiso to preach, first to seafaring men, and thus to prepare the way for Christian work on shore in English and in Spanish as rapidly as possible. He wrote in his private journal in March, 1845:

“It seems as though a field was opened there, and in some respects as though I am fitted to enter and till it, and scattering seed, to wait patiently for God to give the increase.”

This was his call. He did not wait for any portents or magic or for unreasoned moods which might be supposed to be more trustworthy than the facts of

¹ In the “New Englander and Yale Review” for June, 1889.

the world and the calm thoughts of his own mind. A great need which no one was meeting and which he could with God's help meet—this was all that he needed as a missionary call. "Though he was endowed with those qualities which would have made him a shining light among his contemporaries at home," wrote Dr. Ellinwood, who knew him intimately for many years, "he early laid his plans for a more self-denying work, in some respects a lonely and isolated work, on the west coast of South America, because he felt that morally and spiritually that long coast line was without one beacon of evangelical light." A similar call is waiting for thousands of men to similar neglected fields. But where are the similar men?

He sailed for Valparaiso in the ship "Mississippi." On the voyage out he preached regularly on the Sabbath, and his son-in-law tells us:

His journal of the voyage contains ejaculatory prayers showing how he was seeking a perfect patience and consecration. The indifference to religion among those on board moved him to labor and pray for their salvation. On being told during that long voyage that he was held in esteem by all on board, he wrote: "I thank God for it and hope he will help me hereafter to be a faithful Christian and let men see that I believe and practice what I say. And O my Father, may I enjoy the privilege of winning souls, or some soul, to Christ."

There is an interesting contrast between this voyage and that of David Livingstone to Africa just five years before, when Livingstone also touched on the South American coast on his way.

Sundays were not times of refreshing, at least not beyond

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his closet. "The captain rigged out the church on Sundays, and we had service; but, I being a poor preacher and the chaplain addressing them all as Christians already, no moral influence was exerted, and even had there been any on the Sabbath, it would have been neutralized by the week-day conduct. In fact, no good was done." Neither at Rio, nor on board ship, nor anywhere could good be done without the element of personal character. This was Livingstone's strong conviction to the end of his life.

In his first letter to the directors of the London Missionary Society he tells them that he had spent most of his time at sea in the study of theology, and that he was deeply grieved to say that he knew of no spiritual good having been done in the case of anyone on board the ship.¹

It was different with the sunny-hearted, companionable Trumbull. His notebook has many entries showing his hopeful, purposeful character. He expresses himself as much pleased with some sayings of Frederick the Great, among them this: "It is no longer requisite I should live unless I can live and work. These are sentiments worthy of this great man, and also the key to his greatness. Fit for the adoption of every man, be his station what it may, how much more fit for the Christian, who has so much work to do and who can only live the life to which he is called by doing constantly and well." On thinking of the homeland and its attractions he said, "May God assist me to a pure purpose of being his, and sincerely asking where I can do the most good; and of going freely." At the end of the voyage he wrote, "Now nearing my field, may I be aided to be faithful in it, remembering that I am to give account." How many

¹ Blaikie, "The Personal Life of David Livingstone."

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more men would be going out to the foreign field to-day and into neglected sections of human need at home if they, too, had "a pure purpose of being God's and sincerely asking where they could do the most good and of going freely"?

The "Mississippi" entered Valparaiso Bay on Christmas Day, 1845, and David Trumbull at the age of twenty-six stepped ashore to begin his work. He was at once kindly received, as he was sure to be always and everywhere. It was a lonely and discouraging situation which he found. There was an Anglican consular chaplain, with whom he at once made friends, but his congregation was small, and it was all that there was. There was no missionary work whatever for the Chilean people. Valparaiso itself was a small, unattractive place. "There was not a tree in sight save a cactus on a hilltop. The houses were so scattered as to make little impression and one would say, Where is the city?" The city was two towns, the port with its customhouse, stores, Plaza and Intendencia, and the Almendral with its miles of gardens. The main part of the present business city was then sea margin which has since been filled in. There was little or no pavement, no gas or street lamps of any kind, no water supply but by carriers, and only one street, unsafe at night, from the port down to the Almendral. Dr. Trumbull lived to see a great modern city grow up, with every improvement and convenience, and in that growth no man had a larger part than he.

Dr. Trumbull's first work was to be for sailors. Valparaiso was in those days, as it is now, a great

harbor, and perhaps then even more than now there was opportunity for reaching sailors of all lands who were in the city while their ships were refitting. There were whaling ships from New England, off on their three-year cruises, which came back to the Sandwich Islands or to Valparaiso to prepare for the next season's fishing. After the discovery of gold in California the number of ships and sailors stopping at Valparaiso on the way going and coming greatly increased. In 1850 nearly fifteen hundred commercial vessels, with fifteen thousand persons on them, anchored at Valparaiso. These vessels represented "nearly thirty different nations," says Dr. H. Clay Trumbull. "Yet the British and Americans had more than all the others put together. Vessels of war were in addition to these commercial vessels. So it will be seen that the field of labor was important for a missionary and chaplain. Besides those actually on the vessels there were always more or less sick in the hospital from the countries represented by the vessels. And there were others of them in the city prison. Dr. Trumbull had those sick and in prison to minister to." It was a great sailor parish to which he had come. He held his first service on the ship which had brought him, raising the Bethel flag on the "Mississippi" on Sunday, January 4, 1846, and preaching to forty persons his first sermon on II Cor. 4 : 4, "In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them."

As the years passed by Dr. Trumbull's work grew

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in range and variety, but all his life long he was the friend and minister of sailors. A Bethel ship, called the "Hopeful," attractive and commodious, like a steam yacht in appearance, was secured in 1885 for service in the harbor and on the sea. The spirit in which he began his work made it sure both that no need of men in Valparaiso once seen should ever be forgotten and that the need of no class of men should be overlooked. His was no mere perfunctory or professional service. He was himself in the truest sense a man of God, and the love of God and the greatness of God were ever upon him, making him tender toward men and humble before Him whom he served. On his twenty-seventh birthday, Sunday, November 1, 1846, before he had been quite a year in his field, he wrote this prayer with some prefatory words of self-examination:

And yet I am spared. Why? I think of Payson, of Dr. Grant, McCheyne and Stewart—men ripe, earnest, prayerful, mighty in the Scriptures, yet called away, while I, crude, dull and weak, remain. I have thought God will not take me away yet; but why not, when he has taken them? Why from the middle of their fields where they were gathering sheaves—while I have hardly brought together my straws? But now I must begin. This may be the last of my ministry; even of my life. I have to-day felt, as I am not wont in prayer, a nearness to God and a sense of sin and of deficiency such as I have long been without. And I have made promise to God that henceforth I will obey him perfectly. And to keep it more in mind, here with pen enter my promise and prayer for strength to keep it.

My God, I will begin a new life with this new year—first, to do all my duties; second, to shun any degree or sort of sin. I will aim to please thee every day forward. I will set out

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not for a partial but for an entire obedience, to love thee with all my heart and my neighbor as myself. And then, further, in my public life as a minister of the gospel I will study thy Word and all truth where it can be found, in candor, with prayer; and will apply myself to find out suitable language, figures and thoughts, that others may be taught by my efforts. And in private visiting I will try to be faithful.

Thou art my Maker, my Owner, my Redeemer and Purifier—I own the right and will aim to feel that I am in no way my own. I devote myself, tongue, hands, head, affections, imagination and memory to thy service. But what is all this? Only bringing again what I received from thee, and have misused, abused and corrupted. The heart I offer thee I have injured and have now need to ask thee to repair the harm I have done myself. Accept me then with all my powers, not as a gift, but as a favor to myself; fit me to serve thee and then make use of me—any way thou shalt please. Use me to live and work, or to lie down and die—I put myself at thy disposal; do just thy pleasure, only sanctify and save me.

If in this spirit he wrought for the sailors who came and went through Valparaiso, he still saw this work only as the beginning. He recognized that his duty lay to the whole foreign community. There was need of a church on the land not for the sailors only, but for the foreign merchants who even at this early period constituted a large and important element. He found some devoted Christian men in this class. Indeed, the first Protestant services held in Valparaiso were conducted by an English merchant, Mr. Sewell, in a private house. Then Anglican consular chaplains were sent out and Trumbull found one holding services in a private chapel when he arrived. He and the chaplain became warm friends, and this tradition of friendship between the Anglican clergymen and

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the successors of Dr. Trumbull continues to the present day. As soon as possible he gathered those who were not related to the Anglican service into a Union Church which he organized with fifteen members, including himself, on September 5, 1847.

Tradition says that he preached his first sermon on shore in the printing establishment of "El Mercurio," a "printer's horse" serving as the pulpit, while the small congregation used rolls of paper as seats. After that a warehouse was rented in the city. This was small, accommodating at most about fifty persons; and so dark that often in the daytime it was necessary to light candles and whale-oil lamps. In 1854 the Union Church purchased the site for its first building. This was completed in 1855, and dedicated in April of the following year. This building was historic, for it was, as Dr. Trumbull used to say, the first Protestant church erected in South America, or on the West Coast from California to Cape Horn. As the walls of the new building began to rise there was considerable excitement in ecclesiastical and government circles. The municipal authorities gave peremptory orders to stop the work; while the government sent word to the church officials that any attempt to hold service would be prevented, if necessary, even by police force. But Trumbull came of fighting stock, and he was well backed up by Britishers who never know when they are beaten. Under one pretext or another the work went on, slowly and almost imperceptibly, until at last the building was completed. Then the government positively refused to allow services to be held. Six months of negotia-

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tion resulted in a compromise, and the government gave its consent on condition that the Union Church people build a wooden fence high enough to intercept the view of the building from the street, and that the choir should sing so softly that passers-by should not be attracted to the heretical worship within. As an indication of the temper of the times it may be added that several Chilean ladies married to Englishmen expressed a desire to attend the Protestant service with their husbands; and that they were notified that if they persisted in their attempt the authorities would be compelled to use the police to prevent such a desecration of Chilean soil.

Once in possession of its own building, and with regularly conducted services, Union Church began to grow in wealth and numbers. A new and larger edifice was erected in 1869, which—again greatly enlarged—serves the Union congregation still. Many young men, plunged into as great a work as Dr. Trumbull had before him among the sailors, would have been timid about undertaking such a project as the Union Church, or would have regarded the mercantile community as outside their direct responsibility. But Dr. Trumbull had the gift of making friends of anyone, and he saw that the permanent foreign community had deep religious needs of its own which should be met, that its support of his work for sailors should be secured, and that its influence upon Chile needed to be made in the highest sense Christian. All over the world there are such communities as these. Too often men and women have drifted out to them from the homelands whose past records have been shaded,

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and while many more have gone of the best ideals and the highest character, they have had to meet the down pull of the other element and to withstand the debilitating and demoralizing gravitation of the native atmosphere. In many fields the result is a composite sentiment which looks askance at the missionary representatives whom it meets, while the missionaries, on their side, often feel that to be involved with the foreign community is to compromise their own direct work. Social divergences also easily grow up between people of very different temperaments and aims. The result has been that in many port cities a fixed hostility has settled down between the great body of the merchant community and the missionary body, with much criticism on each side; and often, whatever the social issue may be, there has been too much moral divergence to allow of concord and good will. Dr. Trumbull took hold of the conditions in Valparaiso with a firm and winsome grasp. The best men in the community were captivated by the bright, direct, consecrated personality which had come among them, and as years passed by and as his influence grew the whole community came to feel and respond to his power. To this day it bears his impress. It is true that it was fortunate in numbering among its members some English and Scotch merchants whose godly character and upright principles erected a standard for the whole community, but to no one as much as to Dr. Trumbull does Valparaiso owe the unusually high tone of its foreign community to-day and its tradition of honor and friendliness in the community life. Trumbull's ca-

reer shows what one man of the right type can do in fixing the character of a whole settlement.

Nowhere has there been more need than in Chile of such conserving work as Trumbull sought to do among the English-speaking residents. Chilean public life is full of British Protestant names, proselytized to the Roman Catholic Church in Chile by the influence of social relationship or political pressure, or by simple absorption in the life of the land. In 1888, describing a large Roman Catholic meeting in Valparaiso, Trumbull wrote to the Presbyterian Board:

In the note of the Roman Catholic meeting here I have left in the names, not supposing they would all be published, but thinking it would interest you to see how many of them are English, Irish, Scotch and American names; the daughters of well-to-do foreigners, Protestants who have married and formed families here, that have been brought up as Romanists. It is a side light falling on the question, How far should we seek to evangelize and retain for the gospel our own countrymen? Some of the most potential Roman Catholic supporters here to-day are of British origin; their parents or grandparents having had no public worship to attract them have attended none, and their wives, worthy and good Roman Catholics, have carried the children into that connection, unless they have gone into freethinking.

It was part of his conviction with regard to this work that it should be not denominational, but union. These communities were not large enough to maintain a number of different denominational agencies. The community was one in all its other interests and activities. It should be one in its religious life. The great ideal of the missionaries' work should be not the import of British and American denominations,

but the creation of a single national church in the land to which the missionaries had come. These seemed to him to be convincing reasons why the churches for English-speaking foreign residents should be union churches. There would be some who, through past training and relationship or national distinction, might prefer a church of sacramental or liturgical type and the Anglican chaplaincies provided for these, but all others Trumbull sought to gather into one Union Church. It was one of the first of many such churches which have grown up all over the world. And, indeed, it was one of the first three evangelical churches of any kind to be established on the Pacific coast of the Western Hemisphere.

As I have already intimated, Dr. Trumbull was interested in the foreign community not only for its own sake, but also because of the work to be done beyond it and through it for the Chilean people. He was commissioned to the sailors and other foreigners in Valparaiso, but from the beginning it was the understanding of the society which sent him, as it was his own, that he was in Chile for the people of Chile, too. But when he arrived there was no religious access to them. The government of Chile was intensely Roman Catholic, and in those days the idea of religious liberty hardly existed in South American countries. There was not only no religious liberty, there were no free schools, no civil marriage, no interment of Protestants in the cemeteries. Buried in the foliage on the side of Santa Lucia, the rocky hill in the center of Santiago where Pedro Valdivia, Pizarro's lieutenant, intrenched himself and from

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which he threw himself down with his little handful of one hundred and fifty adventurers and conquered Chile, is an old stone erected by Vicuña Mackenna, when he redeemed Santa Lucia from its dishonor as a dumping ground, and made it the ornament of the city. It is placed on a spot where, in the old days on this hill of refuse, Protestants were buried. There was for them no resting place in sacred soil. The bodies were removed by Mackenna, and where they lay he set up a memorial bearing the inscription, "To the memory of those exiled from heaven and earth."

The country was as yet quite undeveloped also in the matter of transportation and industry. Before Dr. Trumbull died he looked out upon a new Chile in all these things. The year he arrived William Wheelwright surveyed a railway line at his own expense from Valparaiso to Santiago. That interesting genius, having made a financial shipwreck at home, became the great railroad builder of the west coast. He inaugurated steam navigation on the coast, suggested the use of iron in shipbuilding, laid out the daring railroad from Mollendo to Arequipa, built the first line in Chile, from Caldera to Copiapo, in 1850, and laid out the water system for Valparaiso. Dr. Trumbull saw the railroads spread out over the land, and the telegraph follow them, and letter postage go down from forty-two cents for a letter from New York to five cents. The Spanish Government recognized the independence of Chile the year of his arrival, and he watched the political administration through seven presidential administrations grow increasingly steady and secure. He saw the port of Valparaiso bombarded

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by the Spanish fleet in 1866 when Chile sympathized with Peru in her struggle against Spain, and he watched the war which Chile waged with Peru in 1879-1883. The foreign community in Valparaiso grew in his time, though the number of Americans diminished, and the total population of the city expanded from forty thousand to one hundred and twenty thousand. In 1875 there were seventeen hundred and eighty-five British, eleven hundred and thirty-four Germans and four hundred and twenty-seven Americans, while in 1895 there were twenty-one hundred and fifty-seven British, nineteen hundred and eighty-five Germans and two hundred and thirteen Americans. And to the last he was interested in the expansion of the land through the growth of its commerce, the development of its mineral resources and the opening up of the Alpine regions of the south.

But it was the educational and religious advancement of the country which was his chief care, and the changes which took place in these regards and in effecting which he was one of the chief agents, are set forth in an editorial in "El Heraldo," one of the Valparaiso newspapers, on the occasion of his death:

He arrived at the time of our awakening as a free people, and he came to contend against the preconceived ideas of a social condition which was unwilling to recognize the excellence of any but a single religious system, accepted only from the ministers of the state religion. Whoever separated himself from the official religion was evil spoken of; and even the necessities of life were denied all who did not address God in Latin, in temples consecrated by the hand of the archbishop who had received his authority in accordance with the original article, number five, of the constitution.

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In consequence of this it was that the appearance of Dr. Trumbull was an offense, and his propaganda sounded as the echo of a curse. But he, far from being intimidated, began his work quietly, patiently, constantly and laboriously. He continued it, armed as he was with great perseverance and unquestioned ability. To it he dedicated all his time, beginning by the example of his upright and spotless life, upholding it in the home and at the side of the grave, in the church and in the school, in the street and in the press, with the constancy of dropping water and the self-consecration of an apostle. The fruit of his labor was later on incorporated in successive streams of civil, social and religious reforms. The body of a Protestant ceased to be a prey for the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field. The Protestant came to have equal rights with him who professed the Roman Catholic faith, to have his churches, his burying ground, civil rights and public regard. To bring this about, and to implant in public conscience the tenets of religious tolerance and respect toward the religious beliefs of others, it was necessary to reorganize everything from the political senate to the pulpit, from the press to private societies; to make use of keen polemics, yet with the courtesy of a man of the world; to endure, to suffer, to contend and to wait till more than forty years had passed. What must not Dr. Trumbull have endured and suffered during all this time! What he brought about was a revolution in the country; and he was, of necessity, a revolutionist before he was able to walk our streets saluted with respect, esteemed and loved by all as a man of worth in the best and highest sense of the word.

In our times of great public distress he gave us the benefit of his prayers, his sustaining faith, his charity, words of counsel and of comfort. More than one free school owes its existence to his initiative. In the anxious days of cholera he gave us of his time, his energy, his funds, and he was then seen forming measures of relief for the stricken and their poor families in conjunction with the official head of the Roman Catholic Church in this town. Who would have thought this possible forty years ago?

II

WHAT did Dr. Trumbull do to effect so great a change?

One of his first efforts, apart from his preaching and his friendliness, was a school which he and his wife, a niece of Professor Fitch of Yale, whom he had married in 1850, conducted for the education of girls. The school was soon complained of, but the Committee of Examination commended its Christian method, and its influence extended and endured. It was given up in 1856, but Dr. Trumbull continued to advocate education as one of the great needs of the country. The struggle was a long one, however. In 1872 a non-Catholic school was closed by law in Valparaiso, but ten years later the victory was won and free-school privileges were granted to the country.

He saw quickly that the circulation of the Bible in Spanish would be as effective an agency as any which could be used, not only to propagate Christianity but also to promote religious liberty. His first step in this direction was to send to Santiago several boxes of Bibles and tracts. This was early in 1858. About twenty years before this an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society had sold a few Bibles in Chile; yet all we know of this work is a pastoral letter of the archbishop in which he thundered against the "devil and his works," and ordered the Bibles to be burned; and this was done publicly in the plaza of Quillota.

The first systematic and successful attempt to circulate the Scriptures in this country was the work

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of David Trumbull. These Bibles were probably the first exposed for sale in the capital, if we except a few which were introduced as early as 1821 by James Thomson, who used the Scriptures as a text-book in his schools. In a letter which appeared in March, 1858, the archbishop prohibited the study of the Bible under the severest penalties of the church. The Bible was declared "fraudulent," "heretical," "dangerous," and every Chilean was forbidden to have a copy in his possession, much more to read or study it. Trumbull answered this letter. The archbishop then retired, leaving Reverend Francisco Garfias to defend the interests of the church; but after an interchange of several letters on both sides, Mr. Garfias withdrew in confusion. This incident is worthy of notice because it was the first skirmish in a series of battles which lasted for nearly thirty-five years. In 1860 Dr. Trumbull, to call him by the title he afterwards received, wrote to the British and Foreign Bible Society asking them to send an agent to the coast. Richard Confield arrived in Chile in 1861, and a few weeks after his arrival the Valparaiso Bible Society was organized, with Dr. Trumbull as president. The success of this society, which lived for years as an independent organization, and which exists to-day as a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, was due in great part to Dr. Trumbull. Up to the time of his death this local society put into circulation 101,265 Bibles and Testaments, 197,000 religious books, and collected on the coast about one hundred and two thousand pesos, equal to about seventy thousand dollars American gold.

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In connection with this Bible work there is an incident which is interesting. Reverend Father Vaughn, a brother of the cardinal, visited Chile late in the seventies. Discovering that few Chileans possessed copies of the Scriptures, he collected money for the purpose of publishing a cheap edition of a Catholic New Testament. Dr. Trumbull helped him secure the needed funds—in fact, collected quite a sum among his own church people. This was given to Father Vaughn on condition that Dr. Trumbull was to receive a certain number of copies, once the edition came out. This New Testament, bearing the authorization of the pope and the archbishop of Chile, was printed in London and afterwards forwarded to Valparaiso. For nearly a year no trace could be found of the invoice. The ecclesiastical authorities denied all knowledge of the books, but they were finally traced from the customhouse to the house of a priest, Mariano Casanova, then ecclesiastical governor of Valparaiso and afterwards archbishop of Chile. Once in possession of this knowledge, Dr. Trumbull threatened to take legal measures to secure the number of copies which belonged to him; but before the suit was instituted the books were delivered at the Bible store to his order; and, as a result of his farsightedness and aggressive energy, there was put into circulation a Catholic edition of the New Testament which the Catholic authorities would fain have suppressed and which has proved very useful in evangelical work.

Like many other missionaries in Latin lands he perceived also the value of religious newspapers.

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In English he published "The Neighbor," afterwards "The Record." The first Protestant paper in Spanish was "La Piedra," and Dr. Trumbull himself was the editor. The first number was published in 1869. It was of sixteen small pages, and appeared at irregular intervals as often as its exchequer and Dr. Trumbull's other duties permitted. The name was characteristic, "La Piedra," that is, "The Rock"; and on the title-page, printed in bold type, were the words of Christ to Peter, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." The expenses of this little paper were paid by contributions collected by Dr. Trumbull. The last number appeared in 1879, when "La Alianza Evangelica" became the organ of the mission. He had to do also with "El Heraldo" of Santiago, and later "La Aurora," and he published a sermon weekly in "La Patria." These publications spread the new ideas which he brought far and wide. He sent home to the Board a specimen letter which he had received from a society of workingmen who had been reading his sermon in "La Aurora":

We make it our duty to give you our best thanks in the name of our society. Our statutes do not allow the discussion of religion or politics while in session, but afterwards, adjourning, your periodical is read and each offers his remarks upon it.

Your holy mission is ere long to be seen crowned with the unfading laurels of peace and prosperity, . . . and the faith will shine forth in all its brilliance, not obscured by ignorance nor by fanaticism. Progress and knowledge are advancing rapidly and are waking up minds that have been asleep. Sons of the common people, we from our youth have been educated in the practices of Romanism, and they

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who know the truth pure and spotless are very few; hence it is necessary that those apostles who try to make it known should be unfaltering in their use of the press in bringing out their publications.

In these early days and in fact, during his whole life Trumbull was greatly interested in the translation and circulation of tracts. Finding something he thought might be useful, he would print it, and start out afterwards to collect the money to meet the expense; and so successful was he in this line that he used to say his epitaph ought to be, "Here lies a good beggar." It is impossible to calculate the number of tracts and useful periodicals thus put into Spanish and circulated.

As his influence spread, the opposition which he had encountered from the beginning naturally declared itself more positively. This produced controversy. Moreover, he was a tireless and aggressive worker for the convictions which he held, the reasoned grounds of which he was ever clearly and courageously setting forth. But he was always the gentleman and always the friend, and his polemics were full, not of hard hitting only, but also of his genial kindness and irresistible love.

In 1863 there took place the celebrated public discussion between Dr. Trumbull and Mariano Casanova—a discussion deserving notice not so much for itself as for the results it produced. In Chile there is a Saint of Agriculture who guards the fortune of farmers, giving them rich harvests and sending rain at the appointed times. Since the seasons are fairly regular the good offices of San Isidro are seldom re-

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quired. Occasionally, however, the rains are delayed, much to the loss of the sower and the distress of the eater. At such times mild measures are used to begin with, and the saint is reminded of his duty by processions and prayers, and placated by offerings. If he still refuses to listen, his statue is banished from his church, even manacled and beaten through the streets. Such scenes take place in Santiago even in our day. In 1863 San Isidro answered the prayers of his devotees with commendable promptitude. Eighteen hours after supplications had been made at his altar rain fell in copious showers. In view of this signal blessing the archbishop called upon the faithful for contributions to repair St. Isidro's shabby church. It was at this juncture that Dr. Trumbull entered the lists; and in an article entitled "Who gives the rain?" which was published in "La Voz de Chile," he attacked the practice of saint worship. Casanova replied in "El Ferrocarril," and the battle was on. Charge and countercharge followed in rapid succession. The affair got into the provincial papers and was discussed all over the country. San Isidro and rain became the question of the day; and at last Casanova withdrew from the field, routed foot and horse.

As a result of this discussion Dr. Trumbull became the acknowledged champion of Protestantism in Chile. The progressive party at once recognized in him a powerful ally; while the ultramontanes saw in him a dangerous foe. His sphere of influence now extended beyond the local church of which he was pastor to the country at large, and he took his place among the leaders of national reform.

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His views on the Lord's day also brought down opposition. "You may feel interested to know," he wrote to the Board in 1876, "that the recent notices in the 'Record' touching the desecration of the Lord's day have elicited the fire of the adversaries, who are down on us for presuming to imagine men could give any time during the six working days of the week for military and firemen's drills."

But hard fighter as he was for what he believed to be truth, his boundless neighborliness made it hard for anyone to cherish anger against him. A cholera plague broke out. He at once gathered all the contributions he could and gave them to the curé of San Felipe, who sent him the grateful reply: "That God, who has promised to reward the cup of cold water given in his name, may crown you with all good, is my desire."

As he lived his open, friendly, untiring life in Valparaiso his influence grew day by day. His courses of action were so prudent, so kindly, so winning, that it came at last to be clearly understood what kind of man he was, and the city and the prominent men of the country grew to think that without him the nation would be poorer. An old college mate wrote of him in the "New Englander":

The interest which he took in all that pertained to the material and moral advancement of the country was recognized. The suspicion with which he had at first been regarded was broken down completely. A native writer says, "Though in the early days of his active and successful proclamation of the gospel, veritable tempests of envy and hatred were raised, yet the personality of Dr. Trumbull was such that little by little it commanded the attention of all such as

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were watching the outcome of his toil; and, as time went on, the whole country recognized the claims of his talents and his virtues." Another native writer says that he had gained such general respect in Valparaiso that "a prestige" began to surround him.

He gradually acquired a great personal influence over the leaders of the Liberal party. After these men had learned his ability, and become convinced of the unselfishness and sincerity of his character, he gained such a hold on them by his genial manners and rare powers of conversation that they frequently sought his counsels in public affairs, and his wise suggestions with regard to them determined the policy of the State.

The measures of state policy which were most upon his heart and which enlisted his constant effort related to the opening of the cemeteries, the establishment of civil marriage and the civil registry of births and deaths, to religious toleration, and, if it might be, to the separation of Church and State. When Dr. Trumbull reached Chile all the cemeteries were in the hands of the Catholic Church. Any Catholic in full communion had the right of burial; yet even for these exorbitant interment dues were charged, and it was no rare thing for bodies to remain unburied for days until the friends could raise the money demanded by the church. Baptisms and the registry of births and marriages were in the hands of the parochial priests, and fees were demanded such as the poor could ill afford to pay. For this reason many did not call in the offices of the church, while in regard to marriages the state of affairs was

even worse. In the case of Protestants there were vexatious delays and heavy expenses, to escape some of which some were married by the British or American consuls on board of vessels of their nationality, on the high seas, outside the three-mile limit. The marriage of a Protestant to a Catholic was made even more difficult. Provided a dispensation from Rome were secured, it was possible for a Protestant to marry and remain of his faith; but this involved a long delay and an expense running up into the hundreds and often the thousands of pesos. He could still retain his religion and be married if he paid heavy fees to the parish priest and, moreover, signed a statement before a notary public promising to bring up his children in the Roman Catholic faith, never to criticize the Church, allow his wife's confessor to choose the schools for his children and direct their education, and name as executors of his estate only such persons as were approved of by the confessor. Otherwise he could marry only by becoming a Catholic and thus making a public abjuration of his faith. In the case of Catholics it was much easier to legalize marriage, but such outrageous fees were charged that the lower, middle and poorer classes were inclined to omit the ceremony. Many illicit relations were and are to-day due to the cupidity of the clergy. In fact, the church has been educating the people for over one hundred years in the school of illegitimacy.

In order to remedy this state of things a movement was set on foot in 1875 which resulted in the reforms of 1880 and 1884. The cemetery bill,

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which made all burial places free, was passed in August, 1883, and in January, the following year, the civil marriage act was promulgated. These two steps of progress gave Dr. Trumbull great satisfaction. He wrote to the Board on January 12, 1884: "Our Congress has just passed a civil marriage bill which deprives the Roman Catholic Church of all superiority over other denominations and must reduce its emoluments immensely. And we must pour light in." He rejoiced that he had lived to see such important measures approved as the law of the land. "Often he had listened," says Mr. Dodge, "to tales of suffering from those who could not be at peace with conscience in their domestic relations without payment of large sums for dispensations or by accepting dogmas which the State Church imposed, and he had labored and prayed for legal relief."

Those living to-day in Chile can hardly imagine the tremendous excitement created throughout the country by the mere proposal of these reforms, and the imminent danger there was of a religious civil war. Dr. Trumbull was called four times to Santiago to consult with President Santa Maria and the leaders of the Liberal party. In the heat of the fight it was proposed to take extreme measures, and declare, in addition to the three bills already mentioned, the separation of Church and State. It was due, in great part at least, to Dr. Trumbull's efforts that this step was not taken. Subsequent events proved the wisdom of Dr. Trumbull's views; for the Liberal party had overestimated its own strength and underestimated the forces of the opposition. Had the separa-

tion of Church and State been attempted that bill would never have passed Congress, and that would have also sealed the fate of the other reforms. A Catholic reaction came on shortly after, and it is highly probable that if it had not been for Dr. Trumbull none of these reforms would have been sanctioned by Congress, and that Protestants in Chile would be living to-day under an ecclesiastical tyranny more easily imagined than described.

The struggle for religious liberty was more prolonged. When Dr. Trumbull reached Chile and on into the early sixties all evangelical work among the Chileans was impossible. It was dangerous because of the temper of the people, and punishable because opposed to the law of the land. The famous Fifth Article of the Constitution declares that the Apostolic, Catholic, Roman religion is the religion of the State and of the people—any other form of worship being absolutely prohibited. As long as this article remained unmodified and in force, all Protestant worship was out of the question. It is true that the members of Union Church were permitted to hold services in the building they had erected, but this was really illegal—a degree of liberty being allowed as a favor to British merchants and to their diplomatic representative, but this liberty could, by no means, be expected to guarantee the natives of the country a like liberty. It was at this time that the leaders of the Liberal party, and Dr. Trumbull among them, drew up what was known as “the interpretive law.” This was passed by Congress in 1865 during the presidency of Perez. The bill, as

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finally passed by the Chilean Congress, permitted dissenters to hold services in private buildings, and also to establish private schools for the education of their children. It prohibited, however, all acts and shows of worship, such as processions, bells, steeples and current types of churchly architecture; still it was the passage of this bill which made preaching in Spanish possible, and Dr. Trumbull wrote at once to New York asking for reënforcements.

In a letter of January 1, 1874, he told of the ensuing stages of the struggle:

In Congress recently it has been proposed to separate Church and State; but this, so far as it has come from church partisans, means, set the Church free to govern itself, but still pay its bills! Such arrangement will not be consummated, ever. If the Church would accept complete independence the State would agree to that, and the nation probably accept the settlement. Meanwhile Congress has adjourned and nothing will probably be done till June. But we have now liberty to proclaim our message in any and every way. Especially the press should be employed more than it is.

On September 24, 1875, he wrote:

The elections for Congress and president are approaching; in the platforms of the parties it is encouraging to notice that religious freedom occupies a prominent place.

On January 29, 1876, he wrote:

The elections are coming on, but the oppressive doctrines of the Romish clergy are below par. By alliance with the liberal factions they might hope to do something, but in that case they must sell out their principles. This, for their honor, I trust they may not do.

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Dr. Trumbull passed away without seeing this last and greatest reform for which he had wrought. How nearly he came to seeing it a letter from Mr. Dodge, May 11, 1888, will show, in which Mr. Dodge explains what he calls "the unfortunate failure of the Reform Bill in our Congress":

The reform of the fifth or religious article of the Constitution had been voted by two congresses and we all hoped that it would be finally passed by the third and become the law of the land. At the last moment, however, party differences arose on other grounds, and this, together with renewed priestly opposition, has defeated the measure so long looked for by the friends of religious freedom. . . . It has been said a number of times in the home papers that there is religious liberty in Chile, and that our missionaries have here the protection of law. Constitutionally this is not the case, though it is true that public sentiment is, on the whole, in our favor. The fifth article of the Constitution recognizes the Roman Catholic Church as the State Church and declares that the worship of that church is the only worship acknowledged by the law of the land. Some years ago an "interpreting clause" was added to this article, by which the privilege of worship was granted to foreign residents. By this clause foreigners in Chile are allowed to hold services of worship according to their conscience, for themselves, and to have schools for their own children. This is, in brief, the substance of the matter. The interpreting clause does not apply to the citizens of the country, but was drawn up and passed in behalf of foreign communities. Hence, while as Americans, or British, or French, or German residents we have this right of worship, we have not a constitutional right to found churches and schools as a mission *de propaganda fide*. A Spanish mission church or school is not opened for foreigners, but for the Chileans who need the gospel. Consequently, instead of being protected by the law, as missionaries in Spanish, we haven't a foot to stand

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on in the law, and were the government disposed to do so, its officers could legally close our chapels and schools to-morrow and refuse us the right of residence. This will not be done by a liberal government, but it would be done by a clerical. As I have already remarked, public sentiment is in our favor and it is this sentiment that protects us wherever we go. Now the recently lapsed reform, while it did not mean the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church, would have given us the constitutional religious liberty which is so desirable. The reform meant national toleration and religious equality before the law for the whole country. By it also the president's oath to support and protect the Roman Catholic Church would have been rescinded. Ultimately we hope the reform will be passed. At present under a liberal government we have a faint hope to secure a charter to hold property, but we do not feel confident of success.

The charter for the Presbyterian Mission, known as the Union Evangelica, which is referred to by Mr. Dodge, was obtained, and it secured much for which Dr. Trumbull had striven. Dr. Lester says:

The original petition, as drawn up by the mission's committee, was couched in the mildest of terms. Before it was presented, however, it was sent to Dr. Trumbull for revision. He was at that time too feeble to attend the sessions of the mission in Santiago; but the old spirit was there, and under his hand it became clearly and positively Protestant and evangelical. The first article respectfully asked the government to grant those who believed in the reformed faith based on the Holy Scriptures the right to exercise and propagate their faith. We presented this petition, never expecting that it would be approved; but it was, and the Presbyterian mission, under the name of "La Union Evangelica," was granted incorporation by a decree dated November, 1888, two months before Dr. Trumbull's death. This was Dr. Trumbull's last work in connection with the mission, and it

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was the crown; for it placed all evangelistic work on a legal basis, and practically granted, not merely the Presbyterian mission, but all other organizations laboring in Chile, freedom of worship.

Under the liberal advance thus initiated not only are Protestants now free to hold services, own and hold their property under "personeria juridica," but the very state recognizes them still further as religious bodies, in that it admits their church fittings, organs, and so forth, to come in free of duty, the same as for their own church, on the ground of their being used for "divine worship."

Thus, before he died, the old soldier did see the victorious end of his struggle. So deeply had his interest been enlisted in the contest and so intensely had he entered into the life of the land that he had vowed that if the cemetery and marriage reforms passed he would become a Chilean citizen. When this desire of his heart was fulfilled, "he appeared," as one of the Valparaiso newspapers says, "before the municipality, asking for naturalization papers; on hearing this petition, one of the municipal officers, in manifestation of the wishes of all, requested that a note might be entered in the record of the pleasure with which as a body they received Dr. Trumbull's application, and asked that, without the legal formality of placing it on the table, it should be at once forwarded to the President of the Republic. This was unanimously sustained." He had long been accustomed to refer to Chile as "our country" and to its institutions and interest as his own, and his naturalization naturally strengthened the feelings of affection and confidence with which Chileans regarded

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him. The great-grandson of Jonathan Trumbull was a loyal American to the last drop of his blood. That was why, being in Chile, knowing that Chile was to be his home, he sought to live wholly for Chile and to bring into the very blood of Chile his own life by what he looked upon as the sacrament of naturalization. His action was, however, a great surprise to his acquaintances. Dr. Lester, of Santiago, to whom I am indebted for much help in this sketch, tells us:

The friends of Dr. Trumbull were amazed, and some dismayed, to learn that he had renounced his American citizenship and had become a naturalized Chilean. This seemed inexplicable in view of his great love for, and staunch loyalty to, his native land. Surrounded by foreigners, he defended his country as bravely as his Continental ancestors did before him. No Britisher, even in friendly jest, could speak slightly of the States, and escape unwounded. Once an Englishman at his table remarked, "I never could understand, doctor, how you keep that picture on your wall, and in such a conspicuous place, too." The picture represented the "Essex" in Valparaiso Bay, striking her colors to two English men-of-war. With a smile, and in his dulcet voice, the doctor replied: "I wouldn't take anything for that picture. It's the greatest curiosity in the house; for it is the only instance in history where an American vessel ever hauled down her flag to an enemy. Can you duplicate that in English history?" It was strange, therefore, that Dr. Trumbull should, of all men, have changed his nationality—a change in which he had much to lose and nothing to gain. In a moment of confidence he solved the puzzle. During the dark days of the reform movement, when defeat seemed inevitable, he spent many hours in prayer; and then it was, he said, when he had made a vow to God that, if his prayers should be answered and these reforms become law, he would show his gratitude by becoming a citizen of the country to which he had given his life. His prayers were answered, and he paid his vow.

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Dr. Trumbull's missionary connection changed also during his long life in Chile. In 1873 the work of the Foreign and Christian Union, which had succeeded the Foreign Evangelical Society, was distributed since there appeared to be no longer any need for such an organization, in view of the growth of the church missionary agencies. The work of the Union in Chile was taken over by the Presbyterian Board. His subsequent correspondence with the Board is full of the virility and fragrance of his rich personality. It begins with his welcome of the Board and his view of the importance of a strong, courageous and out-reaching policy. Dr. Trumbull was a loyal Congregationalist. He believed that this polity had the sanction of primitive Christianity, and never consented to become a member of the Chile Presbytery; yet he laid aside personal preferences and, for the good of the cause he had so much at heart, used his influence to intrust that cause to another denomination.

Now that it is settled that your Board takes up the Chilean branch of effort, I have only to say that I rejoice, after being here twenty-seven years, to learn that one section of the household of faith realizes the opening and the work to be done in this land. Whatever might be my preference personally, your Board shall find in me only the heartiest co-operation. . . .

If an impression is to be made here you must not have small or weak missions. If a missionary has to do the work of two men it will be only partially done. Send more men to do the work of breaking up fallow ground; and let them be not merely good, but able men, who will be missed at home. One whose loss will not be felt in the United States, one whose friends do not implore him to remain at home,

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will accomplish little abroad. To send an unprepared or mediocre missionary is to fritter away the money of the churches. Not men that will wait, then, but that will work. Not only men who will give the Lord no rest, but who will lift up their voice and not give the representatives of error here a single day, or night, or hour of quiet. Formerly there were difficulties in the way. In 1823 missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions came here and, discouraged, went, or were called, away. Quite wrong it was; they should have held on—done what they could, then done more and more again. A different history would then have been written of this coast. But now the doors are open—men can't be silenced by law—public opinion has been formed and trained and accustomed to hear discussion; and now it insists that we shall be heard—if we speak. You have four men here now; you must have ten more; plant them not in isolation—at least two by two as Jesus sent his disciples, and let them work out from centers, preaching in central points and yet able to go out itinerating to other towns. There are a million and three-quarter inhabitants in this country, all Roman Catholics except a few foreign residents, English, Scotch and North American, and Germans—these are numerous, and, besides, there are colonies of them at the south, and German ministers are in the country. There are some thousands of Indians south of Concepcion and north of Valdivia—in almost complete paganism. . . .

As to the adjacent countries, they should be cared for. Mendoza, over the mountains at the east, Bolivia also and Peru should be provided for as soon as practicable; but your wisdom will be to kindle a strong fire here first. Another advantage in that policy will be that it will call attention; and, through similarity of language, whatever is printed in one place can reach a hundred other towns—and six millions of people. Do not then adopt the plan of scattering, but of concentrating, the forces disposable—two strong stations will accomplish more than six weak and isolated ones.

III

WHAT Trumbull was accomplishing in Chile was making itself felt in Bolivia, Peru and Argentina. The new spirit of freedom could not be confined in any one land. And he was eager that the long-neglected countries to the north should be occupied. On March 8, 1878, he wrote:

Can you not attempt something for this coast, to the north of us, to bring the Scriptures to the people there? They know nothing of the Book in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. . . .

The Scriptures can't be bought there at all—say from Panama to Cobija. Can you not engage in the distinct, special effort for these three republics?

On July 8, 1882, he appealed:

I have just received from Callao a letter signed by sixty-one men, Scotch, English and American. . . . If you occupy it you might have a self-sustaining congregation formed there, and a congregation that would reach later on the native people, and so begin the redemption of Peru. Do not say it can't be attempted. Why are these less important to care for than people in the center of Africa, so that when Stanley tells of them half-a-dozen missionary societies rush to occupy the ground, and here not a single one?

On October 27, 1882, he called once more on behalf of Callao:

The manager of the steamship company told me only yesterday that they have five hundred men, English, in Callao, but that there is no service. I know from a number of these men that they desire to have worship; their decided preference is Presbyterian, and you are the people that ought to give it to them. If you will provide it, you will win

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credit and you will have assistance. Only do not wait for anybody to ask it, nor for anybody to promise anything. Just sail in like Farragut into Mobile Bay; consider yourself that gallant and daring admiral up in the maintop of the "Richmond," tied by your waist, so as not to fall, and capture the forts of Callao harbor.

You know I am not much of a Presbyterian, but these missions belong to the Presbyterian Board on this coast, and I can't bear to think of your missing your opportunity. . . . You say you must be prudent, and so you must, but there is no better prudence than courage; and with favoring circumstances, an unoccupied church and schoolhouse, and from five hundred to eight hundred people, the greater part of whom are Presbyterians by education and attachments, I am sure prudence is not to miss the chance, but to improve it.

He believed in the policy of working out from the foreigners in South America to the native peoples. In a later letter he wrote of this:

Never were the prospects of this field what they now are. I would like to say here that the originating idea of this mission in 1845, with the Foreign Evangelical Society and later on the American and Foreign Christian Union, was not to separate native and foreign work, but to begin the latter in order to carry forward the former; and, whatever may be the case elsewhere, it is the way to succeed on this coast and in these countries.

When Dr. Henry H. Jessup of Syria, acting as one of the Board's secretaries during his furlough, wrote to him of the unlikelihood of help for Callao, he wrote back out of a disappointed heart such a letter as missionary workers in South America have often had to pen:

Your letter of December 11th has given me great pain. I had thought the Board really would take the lead in pro-

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viding for this forgotten coast. Its inhabitants would be better off if they lived in Asia. Is "America" so poor a name to divine by? Each member of the mission is disappointed, and I beg you to inform the brethren of the Board that I feel the keenest chagrin. The people of this coast—foreigners—turn to me, sick of the disappointments they have had, hoping that I can put them in the way of some really good, faithful ministers, educated and substantial, and yet the hopes are all dashed to the ground. "The Board regard it as inexpedient to undertake the work" is their chilling reply to men long in the field, who have given up our country to live abroad, in exile, hoping that this coast might be taken possession of for Christ at last; then when we tell of points that ought to be occupied and can be with advantage in every way, with an immediate prospect of winning souls and educating children for Jesus, in a field already partly prepared and white for the harvest, we find that at headquarters our pleadings are unappreciated. Really I do not think I have felt more disappointed and disheartened by anything I have met here during thirty-seven years than this reply the Presbyterian Board has now sent us. I ask myself in bitterness, Can this be the feeling of the churches that we had imagined sympathized with us? Or is it that the Board does not confide in us—in our judgment or in our fidelity and trustworthiness? The only thing I can compare it to is the estimate put on General Sherman's advice to Secretary Cameron when the war began. Sherman told Cameron "two hundred thousand men" would be needed to cut through the Confederacy on the line of the Cumberland River; and Cameron returned to Washington informing the Cabinet that "poor Sherman had lost his reason." Excuse me for saying it, but it was they who were out of their reckoning, not realizing the task they had in hand, nor their opportunity for taking it up and performing it. The Presbyterian Board is, before God, responsible for this coast; if they do not attempt its conversion, no other solid society will; the evangelization of these republics lies at their door—so that were it the last word God should allow me to write them, it would be to ask that they recon-

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sider their vote of December 11th, and resolve that they will occupy Callao, as well as Iquique, will provide a successor for Mr. McLean, send out, though at Mr. Balfour's expense, a teacher for the training school for teachers and preachers here, and finally furnish a missionary who may go into southern Chile and begin a work among the heathen Indians—that are just now submitting to the government.

He dealt in his letters also, in his kind put positive way, with questions of missionary policy in Chile. He explained the difficulty of self-support:

The fact is, "the gift" of giving has been always neglected during their Roman condition; they were charged by their clergy regular fees, and few of them have any idea that they are to sustain their own religious ordinances freely. Then, as you may have inferred, thus far converts are not of a class having means to spare.

He argues earnestly against the absorption of time by a fellow missionary in a school when the need for preaching was so great and the opportunity unlimited, and when the number of missionaries was so inadequate:

In the center of a city of two hundred thousand persons, with not a hundred among the natives who measurably comprehend the gospel, it would occupy all the time and energies of a missionary to proclaim the truth in the direct work of the ministry. And therefore it is most unwise for him to pass out of it into work which is less direct.

He was not opposed to schools. He had founded one and was to found another. He opposed them only when they opposed the preaching of the gospel to the people.

He saw the beginning of Bishop William Taylor's

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self-supporting missions on the west coast and he foresaw their collapse. But it was reserved for the great church which William Taylor served, though it was not responsible for his missions, to come in after the wreckage of his enterprise and to establish substantial and fruitful missions almost all the way from the Straits of Magellan up to Panama.

Trumbull's last letter to the Board was an appeal in behalf of Peru:

I am this moment in receipt of a letter from Peru, important and encouraging. Mr. Penzotti, agent of the American Bible Society, holds services there in Spanish that are well attended, but he has to go to the interior with the Scriptures. The opportunity is favorable; the work already begun by the Bible Society. Can you possibly send a man? The door is open for a young, healthy, vigorous missionary.

This was written only a few weeks before his death. The younger men who had come out to work with him could hardly conceive of Chile without him. One of them wrote on reaching the field in 1882:

Dr. Trumbull is bright and genial and full of plans for the Master's work. As he expresses it, "I'm renewing my youth, and with God's grace and your young blood we'll make things move down here." I am more astonished every day at the work Dr. Trumbull has performed in Chile. He is a power for good in this land, known and respected by the sailors even as far north as Panama, and consulted by senators and the President in regard to matters of national importance. Every missionary and native worker looks to Dr. Trumbull for aid and counsel. Dodge and I have spoken of it often, what a grand thing it is to be advised and directed by such a man.

But the wise counselor could not be always with

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them, and although he recovered from an early attack of angina, there was a recurrence of his trouble in 1886. On December 30, 1888, when he was to preach in the Union Church, anxiety and hurry lest he should be too late brought on another heart attack. He conducted the service, but it was the last, and on February 1, 1889, after a month of intense suffering, he passed forward to the other side. For nearly half a century he had risen daily and gone to his work. At last the day of the larger life had come and he arose and went to his reward. His son, Dr. John Trumbull, said:

To those who witnessed his illness and death the recollection will ever be of abounding hopefulness and cheerfulness in suffering, regret at the trouble he feared he was giving, unmeasured gratitude for every kind attention shown, thankfulness for the blessings that surrounded his life, thoughtfulness of those who suffer in poverty, calmness in the prospect of death, assurance in the promises of our Saviour and quiet victory over death.

Dr. Trumbull's departure seemed to his missionary associates as Elijah's translation seemed to Elisha. The chariots of Israel and the horseman thereof, the father of all who worked with him, had gone up out of sight. "You can have no idea," wrote Dr. Allis, the president of the mission, "how great a blank the death has left. It seems as if half of the mission were gone." The city and the nation regarded his death as a national sorrow. Articles in the leading newspapers bore loving tribute to what he had been and to what he had done for Chile. "El Mercurio," Valparaiso, February 2, said:

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Few there have been, perhaps, who have preached virtue and morality, giving at the same time as perfect an example in their own conduct and life. There would be much to say concerning this faithful apostle if we but commenced to speak of all his good works which he carried to their completion without any ostentation, rather with that humility which was so characteristic of him and won for him the sincere regard of all social classes.

Valparaiso owed him much and she always felt honored in claiming him, first, as the most worthy and best known of her foreign residents, and secondly, as a fellow countryman; nay, even more, as a true brother, as he proved by his love to humanity and especially by the love and interest which he felt in all that pertained to the material and moral advancement of this our country.

After recounting the leading events of his life, "La Patria" said:

Though in the early days of his active and successful proclamation of the gospel veritable tempests of envy and hatred were raised, yet the personality of Dr. Trumbull was such that, little by little, it commanded the attention of all such as were watching the outcome of his toil; and as time went on the whole country recognized the claims of his talents and his virtues.

Thus he has been able to witness the declining days of a laborious and useful life, surrounded with an air of prestige and respect such as are the exclusive privilege of noble souls. In the hours of difficulty and of trial through which Valparaiso has passed the authorities always hastened to make use of his valuable services. Thus he has formed a part in almost all commissions charged with the collection of funds for our free hospital and other charitable institutions.

When the cholera in a fatal hour visited us he was one of the first whom the governor called upon to form one of the relief committee. His worthy bearing on that occasion is still fresh in the memory of all. During those days of

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anxiety Valparaiso saw the venerable figure of Trumbull in all places of the city where the scourge reaped its largest harvest, offering to all words of comfort and of cheer; while in meetings of the commissions his persuasive and yet authoritative word suggested more than one useful measure which served most materially to lessen the evils of the epidemic. . . .

Mr. Trumbull has not had occasion to regret in any way the love which he bore his adopted country. On various occasions he has received eloquent testimonials to the high esteem in which his talents, social qualities and boundless charity were held. . . . His memory will never be buried in the dust of forgetfulness, and in later years, when the history of the public benefactors of Valparaiso is written, the name of Mr. Trumbull will, of necessity, occupy a leading place by right of his many services.

Even more striking in its testimony to Dr. Trumbull's power to inspire trust and to awaken love were the words which Don Francisco A. Pinto, son of ex-President Pinto, spoke over his grave:

A good man, in the fullest sense of this term, has departed from amongst us. David Trumbull was one of those men who appear to be specially sent by heaven into this world to do good, to heal many wounds and to assuage much suffering; to be the best and most discreet friend in the hours of misfortune and the kind companion in the days of happiness. . . . Gentlemen, you and I shall never forget the venerable form and figure of the man, before whom everybody uncovered with love and respect in the streets of this city. In a few brief moments more the earth will cover his mortal remains, but the man will never disappear from our sight. Whenever we may hereafter look with the eye of faith upon his tomb, we shall see upon it a brilliant light, because men of Dr. Trumbull's stamp, like the sun which lends his luster to the orb of night, possess the privilege of irradiating their names with the light emanating from their singular virtues and their eminent services. Gentlemen, I feel happy in

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being able to say that I now take leave of a countryman possessed of such merits, and I can affirm that Chile, grateful for the many services the much lamented deceased rendered to her people, will watch over this tomb with loving kindness and deep veneration.

So he passed on, full of honor, to the greater honor that awaited his humble soul on high. Yale University had given him the degree of D. D. on his visit home in 1884, and Chile had adopted him as her own and had pledged herself "with loving kindness and deep veneration to watch over his tomb." But he left other living monuments.

The "Sheltering Home," an orphan asylum, owes its existence and the building it occupies to Dr. Trumbull and Mr. Merwin. The "Escuela Popular," the oldest and largest Protestant school for Chileans, was founded by these two men, and the annual subscriptions for its support, begun thirty years ago through Dr. Trumbull's influence, still continue. Through his efforts, too, it was that in the seventies an American society sent out the first seamen's chaplain, and it was Dr. Trumbull who became responsible for half of his salary. The English Board school, which was a very prominent educational factor in Valparaiso for years, owed its beginning and continuance in large part to him. He was also a director and one of the prime movers in opening the Blas Cuevas school, the first native school to be established under the direction of other than clerical influence and supervision, while for the first ten years of independent work in Valparaiso he and Mrs. Trumbull entirely supported themselves by maintaining a young ladies'

school, which was discontinued with regret in order that he might devote all of his time to church work, even though he was offered much less than he was then making by his outside work. It was simply surprising what he attempted and did, with no air of haste or apparent expenditure of nervous force, but quietly, calmly, as one conscious of his own powers and the master of himself and of the situation.

Doubtless the influence Dr. Trumbull exerted was due in some degree to the peculiar times in which he lived. He was a splendid fighter, and the times demanded this type of man; but the elements were so mixed in him that he would have been a marked man wherever he had lived and whatever might have been the circumstances in which his lot had been cast. His power was to be found, in the first place, in his winsome personality—the gracious smile, the genial humor, the delicate tact and the fine courtesy of a gentleman of the old school; and to this must be added the kindest of hearts, always interested in everyone's welfare, and desiring that all men should be helped and saved.

It might be supposed that this champion of the faith would be harsh, brusque, aggressive, and that he would win his battles by dint of hard blows. These he could give; but he was a friend of everyone, a gentleman of courtly mien and a born diplomat. The fact that he, an American, nevertheless was for over forty years the successful pastor of a church composed of English and Scotch, whose national eccentricities are rather increased than lessened by residence in a foreign land, speaks volumes. In the discussions

with Casanova, there was bitterness and personal invective on the one side—on the other, the spirit that would conciliate and win rather than crush and defeat.

To his deep interest in every department of Christian work must be added a remarkable genius for organization. Not only could he organize, but he could also direct and make successful every task he undertook. He held in his hands all lines of Christian work from Callao to the Straits, molding opinion, educating the conscience, preaching in every word and act Jesus Christ, the Saviour, and exerting an influence which increased with the passing years.

Great as were Dr. Trumbull's services to the Christian Church and to the Chilean people, his greatest power lay in what he was. The mere presence of such a man in any community was a work. It cleansed the atmosphere which men breathed. It showed all that was evil. It created new ideals and ambitions. Such a life was itself an achieving energy. His affability, his merriment and good humor, his fascination of clean, high-minded fellowship, his wide knowledge of men, his practical judgment, his unceasing benevolence, his energy, were all dominated by a resolute and indomitable but ever-winning and affectionate purpose. Dr. John Trumbull, of Valparaiso, writes with regard to his father:

As I look back upon and recall the past it seems to me as though the factors which made for my father's successful rooting in hard and stony ground were that, apart from mental and moral endowments of no mean order, he had the spirit of a fighter in him, associated with a tenacity of purpose and consecration which neither could nor would ever acknowledge defeat; and that these qualities were hap-

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pily combined with unusual social gifts whose basis was a broad genial sympathy, which everywhere opened the way so that his consecrated influence might have free play. This it was, I believe, which did so much to disarm suspicion and prepare the way for social reforms and for the enactment of laws, or interpretations of existing laws, so as to compass religious toleration in a country which at heart was hostile to all such toleration.

With all that my father did, he ever found time to be with and help his children. After my father married Jane Wales Fitch, a niece of Eleazar T. Fitch, professor of Divinity at Yale, in 1850, they came out to Chile on an independent basis, supporting themselves by conducting a young ladies' school for eight or ten years; when, at the request of Union Church, he consented to give it up and devote himself entirely to pastoral and church work, though they were only able to offer as a salary half of what he was then making. At that time I can remember that we had to give up horse-back riding—for my brother David and I had been in the habit of riding out to Fisherman's Bay every morning with father for a dip and a swim—in fact, I was but five when he had taught us to swim, and even to jump off of the spring-board into deep water—and take to footing it. He believed in all manly sports, which, according to him, included everything but shooting, of which he never approved; and taught or encouraged us to walk, run, play cricket, ride, climb, swim, dive, row, fish, cook, and so forth. On holidays we often went off on picnics to the country as a family, or up the hills and ravines back of Valparaiso, and were taught, like the Boy Scouts of the present day, to be self-reliant and ready for any and every emergency.

Winter evenings he was in the habit of reading aloud to us Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield"; Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"; Dickens' "Nicholas Nickleby"; Scott's "Old Mortality"; Irving's "Knickerbocker Stories" and "Life of Washington."

People might wonder how he found time for all he did. The secret of it was that he ever was an early riser. By five

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we were off on our rides or walks, and before that he had often got in an hour's work; and during his later years he had by eight o'clock already done a good day's work.

As to his children, it was often said the Trumbull children never had any bringing up—that, like Topsy, they simply grew up. Certainly I can remember but two trouncings—one for playing with matches at bonfires on the shingle roof of our house, which, as firemen, we had to extinguish; and again for playing with my brother at William Tell, using a potato which we alternately balanced on our heads, and an old-fashioned musket—loaded, by the way, it was claimed—on which we used up a box half full of caps. That it might have been loaded was possible, for my father had once had, in Isaac Wheelwright's young ladies' school, an experience unaided and by his active wit, of having frightened and held off a gang of robbers, after they had entered, with a machete cut open Mr. Wheelwright's head and frightened the little boy so that he had crawled up the fireplace chimney. To show that my father's discipline was guided by a tactful wisdom it might be worth while to record that when, as a boy just fifteen years of age, I was sent off alone to the United States, after kneeling in prayer, the only sermon which I got was the following: "John, my boy, there is only one fear that I have in your going from home; and that is, that, since you are so good-natured and ready to please, you may not have the manliness to say 'No.'" That remark drove home, as you can well understand, for once a boy realizes the cowardliness of yielding to temptation the battle against it is more than half won, and I am free to acknowledge that that did more to stiffen my moral backbone than any other spoken word I ever heard.

We were a large family—four boys and three girls who lived to grow up. All of the boys were sent to Yale and studied professions, while the girls went either to Wellesley or Northampton, and sent, too, by a pastor who had no private means. Good business instincts he had, and that helped; but what really enabled him to give his children an education was that he and my mother were willing to take in young Englishmen

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as boarders, giving them a home and at the same time receiving payment, so as to let their children have an education. On that he laid great stress, saying that all his desire was to give us an education, and let us "shift without a penny."

As a preacher he was direct and forcible. He often laughingly said the only way to interest Scotchmen was to preach clean over their heads. That gave them something to think about and wonder at; but his kindness was such that after thundering denunciation always came the kindly appeal of the gospel invitation. In his pastoral relations his fine tact, genial humor, apt reminiscence or telling story made him a universal favorite—one whose visits were welcomed, whose smile was a benediction, whose uprightness was uncompromising, whose rebukes were telling, and yet whose words of sympathy brought cheer and comfort to those in trouble, because he himself had been through the deep waters, knew whereof he spoke and entered fully into the sorrows of his people.

The sunshine of his life was not an easy and untested thing. It was there in spite of heavy shadows which had fallen across it. He had lost children in infancy and "later in life experienced a burden of threefold bereavement. Their eldest son, David, following his father in the ministry and a student in Yale Theological School, was drowned at New London in saving a boy's life. He sprang from a yacht to get the boy and, there being no small boat, it took so much time to tack that when they reached for the boy whom he had supported, David sank. Mary, a gifted graduate of Wellesley, lived but a short time after reaching home. Stephen, a graduate physician, on the way home contracted yellow fever and died at sea. These in the fair hope and promise of youth

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were taken and the devoted father and mother patiently, trustfully, went on seeking to comfort others in the sure hope of the life to come."

The sunshine outshone every shadow, and the patient will wore down all opposition because the faith in God and in the old and enduring truth of the gospel was firm and unwavering. Mr. Dodge, in the memorial sermon preached in the Union Church on February 10, 1889, referred to other qualities which had characterized Dr. Trumbull, and then passed on from these to dwell upon his old-fashioned sturdiness and reality of religious faith:

His capacity for work was remarkable under a sense of the preciousness of opportunity such as few men manifest. His elasticity and genial nature can only be appreciated by those who knew how carefully he sought for the bright light in the darkest cloud, and believed in the thankful "merry heart" which a pure conscience and a strong faith assure. Few men in this world have heavier burdens of care and sorrow than he had, yet he murmured not. Religion to him was more than an elevated sentiment, more than moral persuasion or conviction; it was an experience, a daily force in his life, a source of strength and consolation. In our life together we often dwelt upon some of the profound subjects of religious thought and inquiry. As a theologian, Dr. Trumbull was too thorough and skillful to accept anything short of conclusions which embraced satisfactorily all the conditions and phases of given questions. He looked too deeply into the problem of human life to apologize for sin. He knew that God should be honored by a true obedience, and the sacrifice of Christ was to him a real atonement.

David Trumbull felt personally the power of Him whose touch opened the eyes of the blind; Jesus was to him not only his Teacher, but his Redeemer, and so he preached Christ and him crucified, the pure, unchanged gospel that this poor

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world needs. Would you know the source of his strength, the power that molded that consecrated life—behold it in Jesus Christ uplifted!

“He whom love rules, where'er his path may be,
Walks safe and sacred.”

He loved his Saviour, he lived to honor God, and this is the true explanation of the religious heroism, of the good fight of faith, of the patriotic, noble, lovable, sympathizing character to which so many justly render sincere homage this day.

He never pleaded ignorance of responsibility; he sought to know responsibility, and the better he knew it, the more earnestly he labored, not for earthly praise, but for the “Well done, thou good and faithful servant,” which he has now received. Yet through the honor we render to his memory, let his confession of weakness be remembered. This would be his wish. He also was a man. His one prayer was to obtain the perfect victory through Christ, and oh, my brethren, if we with his constancy pray for forgiveness and help, the peace that passeth all understanding will be ours.

In his humble self-distrust he knew where to go for the strength which can prevail and which will not be denied. In a letter to the Board on January 1, 1874, he wrote:

And now let us unite in diligent supplication to God for the coming of the Holy Spirit, without whose aid our work languishes. This is to-day our greatest deficiency. We wield the sword, but men are not wounded; we draw the bow, but the arrows glance from the armor of those wrapped in worldliness and unbelief. Prophecy we do, but tokens of life are wanting almost entirely; and one great reason is that the throne of grace is not besieged—prayer is restrained here and at home among the churches by which the laborers have been sent. Oh, if my voice may reach pastors, office bearers and people, let me conjure them to take hold on Him of whom

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it is said that he will "avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him." Let us besiege the mercy seat. Here the way is now open. The truth may be uttered and printed, but God must be importuned to direct the shafts between the joints of the harness, till, sticking fast in the hearts of the King's enemies, they make wounds for healing which it shall be necessary to apply to Christ.

Whither he wished to drive others, there, in Christ, he himself lived, and living there he did the work which I have recorded here and which is commemorated in the inscription on the great stone in the cemetery in Valparaiso:

MEMORIÆ SACRUM

The Reverend

David Trumbull, D.D.

Founder and Minister of the Union Church, Valparaiso.

Born in Elizabeth, N. J., 1st of Nov., 1819.

Died in Valparaiso, 1st of Feb., 1899.

For forty-three years he gave himself to unwearied and successful effort

In the cause of evangelical truth and religious liberty in this country.

As a gifted and faithful minister, and as a friend he was honored and

Loved by foreign residents on this coast. In his public life he was the

Counselor of statesmen, the supporter of every good enterprise, the

Helper of the poor, and the consoler of the afflicted.

In memory of

His eminent services, fidelity, charity and sympathy

This monument

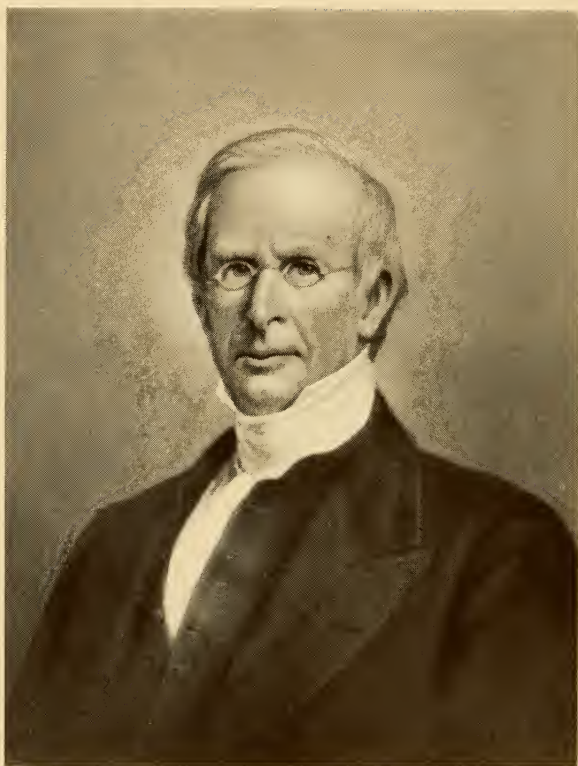
Has been raised by his friends in this community

And by citizens of his adopted country.

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May such a life, so steadfast and so powerful, be a summons to us to abide each in his right place without wavering and changeableness, and to dare to attempt by love and influence the achievement even of the impossible. No man of us need despair of the hardest task if we will be patient and true and calmly await the sure issue which is with God. What God did through David Trumbull in Chile is proof that nothing is too hard for him to do through any man who will wait steadfastly upon him.

STUDY SIX



RUFUS ANDERSON

RUFUS ANDERSON

THE FOREMOST AMERICAN MISSIONARY ADMIN- ISTRATOR

I

RUFUS ANDERSON was the most original, the most constructive and the most courageous student of missionary policy whom this country has produced, and one of the two most aggressive and creative administrators of missionary work. He was born at North Yarmouth, Maine, August 17, 1796, and was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1818 and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1822. During his senior year in the Seminary he was called to supply the place of Mr. Evarts, then the corresponding secretary of the American Board, during a visit of the latter to the Indian missions. In the autumn of 1822, after his graduation from the Seminary, he became assistant to Mr. Evarts and then assistant secretary. His work was in connection with the foreign correspondence of the Board, and in 1832 he was made one of three co-ordinate secretaries and given entire charge of the correspondence with the missions. This position he filled for thirty-four years, until 1866. From 1866 to 1875 he served as a member of the Prudential Committee, *i. e.*, the Executive Committee of the Board, the Board having only annual sessions and its business being done by the Prudential Committee. In 1875

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he resigned from the Committee and on May 30, 1880, was gathered in the ripeness of a great, rich life to the fellowship of the missionary fathers who had gone before him.

In his letter of resignation of the secretaryship he briefly surveyed his stewardship, the blessing of God which had rested upon the Board and the great growth of the forty-four years of his active official service:

Remembering how slender were my prospects of life on entering the service of the Board, I wonder at being spared so long. My years have all been, of necessity, years of incessant toil, with but little time for social intercourse or for relaxation, even in the heat of summer; and, I may add, with a salary that admitted of but few indulgences. The salary was, however, as much as we thought it expedient for a secretary of the Board to receive. . . .

Forty-four years constitute a large portion of the life of the Board. At the beginning of this period its oldest mission had been established but eight years, and it had then only seven missions. Its ordained missionaries were twenty-four. . . . The receipts of that year were sixty-one thousand dollars, and it is remarkable that there was then a balance in the treasury of thirty-four thousand dollars.

I find that every missionary of the Board now in the field, excepting Mr. and Mrs. Spaulding, of Ceylon, Mr. and Mrs. Thurston, of the Sandwich Islands, and Messrs. Kingsbury and Byington, of the Choctaw Mission, went forth during my connection with it. The whole number, since my connection with the Board, exceeds twelve hundred, and more than eight hundred of these went either to form or to strengthen missions beyond the seas. More than four hundred were ordained missionaries. The seven missions have increased to twenty, embracing a hundred stations, and two hundred and forty outstations, occupied by native helpers. The native ministry is almost wholly the product of the last forty years, and now numbers more than three hundred, of whom

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somewhat more than sixty are pastors of churches. The churches formed have been scarcely less than two hundred, into which considerably more than sixty thousand hopeful converts have been received. . . . The receipts have risen from sixty-one thousand dollars to five hundred and thirty-four thousand dollars for the year ending in 1865. . . .

Never have I had stronger assurance than now of the ultimate triumph of the missionary cause. Its progress seems to me to be as certain as that of trade, or knowledge, or freedom of thought and action. With the world open to evangelical effort as it never was before, the truly evangelical churches will be less and less able to disregard the spiritually benighted nations; and all such churches will realize, more and more, that to labor for the extension of Christ's kingdom through the world is indispensable to their own spiritual prosperity. . . .

I feel conscious of great imperfection in all my public services, and have little pleasure in the retrospect, except as I find in it the evidence of the abounding grace of God, and of his readiness to bless even the humblest efforts to promote his holy cause. Thankful for the privilege of spending my life in such a service, I cannot refrain from the expression of a wish that larger numbers of our young ministers, of piety, talent and learning, would devote themselves to the work of foreign missions. They would never have occasion to regret it. Nor can I doubt that they will make this self-consecration, at the call of the Lord Jesus Christ, who will have his gospel preached in "all the world" and "to every creature"; and who has shown, by unmistakable indications of his providence, that the time for this great and blessed work has fully come.

This dignified and impersonal letter truly reveals the man. The work of missionary administration constituted his life work. He gave to it all his strength, never looking to the right hand or to the left. He concentrated all his great powers upon the

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task to which God had clearly called him. His portrait shows the benignity of his spirit, and his papers bear evidence of the calm, direct, forceful, unflinching and just processes of his mind. His home, as his son recalls it, was a missionary lodging place through which passed continually the streams of the Board's missionaries, as they came and went, and the tax on his small resources and on Mrs. Anderson's strength was constant and excessive. In his letter of resignation he recognized with careful reserve what she had been and done: "Of her unwearied hospitalities to missionaries and their children and her other important services to the cause, regard for her feelings forbids my speaking in this presence." He always viewed his own office as similar in character and principle to that of the men who went out to the field, and regarded himself ever as one of them. He was as among brethren, not a master or overseer, but as a helper and friend.

It is a great misfortune that we have no biography of Dr. Anderson. There is not even a short sketch of his life, except the funeral address. We have biographies of half-a-dozen other American missionary secretaries, but none of the greatest of them all. We are concerned here, however, not with biographical facts, but with lessons of character and ideal. And we have clear enough presentations of his character, while his own ample writings embody his principles. Dr. N. G. Clark, his successor in the secretaryship, summarized in simple and affectionate terms his qualities of personality in an address in the Eliot Church in Roxbury at the funeral:

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Dr. Anderson brought to the service of the Board a remarkable dignity of personal bearing, a loftiness of purpose and singleness of devotion, which well befitted the work. . . .

On the high place of observation where Dr. Anderson stood he was sometimes alone, sometimes misunderstood. If his moral elevation compelled the respect and reverence of all who knew him, yet to those who knew him least it made him seem at times cold and distant, indifferent to public opinion. But those who knew him better knew that underneath that calm and self-contained demeanor was a heart tenderly alive to criticism and to public opinion. . . .

The two leading characteristics of his life were a profound, controlling sense of duty—duty to God, to his cause and to his official position, and a sublime faith in the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of Christ. . . .

He had faith in God—in his plan of redemption, in the agencies he was employing to carry it out, in his providence to open the way—and in the Spirit of God, and in living Christian men and women regenerated by the Holy Ghost. Some of us who have known him more intimately have at times been startled by the boldness of his suggestions and plans. Bold they were, to men of more cautious mold, but not to him, who could never dream of any obstacle that should stand in the way of the kingdom of God.

Of some of these qualities we shall have fuller evidence in what will be set forth later, but I may speak now in passing of the dignity and gravity of his temper to which Dr. Clark referred. Some one asked him once for his opinion on a certain subject “not in his official capacity,” to which he replied, “The secretary of the American Board is always in his official capacity.” I have been told that when he was on a visit to the Syria mission this habitual loftiness of spirit and manner made a deep impression. On a

✓ journey between two of the stations he was riding along on horseback, erect, sober, with tile hat and long coat, when the party met an Arab riding in. The man drew off to the side of the road and stopped to watch the missionary party go by. As Dr. Anderson passed in his dignity the Arab was heard to exclaim to himself, "What a wonderful work of God!" It might be better for us if we had not moved so far away from the grave decorum and earnestness of the older day. I have heard of visits to mission fields to-day in which the want of dignity left behind a bad impression; and here at home we should not suffer from such a reaction from our jesting and foolish talking as might recover for us some of the sobriety of Dr. Anderson's day, which, it is abundantly clear, did not lack in intellectual shrewdness and vitality.

As I have intimated, Dr. Anderson's experience as a secretary included visits to the missions abroad. From the beginning the policy of the American Board wisely provided for such visits.

✓ It was on his return from Turkey and Greece in 1829 and on the occasion of his making a report at the United Monthly Concert in Park Street Church that the choir sang for the first time in public, just as he closed his statement, the hymn "Watchman, Tell Us of the Night," to the new but now famous tune of Dr. Lowell Mason, who was the director of the choir.

His visits included Greece and Asia in 1828-29 and again in 1844, India and Turkey in 1854-55 and the Sandwich Islands in 1863. These visits were models of what such visits should be. Careful out-

lines of the subjects to be discussed were prepared. Ample time was allowed. In the report of the tour to India he said:

On reaching a mission our first business was to visit the several stations, that we might gain an accurate acquaintance with them by a free, personal intercourse with our brethren. The object of this visit was not to discuss questions of mission policy, but to perfect our knowledge of facts, and to ascertain the individual impressions of our brethren as to the proper method of dealing with the facts. In this, which was the most laborious part of our duty, we were generally very successful; and this was an essential preparation of our own minds for the protracted meetings of the missions which followed.

In these mission meetings the subjects were opened, and after full discussion were referred to committees appointed prior to the discussion to formulate the general view.

The members of the deputation neither served on committees nor voted on the reports, but reserved to themselves and to the Prudential Committee the adoption, or otherwise, of the opinions and recommendations embodied in the reports.

I do not know of any more serviceable discussions of questions of mission policy than these committee reports which the deputation printed with its own report. The deputation itself did nothing but draw out the missionaries and lead them on to views which would stand the tests of prayer and reasoning. The result was that what could be shown to be wise and right was everywhere accepted as such. So powerful was the influence of this deputation that before it

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reached America reports had preceded it, and many at home were alarmed at what seemed to them to be the possible usurpation of authority by the Prudential Committee and its representatives. A special meeting of the Board was called to hear the report of the deputation and to consider the matter, and a special committee was appointed to communicate with the missions, to investigate the course of the deputation and to report to this special meeting of the Board. It is needless to say that Dr. Anderson welcomed all such consideration of mission problems. He loved light, and came to the light that his deeds might be made manifest that they were wrought in God. The special meeting entirely vindicated the deputation and spread through the church a far better knowledge of the deeper problems of missionary policy. The correspondence from the missionaries effectually dispelled the idea that the Prudential Committee and Dr. Anderson were lording it over the judgment of the missions. Dr. H. G. O. Dwight wrote from Constantinople:

I have never noticed, either in the Prudential Committee or in the secretaries, the slightest disposition to exercise any undue authority over us. On the contrary, they accede almost invariably to whatever the mission, as such, recommends; and I really think that, as things are now constituted and ever have been, there is far more danger of the missions' overshadowing the Prudential Committee than there is of the committee's overshadowing the missions. I have been acquainted with the operations of several other societies, and I know of not one in which so much power is left in the hands of the missions, and in which there is so little interference from home.

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As to our senior secretary, I may say to you, what delicacy would forbid me to write to the Missionary House, that I have known him well for twenty-six years, and I know of no one less disposed to exercise authority than he. In all his official intercourse with us, whether by letter or by personal visitation—and he has been here twice—it has been always transparently evident that he wished to be governed himself, and to have us governed, by facts and substantial arguments. He brings to the discussion of every missionary question a mind clear, systematic and comprehensive; rich in the stores of a long and well-husbanded experience and deeply imbued with the spirit of primitive Christianity. Of course, such a man must have positive opinions, and who would desire to see one in his position that had not? But I have never discovered in him the slightest inclination to domineer.

I have sometimes thought that, to a mind complacent in itself and unwilling to yield, no greater weapons of tyranny can appear than strong facts and arguments, and, so far as my knowledge goes, Dr. Anderson has never wielded any other weapons of tyranny than these.

Good old Dr. Goodell wrote:

The only expressions I have ever heard from my brethren and sisters in reference to his visit here have been those of thankfulness. We needed his help to do certain things, which, though we wished to have done, we felt incompetent to do ourselves; but we have now done them, and we are glad. . . .

In conducting missions on a large scale there must necessarily be much power and authority vested somewhere, and power is always dangerous.

But most disastrous effects would follow the taking away of this power. I would rather see it increased than diminished. I hope, therefore, every precaution will be taken in the present controversy not to weaken the authority of those to whom is committed the great responsibility of directing and superintending this great enterprise of the Christian Church.

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This is the only kind of authority that is worth anything among brethren who are true men. External authority may be good among unequal men, but even then suppose the inferior man is in the place of authority? The true authority is the authority of light and truth. What we can persuade or convince men of, about that we can feel secure. When anything cannot be carried forward by its own power of truth and reasonableness, we ought to mistrust its warrant for being carried forward at all.

It is time to turn now to some of Anderson's views, his discussions of mission problems in home administration and in foreign correspondence.

There was no Student Volunteer Movement in these early days. All the principles of the movement were, however, clearly seen and earnestly grasped. The Haystack Band, the early company at Andover, and the secretaries of the American Board, all discerned the fundamental principles of missionary enlistment and acted upon them. The desirability of answering early the question of missionary duty, and not postponing it until the end of the theological seminary course, was argued by Dr. Anderson in a tract entitled "On Deciding Early to Become a Missionary to the Heathen." This is the way he opens the argument:

The object of this tract is to assign reasons in favor of the following proposition, viz.: That every student, looking forward to the sacred ministry, should decide early, in view of existing circumstances, whether duty requires him to become a missionary to the heathen.

I have my mind upon a current maxim which has de-

prived the heathen world, I fear, of many excellent missionaries. The maxim is this, "That it is better to delay deciding on our personal duty to the heathen till near the close of our studies preparatory to the ministry." The reasons for such a delay are plausible. The student will be older—his judgment more matured—his mind better informed—the whole case more completely before him. My appeal, however, is to facts. For many years I have watched the operation of this maxim, and I am sure that its influence is to prevent a thorough and impartial examination. The procrastination which it requires becomes a habit, and is usually too long persisted in. The "more convenient season" for investigation is generally allowed to pass by. Engagements are formed rendering the case more complicated; solicitations and inducements to remain at home multiply; the natural love of one's own country grows stronger and stronger; the early predilection for the missionary life, if there had been one, wears away; the cries of the heathen and their distress move with less and less power; and the man remains at home—not as the result of any vigorous exercise of the understanding upon the question of duty, but because he decided to postpone consideration upon it till he was about to launch into the world, and then surrendered himself passively to the control of circumstances.

This is not the way to learn our duty on the momentous question, "Where is the field and the work to which the Holy Ghost hath called me?" And what inquiry is there which can be more important than this to our growth in grace, and to our happiness and usefulness in future life? And what more directly connected with the sentence to be passed upon us, at the great day, as the stewards of Christ? Next to the relation which we sustain to the Lord Jesus, there is nothing we are more interested to know, as his ministers, than where he would have us spend our lives; where the field is which he commands us to cultivate; and where the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, will complacently regard our residence and delight to bless our exertions and alleviate our trials. Is there not a foundation for solicitude on this

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point? Can it be a matter of perfect indifference to the Head of the Church where we preach, provided only we are diligent, and preach the truth? It was not so in respect to the apostles; nor is it so now. Mistakes on this subject, when committed needlessly, much more when committed because we will not consider, must have a very serious bearing upon us as ministers of the gospel.

Then he proceeds to show that it is no objection to early decision that it must be conditional upon the Lord's will. Any decision, early or late, must be so conditioned. Next he answers the objection to setting off the foreign field as distinct from the home field. It is not he but the facts which create the distinction. Then he proceeds to the points of his argument:

1. In college, and sometimes in the academy, the student may enjoy nearly or quite all the helps in forming a decision that he will find in the theological seminary. . . . Indeed, I believe the student may not only ascertain his personal duty to the heathen at an early period of his education, but that he may then ascertain it with comparative ease—being, in some respects, more favorably situated for deciding correctly than at the more advanced periods. The subject is really very simple; and it is most apt to appear so to the student while his position is remote from the world. He, too, is then more entirely uncommitted; and his views of the comparative claims of the heathen world upon himself will be more likely to accord with what is the usual fact than in the later stages.

2. An early decision is desirable in reference to its bearing on the mind and conscience of the student.

3. A student who decides early to devote himself to the cause of foreign missions will be more useful to that cause during his studies preparatory to the ministry than he otherwise would be. . . . If a man is led by his views of duty heartily to consecrate himself to the work of evangelizing

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the heathen, such a man begins immediately to think, with a special interest, how he may increase the number of missionaries, and the means of sending them forth, and how the deep intellectual and moral gloom resting upon the heathen world may be dispelled. There is no estimating how desirable it is that every college and seminary in the land have such men among its students. What may not a man devoted to missions do in the seven or eight years of his preparatory studies? The greater part of the influence which Samuel J. Mills exerted directly upon foreign missions, and which has given him an imperishable name in our churches, he exerted while in the college and seminary. He decided on his duty to the heathen before entering college—imparted the noble design, which the Spirit of God had implanted in his own bosom, to the kindred minds of Hall and Richards, whose dust now rests beneath the sods of India—and, after seeking divine direction many times on the banks of the Hoosack, formed a society, in which the members pledge themselves to effect, in their own persons, a mission among the heathen. Here was the germ of our foreign missions, and it was the fruit of an early decision. Had Mills, and Hall, and Richards, and Fisk, and others who might be named, deferred all consideration of the subject till they were on the point of entering the ministry, what a loss would the cause have sustained!

4. An early decision in favor of becoming a missionary to the heathen makes a man more courageous and cheerful when in the field of missions. . . . He had long before taken time to lay a broad and deep foundation, and his superstructure stands. He went to the heathen from no sudden impulse of passion, but from a long-revolved conviction of duty, to which the feelings of his heart and the habits of his mind gradually came into sweet subserviency. Till that conviction is destroyed he will find delight in his work, and, on the whole, will be contented and happy. To have this conviction of duty well rooted in the mind, when the missionary is in the midst of disheartening trials with few outward supports, is of itself a sufficient reason for beginning early to look

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seriously at the subject, and, indeed, for looking at it with reference to a speedy decision.

5. An early consecration to the missionary work will render a man more efficient and useful as a missionary. . . . Ideas of all sorts, as they enter his mind, are marshaled and trained for the spiritual and holy wars of foreign conquest. I cannot conceive of a more desirable influence; nor can I help regretting that it cannot always be felt through the whole course of that man's education, who is destined to become a missionary in pagan lands.

I shall not do justice to this subject unless I mention the influence which an early decision to be a missionary may be expected to have upon the heart.

6. An early decision to be a missionary will be no disadvantage to a man who is providentially prevented from becoming one. It will rather be an advantage. Some of the most devoted ministers in our churches once had a foreign mission in view for a considerable period of time. They did not go because unforeseen and unavoidable occurrences prevented, making it necessary for them to remain in their own country. They lost no character by so doing because it was manifestly their duty to relinquish their purpose. Neither did the "God of all grace" forsake them. They were enabled to carry their missionary fervor into their parishes.

7. An early and serious consideration of this subject, with a view to a speedy decision, either that it is or is not our duty to become missionaries, with an occasional reconsideration of the subject, is the most likely way of avoiding mistakes in regard to our proper sphere of labor.

These arguments he developed fully and with convincing power, and followed them with the question, "Whether there are not many, well qualified to be missionaries, who have more fear lest they should go without being sent, than they have lest they shall stay at home when they are commanded to go?" He writes:

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To them I would put the question, Whether the greatest danger is not the other way? Does not the tide of feeling, in the great body of our pious students, set against the life of a foreign missionary? Far be it from me to intimate that there is no danger of a man's mistaking the field of his duty when he decides to become a missionary. Such mistakes have been committed, and have had a most unhappy influence; and the inquiry should be approached with a godly jealousy of our motives, and with humble prayer for the illuminations of the Spirit. But I insist that, taking into view the whole body of young men preparing for the ministry, the paramount danger is that a man will give undue force to the reasons in favor of spending his life in his own country.

He concluded his tract with a cautious statement of the advantage, which we know to be so great, of a clear and simple declaration of the missionary purpose under the will of God.

In this tract he was not setting forth the reasons for becoming a foreign missionary, but only the advantages of deciding the question early. He took up the argument for a favorable decision in another tract entitled, "Ought I to Become a Missionary?" Then, as now, such an argument became in a large measure an answer to the objections made by men to the appeal of the work for reënforcements. It is interesting to note that he had to begin, as we do still, with a refutation of the idea that some kind of special supernatural call is necessary. He disputes this idea, holding that such a thaumaturgical call is no more necessary for missionary service than it is for conversion, and that a decision in this matter is to be reached in just the same manner as we decide as Christian

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men any other question. On the basis of a full and candid examination of all the facts we are to determine rationally and prayerfully what our duty is. The absence of a strong desire for the work of missions or even a decided aversion to it is no justification for staying at home, for, as he says:

That the Church has failed in the discharge of her high responsibilities must be evident to everyone who inspects for a moment the broad command of the Saviour; and yet, doubtless, she has acted according to her inclinations. Surely, in her case, the want of a desire to do her duty to the heathen cannot be construed into an expression of the mind of the Spirit of God. In Scotland alone there were, a few years ago, not less than one thousand educated ministers without charges—many of them employed as farmers, and many of them as common parish schoolmasters—waiting for the removal of the present incumbents, that they might succeed to their livings. Can it be possible that not a single one of this vast number of useless ministers should have gone to point the heathen to the way which leads to everlasting life and glory? And though one stirring appeal after another was made by the Scottish Missionary Society for laborers in the Lord's vineyard, yet not one of this class volunteered. Let no one, therefore, conclude, simply because he has not an ardent desire for the work, that the question is settled that it cannot be his duty to go. It may or it may not be so. There is a very great danger in making our feelings and our desires a test of our duty, especially in a service which requires much self-denial. This must be perfectly obvious to everyone who is experimentally acquainted with the deceitful workings of the human heart. It is demonstrated by the history of the Church ever since the days of the apostles.

The great trouble with men is, as he holds, that they have a strong bias for staying at home and that they

assume that they do not require, to justify their doing so, the same kind of warrant which they demand as the condition of their going abroad. Men ought to lay aside all bias either way and go where they can do the greatest possible amount of good.

“They have no right to take it for granted that, as a matter of course, we are to labor at home unless we have some special call to go to the heathen. But why should we require all the evidence on one side? Who does not see that, with these views and feelings, it is impossible to investigate and decide the question with entire impartiality; because, when the mind has once adopted an opinion, it requires far more evidence to change it, if erroneous, than to direct it to the truth, had the judgment been suspended. But why, we ask again, is it necessary to have a special call to India, or Burmah, or the Sandwich Islands, or any foreign station, rather than to the West of our own country? ‘The field is the world.’ The foreign and domestic are but departments of the same grand field. Then why this distinction? If the paramount claims of either portion of the field are to be presumed, should not the presumption be in favor of the foreign department? For, to say nothing of its greater extent and destitution, the fact that so many who would gladly preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ are prevented by providential circumstances beyond their control, gives the foreign field a peculiar claim upon all who are at liberty to enter it.”

But some say they cannot acquire a new language. He answers that the Moravian missionaries, many of whom are of ordinary talents, succeed, and that for-

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eigners who come to America, many of them of inferior intelligence, learn English, which is a difficult tongue. Others argue that if they went they would require funds which ought to support abler men. But the abler men, he replies, are not obtainable, and the Church's resources are not yet reduced to limits requiring such selection. Next he answers unflinchingly the objection, much more forcible in those days even than now, that there is so much to do at home. People here have a chance to hear. The heathen do not.

It might be answered further that, granting for a moment all it asks, the need of laborers at home is as great as abroad—and it surely is not greater; for what destitution can be greater than that which is total?—then the utmost that can be fairly inferred is, that an equal number should be distributed to both fields. Now, until this be the case, on your own principles you are bound to go. You contend that the need at home is as great as abroad, and therefore one-half ought conscientiously to remain. It may be answered that the destitution abroad is at least as great as at home, and therefore one-half ought conscientiously to go. And this obligation obviously becomes the more pressing since very far from the proportion of one-half usually go. Now it manifestly falls upon those whose circumstances will permit, and who profess a willingness to go wherever duty calls, to furnish this quota; since there are enough, and, as yet, more than enough, to supply the other proportion, whose physical qualifications and domestic relations will compel them to remain. They ought, therefore, to feel themselves peculiarly called upon to examine their duty in this matter.

Lastly, he answers without difficulty the argument that by remaining at home a man may arouse interest

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among the home churches, and he appeals to all those who can go to feel that they are definitely and particularly called to go, and to face the matter at once and decide their duty.

To his tract he appended "The Missionary's Appeal," beginning:

What is the matter with the pious young men of America, that they will not come up in great numbers to our help? Have they not yet learned that the heathen have souls which must be lost forever unless saved by the gospel? Surely they cannot be ignorant on this subject. How is it then to be accounted for that they can stand still and see all this spiritual carnage, and not even stretch out a finger to prevent it?

II

How modern all this is! These tracts were issued sixty years ago. The identical objections are still met and the same arguments are still pressed, and the world's need, greater and more pressing than ever, still calls to the Church and still meets with only a partial and inadequate reply. Why is it so? Well, a very common answer on the part of young men in the theological seminaries is that the foreign mission need is general and indiscriminate and that the needs at home are specific and individual, and that if foreign mission boards would get the best men and enough men they must present definite and direct calls to individuals. Is this a sound view? Dr. Anderson and his associates considered it and decided in the negative. In a careful paper on the position of the Board in relation to missionaries he writes:

The Board does not, indeed, extend a "call" to them, as churches do to those whom they would have for their pastors. This has sometimes been recommended as preferable to the course now pursued. But few missionaries would be obtained in this way. The missionary spirit has not yet strong hold enough upon the churches, or upon the colleges and theological seminaries, for the adoption of such a plan. Were the responsibility to be thus taken from students and candidates for the ministry, and assumed by missionary institutions, the young men in our theological schools would seldom be found in a state of mind or in circumstances to give an affirmative answer to a "call," by the time their characters and qualifications should have been sufficiently developed to warrant one. It is found to be better to lay the case before

all, and leave the result to the providence and grace of God. Consecration to the foreign missionary work for life involves a somewhat peculiar experience of its own; and the earlier and more thoroughly that experience is wrought in the soul, the better is the prospect of continuance and usefulness in the work of missions.

He saw also that only those men would endure the strain of missionary life who went to it with the deep consecration which Anderson felt was best developed by early and independent personal decision. Men who went out under a special call from the Missionary Board would not have the depth of deathless attachment to the work which alone could sustain its trials and burdens. Moreover, no special call could be real except in form. It could not convey to the mind of the student conditions which only experience could make him understand. If disappointed, he might throw the responsibility for his presence on the mission field upon the Board, and feel justified in abandoning a work which had not been, because it could not be, accurately represented to him. Furthermore, men attracted by special propositions might be needed far more for other undertakings after reaching the field, which, under the terms of their call, they might not be willing to assume. No, the men needed for missions must be men who felt the mighty sway of the ideas which blazed with undying intensity in Anderson's breast, and who went out, not because a board made them a proposition, but because the world needed them, and go they must in the name of Christ.

Dr. Anderson answered negatively this question of

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definite calls for missionaries on these broad general grounds. But if he had tried the plan he could have answered it negatively on grounds of actual experience. We have tried it, and the idea that theological students can be got for the foreign field in this way is illusory. Again and again we have taken entire senior classes in the seminaries and approached each man with a definite call and have not gotten one man by this method of appeal. We have tried it with scores of men already in the ministry. I do not say that it has never yielded a single missionary, for I can name men who have gone in response to such a presentation, but the common fact is that unless men have faced the question on the broad general principles set forth by Dr. Anderson, and decided that if God permits they will give their lives to this massive and unique need, special calls will not secure them, and if they do, are not likely to get from them the same type and depth of service which flows from the men who had formed such a purpose as Anderson urged men to form it, in his tract on early decision.

How deep an impression Dr. Anderson made upon the smallest details of administration in the American Board is shown in the Manual of the Board. Large sections of it are simply condensations of the points in Dr. Anderson's tracts and addresses, and its regulations are, of course, the expression of the convictions which he held as to mission policy. One section deals with the qualifications of missionaries. It raises a high ideal. There are eleven paragraphs of qualifications.

In his volume on "Foreign Missions; Their

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Relations and Claims," one of the first volumes of missionary lectures ever published and still one of our best discussions of the fundamental principles of the missionary enterprise, he argued for the necessity of a deep rootage of missionary character. He says:

I have long ceased to expect a foreign missionary to persevere in his work who does not enter upon it as a life of faith, and with a certain amount of physical, mental and moral adaptation. Mere philosophers will not go on such missions, and mere philanthropists would not remain long, should they happen to go. Impulsive, unreflecting piety will give out before the day of embarkation, or retire ere the language has been acquired, or the battle has fairly begun. Fine conceptions of the beautiful in social life, glowing apprehensions of pastoral duty, broad and elevated views of the nature and relations of theological truth, are not sufficient to give enduring life to the zeal of a missionary. Something more than all this is needed.

Missionaries should go out, he held, in this deep and personal devotion, not because a mission board called them, but with a spirit which would create a board to need them, if none existed. The men who continue the enterprise should be of the same stuff as the men who founded it. If men are to go only when an established agency gives them a special call, how could the enterprise ever have originated? It followed from this fact of the living, personal devotion of the individual that he did not go out as the employee of the mission board. The missionary, he said, "goes on his mission in the discharge of his own personal duty, because he believes his Lord and Saviour re-

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quires him to go as his servant and ambassador. He does not regard the churches or the Board as principals, but as helpers to carry out the benevolent purpose of his own independent self-consecration. A mission is not a contract between the churches and the missionary."

His policies made provision for furloughs, but there were no arrangements for regular furloughs after a specified term of service. Each furlough must be specially asked and settled by itself. His counsel as to a new missionary's farewell to his friends was: "You are probably to see each other no more in this world. Leave them as if such were your expectation." They were to meet in heaven. That expectation should suffice. This was the spirit in which Carey went out to India, and he, indeed, never did return to England. It was a natural question in the early years of the missionary enterprise whether furloughs were wise or not. Dr. Charles Hodge contributed an interesting article to "The Princeton Review" in 1851 on the subject, in which he supported the view that missionaries might be justified in giving up their work permanently or in coming home on furlough; but after arguing for a policy of regular furloughs at the end of ten or twelve years he concluded:

We would lay down no invariable rule on a subject of this kind. Our feelings would prompt us rather, if on missionary ground, to wish there to abide and there to die. We would not condemn those who revisit this country; there may be good reasons for their return apart from the claims of health. But to others there may be better reasons for their remaining at their post. We would prefer, God willing, to imitate the example of Swartz and Carey, names venerable in the

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missionary history of India. The latter spent more than forty years uninterruptedly at his work, and a few years before his death he wrote to his early friend, Dr. Ryland:

“I, however, never intended to return to England when I left it; and unless something very unexpected were to take place I certainly shall not do it. I am fully convinced I should meet with many who would show me the utmost kindness in their power, but my heart is wedded to India; and though I am of little use, I feel a pleasure in doing the little I can, and a very high interest in the spiritual good of this vast country, by whose instrumentality soever it is promoted.”

The problems of missionary character and relationship and the questions of appointment and term of service are all more or less obvious problems. They give room for diversity of opinion, but they require sane opinion. Dr. Anderson's great merit was that he went beyond these matters and defined the fundamental aim and method of missions and wrought out some of the great problems of missionary philosophy which others ignored. As Dr. N. G. Clark, his successor, declared at his funeral:

It was a time of beginnings, of laying foundations, when plans world-wide were to be organized and carried forward. There was need of a carefully developed method in the conduct of the missionary work; there was need of a strong will and a persistent purpose to carry out such a method, and these needs were supplied in Rufus Anderson. Without any disparagement to the noble men who have been associated with this work and have now gone to their rest, whether connected with the American Board or with other societies, there can be no hesitation in saying that the world owes to Dr. Anderson the reviving of the true method of missionary effort as illustrated most fully in *The Acts of the Apostles*

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by the apostle Paul. That method, in short, is this: the development of self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating churches of Christ. This one thought gives direction to the entire work. It determines the fields to be occupied, the stations to be taken and the number of men to be located at each. It prescribes the forms of labor they are to adopt, sets limits to what may be done in the interest of education and the amount of aid that may be given to the native communities—and settles ultimately the limits to missionary labor, when the native churches are to take up and complete the work begun by missionaries.

This method and the principles involved are now the common possession of all missionary societies the world over. They are recognized in the plans adopted and in the tributes paid to Dr. Anderson in this country, in Great Britain, in Germany and wherever missions are known.

As a matter of fact, Dr. Anderson was not alone in working out the right solution of this problem. Henry Venn, the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, was at work on it at the same time and reaching the same results. But each worked in his own field and deserves the full measure of our admiration and gratitude.

The most complete statement of the ripened views to which Dr. Anderson's correspondence and study and visitation of the mission field brought him is found in the "Outlines of Mission Policy" which the Prudential Committee of the American Board submitted to the special committee of the Board appointed to report to the special meeting of the Board held in Albany, March, 1856, to consider the questions which had been raised over Dr. Anderson's course of action in India and Syria on his visit in 1855. The special committee embodied these outlines in their

report. The statement, which is the best condensed statement of mission policy of which I know, is now almost unobtainable by the general reader, and I regret that limits of space forbid its reproduction here.

There are some points in the statement, however, which it may be well to single out and discuss:

1. As to the fundamental aim of missions, Anderson saw clearly and declared firmly that we are to save men and establish churches, and to do it by evangelization. This is simple and it is apostolic. In "Foreign Missions" Dr. Anderson appealed to the example of Paul in setting forth what he believed to be "the true and proper nature of a mission among the heathen." The mission of the apostle Paul, he held, embraced the following things:

1. The aim of the apostle was to save the souls of men.
2. The means he employed for this purpose were spiritual; namely, the gospel of Christ.
3. The power on which he relied to give efficacy to these means was divine; namely, the promised aid of the Holy Spirit.
4. His success was chiefly in the middle and poorer classes—the Christian influence ascending from thence.
5. When he had formed local churches, he did not hesitate to ordain presbyters over them, the best he could find; and then to throw upon the churches, thus officered, the responsibilities of self-government, self-support and self-propagation.

This is simple, I repeat—but it is immensely difficult to adhere to this simple program and to carry it out as Paul did, unconfused, undelayed, undiverted.

2. A great merit of Anderson's scheme was its

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emphasis on the local church and the native pastorate. In India the American Board missions had been working for forty years without putting a single native pastor over a church or, indeed, ordaining a single native preacher. There had been the same kind of delay in the Sandwich Islands and among the American Indians. Dr. Anderson saw that such a policy, with its necessary accompaniment of missionary pastorates over native churches, was fatal. He did not claim the credit for this discovery. "Like many discoveries in science," he says, "it very probable was reached by a number of persons at nearly the same time and as the result of a common experience." He cites in a footnote a letter of Henry Venn's, saying that no vigorous independent native church can be built up under missionary pastorates, and he adds of Mr. Venn, "And no one is better informed on missionary subjects." How slowly we make progress in this matter! There are still mission stations which have been in existence forty years or more without real native pastorates over churches which have been carried so long that they have lost, or think that they have lost, all power to stand alone in self-support, much less to run, which is their main mission, on the errand of self-propagation.

3. An interesting illustration of the absolute necessity of self-propagation to life emerged in his experience with the Sandwich Islands, which taught him not only that churches must spread the gospel in order to live, but that a home missionary spreading alone is not sufficient to life. In 1847 the Board was alarmed at what "seemed like a threatened collapse" of the

mission. There were several reasons for it, but it was soon found that one influential cause was a deficiency of religious stimulus from a foreign missionary duty.

All the islands had been alike Christianized. Had one of them remained under the influence of savage paganism, as the whole had been—as, for instance, the island of Hawaii—then the four Christianized islands might have been roused to send the gospel to the seventy-five thousand benighted people of Hawaii; and they would have had an appropriate and interesting field near by for their Christian activities. Whereas, there was no such pagan island within less than two thousand miles. To be sure, there was very much of real home missionary work on each of the Sandwich Islands. But it was found there, as it has been in our own country, that the motive power of the home missionary plea alone is not of itself sufficiently awakening and powerful. In short, it was painfully certain that the infant churches on those islands, regarded as a whole, could not be raised to the level of enduring and effective working churches without a stronger religious influence than could be brought to act upon them from within their own Christianized islands. . . .

It was precisely this discovery—for discovery it was—which gave rise to the mission to Micronesia, a group of islands two thousand miles westward; and also to the sending from this country, in the year 1856, of the missionary packet, “Morning Star,” to facilitate the forming of that mission; and to the employment of native Hawaiians as missionaries on those islands, who should look for their support to their own Hawaiian churches. . . .

It is impossible for mission churches to reach their highest and truest state without the aid of what is to them virtually a foreign mission—without some outside field of labor for them, resembling the “hole of the pit” from which they had themselves been digged.

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There is a perennial lesson here for the Christian Church in all lands.

4. It is clear, from reading the missionary literature of Anderson's time, that men were adjusting and re-adjusting in their minds the relations of missions to civilization, of the individual to the social statement of the gospel. It is not easy to characterize with absolute accuracy the emphasis of thought at the beginnings of modern missions, for at every stage it is possible to quote authorities on each side, but at the outset there was undoubtedly a strong emphasis on the purely spiritual character of missions; as Anderson would have termed it, on the need of preaching Christ as the Saviour of the soul to individual men that they might be saved from death; and yet even then missionaries spoke constantly of the awful social and moral wrongs which must be righted and of the new society which must be established. Under Evarts, as we have already seen, perhaps the social and political aspects of missions had been specially stressed. At any rate, it is clear that Dr. Anderson felt called upon to discriminate between missions and civilization, between the direct preaching of Christ and the spread of social principles. In the former he found the vital missionary motive, the valid missionary aim and the effective missionary method.

He found in it the vital motive. In a tract on "The Office and Work of the Missionary to the Heathen," he says:

For objects that are not spiritual men will seldom renounce the world for themselves and their families, as missionaries must do. . . . Nothing but the grand object of reconciling

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men to God, with a view to their eternal salvation and the happiness and glory thus resulting to Christ's kingdom, will call any considerable number of missionaries into the foreign field and keep them cheerfully there.

The only motive which can adequately sustain the missionary movement with financial support is the same motive which can lead men to give their lives to it.

In the direct preaching of Christ Dr. Anderson found also the vital missionary aim. He pointed out the difficulty which we have in discerning the purely spiritual nature of the missionary work because of the higher civilization of the Christian Church, as compared with that of modern heathen nations. He says:

This has tended to confuse our conceptions of the religion we were to propagate. Our idea of the Christian religion from our childhood has been identified with education, social order and a certain correctness of morals and manners; in other words, with civilization. It is even true of us all that the civilization of centuries forms a part of the hourly manifestations of our piety; and we seldom reflect how our personal religion would appear to casual observers were we divested of a culture which we share in common with the world around us.

This composite idea of the gospel, if I may so describe it, this foreign intermixture, has placed the missionaries of our day under a disadvantage as compared with missionaries in the apostolic age. It has weakened their faith in that perfectly simple form of the gospel as a converting agency in which it was apprehended by the apostles; and also their reliance on the divine power, upon which the apostles so exclusively depended for success.

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Dr. Anderson's writings are full of references to this matter of the relation of religion to social and economic improvement. He recognizes clearly the certain issue of true religious work in better civilization. This result he appeals to as a consideration of great apologetic value, and at times he views it as a motive for supporting the purely spiritual work, which alone can yield such results, but he holds steadfastly to the direct work of preaching and teaching Christ as the primary missionary service. At the annual meeting of the Board in Brooklyn in 1845 the following principles, which no doubt he drafted, were unanimously adopted by a yea and nay vote. They are part of a fuller statement:

The primary object aimed at in missions should be to bring men to a saving knowledge of Christ by making known to them the way of salvation through his cross. It has regard to individual character, and is an object simple in itself and purely spiritual. The commission given by Christ evidently contemplates the work to be done as one that is to be wrought in individual men, regarded as rational and immortal beings; all of whom, of every grade and condition, having great interests alike, the more important of which lie in another state of existence. To these interests, primarily and mainly, and to that change of individual character and conduct which is indispensable to secure them, the Christian missionary is to direct his labors. If other objects less spiritual and important are connected with the enterprise as predominant objects of interest and pursuit, they impair its efficiency and endanger the great result. . . .

Civil and religious liberty, improvement in civilization and the arts of life and the introduction of the best social institutions, admitted to be indispensable to the highest well-being of a community, are still secondary to the one primary object

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of securing holiness in the hearts of individuals. Aiming steadily at this is the way for the missionary most surely and speedily to work out the others; and it is only by regarding these classes of objects in their proper relations, and keeping them in their proper places and pursuing them in their proper order, that either can be effectually attained and permanently established on the broad field of the world.

III

As this direct spiritual principle in his view supplied the motive and should direct the aim, so, he held, it should prescribe the method of missions. He held the New Testament view of the supremacy of preaching, not confining the term, of course, to our modern notion of it, but retaining the New Testament conception of conversational, persuasive, continuous evangelism.

He believed thoroughly in education. How could he, who was himself a man of the highest intellectual training and power, do otherwise? He believed in a redeemed human society as well as in converted souls, but what we call "social service" to-day was to him an unknown thing, that is, the work of human uplifting separated from the cross of Christ. I suppose that there was practically none of it then so separated. To-day there is a great deal of it which is nominally so separated, and the question which has long been before the home Church and is beginning to arise in connection with foreign missions is whether the connection of such service with Christ, as the New Testament represents him, is of vital consequence or not; whether, after all, such service nominally separated from Christ is not an untruth, if not as guilty, at least as real, as the mere word of faith without the power of love. A Christianity which is not service is a lie, but we dare to hold also that service without Christ is an unreality. It is an un-

reality because our real service historically has come from him. It lives by contact with him even when it disavows it, and it can only accomplish any deep and living work by his power, working even where he is denied.

As a matter of fact, just because missions have always been true Christianity, they have been both faith and love. Each mission station has been a "social settlement" and has used all the agencies of helpfulness which the Church at home did not use because for the most part she was providing them in other ways and not in her own name. But how could the missionary keep from providing them? His very purpose to preach Christ, which the constraint of Christ's love had given him, gave a meaning to preaching Christ as wide as the meaning of "Christ's love."

This is true and it is inevitable, but even the love of Christ himself did not relieve, or try to relieve, all the suffering it met when he was on the earth, and Paul, whose conceptions of corporate Christian life and of social service are still generations in advance of us, made not universal philanthropy but world-wide evangelization, interpreted by a life of love, the controlling purpose of all his work. With such a purpose the American Board had been founded. The instructions given to the first company of missionaries, sent out in 1812, embodied this purpose:

"It will be your business to bring the heathen as directly as possible to the knowledge of the truth," they stated, and they added, "It is the truth, the truth as it is in Jesus, which is mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

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Under such a purpose Dr. Anderson worked from the first day to the last. Is that purpose both clear and dominating with us?

The test of missionary efficiency is here. It is not to be met by efficiency engineers or prescriptions, by having a stenographer in each station to look after correspondence, and an accountant to keep the books, and an architect to do the building, or a superintendent of schools. These things would not make an efficient mission. A mission is efficient in the proportion that its missionaries know Christ and preach him by word and life, and reach efficiently men, women and children, to whom they bring Christ. Efficiency in this work cannot be measured by mechanism or by result, but it is to be measured by spiritual simplicity and faithfulness. Dr. Anderson not only saw this, he exemplified it.

5. His views on education as a missionary agency are set forth in the statement of policy which has been mentioned, but from this statement one would not gather any adequate impression of the long discussion which lay behind. He was in favor of vernacular schools, but opposed to schools in English for the simple reason that English schools did not yield satisfactory results. They did not in India and Turkey in his day produce preacher or teacher or even Christian. The vernacular of any people he held "to be the most suitable language in which to communicate truth and through which to affect the heart." He had sad experiences, as we have still, of the fruitlessness of some types of education to produce an influential and spiritual Christian leadership, and especially of a

leadership that will stay with the people who are to be led. He thought:

The native preachers were sometimes too highly taught in secular knowledge for the incipient stages of the work. Raised too far above the general level of intelligence among their people, they longed for more cultivated hearers than they found in the villages, and for larger salaries than they could receive, or ought to receive, and shrank from pastorates in obscure places, among low-caste, ignorant people.

To this day it is the foreign missionary and not the native preacher who has to do the pioneer village work in Japan and India and Brazil, where, nevertheless, there have been schools for the training of ministers for a quarter, or a half, or three-quarters of a century. The educational problem of training men for life and not away from life is still an unsolved problem with us in America. We have made no more mistakes on the mission field than we have made at home.

6. His conception of the independent native church as the formative idea in mission policy involved a number of collateral convictions. The native church should be trusted. It might be morally immature; so were Paul's churches, and he trusted them. It might be weak and ignorant, but it would grow strong and wise more rapidly if left free and taught how to use its liberty, than if carried and controlled by a foreign body. Therefore missionaries should not be its ecclesiastical overlords or administrators. Let it be expected to bear its own responsibilities. Let its leaders be trained to abide among their own people and not be separated by their training from the very

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life they are to lift. For this reason he never favored the revival of the school in Cornwall, Connecticut, established in 1816 and closed in 1826, in which the experiment was made of educating natives of the mission fields for service among their own people. The scheme failed. The young men were spoiled for the work for which they were being trained.

For similar reasons he saw that the appointment of natives of any country as foreign missionaries to that country was a contradiction and would prevent the attainment of the end of a genuine independent native church. And because such a church must be founded on right principles, however imperfect at first its attainments might be, he supported the view of the missionaries themselves resolutely excluding caste and polygamy from the church.

Dr. Anderson wrote half-a-dozen or more books, histories of the Board's missions among the oriental churches, in the Sandwich Islands and in India, the Memorial Volume in commemoration of the Jubilee of the Board, and lectures and reports. It is impossible here even to summarize the wealth of information in his writings. No one had made at that time a more careful study of the problem of the oriental churches in themselves or in their relation to Islam. Of the non-Christian religions, however, he seems not to have made any special study. His references to them show how slight was the actual acquaintance of the best missionary leaders with the efforts of the human spirit to deal in these religions with the great questions of human life and destiny. His study was of the problems of missionary organization and adminis-

stration, and here he broke new ground and must still be counted as a leader in advance of the great body of present-day students of missions. He dealt with many of the problems which Mr. Allen raises in his troubling book, "Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours." He saw then as clearly as Mr. Allen points them out, the overshadowing influences of great station establishments which make it difficult to build up under them a truly independent and competent local church, and which also suffocate or suck the life out of the village churches, or absorb all energies in the central station work and leave none for the development of country congregations. We are only slowly waking to the similar peril at home, discovered to us now in the decay of our rural churches.

It is interesting to note with how many of our modern problems and difficulties Dr. Anderson was called upon to deal. He saw at once the questions of missionary comity and took the highest and most truly Christian view of them, in spite of the outrageous violation of true principles which he and the mission in the Sandwich Islands encountered in an invasion of that field, accompanied by the most shameful misrepresentations. Problems of world survey and occupation which some regard as having just emerged since the Edinburgh Conference, he considered and described with such light as was then available. The modern mathematical calculations of world evangelization, not without their value, are, in reality, not modern at all. Gordon Hall, "one of the first and ablest of the American missionaries," as Dr. Anderson had called him, argued in his tract entitled

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“Claims of Six Hundred Millions” that the work was to be done by sending one missionary for every twenty thousand souls, and supplying him with nine native preachers, and he demonstrated the possibility of bringing all these missionaries on the ground in twenty-one years. “But,” says Anderson, “I have ceased to place much reliance on such calculations. Great results depending on the providence and grace of God come about much more easily and rapidly than our previous calculations would lead us to expect.” That the Church should adequately plan to compass the task, however, he wholly believed. A living faith in this as the Church’s business and in the power of God to enable it to fulfill its duty, was the thing for which he unceasingly prayed and wrought. He believed that there was to be a new advent of the Spirit, which would pour new floods of power over the world, and that, far from having to wait indefinitely for this, the Church needed nothing more than it had “to cause it speedily to publish the gospel through the world” except “more willingness, more inclination to do what is confessedly its duty.” The very thing which the Church is required to do “is to go before the Spirit and prepare the way for his advent.” The moment it sets forth in the Spirit to possess the world, that moment a new possession of the Spirit will come upon it. A new supernaturalness will burst over it. Another new problem which his life shows to have been an old problem, although it is coming upon us now with much more complicating result, is the problem of fitting highly specialized men into the requirements of a work where a great

many general duties have to be done, and where, indeed, the general evangelistic duty of all is, in reality, the very end for which the specialized work of each is carried on. He had the advantage of the schemes of benevolent giving which Evarts had worked out, but he had to work, and with discouraging effect, upon the problem of the Sunday school and the teaching of missions. "I see not how the textbooks in common use," he said, "would be constructed differently or the teaching be materially changed were there no missions in existence and were there no heathen world accessible to the churches." In many churches we should have to say the same thing to-day, not of the Sunday-school teaching only, but of all the public teaching and preaching of the Church.

So we might go on recalling view after view of his, but it must suffice to mention only one more, now pretty well accepted, but often denied even in high places in our government within the memory of all of us: namely, the political rights of an American citizen who goes abroad as a missionary. Anderson stated with convincing clearness the argument that a missionary did not cease to be an American by going abroad on the best errand on which an American citizen could be employed. The subject was brought to the notice of Daniel Webster in 1842, Webster being then Secretary of State, and the Board's missions in Turkey having just ground of complaint against the American Legation in Constantinople. Webster promptly sent a peremptory letter to the Legation, requiring the treatment of missionaries in the same manner with other citizens of the United

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States, and Edward Everett and Lewis Cass, who followed Webster, took the same view. It was reserved for John Sherman to discriminate between Americans engaged in teaching and preaching and healing and Americans engaged in trade, and to regard the former as employed in an illicit business beyond the pale of their government's recognition. At the same time Anderson tells us that "the experience of the Board"—and it is a wise lesson which all of us would do well to remember—"favors the fewest possible direct communications by missionary societies to national governments."

As one immerses himself in the atmosphere of Anderson's time and follows his thought upon the problems of his own day, and then returns into our own time, he sees both how much and how little we have advanced. Anderson spoke once of the wonderful changes in attitude of mind between his time and John Owen's, when a man of Owen's mind and power could argue for the incompetence of any agency or person whatever to empower evangelists "to go up and down from one place and nation unto another, to preach the gospel unto Jews and Gentiles as yet unconverted." Anderson had no trouble in finding a warrant for such ordination. He spoke also of changes in mental environment since the founding of the Board.

There were hardly facts enough then for constructing a theory of missions to any great extent; and where the Board did act, as it must needs have acted more or less, upon the popular notions of the times, it found great occasion for subsequent modifications; as in the value of direct civilizing

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agencies in missions, the influence of the higher education on savage minds, and the training of heathen youth amid the civilization of our own country. But then these experiments were the way to come at the truth, and they led to the more correct experience, upon which the missions are now being prosecuted.

Just so in many regards have we moved on into a new mind—perhaps in nothing more distinctly than in the recognition of the long-forgotten corporate conceptions of the New Testament. Dr. Anderson's "Manual" renounced "the assumption that the work of publishing the gospel was committed by Christ to the Church as a society or corporate body." Instead he stated:

The command was given to individual disciples, before an organized Christian Church existed, and whatever use was made of social organizations during the apostolical age, the work was always regarded as the discharge of an individual and personal obligation. It is not less an individual and personal duty now than it was then.

We must never lose sight of the truth of individual responsibility in this matter. Whether the Church went with him or not, Paul was bound to go forth to the unevangelized world. But we realize now that there is far more to life and work, to human influence and achievement, to prayer and the kingdom of God, than isolated wills. We know that there is a great corporate life back of all persons and through all persons, and that all our conceptions must be expanded to include the body and its life as well as the separate members and their functions, which are all parts of

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the body, but which, taken altogether, are yet something less than the body.

But, after all, we have not gone on as far as we might suppose, and in the essential elements of true missionary administration we shall all do wisely in going to school to the wise, simple, fearless man who served the American Board with limitless fidelity for forty-four years.

He was a real missionary leader. He did not coerce anyone. He wielded no authority. He simply thought for himself, and temperately and clearly stated his conclusions to others. There must be order and discipline, but also freedom, for, he argued in his tract, entitled "Control to Be Exercised Over Missionaries and Mission Churches,"

Men must be free, and must feel that they are free, in order to rise to the full capacity and dignity of moral agents, and be subjected to the full control of law, reason and the moral sense. And, of all gospel ministers, the missionary among the heathen most needs to have his mind and spirit erect, and to feel that all good men are his brethren. This is necessary to the unity, peace, order and efficiency of every mission. The law of liberty is an all-pervading law in Christ's kingdom.

The real difficulty, however, then as now, is not so much the difficulty of determining right missionary theories, but how to get the right theory into practice. Even when the ideals and aims of the enterprise are seen, how are methods to be held in rigid loyalty to them? It is so easy to follow the lines of least resistance, to keep up old institutions and to pursue old plans because their abandonment has in

it an element of risk, the risk of leaving a measure of fact in the interest of a theory. Most men are exceedingly timid in the matter of shaping, and especially of altering, their actual methods of work to conform to theories whose reasonableness they cannot deny. Anderson was not afraid. He believed that what was theoretically right, and true in principle, was the thing that ought actually to be done, and that it was wrong to do anything else, and so he calmly assumed and encouraged others to assume the responsibility of doing right and of desisting from doing wrong. He thought the Sandwich Islands mission had reached its euthanasia, and he accomplished it. He held convictions regarding English and vernacular education which he found the missionaries in Turkey and India ready to accept, and he led them on to act upon them and to readjust their educational work. General Armstrong, many years later, questioned the wisdom of this policy in Hawaii, and Dr. Hamlin his course with regard to the English schools. But a longer view will support his theories, and we must admire far more a man who may sometimes err in the premature application of his principles than another who escapes all danger of prematurity by avoiding all application. Surely one of our great needs to-day is for men who will not be dragged away or intimidated from loyalty, and from the conformity of conduct to loyalty to pure spiritual principles, by the pressure of expediency, or compromise, or secularism.

Dr. Anderson not only had the courage which sees in all truth a duty and dares to do it. He also had

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the courage of expectancy. He was not a mere timekeeper. What had been attained was not merely to be held. It was to be advanced upon. Growth was unavoidable and it was indispensable. He wrote a paper on "The Board Able to Conduct Missions on a More Extended Scale," and another on "The Essentially Progressive Nature of Missions to the Heathen." Every new advance, he held, called for further progress. He planned and worked in faith, a faith as real, he held, for all the care and forethought of his planning, as any other. "The enterprise of the celebrated Müller, in England," he wrote, "is often spoken of as if it were peculiarly a work of faith. It does not seem to me to be so very peculiar in this respect. That of the American Board, in appropriating half a million dollars and more for an expenditure, a year before it is received, is not less a work of faith." The highest wisdom, after all, was, in his view, not well-instructed reasoning, but simple faith. What he said in reference to Samuel Worcester, the first secretary of the Board, might be said also of him:

Human wisdom is less a matter of foreknowledge than a correct perception of the present relations of things, and a simple conformity to the present indications of Providence. It is being correct in the step next to be taken.

Another "step to be taken"—that was the way he was ever looking forward upon life. On the title-page of one of his books he placed this resolve of the Board in 1835, "Large designs, systematic and vigorous exertions, humble dependence on God, and entire

consecration to the work, should characterize all our enterprises for the salvation of the revolted world.”

If he was borne on the swell of such mighty impulses, if he felt so richly the world propulsion of the gospel and the providence of God in his day, shall we feel it less? The accumulated responsibility which he urged upon his generation as it compared its call with the Word which had spoken to its fathers—does not that responsibility rest with a piled enormity upon us? He uses the thought in almost the same words in two of his books:

Our fathers of the last century had no such calls from nations beyond the limits of Christendom; and they had not because those nations were then comparatively unknown or else were unapproachable. But God has been pleased to lift the pall of death from off the heathen world; to bring it near; and to fill our eyes with the sight and our ears with the cry of their distress. He has leveled mountains and bridged oceans which separated the benighted nations from us, and made for us a highway to every land. To us he says, “Go!”—with an emphasis and a meaning such as this command never had to ministers and Christians in former ages.

“To us,” said Rufus Anderson. And we say with Anderson and, God grant, with new resolve, “To us. To us.”