

**The Policy of the Church Missionary Society
Concerning the Development of
Self-Governing Indigenous Churches.1900-1942**

Kenneth John Trace Farrimond

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Ph.D.

The University of Leeds

Department of Theology and Religious Studies

August 2003

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the leadership and administration of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) between 1900 and 1942. It concentrates on the particular policy issue of 'self-governing, indigenous Churches', building on the work done by Peter Williams on this policy in the CMS during the 19th century. It begins with an analysis of the way the CMS worked as an organisation in Britain throughout the period. This includes the contribution to the leadership of the CMS from both supporters and staff, along with a discussion of the change in the role of women with the society. The main voices heard in this study are those of the leadership of the CMS in Britain, particularly the full time 'Secretaries'. The tension between being an 'evangelical' society and being an 'Anglican' society runs through the whole period, but was particularly marked in 1922 when a split occurred within the CMS.

The policy at the start of the period is examined through a detailed discussion of a Memorandum on 'native' Churches produced in 1901, which committed the CMS to work exclusively to produce Churches that would be part of the Anglican Communion. A study of the way the CMS Missions around the world were governed, and how they related to the Churches they had helped found, reveals that until 1922 very little progress was made in producing Churches that were not governed by the CMS. A study of another Memorandum in 1909 shows that the Secretaries at this time were trying to keep a significant degree of control over CMS, rather than being proactive in developing the leadership structures for the new Churches. In the 1920s and 1930s much more rapid progress was made in India and China, but not in Africa. This caused significant concern within the CMS leadership in Britain, that in the process 'evangelical principles' were not being safeguarded. From 1926-1942 the CMS was led by W.W. Cash. His background, theology and attitudes are examined in some detail.

During the whole period, very little progress was made in producing indigenous bishops, in any of the areas in which CMS worked. The CMS had some influence over the appointment of bishops in its Mission areas. The actual degree of influence is examined. The CMS only started encouraging the appointment of local people as diocesan bishops in the late 1930s, in India and China, and always opposed their appointment in Africa. The reasons behind this policy, and how it changed over time, are also explored. By the end of the period some significant steps had been made, towards a 'self-governing, indigenous Church', particularly in India, but the CMS had still not realised its goal.

Contents

Tables and Figures	v
Abbreviations	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction and Rationale	1
1.2 Key Books on the CMS	5
1.3 The Scope of this Study	7
1.4 What is a Self-Governing Indigenous Church?	11
Chapter 2 - The Administrative Structure of the CMS 1900-1942	16
2.1 The Church Missionary Society and the Anglican Communion	16
2.1.1 The Foundation and Aims of the CMS	16
2.1.2 The Relationship with the Developing Anglican Communion	17
2.2 Overview of Policy Development in the 19th Century	21
2.3 CMS Missions and Missionaries in 1900	24
2.4 The Management Structure of the CMS 1900-1942	28
2.4.1 The Committee Structure	28
2.4.2 The CMS Secretaries	32
2.4.3 The Honorary Clerical Secretary	35
2.4.4 H.E. Fox (1841-1926)	37
2.4.5 The Group Secretaries	38
2.4.6 Salisbury Square	40
2.4.7 The Role of Women in the CMS	42
2.4.8 Assessment of the CMS Administration	46
Chapter 3 - The Background to Policy Development	50
3.1 The Major Policy Documents of the CMS 1900-1942	50
3.2 The Centenary Review	51
3.2.1 The Rise and Fall of the Section V Committee	53
3.2.2 The Section IV Committee and its Report	55
3.3 The Writing of the 1901 Memorandum	57
3.3.1 The Special Sub-committee on the Native Church	57
3.3.2 E. Stock (1836-1928)	60
3.3.3 The First Draft of the 1901 Memorandum	61
3.4 Assessment of the 1901 Memorandum	66
3.4.1 What did Independence within Anglicanism mean?	67
3.4.2 The Issue of Race	70
3.4.3 Methodology Proposed in the Memorandum	73
3.4.4 The CMS, Evangelicalism and the Anglican Church	74
3.5 Conclusion	75
Chapter 4 - The First Two Decades	79
4.1 The Main Contributions to CMS Policy Development 1900-1918	79

4.1.1	The 1905 Regulations	80
4.1.2	The Review Committee of 1906-1907	80
4.1.3	The 1908 Special Committee on Mission Administration in the Field	81
4.1.4	The 1914 Minute on 'Support of Native Agency in the Mission Field'	81
4.1.5	Other External Influences on CMS Policy	82
4.2	The Governance of CMS Missions	84
4.2.1	The Native Church Councils	84
4.2.2	The Role of the Mission Secretary	87
4.2.3	The Local Governing Body	88
4.2.4	Local Governing Body Powers	91
4.3	The Development of LGBs and the Church Councils	91
4.3.1	The Section IV Approach	94
4.3.2	The 1906 Review Approach	94
4.3.3	The Punjab Approach	97
4.3.4	Stock and the Punjab Approach	98
4.3.5	Frederick Baylis	99
4.3.6	The Debate in the Special Sub-Committee	102
4.4	The 1909 Memorandum	104
4.4.1	Missions Still in an Early Stage	105
4.4.2	Missions where a Synod had Already Been Formed	105
4.4.3	Missions where the Church was the Result of CMS Missions only.	105
4.4.4	Missions in India	106
4.4.5	Changes in India as a Result of the 1909 Memorandum	107
4.4.6	The 1909 Memorandum and the Uganda Diocese Constitution	108
4.5	CMS Response to the Development of Diocesan Constitutions	111
4.5.1	In China	111
4.5.2	In India	113
4.6	The Links Between the CMS PC and the Church Authorities	115
4.6.1	Bardsley	116
4.6.3	The Appointment of Bishops	120
4.6.3.1	Procedure for Appointing Bishops	122
4.6.3.2	The Question of Right of Nomination	124
4.6.3.3	The Issue of Funding Bishops	125
4.6.4	Bishop Azariah	126
4.6.5	The Delay in the Appointment of Native Bishops	129
4.7	Analysis	130
Chapter 5 - The Post War Situation, 1918-1925		133
5.1	Lambeth 1920	134
5.2	Changes in the Church of England	136
5.2.1	The National Assembly of the Church of England	136
5.2.2	The Missionary Council of the Church of England	137
5.3	The Split within the CMS and the Formation of the BCMS	140
5.3.1	The Conflict	142
5.3.2	Effects of the Split	145
5.4	Bardsley's Resignation and Replacement by Lankester	146
5.5	India Post War, and the CMS Delegation	148
5.6	Report of the India Delegation	151
5.7	Implementation of the India Report	156

5.7.1 The 1923 Minute	158
5.7.2 The Committee of Reference	159
5.7.3 The Process of Writing <i>General Principles</i>	161
5.7.4 The Final Version of <i>General Principles</i>	163
5.7.4.1 Safeguards Desired Prior to Diocesanization.	164
5.7.4.2 The Actual Process of Transfer of Control	166
5.7.4.3 The CMS Relationship with the Diocese after Diocesanization	167
5.7.5 Example of Diocesanization - Tinnevelly	168
5.8 Appointment of Bishops During this Period	171
5.9 Training of Clergy	175
5.10 Conclusions	178
Chapter 6 - The Background to CMS Policy under Cash	181
6.1 The Appointment of W.W. Cash as General Secretary	181
6.2 William Wilson Cash	184
6.2.1 General Biography	184
6.2.2 Publications	184
6.2.3 Cash's Commitment to Evangelism	186
6.2.4 Cash's Commitment to Working with Other Missionary Societies . . .	187
6.2.5 Cash's Understanding of Islam	189
6.2.6 Cash's Attitude to Africa	190
6.2.7 Cash's Fear of the Church Dying Out	191
6.2.8 Cash's Evangelical Position	191
6.2.9 Cash's View of the Church and its Relationship to Mission	193
6.3 Factors Which Impinged on CMS Policy, 1926-1942	197
6.3.1 General Issues	197
6.3.2 Anglican Influences	198
6.3.3 The 1930 Lambeth Conference	199
6.3.4 The India Church Act 1928	201
6.3.5 Influences from the Wider Missionary Community	201
6.4 CMS Internal Factors 1926-1942	203
6.4.1 CMS Committees	203
6.4.2 The 1932-1933 CMS Commission	205
6.4.3 Overseas Visits by Cash and CMS Delegations	208
Chapter 7 - CMS Policy under Cash	209
7.1 The Relationship of the CMS to the Church of England	209
7.2 Diocesanization.	213
7.2.1 The CMS Policy of Diocesanization under Cash, 1926-34	215
7.2.1.1 The Continuation of the Earlier Approach	215
7.2.1.2 Early Concerns over Ceylon	216
7.2.1.3 Minor Changes in Approach	217
7.2.1.4 The CMS Commission and Diocesanization	218
7.2.2 The CMS Policy of Diocesanization under Cash 1935-41	220
7.2.2.1 The India Delegation 1934-1935	220
7.2.2.2 The 'Crisis' over the Results of Diocesanization	221
7.2.2.3 Davies' Resignation	224
7.2.2.4 Diocesanization at the End of Cash's Time in Office	226

7.2.3 Diocesanization in Areas other than India	227
7.2.3.1 Diocesanization in the Far East	227
7.2.3.2 Diocesanization in Africa	229
7.2.4 Assessment of Diocesanization under Cash	233
7.3 Reunion in India	234
7.4 Cash and the Appointment of Bishops	236
7.4.1 The Extent of Cash's Influence	236
7.4.2 Consulting Dioceses about Episcopal Appointments	239
7.4.3 Cash and Bishops in China and Japan	241
7.4.4 Cash and Bishops in India	245
7.4.5 Cash and Bishops in Africa	249
7.4.6 Assessment of Cash's Approach	252
7.5 Training of Clergy	253
7.6 Assessment of Cash	256
Chapter 8 - Conclusion	260
8.1 A Self-Governing Indigenous Church?	260
8.2 History Matters	264
Sources and Bibliography	268
1. The CMS Archive, Birmingham University	268
1.1 Finance Department	268
1.2 General Secretary's Material	268
1.3 Group 2 Files - India	271
1.4 Reports, Memoranda and Booklets	271
2. Lambeth Palace Library, London	275
3. Unpublished Theses	276
4. Websites	276
5. Official Reports	277
6. Books and Articles	280

Tables and Figures

Tables

2.1 Archbishops of Canterbury and CMS General Secretaries	19
2.2 Foundation of Provinces of the Anglican Communion	20
2.3 CMS ‘Groups’ of Missions	26
2.4 Group Secretaries	39
2.5 Staff of Church Missionary House 1910	42
3.1 Major Policy Papers of the CMS	50
3.2 The Three Stages in Writing the 1901 Memorandum	64
4.1 Types of Local Governing Body	89
4.2 Approaches to NCC/LGB relationship.	92
4.3 Appointment Methods for Bishops in India.	121
5.1 Documents leading up to The Final Statement of India Report	157

Figures

2.1 CMS Administrative Structure 1881 -1918	30
2.2 CMS Administrative Structure after 1918	30
2.3 Increase in Number of Secretaries and their Areas of Responsibilities	33
2.4 Church Missionary House	41
4.1 Formal and Informal Connections in CMS Missions	84
4.2 The NCC Structure	85
4.3 The Various Approaches to LGB/NCC Structure	93
5.1 The CMS India Delegation 1921-1922	151

Abbreviations

BCMS	Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society
CC	Corresponding Committee
CCC	Central Church Council
CHSKH	<i>Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui</i> (The Holy Catholic Church in China)
CICCU	Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union
CIM	China Inland Mission
CMR	Church Missionary Review
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DCC	District Church Council
EC	Executive Committee
ECUSA	Episcopal Church of the United States of America
LGB	Local Governing Body
MC	Missionary Council (of the Church Assembly)
NCC	'Native' Church Council
PC	Parent Committee
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the extensive help and support from numerous people. Primarily I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr Kevin Ward for his patience and encouragement over the last six years. I was very fortunate to find myself studying under someone whose knowledge and understanding of the CMS is so extensive.

Work on this thesis has taken place while working for the College of the Resurrection. Thanks are due to the College Council, the Community of the Resurrection, for giving me employment that allowed time to write this thesis. Thanks must also go to the Principal, Fr. Christopher Irvine, and all the staff, both past and present, and both teaching and administrative, for support in numerous ways.

The main library for this research was at Birmingham University, and I wish to thank all the staff in the special collections department for their enormous help. Their professionalism, patience and courtesy seems to know no bounds. I would also like to thank Dr Tom Tuma, who first suggested that 'CMS missionary policy' might be an interesting area of study. Dr Brian Stanley supervised my MA dissertation, and thanks go to him and the staff at what was then Cheltenham & Gloucester College, for developing my research skills. Another former tutor, Dr Peter Williams, inspired this work through his own detailed book on the CMS in the 19th century. Looking further back, I would like to thank my former colleagues, and other friends in the Diocese of Busoga, for inspiring me to first think what 'Mission' actually means. In particular my gratitude goes to the former Bishop, Cyprian. My hope and prayer is that this thesis will be of some use to other students of history and missiology, particularly those from Churches whose story is connected with the work of the CMS.

My parents have also provided support throughout my life, but I would like to thank them particularly for providing a quiet base, where my children were happily entertained, while I finished the final stages of writing this thesis. Thanks to Fr Nicholas Stebbings CR for final proof reading. Finally thanks go to my wife, Sarah and children, Maria and Jacob for their patience and tolerance over the last six years. I record here my promise, never again to read theology on a beach. The actual preparation of the finished script would not have been possible without Sarah's extensive help. Saying thank you seems somewhat inadequate.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Rationale

‘Almost incidentally the great world-fellowship has arisen; it is the great new fact of our era;’

(William Temple 1942 at his enthronement in Canterbury Cathedral)¹

When the Church Missionary Society² celebrated its centenary in 1899 it had established missions across much of the globe. In the twentieth century, the Churches founded by these missions became independent of the CMS. Some became Anglican dioceses, and eventually provinces, in their own right, while others initially became part of existing English colonial dioceses before decolonisation gave control to the indigenous people. Today, the products of CMS missions are all self-governing Churches, in that decisions are not made for them from outside, and while most have very clear marks of their Anglican heritage, all have been adapted to their indigenous culture to some degree. To this extent the CMS has succeeded in founding self-governing indigenous Churches. While some claim a particular date when this was achieved,³ it is in reality a process. The process itself, and the various participants in that process, on both sides of the power divide, contributed to the shape of the resultant Churches and indeed still effect how these Churches seek to participate in the *Missio Dei*.

The founding of these Churches was not ‘incidental’, it was a deliberate policy. Missions produced converts, but also founded Churches. At first such Churches were under the direct control of missionaries. In the end they would not be under the control of missionaries. The transition between the two invites examination.

The process of transformation from the establishment of a mission to an independent indigenous church is one of the most perplexing challenges of the modern missionary enterprise.⁴

Each missionary agency had its own approach, but in the twentieth century there was a growing inter-agency co-operation, most clearly manifest in the major missionary

¹ William Temple, *The Church Looks Forward*. (London, Macmillan, 1944), p.2.

² Hereafter CMS. Founded in 1799 as ‘The Society for Missions to Africa and the East’, renamed ‘The Church Missionary Society’ in 1812, and ‘The Church Mission Society’ in 1995.

³ Eg. Brown speaks of 1947 for the Church of South India. L.Brown, *Three Worlds: One Word*. (London, Rex Collings, 1981), p.75.

⁴ Jehu Hanciles, ‘Anatomy of an Experiment: The Sierra Leone Native Pastorate,’ *Missiology: An International Review* 29, January 2001, p.63-82 at p.63.

conferences. These, allied with other national and international missionary structures, produced a cross pollination of ideas. The gradual inclusion of the younger Churches in international conferences changed the whole theological outlook. With the institutional shift from the Mission to the Church came a theological shift from ‘missionaries founding churches’ to a ‘church-centred approach to mission’ and finally to a theology of a ‘mission-centred Church’.⁵

This study examines the policy of the CMS, during the first half of the twentieth century, as it sought to develop self-governing, indigenous Churches. In particular it will examine what the CMS’s actual objectives were, and how it sought to reach these objectives. This has relevance to the history of the Anglican Communion as a whole, to the histories of the various Churches around the world that owe their existence, in part, to the work of CMS, and to the history of missionary activity from the Western Church.

The Anglican Communion today has member Churches in more than 160 countries. Its development from the national ‘Church of England’ to the present complex situation owes more to historic accident than to a developed ecclesiology.⁶ In recent years the on-going debate within the Anglican Communion on the nature of the relationship between the constituent Churches and provinces has been marked by *The Virginia Report*.⁷ This report contains little by way of historical study, but it notes that in the different provinces of the Anglican Communion various ‘historical factors ... have ... affected the question of autonomy and interdependence’.⁸ In many areas of the world the CMS was one of these ‘historical factors’, and some understanding of how the CMS handled the process of handing over control should shed light on the present relationships within the Anglican Communion.

⁵ Based on David Bosch *Transforming Mission - Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. (New York, Orbis, 1991) p.369-370.

⁶ The convoluted way America’s first bishops were consecrated illustrates this. W.M.Jacob *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide*. (London, SPCK, 1997) p.62-71.

⁷ *The Virginia Report* in Lambeth Conference, *The Official Report of the Lambeth Conference 1998. Harrisburg, Morehouse, 1999*. pp.15-68 (In preparation for nearly ten years, it covers much material including questions of subsidiarity and ‘the question of where and what levels decisions are to be made’ - para. 4.5)

⁸ *The Virginia Report* para. 3.28

The majority of Anglicans today belong to Churches which at the end of the 19th Century were controlled, directly or indirectly, by missionary societies. Yet most writing on the Anglican communion has concentrated on the 19th century or earlier.⁹ It was in the 20th century that the CMS grappled with the issue of ecclesiastical organisation on a diocesan level and, as the new Churches moved towards maturity, questions of ecclesiastical independence (and interdependence) came to the fore. Given the shift of the centre of gravity of the Anglican Communion towards Africa and Asia,¹⁰ more study of this period, when these Churches started on the road to equal status within the Communion, is clearly appropriate.

As the various histories of the individual Churches that make up the Anglican Communion are written, it is clear that in some areas the role of the CMS is very significant. However, local studies naturally focus on the local situation. Individual CMS missionaries and specific CMS decisions concerning work in that area might be examined, but increasingly the emphasis is on the first generations of indigenous Christians and how the Church took root in the local context. Historical sources, only available in that region, are tapped and the balance of earlier ‘mission histories’, that portrayed westerners as largely responsible for the expansion of the Church, is somewhat redressed. Yet even so, decisions made by the CMS in London on general matters of missionary policy might have had a significant effect on the local situation, as might the way the huge international CMS organisation generally functioned. Local histories need to take this into account, but cannot, by their nature, examine the central workings of the CMS in detail. Nor can they tell if the way the local CMS mission functioned was typical of the CMS as a whole. This present study will give very little voice to the indigenous Christians who were the fruit of CMS policy, but it is hoped that other studies might use this as a resource when the detailed local stories are told.

⁹ Two stages in the development of the Anglican Communion have been identified. Expansion through colonisation, from the 17th Century and through missionary work, from the late 18th century. Eg. Anglican Communion *An Introduction to The Anglican Communion*, July 2002, <http://www.anglicancomunion.org/introduction.html> p.1-4.

¹⁰ While Anglicanism lacks a ‘centre’, Canterbury being only symbolic, the balancing point of combined weight of Anglican Churches has shifted dramatically, given the numerical increase in African and Asian Churches. Kevin Ward “‘Taking Stock’: The Church Missionary Society and Its Historians,” in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Ward, Kevin and Stanley, Brian (Eds.)pp.15-42. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2000 at 21&48.

Ward argues that

one cannot come to adequate understandings of whole areas of the historical experience of many people and cultures, ... without addressing the issue of the impact of Christian missionary activity.¹¹

Mission history is important to historical study in general,¹² and there has been a considerable amount of scholarly interest over the last decade in the work of western missionary societies.¹³ Yet the period between the heights of imperialism and the end of the empire has not been greatly studied, with concentration on either the 19th century or the period of independence. As Porter puts it

Even recent studies of the history of Christian missions have barely addressed the question of how the societies and their workers on the ground anticipated and coped with the end of empire.¹⁴

Yet it was these policies, at this time, which were forging the structures and traditions that would be the inheritance of the autonomous Churches, and which were part of the personal histories of many emergent political leaders at the time of independence.¹⁵ Before the vital period of independence can be properly understood, it must be seen in its historical perspective. A key element in such a perspective is an understanding of the formation and implementation of the missionary policy in the decades before the disintegration of the empire. The CMS was only one of many western missionary societies involved, but as the largest English, and largest Anglican, missionary society, it was a very significant player. Its influence on other missionary societies in the 19th Century, through the work of Henry Venn, is widely recognised, as is the influence of Max Warren in the twentieth century. The way that the CMS developed and worked during the turbulent years of the first half of the

¹¹ Kevin Ward in the introduction to Ward, Kevin and Stanley, Brian eds. *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. p.5.

¹² Ibid. p.3-5. Also Louis lists missionary activity as one of the 7 organizing themes in Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (Eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire IV - The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, OUP, 1999) p.12.

¹³ Notably through the work of North Atlantic Missiology Project (NAMPP) based in Cambridge. The importance of current writing on Mission History to Christian History as a whole is expounded in Wells, R. A. *History and the Christian Historian* (Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 1998) p.106-108

¹⁴ Andrew Porter. 1992 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 20 (1992), p.370-390. p.371

¹⁵ Many post-colonial political leaders were educated in mission schools, including Kenyatta and Mandela.

twentieth century is also clearly significant to any general understanding of the activities of missionary societies during this period. As Hollis points out, there is

a deep connexion between the message which the missionary tries to communicate and the organization through which he carries on that work of communication¹⁶.

1.2 Key Books on the CMS

At the bicentenary of the CMS, Porter noted the ‘difficulty of doing justice to the Society’s past’.¹⁷ Like many missionary societies, the CMS was the subject of extensive ‘official’ histories.¹⁸ The nineteenth century is covered by Stock’s monumental three volumes published for the centenary. A fourth volume takes the story to 1916. Totalling 2500 pages, of which, apparently, only one page had to be rewritten,¹⁹ they form a comprehensive reference work with a meticulous chronicling of events, and contain ‘valuable information on a vast variety of topics’.²⁰ As will be seen in chapter 3, Stock was the key person in the development of the CMS policy on the indigenous Church at the turn of the century, and it has been persuasively argued that this coloured his writing of CMS history.²¹ This needs to be taken into account, but still Stock’s history, together with his other books, articles and unpublished papers, are a vital source on the period.

Stock was not the first CMS secretary who was also an active historian, nor the last. Henry Venn was certainly influenced in missiological principles by his own historical research,

¹⁶ M. Hollis, *Paternalism and the Church* (London, OUP, 1962) p.38.

¹⁷ Andrew Porter. ‘Changing People, Changing Places,’ *International Review of Mission*. 88, (1999). p 390-398, at p.391.

¹⁸ Arnold and Bickers describe such publications as ‘monuments to the confidence and strength of missions during the heyday of the enterprise at the turn of the century.... they represent an obsolete view of what mission history is, and what the mission enterprise can tell us.’ David Arnold and Robert A. Bickers ‘Introduction’ in Bickers & Seton, *Missionary Encounters*, pp.1.

¹⁹ Georgina Gollock, *Eugene Stock: A Biographical Study. 1836 to 1928* (London, CMS, 1929) p.128.

²⁰ S.C. Neill, ‘History of Missions: An Academic Discipline,’ in *Mission of the Church & the Propagation of the Faith*, Ed. G.J.Cuming. (Cambridge, CUP, 1970).p.149-170, at 151.

²¹ Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church* (Leiden, Brill, 1990) p.82.

including writing a book on Francis Xavier. In their turn Max Warren,²² and John Taylor wrote significant historical studies²³ and saw an understanding of history as vital to understanding the present.²⁴ However, the unenviable task of following on from Stock's work was left to an outsider, Gordon Hewitt, who, while being more detached and, to a certain degree, more critical than Stock, nevertheless produced a two-volume history that fits into the same category. It has been described as 'perhaps the final specimen of an exhausted and dying breed'.²⁵ Ward offers a critique of Hewitt's work,²⁶ and again Hewitt has been a vital resource for this research, especially in the summaries of the work in various fields. However, on the question of the policy on the indigenous church, where Stock gives a great deal of detail that has to be balanced from other sources, Hewitt gives far less information. Even with a very careful reading, it is not clear from Hewitt what the CMS policy was at different stages, or how it changed. Neill particularly criticised its inadequate coverage of the transition from mission to diocese.²⁷

The bicentenary publication is very different, obviously written to a much stricter word limit; it is very useful collection of essays on the CMS rather than a formal history. The emphasis is not on the CMS as an institution, but on local histories. As such, some subjects, geographical areas or time periods receive excellent analysis, whereas other areas are left

²² General Secretary (1942-1963), edited various paper by Venn - *To Apply the Gospel* 1971 (Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans 1971). Warren's attitude to history is discussed by F.W. Dillistone, in 'The Legacy of Max Warren,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*.5, (1981), p.114-117.

²³ J.V. Taylor, CMS General Secretary 1963-74 besides his theological writings, wrote the excellent history *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*. (London, SCM, 1958)

²⁴ See Max Warren quoted in F.W. Dillistone *Into all the World - a Biography of Max Warren* (London, Hodder, 1980) p.80 and in Ward & Stanley *The Church Mission Society* 2000. p.42. Also Diana Witts, General Secretary at the Bi-centenary said 'critical reflection on the past undoubtedly enables past mistakes to be avoided and provides important insights into the direction of mission for the future.' Ward & Stanley *The Church Mission Society* p.x. Another former CMS General Secretary, Simon Barrington-Ward (1975-85), also notes the importance of an historical perspective in 'My Pilgrimage in Mission,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol.23 No. 2, April 1999. p.62.

²⁵ Stanley in Bickers & Seton *Missionary Encounters*, pp.38.

²⁶ Ward in Ward & Stanley *The Church Mission Society*, pp.30-37.

²⁷ Book Review by Neill in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 no 1 Jan 1980, p 126-127.

entirely undiscussed. The central policy and administration of the first half of the twentieth century is an untouched area.²⁸

In many ways this present study is a chronological extension of the work of Peter Williams in *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*.²⁹ Described as ‘the most thoroughly researched analysis for a particular missionary society’,³⁰ Williams examines the development of the CMS policy on the indigenous Church and the eclipse of that policy following Henry Venn’s retirement. He does this by looking at the broad sweep of CMS policy, rather than taking a regional approach.³¹

1.3 The Scope of this Study

Much study of the work of the CMS today tends to be regionally based, enabling detailed study of the work in a particular area. A vital result of such an approach is the prominence it restores to indigenous people in the development of their Church. However, a clear understanding of the primary principles being applied by the CMS on an international level must be gained in order to put regional studies in their proper context³² and to enable the overall role of the CMS in the development of the Anglican Communion to become clear. Williams’s work clearly demonstrates that there is room for an approach that is not regional, particularly in the way that comparisons between the work in different areas can give a far clearer picture of precisely what the CMS was trying to achieve. The primary aim of this study is to continue the story of the CMS and the indigenous Church from the point

²⁸ Eg. the four General/Clerical Secretaries between 1895 and 1942 are mentioned only 3 times between them.

²⁹ Williams *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*. This is repeated in an abridged form, with additional material in Peter Williams. *The CMS and the Indigenous Church in the Second Half of the 19th Century*. NAMP, Position Paper 31, 1997.

³⁰ Thompson, D.M. *British Missionary Policy on the Indigenous Church: The Influence of Developments in Domestic Ecclesiology and Politics*. NAMP Position Paper 38, 1997. p.2.

³¹ It might also be compared to Porter’s paper on the UMCA. which seeks to give an overview of the whole work of that society. Andrew Porter *The Universities Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicism and the Colonial Encounter in the Twentieth Century* Currents in World Christianity. Position Paper 136. 2000.

³² See Adrian Hastings *Church & Mission in Modern Africa*. London, Burns & Oats, 1967. p.12.

where Williams leaves it, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in the hope that this more general picture will be of benefit to future regional studies.

The detailed aspects of policy application in each mission area are obviously beyond this study. Some general trends will be looked at and tentative conclusions drawn, but it is inevitable that in-depth regional studies will throw more light on this question. Thus this study will not provide a clear description of precisely how the CMS helped establish indigenous Churches in each of its missions. However, it is intended that certain questions will be answered. Specifically:

- What was the official CMS policy on the four-way relationship between local church, local diocese, local CMS mission and CMS headquarters? How was this policy shaped and influenced, how did it change during the study period, how was transition managed and what criticisms were made of the policy at various times?
- What role did the CMS play in the appointment of bishops in dioceses which contained a CMS Mission and at what stage, if any, did it begin to favour indigenous bishops over expatriates? What was the thinking behind this policy and did the CMS do enough to develop indigenous leaders?
- How were decisions made by the CMS and by whom? How did the CMS function as an organization and how was it led?

An obvious problem in this study is the sheer volume of material in the CMS archives. From 1880 onwards, the detailed work of administration for the various missions was conducted by three 'Group' committees covering three geographical areas, and their papers filed separately. Matters of general concern for all missions were dealt with in the 'General' files, or financial matters in the 'Financial' files.³³ Most regional studies concentrate on the subsection of a particular 'Group' set of files relating to the particular mission, which are extensive for each mission. In this study there has been a deliberate concentration on the little used general files, with almost no reference to the regionally specific files. These general files include the General Secretary's personal files and, as such, include copies of any regional material that had a general application. The aim has been to be exhaustive in

³³ See description of Archive materials used in the bibliography.

the use of these files, on the grounds that matters of most general application are contained therein. The quantity of files involved are such that few people doing a regional study will venture into them.³⁴ There is therefore a danger that some material of relevance to this study has been missed, but this is a danger inherent in any selection of sources.

There is obviously a degree of arbitrariness about any choice of two dates for a study. This is particularly true of the start date of 1900 which sees the CMS, having completed the centenary celebrations, beginning to work in the twentieth century. In many ways 1901 might have been more logical, with the publication of a milestone memorandum on the indigenous Church. The discussions that produced this memorandum need to be included, some of which go back to 1897. An appropriate closing date is much more evident - 1942 is where Hewitt finished his study, with the retirement of William Cash as General Secretary of the CMS after 15 years in post. His successor, Max Warren is recognised as a key figure in 20th century Church history; his biographer described him as ‘as the greatest all-round Christian leader of my own generation’.³⁵ However, he has received academic attention elsewhere.³⁶ In marked contrast, Cash is not well known. None of his books are still in print and there has been no biography.³⁷ In terms of academic rigour, there would be virtue in a study that merely confirmed that obscurity is his rightful place. Needless to say, research has revealed a more complex picture of a missionary and a missionary leader who managed

³⁴ This is underlined by a comparison with my M.A. dissertation. *The connection between CMS Mission Policy as formulated at the Home Base and its practical application in the Diocese of Uganda, with special reference to Busoga 1910-1947*. Any concern about reusing the same material quickly disappeared as it became clear that my necessarily cursory study of the general files of the CMS had resulted in several factual mistakes and significant omissions. Eg. the inclusion of a small missionary committee in the constitution of the Uganda diocese in 1910 was taken to be a small deviation from the official policy, when in fact it exactly fitted the official policy. This dissertation will be referred to several times in this study, but only as an example of the practice in the field, in the same way that other secondary material is used.

³⁵ Dillistone, *Into all the World*, p.6.

³⁶ Eg. Graham Kings, *Christianity Connected. Hindus, Muslims and the World in the letters of Max Warren and Roger Hooker*. (Zoetermeer, Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2002), Dillistone, *Into all the World* 1980, Timothy Yates, ‘Anglican Evangelical Missiology 1922-1984,’ *Missiology: An International Review* 14 (1986), 147-157.

³⁷ See Introduction to S.B. Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma - Bishop V.S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India*. (Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2000) for a similar problem with Bishop Azariah in comparison to Gandhi.

to steer the CMS through some very difficult times and whose theological understanding of mission was, in some areas, ahead of his time. Cash's strengths and weaknesses would both leave their mark on the Anglican Communion, and the lack of any other study of him makes a certain concentration on him necessary. The early twentieth century is something of a 'dark age' in missionary writing, particularly on the CMS. The perception can easily be gained that there was Venn and then there was Warren, and those in between were simply undoing Venn's work.³⁸ Williams has examined the CMS leadership up to 1900 and this study will extend that until 1942.

During this period the CMS leadership was almost entirely male. However, it was also a period when the role of women changed greatly, and their involvement in the administrative structure will be considered. The practical reality was that, initially, their voices were never heard in the development of official policy. Even by 1947 their voices were seldom heard, and even in cases where women were part of key committees, it is hard to distinguish the contribution of any individual who was not one of the main leaders. Another group whose voice is largely missing from this study is indigenous Christians, with the notable exception of Bishop Azariah and one or two other individuals. The danger of a euro-centric approach to the study of missions has been recognised for several decades,³⁹ but it would be a mistake if this prevented the study of the policies and methods of the mission administrators.⁴⁰ Theirs is the dominant voice in this study, but it will have failed if it does not prove a useful tool for regional studies which allow indigenous Christians' voices to be heard. As Sanneh puts it 'the Western missionary factor in African Christianity... comes into its own only in the context of local influences'.⁴¹

³⁸ Thompson for example speaks of Venn's ideas being almost 'rediscovered' after a century. Thompson, *British Missionary Policy*, p.1. The bi-centenary publication's omissions on this period have already been noted.

³⁹ Eg. Pirouet's study of the role of the Baganda in missionary work in Uganda. M.L. Pirouet *Black Evangelists* (London, Collins, 1978). Also Kevin Ward, 'The Legacy of Eugene Stock,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*. 23 (1999) 75-79 at 78.

⁴⁰ Similarly Rakotonirina is cautious about the wholesale 'jettisoning of Eurocentric methods of writing non-Western church history'. Rachel Rakotonirina, 'Re-reading Missionary Publications: The Case of European and Malagasy Martyrologies, 1837 - 1937,' in Ed. P.N. Holtrop & Hugh McLeod *Studies in Church History Subsidia 13 - Missions and Missionaries* (London, Boydell, 2000) p.169.

⁴¹ Lamin Sanneh 'The Horizontal and the Vertical in Mission: An African Perspective,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 7 (1983), 165-171, at 167.

1.4 What is a Self-Governing Indigenous Church?

The title of this study almost pre-supposes that ‘self-governing, indigenous Churches’ are ‘a good thing’, or, at least better than, say, ‘exotic Churches led by foreign missionaries’. It would be rare today to find a missionary who did not believe that Churches should be indigenous. Stanley has shown how, in the 19th and early 20th century, some general changes in attitude occurred, but that there was never a uniform missionary view of other cultures.⁴² During the first half of the twentieth century, while at times still demonstrating marked cultural imperialism, the CMS was increasingly realising the importance of local adaptation. Missionary thinkers and leaders were giving greater emphasis to what it might mean for a Church to be indigenous. As Oldham said in 1916

To make Christianity truly indigenous is the great task on which missionary policy and energy must be concentrated.⁴³

Saying that something is ‘indigenous’ means that it is naturally occurring in a particular place, rather than coming from outside. As such, it could be argued that Christianity and the Church can never be indigenous, outside of, say, Galilee. However, cultures are not static.⁴⁴ Over time, that which was originally foreign, can become naturalized. Seeking an indigenous Church means allowing the Church to adapt, in every aspect of its life, to reflect its local cultural setting. As Kraemer points out ‘Christianity never fell and never can fall into a religious, cultural and social vacuum’.⁴⁵ The reception of Christianity into a culture inevitably changes that culture. While there has been widespread criticism of missionary efforts for this reason, Sanneh argues that missionary activity often had positive cultural consequences. He speaks of ‘cultural revitalization’, resulting from the missionary commitment to the vernacular.⁴⁶ Language is a key element in indigenisation. This includes Bible translation,⁴⁷ but Ramachandra goes further: ‘truly indigenous theologies can only be

⁴² Brian Stanley *The Bible and the Flag*. (Leicester, Apollos, 1990) chapter 7.

⁴³ J.H. Oldham, *The World and the Gospel*. (London, Baptist Missionary Society, 1916) p.144.

⁴⁴ Stanley *The Bible and the Flag*. pp.170-171

⁴⁵ H.Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (London, Edinburgh House, 1938) p.313.

⁴⁶ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, (Maryknoll NY, Orbis, 1990) p.189.

⁴⁷ Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa - The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1995) p.62. Also Sanneh, *ibid*.

developed in the vernacular languages, not in a universal language such as English.’⁴⁸ The indigenous Church is the product of a complex inter-reaction between the Christian message, the carriers of that message and the people of a particular culture. All participants are continually changed by the inter-reaction.

At one level ‘indigenous’ is used in this study simply to make clear that the Church being discussed was predominantly composed of people native to that area. However, the CMS was aiming at Churches that were ‘locally adapted’, and so behind the phrase ‘indigenous Church’ hovers the whole subject of indigenisation. Any discussion of the way in which a Church became indigenous requires, by the nature of subject, a detailed local study. As such this study will not look at indigenisation in general. However, in the title of this study ‘self-governing’ and ‘indigenous’ are deliberately linked.⁴⁹ One particular aspect of indigenisation that will be emphasised is how the leadership of the Church switched from ‘imported’ missionaries to local people.

The process of indigenisation is very long and complex, and although there are things that missionaries can do to help or hinder the process, these may prove to be of superficial importance.⁵⁰ The important thing is setting up an environment where an indigenous Church can develop. Key to this is the question of leadership and control. Local people have to be in charge for the key themes in a particular culture to flourish.⁵¹ A problem inherent in any

⁴⁸ Vinoth Ramachandra *The Recovery of Mission - Beyond the Pluralist Paradigm* (Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 1996) p.x.

⁴⁹ The phrase ‘independent Church’ has been avoided as there are overtones of other meanings besides the obvious one of a church that is not governed from outside. It can be taken financially, as in one that receives no outside financial help, or it can be in terms of alignment, one that does not belong to a specific denomination. Kraemer, *ibid* p.409, uses the clearer phrase ‘autonomous, indigenous Church’ but in the CMS historical context ‘self-governing’ seems preferable.

⁵⁰ T.Christensen, & W.Hutchinson, (Eds.) *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*. (Denmark, Aros, 1982) p.9 point to the paradox of Romanticism promoting indigenisation while supporting ‘a virulent Western ethnocentrism’. The difficulty of indigenisation into a plurality of cultures is highlighted in J.F.A Ajayi, & Michael Crowder, (Eds.) *History of West Africa Vol. 2* (London, Longman, 1974) pp.575-576.

⁵¹ A point emphasised by Bolaji Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church* (London, OUP, 1965) p.49. Bosch *Transforming Mission*, p.295 comments on the 19th century assumption that missionaries ‘would determine the limits of indigenization.’

discussion of the 'indigenous Church', is that the use of the word 'Church' modifies what is meant by the term 'indigenous'. An indigenous Church can only be said to exist when indigenous people have learnt how to run what is clearly an organisation alien to their culture - the Church. This leads to the paradoxical idea that indigenisation can only happen after the indigenous Church has been established.⁵²

Under local leadership, consolidation will occur. The new Church will make decisions for itself, some elements of its life will be rejected as unwanted imports, secondary to the Christian message.⁵³ Decisions might be deliberate theological choices, or simply the way practice develops in the individual congregations.⁵⁴ Some local elements will be rejected, or transformed, because they are in tension with Christian teaching. Other elements of the culture ignored or rejected by missionaries will take their due place in the life of the Church. Outsiders⁵⁵ might advise or even coerce,⁵⁶ but it is only once a Church is able to make these decisions for itself that it is truly indigenous.⁵⁷ Lord Lugard criticised intolerance in Christian converts in West Africa towards 'native customs and even to native dress'⁵⁸ but,

⁵² Tiedemann poses the question of whether indigenization was encouraged at times by the lack of missionary supervision of the Church. R.G. Tiedemann *Indigenous Agency, Religious protectorates and Chinese Interests: The Expansion of Christianity in China, 1830-1880*. NAMP. Position Paper 36, 1997. p.21.

⁵³ Welbourn points out the impossibility of missionaries being able to distinguish between the 'pure milk of the Gospel' and western civilisation. F.B. Welbourn, 'The Missionary Culture' in *Essays in Anglican Self-Criticism*, Ed David Paton (London, SCM, 1958) p.61.

⁵⁴ Zablon. Nthamburi, 'Toward Indigenization of Christianity in Africa. A Missiological Task,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 13.(1989)112-118 at 114.

⁵⁵ Hollis, *Paternalism and the Church*, p.38 points out the obvious fact the missionaries are always outsiders, however long they remain and however well they know the language and culture.

⁵⁶ Anthony Tyrrell Hanson, *Beyond Anglicanism*. (London, DLT, 1965) p.181 sees particular dangers here from being part of a world-wide denomination.

⁵⁷ Titus Presler, 'Christianity Rediscovered,' *Missiology: An International Review* 18 (1990), 267-278 at 273 comments on the paradox that 'in some parts of Asia and Africa indigenous Christian groups which *confront* traditional religions most explicitly in proclamation and theology are sometimes the groups among whom the greatest degree of enculturated Christianity is to be found.'

⁵⁸ Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. 5th Edition* (London, Frank Cass, 1965) p.78.

for the acceptance of indigenous traditions to be the mark of an indigenous Church, change had to come from inside.⁵⁹

One result of such an understanding is the possibility that some things clearly not central to the Christian message, brought by missionaries, might find a permanent place in an indigenous Church.⁶⁰ The use of translated nineteenth century hymns by the Church of Uganda, for example, can at one level be seen as a failure to indigenise the Church. However attendance at a funeral, where the women have been sitting round the coffin all night and are singing steadily through the hymn book creates a different impression. It may not match a westerner's idea of what Africa worship should be, but it is clearly something very different from what happens in the Church of England.⁶¹ Such a Church might not be fully indigenous to the culture that existed prior to the arrival of Christianity,⁶² but, as Hastings points out, indigenisation is into the 'here and now'.⁶³ Such hymns are now a true part of the local culture. Thus Taylor's point that a truly African form of worship may be distasteful for westerners,⁶⁴ might have an added twist; not only might there be some discomfort from alien concepts and modes, but also some things might be so familiar that they appear not African enough; the choice does not lie with the outsider.⁶⁵

This is why an indigenous church, in for example Africa, can also be part of the Anglican Church; a stage is reached where the decision to remain Anglican can and is made by the

⁵⁹ For example by Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church*, p.5. Idowu's role as a pioneer is discussed in Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, p.115.

⁶⁰ Bediako warns of the danger of jumping to the conclusion that this simply represents the transmission into Africa of a 'Western Religion' Bediako, *Christianity in Africa* p.173.

⁶¹ A similar point is made in William Crane 'Indigenization in the African Church,' *International Review of Missions*. 53 (1964) 408-422 at 410.

⁶² It might be argued that an African Independent Church is more so.

⁶³ Hastings, *Church & Mission* p.251. Also Presler 'Christianity Rediscovered' p.274-275.

⁶⁴ John V. Taylor *The Primal Vision*. (London, SCM, 1963) p.23.

⁶⁵ See S.B. Harper, 'Ironies of Indigenization: Some Cultural Repercussions of Mission in South India,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 19 (1995)13-20, at 19 for a discussion of this in the case of Bishop Azariah.

local Christians.⁶⁶ It might be influenced by practical considerations, but it is also clearly an example of Walls' concept of the 'pilgrim principle'⁶⁷ where Christianity's universalizing tendency points people to things beyond their own culture. In the Roman Catholic Church this tendency is expressed in the submission to the final level of central authority surrounding the papacy. In the Anglican Church there is no external authority, but there is a commitment to conform and keep in step with other churches abroad.

The very idea of a self-governing, indigenous church that is part of a world-wide communion is a very Anglican idea, linked to ideas found in the English reformation.⁶⁸ Hanson describes the Church of England, the Church of Ireland and the Episcopal Church of the USA as each being markedly indigenous.⁶⁹ It seems somewhat inevitable that during this period, when it was helping to form new Churches overseas, the Church Missionary Society was also debating what it meant to be part of the Church of England.

⁶⁶ In China, with other factors coming into play, an Anglican Church as such did not continue. See Charles Long, 'China & the Anglican Communion: The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui,' *Anglican & Episcopal History* 57 (1998), 161-189 at 189.

⁶⁷ A.F. Walls *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, (New York, Maryknoll, 1996) p.8, similar ideas are also expressed by Idowu 1965 p.11.

⁶⁸ See Article 34 in the '39 Articles', *Book of Common Prayer*, and the following. Adrian Hastings *The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism within 20th Century Missionary Christianity*, Currents in World Christianity Position Paper 130, 2000, p.13. Church of England, Board of Social Responsibility *From Power to Partnership - Britain in the Commonwealth, The Church of England in The Anglican Communion*. (London, Church House Publishing, 1991) p.112. J.W.C Wand, *The Anglican Communion* (Oxford, OUP 1948) p.288-289. Douglas Webster, Webster, Douglas. (Ed.) *Truly Called - Four Studies of the Training of Men for the Ministry in the Church Overseas*. (London, The Highway Press, 1954) p.9.

⁶⁹ Hanson, *Beyond Anglicanism*, p.172.

Chapter 2 - The Administrative Structure of the CMS 1900-1942

2.1 The Church Missionary Society and the Anglican Communion

2.1.1 The Foundation and Aims of the CMS

The CMS was founded in 1799 by evangelical churchmen as an Anglican ‘Voluntary Society’.¹ From the start the Society was both strongly ‘Church’ (that is Anglican) and strongly evangelical. The founders were very willing to work with evangelicals from other denominations in enterprises such as the Religious Tract Society and the Bible Society, but as ‘loyal members of the Church of England’² they felt compelled to work separately when it came to founding a missionary society. Although the primary aim was preaching the gospel, it was anticipated at the outset that converts would form Christian communities and that Churches would be planted. Thus, for the 25 founding members,³ mission clearly had an ecclesiological aspect.⁴ This meant that working as a society within the Established Church⁵ was deemed more appropriate than an interdenominational approach. However, they consistently emphasised their belief in the ‘Church-principle, not the high-Church principle’.⁶ Such evangelical principles meant that they were reluctant to work through the

¹ The role and history of voluntary societies are discussed in Andrew Walls, ‘Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church,’ *The Evangelical Quarterly* 60 (1988)141-155. Evangelicals seemed particularly fond of societies. See K.A Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform - The Organizational Response of the Church of England to Social Change 1800 - 1965* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1970), p.96. For fuller details of the foundation see Eugene Stock. *History of the CMS Vol I* (London, CMS, 1899), pp. 57-80.

² Stock, *History of the CMS I*, p.64. Also G.R Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (London, Longmans, 1909) p.166.

³ 16 clergymen and 9 laymen.

⁴ See Yates ‘Anglican Evangelical Missiology’, 147 and Jan Jongeneel, *European - Continental Perceptions and Critiques of British and American Protestant Missions*. NAMP, Position Paper 74, 1998.p.6.

⁵ The precise relationship with the Church of England is unclear, Resolution 2 of the meeting which founded the new Society on 12/4/1799 said ‘there seems to be still wanting in the Established Church a society for sending missionaries...’ quoted in Stock, *History of the CMS I* p.69.

⁶ John Venn 1799 see Stock, *History of the CMS I* p.64.

existing structures of the SPG or SPCK,⁷ even had such involvement not been prevented by the suspicion in which evangelicals were held at the time. It has been suggested that the CMS and the SPG should have swapped their names, because the SPG was more ‘Church’ and the CMS more ‘Gospel’.⁸

From the outset, this new Society was independent of the ecclesiastical authorities. Walls points out that ‘there never was a *theology* of the voluntary society’⁹ but the particular beliefs of the evangelical churchmen at the time led to a pragmatic solution.¹⁰ The Church was to have no control over this new missionary society although activities did not begin until some degree of approval was gained from the Archbishop of Canterbury (through William Wilberforce’s intercession). This was not so much a formal sanction, though various bishops were consulted, as an indication that they were ‘favourably disposed’.¹¹ Some bishops were openly opposed to the CMS and no bishop actually joined until 1815.¹²

2.1.2 The Relationship with the Developing Anglican Communion

At times, the CMS’s relationship with the Church of England can best be described as ‘semi-detached’.¹³ There was always a very solid link between the Church and the society, but the CMS consistently maintained its independence. There was also a persistent tension between commitment to the Church of England and a commitment to keeping the CMS ‘in

⁷ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

⁸ A.M.G. Stephenson *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences* (London, SPCK, 1978), p.19.

⁹ Walls, ‘Missionary Societies’, 147 (he describes them as ‘one of God’s theological jokes’)

¹⁰ For a description of evangelical beliefs at this time see D.W. Bebbington *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London, Unwin, 1989), chapter 1.

¹¹ Stock, *History of the CMS I*, p.72 & Hans Cnatingius. *Bishops and Societies - A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion 1698-1850*. (London, SPCK, 1952) p.59. Wilberforce was the only person of sufficient stature to meet with the Archbishop - see Walls, ‘Missionary Societies’, 150 and David Bosch, *Transforming Mission - Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (NY, Orbis, 1991) p.470.

¹² Stock, *History of the CMS I*, p.134 & p.110.

¹³ A degree of detachment being particularly emphasized when the CMS found itself in conflict with the Church hierarchy. By 1919 the CMS Honorary Secretary was arguing that such ‘semi-detachment’ was not acceptable. See C.C.B. Bardsley, *The Vocation of a Missionary Society Today* n.d. (c.1919), G/AZ4

evangelical hands'.¹⁴ This came to the fore strongly at various times in the nineteenth century and also throughout the period presently being studied. When the CMS was founded there were no Anglican bishops outside of the British Isles and North America. By the centenary, Anglican bishops and dioceses had spread across much of the world. From the early 19th century, the CMS found that the areas where some of its missionaries worked fell within these dioceses. Initially the CMS, concerned to preserve its evangelical integrity, resisted placing its missionaries under, for example, the high church Bishop of Calcutta. Bennett argues that it needed the influence of Charles Simeon to help the CMS to accept episcopal jurisdiction of its missions.¹⁵ Cnattingius points out that the Anglican structure meant that the CMS's relationship to the Church became 'a question simply of the relationship between society and episcopate' - both the home and colonial episcopate. However, the CMS was reluctant to give bishops an *ex officio* place on any committee.¹⁶ Matters were eased somewhat when JB Sumner, an evangelical, became Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a friend of Venn's who often stayed with him. The colonial Bishops that Sumner appointed tended to be sympathetic to the CMS.¹⁷ Crucial to the CMS relationship with the Anglican Church was the CMS honorary Secretary's relationship with the successive Archbishops of Canterbury (as listed in table 2.1). This became even more important as the Anglican Communion developed.

¹⁴ Josiah Pratt quoted in Thompson, *British Missionary Policy*, p.20. For an early example of this tension see Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, p.161 and pp232-233 for an example from 1870.

¹⁵ John Bennett, 'Voluntary Initiative & Church Order,' *Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies*, 91(1990)1-15 at.9-12.

¹⁶ Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies*, p.1 & p.230. See also discussion of CMS Local Governing bodies in chapter 4.

¹⁷ Nigel Scotland, *The Life and Work of John Bird Sumner* (Leominster, Gracewing, 1995) p.140 & p.145.

Table 2.1

<i>Archbishops of Canterbury 1848 - 1945</i>	<i>CMS Honorary Clerical Secretaries/General Secretaries</i>
1848 John Bird Sumner	1841 The Revd. Henry Venn
1862 Charles Thomas Longley	1872 The Revd. Henry Wright
1868 Archibald Campbell Tait	1880 The Revd. F. E. Wigram
1883 Edward White Benson	1895 The Revd. H. E. Fox
1896 Frederick Temple	1910 The Revd. C. B. Bardsley (to 1921)
1903 Randall Thomas Davidson	1922 Dr. Herbert Lancaster
1928 Cosmo Gordon Lang	1926 The Revd. W. W. Cash (to 1941)
1942 William Temple	1942 The Revd. Max Warren (to 1963)
1945 Geoffrey Francis Fisher	

No one would claim that the structure of the Anglican communion was the result of careful planning. The process by which the Anglican Church in the United States became autonomous, but remained in communion with the Church of England was exceptional, and reflects the unique situation of the 1780s.¹⁸ Similarly, the growth of the Church of England in India has a degree of absurdity about it. Six different legal methods were used to appoint its bishops,¹⁹ and there was a marked lack of clarity about its relationship to the Church of England. For example, its Synod of Bishops met regularly from 1863, but even in the 1920s this had no legal status and ‘no real authority over the members of the Church’.²⁰ Even the regular Lambeth Conferences were first started in 1867 partly as a result of the confusion and insecurity about the legal status of overseas bishops, following the dispute over Bishop Colenso.²¹

¹⁸ Following the War of Independence a way had to be found to consecrate bishops for the Church in America without requiring an oath of allegiance to the English Crown. Therefore the first consecration was carried out by Scottish Bishops, before legislation was passed which allowed the for the consecration of foreign nationals by English bishops. Once there were sufficient American Bishops to consecrate their own Bishops the American Church was effectively independent of the Church of England. See W.M.Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide* (London, SPCK, 1997) pp.62-71.

¹⁹ Cecil Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church - The Growth of the Church of India in Constitutional Life*. (London, SPCK, 1946) p.102.

²⁰ E. Chatterton, *History of the Church of England in India* (London, SPCK, 1924) p.345.

²¹ Excommunicated by Archbishop Grey of Cape Town in 1866 for ‘heretical views’, Colenso’s legal appeal raised questions over the status of the Bishops in Colonies with their own colonial legislature. This prompted a call from the Canadian Bishops for some form of ‘General Council’ to be held. See Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church*, pp.148-162.

However, a degree of coherence was developing. Dioceses in a particular geographical area were joined together to form provinces, see table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Foundation of Provinces of the Anglican Communion

	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>Americas</i>	<i>Australia etc.</i>	<i>India & Far East</i>	<i>Africa</i>
	Armagh (etc.) Canterbury Dublin Scotland York				
1784		ECUSA (PECUSA)			
1835				India, Burma and Ceylon	
1847			New South Wales		
1853					South Africa
1858			New Zealand		
1862		Canada			
1875		Rupert's Land			
1883		West Indies			
1887				Japan	
1905			Queensland		
1905			Victoria		
1912		Ontario			
1914		British Columbia			
1914			Western Australia		
1920	Wales				
1930				China (initiated in 1912)	
1947				Church of South India	
1951					West Africa
1955					Central Africa
1960					East Africa
1961					Uganda

Based on W.M. Jacob *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide* 1997 SPCK p.301-2

By the 1860s the main 'white' colonies, and also India,²² had been formed as ecclesiastical provinces. Within Anglicanism, it is effectively only a province that can be considered an independent church, capable of appointing and consecrating its own bishops and enacting its own laws. The only limits on provinces' independence being those voluntarily accepted in order to maintain communion with other Anglican Churches. From 1878, the official

²² The 'established' nature of the Church in India, with formal links to the British Government, meant that, despite its provincial status, it was not until the 1920s that it could function as a self-governing province.

policy promulgated by the Lambeth Conference was that dioceses should join together to form provinces.²³

Dioceses therefore fell into two categories, those which were joined into some form of province and those which were not. The former would have some form of constitution that laid down the form that provincial structures would take and which powers were reserved to the diocese. Dioceses which were not yet part of a province came directly under the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In practice this meant the authority to decide about changes of diocesan boundaries, constitutions etc, and most importantly, the appointment of diocesan and assistant bishops belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The way that these appointments happened in practice, and the role and influence that the CMS Parent Committee had in such decisions, will be discussed later. In 1900 most dioceses in which the CMS was working came into this category.²⁴ India was in a slightly different situation but here the Archbishop of Canterbury had a large say in episcopal appointments even if, as in the case of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, they were Crown appointments.²⁵

2.2 Overview of Policy Development in the 19th Century

The history of the development of CMS policy is dominated by the figure of Henry Venn, described as ‘the most influential British missionary theorist of the nineteenth century’.²⁶ He has been the subject of various detailed studies²⁷ and only the briefest outline can be included here. The main statements of the CMS policy developed by him are found in three memoranda produced in 1851, 1861 and 1866. These were written by Venn but published

²³ Lambeth Conference. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports* (London, SPCK, 1888) para 5. Reiterated by the 1897 Lambeth Conference Resolution 6, also in 1920 Resolution 43 and 1930 Resolution 53.

²⁴ The main exception being the work in India and New Zealand.

²⁵ Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church*, p.102.

²⁶ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag* (Leicester, Apollo, 1990), p.66.

²⁷ Most notably Williams *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, W. Shenk, *Henry Venn - Missionary Statesman* (NY, Maryknoll, 1983), M.A.C Warren, *To Apply the Gospel*. (Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 1971) and T.E.Yates, *Venn and the Victorian Bishops Abroad* (London, SPCK, 1978).

with the full authority of the CMS General Committee. The overall aim and methods of the CMS were defined in 1851 memorandum

Regarding the ultimate objective of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native Church, under native pastors, upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors; and that, as it has been happily expressed, 'the euthanasia of a mission' takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well-trained native congregations, under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually to relax his superintendence over the pastors themselves, till it insensibly ceases; and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to 'the regions beyond'.²⁸

The stated aim was the development of churches, not merely 'conversion of natives'. However this was a 'bottom-up', rather than a 'top-down' approach.²⁹ The vital role of 'native' pastors in building the Church is abundantly clear. In clarifying what this meant, the 'three-self' formula was developed,³⁰ whereby a Church should be self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending. This became an axiom of the CMS and of other societies.³¹ Shenk argues that 'the "Indigenous Church" ideal enshrined in the "three-self" formula was not a theory, but rather a metaphor for mission',³² the objective of mission being presented as the 'Indigenous Church',³³ but without any theory of mission being expounded.³⁴ Beyerhaus shows how different missionary theorists interpreted the formula in different ways, depending on their initial understanding of what 'Church' meant.³⁵ Yates sees Venn's

²⁸ Henry Venn 'Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers' 1851 reproduced as Appendix 1 in Shenk, *Henry Venn*, p.188.

²⁹ Yates 'Henry Venn' in *Anvil* 17 (2000), 41-43.

³⁰ Venn first used the three-selves together in 1855 *Instructions to Missionaries* 1/06/1855 see W. Shenk, 'Rufus Anderson & Henry Venn: A Special Relationship?' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 5,(1981)168-172 at 171.

³¹ Such ideas also developed in America by Rufus Anderson, see Shenk, 'Rufus Anderson & Henry Venn' and R.P. Beaver, R.Pierce. 'The Legacy of Rufus Anderson,' *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* 3 (1979), 94-97.

³² W. Shenk, 'The Role of Theory in Mission Studies,' *Missiology: An International Review* 24 (1996), 32-45 at 34.

³³ Shenk, 'Rufus Anderson & Henry Venn',171.

³⁴ See Walter Freytag, 'The Critical Period in the Development of an Indigenous Church,' *International Review of Missions* 29 (1940) 204-215 at 205.

³⁵ Peter Beyerhaus, 'The Three Selves Formula. Is it Built on Biblical Foundations?' *The International Review of Missions* 53 (1964)393-407.

idea of an indigenous Church as meaning ‘churches made up of indigenous believers ... [and] led by indigenous leaders.’³⁶

In 1861 Venn made it clear that these Churches would have ‘an *indigenous* episcopate, independent of foreign aid or superintendence.’³⁷ The precise role of bishops was an area of conflict between Venn and High-churchmen.³⁸ Venn saw Bishops as the ‘crown of a mission’, the final stage in the development of the Church, whereas his opponents saw the Bishop as the initiator and pioneer of the missionary exercise.³⁹

Warren is correct in his assessment that Venn ‘was deeply committed to the goal of a genuinely native church.’⁴⁰ His ideal shaped the methodology adopted by the CMS. This includes the importance of learning indigenous languages, of not educating ‘native’ pastors away from their cultural environment and the encouragement of an indigenous expression of Christianity. In Venn's methodology, the Mission was totally separate and distinct from the Church that it established. Pastoral work was to be given over to ‘natives’ as soon as possible and structures for self-support and self-government were to be established from the start. The mission was the scaffolding that would be removed when the building was complete - the missionaries were not part of the Church they built, they would move on ‘to the regions beyond’ as soon as the Church was strong enough. This ‘euthanasia’ was, however, delayed, in every mission, for far longer than Venn had anticipated.⁴¹

Venn has been criticised by various missionary thinkers. Roland Allen⁴² considered the whole CMS approach too slow. He argued that the ‘three-self’ formula had never been

³⁶ Yates, *Henry Venn*, p.42.

³⁷ Henry Venn 1861 in Shenk, *Henry Venn*, p.122 (emphasis Venn's)

³⁸ Eg. Selwyn, Gladstone and Samuel Wilberforce see Porter, *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, p.233.

³⁹ See Warren, *To Apply the Gospel*, p.25.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p.25.

⁴¹ One non-CMS exception was Hawaii see Beaver, ‘The Legacy of Rufus Anderson’, 95.

⁴² A former SPG missionary who was very critical of the missionary methods of the time. See David Paton, *Reform the Ministry* (London, Lutterworth, 1968) pp.13-45, T.E. Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, CUP, 1994) pp.59-63.

properly defined, especially what was meant by ‘churches’.⁴³ Venn was to some degree limited by the self-understanding of the Church of England and as such much of his policy ‘reflected an ecclesiology which could hardly think except in terms of a “national church”’.⁴⁴ Perhaps the harshest critic of Venn is Stephen Neill. He demonstrates his low view of Venn by only allocating him half a paragraph in his 500 page *History of Christian Missions*. He also, unjustifiably, described the first application of Venn's principles as ‘wholly disastrous’.⁴⁵ On the other hand, Venn ideals have been summarized as ‘the development of local autonomy and initiative, and the creation of distinctive native churches and local leadership’.⁴⁶ The dominant feature of Venn's approach was a deep commitment to indigenous Churches, and a willingness to sacrifice other ideals to prevent the ‘native’ Church from being permanently dominated and smothered by westerners. Gibbs points out that in India, the size of the English speaking community ‘led to the idea of two churches divided racially, one where the Venn ideals could be realised’.⁴⁷

Williams shows how Venn’s ideals, after his retirement and death, held sway for longer than was previously thought.⁴⁸ He draws particular attention to the memorandum of 1877 which indicated that the CMS was in favour of separate, overlapping dioceses for the ‘native’ and colonial church. Apart from this there is no significant change in the official policy of the CMS until the centenary review, though Williams demonstrates the way that the practice had changed, at least in the minds of the secretariat.

2.3 CMS Missions and Missionaries in 1900

Venn’s ideological views, which led, for example, to Crowther’s appointment, were also very practical. At that time few missionaries could live long in the tough climate of West Africa. The change of policy by the turn of century was made possible by different

⁴³ Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 1962 (first published 1927)) pp.26-7.

⁴⁴ Hastings, *The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism*, 2000 p.13.

⁴⁵ S. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1986) p.221 (first edition was even more critical).

⁴⁶ Ward ‘The Legacy of Eugene Stock’, p.76.

⁴⁷ ME Gibbs *The Increase of Church Consciousness i.e. Growth towards Venn’s Ideal of Self-Governing, Self-Supporting, Self Extending Churches* ACC318/Z3/2 p.2-3

⁴⁸ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, chapter 2.

circumstances. Venn had developed his ideas at a time when the CMS had a relatively small number of missionaries, often working in areas where it seemed unlikely that there would be a permanent European presence. By 1900 this had changed. This was the middle of the 'High Imperial Era'.⁴⁹ The existence of the empire was largely unquestioned, the British hold was being consolidated and many of the limiting factors, such as communications and disease,⁵⁰ were being controlled if not overcome. For the CMS this was a time for rapid expansion in its missionary force. In 1887 the CMS had decided not to refuse any new missionary on financial grounds and this, with the systematic encouragement of single women missionaries, resulted in the numbers of missionaries rising from 309 in 1887 to 1134 in 1899. The new century saw the CMS sending out the largest number of new missionaries in its history and the rise continued, peaking in 1906 with a total of 1397 missionaries.⁵¹ The need for a rapid handover to 'native' Christians was no longer so pressing. Such an analysis fits with, for example Tasié's conclusion on the situation on the Niger, that after Crowther 'the period saw an influx of a new brand of European missionary: and since there were now more European men available the C.M.S. abrogated the practice of leaving the work entirely to Africans'.⁵² Or as Walls puts it 'there were plenty of keen, young Englishmen to extend the mission and order the church, a self-governing church now seemed to matter much less'.⁵³ Many of these came from the universities, especially Cambridge.⁵⁴ A similar change has been noted in the SPG.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Andrew Walls 'British Missions,' in *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era, 1880-1920*, ed. Christensen & Hutchinson 1982 pp.159-166 at 164. Walls believes the high imperial era to co-inside with the 'high missionary era', 1880-1920 p.159.

⁵⁰ Walls, 'British Missions,' in ed. Christensen & Hutchinson, p.162 .

⁵¹ See E.Stock *History of the CMS Vol IV* (London, CMS, 1916) pp.464-5 (excludes wives of missionaries).

⁵² E. Fashole-Luke & Goodwin Tasié (Eds.) *Christianity in Independent Africa*.(London, Collings, 1978) p.237.

⁵³ Andrew Walls 'The Legacy of Samuel Ajayi Crowther,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 16 (1992), 15-21, at 19.

⁵⁴ Walls, 'British Missions', *Missionary Ideologies*, ed. Christensen & Hutchinson, p.160.

⁵⁵ Daniel O'Connor (Et.al.) *Three Centuries of Mission - The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000* (London, Continuum, 2000) p.92.

Thus at its centenary the CMS had well over one thousand missionaries⁵⁶ and an annual expenditure of £325,000⁵⁷. It was working in 31 dioceses across the world, and nearly 65,000 communicants were associated with its missions.⁵⁸ Missions were divided into three 'Groups'. See table 2.3.

Table 2.3

The CMS 'Groups' of Missions (with date first founded)		
Group 1 - Far East	Group 2 - India	Group 3 - Africa
<i>China</i> (1844) South China Mission (inc Hong Kong) Fukien Mission Chekiang Mission Kwangsi Mission Western China Mission	<i>India</i> (1813) Punjab & Sindh Western India United Provinces Central Provinces Bengal South India Travancore & Cochin	<i>West Africa</i> (1804) Sierra Leone Nigeria (Yoruba) Niger
<i>Japan</i> (1875)	<i>Ceylon (Sri Lanka)</i> (1818)	<i>East Africa</i> (1830) Abyssinia South Africa East Africa (Kenya) Uganda Tanganyika (Tanzania) Ruanda-Burundi
<i>Malaya</i> (1951)	<i>Mauritius</i> (1856)	<i>Canada & West Indies</i> (1809) New Zealand Canada (Manitoba) West Indies North-West Pacific
		<i>Middle East</i> (1811) Malta Egypt Palestine Persia (Iran) Sudan

⁵⁶ 811 men and single women, 323 wives. Stock, *History of the CMS Vol IV*, p.465; 281 single women. Jocelyn Murray, 'The Role of Women in the Church Missionary Society 1799-1917' in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Ward, Kevin and Stanley, Brian (Eds.) pp.66-90. (Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2000). at 89.

⁵⁷ Equivalent to approximately £20 million today.

⁵⁸ *The Centenary Volume of the CMS* (London, CMS, 1902) p.718.

Each mission had some form of Local Governing Body, but the form these took varied greatly. In the various parts of India there was a system of 'Corresponding Committees' made up of non-missionary Europeans, with a small amount of missionary representation, who acted as the local governing body for the mission. Elsewhere the missionaries normally had control themselves - either through a conference or committee of senior missionaries. The development of the Local Governing Bodies will be discussed in chapter 4.

The local history of each mission was important in development of policy in that area. Sometimes events in particular missions proved influential on the rest of the CMS, for example the evangelistic success in Uganda. However it was the events surrounding the end of Bishop Crowther's episcopate on the Niger that had the most profound influence on the whole of CMS policy, particularly in Africa. The story of Bishop Crowther and the Church in Nigeria has been told extensively elsewhere,⁵⁹ and is one from which the CMS comes out with very little credit. Effectively, Crowther's episcopacy was branded a failure and the aftermath of the way that he and other African agents of the CMS were treated caused a great deal of bitterness and, for a time, division. Moreover, the Archbishop had agreed in 1893 that an African diocesan bishop would be appointed in the Niger within a few years, but the CMS managed to prevent this.⁶⁰ The way that Crowther's perceived failure affected CMS thinking will be discussed later, but it also had wider implications. Walls concludes that

the refusal to appoint an African successor to Crowther, despite the manifest availability of outstanding African clergy, marks an important point in the history of African independent churches.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.146-197, E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914* (London, Longman, 1966) pp.210-231, J.F.A Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891* (London, Longmans, 1965) p.233-273, James Webster, *The African Churches Among the Yoruba 1888-1922* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1964) pp.1-91, Fashole-Luke & Tasie (Eds.) *Christianity in Independent Africa*, 104-152.

⁶⁰ Webster, *The African Churches Among the Yoruba*, p.39 & 45.

⁶¹ Andrew Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*. (NY, Orbis, 2002) p.164 (summing up Webster's thesis).

2.4 The Management Structure of the CMS 1900-1942

No part of history is more difficult to record intelligibly than administration. This is especially true of good administration.⁶²

During this period, in spite of various moves for reform, there was no substantial change in the two key elements of the government of the CMS: the cumbersome General Committee and the full time Secretaries. The committee members changed, and Secretaries came and went, but, with the exception of the gradual admission of ladies, the structure of General Committee and the overall function of the CMS Secretaries was largely constant. There were, however, substantial changes in subordinate committees and also in the way the Secretaries related to one another.

2.4.1 The Committee Structure

The CMS committee structure was top heavy. In Stock's detailed description of the situation in the first years of the twentieth century⁶³ the General Committee was 'the chief authority in the administration of the Society'. This committee had a total membership of between 2000 and 3000 people, 'though the average attendance is perhaps sixty'. Each year 24 laymen were appointed from among supporters, but the bulk of the committee membership was comprised of 'all clergymen who are members of the Society, all laymen who are Governors, and certain officers including the Secretaries'. This huge committee gave a degree of power to the CMS's supporters⁶⁴, and kept the CMS in close touch with its supporters, especially the clergy who made up about half of those attending. The working head of the CMS was the President who would be an eminent lay man and tended to be very long serving. This would sometimes involve a significant amount of work, especially when a new senior Secretary needed to be appointed.⁶⁵

⁶² Margery Perham, *Lugard - The Years of Authority 1898-1945* (London, Collins, 1960) p.138.

⁶³ Stock, *History of the CMS Vol IV*, pp.450 - 452.

⁶⁴ Maughan in *Missionary Encounters*, ed. Bickers and Seton, p.17.

⁶⁵ G. Hewitt, *The Problems of Success*. Vol.1 (London, SCM, 1971) p.437, E.Stock, *My Recollections*. (London, James Nisbet, 1909) p.367 There was also a society treasurer.

Regular attendance at the General Committee would normally result in a person being appointed to one of the four sub-committees. These were reorganised and renamed in 1916:-

<i>Old name</i>	<i>New Name</i>
Correspondence ⁶⁶	Foreign
Funds and Home Organization	Home
Finance	Finance
Patronage	Patronage

The most important of these was the 'Foreign Committee', which had about 100 members with about half attending each meeting.⁶⁷ The term 'Parent Committee' was frequently used, meaning the General Committee and the Foreign Committee either jointly or individually.⁶⁸ Members of the Foreign Committee included 'bankers, merchants, barristers, solicitors, doctors, engineers, military officers and private gentlemen' and many who had previously worked in India in various capacities.⁶⁹ They were unpaid, though those travelling to London for meetings could, in some circumstances, claim the minimum travel expenses.

In 1918 CMS supporters in the North of England raised the question of the limited number of 'country' members on the CMS committees, the small number of lay men and the whole way that the timing and arrangement of meetings precluded 'men actively engaged in business, and of weekly wage earners'.⁷⁰ The existing system was most suitable for London clergy. They called for a 'radical change in the constitution' with the establishment of a 'body of representatives, elected by the associations' which would meet annually and be the final authority on 'broad questions of policy'.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Not to be confused with the committees of the same name that governed the Missions in India.

⁶⁷ Irene Barnes, *In Salisbury Square* (London, CMS, 1906) p.23.

⁶⁸ See Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.3 note 23 and *Stock History of the CMS Vol IV*, p.450.

⁶⁹ Barnes, *In Salisbury Square*, p.26.

⁷⁰ Papers sent out by the Lay Secretary headed 'Special Committee on Constitution of the Committee etc.' (Undated. Presumably 1918, possibly 1917) F/C11 p.7.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p.7 (This body would, they argued, include women members).

The CMS always seemed ready to set up a new committee to examine an issue and a temporary group was formed, with the amazing title ‘The Special Committee on the Constitution of the Committees’. In the end their report shied away from such a radical change, and recommended no change to the constitution of the General Committee. However, fairly extensive changes were recommended to the Home and Foreign Committees. See figures 2.1 & 2.2. The most notable change was the amalgamation of these two committees and the inclusion of members from every diocese in England and Wales, with third class traveling expenses being offered.⁷² This would give a committee of 181 members plus the vice-presidents (about 150, mainly bishops). The specific implementation of this is described by Hewitt, as is the subsequent replacement of this committee by an executive committee of only 50 members in 1923.⁷³ This was still a large committee, but of a more manageable size than previously.

Figure 2.1 CMS Administrative Structure 1881-1918

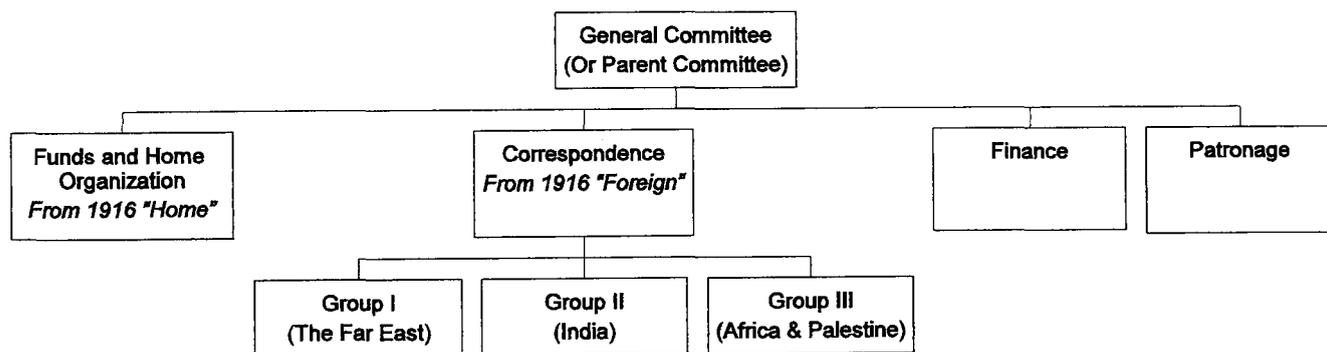
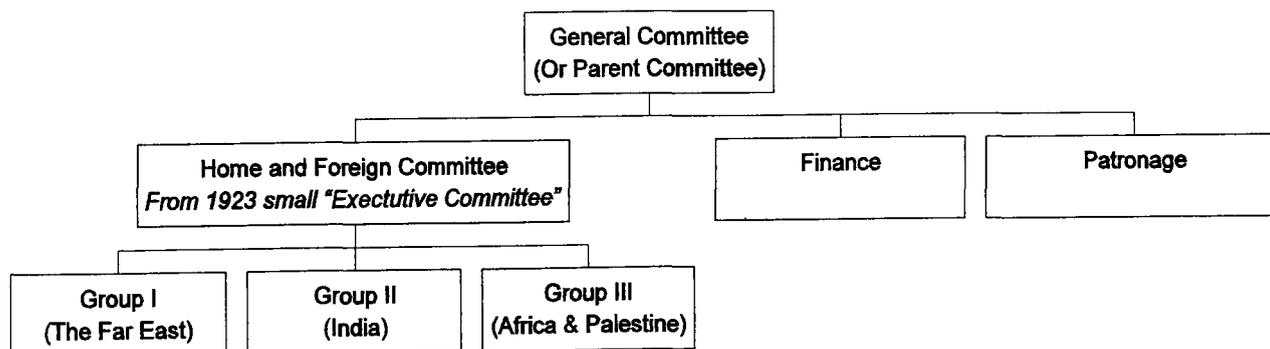


Figure 2.2 CMS Administrative Structure after 1918



⁷² *Report of the Sub-Committee on the Committee System of the Society 19/11/1918* F/C1.

⁷³ Hewitt, *The Problems of Success* I, p.435-6.

Reporting to the Foreign Committee were the three much smaller Group Committees shown in the above diagram. Established in 1881 because of the sheer volume of administration that had developed, a specific Secretary was appointed for each group. This is where the real administration of the individual missions took place, especially once the recommendations of the Centenary Review Committee had been implemented. As Stock reported, prior to 1900 'Each Group Committee sat a whole day once a month, and often had extra meetings, while the [Foreign] Committee, meeting twice a month, also ordinarily sat the whole day'.⁷⁴ Immediately after the centenary review some considerable responsibility was delegated from the Corresponding Committee to the individual Group Committees 'in cases governed by the ordinary rules and involving little difference of opinion'.⁷⁵ In addition there was considerable delegation of 'details of administration' to the local governing bodies of the missions in the field. Stock comments that 'The change at headquarters has been remarkable. Two or three hours generally suffice for both Group and [Foreign] Committee meetings'.⁷⁶ There were obviously many other committees of varying importance, some short lived, others permanent. The Appointments Committee, for example, only met when there were senior appointments to be made. The Ecclesiastical Committee would at times serve as an inner cabinet for discussing particular sensitive issues, meet several times and then not meet for five years, beginning the next meeting with the minutes of the last. Short term sub-committees were very common to deal with numerous different issues. In chapter 7, one important meeting of the Ecclesiastical Committee, concerning theological education in N. India and Ceylon, will be discussed in detail. It is a rare example where a verbatim report is available which can be compared with the official minutes and it shows not only the intensity of the arguments that sometimes occurred, but also how the real reasons and motivations behind some discussions are concealed in the minutes.

Some of the best sources for understanding the inner workings of the CMS headquarters are papers relating to various commissions and sub-committees on the administration of

⁷⁴ Stock, *History of the CMS Vol IV*, p.452.

⁷⁵ Stock, *History of the CMS Vol IV*, p.452. Barnes, *In Salisbury Square*, p.83, distinguishes between 'resolutions' sent to the field and 'recommendations' to the Corresponding Committee.

⁷⁶ Stock, *History of the CMS Vol IV*, p.452. Hewitt, *The Problems of Success I*.

the CMS that took place during this period.⁷⁷ For example, in April 1914 the General Committee appointed a sub-committee chaired by Richard Pennefather to ‘consider and report on the whole work of the Office’.⁷⁸

2.4.2 The CMS Secretaries

The key figures in the administration of CMS were the Secretaries, who collectively were likened to a ‘Standing Committee’.⁷⁹ Their number had increased from Venn’s time and in the 1890s there was substantial reorganization at CM House.⁸⁰ The way responsibilities were gradually devolved from the Honorary Secretary is illustrated in figure 2.2. Both the home organization and the editorial departments continued to expand and in 1891 a medical department was formed.⁸¹ At the centenary there were nine Secretaries, each heading up a sizable department.⁸²

⁷⁷ The bureaucratic nature of the administration can be seen merely from the title of some of these - the ‘Sub-committee on Representation of Women on Committees’, ‘Sub-Committee on Work in the Office’.

⁷⁸ *First Interim Report of the Sub-Committee on the work of the Office* 14/7/1914, F/APc1 (part 2) The sheer volume of papers connected with this sub-committee give an insight in to the working methods of the CMS. The files contain details of interviews and Memoranda submitted by 26 different people, detailed minutes of the 24 meetings, drafts and redrafts of reports and interim reports, only for the General Committee to reject one of its two main conclusions.

⁷⁹ Memorandum for the Secretaries, undated c.1920 in G/AS3/4.

⁸⁰ See Stock, *History of the CMS Vol III*, p.659 - 662. See also Keen, R in *General Guide and Introduction to the Archive* 1998 p.86-91.

⁸¹ In 1894 the honorary secretary in charge of it, Dr. Herbert Lankester gave up his private practice to devote himself full time to CMS work, he was later to become the General Secretary of the CMS.

⁸² Listed in Stock, *History of the CMS Vol IV*, p.439, they comprised the Honorary Clerical Secretary, three Group Secretaries, a Lay Secretary, a Home Secretary, a Secretary for Candidates and two Editorial Secretaries.

The Increase in the Number of Secretaries, and their Areas of Responsibility

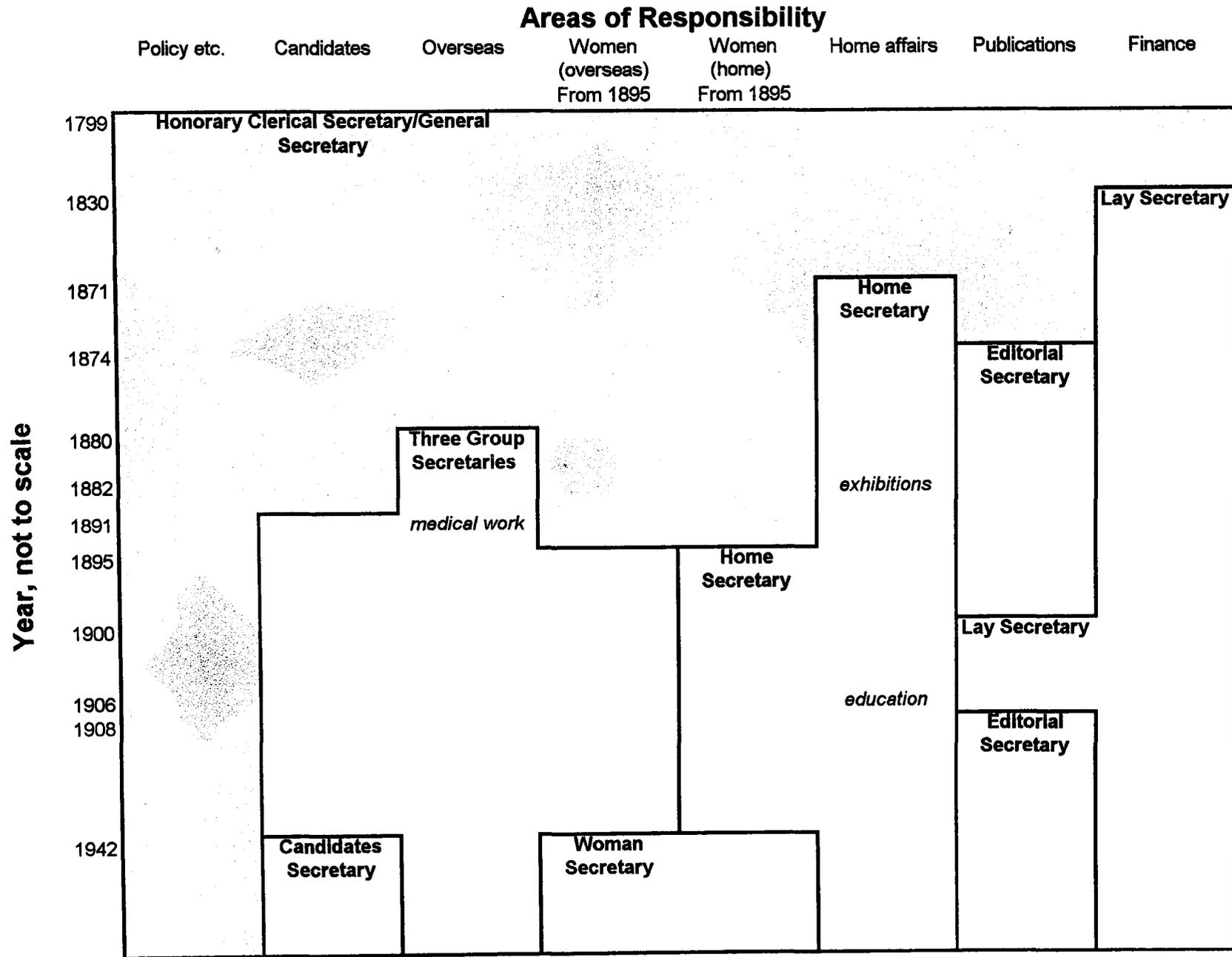


Figure 2.3

One of the main conclusions of the Pennefather report was that the number of full Secretaries should be reduced.⁸³ This is the recommendation that was rejected and there was no reduction in the number of Secretaries throughout the period,⁸⁴ which gives some indication of the collective strength and authority of the Secretaries.⁸⁵ Stock lays great stress on the time spent by Secretaries with prospective missionaries, those about to sail and those on furlough. He describes it as 'a highly-valued feature of C.M.S. work'.⁸⁶ Together the Secretaries shared responsibility and maintained the ethos of the society. They each needed to be people 'who can unreservedly subscribe to the well known principles of the Society, and will loyally represent its constituency as a whole'.⁸⁷

Baylis, in 1914, saw the relationship between the Secretaries as 'well-defined'.

Each Group Secretary had a reasonable job, and no one (Hon. Sec. or other) ever stood over in such relation as to take his business out of his hand for any Committee &c. to deal with.⁸⁸

However Baylis did see each Secretary as being subordinate to the 'body of Secretaries' who 'jointly carry responsibility for all the Society's work', and to the Honorary Secretary - who as '*Primus inter pares*' represented the whole body. Certain policy issues might be taken up by the Honorary Secretary or delegated to another Secretary.⁸⁹

⁸³ 'We should prefer to see only four chief Secretaries - Hon. Secretary, the Lay Secretary, a chief Foreign Secretary, and a Chief Home Secretary.' *First Interim Report of the Sub-Committee on the work of the Office* 14/7/1914, F/APc1 (part 2) p.4.

⁸⁴ Though it was recommended again by the Special Committee on Secretariat and Staff in 1923 see G/C20/2.

⁸⁵ Manley did favour a slight reduction in the number of Secretaries thus leaving more junior posts for 'younger men, whose energy and powers are needed more than their counsel' Memo from Rev. G. T. Manley attached to minutes of 14/5/1914 F/APc 1, p.1.

⁸⁶ Stock, *History of the CMS Vol IV*, p.452.

⁸⁷ Special Committee on Secretariat and Staff 1923 in G/C20/2.

⁸⁸ Memo From Baylis, attached to minutes of 14/5/1914 F/APc1 p.3

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.3 Baylis gives Stock as an example 'a lay editorial secretary, at the centenary, took the stroke oar in working out the Church organisation question, which is ecclesiastical, and belongs to the Foreign side.'

2.4.3 The Honorary Clerical Secretary

Most senior was the Honorary Clerical Secretary, very much a full time job despite the title.⁹⁰ This job was not laid down in the constitution of the CMS, but gradually grew up. In 1922 it was decided that the title should be changed for the next office holder⁹¹ and shortly after, a layman was appointed and the title ‘General Secretary was used from then on.’⁹² The job was also opened to those whose financial circumstances meant that an ‘honorary’ post was inappropriate.⁹³ However it was still understood that the General Secretary should normally be ordained.⁹⁴

The Honorary Clerical Secretaries are listed above in table 2.1. Although he died well before our period, it is appropriate for Venn’s name to begin this list. Walls asks ‘in the whole of the nineteenth century did, any archbishop hold a more extensive or more important *episcopo* than Henry Venn?’⁹⁵ He clearly dominated the CMS at that time, covering the jobs later divided between three Foreign Secretaries and a Candidates Secretary. The expansion in the number of Secretaries meant that by 1900 the Honorary Secretary had become one of a team, as Fox put it

No Hon. Sec can expect to have the power of Henry Venn. Conditions of things and persons have changed too greatly for any return to that quasi-autocracy, even if it were to be desired. ... I have been often blamed for not asserting myself more than I have done,⁹⁶

There was no clear job description for the Honorary Clerical Secretary; Fox claimed to have been trying to find out his role for ten years,⁹⁷ though on his appointment Fox had received

⁹⁰ ‘Honorary’ meant that he was unpaid, until 1922 the post being held by a clergyman of independent means. See Ward & Stanley (Ed.) *The Church Mission Society*, p.2. The post of Lay Secretary was also an important one during the nineteenth century, especially with Dandeson Coates in the 1830s and Edward Hutchinson in 1867-81.

⁹¹ *Report of the Special Sub-Committee appointed in pursuance of the Resolution of the General Committee of July 12 1922*, G/AP 11 p.4.

⁹² Hewitt, *The Problems of Success I*, p.439.

⁹³ Memorandum for the Secretaries, undated c.1920 in G/AS3/4.

⁹⁴ Minutes of ‘The Sub Committee on the appointment of the General Secretary’ p.381. 18/5/1923, G/CS3.

⁹⁵ Walls, ‘Missionary Societies’, p.150.

⁹⁶ Fox, H.E. *Memorandum on the Office of Honorary Secretary of CMS* 1910 F/APc1

⁹⁷ Barnes, *In Salisbury Square*, p.34.

a handwritten letter from his predecessor, Wigram listing various duties.⁹⁸ At home this included keeping ‘in touch with Canterbury & other clergy’, ‘Speak for society occasionally,’ seeing outgoing and returning missionaries and conducting the general, correspondence, patronage and ecclesiastical committees. With regard to foreign work he was to ‘keep in touch with the Bishops’ and ‘watch working of groups’. In general, the note concludes, he should ‘watch over

- (1) for the maintenance of Principles
- (2) for the efficient working of Chief Secretaries
- (3) for the stability of Financial position
- (4) for the due progress of the work’

The Honorary Clerical Secretary could normally expect support from the President of the society. During this period there were only two Presidents: Sir John Kennaway⁹⁹ served from 1887 to 1917 and Sir Robert Williams¹⁰⁰ from 1917 to 1943. On the latter’s appointment Bardsley wrote that he

is going to make a first rate President and is throwing himself wholeheartedly into the work. You can imagine what a help it is to me to be able to talk matters over with him.¹⁰¹

It is clear from this and a similar comment to Bishop Willis,¹⁰² that in later years at least, Bardsley had not been able to discuss matters with Sir John Kennaway who was 72 when Bardsley was appointed.

The controlling idea throughout the period of study was that of *primus inter pares*. Bardsley appears also to have followed this approach, as did Lancaster, but during his term in office a review of the working of the CMS advocated that the General Secretary should have a greater leadership role.¹⁰³ When Cash came to office he did so with the understanding that the emphasis would in future be very much on ‘*primus*’, and his position

⁹⁸ F.E Wigram to ‘My dear Friend’ 17/7/1895 in G/AS 3/3.

⁹⁹ Born 1837 Died 1919, a retired Colonel, MP from 1870 -1910, the last two years as Father of the House of Commons.

¹⁰⁰ A member of the PC since 1874, he had been treasurer for 20 years. Hewitt, *The Problems of Success I*, p.437.

¹⁰¹ Bardsley to Price, 13/9/1917, G/AC8.

¹⁰² Bardsley to Willis, 10/10/1917, in G/AC8.

¹⁰³ Special Committee on Secretariat and Staff 1923 in G/C20/2.

was further strengthened by the 1932 CMS Commission.¹⁰⁴ This approach was continued under Warren, and indeed the recommendation was made in 1947 that the General Secretary ‘be given the status of chief executive officer of the Society with responsibility for supervising the work of the Society as a whole including that of the House’,¹⁰⁵ a return to a model similar to that at the time of Venn.

2.4.4 H.E. Fox (1841-1926)

Educated at Harrow and Trinity Cambridge, Fox never served as a missionary, though he was born in India. After working as a barrister, he was ordained in 1869 serving as a curate of St. Ebbe’s Oxford¹⁰⁶ and then Vicar of Christ Church, Westminster and then St Nicholas’ Durham, before becoming Honorary Clerical Secretary in 1895. Stock believed he was the only suitable person for the post, and records how this was the opinion of many who were consulted at the time, though there were reservations due to his ‘singularly incisive Protestant pen’.¹⁰⁷ He retired in 1910 and left the CMS in 1922 to become one of the founders of the BCMS and its first Vice-President.¹⁰⁸ This underlines the key point about him: Fox was a solid, conservative evangelical,¹⁰⁹ a member of the National Club,¹¹⁰ proud that modernism had not ‘encroached’ on the CMS inner circle by his retirement,¹¹¹ and an advocate of ‘a simple faith in God’.¹¹² After his retirement Fox went on to be the president

¹⁰⁴ See chapter 6.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Commission on the Re-alignment of the Home Organisation’ May 1947, F/APc4.

¹⁰⁶ His Rector was Edward Hathaway, also a former barrister and ‘an austere old-fashioned evangelical’. T.F.L Griffiths *A.R. Tucker of Uganda and the Implementation of an Evangelical Tradition of Mission*. (University of Leeds, PhD Thesis, 1998) p.92.

¹⁰⁷ Stock, *My Recollections*, pp.367-368.

¹⁰⁸ W.S. Hooton, & J.S. Wright, *The First twenty Five Years of the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society. 1922-1947* (London, BCMS, 1947)p.42.

¹⁰⁹ Griffiths, *A.R. Tucker of Uganda*, p.92 notes that he shared his former Rector’s ‘conservative evangelical outlook though not his austerity’.

¹¹⁰ A club, members of which were committed to ‘the Protestant reformed faith’ and to the Bible as the ‘only infallible standard of faith and morals’. (Personal correspondence with the present secretary, January 2003).

¹¹¹ Fox, H.E. *Recollections and Hopes* 1910, in G/AZ4.

¹¹² H.E Fox, *Christian Inscriptions in Ancient Rome - Their Message for Today*, (London, Morgan and Scott, 1920) p.66.

of the extreme protestant 'Bible League'.¹¹³ The committee arranging the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, 1910 considered Fox to be

so identified with the Evangelical party and its organizations in the Church of England that they did not think that an effective approach to other Church of England groups could be made through him.¹¹⁴

Indeed when Fox was asked to identify suitable Anglicans to serve on the preparatory commissions for the Edinburgh conference, he was only prepared to list known evangelicals.¹¹⁵ Lloyd does not seem to be overstating the case when he described Fox as 'fanatically evangelical and a rigidly party man'.¹¹⁶

During his time in office Fox did not take the lead in the development of missionary policy. It would appear that Williams is correct in his conclusion that Fox 'followed the prevailing secretarial consensus and made little distinctive personal impact'.¹¹⁷

2.4.5 The Group Secretaries

Throughout the period the CMS missions were divided into three territorial groups, with a full Secretary over each. Manley presents the Group Secretaries as having a role as advocates for the individual missions in their group - having

detailed knowledge of the of each Mission, and the past history of its development and policy ... [they] can represent its views and needs to the Committee.¹¹⁸

Such knowledge would come from the Group Secretary being in 'pastoral touch with each missionary'. Baylis, the East Asia Secretary, saw the prime role of a Group Secretary to be

¹¹³ An extremely conservative evangelical group, founded in 1892 to counter liberalism (see <http://www.rcp.org.uk/blq>). See also Ian Randall, *Evangelical Experiences - A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism 1918-1939* (Carlisle, Paternoster, 1999) p.152 and David Bebbington 'Missionary Controversy and the Polarising Tendency in Twentieth-Century British Protestantism,' *Anvil*. 13, (1996) 141-157 at 146.

¹¹⁴ Tissington Tatlow, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*. (London, SCM, 1933) p.406.

¹¹⁵ Tatlow, *The Story of the SCM*, p.407.

¹¹⁶ Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England 1900-1965* (London, SCM, 1966) p.198.

¹¹⁷ Williams *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.213 n.110.

¹¹⁸ Memo from Rev. G. T. Manley attached to minutes of 14/5/1914 F/APc 1 p.2 (emphasis Manley's).

‘helping the Missions to govern themselves well’.¹¹⁹ The Group Secretaries during this period are listed in table 2.4.

The Secretaries met weekly and from 1914 the Group Secretaries also met together,¹²⁰ though there appear to be no minutes for these meetings. The control of the society was firmly in the Secretaries’ hands. MC Gollock complained that the Women’s Foreign Committee reported to the Secretaries rather than ‘direct to a Committee of the Society’ and only after protest were they ‘invited to bring up its recommendations in person to the Secretaries’ Meeting’.¹²¹ Waller describes the relationship between the three Group Committees and notes that in the rare case where common action is needed ‘such questions can be settled in the Secretaries Meeting’.¹²²

Table 2.4 The CMS Group Secretaries

Group 1 - Far East		Group 2 - India		Group 3 - Africa	
Baring Baring-Gould	1895-1913	G.B. Durrant	1897-1913	Frederick Baylis	1892-1912
Frederick Baylis	1913-1921	E.H. Mansfield Waller	1913-1915	G.T. Manley	1912-1925
G.F. Saywell	1921-1923	E.F.E. Wigram	1915-1929	Handley Hooper	1926-1949
Edward Hayword	1923-1926	(Elaine Thornton)	1921-1922		
J. Gurney Barclay	1926-1947	WVK Treanor	1929-1933		
		(Edith Baring-Gould)	1933-1933		
		H.T. Vodden	1933-1934		
		Sir Cusack Walton	1934-1938		
		Geoffrey Cranswick	1938-1944		

(Brackets indicate that person only held the post as acting secretary.)

¹¹⁹ Memo From Baylis, attached to minutes of 14/5/1914 F/APc1 p.1 (emphasis Baylis’).

¹²⁰ Memorandum for the Secretaries, undated c.1920 in G/AS3/4 also Memo From Baylis, attached to minutes of 14 May 1914 F/APc1 p.1.

¹²¹ Memo from Miss M.C. Gollock attached to minutes of 21/5/1914 F/APc 1 p.11-12.

¹²² Memo from Rev Canon Waller and Memo from Rev. G. T. Manley attached to minutes of 14/5/1914 F/APc 1 p.3 Consultation between the Secretaries is also mentioned in Barnes 1906 p.89.

2.4.6 Salisbury Square

From 1812 the CMS headquarters were in Salisbury Square.¹²³ As CMS grew as an institution its home staff also grew, as did its need for office space. Thus in 1862 ‘Church Missionary House’ was built next door to the old one¹²⁴ and then in 1883 the original house was bought back, demolished and an extension built as still more space was needed.¹²⁵ By 1911, this new building proving inadequate, more adjacent buildings were acquired.¹²⁶ In 1913 the foundation of the new building was laid and finally dedicated in 1915.¹²⁷ The extensive nature of this work can be seen from the blueprints and plans preserved in the archives.¹²⁸ Salisbury Square was the location for the various committee meetings and also prayer meetings. Leslie Brown records with fondness the times when, as a young man, regular visits to Salisbury Square and attendance at prayer meetings made him feel that he belonged to the Society.¹²⁹

There is surprisingly little written about the small army of clerks and other employees who worked in CM House. Neither Stock nor Hewitt give them much space,¹³⁰ though there were always more than 100 people working there. There may well have been a downplaying of their work and number on the grounds that their salaries came from money given to the CMS which was not spent on missionaries overseas. In the files, on which many of them laboured daily, they exist only as names, with signatures, for their monthly pay.

¹²³ Hereafter CM House. The CMS had occupied a rented house in Salisbury Square since 1812 and often missionaries would often refer to the home administration of CMS as simply ‘Salisbury Square’. This was part of the reason for deciding to build a new house in the Square when the rented house proved too small. Stock, *History of the CMS II*, p.369.

¹²⁴ Stock, *History of the CMS II*, p.369-372. The old house became a ‘temperance hotel’.

¹²⁵ Stock, *History of the CMS III*, p.311, Barnes, In Salisbury Square, p.14.

¹²⁶ The idea of selling the whole site and moving elsewhere could not be implemented due to shortage of money.

¹²⁷ By the Kabaka of Buganda and Archbishop of Canterbury respectively. Stock, *History of the CMS IV*, p.448-449, the money being provided by an earlier donation of £20,000 for some such project.

¹²⁸ F/PY GBHQ A 1A.

¹²⁹ L. Brown, *Three Worlds: One Word* (London, Rex Collings, 1981) p.9.

¹³⁰ One minor exception is reference to eight ‘able and trusted clerks’ who were promoted to definite offices in 1911, Stock, *History of the CMS IV*, p.443.

Figure 2.4 Church Missionary House



There is the occasional point of illumination - reminders about punctuality; requests for increase in status for oneself or for one's junior or the concern that the temporary move of premises occasioned by a bomb in the Second World War, might lead to the demise of the Staff Luncheon Club which had been started in the First World War.¹³¹ Some insights into life in Salisbury Square are afforded by a book by Irene Barnes, which describes the 10 minute prayer meeting each morning and weekly longer meetings, the advent of the telephone, the packing and shipping rooms, the long service of some staff and their social activities including cricket, swimming and photography.¹³²

In 1910 the activities of clerks was laid out in a booklet entitled *Rules for the Guidance of Clerks Employed in the C.M. House*. In this they were 'invited to become working

¹³¹ Brief note by Samuel Witty, chair of the Staff Luncheon Club Committee, 18/9/1939 in G/AS 8/1 1928-1939.

¹³² Barnes, *In Salisbury Square*, p.28, 29, 93, 98, 233.

members of a great Spiritual Society' and as such 'loyalty and diligence should... be not less, but more'.¹³³ The rules cover salaries, superannuation, holidays and attendance. Office hours are 9:45 to 5:30, and a half day on Saturday, with daily prayers each morning at which 'all members of the Staff are expected to be present'. Holidays varied from 2 weeks per year for fourth class clerks to 4 weeks for senior clerks.

Table 2.5 The Staff of Church Missionary House in 1910¹³⁴

Department	Full Secs.	Senior Staff	Clerks etc.	Other Staff	Total	number of women
Hon. Clerical Sec.	1		2	1	4	0
Foreign Dept.	3	3	13	0	19	1
Candidates Dept.	1	4	2	1	8	3
Home Organisation	2	10	44	10	66	9
Lay Dept.	1	3	28	0	32	0
Editorial Dept.	1	3	7	0	11	2
TOTALS	9	23	96	12	140	15

Technical developments had their effect. Telephone and typewriters are obvious examples, but most significant was the development of the telegraph. By the 1880s¹³⁵ this stretched across much of the world and allowed messages to be sent in hours rather than weeks. The cost meant that use was kept to a minimum, with brief messages sometimes using predefined codes.

2.4.7 The Role of Women in the CMS

The CMS first accepted women as missionaries in their own right in 1820, but numbers were small until 1885 when, partly due to Stock's influence,¹³⁶ much larger numbers were

¹³³ *CMS Rules for Clerks*, F/A3g1.

¹³⁴ F/ASg1.

¹³⁵ David Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1950) p.143 and also Louis in Brown & Louis (eds) 1999 p.6.

¹³⁶ Stanley in *The Church Mission Society*, ed. Ward & Stanley, p.350.

accepted. There was also, of course, that class of unpaid workers: missionary wives whose existence was signified merely by 'm' after their husbands' names.¹³⁷ Murray¹³⁸ gives a thorough account of the developments in ministry by women missionaries but there does not appear to be any study of the development of women's contribution to the home administration.

For most of the 19th Century Salisbury Square remained an all male preserve. Stock¹³⁹ chronicles the gradual admittance of women from 1890, which he saw as 'the greatest possible blessing to the cause.' Much credit must be given to Stock for securing the first appointment, that of Georgina Gollock, who was later to become the assistant editor of the *International Review of Missions*.¹⁴⁰ The CMS publication sub-committee in 1890 were adamant that they would not employ a woman, but Stock insisted that they interview her nevertheless. Her ability clearly impressed and she was duly employed.¹⁴¹ She was quickly joined by M. Brophy as honorary secretary of the Ladies' Candidates Committee¹⁴² and Edith Baring-Gould as an assistant in the editorial department. They were somewhat restricted, mainly keeping to the top floor¹⁴³ and only allowed downstairs with hat and gloves. Initially they were not allowed to attend prayers, but later could if they came in pairs.¹⁴⁴

In 1895 a women's department was established with G. Gollock in charge as Lady Secretary. Stock emphasises that the aim was to encourage women to take an interest in the whole of the CMS work, not just in those areas which had been traditionally considered women's concern. The women's department expanded and M.C. Gollock joined her sister

¹³⁷ Guli Francis-Dehqani, 'CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884-1934' in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Ward, Kevin and Stanley, Brian (Eds.)pp.91-119. (Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2000). at p.102.

¹³⁸ Murray in *The Church Mission Society*, ed. Ward & Stanley, pp.66-90.

¹³⁹ Stock, *History of the CMS IV*, pp. 453-6.

¹⁴⁰ Stock, *My Recollections*, p.157.

¹⁴¹ 40 years later she would write a biography of Stock. Gollock, *Eugene Stock*.

¹⁴² A post she held for 20 years.

¹⁴³ Barnes, *In Salisbury Square*, p.136.

¹⁴⁴ Edith Baring-Gould *50 years in Salisbury Square* 1941, Acc21 Z10.

in 1900, and succeeded her in 1905 when G. Gollock had to retire due to ill health. Neither of the Gollock sisters nor Brophy were full Secretaries of the CMS in the sense that the nine men were, but women were beginning to play a wider role in the administration of CMS. Women eventually came to hold numerous junior clerical jobs at Salisbury Square, a change noted by Davidson in his dedication speech for the new building in 1915.¹⁴⁵ Women clerks were paid less than their male colleagues. Others,¹⁴⁶ like some men, were entirely unsalaried, holding full posts in an honorary capacity.¹⁴⁷ In 1934 the suggestion was made to replace men as they retired by women clerks, as an economy.¹⁴⁸ The discrepancy in salary compared to men was even greater for women in more senior posts.¹⁴⁹

A women's Foreign Committee was set up in 1912 and women were admitted to the Group Committees but without a vote. Although this initially promised a greater say for women, it appears that changes in the secretariat of the CMS had a negative effect on the acceptance of women's contributions and countered the structural change, prompting M. Gollock to resign in 1914¹⁵⁰ accusing the CMS of being 'reactionary'.¹⁵¹ She complained that she no longer had 'opportunities for confidential co-working with the Foreign Secretaries' and that the 'WFC was not being supported by the Foreign Secretaries'.¹⁵² Bardsley, who came to office in 1910, was generally in favour of including women in decision making,¹⁵³ but that does not appear to have been as true of the two new Foreign Secretaries, Manley and Waller. One who had retired was B. Baring-Gould,¹⁵⁴ credited by Stock with helping to get the women's department functioning.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁵ Stock, *History of the CMS IV*, p.449.

¹⁴⁶ F/ASg2.

¹⁴⁷ Stock, *History of the CMS IV*, p.441 and p.520.

¹⁴⁸ Memo on Clerical Staff, 1934 in G/APc2/4.

¹⁴⁹ E. Baring-Gould (herself honorary) to Gladstone (CMS treasurer) 24/3/1920 in G/AS3/4.

¹⁵⁰ An honorary lady worker resigned at the same time and it seem probable that this was for the same reason - Stock, *History of the CMS IV*, p.445.

¹⁵¹ Memo from Miss M.C. Gollock attached to minutes of 21/5/1914 F/APc 1 p.13.

¹⁵² Ibid, p.10.

¹⁵³ Joan Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley Evangelist*. (London, SPCK, 1942) p.34

¹⁵⁴ The father of Edith Baring-Gould.

¹⁵⁵ Stock, *History of the CMS IV*, p.519.

Both M. Gollock, and her now influential sister, submitted arguments to the Pennefather commission advocating the admission of women to CMS committees¹⁵⁶ and a greater role for women ‘in the inner councils of the Society’.¹⁵⁷ In 1914, the issue of the role of women was being debated in a separate sub-committee, with minority and majority reports being produced. The majority report was in favour of placing women on all committees (though not more than one third of the total members). This would include the General Committee.¹⁵⁸ The copy of the report in the General Secretary’s files contains a hand written comment wishing that this report could be disposed of. It would not be fair to infer too much from this, but the minority report makes the position of some members abundantly clear. It argues that ‘the general trend of Scripture places the responsibility of government in the hands of men only.’ It did recommend the appointment of women to the Committee of Correspondence and the ‘Funds and Home Organisation Committee’, but only in an advisory capacity. It also wanted a change in the official rules to make it clear that women Governors ‘shall not have the right to take part in the proceedings of the General Committee’.¹⁵⁹ Such views were deeply held, but were in the minority, and in 1917 women were admitted to the General Committee.¹⁶⁰

In 1920 women made up between 15% and 20% of the General Committee and the Foreign & Home Committee.¹⁶¹ At the packed July 1922 General Committee meeting, 92 women were present.¹⁶² An official CMS report in 1923 still felt the need to call for ‘a greater contribution from women to the Society’s counsels’.¹⁶³ On the new Executive Committee about 20% were women in 1924 and the proportion reached about one third on the General

¹⁵⁶ Memo from Miss M.C. Gollock attached to minutes of 21/5/1914 F/APc 1 p.8.

¹⁵⁷ Memo from Miss G. A. Gollock attached to minutes of 22/5/1914 F/APc 1 p.4.

¹⁵⁸ *Majority Report of sub-committee on Representation of Women on Committees* 10/3/1914 G/C 26B.

¹⁵⁹ *Minority Report of sub-committee on Representation of Women on Committees* 10/3/1914 G/C 26B.

¹⁶⁰ Hewitt, *The Problems of Success I*, p.435.

¹⁶¹ See various minutes in G/C1 (eg 10 out of 61 at the GC 13/10/1920; 18 out of 89 at Home & Foreign Committee 12/10/1920).

¹⁶² G/C1 1922 p.131-135.

¹⁶³ Special Committee on Secretariat and Staff 1923 in G/C20/2.

Committee in 1926.¹⁶⁴ In 1924, one of Stock's last submissions to the CMS stated that the CMS was now the biggest women's missionary society and as such at least one of the full Secretaries should be a woman; he pointed out the irony of fact that he had suggested Miss Gollock (who was by 1924 effectively editing *The International Review of Missions*) as Editorial Secretary, but that this had been too much for the CMS.¹⁶⁵

In spite of these developments, the first woman full Secretary did not come till 1927.¹⁶⁶ Even with this post, it has to be said that women were to have very little direct influence on CMS missionary policy in the first half of the 20th century. Though they did tend to be represented on most committees, women were not part of the inner councils, and very few memos and reports were written by them. Edith Baring-Gould was a notable exception. She worked continuously for 54 years. Her observation 'the limitations of women we recognize, though many are more assumed than real',¹⁶⁷ she herself demonstrated. She was on many official CMS delegations, including to The Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910 and on the crucial 1921 India delegation.¹⁶⁸ During her life she visited all the CMS fields, except West Africa and regularly deputized for different Group Secretaries. She was one of the first women on the General Committee and on the new Executive Committee. In 1941 she became the first woman to chair the General Committee.¹⁶⁹

2.4.8 Assessment of the CMS Administration

The bureaucratic changes in the Church of England, analysed by Thompson¹⁷⁰ have some very interesting parallels within the CMS. He speaks of a tension between the need for efficiency 'achieved through the agency of a small executive body of professional

¹⁶⁴ 9 out of 45 at EC 18/6/1924 G/C1 1924 p.424. 48 out of 148 at GC 9/11/1926 GC/1 1926 p.401.

¹⁶⁵ Stock 're committees and sub-committees', July 1924, G/C20/2.

¹⁶⁶ E. Thornton, Brophy's successor in 1910. See Hewitt, *The Problems of Success I*, p.445.

¹⁶⁷ E. Baring-Gould (herself honorary) to Gladstone (CMS treasurer), 24/3/1920, G/AS3/4.

¹⁶⁸ See chapter 5.

¹⁶⁹ See her retirement notice in Acc318 Z5.

¹⁷⁰ Thompson, *Bureaucracy and Church Reform*. His study applies insights from various sociologists such as Weber and Boulding.

administrators’ and the need to legitimize the action taken through a more representative group, something that can clearly be seen in the relationship of the secretariat and the governing committees.¹⁷¹ The growth of the CMS bureaucratic structure in the post-Venn era can be seen as a response to the growth in complexity and scale of the CMS and the resultant need for what Weber describes as ‘stable, strict, intensive, and calculable administration’.¹⁷² Thompson describes how the Church of England’s administrative staff adopted the ‘norm of service’ that was developing in the British civil service, and how in the Church they sought legitimization of their actions by appealing variously to tradition and social utility.¹⁷³ It would certainly appear that the CMS Secretaries followed a similar path. They particularly needed to seek a ‘legal’ form of legitimization which Weber sees as typical of ‘Western organization’.¹⁷⁴ This would naturally involve a closer relationship to the Church of England, which alone could provide the legitimization of their work as a Church Society. Initially this took the form of seeking approval from the English episcopate, but naturally it also meant seeking approval from the official structures that were developing, culminating with formal recognition in the 1920s.

According to Weber, an organization that seeks ‘legal’ legitimization is committed to a rational form of administration

striving for technical efficiency, precision of operation, control by experts, speed, continuity of policy, and an optimal return for the labour and money expended.¹⁷⁵

This is an excellent summary of what the CMS was trying to achieve in Salisbury Square. Stock believed that the CMS began the twentieth century with an overall administration that was very efficient.¹⁷⁶ At various stages the CMS brought in outside experts to assess their administration. In 1925 an accountant named Beamish was only able to make minor suggestions for improvement and concluded

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p.xxii.

¹⁷² Ibid, p.6 (quoting Weber).

¹⁷³ Ibid, p.67, p.36.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p.220.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p.220 citing Weber.

¹⁷⁶ Stock, *My Recollections*, p.371.

On the whole I find exceedingly little to criticise and a great deal to applaud... I have come across some two or three whose services, by all reports, could be dispensed with without imperiling the stability of the Mission House, but the proportion of these is probably appreciably lower than in an average office.¹⁷⁷

A report in 1934 was more critical and recommended a modernization of the method of dealing with correspondence that would reduce clerical costs.¹⁷⁸ As a result, from 1935 a new system of filing was introduced, the effects of which are evident to anyone using the archives today. In 1946 a report said that 'the machinery of administration is too cumbersome, slow and over-elaborate.'¹⁷⁹

There is little doubt that throughout the period the administration and direction of the CMS was firmly in the hands of the Secretaries. Their power was legitimized through the various committees and the General Committee in particular. Hollis, commentating on professional missionary administrators in general, notes that

Because they have access to all available information, because theirs is a whole-time concern and because they continue in office for considerable periods of time, they tend to dominate the committees and to influence in great measure the decisions taken.¹⁸⁰

This was certainly true of the CMS secretariat. A major example of this influence will be seen in the next chapter.

The Secretaries ruled their junior staff both with the standard mechanisms of a commercial organisation, and with the added imperative that the work was for the glory of God. The social distance between the Secretaries and the junior office staff was very marked. Bardsley made a great impression on his appointment by going round the house and meeting all the staff, some of whom had never shaken the hand of a Secretary before. Criticism of the Secretaries by more junior staff is obviously rare in the archive, but following her resignation M. Gollock felt able to write

Many of the subordinate members of staff feel that a serious breakdown may occur at any moment... The whole trend of modern life is towards self

¹⁷⁷ Beamish H.W. (Accountant. Commercial Union Assurance Co. Ltd) *Report* 18/5/25, G/AS 8/1.

¹⁷⁸ Report by A.C. Parker 13/3/1934, G/AS 8/1 19128-1939.

¹⁷⁹ 'Commission on the Re-alignment of the Home Organisation' May 1947, F/APc4.

¹⁸⁰ M.Hollis, *Paternalism and the Church* (London, OUP, 1962) p.72.

respect and mutual respect, and the high discipline we all desire is not secured apart from the bestowal of responsible charge.¹⁸¹

One of her main proposals was a reduction in the number of Secretaries.

In 1946 a report speaks of

too little co-ordination between the work of Secretaries and that of other ranks... insufficient delegation of responsibility, and... Secretaries... formulating policies which cannot always be translated into effective action owing to weaknesses in the administrative machine below the level of Secretaries.¹⁸²

There was change through the period. From 1926 the General Secretary was effectively a chief executive officer, more modern methods of working were introduced, the committee structure was rationalised and women were gradually included (more or less) in parallel with changes taking place in Church and State.¹⁸³ Although from 1914 women were involved in most committees and delegations, it is rarely possible to quantify the influence that individual women had on central policy, any more than to quantify the influence of other junior members of staff or individual committee members.¹⁸⁴ However, the influence of the Secretaries was such that it is frequently possible to see both their individual and corporate contribution to CMS policy.

¹⁸¹ Memo from Miss M.C. Gollock attached to minutes of 21/5/1914, F/APc 1 p.14.

¹⁸² 'Commission on the Re-alignment of the Home Organisation' May 1947, F/APc4.

¹⁸³ The campaign within the Church of England for women's right to vote and be elected for various councils over the period from 1898 to the changes of 1919 is detailed in Brian Heeney, 'The Beginnings of Church Feminism: Women & the Councils of the Church of England 1897-1919,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982) p.88-109.

¹⁸⁴ A detailed study of E. Baring-Gould or the either of the Gollock sisters would cast light on this period of missionary history, and on the role of women in Anglican evangelicalism.

Chapter 3 - The Background to Policy Development

3.1 The Major Policy Documents of the CMS 1900-1942

During the first half of the 20th century there were four key times at which new policy documents were produced, see table 3.1. Three of these are associated with deliberate reviews of policy: in the run up to the centenary, during the financial crisis of 1906 and in 1932 when the CMS Commission was set up to review all the work of the CMS. The fourth period follows the CMS delegation visit to India in 1921, and can be seen as a delayed post-war review of policy concentrating on India, but with wider implications.

Table 3.1

The Major Policy Papers of the CMS 1899-1942		
Review Period	Key Papers	Date
The Centenary Review and subsequent committees 1897-1901	Centenary Committee 'B', Section XIII Report	1899
	<i>Memorandum on the Constitution of Churches in the Mission Field</i>	1901
	CMS Regulations (revised in light of above papers)	1905
The Review of 1906-7 and subsequent committee	Review Committee Reports	1907
	<i>Memorandum on Development of Church Organization in the Mission Field</i>	1909
	<i>(Memorandum on the Support of Native Agency in the Mission Field)</i>	1914
India Delegation and subsequent action	<i>Church and Mission in India</i>	1922
	<i>Minute of the General Committee on Church and Mission in India</i>	1923
	<i>A Further Statement on Church and Mission in India setting Forth the General Principles upon which the Society proposes to act in respect to the handing over of any of its work in India and Ceylon to Diocesan Control</i>	1924
CMS Commission 1932-34	<i>Looking Forward</i>	1934

The documents produced during these periods varied in their length, the importance placed on them by the CMS and their relevance to the study of the self-governing indigenous Church. Some documents marked significant changes in policy, others a change in the

application of policy, while still others were simply restatements of existing policy. On two occasions, serious questions were thrown up that could not be answered within the review itself and special sub-committees continued the work.

The first of these reviews eventually resulted in the 1901 *Memorandum on the Constitution of Churches in the Mission Field*.¹ Williams's study of the CMS in the 19th Century traces the definition and expansion of the ideal, developed by Henry Venn in the middle of the 19th century, that self-governing, indigenous Churches should be the direct aim of the missionary task. Williams looks at the threats to this ideal, and its being undermined and eventually replaced by the ideas formally set forth in the 1901 Memorandum.² Thus, to some degree, the 1901 memorandum marks the end of Williams's study, whereas it effectively forms the starting point for this present thesis. This memorandum was very important for the CMS and was subsequently included in various statements and publications.³ Its relevance was still such that, in 1923, it was reproduced in full as an appendix to the Minute 'Church and Mission in India'.⁴ In 1932 people involved in the CMS commission were urged to read it.⁵

The 1901 Memorandum grew out of the Centenary Review picking up one particular subject on which agreement had not been reached. In order to understand it fully, the process of its writing needs to be examined, as does the context in which it was written.

3.2 The Centenary Review

In preparation for the CMS centenary in 1899, various projects were embarked on. One of these was a systematic review of all CMS policy. This was not a review provoked by any sense of crisis, either in confidence or in finance. The review was undertaken by 'Centenary Committee "B"'⁶ which was comprised of the Secretaries of the Society and a further 73

¹ Hereafter referred to as 'the 1901 Memorandum'.

² See Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.214.

³ Particularly Stock, *History of the CMS Vol IV*. (Hereafter 'Stock IV') p.402-408.

⁴ In which an historical retrospect of CMS policy on the indigenous Church gives about three times as much space to discussion of the 1901 memorandum as to the work of Henry Venn.

⁵ Memo by the Secretaries for the CMS Commission meeting on 12/5/1932, G/APc2/2.

⁶ Appointed by the General Centenary Committee in March 1896.

men, of whom 50 were clergy. They divided the work of review into twelve sections with a sub-committee working on each section. Vital to what follows is the fact that none of the CMS Secretaries were on any of the original twelve sub-committees. Thus, the influence of the people in charge of the day to day running of the CMS was only felt at the main committee. This either endorsed or, in the one case, refused to endorse the reports submitted to it by the sub-committees. Various Section Committees were clearly unhappy at the slow progress towards the independence of the 'native' churches. Section IV⁷ stated that

After much inquiry we are unable to discover a single Church created by modern Missionary effort, whether Protestant or Romanist, Episcopalian or non-Episcopalian, which has become entirely self-existing.⁸

They were not alone in this. Section VI (on the relations of the Society and its Missions to the Church and other societies) expressed its 'regret that so very little progress has yet been made in the direction of the self-development of fully organized Native Churches'.⁹ Such criticisms clearly made the Secretaries uneasy about their lack of influence on the sectional sub-committees. Once it was clear the direction some of the committees were taking, they tried to gain more influence over them. In June 1897, when the sub-committees presented their interim reports, Stock emphasised to the committee

the desirability of consulting the Secretaries of this house upon any particular points they may think well to mention in their Reports before finally formulating their conclusions upon the same.¹⁰

It was agreed that the secretaries would have the opportunity to comment on recommendations, but they would have no power to change any recommendation with which they disagreed.

The division of the subjects between the various Section Committees was influenced by the Venn orthodoxy in which Mission and Church were clearly distinguished. In the 19th century each had developed its own administrative structures. The Mission was governed by a variety of different systems, with generic title of Local Governing Body (LGB). The Church generally had a system of 'Native' Church Councils (NCCs). The structure and

⁷ In this chapter, 'Section V, should be taken as meaning 'the Section V committee' etc.

⁸ *Centenary Committee 'B' Report 1899 G/CCb 14 p.31 (Hereafter Centenary 'B' Report).*

⁹ *Centenary 'B' Report p.49.*

¹⁰ G/CCb 13 p.16.

development of both these systems will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. However it is significant that the centenary review considered these two structures to be so distinct that they were dealt with by two separate Section Committees. These were

Section V

The Foreign Administration of the Society, including the various kinds of local governing bodies...¹¹

and

Section IV

The communities of Native Christians: as to discipline and measures to promote spiritual life; and as to self-government, self-support, and self-extension among them; particular attention being given to the relations of the Society with the bodies of Native Christians who have attained to more or less of independence.¹²

Williams¹³ confined his research to the Section IV Committee which clearly was of most relevance to the policy on the indigenous Church. However the section V sub-committee is also of some importance to the work of the indigenous Church. Firstly, the indigenous Church at this time was not self-governing in any of the missions of the CMS, so the way that the Mission in a particular field was governed is an important indicator of the degree of control and autonomy that the local Church possessed. This aspect of the Section V report will be discussed in the next chapter as part of the analysis of LGBs. Secondly, the way that the CMS secretariat dealt with the Section V Committee, when it was realised that its report would not be to their liking, was a precursor to the approach that they would take in dealing with the Section IV report which they also considered unsatisfactory.

3.2.1 The Rise and Fall of the Section V Committee

The Section V Committee was small, with only six members besides Padfield, the secretary. It set about its work by sending a list of questions to the various missions. There were 82 replies, the majority being from the Indian field. It was clear from the replies that the desire among missionaries was for significant reform in the structure of the LGBs, which would

¹¹ *Centenary 'B' Report* p.2.

¹² *Centenary 'B' Report* p.25, Williams' bibliography mentions only the Section IV Committee and the section IX Committee on 'The Selection and Training of Candidates'.

¹³ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.269 - Bibliography only includes the section IV and section IX papers.

then have various additional powers delegated to them from the CMS PC. These interim findings were reported to the Centenary Committee 'B'¹⁴ which also heard of the desire for decentralisation from another section committee.¹⁵ Although the Centenary Committee 'B' had over 70 members, at this particular meeting, there were only 19 members and 6 CMS secretaries present to hear the interim reports,¹⁶ so the influence of the secretaries was reasonably strong. The calls for decentralisation alarmed the secretariat, especially since they had no direct control over the direction that the sub-committee might take. The meeting was persuaded to set up a thirteenth sub-committee 'entirely devoted to that one matter,' comprising twelve members 'and all the secretaries of the society', (at that time nine in number) with Fox as secretary.¹⁷ The secretaries moved from a position of having no say in the Section V committee to being in a dominant position on the new Section XIII committee.¹⁸ All the members of the Section V committee were included in the new committee, a move which led, not surprisingly, to Section V being gradually subsumed by Section XIII. Section V decided to summarize the information it had gathered into a report without 'expressing any opinion thereon', and pass it to Section XIII.¹⁹

Effectively, the secretaries succeeded in suppressing the Section V report. It was not included in the final published report, though certain, very selective, quotations were used. It was simply filed.²⁰ Its findings were clear but it was largely ignored, though some degree of decentralisation was agreed to.²¹

¹⁴ On 3/6/1897.

¹⁵ *Centenary 'B' Report* P.19 Under 'faults and weaknesses'.

¹⁶ G/CCb 13.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.16.

¹⁸ Given that they were full time staff, this meant that they could largely be relied on to attend every meeting, unlike the other members, hence it was often the case that they made up half or more of those present.

¹⁹ It presented its Report to Committee B on 16/3/1898. See *Centenary 'B' Report* p.90 and also G/CCb 5/1 p.17.

²⁰ *Centenary 'B' Report* p.3.

²¹ See chapter 4.

3.2.2 The Section IV Committee and its Report

Section V was not the only committee that caused the secretaries concern. Section IV, looking at the 'native' Church, was advocating a return to the traditional Venn ideal. The Secretaries tried to influence its approach, but they failed. In response to a memorandum from Baylis 'generally expressing the views of the secretaries on the proof report', the Section IV committee recorded the following minute

The memorandum was carefully and fully considered. Every criticism was examined and where it was possible the Report was altered or amended so as to match the views of the secretaries without affecting the conclusions at which the committee had arrived after long consideration.²²

The Section IV members were apparently more firm-minded than those on Section V. Williams describes its nine members as 'mainly elderly but quite distinguished'.²³ They included two members who provided a direct link with Venn: JB Whiting, one of Bishop Crowther's most staunch supporters on the CMS committee,²⁴ and CC Fenn.

Fenn²⁵ had retired as East Asia Secretary in 1894 after 30 years in Salisbury Square,²⁶ and was 'much-esteemed'.²⁷ He still serving on various committees. He had worked alongside Venn for some years and clearly shared Venn's views. Indeed, in some ways, he expanded on Venn's ideal, being willing to sacrifice the 'native' Church's relationship with the Church of England in his desire for a truly independent Church.²⁸ At times, he demonstrated an 'extremely loose adherence to episcopacy'.²⁹

²² G/CCb 4/1 p.112 (emphasis mine).

²³ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.204.

²⁴ Ibid, p.99.

²⁵ Educated at Trinity College Cambridge and ordained in 1849 he served as a missionary in Ceylon for 12 years before joining the home staff of the CMS.

²⁶ Stock, *History of the CMS Vol III*. (Hereafter, 'Stock III'), p.679.

²⁷ Stock IV, p.258. C.C. Fenn (1823-1913) CMS Secretary 1864-94.

²⁸ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.59-60.

²⁹ B.Stanley 'The Reshaping of Christian Tradition: Western Denominational Identity in a Non-Western Context,' in Swanson, R N. (ed)., *Unity and Diversity in the Church*. (Oxford, Blackwells, 1996) pp.399-426 at 409 also see Fenn to Fox 21/12/1899 in G/C 9/2 Part 1 which is discussed later in this chapter.

Section IV's work was extensive³⁰ and they explicitly sought to follow the

the Scriptural ideal to which the leaders of the C.M. Society in past days strove to attain, and to ascertain how far that standard had been reached as the actual results of their work.³¹

They defined this ideal by giving a concise summary of Venn's ideas of a 'native' Church free from foreign supervision, demonstrating the 'three-self' principles with the missionaries seen as scaffolding for the emergent Church. Their report quoted extensively from Venn's memoranda, and argued for a return to Venn's policies and regulations on the indigenous church.³² Throughout the report, the model of Government by NCC is upheld and although failings were detailed, these were seen as failures in implementation or due to 'peculiar conditions' and not due to any 'inherent defect in the system'.³³

Williams discusses the Section IV committee and its report in detail,³⁴ and notes that

What is being observed is the most whole-hearted commitment possible by an official CMS committee to the exact policies of Venn at the very end of the nineteenth century.³⁵

The specific details of their plan for the development of NCCs will be discussed in chapter 4, but it envisaged the formation of separate episcopal jurisdiction for CMS areas in India each with their own 'native' bishop. Their report, still advocating a return to Venn's approach, was presented to the Centenary Committee 'B' who refused to endorse it.³⁶ This rejection, in Williams' analysis, proved to be a crucial turning point in the replacement of the Venn ideal of the self-governing Church.³⁷

³⁰ They met 26 times.

³¹ *Centenary 'B' Report* p.25.

³² *Ibid*, p.36.

³³ *Ibid*, p.32-33 on failure in Palestine and also in India.

³⁴ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, pp. 203-214.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.212 Williams' claim that this shows that the change in approach of the previous decade 'represented a move in the mind of the secretariat more than of the Society at large', (p.198) is questionable. It would seem obvious that any change in thinking would come from the secretariat rather than the CMS supporters, but it is debatable whether this small committee, with two such eminent people as Whiting and Fenn, would be any more representative of the CMS as a whole than the secretaries themselves.

³⁶ 17/5/1899, G/CCb 13.

³⁷ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, pp. 203-214.

The Centenary had arrived, no agreement had been reached and there was no time for further debate. It was decided to pass on the Section IV report to the General Committee, with the recommendation that ‘it be referred to a special sub-committee, carefully selected, to discuss the whole question of Native Churches’.³⁸

The General Committee duly set up the ‘Special sub-committee on the Constitution of Native Churches.’ All the secretaries were members of this new committee which would not have to finish its report in time for the centenary and would report directly to the General Committee. It was this new sub-committee which produced the 1901 Memorandum which was the basis of the policy on the indigenous Church for most of the first half of the twentieth century.

As has been said earlier, the 1901 Memorandum must be seen as part of the material connected with the centenary, effectively replacing the Section IV report. All the other sectional reports, including the Section XIII report, were accepted by the Centenary Committee ‘B’ and subsequently adopted by the Parent Committee. Their conclusions were not affected by the work of this new sub-committee. It was only the Section IV committee report which was not endorsed; it had been an echo from the past, advocating a Venn approach in a way that was not acceptable to the much larger Centenary Committee.

3.3 The Writing of the 1901 Memorandum

3.3.1 The Special Sub-committee on the Native Church

Like the Section XIII committee before it, the Special sub-committee on the Church was dominated by the CMS secretaries. They comprised 9 of the 29 members, but their regular attendance meant that they usually made up more than a third of those present, and for some crucial meetings, constituted a majority. It was their presence, as Williams concludes, that resulted in conclusions that differed so greatly from that of Section IV,³⁹ but this was

³⁸ *Centenary ‘B’ Report* p.3.

³⁹ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.215.

also helped by Fenn's absence.⁴⁰ However several other members of the Section IV committee, including Karney its chairman, were members of the new committee.⁴¹

It might be expected that the Section IV report would form the basis of discussions, but this was not the case, in spite of several attempts by Karney to push the report to the fore. Instead, at the first meeting, it was decided to concentrate on what was the ideal 'organization of bodies of Native Christians in constituted Churches'.⁴² This led to the Secretaries drawing up a singularly uninspiring document on modern Church constitutions.⁴³

However, Baylis went right to the heart of the issue, identifying the key matters of principle by asking two specific questions:-

- a) Is it decided that CMS organization must be shaped with a view to future constituted Churches in present mission fields to consist only of Native Xians or may they be so modified as to prepare for a constitution to include also any foreign Xians resident more or less permanently in the same field?
- b) If the latter is allowable, is it also required? Is it maintained that it would be wrong to have in any given Country two constituted Churches in communion with one another overlapping in area but for different members, membership being defined by race, or language, or any other marked distinction? Some are inclined to hold this point decided in the affirmative on Scriptural grounds, are the com. prepared to go so far?⁴⁴

In other words could 'native' Christians be part of a single Church in a given area with foreign Christians, and if so, must they? This was the crucial question facing the CMS at that time, and it was being debated at a meeting where the 9 secretaries outnumbered the 7 other members present. The minutes only record that there was considerable discussion, after which a motion was proposed by Mr. GA King that 'the basis of Native Church

⁴⁰ Fenn had resigned from the Section IV committee and so he did not join the new committee. His fierce written comment on the memorandum is mentioned later.

⁴¹ Two had died, and two others did not join the new committee.

⁴² This was a detailed account of the legal position of colonial bishops and the various constitutions of Dioceses overseas. It covered a variety of subjects including governing bodies, patronage, Holy orders, discipline and finance. G/C 9/1, p.6.

⁴³ Aug 1899, G/C 9/2 part 2.

⁴⁴ 13/10/1899, G/C 9/2 part 1. Authorship not fully clear. Almost certainly Baylis.

Organisation should be territorial.⁴⁵ Eventually, after further extensive discussion, the motion was withdrawn. The issue had not been decided. As Williams describes, in the CMS there was no longer a commitment to the Venn approach, as represented by the Section IV report, however neither was there agreement on a new approach. Imperial India was significant. As Wigram put it ‘We must reckon with continued British occupation in India, and therefore with continued ecclesiastical connexion with the Church of England’.⁴⁶

At the next meeting, Karney tried once more to affect the direction that was being taken. He was no longer pushing the Section IV report, but simply wanted to express the view that the Church in India was ready for ‘native’ bishops and something should be done. He proposed a motion calling for the General Committee to ‘approach the Indian bishops as to the appointment of Native Assistant Bishops in the present Indian Dioceses’.⁴⁷

Again the minutes record that there was considerable discussion and in the end a decision was deferred and Stock was asked

to draw up for presentation at the next meeting a statement dealing with the principles involved in this resolution and the general questions connected therewith. The object of the statement being to set forth the position of the Society on the principles involved as gathered from official documents.

Stock, the historian, was being asked to do what was really some simple research. It was in response to this request that Stock produced the first draft of what was to become the 1901 memorandum. Until this point Stock had not given much of a lead in this committee, beyond formally seconding King’s motion. However, from this point on, it was Stock’s document and, through it, Stock’s agenda which dominated the meetings. Despite several objections he skilfully steered a course to the conclusion he wanted.

⁴⁵ Minute book G/C 9/1, p.10. mentioned by Williams (*The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church* p.215-6 with minor typo in reference) who names Stock as the proposer. The minutes actually read ‘Mr G. A. King proposed and Mr Eugene Stock, proforma, seconded the following resolution’. Stock withdrew his seconding when King had to leave the meeting.

⁴⁶ Memo - ‘The CMS Native Church Council System’ by Wigram 26/9/1899, G/C 9/2.

⁴⁷ Minute book G/C 9/2 part 2, p.16.

3.3.2 E. Stock (1836-1928)

Stock⁴⁸ came from a family that had hit hard times, but he was able to make very good use of his limited schooling. He worked his way steadily up in a merchants' office for 18 years and following a conversion experience at the age of 21, filled his spare time with Church and Sunday School work. Shortly before becoming a partner, the firm collapsed and Wright persuaded the CMS Committee to take him on as an editorial secretary in 1873. Interviewed at that stage about his evangelical views he replied that there were 'Evangelicals *and* Evangelicals', and would not ascribe to a narrow evangelicalism.⁴⁹

Within the CMS he again worked his way up, becoming a full Secretary in 1881 and later taking over the writing of the centenary history. By the turn of the century he was a powerful figure, 'the referee to whom every one appeals for matters of precedent and history. Habitually present at every important Committee'.⁵⁰ In 1892 he was part of the CMS delegation to Australia⁵¹ and helped in forming their approach. At that time he advised against a merger with the Australian Board of Mission, opting instead for co-operation, while maintaining independence from ecclesiastical control.⁵² Unlike Fox, Stock was opposed to the imposition of the 39 articles in the Church of Japan, refusing even to encourage their acceptance. He argued for their cultural relevance in England, but recognised their absence from the Lambeth Quadrilateral.⁵³

Stock was not the successor to Venn: his authority was far more limited.⁵⁴ But at the centenary he took 'the stroke oar'⁵⁵ in the formulation of the new policy of the indigenous Church. Stock retired as Editorial Secretary in 1902, but continued as Secretary without

⁴⁸ Stock's *My Recollections* were published in 1909 and a biography was written by G Gollock after his death in 1929.

⁴⁹ Stock, *My Recollections*, p.130 also defends such an approach to the Church association 1881 p.152.

⁵⁰ Barnes, *In Salisbury Square*, p.37.

⁵¹ Stock III p.675.

⁵² Discussed in untitled document by Cash, G/Y Au3 See also Stock IV 537ff.

⁵³ Stock's 'Memorandum on the Japan Church and the 39 Articles' 18/11/1901, G/AZ4.

⁵⁴ Ward in *The Church Mission Society*, ed. Ward & Stanley, p.28. Also Ward, 'The Legacy of Eugene Stock,' p.75.

⁵⁵ Memo From Baylis, attached to minutes of 14/5/1914, F/APc1, p.3.

portfolio until 1906.⁵⁶ He was ‘famously sensitive to the evangelical currents of his day’.⁵⁷ Williams is right that Stock sought, perhaps primarily, the furtherance of the Society as part of the Church of England. This did not preclude him from having a vision for the Church overseas to which he devoted most of his working life.

Within the Church, Stock gradually gained more influence. He chose not to be ordained⁵⁸ which closed the standard route to a position of influence in the Church.⁵⁹ However, as one of the leading laymen, he gained more influence than he might have done as a clergyman. He was a licenced reader, a member of the house of laity, and one of the two secretaries, the other being Bishop Montgomery, who organised the 1908 pan-Anglican congress.⁶⁰ By 1914 he was held in such esteem in the Church that he was one of the ‘ecclesiastical big guns’ who signed Davidson’s document on the War and the Churches.⁶¹ As Williams points out

Like many evangelicals of the period, he had a deepening appreciation of the visible Church and the centrality of unity within an episcopal system involving the acceptance that such a Church would be comprehensive rather than evangelical.⁶²

3.3.3 The First Draft of the 1901 Memorandum

The archives contain a considerable amount on this memorandum, and so the process of writing, review and revision can be examined showing something of the actual thinking of the various committees controlling the CMS, and also the views of various missionaries and supporters asked to review it. There are three main versions of the memorandum,

⁵⁶ Stock IV, p.440.

⁵⁷ A.N. Porter, *Evangelicalism, Islam and Millennial Expectation in the Nineteenth Century*. (NAMF, Position Paper 76, 1998) p.3

⁵⁸ Stock, *My Recollections*, p.220.

⁵⁹ C.P. Williams, ‘“Not Quite Gentlemen”, an Examination of “Middling Class” Protestant Missionaries from Britain, c.1850-1900,’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980) 301-315 at 315 (and in general)

⁶⁰ The formidable Bishop Montgomery (father of Field Marshall ‘Monty’) was leader of the SPG at this time. See Stock, *My Recollections* 1909 p.224 &.217 and Gollock 1929 p.54

⁶¹ See K.W. Clements *Faith on the Frontier: A Life of J.H. Oldham*. (Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1999) p.128 and G.K.A. Bell *Randall Davidson. Archbishop of Canterbury. Vol.II* (London, OUP, 1935) p.740

⁶² Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.216.

- A) The very first draft
- B) The version sent for review
- C) The final text as approved by the General Committee in 1901

The final version of the memorandum is quoted in full in Stock's history.⁶³ The original draft of the memorandum (A)⁶⁴ is simply entitled *Rough Memorandum for the Sub-Committee on Native Churches*. It is a hand typed document with pencil annotations, presumably by Stock. These include some corrections and additions, paragraph numbering and one significant underlining of a word. This draft in no way fulfilled the requirements that the committee had requested, containing no reference to any official document, it is not a statement of the official position, rather a statement of what the position, in Stock's view, should be.

Although it was not what had been requested by the committee, this draft paper became the agenda for the committee from then on. It may be significant that the number of members attending picked up once there was a clear direction to the meetings. They worked through the draft, paragraph by paragraph, suggesting changes here and there. The following months are well summed up by Williams who describes Stock's 'superb knowledge of sources, and his capacity to draft forms of words which gave some measure of satisfaction to opponents without conceding his own central convictions'.⁶⁵ A significant battle was with Stock's friend⁶⁶ and co-editorial Secretary, Furness Smith⁶⁷ who criticized the memorandum quite severely, but in very apologetic tones, in a detailed paper. He was not opposing change but felt it was important that

if we recommend changes to realise that they are changes, and to have clear reasons which we can advance, why this sub-com recommends them.⁶⁸

He gave a detailed historical analysis of the traditional views of the society, and opposed the rigid approach to territorial bishoprics. His paper was viewed by some as 'an

⁶³ Stock IV p.402-408.

⁶⁴ For clarity, when numbered paragraphs are referred to, they will be prefixed by A, B or C to distinguish the three different texts. Hence A3 refers to the first draft, paragraph 3.

⁶⁵ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.216.

⁶⁶ Stock, *My Recollections*, p.366.

⁶⁷ Rev. George Furness Smith (1849-1929), assistant Secretary from 1886 and full Secretary from 1893.

⁶⁸ Paper by Furness Smith for meeting on 4/12/1899, G/C 9/2 part 1.

indictment'⁶⁹ and he certainly excited, if not angered, Stock who responded with a point by point correction of the paper. Stock contended that this issue of a Church united on a territorial basis had never been properly faced.⁷⁰

The committee continued its deliberations and produced a longer and more polished memorandum (B), that was still very close in all the key issues to the first version (A). The changes in the various versions are laid out in table 3.2. It had grown from a just over 1000 words to nearly 3000. As can be seen, much of this was simply padding.

The special sub-committee produced a report along with this memorandum. Before it could be presented to the General Committee it was first sent for comment to the generally conservative Ecclesiastical Committee.⁷¹ No alteration to the report or memorandum at this stage was being invited, but the Ecclesiastical Committee demanded that the memorandum make it clear

that the Episcopacy contemplated in it will be on the principles of the primitive Church, and not necessarily on that of subsequent developments whether mediaeval or even English.⁷²

With this change included the memorandum and its accompanying report was presented to the General Committee with the request that it only 'receive it and send it on to influential members of the Society at home and experienced missionaries abroad'.⁷³ Comments were received from a wide variety of people and an abstract was produced for the committee members. As might be expected almost every bishop warmly welcomed the commitment to a territorial division of dioceses.⁷⁴ Overall, the responses from missionaries, individually and collectively, was also quite favourable.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Furness Smith comments written on 5/12/1899, G/C 9/2 part 1.

⁷⁰ 'E.S.'s Notes in rejoinder to G.F.S's criticisms...' n.d., G/AZ4.

⁷¹ Fenn was still an influential member of this committee, chaired by Fox.

⁷² 19/3/1900, G/C1 1900.

⁷³ *Report of the Special Subcommittee on the Constitution of Native Churches* 1901, G/C 9/2.

⁷⁴ The exception being Bishop Stuart of Persia, *Abstract of Replies to Report and Memorandum* 8/1/1901, G/C 9/2, p.5.

⁷⁵ Williams gives a great deal of emphasis to the objections, particularly the Tinnevelly missionaries and Bishop Stuart of Persia. Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.222-227.

The Three Main Stages in the Writing of the 1901 "Memorandum on the Constitution of Churches in the Mission Field"

Underlined sections of version "A" indicate that the concept is missing or put less strongly in the final version.

	Rough Memorandum (A)	Review Version (B)	Final Version (C)
Key points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CMS cannot form churches but can advise (A1) • CMS can only cooperate with view to Churches being in communion with Anglican Churches, holding Creeds, Sacraments and Historic Episcopate (A2) • 34th Article should apply - these Churches can adopt formularies and modes of worship etc. (A3) • Native assistant Bishops, either with a race/language jurisdiction or a territorial one, are first step to Dioceses under Native bishops. (A6) • Native Diocesan Bishops <u>should then be appointed over territorial Dioceses</u> (A7, A8) • There may be clergy and even assistant Bishops and "subordinate Church organization" for particular races (A8) • Dioceses would be formed together into provinces, not for small areas, <u>ideally forming national Churches</u> (A9, A10) • Native Diocesan Bishop can be appointed over areas containing "white clergy and laity"(A11) • "it being one object of the Christian religion not to separate races but to bring them together in Christ"(A11) • and over areas with "large Heathen population", (A12) • Self support and independence should not be linked, either can come first (A13) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (B4) • (B6) • Specifically for areas with non-white majority (B5) • (B8, B9) substantial extra justification • Territorial division implied but not specifically stated (B9) • Implied but not specifically stated (B9) • (B10, B11) but reference to national Churches dropped • (B14) • "one object of which is to unite different races in Christ and not to separate them." (B12) • (B15) • (B16) • CMS should "take its part in all diocesan and other movements directed towards the development of the Church in its Mission-fields" (B18) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (C4) • (C7) adds full Lambeth Quadrilateral, recognises that independent Churches may choose reunion that interrupts communion (C7) • Different present situation detailed more carefully but same thrust as B5 (C5, C6) • added idea of some English assistant bishops to show that it is not just a post for "natives" (C9, C11) • "If it be assumed ... none but territorial" clearly expected but not the rule (C11) • effectively back to A8 (C11) • As B10, B11 (C12, C13) • Extended into discussion of relation of races in new dioceses (C15, C16) • (C16) • (C18) Adds that evangelism to surrounding "heathen" is the work of the local Church which CMS should assist in with "men and money" (C19) C19) • (C19) • adds "both home and abroad" (C22)
Present situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CMS Native Christians are "<i>de facto</i> members of the Church of England"(A4) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (B3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (C3) • Details of how present bishops are appointed (C10)
Definitions and accepted goals		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CMS "Native Church Organization" was to administer and support local affairs and to "train the Native Christians for future ecclesiastical independence" (B2) • Missionary effort aimed at " independent Churches, or, at least, of autonomous branches of existing Churches"(B3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (C2) • Adds "in communion with the Mother Church" (C3) • Definitions of "Native", "Foreigner" (C0) • Church "external community of baptized Christians"(C0)
Provisos		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Native Episcopate "would be formed on the lines of the Primitive Church, and not necessarily on those of the Mediaeval or even English Episcopate" (B7) • Views of laity and existing groups of congregations should have a place in overall unity (B17) • Assumes that "Church of England will remain loyal to Holy Scripture, and to Apostolic Christianity" (B18) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changed to "characterized by the simplicity of the Primitive Church" (C8) • (C20) added care over patronage, also laity should have a voice in appointment of Bishops (C10) • adds "Truth of the Gospel" of higher importance than all else (C22)
Justification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Native Bishops will help reunion</u> (A5) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not specific about Native Bishops but properly constituted Anglican Churches are a base for Native Christians to play a part in Reunion (B6) • Particularly important that Indian Church be territorial (B13) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (C7) • (C17)
Detail of application	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where CMS works alone, NCC may be "embryo Church Councils", but where other Anglicans are present Church Councils will not be connected to a society. (A15) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dropped • Idea of very gradual transfer and long period of working together of white and native clergy and laity (B12) • In India progress possible but notes complications of State/Church situation (B13) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A15 effectively reinstated (C21) • Extended with specific hope of racial harmony (C14, C15, C16) • (C17)
Historical Background		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introductory comments and quote from Venn (B1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (C1)

Various missionary conferences signalled their approval, often by overwhelming majorities.⁷⁶ Most missionaries who responded expressed approval, some very strongly. Hooper, for example, said that if it were approved ‘I shall thank God I have lived to see the day’.⁷⁷ Some missionaries welcomed the commitment to non-racial division of the Church⁷⁸ while others specifically approved of the recognition that missionaries worked alongside the local church in evangelism.⁷⁹ The objections were fewer,⁸⁰ some seeking a return to Venn, others re-union with other protestant Churches. The Tinnevelly missionaries, the Bengal Missionaries and various other individuals⁸¹ raised the question of how the ‘evangelical character’ of the CMS Churches was to be secured, and as Williams points out, much of the concern was that the memorandum was ‘undermining Protestant doctrine’ not preventing a ‘genuinely indigenous Church’.⁸² For many, the choice facing the CMS in 1900 was not between the ‘native’ Church and Anglicanism but between evangelicalism and Anglicanism.

Various changes were made to the memorandum as a result of the consultation. These included some redrafting, and reordering of the material, a note that Japan was in an exceptional position, and the dropping of the detail about how the English would fit under a future ‘native’ bishop. The final report was adopted by the General Committee in March 1901.

⁷⁶ *Abstract of Replies to Report and Memorandum* 8/1/1901, G/C 9/2, Yoruba Mission p.1, North West Provinces conference p.10-11, Punjab conference p.12-13, Travancore and Cochin conference p.22 were in favour, the Ceylon conference had some local reservations p.24, the Bengal conference p.10 and the Kiu-Shiu conference p.29 reserved judgement and Tinnevelly conference was solidly opposed.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.11.

⁷⁸ Eg. Thompson Ibid, p.25.

⁷⁹ Eg. West Africa Ibid, p.1-2.

⁸⁰ Most marked were the Tinnevelly Missionaries. Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid, Evangelical eg.p.18, p.10 also Ball p.10, Charlton p.10, Whiteside p.16, Storrs p.19, Cain p.20-21.

⁸² Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.225 &.208-209.

3.4 Assessment of the 1901 Memorandum

To be realistic, mission policy has to proceed not according to ideal principles, but from the existent situation.⁸³

The final memorandum is a clear vision for the way individual churches formed by the CMS would one day be formed into dioceses and provinces, comprising all Anglicans in the territorial area regardless of race, adapted to the local situation but in communion with other Anglican Churches. This vision is well argued and based in the practical, ecclesiastical, colonial and missionary situation in which the CMS found itself. Williams's analysis of the memorandum, his comparison with the Venn policy and critique of the two is detailed, extensive and accurate. This present study approaches the memorandum from a different angle, since it marks the beginning of the period of study rather than the end.⁸⁴ It is not the intention to try to repeat Williams's analysis but it is important to detail the policy advocated in the memorandum and analyse what this would mean for the future work of the CMS. Some comparison with the Venn policy is inevitable, but the analysis has to be more focussed on the possible alternatives in 1901 rather than in Venn's time. Even so, most of the points raised below can be found in Williams's work, though occasionally with a different emphasis.

Williams's overall conclusion is that the adoption of Stock's approach meant 'the obliteration of the prospect of self-governing churches for the foreseeable future'.⁸⁵ Williams obviously sees this as a consequence of Stock's approach, not as the aim of it. Similarly Ward's summary of Williams's work says that the 1901 memorandum

decisively channelled CMS policy for the next half century in regard to institutional development of the church, which in effect jettisoned or sidelined many aspects of Venn's concerns for development of a native church, in effect sacrificing native responsibility and empowerment on the altar of a universality judged by European criteria.⁸⁶

⁸³ Hastings, *Church & Mission in Modern Africa*, p.32.

⁸⁴ Although Williams does discuss some application of policy post 1901, he only mentions the 1909 memorandum and does not study it in any detail. Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.227.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p.263.

⁸⁶ Ward 'The Legacy of Eugene Stock,' p. 76.

Neither Ward nor Williams claim this was Stock's objective, rather than an effect of his commitment to other ideals. Indeed there is a sense in which Venn's ideal had been laid to one side before its replacement had been fixed on. The ideal codified by Stock in 1901 can be said to have *replaced* the Venn ideal but it is not clear that it actually *displaced* it. In assessing Stock's ideals, they first need to be clearly identified, and the question addressed as to whether, in 1901, there was a practical alternative either to the ideals themselves or to the proposed method of their application. Once this has been done, the question of whether they were theoretically incompatible with Venn's ideals can be considered.

Stock's overall aim was the development of independent Churches with 'native' bishops, suitably adapted to the local circumstances. This is most clearly discerned in the text of the shorter, first version, but it is in all versions. This is a marked departure from Venn's ideas, but emphasizing divergence and ignoring continuity is too simplistic. The phrase 'independent Church'⁸⁷ appears seventeen times in the final version of the memorandum. The 34th article of the Church of England⁸⁸ is specifically invoked to justify local adaptation of 'modes of worship and discipline' (C6) and one of the first practical issues of application is how to establish a 'Native Episcopate'. At this level there is no conflict with the Venn ideals, indeed they appear to be reaffirmed. Divergence does not occur until one starts to define 'independent Churches' and identify what degree of local adaptation is envisaged, or indeed what 'local' means. Stock's aims, however, have two distinct limitations placed on them from the beginning: independence is to be within the Anglican Communion and the Churches should include all Anglicans living in their territorial area without regard to race. The latter is in direct conflict with the Venn orthodoxy, as are some of Stock's proposed methods of implementation.

3.4.1 What did Independence within Anglicanism mean?

Stock started from the actual situation at the time. The CMS missionaries, and the new communities of Christians connected with the CMS, belonged to the 'Mother Church' and the episcopal authority was that of the 'Church of England or its Branches' (C3). The

⁸⁷ Or 'Churches'.

⁸⁸ 'Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, Ceremonies or Rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.' Part of Article XXXIV, *Book of Common Prayer*.

commonly agreed goal was ‘independent Churches or, at least, of autonomous branches of existing Churches, with Constitutions, Synods and Bishops of their own’. The emphasis was that these would be ‘in communion with the Mother Church’.⁸⁹ This was a natural consequence of the position of the CMS which, as

a Missionary Society of the Church of England has of itself no authority to constitute a Church (C4).

The CMS did have a duty to assist the ecclesiastical authorities and advise ‘native’ Christians on such matters, but its whole action in promoting independent Churches had to be ‘with a view to their remaining in communion with the Church of England’ (C7). At this point there is still no divergence from Venn’s practice: the dioceses that Venn had helped to form, all had allegiance to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

One element of full independence is for a Church to be able to reproduce itself without aid from outside. In Anglican terms this includes the ability to appoint and ordain its own bishops, which traditionally requires three existing bishops to join in the consecration.⁹⁰ Where Venn saw the bishop as the crowning point of the mission, Stock saw the House of Bishops, or more specifically the formation of Ecclesiastical Provinces comprising several dioceses.⁹¹ Stock, in 1901, could see more clearly the form that the Anglican Communion was taking than could Venn when he produced his three memos, the scope of which was, by 1900, considered to be ‘more local and elementary’.⁹² Stock looked beyond the time when CMS missions would become independent dioceses, to a future where groups of dioceses in an area gained full ecclesiastical independence as an autonomous province. These would be large, heterogeneous and in communion with other provinces. The final memorandum required that this end be kept in view (C12). The first version of the memorandum outlined what these provinces might look like: ‘one Church of Japan, one Church of West Africa, and if possible one Church of India’ (A8). Although such details were clearly not a matter for the CMS and so were not included in later versions of the

⁸⁹ Although always emphasised in other sections, this phrase was added also added, in the final version, to para. 3 presumably to prevent any mis-understanding. (Compare C3 with B3).

⁹⁰ *Alternative Service Book* p.338.

⁹¹ This follows Lambeth 1897, resolution 6.

⁹² *Report of the Special Subcommittee on the Constitution of Native Churches* 1901 G/C 9/2, p.2.

memorandum it is clear that Stock was thinking as much in terms of national Churches as Venn had done, but was, envisaging a greater degree of independence, in the form of provinces, than Venn had, in terms of dioceses.

Reunion with other denominations was encouraged in the memorandum, and constituting churches would aid such a process and should not be delayed (C7). There is a recognition that true independence meant that some Churches might opt for a scheme of reunion that interrupted communion with the Church of England. This is the only situation in which the CMS might find that it had produced a Church which was not strictly Anglican. It would appear that some members of the committee felt that such reunion might be prevented by the development of a 'native' episcopate. Stock specifically counters this objection in the first version of the memorandum where he clearly regards a developed organisation as a necessary preparation for negotiations about Church reunion. So, the best route to any 'future union is to press forward the establishment and extension of a Native Episcopate'.⁹³ This argument is dropped in the second version, since it is very much a side issue and is included instead in the accompanying report.⁹⁴ It is in the context of reunion that the memorandum defined precisely what it meant by 'Anglican'. This was done through citing the Lambeth quadrilateral, which defined four key areas as the basis of reunion.⁹⁵

Remaining Anglican did not bind these Churches to all the traditions and methods associated with Anglian Church administration or the forms and ceremonies of worship in the Church of England. There would be bishops, but not necessarily in the same form as the English episcopate. Fenn's intervention clarified this and the final memorandum sought a form that was 'characterized by the simplicity of the Primitive Church' (C8). The 34th Article of the Church of England⁹⁶ is invoked for Churches where 'Natives predominate'

⁹³ A5, emphasis is a pencil underlining, apparently by Stock during a meeting.

⁹⁴ *Report of the Special Subcommittee on the Constitution of Native Churches* 1901, G/C 9/2, p.3.

⁹⁵ Approved by the Lambeth conference of 1888, Resolution 11. Full text included in 1901 memorandum. The Chicago/Lambeth resolution covers Holy Scripture, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the two Sacraments, and the Historic Episcopate.

⁹⁶ 'Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, Ceremonies or Rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.' part of Article XXXIV, *Book of Common Prayer*.

(C6) expecting that there would be adaptation of ceremonies or rites to their particular circumstances. Such views again correspond with Venn's approach, as far as they go. The difference, and it is a significant difference, lies in the emphasis. The memorandum does not flesh out what such adaptation might involve or how it should be achieved. It does make clear that a Venn-like approach, based on a diocese with a homogenous constituency, was not an option, since other racial groups would be included in the diocese.

3.4.2 The Issue of Race

The fundamental weakness of the Venn methodology (though not necessarily his ideals) is that in order to protect the indigenous Church he aimed at a racially separate Church, something that, as Williams says, 'offended... the plain understanding of the nature of the body of Christ'.⁹⁷ There is a danger in projecting back attitudes and criteria from our post-apartheid position. Account must also be taken of the development of an 'explicit sense of racial distinctiveness' in the latter half of the 19th Century.⁹⁸ Racial issues would have had different connotations in Venn's time than at the centenary. By 1900, as we have seen above, some people in the CMS were saying that on 'scriptural grounds'⁹⁹ there should be no racial division within the Church. Gibbs points out that the CMS had firmly rejected caste churches, and in her view, caste divisions in India were effectively the same as racial division.¹⁰⁰ There was not the consensus that would be found today, but the tide was turning. The 1897 Lambeth Conference had declared that 'nothing shall be allowed to obscure the fact that the many races form but one Church'.¹⁰¹ The PC itself had decided in 1899 'that as a fundamental principle the Constitution of a Church whenever adopted should not recognise racial distinctions'.¹⁰² A Venn approach, where there were two racially

⁹⁷ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.259.

⁹⁸ Porter, 'Changing People, Changing Places,' p.24.

⁹⁹ 13/10/1899, G/C 9/2 part 1. Handwritten notes, no author stated but this seems to be what is referred to in the minutes as notes by Baylis at sub-committee meeting, 16/10/1899, G/C 9/1, p.8.

¹⁰⁰ Gibbs *The Increase of Church Consciousness*, acc318-z3-2, p.2.

¹⁰¹ Lambeth 1897 Res. 21, p.38.

¹⁰² Sub-committee on the Constitution of the Church of Buganda 6/3/1899, G/CS2, p.245, also 14/3/1899, G/C1/1899, p.404-5, see also Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.246-247.

divided churches in a locality, with Canterbury as the only common point of unity,¹⁰³ was no longer acceptable. This became more unacceptable as the 20th century progressed, until it would generally be regarded as heretical.¹⁰⁴

Throughout all the drafts, the unity of races was explicitly promoted. In the final version an objective of Christianity was declared to be ‘to unite different races in Christ and not to separate them’ (C16). It cannot however be claimed that this was the primary ideal that the memorandum was promoting. It is not given great prominence or extensive justification, yet it underlies much of the detail of the proposed methodology, as shall be seen. As such it almost appears to be axiomatic, being presented as one further argument for the overall approach.

There was an acceptance that worship would not be uniform across racial divides and there was a recognition of the need for episcopal oversight on a racial, and not just linguistic, basis. One diocesan bishop would govern a territorial diocese with assistant bishops for the different groups. The territorial diocese and the diocesan bishop would thus be a local symbol of unity. Stock was in favour of the appointment of ‘native’ assistant bishops in the near future, as part of this overall scheme. He was content for such assistant bishops to be ‘charged with the care either of the Christians of a particular race or language within the Diocese...’ or with a territorial jurisdiction. After a period of proving, the appointment of ‘native’ diocesan bishops would follow.

Stock argued that it was expedient for different races to have their own clergy, possibly assistant-bishops and ‘subordinate Church organization’ (C11). Unlike the Venn approach this should not form the basis of dioceses, but be subordinate to them. It is presumably at this level that some local adaptation to the culture would be allowed.

This approach, particularly in India, would have been alien to Venn, but times had changed. The alteration in the way episcopacy functioned in Britain, associated with Samuel

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.259.

¹⁰⁴ It does appear that the English in England have generally been more opposed to formally constituted racism than to individual prejudice.

Wilberforce, was echoed in the colonial clergy.¹⁰⁵ There was a new understanding of episcopacy in evangelical Anglican circles, and also in the degree of trust evangelicals were prepared to give bishops.¹⁰⁶ The CMS had had nothing to do with the first two Lambeth Conferences, but from 1888 there is a clear change of attitude, with receptions for the bishops being held at Salisbury Square.¹⁰⁷

Stock's initial memorandum stated that

The dioceses so formed should be territorial, and the Church in any diocese should include all Christians of any race or colour or language, who belong to the Anglican Communion or desire to join it; (A8)

The acceptance of such a fundamental change of policy was not achieved without a fight. It should be noted however that this was not the same as King's earlier motion. Stock only required that the basis of diocesan organization be territorial, not the whole of 'native' church organization. To appease objectors Stock had to re-draft this substantially,¹⁰⁸ so that, subsequently, a territorial approach for diocesan bishops was not declared as the *policy*, it was instead assumed as the only *practical* approach.¹⁰⁹ The accompanying report made clear that it was taking a different view than that expressed in the 1877 memorandum, which had anticipated 'two mutually independent Churches side by side within the same area'.¹¹⁰

The question of whether there was any practical alternative to the approach of the 1901 memorandum has to be addressed. The accompanying report makes it clear that a 'native' episcopate was desired; no-one, with the possible exception of Fenn, was advocating a

¹⁰⁵ Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.109.

¹⁰⁶ Similarly there had been some changes away from an individualistic approach to the idea of Church. See W.A.V. 'T Hooft & J.H. Oldham *The Church and its Function in Society* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1937) p.23.

¹⁰⁷ A.M.G. Stephenson *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences* (London, SPCK, 1978) p.8. Stock is critical of the negative Evangelical attitudes to the first conference, but does not mention the CMS attitude. Stock II p.364. On the receptions see Stock III p.648 & p.689.

¹⁰⁸ G/C 9/1 p.54

¹⁰⁹ Similarly in 'Report of the Special Subcommittee on the Constitution of Native Churches 1901, G/C 9/2, p.4.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.10.

‘native’ Church with no bishops. The CMS itself could not produce bishops and so ‘the goodwill and co-operation of the English episcopate are absolutely indispensable’.¹¹¹

Comparison with Venn’s ideals on an independent Church are complicated because, in the 1901 memorandum, independence was split into different levels of subsidiarity. Thus the memorandum envisaged an overall greater independence in the formation of provinces than Venn had done, but with a reduced local independence for the indigenous churches that had resulted from the CMS work; these would not be dioceses in their own right, but part of multiracial dioceses. The memorandum discussed how this would work out in practice.

3.4.3 Methodology Proposed in the Memorandum

The report saw the detail of application (B12) as one of the most important parts of the memorandum,¹¹² and this was to receive some of the fiercest criticism from the reviewers, particularly over the idea that eventually the tables would be turned and a ‘native’ bishop might have an English assistant to look after ‘white people worshipping after their own forms’ (B12). This idea was dropped for the final version, and the paragraph was substantially reformed and expanded into three paragraphs (C14,15&16) but without changing the overall thrust. The change was to be gradual, staged and taking ‘probably a long period’ (C15). The Venn approach of a separation between mission and church, missionaries and ‘native’ workers would be abolished. Independence might occur while there was still a foreign bishop and foreign laity and clergy, indeed they would be seen as a ‘great assistance’ (C15) both in terms of unity and their wider experience. Even with a ‘native’ majority in the synod, foreigners might still ‘retain for a time the virtual lead...because the Natives voluntarily yield it to them’ (C15). Missionaries could continue working in dioceses with a ‘native’ bishop.

The memorandum severed the link between self-support, self-governance and self-extension, while still insisting upon the importance of self-support (C19). Even after independence a church might receive financial support from the CMS. Although the Church itself would be responsible for evangelising those around, the CMS could assist with men

¹¹¹ Ibid, p.3.

¹¹² Ibid, p.5.

and money.¹¹³ Venn's sharp distinction between pastoral and evangelistic work was removed and the idea of the 'euthanasia of the Mission' was quietly dropped, as it was made clear that the mission would continue through independence and even after independence was achieved. No mention was made of how the CMS missions themselves would be governed, either immediately or after independence. This was not an oversight, that issue had been decided already in the Section XIII report (discussed above) which had been endorsed by the General Committee. It is important to realize that the 1901 memorandum did not change the existing policy on mission government at all.

3.4.4 The CMS, Evangelicalism and the Anglican Church

The memorandum started with the recognition that the CMS, its missionaries and the Churches it was helping to form were part of the Anglican Church, and therefore accepted a limitation on their objectives: the CMS could only seek to produce churches that are part of the Anglican Communion. The way forward is clearly presented as working through and under the existing Anglican structures. The whole approach was fiercely attacked by Fenn, who had been a member of the Section IV committee, but was not on the new special sub-committee. He was sent a copy of an early draft of the memorandum.¹¹⁴ His response was very forthright¹¹⁵

I feel sure that the permanent adoption of it by the C.M.S. will be impossible unless the Society ceases to be what it now is, a distinctively Evangelical organisation.

His objection was not that it would prevent the development of an indigenous Church but that working with the existing Anglican episcopate compromised evangelical principles. His approach would have seen the CMS developing its own, necessarily evangelical, 'native' episcopate. Fenn believed that CMS Missions in India faced a stark choice:

Is it impossible that, like Martin Luther they may have to give up either Evangelical principles or the Historic Episcopate. If so, you, dear Mr Fox, I am sure, will say that it is the latter and not the former that must be surrendered. Evangelicals in England have never yet had to make as sad a choice.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Ibid, p.7.

¹¹⁴ Presumably in his capacity as a member of the Ecclesiastical Committee.

¹¹⁵ Fenn to Fox, 21/12/1899, G/C 9/2 Part 1.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Fenn clearly expected Fox to be in sympathy with him in seeing evangelical principles as more important than the historic episcopate. However, the logic of the memorandum was really unchallengeable, unless the CMS opted for a decisive shift away from the Church of England. Fenn's intervention did not result in any changes to the overall thrust of the memorandum, but, as Williams¹¹⁷ points out, the letter led to the inclusion of clauses assuming 'that the Church of England will remain loyal to Holy Scripture, and to Apostolic Christianity...' which make up most of the final paragraph (C22 & B18). The final version adds an additional rider

Important as is the ecclesiastical organization discussed in this Memorandum, the maintenance of the Truth of the Gospel in the Native Christian communities is of far greater importance (C22).

3.5 Conclusion

Ecclesiology is never irrelevant to missiology. The formation of new Churches must be based on a right conception of what the Church is and of the hierarchy of things within the Church, otherwise they are bound to wither up or grow into strange shapes.¹¹⁸

Paternalistic and idealistic it may have been, but the most remarkable thing about the 1901 Memorandum is how close its outline of the future matched what was actually to happen. The transition to independent churches took place with foreign bishops and missionaries still in place, dioceses divided and provinces were formed. Some, or at least one, outstanding indigenous bishops did come to the fore and did play a foundational role in reunion. Several independent Churches did go on to use their independence to break (temporarily) their communion with the Anglican Church in the furtherance of that reunion. National Churches, much as Stock's first draft suggested, came into existence. Eventually the 'natives' did come to dominance and indeed sometimes they did voluntarily choose a foreigner as their bishop. The process was certainly 'gradual', much more so than Stock presumably expected. The Anglican Communion today might have a slightly 'strange shape', but, had parallel churches developed as Venn and Fenn wanted, the shape would have been far stranger. Speculation is a dangerous thing for an historian, but one cannot help considering

¹¹⁷ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.220.

¹¹⁸ Hastings, *Church & Mission in Modern Africa*, p.19.

how fierce would have been the criticism had the CMS, in 1901, committed itself to a policy of racially segregated Churches.

Stock himself provides a retrospective summary of the ‘aims in building up Native Churches’. Originally written for the Pan Anglican Congress in 1908, Stock reaffirmed these five aims in 1916.¹¹⁹

- 1 The future Church in any country must be self-supporting, self-governing, self-extending.
- 2 It should continue ‘in communion’ with the English Church.
- 3 It should enjoy wide liberty within the well-understood limits of the Anglican Communion.
- 4 It should be comprehensive in regard to races.
- 5 It should be constitutionally governed by bishops, clergy, and laity.

The primacy of the first point is emphasised by the use of ‘must’ as opposed to ‘should’. Although these were merely Stock’s words with no official sanction, they are a reasonable summary of much of the 1901 Memorandum.

The Section IV committee had had a concrete plan for developing self-governing churches albeit one that the CMS did not want to implement.¹²⁰ The 1901 Memorandum lacked any concrete plans of how to achieve its ideals, something which Stock himself would come to realise. Had Stock attended to what the Section IV committee had been trying to say, then he might have included more of detailed practical proposals. Abandoning the idea of ‘euthanasia’ also implied that the existing situation had a degree of permanence, making any forward move seem less necessary. The degree to which the CMS had abandoned the policy of the ‘euthanasia of the Mission’ is seen in an internal report from 1902. This discussed the working methods of the CMS in order to identify the training needs of missionaries. It concluded that gradually ‘natives’ could take over much evangelistic and pastoral work, but in areas such as higher education and ‘quasi-episcopal’ supervision more missionaries were needed for an indefinite period.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Stock IV, p.401. Originally written for the 1908 Pan Anglican Congress.

¹²⁰ The Anglican authorities would have been unlikely to cooperate.

¹²¹ *Report of the Special Sub-Committee on the Training and Status of Missionaries* Jan 1902, G/AZ4. Comprised of some 25 members drawn from CMS supporters and including all the secretaries, this sub-committee can be taken as representative of CMS thinking at the time.

Williams describes general missionary thinking in the late 19th and early 20th century as characterised by ‘theological shallowness, ecclesiological unimaginativeness, and cultural arrogance’.¹²² The 1901 memorandum does have a theology of the Church, but the approach is mainly pragmatic rather than theological. The cultural arrogance, so typical of the high imperial period, is undeniable. Stock, at least, appears to have been ‘imaginative’ enough to look at his current situation and predict, fairly accurately, how things would develop if the CMS took the course he was proposing. It may seem with hindsight to be ‘unimaginative’, because it accurately predicted what would happen. A change of policy was necessary and Williams acknowledges that Venn’s ideals were ‘increasingly removed from reality’ and had not ‘wrestled sufficiently with the ecclesiological implications within itself’.¹²³ Ward notes that ‘an ecclesiology akin to Venn’s vision ... can also be turned in profoundly retrogressive and stultifying directions’.¹²⁴ If the CMS was to remain a Church society it had to work within the Church structures. The purely indigenous ideal of Venn was no longer an option, and the criticism that met the memorandum from Fenn seemed to indicate that the choice was between an Anglican and an evangelical Church¹²⁵ rather than an Anglican and an indigenous Church.¹²⁶

In his pursuit of a realistic, and forward thinking, approach, it cannot be denied that Stock overlooked Venn’s ‘immensely strong conviction that culture and context matter and that paternalism is the enemy of the effective church’.¹²⁷ Taking Walls’ ‘two opposing

¹²² Williams in *The Church Mission Society* ed. Ward & Stanley, p.147.

¹²³ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.260&259.

¹²⁴ Ward, ‘The Legacy of Eugene Stock,’ p.77.

¹²⁵ Thompson discusses this attitude in English evangelicals, but seems to have a confusion between a unified Anglican Church such as that advocated by Stock, and more general ecumenism. He is correct in seeing evangelical Anglicans using the established nature of the Church as a defense against ritualism, but it would seem that in the mission field, keeping a degree of independence from the generally high church English missionary bishops was an alternative form of defense. Thompson, *British Missionary Policy*, pp.19-20.

¹²⁶ Gibbs speaks of ‘a desire to preserve the Indian Church for Evangelicalism against ‘State’ bishops who might be Anglo-Catholics’. Gibbs *The Increase of Church Consciousness*, acc318-z3-2, p.3.

¹²⁷ Williams in *The Church Mission Society*, ed. Ward & Stanley, p.172.

tendencies',¹²⁸ Venn stands solidly on the 'indigenizing' principle, while Stock can be identified with the 'pilgrim' principle. Neither appears to have a good balance.

The issue that this memorandum singularly fails to address is how to encourage reluctant missionaries to hand over control and real power to the 'native' Church and Christians. The CMS more generally, displayed a similar reluctance, insisting on retaining the various Local Governing Bodies, independent of the Church, for all its missions. Taking the 1901 Memorandum with the Section XIII report, some degree of dual control of the 'native' Church was inevitable.

Williams concludes his study by saying that Stock's approach led to 'the obliteration of the prospect of self-governing Churches for the foreseeable future'.¹²⁹ The acceptance of the ideals in the 1901 did not make this inevitable, and eventually, over half a century later, indigenous Churches of various sorts did emerge from the CMS missions. The next step in this development is the subject of chapter 4. After 1901 the CMS was committed to a self-governing indigenous Church, but with provisos. It should be self-governing, but Anglican, indigenous but comprehensive in regard to race.

¹²⁸ Walls, *The Missionary movement*, p.7-9.

¹²⁹ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.263.

Chapter 4 - The First Two Decades

The overall objective of the CMS, as it emerged from the 1901 Memorandum, was to produce Churches which were self-governing yet Anglican, indigenous yet racially inclusive. However, the 1901 Memorandum did not specify how this objective was to be achieved. CMS Missions still controlled the Churches that were the fruit of their work.

This chapter will explore how the CMS began to examine the relationship between the Mission and the Church. This was partly prompted by the need to rationalize the way that Missions themselves were governed, but Stock took this opportunity to try to extend his policy to its logical conclusion. However, Stock was no longer the controlling force in the secretariat and it was Baylis who drafted the next major memorandum in 1909. This laid down ideas and suggestions rather than policy, leaving the Secretaries free to develop a pragmatic approach. This 1909 memorandum will be discussed in detail. The chapter will conclude with an examination of the relationship between the CMS and the Anglican hierarchy during this period, particularly the relationship with the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson. It was through Davidson that the CMS was able to exert considerable influence on the appointment of bishops in CMS Mission areas. How the CMS chose to use this influence will be examined. The tensions inherent in the CMS being both Anglican and evangelical were a constant undercurrent during this period. They were intensified when a new Honorary Clerical Secretary was appointed but there was an uneasy truce with the outbreak of the Great War¹. What happened when this truce broke down belongs to the next chapter.

4.1 The Main Contributions to CMS Policy Development 1900-1918

During this period, in addition to the various papers associated with the centenary, various other policy documents were produced by the CMS. Also, several important conferences influenced CMS policy. These will be discussed briefly before examining the detail of CMS policy development.

¹ John Walmsley, *The History of the Evangelical Party in The Church of England Between 1906 and 1928*. (University of Hull, Ph.D. Thesis 1980) p.166 states that evangelicals refrained from party controversy after the outbreak of war.

4.1.1 The 1905 Regulations

While the 1901 memorandum was being written, it was clear that its new policies would entail a revision of the CMS 'Regulations'.² There was already an ongoing process of revision of all the regulations, begun in 1894. As part of this, a revised book entitled *Church Organization in the Mission Field ... being the Society's 'Regulations, Part IV'* was published in 1906.³ This was the culmination of the work on CMS policy connected with the Centenary and the full text of the 1901 memorandum was included in it. One particularly useful section for this study is an analysis of the different Local Governing Bodies (LGBs) of the CMS Missions, their spheres of responsibility and methods of operation.

4.1.2 The Review Committee of 1906-1907

The continuing rapid expansion in the missionary workforce was not matched by a similar increase in income. By 1906 it was clear that the CMS faced a financial crisis, and the Review Committee of 1906-7 was set up as a response.⁴ The key word that sums up this review is 'retrenchment'. Chaired by the President, it had the Honorary Clerical Secretary, Fox, as secretary. The other CMS Secretaries were allowed to attend the main meetings and were appointed as members of the Section Committees, acting as committee secretaries on all but one of them.⁵ Most of the Review Committee's recommendations had no direct relevance to policy on the indigenous Church. It made four reports,⁶ which were largely accepted and acted upon by the General Committee.

Only the section discussing Decentralisation had no CMS secretaries appointed to it. It is unclear why. It was this Section that was most relevant to the policy on the indigenous Church. It produced controversial proposals that were not endorsed by the main committee.

² *Report of the Special Subcommittee on the Constitution of Native Churches* 1901, G/C 9/2 p.7-9.

³ *Church Organization in the Mission Field ... being the Society's 'Regulations, Part IV'* 1905, G/AH 1/6. Approved in 1905. (Hereafter *Regulations 1905* G/AH 1/6).

⁴ By a Resolution of the General Committee on 13/11/1906, G/C1 1906.

⁵ Fox being secretary to the Section A and Stock to Section C and Section D. Stock also attended some of the Section A meetings. Rev D. Wilkinson (a CMS secretary) was secretary to Section B. See Minute books in G/CR 1/1 and 1/3.

⁶ The first three labelled 'Interim', all in G/CR 1/7.

Agreement was reached on delegation of certain powers from the Parent Committee (PC) to the LGBs, but, on the proposed rationalization of the whole system of LGBs, an impasse was reached. The Review Committee resorted to apparently the standard CMS way of dealing with disagreement; it recommended that a special committee be set up to examine the issue.

4.1.3 The 1908 Special Committee on Mission Administration in the Field

Set up as a result of the disagreement mentioned above, there are clear parallels with the situation which led to the 1901 Memorandum. A systematic review excluded the CMS Secretaries from detailed discussion and produced a report out of step with the thinking of the Secretaries, the issue was then referred to a separate committee over which the CMS secretaries had more control. In 1908 the pressing question was the relationship between the Mission and the Church, specifically the structure of the LGBs. In retrospect, Stock recognised that this relationship had been ignored by the 1901 Memorandum; it was not an issue ‘perceived at the time as involving questions for settlement’.⁷

This special committee asked what the next step should be in preparing to meet the objective agreed in the 1901 Memorandum. Even before the committee first met, two memos presenting different views were circulated. Further memos were produced as it progressed. Stock played a key role, drafting some of the memos, but it was Baylis, the Africa Secretary, who eventually took the lead in producing the final text of *The Memorandum on the Development of Church Organization in the Mission Field*. The debate and the conclusions will be discussed shortly, but the outstanding characteristic of the 1909 proposals is their extreme tentativeness, and how much leeway they left in regard to the actual application of agreed policy.

4.1.4 The 1914 Minute on ‘Support of Native Agency in the Mission Field’

This minute also has its roots in financial crisis, this time in 1913. After gathering a substantial quantity of information from the CMS Missions, a series of meetings was held at Swanwick to lay the situation before the CMS supporters, explaining the opportunities

⁷ Stock IV, p.397, though the Centenary Section IV committee seems to have perceived the question and provided answers in line with its own overall views.

for expansion and the financial problems.⁸ The £70,000 deficit was cleared as a result. Bishop Tucker of Uganda had a more radical plan for solving the CMS's financial worries. This involved the adoption in every CMS Mission of the practice in Uganda whereby the CMS never paid any 'native' Christian agents. True to form, the response was to set up a committee. One of its earliest conclusions was that no class of work could be identified which should never be assisted by CMS money.⁹ Although the general adoption of Tucker's plan was rejected, the importance of self support was discussed and the 1914 Minute on *The Support of Native Agency in the Mission Field* was produced. This restated rules in the 1905 regulations; 'simply emphasising existing principles'.¹⁰ The value of Tucker's approach was recognised without making it binding. The 1914 Minute made clear that self-support and self-government were inherently connected, 'each naturally depends upon the other', and so urged the development of self-government as a way of encouraging self-support.¹¹

4.1.5 Other External Influences on CMS Policy

There are various significant events, external to the CMS, which clearly influenced their policy. In 1908 a Pan Anglican Congress was organised at the initiative of Bishop Montgomery of the SPG. Stock and Montgomery worked as joint secretaries.¹²

This was followed shortly by the Lambeth Conference of 1908, which, among other issues, emphasised the unity of races with the following resolution

All races and peoples, whatever their language or conditions must be welded into one Body, and the organisation of different races living side by side into separate or independent Churches, on the basis of race or colour,

⁸ See various papers in G/AP11 1911-1917.

⁹ Sub-committee on Bishop Tucker's resolutions, Resolution 4, 19/1/1914, G/CS4, p.271.

¹⁰ Ibid, p.287.

¹¹ *Memorandum on the Support of Native Agency in the Mission Field* 1914, G/CS4, para.5.

¹² Stephenson, *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences*, p.112 and E. Stock, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century* (London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1910) p.119. It lasted 8 days with about 17,000 people attending the various meetings each day, see Bell I p.569 The previous year a Colonial Conference had been held by the Government see Hyam in *The Oxford History of the British Empire IV - The Twentieth Century* ed. J.M. Brown & L.W. Roger (Oxford, OUP, 1999) p.54-5.

is inconsistent with the vital and essential principle of the unity of Christ's Church.¹³

As part of this objective, the 'principle of one bishop for one area' was strongly affirmed¹⁴ and advanced training 'for the ablest of the native clergy' was encouraged 'in view of the great importance of the establishment of the native episcopate'.¹⁵ Overall this is an endorsement of the approach adopted by the CMS in 1901.

In 1910 the 'World Missionary Conference' was held in Edinburgh, later described as 'the first act of united and co-ordinated reconnoitring of the non-Christian world, accomplished by the concerted action of protestant missions'.¹⁶ It brought together missionaries, Church leaders and missionary society administrators, and a very small number of Christians from the newer Churches.¹⁷ CMS played a large role, unlike the SPG,¹⁸ and sent many delegates. Baylis served on the commission on 'The Church in the Mission Field'. This conference was the high point of western missionary optimism. The following year, the CMS encouraged each of its Missions to make five year plans for advance. Such plans were interrupted sharply in 1914. As Wilkinson puts it 'to the vast majority of Christians the outbreak of war was at first as unbelievable and unexpected as it was to everyone else'.¹⁹ Bardsley too had not anticipated war.²⁰ Its effects on the CMS was obviously immense, and it is not surprising that planning for the future had to wait until the end of the war was in sight.

¹³ Lambeth Conference Report, 1908 p.34 and resolution 20 p.50.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.51.

¹⁵ Ibid, p.50.

¹⁶ Kraemer, *The Christian Message*, p.36.

¹⁷ S. Neill *Christ, His Church and His World*. (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948) p.81 says only 20, chosen as part of missionary delegations. See also comments by Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, p.89.

¹⁸ While S. Neill *Christian Partnership* (London, SCM, 1952) p.73 mistakenly says they did not participate, O'Connor, *Three Centuries of Mission*, p.96 says that the SPG sent 34 delegates, including Montgomery, but that there had been a significant move, by SPG supporters, to prevent their attendance.

¹⁹ Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*. London, SCM, 1978. p.13.

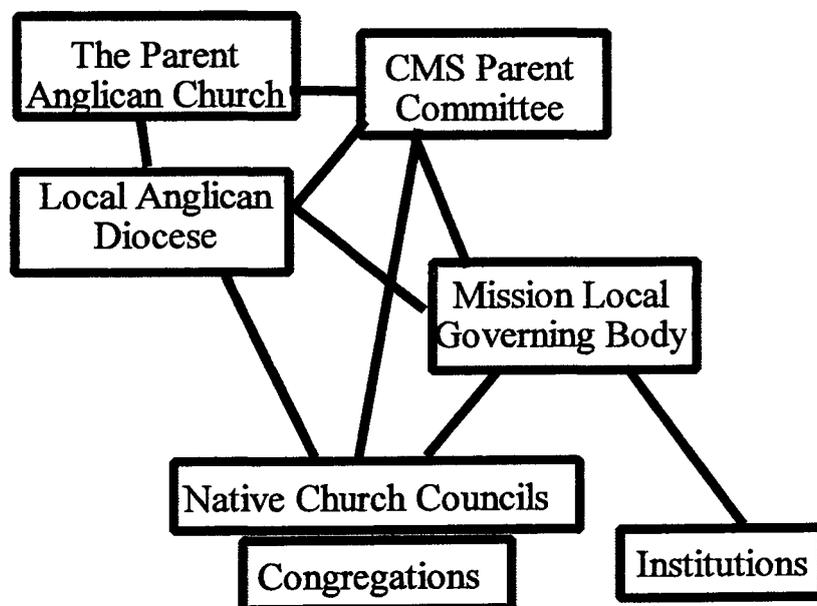
²⁰ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.41.

4.2 The Governance of CMS Missions

The 1901 Memorandum can be seen as a large scale ‘road map’ for the way CMS-founded-churches would become parts of the Anglican Communion. However, clarifying the relationship between the ‘native’ Churches and the Anglican hierarchy made the whole system of how the new Churches were to be governed more complex. The following diagram illustrates the complex web of relationships in CMS Missions.

The congregations and the ‘Native Church Councils’ were the ‘native Church’. This was governed from three directions: the CMS PC in London, the Mission LGB, and the local Anglican diocese which in some parts of the world would not be very local, one diocese often covering an area substantially bigger than Britain. The institutions, which included hospitals, high schools and theological colleges, were controlled directly by the LGB, with no control from the local Church. In order to understand the process by which self-government would eventually be achieved, and the way control was asserted over the Churches by the CMS, each element in this web of relationships has to be examined.

Figure 4.1 The Formal and Informal Connections in CMS Missions

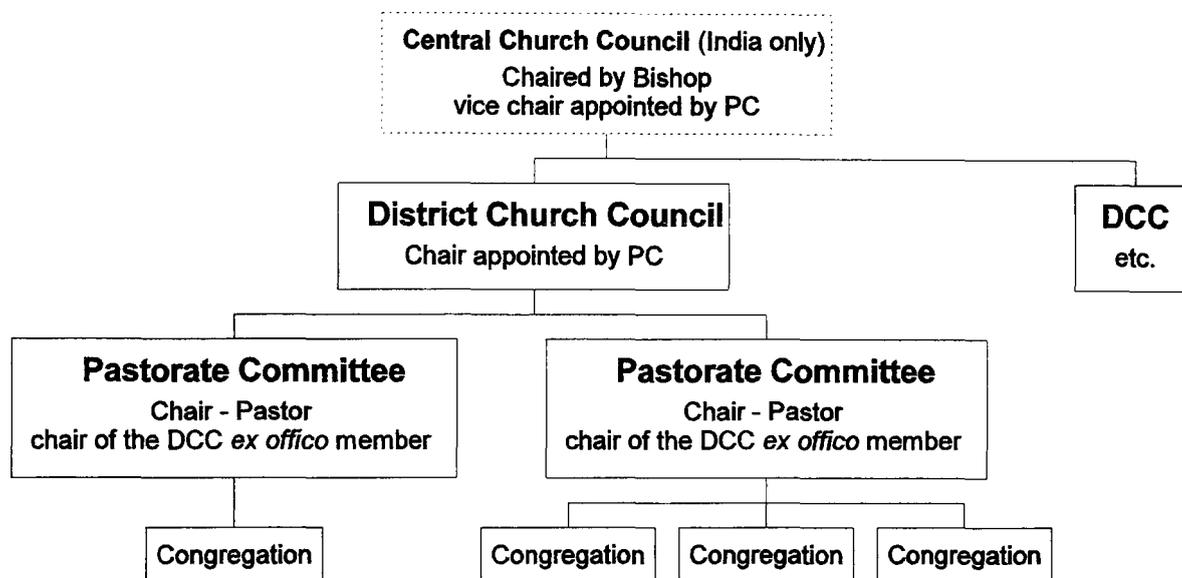


4.2.1 The Native Church Councils

The phrase ‘Native Church Council’ (NCC) is a broad term that is used to describe the whole system of Church councils that developed in various ways in each Mission. In Venn’s analogy the NCC was part of the Church that was being built, with the Mission as

the ‘scaffolding’, only present during construction. The 1905 CMS regulations made it clear that the CMS PC in London was a powerful voice in the governance of the NCCs.²¹ The standard organisational structure for the Churches formed is shown in the following diagram. Although the specific rules varied from Mission to Mission there were various common threads.

Figure 4.2 The NCC Structure



One or more congregations would form a ‘pastorate’, defined simply as the ‘sphere of a pastor’.²² Each congregation would elect delegates for a Pastorate Committee, which would meet monthly and be chaired by the pastor who normally had an effective power of veto. Each Pastorate Committee would in turn send delegates to the District Church Council (DCC).

The DCC would generally meet twice per year and had substantial powers. It had charge of the ‘Church Fund’ which included money from the CMS and the pastorates, and from this paid salaries of ‘native’ clergy and agents, as well as making grants for various work in the district. It was responsible for stationing pastors and lay agents and recommending candidates for ordination. The CMS PC had a direct power of patronage over this committee, appointing its chairman and sometimes extra members. The chairman, who was

²¹ *Regulations 1905 G/AH 1/6*, p.44-5.

²² *Regulations 1905 G/AH 1/6*, p.45.

generally a missionary but could be a 'native', had either a power of veto (for example in China) or else the power to defer matters to a higher authority. He appointed his own 'native' vice-chairman and also had significant responsibility for visiting and supervising the work in each Pastorate, strengthened by his *ex officio* membership of each Pastorate Committee. Thus the Chair of the DCC, appointed directly from Salisbury Square, had significant powers and even greater influence over the affairs of the Church in his District.

In most of India, several DCCs were combined under the authority of a Central (or Provincial) Church Council. In other parts of the world there was either only one DCC for the Mission or several DCCs but with no unifying council.²³ The chair (or president) of the Central Church Council was generally the diocesan Bishop, with the CMS PC appointing the vice-chair and other missionaries as it wished, other members being delegates from the DCCs.²⁴ Even where a CCC existed, the DCC might look to the CMS LGB as a source of authority instead. This is demonstrated by, in some Missions, the chair of the DCC being empowered to defer matters to the LGB for decision. Indeed, generally decisions on the posting of pastors and agents required the approval not only of the diocesan bishop, but the LGB. The influence, if not the power, of the LGB was also manifest in its secretary being an *ex officio* member of DCCs and CCCs.

DCCs were the key element in the governance of the local Church, but they themselves were under the influence and authority of three foreign bodies, the diocesan bishop, the CMS PC and the LGB. A DCC was only formed under the authority of the CMS, and as such could not 'exercise, *in its own right*, any ecclesiastical authority'.²⁵ Duties might, at some stage, be given to the council by the bishop or diocesan synod. It was the CMS PC who decided which pastorates would constitute a district and how or whether DCCs should be combined under the CCC. The relative power of LGB over DCC varied from Mission

²³ Other variations included Tinnevely which had an additional layer of 'Circle Committees' between the DCC and the pastorates; Palestine which had a supervision by missionaries and the PC at all levels and West Africa which had some Provisional Church Councils with modified functions.

²⁴ This included all DCC chairmen, all 'native' Clergy and lay agents with charge of pastorates, lay delegates elected by the DCC (1 per pastorate) and the Mission Secretary.

²⁵ *Regulations 1905* G/AH 1/6, p.27. (Emphasis in original).

to Mission, but always some missionaries were on the DCC. Baylis claimed that in many cases the power of the LGB over the Church Councils was little more than theoretical

practically it is often found that so soon as the Church Council grows to considerable strength, no administrative authority is exercised over it locally, save by the Bishop in technical ecclesiastical matters. Any further control, generally very little in the way of interference, is exercised by the Parent Committee in England. The machinery for control may exist, but it seldom comes into play.²⁶

An Indian clergyman agreed that there was a lack of local control in his area, but said that this meant that ‘practically the Missionary controlled the situation’.²⁷ The DCC never had any say in the location of missionaries, nor did it have control over many of the higher CMS institutions,²⁸ which were controlled directly by the LGBs. Clearly, after the 1901 Memorandum, DCCs would eventually fall under the diocese. In order for this to happen, the power of the LGB would have to be significantly reduced.

4.2.2 The Role of the Mission Secretary²⁹

Key to the relationship between LGB, PC and missionaries was the Mission Secretary, who effectively acted as an intermediary. In its Mission secretaries the CMS looked for ‘men who by administrative ability and width of outlook are able to deal with the various problems which arise ... it is almost essential that such men should be clergy ... a university degree is not essential’.³⁰ Notwithstanding this, in 1918 the majority of CMS missionaries who were Mission Secretaries were Oxford or Cambridge graduates.³¹

It is perhaps surprising that the actual duties and responsibilities of the Mission Secretary were not spelt out until Baylis produced a paper on the subject in 1919.³² This made it clear

²⁶ Baylis, F. *Memorandum* for the Special Sub-committee (9 Pages) Jan 1909, GC 15.

²⁷ ‘Memorandum by Rev. Canon D.L. Joshi, CMS Western India’. Written in 1921 about the pre-war situation. G/AD/3.

²⁸ Such as hospitals, high schools and theological colleges.

²⁹ To avoid confusion with the CMS secretaries in Salisbury Square, Mission Secretaries, who were always missionaries in the field, will never be referred to by the term ‘secretary’ only.

³⁰ *Report of the Special Sub-Committee on the Training and Status of Missionaries* Jan 1902, G/AZ4, p.7.

³¹ ‘Interim report ... on training of missionaries...’ 3/12/1918, G/AZ4.

³² Baylis, F. *Memorandum on the Functions of a Mission Secretary* 31/10/1919, G/AM7 and an amended version dated 10/5/1920, both by Baylis and in G/AM7. The earlier

that the Mission Secretary was the 'administrative secretary of the LGB' who would have a personal knowledge of the whole Mission through systematic visitation and would be responsible for communicating LGB decisions to the missionaries. At the same time he stood between the PC and both the LGB and Mission; as Baylis put it 'He represents the PC to the Mission and the Mission to the PC'. It was stressed that his powers went beyond being merely the secretary of the LGB, or acting for the PC in personal matters affecting missionaries - 'he is expected to exercise powers that are really the powers of the PC'. He was responsible for accurately communicating decisions made by the LGB to the PC, but was also expected to give his own independent opinion on issues raised, even to the extent of advising against LGB decisions. Finally, Baylis stated that

the Mission Secretary is also expected to represent the PC and the Society generally in relations with many important people, sometimes outside the CMS circle; for instance, ecclesiastical authorities, representatives of other Missions, and Government authorities.³³

This was the approach understood by Bardsley who, in a letter concerning the situation in Japan, made all the same points. Bardsley emphasised that in a crisis the Mission Secretary should take action on behalf of the PC and that he was 'the Mission Leader'.³⁴

All the relationships between PC, LGB, missionaries, other Missions and higher ecclesiastical authorities were mediated through the Mission Secretary. The only relationship that fell outside of this would be between individual missionaries and the local church and, if the local church were sufficiently mature, its relationship with higher church authorities. Missionaries were only supposed to write to the PC through the Mission Secretary, except for writing an 'Annual Letter'.³⁵

4.2.3 The Local Governing Body

The LGBs were constituted very differently in the various Missions. In 1900 it was explained that

The term 'Local Governing Body' is to be understood as meaning the Corresponding Committee in those Missions where such a Committee

document is slightly longer, giving precedents for the various statements made, the later document is thus a much clearer statement of the position.

³³ Baylis, F. *Memorandum on the Functions of a Mission Secretary* 10/5/1920, G/AM7.

³⁴ Bardsley to Heaslett 11/4/1921 in G/AM7.

³⁵ Keen, *General Guide and Introduction to the Archive*, 19.

exists; the Finance, Executive or other Committee, representing the Parent Committee, where there is no Corresponding Committee; and the Missionary Conference, where there is neither Corresponding nor other Committee.³⁶

The Review of 1906/7 analysed the various forms of LGB, which can be tabulated as in table 4.1.³⁷

Table 4.1 Types of Local Governing Body

LGB	Definition	Missions
Corresponding Committee (CC)	A committee in a Mission which represents the PC at home	All India
Missionary Conference	A conference comprising all missionaries who have completed their probation	British East Africa; Ussagara-Ugogo; Egypt; Gordon Memorial Soudan; Palestine; Persia; Turkish Arabia; Mauritius; Ceylon; South China; Fuh Kien; Japan
Finance Committee	A committee which represents, in concert with a Missionary Conference, the PC in a Mission where there is no CC.	Ceylon (in concert with Missionary Committee)
Executive Committee	A committee appointed in some Missions by the PC as the only Local Governing Body in a Mission	Sierra Leone; Yoruba; Niger; Northern Nigeria; Uganda; NW Canada

The latter three, in one form or another, meant government of the Mission by missionaries. This was not the case with Corresponding Committees (CCs). The CCs that governed most of the Indian Missions at this time were appointed by the CMS in London from non-missionary Europeans living in the Mission area. As such they were a working method that could only really be considered for India where there was a sufficient expatriate community to provide such a committee. Stock³⁸ describes how, when they were first set up, they were

³⁶ 'Memorandum for guidance of Secretaries of ...' by D. Marshall Lang, March 1900, G/AZ4.

³⁷ Data from 'Return of Governing Bodies in the Various Missions' n.d. (but c.1906), G/CR1/5.

³⁸ Stock I, p.191-2.

the only practical way of working. Letters took five months to deliver and almost no-one on the PC had knowledge of India. CCs were comprised mainly of India Company chaplains and other officials who 'were devoted to the Society's spiritual principles'.³⁹ Originally, they had direct control of the location of missionaries, employment of 'native' workers and allocation of CMS money in the Mission. Improved communication with India and the presence of committee members on the PC with extensive experience in India meant that, by the centenary, there had been a degree of centralisation, but most of their powers remained.

CCs had very little missionary representation on them, and this was one of the main reasons that missionaries in India wished to see changes when consulted at the centenary.

there seems to be a prevalent feeling that the time for CCs, as at present constituted, is past,⁴⁰

Possible alternatives, considered at the centenary, were the addition of more missionary representatives onto the existing CCs, or the replacement of CCs by missionary conferences. There was also some consideration of adopting the more radical Punjab plan, which will be discussed shortly. However, when the committee dealing with this was taken over by the Section XIII committee, which was dominated by the Secretaries, the desire for change was ignored.⁴¹ It was decided to maintain the system of CCs, without any additional missionary representation, but possibly with the admittance of some 'duly qualified Indian Christians, by preference not paid agents of the CMS or NCC'.⁴²

The PC's continued faith in CCs can be seen when the new Diocese of Nagpur was formed in 1903, and the PC placed its Missions in the diocese under a new CC.⁴³ Such faith

³⁹ Stock I, p.191.

⁴⁰ G/CCb 5/1 p.5.

⁴¹ See previous chapter about the eclipse of the Section V committee by the Section XIII committee.

⁴² *Centenary 'B' Report* G/CCb 14, p.93 This idea was followed much later on in the Rwanda Mission, see J.E. Church, *Quest for the Highest* (Carlisle, Paternoster, 1981). p.190. Whether this was implemented in India is unclear, but it cannot have been generally applied, since a similar recommendation was repeated in 1909.

⁴³ Stock IV, p.223.

presupposes a belief that the English communities in India were more or less permanent.⁴⁴ However, it was also made clear at the centenary that the CC system would not be extended outside of India.⁴⁵

4.2.4 Local Governing Body Powers

The powers of LGBs varied from Mission to Mission. CCs had quite extensive powers, and at the centenary the CMS missionaries clearly wanted similar powers for missionary dominated LGBs. Specifically, missionaries wanted authority over ‘*The location of Missionaries*, as well as of Mission agents, and *the disposal of funds*’.⁴⁶ Again the Secretary dominated Section XIII committee recommended, with regard to location of missionaries, that there be no ‘material change ... in the present procedure of the Parent Committee’.⁴⁷ It did, however, agree a new financial procedure, which gave greater autonomy to the LGBs, but within carefully proscribed limits. Furthermore, the existing rules on what powers were already delegated to the LGBs were clarified.⁴⁸ This was long overdue and in practice meant that many more decisions were taken locally rather than being referred to London. It remained the case that CCs had greater powers than other LGBs. Further powers were delegated to some LGBs as part of the 1907 Review, but not to LGBs which were ‘not sufficiently developed’.⁴⁹

4.3 The Development of LGBs and the Church Councils

Three possible approaches to the development of the relationship between LGBs and the NCCs were considered by the CMS. These are laid out in table 4.1 and are illustrated in figure 4.2. The presupposition of all three approaches was that this change would be carried out by the CMS within its own structures. For comparison, a fourth approach is also

⁴⁴ See for example Memo - ‘The CMS Native Church Council System’ by Wigram 26/9/1899 in G/C 9/2.

⁴⁵ In this point, at least, in line with the recommendation of the Section V committee report.

⁴⁶ G/CCb 5/1, p.4, emphasis present in original.

⁴⁷ *Centenary ‘B’ Report* G/CCb 14, p.95.

⁴⁸ See Stock IV, p.452.

⁴⁹ *Review Sub-Committee (Fourth) Report* 10/12/1907, G/CR 1/7. (Persia, Turkish Arabia and Soudan fell in this category, and five others, including Sierra Leone, were exempted due to exceptional local conditions).

included in table 4.2. Although not discussed during this period, what became known as 'diocesanization' was the main approach of the CMS in the 1920s and 30s. Unlike the first three approaches, this was not an internal CMS affair, but was prompted by the rise of synodical government in the Indian dioceses. It will be discussed more fully in the following chapters.

Table 4.2 Approaches to NCC/LGB relationship

	Description	Accepted/rejected
The Section IV approach	Rigid division between NCC work and institutions. Institutions would remain directly under the CMS. The NCC's powers would be increased, and would no longer be under the LGB. Some missionaries would be members of the NCC, but the majority would be Indian and it would be chaired by a 'native' bishop.	Rejected in 1899 (by the Centenary Review Committee)
The 1906 Review approach	Strengthen the LGB, considerably, making it two tiered, with a Missionary Conference and an Executive Committee. Various 'native' clergy and workers would be appointed as members by the PC. This would remain over both the NCC and the institutions.	Rejected in 1907 (by the Review Committee of 1906-07)
The Punjab approach	Combine the NCCs with the LGB into one body which includes missionary representatives and elected representatives of every pastorate. Both the pastorate and congregational committees would be under it, as would all institutions.	Accepted in 1909, only tentatively. (Initially rejected in 1899 by the Section XIII committee of the Centenary Review)
Diocesanization (The approach in the 1920s & 1930s)	Hand over the NCCs directly to the diocesan authorities so that there is no longer any CMS control, either by the LGB or the PC. At a later stage do the same with institutions.	Accepted as policy for India in 1922

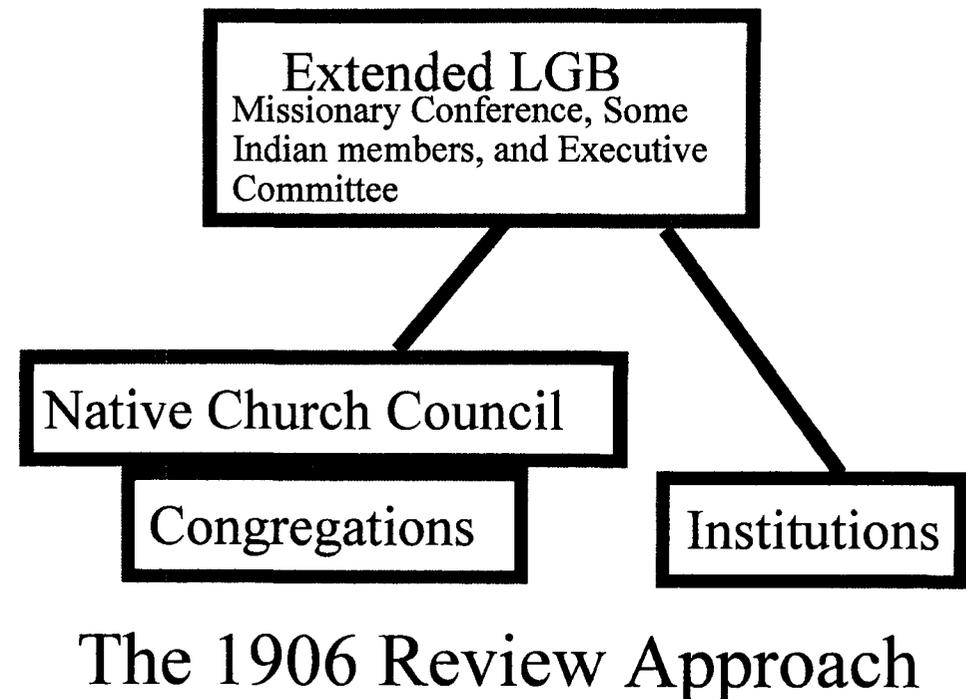
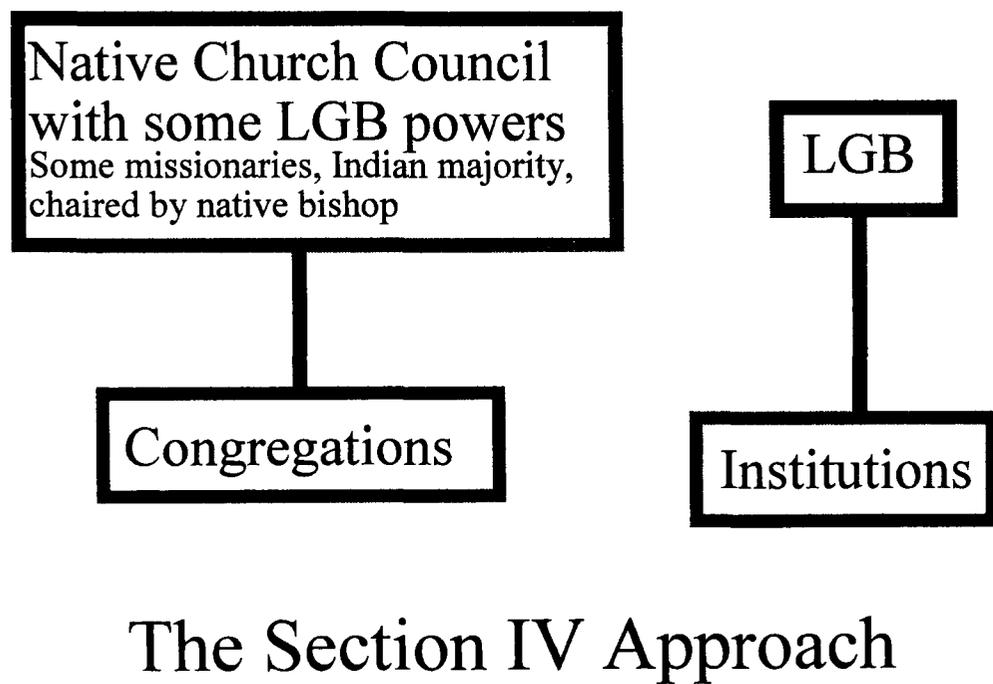
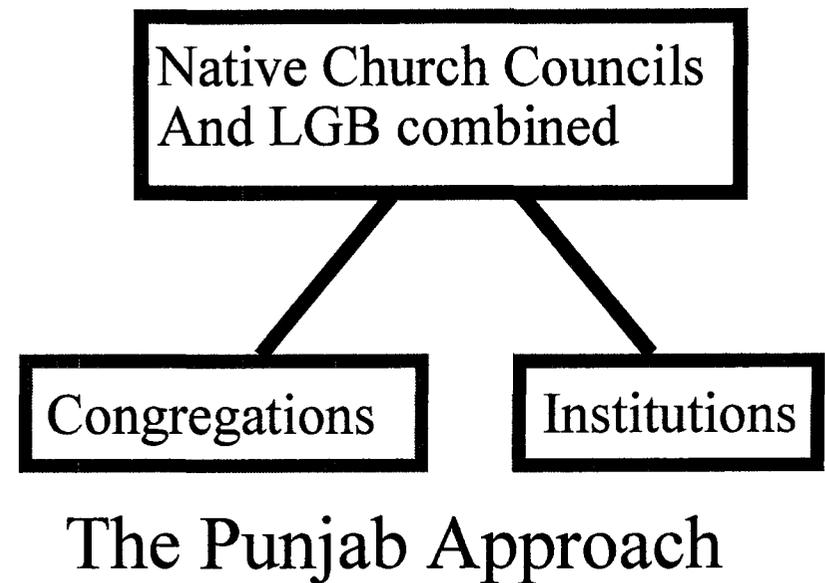
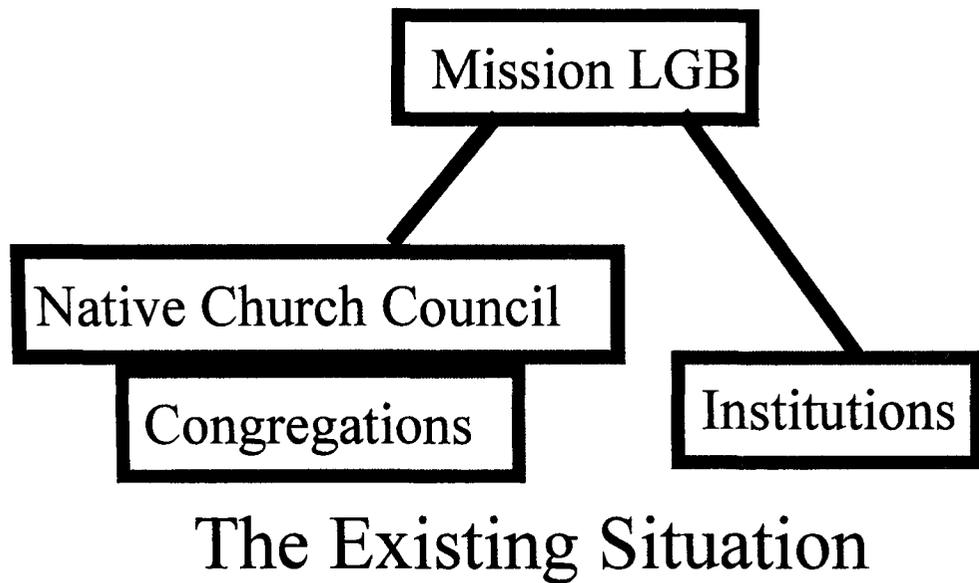


Figure 4.3 The Various Approaches to NCC/LGB Structures

4.3.1 The Section IV Approach

Effectively this looked for the immediate consummation of the Venn approach. It was the product of the centenary Section IV committee and was rejected by the full Centenary Committee.⁵⁰ In Missions that had reached an advanced state,⁵¹ the NCC would effectively take over the work of the CCs. This is seen in two linked recommendations. In summary the first proposal was to establish a ‘General Council’ to take over the powers of the NCCs and the Mission LGBs for each Mission. These Councils would receive a block grant which would diminish each year. While CMS money was being received there would be some missionaries on these councils, but the majority would always be Indian. The second proposal was for the immediate appointment of ‘native’ assistant bishops who would chair the new General Councils and would work toward the establishment of new dioceses with their own constitutions. English colonialists would have separate episcopal supervision. Training institutions, High Schools and Colleges were excluded from this scheme and would continue under the direct control of the CMS. This whole approach of separate dioceses for separate races was completely rejected when the 1901 Memorandum was adopted. However, in the 1920s, the results of diocesanization produced, in some Missions, an end result that had distinct similarities with this scheme: particularly where LGBs remained, governing CMS institutions only.

4.3.2 The 1906 Review Approach

The complexity of the various LGBs must have been quite baffling to all but the most devoted CMS committee member. The Regulations of 1905 described them as neither straightforward nor uniform, ranging from complete separation to ‘one combined organization’.⁵² The system of CCs in India had been set up when all communication with England was exceptionally slow and the ‘native’ church still in its infancy. Most missionaries, as was seen at the Centenary Review, were unhappy with the existing system and many clearly favoured ‘missionary conferences’ being LGBs.⁵³

⁵⁰ *Centenary ‘B’ Report* G/CCb 14, Section IV.

⁵¹ Specifically Tinnevely, Travancore and Telugu.

⁵² *Regulations 1905* G/AH 1/6, p.30.

⁵³ Section V report G/CCb 5/1.

It is therefore not surprising that some degree of rationalisation was proposed by the 'decentralization' committee during the 1906 Review. Several of its members had legal,⁵⁴ financial⁵⁵ or administrative⁵⁶ backgrounds and as such, the replacement of the wide variety of methods of Mission governance by a single coherent approach would have appealed. It did not include any of the CMS Secretaries.

The proposed rationalization,⁵⁷ which was rejected, was for a much more uniform system of LGBs across the various Missions. The 'ideal' was for two bodies. Firstly, a conference of all workers, men and women, including 'native workers or at least representative native workers'. Secondly a smaller 'executive authority' which would be partly elected and partly nominated, again including both 'European and Natives'. The inclusion of 'native' workers in the government of the Mission has clear parallels with the Punjab scheme, but, unlike in the Punjab, this was a still a LGB separate from the system of church councils, which would continue as before.

The proposals were rejected by the whole Review Committee and not included in their report. Making sweeping changes to the way almost every Mission was governed was unlikely to produce any savings, the driving purpose behind this review. However, the main reason for their rejection was that these proposals were in direct contradiction to points already agreed by the Review Committee.⁵⁸ At that time, some 'native' clergy and other workers were employed by the NCCs, others by institutions or the LGB itself. In discussing possible reductions in the number of missionaries, the Review Committee had already agreed

that, wherever possible, the distinction be brought to an end between the service of the foreign Society and the service of the Native Church Council.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Eg. Mr. G.A. Western, the chairman. Stock IV p.438.

⁵⁵ Eg. Mr. S.H. Gladstone, later the CMS treasurer.

⁵⁶ Eg. Mr. R. Maconachie a retired Government commissioner. Stock IV p.442.

⁵⁷ Papers are in G/CR1/5.

⁵⁸ Discussed in *Memorandum 'A'* for the Special Sub-committee May 1908, G/C15, p.5-6.

⁵⁹ *Review Sub-Committee (third) Interim Report* 16/7/1907, G/CR 1/7, p.7, para.51.

The strengthening of the LGB structure inherent in the rationalisation proposals would have made it more likely that the foreign Mission, as represented by the LGB, would have remained a significant employer.

In rejecting these proposals the CMS was deliberately avoiding a route which in the short term would have given a greater voice to 'native' Christians, but in the long term would have perpetuated a system of control of the Church by the CMS as a foreign organisation. Outside the Punjab, many Missions had an established system of NCCs which was held to be competent to deal with a variety of issues. It was expected that the rationalised LGBs would take more responsibility from the PC.⁶⁰ The danger was that responsibility would be taken from the indigenous church, not because NCCs were not competent, but because the new LGBs felt themselves to be more competent. Such a danger would have been intensified had a small number of 'native' Christians been included in the new LGBs. It would then have been possible to assert that, in some way, the expanded body represented 'native' opinion. The location of 'native' Mission agents, for example, was decided at the time by the Church Council and was then given final approval by the LGB. It is clearly possible that a strengthened LGB might take a more pro-active approach, and decide such matters itself.

The 1901 Memorandum had envisaged a time when the 'native' voice in the NCCs would predominate. There is no such idea in these proposals. The LGB would, by its nature, always be foreign-dominated. Had the overall aim been to produce a Church independent of the local Anglican Church structure, then the introduction of local people into the administration of the Mission could be seen as a move towards self-governance. However, this would probably have been at the expense of the authority of NCCs. Given that eventually NCCs would come under the diocesan synod, strengthening LGBs would have delayed the time when the Church, under the diocese, would become self-governing.

Stock was a key player in objecting to this approach. He was quick to spot its contradiction to points already agreed by the Review Committee, because he had been secretary to the other sub-committee concerned. He also would have been very aware of the deviation from

⁶⁰ *Memorandum 'A' for the Special Sub-committee May 1908, G/C15.*

the policy as set out in the 1901 Memorandum. However, the idea of making substantial changes to the LGBs inspired Stock and he sought to persuade the CMS to make changes that would not only be in line with the 1901 Memorandum, but would actually bring the realisation of its ideals closer. In particular Stock wanted to see an end to the situation where some 'native' Christians were employed by NCCs and others by LGBs. The approach that he advocated was already in use in one Mission.

4.3.3 The Punjab Approach

Until 1903, all CMS Missions conformed to the Venn model of Mission-church relationships: the LGB was completely separate from the NCC structure. At the CMS centenary, the Punjab and Sindh Mission proposed that the LGBs and the NCCs should be merged to give a unified 'native'-missionary governing body. This was rejected as the approach to be followed in all Missions,⁶¹ but it was not ruled out as a possible approach for some Missions.

Such an approach was not as radical in the context of the Punjab Mission as it would have been elsewhere. Its Church Council system was not particularly well developed, with some local clergy still working directly under missionary supervision since pastorate committees had not yet been formed.⁶² In 1903, at the joint request of the Punjab and Sindh Missionary Conference and the NCC,⁶³ a new structure was adopted for the Punjab and Sindh Mission. A 'Central Church Council' comprising missionaries and 'natives' was formed which took over almost all of the functions of the other two bodies. This strengthened both the LGB and the NCC, but was not part of a system that included other Anglicans in the same diocese. As such it was still a 'Mission' organisation to a degree, albeit one that gave indigenous Christians a greater say in the overall work of the Mission than the previous system had done.

⁶¹ *Centenary 'B' Report* G/CCb 14, p.93 full scheme described on p.92.

⁶² See Rev. H.G. Grey's 'Rough Scheme' in 'Papers connected with the N.C.C. System in India' August 1896, G/AZ4.

⁶³ The request was made in detail in 1896, but the CMS were unwilling to change prior to the results of the IV centenary review committee, *ibid.*

While the CMS PC was willing to sanction this experiment, it proscribed certain limits. When the proposal was discussed by the CMS Group Committee in London various modifications were demanded

to secure that CMS grants shall be under the ultimate control of the PC...
and to secure that questions affecting the relations of European missionaries to PC shall be provided for separately.⁶⁴

In practice this meant that the CC was retained, and although most of its powers were transferred to the new council, personal missionary matters remained within its remit. It was also required to watch (and report to the PC on) how the Central Council administered the general CMS grants, whose minutes they would receive.

Here can be seen the limit that the CMS was prepared to go at the time; limits set at the centenary that inherently led to some degree of dual control. The CC was not to be a sub-committee of the Central Church Council. It was separate, appointed directly by the PC with control over the missionaries and to some degree a supervisory role over the Church, particularly in areas of finance.

4.3.4 Stock and the Punjab Approach

The 1901 Memorandum, in Stock's view, did not address the question of the relationship between LGBs and the NCCs. However, as early as 1901, Stock had said 'I am myself in favour of the amalgamation where it is possible but do not enter upon it now'.⁶⁵ Stock now argued⁶⁶ for a new governing body in developed Missions

⁶⁴ Document entitled 'Recommendation of Group II Committee on the scheme for the Punjab & Sindha CMS organisation' 1903, G/AZ4.

⁶⁵ Memo by Stock in support of his own draft memo, 22/11/1899, G/C 9/2 part 1.

⁶⁶ Before the special sub-committee on 'Mission Administration in the Field' met, two memoranda were sent around to the members laying out two alternative views. It appears that the first was written by Stock and the second by Baylis, though the copies in the archives of both of these documents are unattributed. The first was entitled *Memorandum A - Future organization in CMS Missions*. It was dated May 1908, and, in both style and content, is characteristic of Stock. It shows a thorough command of the committee activity that led to the 1901 Memorandum, an inside knowledge of the workings of the Section D committee of the 1907 review and most significantly claims to know the thinking behind the text. Stock was the secretary of this committee. The arguments in 'Memo A' match the approach Stock was later to support in the committee, so if he was not the author, he himself was convinced by the arguments contained in it (also see Stock IV p.397-8). The second was entitled *Memorandum B - Setting forth an alternative view to that in Memorandum A as to future organization in CMS Missions*. It is dated 3rd June 1908 and again no author is stated, though it is

which would be in some way a preparation for the future Church on the line of the Memorandum of 1901, and which would tend to unite the different branches of the work instead of separating them.⁶⁷

What he sought was a body that would 'absorb both the existing Conference or other Missionary Executive and the Native Church Council'.⁶⁸ Stock's aim was twofold

- (a) to prevent wide separation between pastoral and evangelistic work, and
- (b) to make a beginning towards the future Church Body which should eventually take the Society's place and carry on its work.⁶⁹

There was a proviso. Missionary allowances would be separate and not channelled through this new board.⁷⁰

This was the Punjab approach: a genuine combination of Mission LGB and NCC system, with a small external CMS body to cover personal missionary affairs. Stock saw it as the logical development from the existing situation, given the commitment to the 1901 Memorandum. At the turn of the century, Stock was able to steer the agenda and initially he did the same in 1909.⁷¹ However Stock was no longer the dominant force in the CMS, and in the ensuing debate, a new personality came to the fore as the chief drafter of CMS policy on the indigenous Church.

4.3.5 Frederick Baylis

Baylis is one of the faceless missionary administrators who only appear as footnotes in published texts, being cited as the author or recipient of a letter which shows what the CMS thought or had instructed. As a CMS group Secretary, Baylis had a great deal of power over the Missions in his group, but since Fox was not an Honorary Secretary who took the lead in the development of foreign policy, Baylis had a larger say in the overall approach. This was also true in the early days of Bardsley's period in office.

clearly a secretary. More tentatively, Baylis can be identified as the author, he was particularly interested in this subject and drafted a substantial part of the final memorandum. The ideas match the views he was to put forward on other occasions so again if he is not the author, it is reasonable to assume that it was a document that at least had his support.

⁶⁷ *Memorandum 'A'* for the Special Sub-committee May 1908, G/C15, p.6-7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.6-7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.11.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.11.

⁷¹ Minute book of the 'Special Committee on Mission Administration in the Field', G/CS4, p.135-6.

Baylis was a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford. Ordained in 1881, he later became Vice-Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, from 1883–1887 before becoming Rector of St Philip's, Manchester.⁷² He was a solid evangelical, but tolerant of what he described as 'an increasing variety in the types among churchmen who naturally look to the CMS'.⁷³ Appointed as Africa Secretary of the CMS in 1892, by the centenary Baylis was the longest serving of the foreign secretaries. He became Far East Secretary in 1912, retiring in 1921. Baylis died in 1935. He wrote various articles for missionary journals, but no books.⁷⁴ Baylis was deeply committed to evangelism, and seemed to believe that the CMS Missions and missionaries were the vehicle most likely to keep evangelism at the top of the agenda. As such he endeavoured to maintain the control of the Missions by the PC.⁷⁵

Baylis was highly esteemed, Davidson wanted him as an overseas bishop,⁷⁶ and Bardsley wrote privately of him in 1917

He has been away from us about six months and it has made a big gap. He has an expert knowledge upon some sides of our work which no one else in the House possesses, to anything like the same extent, and I never cease to be thankful for his strong and clear ideas about the Church in the Mission field.⁷⁷

Williams shows Baylis as a firm supporter of the CMS policy on the Niger and somewhat distant from 'the realities of West Africa'.⁷⁸ Baylis is the example that Williams uses to indicate 'a new authoritarian directive note in secretarial relationships',⁷⁹ less trusting of the judgement of missionary bishops and tending to reduce the powers of the NCCs⁸⁰ in

⁷² *Who Was Who*, (London, AC&Black, 1996).

⁷³ Unapproved draft of 'Instructions to Missionaries 1921', G/AM/1.

⁷⁴ He co-authored a book of Bible studies in 1904.

⁷⁵ A similar example is Baylis wishing to keep himself and the other secretaries free from being bound by superfluous rules prompting him to object to the proposed new rules on how the foreign secretaries should function. See Baylis to Fox 11/6/1910, G/AS 3/4.

⁷⁶ According to Hewitt *The Problems of Success I* (Hereafter 'HewittI'), p.444.

⁷⁷ Bardsley to Price 13/9/1917, G/AC8.

⁷⁸ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.242.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.230.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p.236.

favour of more powers for missionaries.⁸¹ In some circumstances Williams sees, in Baylis, the whole PC showing ‘monumental insensitivity’ and an excessively ‘bureaucratic mind’.⁸²

Because so many of his actions were as part of a committee, or as one of the Secretaries, it is difficult to identify Baylis’s personal views and approach. Thus the question remains as to whether Baylis was simply following the new approach of the whole PC, or was actually the instigator of the new approach. The new attitudes of the PC described by Williams are particularly typical of Baylis, and Williams noted at least one occasion when Baylis acted without reference to the committee⁸³. Baylis was certainly willing to put forward his own views. It seems reasonable to conclude that Baylis was at least among the instigators of the new approach, if not the leading figure. However Baylis would not have got away with such an approach if it was totally out of step with the PC’s views.

It is not fully clear that Baylis’s support for the 1901 Memorandum was unequivocal. There is no clear indication that Baylis opposed parts of the policy laid out in 1901,⁸⁴ but neither is there any evidence that he was enthusiastic about it. Years later Baylis recalled how ‘a lay editorial secretary’ (Stock) had taken the lead in a work that was ‘ecclesiastical and belongs to the foreign side’.⁸⁵ This may hide some irritation. Following its acceptance, Williams feels that Baylis, while writing in a way that was ‘in step with the highest aspirations of the Memorandum’ had ‘a hidden agenda’.⁸⁶ As Far East Secretary he seemed perfectly happy with a degree of flexibility in the territorial nature of the episcopate.⁸⁷ Stock, with perhaps a hint of bitterness, notes that although *Edinburgh 1910, Commission II* reproduced the whole of the 1909 Memorandum as an appendix it ‘did not notice the

⁸¹ Ibid, p.213.

⁸² Ibid, p.242.

⁸³ Ibid, p.202 and to lesser degree p.239.

⁸⁴ Williams might indicate that in 1899 he was not fully in step with the rest of the secretariat. Ibid, p.247.

⁸⁵ Baylis’s submission to the Penefather Commission, 14/15/1914, F/APc1, p.3 (emphasis Baylis’s).

⁸⁶ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.249.

⁸⁷ Baylis F.B. *Memorandum on question of separate episcopal over-sight for different races in the same area* n.d. (c.1908), G/C 15.

Memorandum of 1901'.⁸⁸ Baylis, as the CMS representative on this commission, promoted the 1909 Memorandum which he had drafted, but the 1901 Memorandum was clearly as relevant, if not more so.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, any reservations Baylis had were more pragmatic than dogmatic. At the end of his time in office he clearly saw the future of CMS Missions to be within the Anglican fold.⁹⁰

4.3.6 The Debate in the Special Sub-Committee

Baylis's whole approach can be seen in his⁹¹ response to Stock's 'Memo A'. He confirmed his commitment to the goals laid out in 1901,⁹² but apparently would have been happier if the whole issue of LGB reorganisation had not been raised.⁹³ While accepting many of Stock's presuppositions, Baylis did not agree that this consequently implied that there should be an early marriage of Mission organisation and NCC. He believed that provided work under the Mission would be handed over 'in due time', then a 'divided organization' was acceptable.⁹⁴ Baylis argued that the approach in the Punjab was 'not yet proven a good plan for general adoption',⁹⁵ and was convinced that the adoption of Stock's plan would actually be detrimental to the work of the CMS;

Synodical government, with its inevitable postulate of representation of the governed, does not seem to lend itself well to efficient control of pioneer Missionary work, nor is it suitable at all stages for more developed work of particular kinds, e.g., Educational, Medical, etc. ... A Missionary Society's methods, pure and simple, seem to answer best.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ Stock IV, p.398.

⁸⁹ The Commission II title was 'The Church in the Mission Field', and it would seem that the overall discussion of the 1901 Memorandum would have been more relevant than the detailed discussion of Church organization of the 1909 Memorandum, not least because the 1909 Memorandum makes little sense without reading it alongside the 1901 Memorandum which it presupposes.

⁹⁰ Unapproved draft of 'Instructions to Missionaries 1921', G/AM/1.

⁹¹ The following argument assumes Baylis to be the author of 'Memo B', if he is not then strictly reference should be to 'the author of Memo B and Baylis' as it is clear that Baylis held similar views. Indeed, it may be that Baylis's views were held by several of the CMS secretaries.

⁹² *Memorandum 'B'* for the Special Sub-committee 3/6/1908, G/C15.

⁹³ As had been the case in 1899 with the Section V report discussed earlier.

⁹⁴ *Memorandum 'B'* for the Special Sub-committee 3/6/1908, G/C15.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

Stock was advocating the adoption of the Punjab approach, amalgamating LGBs with NCCs. Baylis was advocating the status quo. The debate in the committee was extensive,⁹⁷ including holding an extended meeting with various missionaries and several overseas Bishops who were in England for the Lambeth Conference.⁹⁸ A consultation paper was sent to various people,⁹⁹ asking specific questions on the relationship of Mission and Church, particularly on problems associated with both bodies being employers of 'native' workers. The replies were very much in favour of an amalgamation, particularly those from bishops and 'native' clergy, but a significant proportion of clerical missionaries were opposed.¹⁰⁰ One former missionary in India stated that if the approach of uniting the LGB with the Church Council 'were applied to the Missions of the CMS, the Churches abroad would become self-supporting and self-extending far more rapidly than is possible under present conditions'.¹⁰¹

This consultation marked a turning point: Baylis no longer opposed the general policy. Stock was asked to prepare another memorandum, in which he presented a vision of an approach where from the beginning the Mission and the 'native' Christians worked together in all the work of the Church, including both evangelistic and pastoral work,

during the preparatory and provisional period the nascent church and the Foreign Mission should be as closely associated as possible.¹⁰²

However, Stock's memorandum was more concerned with the general principles of how things should have been done, than with detailing the next step given the situation in which the CMS found itself.

⁹⁷ As the meetings progressed, less members came and frequently the secretaries were in the majority. See Minute book 8/7/1908 to 23/3/1909, G/CS 4, p.135-150.

⁹⁸ At this meeting it was suggested by Bishop Tyson that the LGB should become a diocesan body 'consisting of both Natives and Foreigners', a move which was prevented by an intervention by Stock. See Minute book 15/9/1908, G/CS 4, p.136.

⁹⁹ On 'Mission Administration in the field', mainly to people in Britain, but this included most missionary Bishops, who had just attended the Lambeth Conference. G/C 15.

¹⁰⁰ 'Replies to Questions regarding the Payment of Native Workers on the Dual System' September 15th 1908, in GC15.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Memo by Stock 11/12/1908, G/C 15, para.6.

It was at this point that the baton was passed to Baylis and he was asked to draw up a memorandum.¹⁰³ Baylis' approach was much more pragmatic. He did not advocate a blanket policy for India, rather that 'each Council must... be judged on its own merits as to efficiency and responsibility'.¹⁰⁴ Baylis recognised that if a diocesan synod came into existence then eventually the NCC system would report to it. However he drew a distinction between 'cognisance' and 'control', the latter perhaps being delayed. Baylis still felt that there would be a role for the Mission LGB, reporting to the PC rather than the synod.¹⁰⁵

There followed the usual period for the CMS where drafts were discussed and amended and eventually a final version produced. This was mostly Baylis' work, but Stock wrote some sections of the early paragraphs.¹⁰⁶ The Punjab approach was advocated, but tentatively. On the surface it appeared that Stock had won the debate, but Baylis' control of the actual drafting meant that the final result was designed to prevent rapid change.

4.4 The 1909 Memorandum

The full text of the 1909 *Memorandum on Development of Church Organization in the Mission Field* can be found in the Edinburgh 1910 Reports.¹⁰⁷ For ease of reference its paragraphs will be referred to as (P1) etc. It began with an affirmation of the 1901 Memorandum and the 1905 Regulations and explained that these did not describe sufficiently the steps necessary to achieve the goal of the 'native Christian communities' forming or becoming part of 'the duly constituted local branch of the Anglican Communion'(P1&2). The existing dual system is then described (P3&4) and three

-
- ¹⁰³ The order of memoranda produced is
 'Memo A' by Stock? May 1908
 'Memo B' - 'an alternative view to Memo A' by Baylis? 3/6/1908
 Stock's further 7 page Memo requested at meeting on 23/11/1908, dated 11/12/1908
 Baylis's further 6 page Memo requested at meeting on 16/12/1908, dated Jan 1909
 Baylis's redrafted 9 page Memo requested at meeting on 18/01/09 dated Jan 1909
 Final version approved and dated April 1909 (All in G/C15).
- ¹⁰⁴ Baylis, F. *Memorandum* for the Special Sub-committee (6 Pages) Jan 1909, G/C 15.
- ¹⁰⁵ Baylis, F. *Memorandum* for the Special Sub-committee (9 Pages) Jan 1909, GC 15.
- ¹⁰⁶ See Minute book 23/11/1908 to 23/3/1909, G/CS 4, p.141-150.
- ¹⁰⁷ World Missionary Conference. *Edinburgh 1910. Report: The Church in the Mission Field*. (Edinburgh, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910) p.317-320.

‘desiderata’ are defined: the combination and strengthening of Church Councils, co-operation and eventual combination of the Mission organisation with the Church Councils and the preparation for future administration through the diocesan synod (P5).

Four different types of Mission are considered, with a different approach for each.

4.4.1 Missions Still in an Early Stage

In a small number of Missions, between Egypt and Persia, it was argued that nothing new needed to be done, given the early stage of the work (P11). Such an approach was perfectly reasonable. Applying principles suitable for large well established Missions to such small, relatively new, Missions would not have been appropriate, and the question of how such Missions should be developed was not a pressing one.

4.4.2 Missions where a Synod had Already Been Formed

Some Missions were in areas which had full Church constitutions, such as North-West Canada and New Zealand, or where there were provisional constitutions such as Japan or Ceylon. The memorandum claimed that these constitutions made clear the approach that the CMS should follow with regard to its Mission administration (P6). This seems a realistic approach. These constitutions were a *fait accompli* and the CMS simply had to adapt to them. However, the 1909 Memorandum gave no hint how the CMS should adapt in such circumstances. After the war this question became crucial, and especially in the predominantly Anglo-Catholic Ceylon Diocese, was to be the source of much soul searching for the CMS PC.

4.4.3 Missions where the Church was the Result of CMS Missions only.

Where there were no (or very few) British expatriates, and the CMS was the only Anglican missionary society, the way forward seemed straight forward. The Churches were already part of dioceses, usually with a CMS missionary as Bishop, and eventually diocesan constitutions would be formed. The memorandum simply stated that these constitutions would answer all the questions about administration of the work of the mission and the relationship between Church and foreign Mission. No policy on the proper form for these constitutions was given (P7-10). This was in line with the CMS view that it was not its job

to constitute Churches.¹⁰⁸ Effectively this meant that the official policy was simply to accept whatever the constitutions said on the matter. This approach was not entirely honest.¹⁰⁹ The CMS did involve itself in the debate over Church constitutions, and was at that time heavily involved in such a debate concerning Uganda. By avoiding any definition of CMS policy on what this relationship should be, room was left for a pragmatic approach by the secretaries in each mission as the various constitutions were developed.

4.4.4 Missions in India

The situation in India was unique. For complex historical reasons¹¹⁰ the Indian dioceses were delayed in forming full diocesan synods. In these areas it was necessary for the CMS to carry ‘to a further stage a distinctively CMS organization’(P12). The memorandum proposed a united body of missionaries and ‘native’ Christians who would ‘take cognizance of all branches of the work’(P13). The new body’s supervisory role over the councils and Mission work would be sufficiently clear that it could be claimed that all workers were employed, directly or indirectly, by this same body. On this basis the memorandum claimed that the new body would ‘unite the “Mission and the Church”’(P19). This was one of Stock’s main objectives.

However, the memorandum made it clear that it only made the ‘suggestions tentatively, with a view to their being considered in the several Missions in India’ after which the PC would give the proposals further consideration (P12). Furthermore, the proposals were equivocal and contained several provisos.

- the body might be formed ‘sooner or later’.(P13)
- the ‘native’ Christians on this body might be elected or ‘for a time nominated’.(P13)
- parts of the Mission work (eg medical and evangelistic) ‘would be practically independent’.(P13)
- the new body might be ‘differently constituted in different Missions’.(P13)
- it was left as an open question whether missionary conferences, district and central Church councils would ‘continue to exist in co-operation with the new body’.(P14)

¹⁰⁸ Eg. 1901 Memorandum para. 4.

¹⁰⁹ For example the case of Uganda will be discussed later on.

¹¹⁰ See chapter 2, p.19-20.

- the new body would not necessarily be entrusted with ‘financial direction of the work’. (P16)
- in all cases ‘all personal allowances to missionaries’ would not be in the purview of this body. (P16)

Taken together this meant that the 1909 Memorandum was only a guide to what could happen; the CMS would not force the same structure on every Mission in India, and its proposals could be worked out in very different ways. Baylis’ pragmatism had beaten Stock’s general principles. The vagueness was such that although the Punjab approach was the basis, the rejected 1906 Review approach would also fit the proposals, with the new body effectively being a strengthened LGB with some nominated ‘native’ members. However, the Section IV approach would not fit because of the commitment to uniting all CMS work under one body. The tentative nature of the proposals meant that some Missions could simply do nothing. The proposals were discussed by each Mission’s LGB, who had a strong say in whether they should change their form, and if so, how.

Overall the objective of the 1909 Memorandum was to ‘make some suggestions as to the guiding principles’ in preparing for the ‘future duly-constituted Church’ (P1). Practically, there were no new guiding principles laid down and the PC was free to decide each case.

4.4.5 Changes in India as a Result of the 1909 Memorandum

Only two of the CMS’s Indian Missions made changes as a result of this memorandum.¹¹¹

The Western India Mission was governed by the Bombay CC, and in 1910 its secretary, R.S. Heywood¹¹² proposed the replacement of the function of the Bombay CC, and various functions of church councils at various levels, with a Church board which would take over

¹¹¹ No evidence of any other change is found in either the CMS general archives or in either Stock IV or Hewitt, *The Problems of Success II* (Hereafter ‘Hewitt II’), though it is possible that a more detailed regional study might find that minor changes were been made in other Missions. Stock explicitly states that these two were the only Missions where the system of NCCs changed during this period, Stock IV p.201.

¹¹² Born 1867, Cambridge Graduate, CMS missionary from 1894, sec of Bombay C.C. 1903–1917, Bishop of Mombasa 1918–1936; Assistant Bishop of Coventry, 1937–1952.

the CC's powers on a three year trial basis. All members of the former CC would be members of the new board, along with representatives of the various District Church Councils, chosen by the Central Church Council. It was to be chaired by the Bishop and would station all 'native' clergy and be in charge of all money, including the grant from the PC. The CMS PC made changes to the proposal including making the CC secretary the ex-officio secretary, and making it clear that the PC itself would be involved in evaluating the trial.¹¹³ This 'trial' proved acceptable,¹¹⁴ the approach continuing until the 1940s.¹¹⁵ As in the Punjab, this effectively prevented any further relinquishing of control by the CMS.¹¹⁶

The United Provinces Mission, in Lucknow Diocese, took a different approach. In 1911 a new body was formed with delegates from the Missionary Conference, the Central Indian Church Council and the diocesan Board of Mission. It may be that it was this diocesan involvement that laid the foundation for the further developments of the 1920s.¹¹⁷

4.4.6 The 1909 Memorandum and the Uganda Diocese Constitution

The story of this constitution has been examined from several perspectives. Hansen¹¹⁸ gives a detailed analysis in terms of the attitudes of the missionaries to the constitution, without considering the wider issue of CMS policy. Williams¹¹⁹ discusses the light that the issue throws on the attitude of the PC, emphasising the importance of the 1901 Memorandum. Griffiths¹²⁰ analyses the issue from the perspective of the Bishop of Uganda. None mentions the 1909 Memorandum in this context, which was being produced at the same time that

¹¹³ 'Regulations modifying the function ...' 1/02/1910, draft and final version in G/Y I3/1/4, see also Stock IV p.218 and Hewitt II p.71.

¹¹⁴ It is spoken of favourably in 'Memorandum by Rev. Canon D.L. Joshi, CMS Western India.' Written in 1921 about the pre-war situation. G/AD/3.

¹¹⁵ The original proposal allowed the for its continuance in the absence of any modifications suggested by the Board or the PC.

¹¹⁶ Hewitt II p.71.

¹¹⁷ Stock IV, p.201 and Hewitt II, p.73.

¹¹⁸ H.B. Hansen, 'European Ideas, Colonial Attitudes and African Realities: The Introduction of a Church Constitution in Uganda 1898-1908,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. 13 2 (1980), 240-280.

¹¹⁹ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.243-257.

¹²⁰ Griffiths, *Bishop A.R. Tucker*, p.217-247.

final agreement was being reached on the Uganda Diocese constitution. The key CMS Secretary in both debates was Baylis, the Africa Secretary.

Bishop Tucker first raised the question of a constitution for the Church in Uganda in 1897. From the start he was committed to avoiding any distinction within the constitution on the grounds of race. This fitted with his views that missionaries should not stand apart from the Church that they were forming.

Let the missionary throw in his lot absolutely with the natives, identifying himself as far as possible with their life, work and organization. Let him submit himself to the laws and canons of their Church.¹²¹

In terms of the relationship between Mission and Church, this meant the Mission being completely absorbed by the Church; there would be no separate Mission organisation whatsoever. This was the original Punjab plan, but without any of the amendments that the PC had made, and on a diocesan level in a diocese with a strong NCC system. The missionaries were almost all opposed to Tucker's scheme.

Prior to the 1901 Memorandum, Fox and Baylis were not in favour of the scheme either. They indicated that some form of LGB would be maintained, explicitly saying that such a separate organisation was 'not a thing to be lightly ignored and dispensed with'.¹²² The Centenary Review did not consider the idea of having no LGB and its general approach was that LGBs would continue much as they were already.¹²³

Hansen's analysis¹²⁴ describes the rigid division between Mission and Church in the Venn formulation. Missionaries did not become part of the Church and 'native' Christians were not part of the Mission. This division became somewhat blurred by some of the practical issues addressed in the 1901 Memorandum. The adoption of the 1901 Memorandum produced a change in the attitude of the CMS to the question of the Uganda Church constitution. In particular, Tucker's vision was accepted as the overall aim for every CMS Mission, but this did not mean that the PC was willing to allow the LGB in Uganda to

¹²¹ A.P. Shepherd *Tucker of Uganda*. (London, SCM, 1929) p.84-5.

¹²² Fox, H.E. & Baylis, F. *Memorandum from the Secretaries on the Proposed Constitution of the Church of Buganda 25/2/1898*, in G/Y/AY/1/7, p.2.

¹²³ *Centenary 'B' Report*, p.95-96.

¹²⁴ Hansen, 'European Ideas, Colonial Attitudes and African Realities'.

disappear. Williams stresses the importance of the 1901 Memorandum in the negotiations, which Hansen ignores,¹²⁵ and disputes Hansen's view that the CMS's approach was 'pragmatic'.¹²⁶

Williams is only correct to a degree. He shows that the PC was not being pragmatic in that, after 1901, it was pursuing a policy that, while generally being in line with the 1901 Memorandum, primarily sought to keep some control over the Uganda Mission. Where Hansen is correct is in his claim that the PC was not 'pursuing a common constitutional policy for all mission fields'.¹²⁷ However, the actual policy in each Mission was something that the CMS was not prepared to leave to missionaries and local bishops, as Hansen claims. The PC involved itself fully in the debate, seeking to keep to the general policy of 1901, which was in line with what Tucker was seeking in Uganda, while maintaining a LGB in some form. Both before and after the 1901 Memorandum, the maintenance of an LGB was a policy that the PC had consistently pursued. The debate, and eventual text of the 1909 Memorandum, showed that Baylis and other Secretaries were fully committed to what can be described as a limited pragmatism. They had certain objectives in mind, but the precise form that the constitution would take was an open question, provided it met those objectives.

In framing the 1909 Memorandum Baylis had deliberately avoided giving any principles to guide the Secretaries in negotiations about Church Constitutions. Whatever was agreed in Uganda about the position of the LGB in relation to the Church would be in step with the official policy,¹²⁸ simply because the official policy was to be whatever the constitutions decided.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p.253 may be a reference to it, but it appears he is referring only to the letter written after the 1901 Memorandum was agreed. Hansen recognises that this was a change of approach in the negotiations, initiated by the PC, which would indicate that policy changes by the CMS in general did affect the situation in Uganda. Ibid, p.242.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p.242 and Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.244.

¹²⁷ Hansen, 'European Ideas, Colonial Attitudes and African Realities', p.242.

¹²⁸ As defined by the Centenary Review (section XIII) and implicit in the 1909 Memorandum.

The CMS Secretariat, specifically Baylis, played a decisive role in agreeing what the Church constitution would be in Uganda. As such it would have been appropriate for an official policy to have been agreed in the context of the 1909 Memorandum. The failure to do this simply put the power into the hands of the Secretaries. For Uganda, a compromise was reached whereby there would be a separate body to oversee affairs which affected only missionaries. This was appointed by the CMS PC and was what the PC had been arguing for throughout most of the negotiations. In practice this resulted in the old Executive Committee becoming the new missionary committee. A missionary conference was organised just before any Synod meeting.¹²⁹ This small committee slowly grew into a body that had huge control over the Church and the synod.¹³⁰

4.5 CMS Response to the Development of Diocesan Constitutions

The Uganda Constitution was largely an internal CMS debate. Similarly, the 1909 Memorandum was the outcome of questions raised in an internal review about how the NCCs and LGBs should develop. It was a missed opportunity for the CMS to be proactive. From this time on the CMS was forced to become reactive, as change was forced upon it by developments in the Anglican Church, and in the world at large, which were almost entirely outside of the CMS's control.

4.5.1 In China

In Japan and China the Episcopal Church of the USA (ECUSA) was the dominant force in Anglican Missions. This largely explains why in both areas an official Church was formed at a comparatively early stage.

The *Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui*¹³¹ was formed in 1912, comprising the dioceses resulting from the various Anglican Missions in China.¹³² However, it was not recognised as an autonomous province by the Lambeth Conference until 1930. It is beyond the scope of this study to give a detailed account of the developments towards self-government in each of

¹²⁹ Griffiths, *Bishop A.R. Tucker*, p.243.

¹³⁰ See chapter 7.

¹³¹ 'The Holy Catholic Church in China' hereafter CHSKH.

¹³² English, American, Canadian as well as work associated with the Anglican section of the China Inland Mission. See Hewitt II, p.22.

the dioceses where the CMS was working in China.¹³³ However, it is clear from Hewitt, that the PC was deliberately slow in releasing control to the Dioceses in China in the decade following the 1909 Memorandum. Indeed Hewitt concludes that

the London secretariat of CMS at that time was reluctant to encourage rapid constitution-making in several ... dioceses in China.¹³⁴

Baylis took over as Far East Secretary in 1912, and where constitutions had not yet been formed, he was in no hurry to see them,¹³⁵ presumably in line with the 1909 Memorandum of 'waiting for the proper juncture'.¹³⁶ He also still did not allow CMS grants to be administered by a diocesan body, even when this was the desire of the missionaries on the ground and the LGB.¹³⁷ Such a move would have solved the fundamental problem of Chinese workers being employed by a foreign organisation.

During Baylis' period as Far East Secretary, changes were made to various LGBs in China, which could have afforded the opportunity to make developments in line with the proposals tentatively adopted for India. This did not happen. Proposals from Kwangsi and Hunan to adopt the 'Punjab scheme' were rejected in 1913,¹³⁸ and it appears that Chekiang was being encouraged to strengthen its LGB by bringing in a small number of Chinese Christians.¹³⁹ In the South China Mission the structure of the LGB was substantially overhauled with a new constitution, not for the diocese, but for the LGB, being approved by the PC in 1917.

¹³³ Such a discussion would have meant a detailed examination of the Group Committee's work for each Mission, which, as discussed in chapter 1, could not be done for this study.

¹³⁴ Hewitt II, p.285, specifically talking of 1914.

¹³⁵ Eg. Kwangsi & Hunan (Hewitt II p.277) and Western China Mission (Hewitt II, p.285).

¹³⁶ 1909 Memorandum, Para 7.

¹³⁷ This had been refused for Chekiang in 1910 (Hewitt II, p.264-5) and was subsequently refused for South China Mission in 1913 (Hewitt II, p.244) and initially for Fukien in 1916, but finally agreed in 1919 (Hewitt II p.247).

¹³⁸ See Hewitt II, p.277. Hewitt states that this went far beyond the 'Punjab scheme' as accepted in 1904, but the main difference was largely due to the fact that the Punjab Mission did not represent the whole of the Lahore Diocese.

¹³⁹ Instead Chekiang developed its own approach. The Bishop, Molony, set up station committees, mainly made up of Chinese Christians, which acted as sub-committees under the LGB, covering much of its work. This was alongside the strong NCC system. The approach was criticised by the Far East delegation, chiefly Bardsley and Baylis. See Hewitt II, p.265 (For members of the Far East delegation, 1913 see Stock IV, p.329).

It comprised a missionary conference with an executive committee, which included the possibility of Chinese members.¹⁴⁰ Throughout China a degree of autonomy for the LGB from the diocese was maintained. In 1916, the bishops connected with the CMS in China expressed their concern that they were not asked, by right, to chair the LGBs.¹⁴¹ Bardsley explained that

Bishops have never been appointed ex officio chairmen but they have been so by courtesy. This custom may to some extent be due to the fact that CMS has always been a lay society. we should be very troubled if there were the slightest doubt in the minds of anyone as to the Bishop taking the chair.¹⁴²

This subtle approach underlines the fact that the LGBs of the Missions in China were not part of the diocesan structure but under CMS control. The 1909 Memorandum had not specified how the Mission and Church relationship in China should develop. As such it cannot be said that Baylis was going against the official policy. However, the 1909 Memorandum was clear that there would be a change in the relationship between Mission and Church once constitutional synods were developed, although it did not specify what this new relationship would be. In China Baylis seems to have slowed the development of constitutions and deliberately perpetuated the system which gave the PC and the CMS missionaries more control over the Church in China than would otherwise have been the case. In at least two Missions this was in face of opposition by the missionaries themselves, who wanted to see more powers being given the Chinese Christians.¹⁴³

4.5.2 In India

Various moves were started towards synodical Church government in the Anglican Church in India. In 1912-13 an episcopal synod was held which marked a significant development in the Church in India.¹⁴⁴ The 1905 regulations had urged missionaries and 'native' Christians to 'be quick to notice any proposed measures of Church Organization which may

¹⁴⁰ Hewitt II, p.224-5.

¹⁴¹ Cassels to Bardsley reporting on a private meeting of bishops connected with the CMS 26/4/1916, G/Y CHg3. (They also wanted more direct information from the CMS about men and money).

¹⁴² Bardsley to Cassels, 14/7/1915, G/Y CHg3.

¹⁴³ South China and Fukien see Hewitt II p.224 and 247.

¹⁴⁴ Gibbs *The Increase of Church Consciousness* acc318-z3-2, p.4.

affect their own future'.¹⁴⁵ These new synods would have a significant effect on the CMS and so, in 1913, following a conference of CMS missionaries at Swanwick, an informal meeting was arranged so that experienced missionaries from India could discuss the matter. Habitual caution was displayed; the 'need of watchfulness to safeguard the interests of CMS work' was an early comment.¹⁴⁶ Apart from emphasising the importance of a significant role for laity and for the CMS founded 'District Councils' the main recommendation was the appointment of an Advisory Body in India. This does not appear to have been implemented, but this discussions can be seen as a precursor of the recommendations of the India delegation in 1922, see chapter 5.

In 1917 the CMS considered the new constitution for Calcutta Diocese and wholeheartedly agreed that the Bengal Mission and missionaries should participate as they had requested.¹⁴⁷ This was in spite of a lack of clarity about the precise relationship with the CMS that would emerge. It involved a 'Mission Administrative Committee' under the diocesan board of mission chaired by the bishop with three members of the board, three CMS nominated members and the chairs of the DCCs of the CMS districts. This was seen by the CMS as 'the perpetuation of something closely approximating to the existing Calcutta CC,' there also remaining a place for a committee outside of the diocesan structures to deal with 'the personal relations of missionaries to the Parent Committee'.¹⁴⁸ Due to the complex legal position of the Church in India this was not actually a legal synod but, by agreement, would act as one.

In Calcutta, the CMS was given direct representation on the Church board that would take over the supervision of the NCCs. This was a generous move on behalf of the Calcutta synod. In other areas, as the local Anglican diocese became the dominant force in the governance of the NCCs, the CMS would not be given a direct role.

¹⁴⁵ *Regulations 1905* G/AH 1/6, p.29.

¹⁴⁶ 'Informal Conference on Synodical Church Government in India', 9/7/1913, G/Y I3/1/4.

¹⁴⁷ See paper for Foreign Committee with resolutions by Foreign Committee, 6/2/1917, G/YI 1/1/5e.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

4.6 The Links Between the CMS PC and the Church Authorities

Referring back to Figure 4.1, the various elements in the web controlling the NCCs have been examined, and the development of the relationship between LGB and NCC has been discussed in detail. Some features of the developing relationship between the NCC and the diocese have been covered, but this subject will come to prominence in the next chapters. One part of the web that has not been discussed is the relationship between the CMS PC and the Anglican Church authorities. This is important in two ways. Firstly, the relationship between the CMS and the Church of England was vital to the CMS as it came to terms with its own identity as an evangelical Anglican organisation. This theme will be developed more fully in the next chapter.

Secondly, it was through the relationship with the Archbishop of Canterbury that the CMS was able to directly influence the appointment of bishops to dioceses that contained CMS Missions. The person appointed would obviously have an impact on the relationship between the diocese and the CMS elements it contained. More significantly, the CMS could have used this influence to seek the appointment of ‘native’ Bishops.

Randall Davidson was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1903 to 1928. Bell records that he had a great interest in the work of bishops overseas, and notes his regular consultation with the Secretaries of Missionary Societies, though Bell claims that this was ‘often more for their sakes than his own’.¹⁴⁹ Communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury was the preserve of the Honorary Clerical Secretary. Thus a significant change in the CMS’s relationship with the Church of England during this period was the appointment of Bardsley in 1910, after Fox retired due to ill health.¹⁵⁰ While maintaining a reasonable relationship with Davidson, Fox did little to encourage intra-Anglican co-operation,¹⁵¹ and after his retirement played a lead in promoting very conservative evangelical values. Bardsley was very different.

¹⁴⁹ Bell, *Randall Davidson II*, p.1222.

¹⁵⁰ Stock IV, p.28.

¹⁵¹ Eg. Fox was only able to recommend ‘known evangelicals’ to help prepare for the Edinburgh 1910 conference see Lloyd, *The Church of England 1900-1965*, p.198 and Tatlow, *The Story of the SCM*, p.407.

4.6.1 Bardsley

Born in 1870, Bardsley was educated at Marlborough College and then New College, Oxford. He served in three parishes,¹⁵² before becoming the Honorary Clerical Secretary of the CMS in 1910. Bardsley's subsequent career, after leaving the CMS in 1923, says a great deal about his attitude, and his acceptability, to the Church of England hierarchy. He went on to be Secretary of the Missionary Council of the new National Assembly of the Church of England, and was appointed Bishop of Peterborough in 1924 and subsequently opted to be the first Bishop of Leicester in 1927. He died in 1940.

Spiritually, Bardsley can best be described as a liberal evangelical with a genuinely broad acceptance of different points of view and a commitment to both revival and mission. Various evangelicals associated with the CMS were willing to own the term 'liberal'. Bardsley said

The word 'liberal' had been added and we are no more ashamed of that word than of 'evangelical' for it means we realise we are preaching the Gospel in the twentieth century, and that we have as our allies new light on the Bible, new knowledge in and on another branch of science, new and wider thoughts with regard to the implication of the Kingdom of God.¹⁵³

This serves as a reasonable definition of 'liberal' in the context of the CMS at this time, and describes Bardsley's own sympathies. Bardsley was involved in the liberal evangelical 'Group Brotherhood' from 1907,¹⁵⁴ and contributed to a book, expressing what it meant to be liberal, in 1916.¹⁵⁵ The archives contain no details of the discussions concerning his appointment as honorary Clerical Secretary, the minutes merely record that the decision was

¹⁵² As a curate in Huddersfield when his Father was Vicar giving an historical link to Venn's grandfather, the evangelical vicar of Huddersfield in the 18th Century. He was Vicar of St Anne's, Nottingham, 1901-1904 and Vicar of St Helens, 1904-1910. (*Who Was Who*) & Woods, E.S. & MacNutt F.B *Theodore Bishop of Winchester* SPCK 1933 p.39.

¹⁵³ Bardsley in Bayldon 1942 p.68.

¹⁵⁴ Which in 1923 became the 'Anglican Evangelical Group Movement'. Its objectives included ensuring evangelical co-operation in the institutional life of the Church of England. Discussed in Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.47 and Walmsley, *The History of the Evangelical Party*, p.149 & 202. In 1928 Bardsley was also associated with the 'Cromer Convention', a more liberal version of the Keswick Convention. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.55-58.

¹⁵⁵ *The Creed of a Churchman* 1916. See Bayldon 1942 p.70.

unanimous.¹⁵⁶ Neither Stock nor Hewitt throw any light on it. He had already clearly identified himself with the more liberal side of Anglican evangelicalism and was a long way from Fox's conservatism. It can only be assumed that it was a deliberate decision to appoint someone with a more liberal outlook. This must be seen as one root of the problems that would later split the CMS and see the formation of the Bible Churchman's Missionary Society - the BCMS.

In 1919 one of the committee members who had appointed Bardsley, S.H. Gladstone, the CMS treasurer and later founding member of the BCMS, wrote asking him to resign 'as it would probably resolve most if not all the difficulties'.¹⁵⁷ Bardsley assumed that this was because Gladstone felt that he was 'too liberal an Evangelical to be really loyal to the Society'.¹⁵⁸ Such an attitude does not appear to have been mutual, Bardsley's broadness extended in both theological directions. He had good friends among the High Churchmen, with whom he mentions staying,¹⁵⁹ and whom he also consulted,¹⁶⁰ but he also very much wanted to keep the conservative evangelicals within the CMS. In a private letter he wrote

There is no thought whatever in my mind of our ceasing to be (an) Evangelical Society... I should be deeply troubled if those who may be described as very conservative ceased to be happy in the Society.¹⁶¹

He was clearly concerned about the divisions within evangelicalism, writing to Willis 'nothing is more vital for the advance of the Church's work both at home and overseas, than a new spirit of unity and mutual trust'.¹⁶² His obituary spoke of his administration being characterised by 'a keen sense of what was vital, generous forbearance and long patience with those who differed from him'.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁶ Secretarial sub-committee 26/5/1910, G/CS3, p.156. The committee was chaired by the president and had eleven members including Stock and SH Gladstone.

¹⁵⁷ S.H. Gladstone to Bardsley, 15/3/1919, G/AS 3/4.

¹⁵⁸ Bardsley to Gladstone, 18/3/1919, G/AS 3/4. Bardsley makes it clear in this letter that he is willing to resign if that is how he can best serve the Society.

¹⁵⁹ Eg. Bardsley to Price, 13/9/1917, G/AC8.

¹⁶⁰ Eg. 'Prebendary Boyd' mentioned in a letter by Bardsley, 18/1/1918, G/AC8.

¹⁶¹ Bardsley to Price, 13/9/1917, G/AC8.

¹⁶² Bardsley to Willis, 10/10/1917, G/AC8.

¹⁶³ CMS PC obituary notice, copy in ACC318/Z5.

Like many evangelicals of his generation, Bardsley was looking for revival. In his book, *Revival - The Need and the Possibilities*, he wrote

Revival is the greatest need of the Church in the mission field; revival in the Church at home will do much to produce it.¹⁶⁴

From March 1916 until Feb 1917 Bardsley worked as one of the secretaries for the National Mission on leave of absence from CMS at Davidson's special request. Hewitt describes this as 'unwise' in view of the leadership gap that developed.¹⁶⁵ He returned with a deeper commitment to the CMS playing its part in the Church of England.¹⁶⁶

Bardsley had not been part of the centenary discussions about the eventual relationship between CMS Missions and the Anglican Church. The 1901 Memorandum was now part of the accepted policy of the CMS and clearly fitted in with Bardsley's broad view of the Church. He obviously believed that the Church needed the missionary societies but at the same time he was deeply committed to integration:

Missionary work is a part of the whole work of the Church. Home and Foreign Missions can no longer be thought of as separate. The Missionary Societies cannot fulfil their ministry if they carry on their work in a position of semi-detachment.¹⁶⁷

Bardsley had a very high regard for Davidson and came to depend on him for advice and guidance.¹⁶⁸ They had a good and close working relationship, with Davidson being willing to confide in Bardsley¹⁶⁹ and worked closely with him on particular issues.¹⁷⁰ On Bardsley's appointment as secretary of the Missionary Council Davidson wrote to him praising his far-reaching knowledge and wide sympathies.¹⁷¹ Davidson's subsequent recommendation of Bardsley for the episcopate shows that this was a genuine high regard.

¹⁶⁴ Bardsley 1916 p.59 He also quoted a prayer which was used in various Missions - 'Revive thy Church, O Lord, and begin with me.' p.100.

¹⁶⁵ Hewitt I, p.442 and there was a degree of reluctance from the patronage committee 12/12/1916, G/CS3, p.267.

¹⁶⁶ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.48 & 49.

¹⁶⁷ Bardsley, C.C.B. *The Vocation of a Missionary Society Today* n.d. (c.1919), G/AZ4 p.6.

¹⁶⁸ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.33.

¹⁶⁹ Eg. Discussing the Government attitude to Madagascar - Davidson to Bardsley, 11/01/1912, G/AC7.

¹⁷⁰ Eg. German Missions in East Africa during the Great War. Various letters in G/AC7.

¹⁷¹ Davidson to Bardsley Nov 1922, G/AC7.

4.6.2 The CMS Interaction with Davidson

The CMS interaction with Davidson was frequently mundane, such as granting former CMS missionaries permission to work in Britain,¹⁷² but Davidson was meticulous in co-operating with the CMS and would not give such permission to a former missionary unless he was assured by the CMS that the missionary was not ‘under obligation to return to the Mission Field’.¹⁷³ The CMS, in its turn, was careful to consult Davidson on matters that might concern him. For example, the CMS rules had been framed in 1841 before what would now be described as the Anglican Communion really existed. The way that the laws spoke of the Church overseas and its bishops needed some rephrasing.¹⁷⁴ The original wording had been agreed with the primate in 1841 and so Davidson was approached and his approval gained.¹⁷⁵

Similar care not to offend Davidson was shown by the CMS in its reaction to the Kikuyu crisis.¹⁷⁶ The CMS fully approved of the proposals for a federation of missionary societies in East Africa,¹⁷⁷ and produced a response in the form of a ‘Memorial’ in support of the proposal, signed by 50 leading CMS supporters, including CMS secretaries, bishops, deans and academics. However, before publication, this Memorial was shown by Bardsley to Davidson whose advice was to submit it privately to himself and not publish it until after the consultative body that Davidson had established had met.¹⁷⁸ The CMS followed this advice, not wishing to antagonize Davidson, in marked contrast to some other evangelical groups.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² Eg. Bardsley to Davidson, 25/9/1917, G/AC7.

¹⁷³ Davidson to Bardsley, 15/3/1920, G/AC7.

¹⁷⁴ Specifically, changing references to ‘Church of Ireland’ to ‘Churches in communion with her’ and removing phrases referring to ‘of the Church of England’ from discussion of Bishops abroad. Lankester to Davidson 6/12/1915, F/APc1 part 2.

¹⁷⁵ Davidson to Lankester 8/1/1916, F/APc1 part 2.

¹⁷⁶ A meeting to discuss a federation of missionary societies in East Africa had been objected to by the Bishop of Zanzibar on the grounds that it would cause schism. The ensuing debate in Britain brought all parties in the Church of England into the argument. See Hewitt I p.146-151, Maynard Smith 1926 p.145-170 and Bell I p.690-708.

¹⁷⁷ See various papers and resolutions in G/Y/AEF 1/3.

¹⁷⁸ Copy of Memorial, and Davidson to Bardsley 15/7/1914, both in G/Y/AFE 1/1.

¹⁷⁹ See Walmsley *The History of the Evangelical Party*, p.228-229 for various other responses to Kikuyu.

Yet tensions remained. The CMS still believed that clergy who were in sympathy with the CMS were disadvantaged in the preferment process.¹⁸⁰ The CMS recognized that the growth of diocesan boards of mission and the growth in the number and variety of mission related societies seeking funds from parishes had adversely affected the income of the CMS.¹⁸¹ Overseas, there was still tension on the position of clerical missionaries in relation to the diocesan bishop: they would normally be licensed by the bishop but this was not automatic. Bardsley describes the relationship between the CMS and the bishop of the diocese in which they would work as ‘practically that of the patron of a living presenting his nominee to the bishop for institution.’ He recognised the problems with this approach but believed it to have been a successful *modus vivendi*’ for 20 years.¹⁸²

4.6.3 The Appointment of Bishops

During this period, outside India, almost all CMS Missions were in areas where the appointment of bishops fell to the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁸³ In India things were complex. Table 4.2 explains the situation.

Gibbs points out the significant change in India, which began in the late 1880s, but the effects of which were fully felt only in the very early 20th century. Previously the government had sent out bishops to India who had no previous experience there. From about 1887 it started to appoint former missionaries or, in the case of the metropolitan, translate other Indian bishops to the see.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ ‘Statement of the Funds and Home Organization Committee’ for Swanwick 1913, G/GA1. Other complaints on this issue are detailed by Walmsley, *The History of the Evangelical Party*, p.258-260.

¹⁸¹ ‘Statement of the Funds and Home Organization Committee’ for Swanwick 1913, G/GA1 a point also made in 1904 in relation to the SPG by Henry Montgomery *Foreign Missions* (London, Longmans, 1904) p.151.

¹⁸² Bardsley to the Bishop in South Tokyo 10/10/1917, G/AC8.

¹⁸³ The exceptions being small Missions in places like Canada.

¹⁸⁴ Gibbs *The Increase of Church Consciousness* acc318-z3-2 p.3-4.

Table 4.3 Appointment Methods for Bishops in India

<i>Dioceses</i> ¹⁸⁵	<i>Appointed by</i>	<i>Paid by</i>
Calcutta* (Metropolitan) Madras* Bombay*	The Crown under letters patent	The Government of India
Lahore* Rangoon Lucknow*	The Crown under letters patent	Partly the Government and partly endowments
Travancore & Cochin*	The Archbishop of Canterbury under the Jerusalem Bishopric Act	The CMS
Chota Nagpur	The Metropolitan of India	The SPG
Tinnevelly*	The Bishop of Madras with the approval of the Metropolitan	Partly endowments and partly grants from the SPG and CMS
Colombo*	The Diocesan Synod	Endowments

It is not clear the degree to which the Archbishop of Canterbury had influence over the Crown appointments in India,¹⁸⁶ but Davidson did not discuss Crown appointments with the CMS.¹⁸⁷ However, the Archbishop¹⁸⁸ did consult the CMS on appointments to dioceses for which he was responsible and in which the CMS was working.

¹⁸⁵ * indicates diocese in which CMS had a Mission. Source Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church*, p.102-3. Dornakal was formed out of Madras in 1912 and therefore was appointed under the same terms as Tinnevelly, Assam was split off from Calcutta in 1915. Grimes adds 'In each of these six types of bishopric, whether the appointment was made by the Crown or otherwise, the approval of the Government of India was necessary, as was also, under the Statue of *Praemunire*, the Royal mandate for consecration.' p.103 Grimes also includes a very useful 'family tree' of India bishoprics p.168.

¹⁸⁶ On English appointments Davidson had significant influence; Bell wrote 'They all gave careful attention to the Archbishop's recommendation ... if the Archbishop insisted that particular man was wholly unsuitable for the office of bishop 'no Prime Minister ever during these twenty-five years persevered with his name.' Bell, II 1935 p.1237 see also Palmer 1992 p.143.

¹⁸⁷ At least no such consultation ever found its way into written form.

¹⁸⁸ Unless otherwise explicitly stated, 'Archbishop' in the context of appointment of bishops, invariably means the 'Archbishop of Canterbury'.

4.6.3.1 Procedure for Appointing Bishops

The method of appointment of bishops by the Archbishop of Canterbury in areas which were primarily CMS was laid down in 1896.¹⁸⁹ At the time Archbishop Benson was concerned that in practice the CMS was only presenting one name to him and he was then deciding on that name alone, which he described as ‘a pretence of selection’. He therefore decided that in future he would consult two or three other bishops before he decided and emphasised that ‘several names (as in all cases of appointment of bishops) ought to be wisely discussed by those who have the responsibility of appointment’ and that ‘there ought to be a broader basis of choice’.¹⁹⁰

The procedure would be

The Honorary Secretary would place before the Archbishop with two or three bishops, three or more names, and would give (in person, if he chose) the account of each and the Society’s views about them. The bishops would not be pledged to appoint one of these men any more than the Archbishop is now.¹⁹¹

Benson recognised that the CMS had the right to withdraw its assistance should the person chosen prove unacceptable. Davidson accepted much the same approach. Though it is not certain that he always consulted other bishops, he frequently consulted a wide range of people, besides the CMS.

Consultation with the CMS usually took the form of the Honorary Clerical Secretary going to Lambeth palace for a meeting with the Archbishop. Notes from these meetings were usually kept and discussions were normally followed up by letter, often by the Archbishop himself, but sometimes by his chaplain.

The presenting of names to the Archbishop was an important area reserved to the Honorary Secretary, as Fox explained to Davidson

It has been the custom hitherto for the Hon. Secretary (after private enquiry and in conference with some of his colleagues) to be solely responsible for submitting names to the Archbishop of Canterbury for Missionary

¹⁸⁹ *Memorandum regarding the appointment of CMS Bishops* by ‘W.R.C.C.’ 4/7/1912, G/Y CHg3 includes the crucial letter from Benson and an analysis of the various appointments.

¹⁹⁰ Benson to Fox 11/3/1896 copy in G/Y CHg3.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Bishoprics.... it is I think better than the discussion of names by a Committee, and the possibility of a breach of ... confidence.¹⁹²

Bardsley continued Fox's practice of dealing with such appointments alone. During Bardsley's leave of absence, Baylis acted for him, but on the crucial issue of appointing bishops, Davidson insisted on including Bardsley in the discussions. Davidson specifically asked to see Bardsley and Baylis together,¹⁹³ for discussions about an appointment for Mombasa (and Persia) in 1916.¹⁹⁴ Heywood was Bardsley's first choice and was subsequently appointed. Davidson always wanted to meet possible candidates prior to making a decision. Much later on he was to speak of 'my rule of never definitely nominating a man to a Bishopric until I have seen him face to face.'¹⁹⁵ However, in this case, the problems of travel during the war meant that Davidson departed from his rule and appointed Heywood (who was in India) without first meeting him. Heywood was consecrated in India before proceeding to Mombasa. In a similar way in the immediate post war period, Davidson was quite quick in accepting the CMS nomination of Duppey for Victoria Hong Kong.¹⁹⁶

On the division of the Diocese of Western Equatorial Africa to form the Niger Diocese and Lagos Diocese, the CMS took Bishop Tugwell's recommendation and nominated F.M. Jones without seriously considering appointing an African.¹⁹⁷ As mentioned above, the intention in 1893 had been that an African successor to Crowther would be appointed as diocesan bishop. It was Davidson who raised the issue of the position of the Niger Delta Church with Bardsley, seeking reassurance that it had been carefully considered.¹⁹⁸

At times the CMS advice was not to appoint a bishop. In Japan the CMS had a small Mission compared to the SPG and the ECUSA. The Nippon Sei Ko Kai was formed in 1887, but several of its dioceses were numerically very small. Hokkaido Diocese became

¹⁹² Fox to Davidson 26/6/1905, G/Y CHg3.

¹⁹³ Davidson to Baylis 7/6/1916, G/Y A5/3.

¹⁹⁴ Various letters between Davidson and Baylis 22/4/1916 to 6/2/1917 in G/Y A5/3.

¹⁹⁵ Davidson to Cash 23/3/1927 and Davidson to Chambers 9/3/1927 both in G/Y A8/2.

¹⁹⁶ Various notes and letters 7/2/1920 to 27/3/1920 in G/Y CH1/3.

¹⁹⁷ Bardsley to Tugwell 20/12/1917, G/AC8.

¹⁹⁸ Bardsley to Tugwell 19/1/1918, G/AC8.

vacant in 1918, and the CMS consistently advised Davidson that no replacement be appointed on the grounds of its size. The possibility of a Japanese being appointed was considered, but was felt to be too soon, and an arrangement was made for Bishop Heaslett to provide episcopal oversight.¹⁹⁹

It would appear that under Fox and Bardsley, the Archbishop generally followed CMS advice. The CMS occasionally tried to push the boundaries and gain more influence.

4.6.3.2 The Question of Right of Nomination

When Davidson first had to appoint a Bishop in a CMS area, on the retirement of the Bishop of Travancore and Cochin, Fox wrote to him, detailing the history of the appointment, and politely claiming the CMS right to nominate a candidate to the Archbishop, who would then consecrate him under the Jerusalem Bishopricks Act. This claim was based on precedent, the continued CMS funding of the stipend and the fact that the diocese could not ‘lawfully exercise its responsibilities in the nomination of a Bishop’.²⁰⁰ Davidson consulted Copleston (Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India) who agreed with Davidson that the CMS ‘should be amply consulted’ but that there was no actual right of nomination and even the development of a ‘quasi-right of Patronage’ was to be avoided.²⁰¹ Copleston wished the procedure to be, that the candidate, on whom he agreed, should be recommended to the diocese by Davidson, the CMS and himself (representing the province) who would then give their assent.

The issue came to the fore again in 1912, when the ecclesiastical sub-committee recommended Davidson be approached with a view to forming a bishopric for Persia.²⁰² However their resolution, which stated that the CMS would pay if one of their missionaries was appointed, was objected to by Davidson on a point of ‘general principle’. He wrote

I should probably be guided by the advice of yourself and your colleagues as in other cases, but it is another thing for me to accept the obligation of

¹⁹⁹ See various papers and letters from 1918 to 1922 in G/Y J4. It was Bardsley who dealt with the matter initially, after he left it was Baylis who communicated with Davidson. Eg. 13/1/1922 Davidson to Baylis, G/Y J4.

²⁰⁰ Fox to Davidson 22/11/1904, G/Y I2/1/2C.

²⁰¹ Copleston to Davidson 21/12/1904, copy in G/Y I2/1/2C.

²⁰² ‘Bishopric for Persia’ extract from minutes 27/3/1912, G/Y/PE4.

nominating a Bishop with the definite limitation which your letter mentions.²⁰³

Needless to say the CMS accepted this.²⁰⁴ Their nomination, C.H. Stileman, was duly appointed. When he came to be replaced five years later, again CMS was fully consulted.²⁰⁵

The question of 'nomination' was a constant theme and came to the fore again in the 1930s.²⁰⁶ The CMS never had the right to nominate to any bishopric, even when they paid the full stipend. However, the practice for many CMS dioceses, was for the CMS to suggest names²⁰⁷ and the Archbishop to accept one of them, usually the first choice. Such suggestions were sometimes called 'nominations', but were never based on a right to nominate. This was an entirely informal arrangement, and the Archbishop could have appointed anyone he wished, and clearly did consult other people. However, what would have happened if a totally unsuitable bishop was appointed is academic, since in the whole period 1900-1942 there was only one case where the CMS 'nomination' was ignored.²⁰⁸

4.6.3.3 The Issue of Funding Bishoprics

The Persia case, above, illustrates some of the problems associated with Bishoprics funded by the CMS. Merely paying the money did not give the right of nomination, but at the same time the CMS could not be expected to provide the funds for a bishop who was clearly out of sympathy with CMS principles.

Even after appointment there were clearly difficulties for a bishop who might have to argue with his paymaster. This was something the CMS recognised. In response to a suggestion²⁰⁹ that the new board of missions should have responsibility for the stipend of missionary bishops, Bardsley wrote

²⁰³ Davidson to Bardsley 14/6/1912, G/Y/PE4.

²⁰⁴ Further extract from minutes of the Ecclesiastical Committee, 2/7/1912, G/Y/PE4.

²⁰⁵ See various letters and papers between Bardsley and Davidson from 1917 in G/Y/PE4.

²⁰⁶ See chapter 7.

²⁰⁷ It was noted in 1912 that 'in special cases the Archbishop appears to have been content with one name, but usually several have been submitted.' see *Memorandum regarding the appointment of CMS Bishops* by 'W.R.C.C.' 4/7/1912, G/Y CHg3.

²⁰⁸ In a diocese which was only partly CMS, see chapter 7.

²⁰⁹ From Bishop Price of Fukien.

I have often thought that it is an undesirable position for you to be placed in when you are dependent upon Societies. Without any wish that your independence should be in any way involved it is almost inevitably bound to affect it.²¹⁰

In Japan, the SPG was committed to a policy that ‘native’ bishops in Japan should not receive any part of their stipend from outside Japan, though institutions and even some clergy in their dioceses might continue to receive support.²¹¹ The CMS followed suit, pointing out that ‘A Japanese Diocesan Bishop should be in no different position towards the Missions in his diocese from that occupied by an English Bishop towards the Missions in his diocese’.²¹² The first Japanese Bishop was not appointed until 1923.²¹³

4.6.4 Bishop Azariah

Without question the most significant appointment of a bishop occurred in 1912 when Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah was consecrated Bishop of Dornakal. A detailed biography by Harper means that only the briefest sketch will be offered here, underlining elements particularly involving the CMS. Such brief treatment should not detract from the fact that his appointment, besides the massive symbolic importance of his being the first Indian to be made an Anglican Bishop, was to prove, through his subsequent work, to be the single most important appointment for the CMS and the Anglican Church in India in the first half of the twentieth century.

Azariah was born in 1874, the son of a CMS ‘native’ pastor in Tinnevely. He studied at the Christian College in Madras but fell ill, so did not take his BA. He became secretary to the YMCA for South India, working with the Americans, Sherwood Eddy²¹⁴ and John Mott. His achievements were numerous, ranging from founding the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevely in 1903 to being the driving force behind the unification of the Church of South

²¹⁰ Bardsley to Price 13/9/1917, G/AC8.

²¹¹ Copy of SPG paper dated 11/6/1906, G/Y J2.

²¹² Paper on Japanese bishops etc. by the Ecclesiastical sub-committee, 31/1/1906, G/AZ4.

²¹³ Hewitt II p.310.

²¹⁴ The influence of Eddy is described in Brian Stanley ‘“Hunting for Souls”: The Missionary Pilgrimage of George Sherwood Eddy,’ in *Studies in Church History Subsidia 13 - Missions and Missionaries*, ed. P.N.Holtrop & H.McLeod (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2000).

India. His importance to pre-independence India as a whole is only now being recognised: on the national stage he was ‘in the Shadow of the Mahatma’.²¹⁵ At Edinburgh in 1910 he was one of the few non-Westerners present. Ironically, his is the only speech still regularly quoted. He criticised the aloofness of many missionaries,²¹⁶ and reached a resounding conclusion causing excitement in some and anger in others

You have given your goods to feed the poor. You have given your bodies to be burned. We ask also for love. Give us FRIENDS.²¹⁷

Azariah was ordained deacon in 1909 by the Bishop of Madras, Henry Whitehead, who had already decided that he ought to be a bishop. Whitehead had been principal of Bishop’s College Calcutta and Superior of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta²¹⁸ before becoming Bishop of Madras in 1899. He moved closer spiritually to the CMS and on his retirement was a regular member of various CMS committees in England. Whitehead was a friend of Roland Allen and had written the Preface to *Missionary Methods, St. Pauls or Ours?*²¹⁹ Azariah was introduced to Allen by Whitehead and both Azariah and Whitehead remained keen advocates of Allen’s approach.²²⁰

²¹⁵ Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*.

²¹⁶ Although not in the official record, Houlder is adamant that Azariah said ‘Too often you promise us thrones in heaven, but will not offer us chairs in your drawing room’. Houlder H.F. *Reminiscences of H.F Houlder*, ACC215.

²¹⁷ World Missionary Conference 1910 IX p.314. For the background to this talk see Harper *In the Shadow of the Mahatma* p.147. Fleming cites many examples from the continuation committee meetings 1912-13 of Indians who felt the same way as Azariah and also felt the need for missionaries to trust them in the control of the Church. See Fleming, 1916, p.18.

²¹⁸ Chatterton, *History of the Church of England in India*, p.198 & George Longridge, *A History of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta* (London, Mowbray, 1910) p.12 & 37.

²¹⁹ Whitehead’s foreword is only in first edition, the book was very critical of Venn’s approach, and also of Tucker’s and argued for a very rapid handing over of authority to newly planted churches and the rapid movement of missionaries to new fields, in manner similar to that employed by St. Paul. Allen wrote various other books which grew in influence in the second half of the 20th Century. He was particularly influential on Vincent Donovan author of *Christianity Rediscovered*.

²²⁰ Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.208-211, V.S Azariah and H.Whitehead *Christ in the Indian Villages* (London, SCM, 1930) p.112 and O’Connor, *Three Centuries of Mission*, p.102.

Harper gives a detailed account of Whitehead's fight for the consecration of Azariah.²²¹ The first objection was decidedly positive. Copleston, the Metropolitan objected to Whitehead's plans for Azariah to be only an assistant Bishop. He firmly believed that the first Anglican, Indian bishop should be a full bishop with a seat in the House of Bishops.²²² The complex legal position mentioned above meant that Crown permission was required for his consecration, and that would be particularly difficult if he were a full diocesan bishop. A truly remarkable fudge was worked out whereby Azariah became

an assistant bishop in the eyes of the government, but a diocesan bishop in the eyes of the church, with fully independent jurisdiction and voting membership in the Episcopal Synod.²²³

The appointment of Azariah was not a CMS initiative. Furthermore it went beyond the 'native' assistant bishops that were looked for in the 1901 Memorandum. However, the CMS PC embraced the plan, in spite of opposition from its missionaries, and agreed to include one of its Telugu mission districts in the new diocese.²²⁴ This is in contrast to the SPG who solidly opposed Azariah's appointment.²²⁵ It is a great testimony to Azariah's success that the CMS later transferred all its Telugu Missions to Azariah's care, with the full support of its missionaries.

Thus, at the instigation of two High Church English bishops in India, Whitehead and Copleston, the CMS found itself with a true Indian Bishop. Azariah, and his 'small' diocese²²⁶ were to play an important role in the future development of CMS policy across the whole of India, and, to a degree, across the whole world.

²²¹ Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.97-163. Again only the briefest sketch of these events can be included here.

²²² Ibid, p.123.

²²³ Ibid, p.125-126 He only became a full diocesan legally in 1930. Such a deliberate fudging of the law has echoes of the British Government's decision to solve the problem of how to administer Ascension Island by classing the whole island as a ship. J.Morris *Pax Britannica*. (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968) p.204.

²²⁴ Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.131.

²²⁵ Ibid, p.132, though subsequently their position changed.

²²⁶ Initially the size of Wales, it was increased ten years later becoming the size of England. Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.164-165.

4.6.5 The Delay in the Appointment of Native Bishops

Both the abandoning of the idea of ‘euthanasia’ of the mission, and the delay in the appointment of ‘native’ bishops seem connected. The belief that Crowther was a failure as a bishop and that the CMS had gone too far in handing over control of the Mission in the Niger contributed to both of these. The 1902 report on missionary training pointed out that

on the Niger the results of the original ... work of Native Africans standing alone compelled the Society to supplement it by sending out white men and women.²²⁷

Stock attributes the successful development of the work on the Niger after Crowther’s death to the work of the new missionaries, while admitting their harshness.²²⁸ He specifically commented on Crowther’s poor administration in his foreword to Crowther’s biography.²²⁹ Such a view continued and seemed even to strengthen. In 1919 Baylis still asserted that it was right that Crowther was not replaced by an African.²³⁰ Harper, in her work on Bishop Azariah notes that ‘the hesitancy of the Anglican church to appoint ‘native’ bishops in India was almost certainly conditioned by this perceived fiasco in Africa’.²³¹ Thus, what could have been seen as a pioneering example for future development was at worst seen as a warning for the future, and at best ignored. As Bediako notes ‘the World Missionary Conference of 1910 seemed to proceed on the assumption that there had been no Samuel Ajayi Crowther’.²³² The influence of such thinking on the CMS secretariat in the 1930s will be discussed in chapter 7, but the persistence of this view²³³ is perhaps best illustrated by Neill, himself a CMS missionary, who wrote in 1948 that Crowther ‘left a legacy of chaos for others to clear up’.²³⁴

²²⁷ ‘*Report of the Special Sub-Committee on the Training and Status of Missionaries* Jan 1902, G/AZ4, p.4.

²²⁸ Stock III, p.395.

²²⁹ Stock in Jesse Page. *The Black Bishop - Samuel Adjai Crowther*. (London, Hodder, 1908) p.vii.

²³⁰ Baylis, F. *Memo by Rev. F. Baylis ... on a Racial Episocopate* n.d c.1919, G/C 15.

²³¹ Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.158.

²³² Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, p.200.

²³³ Sundkler states that Roland Allen was the first to challenge this view in 1927, B.Sundkler, B. *The Christian Ministry in Africa* (London, SCM, 1960) p.46-47.

²³⁴ Neill, *Christ, His Church and His World*, p.69-70. His view of Crowther is less critical in 1958, see S. Neill, *Anglicanism*. (Harmondsworth, Pelican,1958) p.341.

Such an approach was possible in this period because of the massive increase in the missionary workforce discussed in chapter 2, helped also by the fact that missionaries in West Africa no longer died at such an alarming rate. 'Euthanasia' of the Mission no longer seem necessary. Such a view is confirmed to some degree by the effects of the Great War. The shortage of missionaries led to the PC recommending that 'in the near future much work which has hitherto rested mainly with the foreign missionary must be entrusted to the Indian worker'.²³⁵

The presence of more missionaries also made it harder to appoint 'native' bishops who would be in a supervisory role with regard to missionaries. Azariah's appointment provoked an initial outcry in India, where the CMS recognised there was an 'unwillingness of white men to be placed under the authority of coloured ecclesiastical superiors,' even though there were 'Natives on the Judicial Bench and the Legislative Councils'.²³⁶

It is abundantly clear that the CMS had no intention whatsoever of appointing an African diocesan bishop after Crowther. However, one legacy of Crowther's was that the CMS could not avoid having 'native' assistant bishops in West Africa. Bishop Phillips and Bishop Oluwole were consecrated in 1893 and Bishop James Johnson was consecrated in 1900.²³⁷

4.7 Analysis

In considering the development of the complex administrative structures in CMS Missions, a danger is evident. Power can be transferred from one foreign-dominated body to another without making any difference to the degree of self-governance of the indigenous Church. In assessing moves towards self-governance, the variety of ways in which an individual local church in a mission area might be controlled by foreign Christians needs to be considered. This was an analytical problem identified at the Edinburgh 1910 conference. It noted that there were generally four bodies which exercised some authority in protestant missions. These were the local governing body of the Mission, the governing body of the parent

²³⁵ 'Recommendations of Group Committee' Confirmed by Foreign Committee 20/3/1917, G/AP11 1911-1917.

²³⁶ *Report of the Special Sub-Committee on the Training and Status of Missionaries* Jan 1902, G/AZ4, p.4.

²³⁷ Phillips died in 1906, Johnson in 1917 and Oluwole in 1932 Hewitt I, p.50.

missionary society, the ecclesiastical authority of the parent Church and the ecclesiastical authority of the of the local Church itself.²³⁸ In CMS terms these correspond with the LGB, the PC, the office of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the local diocese. The commission noted that

We find it not uncommon for our correspondents to reply to our enquires from a point of view which takes in no more than one or two of these inter-related bodies.²³⁹

In the CMS, the situation was further complicated by the presence of various CMS institutions, which were governed separately from the Churches. In 1901 the CMS PC had recognised that the local Anglican ecclesiastical authority would ultimately take control of all Churches within its territorial area, however it made no substantive moves towards that goal. In 1909 the PC decided that the Punjab approach of amalgamating the LGB with the NCC was the way forward, but produced a memorandum that did not actually commit the Secretaries to any definite action. Had the Punjab approach been widely implemented, the new result might well have been a delay in the time when the CMS-founded churches were handed over to the dioceses. Gibbs explains that, in the Punjab, the combined LGB-NCC body was found by participants to be ‘so satisfying that they were unwilling to change it’,²⁴⁰ and that no further developments in the church government were made in the Punjab Mission until 1947.

The Punjab approach produced a body that was still a Mission organisation rather than a diocesan one. Ultimately the Mission, at least as represented by the LGB, had to find some form of ‘euthanasia’, and the amalgamation advocated by Stock left it still alive and powerful. Tucker’s vision for Uganda was better thought out. By amalgamating the Mission with the actual diocese, the result was, by definition, a diocesan body. However the consistent policy of the PC was, whatever happened in the organisation of a Mission, some form of LGB should be maintained, at the very least to look after the personal affairs of Missionaries. The policy was insisted upon in the Punjab, and consistently applied

²³⁸ Edinburgh 1910 vol.II p.13 The Anglican situation was accurately described as ‘somewhat intricate’, especially in some areas such as China and Japan where there were two Parent Churches, English and American, or even Canadian..p.22.

²³⁹ Edinburgh 1910 vol.II p.13 examples are then cited.

²⁴⁰ Gibbs, quoted in Hewitt II ,p.70.

absolutely everywhere else. Even in Uganda, this was the approach that the CMS sought and eventually achieved.²⁴¹ It was Baylis who, as Africa Secretary, insisted on the PC, rather than the Uganda Synod, appointing the new missionary committee in Uganda. It was he who should have ensured that its standing orders were such that it was clear when it went beyond its brief. He did not ensure this and as a result the Mission recovered its separate existence in Uganda, and with it its power.²⁴²

Although the CMS had accepted that ultimately it would not control the Churches it had founded, it did not seem willing to take active steps to speed this along. As Williams puts it

If the secretarial attitude indicates its departure from the old orthodoxy, it also reveals reservations about the logical consequences of the new.²⁴³

²⁴¹ First suggested by the secretaries in 1898, Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.256.

²⁴² See chapter 7.

²⁴³ Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*, p.245.

Chapter 5 - The Post War Situation, 1918-1925

With the war ended, the CMS found itself working in a very different world. Britain had changed socially, politically and economically. For instance, the war blurred class distinctions, women were enfranchised and there was a huge rise in unemployment. However, the changes in England were small compared to those in India, where the rise of nationalism, fuelled partly by returning servicemen, was demonstrated in the rise to prominence of Mahatma Gandhi¹. In 1919, during a protest against the British government, 379 Indians were shot dead at Amritsar. The permanence of British rule was no longer assumed by the British government. In India this changed everything, and the Church had to come to terms with it. As the Bishop of Bombay put it

What matters is what we shall leave behind in India when there is no English man or woman remaining there - We have got to leave behind the Church of God in India.²

The CMS now had to react to major changes, particularly in India; the agenda was no longer something that Salisbury Square could dictate. There was a short delay in responding to the new situation in India, until the end of 1921, when the CMS sent a high-powered delegation on a tour of India. They returned with a new approach to CMS policy that, in marked contrast to the 1909 Memorandum, was clear, specific and urgent in its commitment to handing over control of the CMS founded churches in India. Furthermore, this new approach included establishing a mechanism that would ensure that the policy would be swiftly put into practice. This new policy was called 'diocesanization', and would dominate the CMS policy in India, and to a degree in other parts of the world, until after the Second World War.

However, certain events in England need to be examined first. These include the 1920 Lambeth conference, the changes in the Church of England's organisational structure and the conflict between liberal and conservative evangelicals, fought out within the CMS.

¹ Low identifies three major phases of nationalist agitation in India, the first of which was from about 1917-1923. D.A Low *Eclipse of Empire* (Cambridge, CUP, 1991) p.67.

² Handwritten note headed 'Bp. Of Bombay to Ex.Com', 23/10/1922, G/Y/Ig3.

5.1 Lambeth 1920

The Lambeth conference of 1920³ is best known for its ‘Appeal to all Christian People’, a bold, but largely unsuccessful, venture seeking substantial reunion of Churches and denominations. However, it also made very clear pronouncements under the heading ‘Missionary Problems’. The conference understood the various missionary societies to have an aim

of establishing self-governing, self-supporting, and self-extending Churches, and themselves withdrawing from control and pushing their work further afield.⁴

The report argued that the success of missionary societies was such that, in many mission fields, withdrawal, and removal elsewhere, was now possible. The influence of Venn is obvious, but most significant is the return of the idea of ‘euthanasia of the mission’, albeit with the particular interpretation of the mission handing over control to the diocese.

Taken on its own this could be seen as ‘empire building’. It could be argued that the transfer of control sought by the bishops had little resemblance to Venn’s concept of ‘euthanasia of the mission’, and was simply the replacement of the foreign-dominated mission by a foreign-dominated church. However, the conference gave great emphasis to the need for churches in the mission field to adapt to their national circumstances rather than merely to be copies of the Church of England;

no community of Christians has the right to attempt to produce a replica of itself in a foreign country which it evangelizes.⁵

The local people, not the missionaries, were to work out what this meant in practice.⁶ Liturgical variation was allowed, even encouraged⁷ and the missionary societies were encouraged to give ‘the widest freedom to indigenous workers to develop the work in their own countries on lines in accordance with their national character’.⁸ It has been persuasively

³ The 1920 Lambeth Conference included two ‘native’ bishops, Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, and Oluwole, Assistant Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa. Other CMS related Bishops included the Bishops of Chekiang, Fukien, Honan, Kwangsi, Lagos, North China, Persia, Tinnevely and Western China.

⁴ Lambeth 1920, p.85.

⁵ Ibid, encyclical letter, p.20-21 also see p.82.

⁶ Ibid, encyclical letter, p.21.

⁷ Ibid, resolution, 36 p.36.

⁸ Ibid, resolution, 34(4) p.36.

argued elsewhere that the First World War severely damaged missionary confidence in the value of Western civilisation and, as such, went some way to making local cultural approaches more acceptable.⁹ This re-emphasis on the *indigenous* church by the Lambeth conference can be seen as a manifestation of this and must be taken into consideration when examining what handing over control to the dioceses actually meant. Furthermore, the bishops in India, who now had Azariah among their number, were already taking steps to disestablish the Anglican Church in India. Thus, although handing over control to the dioceses could not be seen by the CMS as the achievement of its goal of a self-governing indigenous Church, it did mean handing over to a body in which Indian Christians had a large say and in which they would ultimately come to dominate.

The Lambeth Conference report specifically identified ‘institutional work’ as an area for increasing help from the societies,¹⁰ but at the same time criticised the ‘tendency to make the work centre in the Mission organization rather than in the Church’.¹¹ This was a problem that the CMS had identified in the first decade of the century, but which it had failed to deal with conclusively in the 1909 Memorandum. The report wanted ‘missionary committees and councils’ to be ‘thoroughly representative of the congregations’ rather than the ‘subscribers to the Mission’.¹² This would involve their being replaced by ‘Diocesan Boards and Committees,’ with the work being closely associated with the diocesan organization and a sharing of both the financial control and the direction of the work.¹³ Such a change would have been very radical, going far beyond what the CMS had so far conceded in terms of local representation. Previously the CMS had agreed to have some members of the local churches on its Corresponding Committees. However these were nominated by the PC, not locally elected and, if they were present at all, were a small minority on the committees.

⁹ Frank. Furedi, *Ambivalent Westernisers-The Missionary Encounter with Traditional Societies* (NAMF Position Paper 24, 1997) p.7 Also Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, p.135.

¹⁰ Along with Women’s work and evangelistic work Lambeth 1920 p.87.

¹¹ Ibid, p.85.

¹² Ibid, p.85.

¹³ Ibid, resolution, 34(2) p.36.

Officially, the CMS policy matched the Lambeth Conference's commitment to the diocese replacing the Mission. While the Lambeth Conference felt that the time for this had now arrived, the CMS had not as yet committed itself to any timescale. In addition, while the CMS was theoretically willing to hand over the churches under its control, it had shown no inclination to hand over, or indeed share, control of its institutions.

5.2 Changes in the Church of England

5.2.1 The National Assembly of the Church of England

For some time there had been pressure to achieve 'self-government' for the Church of England. The background to this included the founding of the Church Reform League in 1895, but the war intensified the pressure. Wilkinson attributes this partly to the returning war Chaplains seeking reform.¹⁴ The Life and Liberty Movement was formed to campaign for change. The Archbishops set up a committee on Church and State in 1916 which developed the scheme that was approved by parliament in 1919. Parliamentary approval took the form of an 'Enabling Act', the aim of which was, in Davidson's words, 'to enable the Church of England to do its work properly'.¹⁵ The 'National Assembly of the Church of England', also known as the 'Church Assembly', was created. This new structure was clergy dominated, and, as Hastings describes, the lay voice was dominated by a small group of Tory MPs and one aristocratic family.¹⁶ As will be noted later, the CMS was keen that similar systems in the Church overseas should give a strong place to the laity.

In India, the passing of the Enabling Act not only made disestablishment more essential,¹⁷ it also went some way to 'short-circuit some of the problems involved' in

¹⁴ Wilkinson *The Church of England and the First World War* p.271

¹⁵ Bell, *Randall Davidson II*, p.975

¹⁶ 'The Cecil family and their relatives' Adrian Hastings *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985*. (London, Collins, 1986) p.252.

¹⁷ H. Whitehead *India Problems in Religion Education Politics* (London, Constable, 1924) p.103-105 shows how logically unsustainable would be the situation whereby the Church of England was no longer directly subject to the English Parliament, but the Church of India was. Chatterton, *History of the Church of England in India*, p.345 describes the encouragement the Enabling Act gave to the Indian Church to seek legal independence.

disestablishment.¹⁸ The Indian bishops continued their work on the disestablishment through the Indian Church measure.¹⁹ For the CMS in Britain, the Church Assembly was to be felt most strongly through its Missionary Council, which, for the first time, would draw the CMS into an official relationship with the Church of England.

5.2.2 The Missionary Council of the Church of England

The 'Central Board of Missions' was set up in 1908 to replace the 'United Board of Missions of the Provinces of Canterbury and York'.²⁰ The Central Board had a total membership of 291, mainly diocesan representatives, with no official representation from the missionary societies. Following the war its work was reviewed in the report *The Missionary Work of the Church*. It emphasised that 'the work of 'Foreign Missions' is ... a responsibility of the whole Church' and should only be entrusted to societies 'in so far as they are recognised as administrative agencies of the whole Body'.²¹ The logic of this was sustained: if the societies were carrying on work on behalf of the Church, then it was not unreasonable for them to be represented on the Board charged with that work.

In autumn 1920 the Church Assembly set up a small committee, which included Sir Robert Williams, the CMS president, as one of the eight members, 'to consider the relation of the Central Board of Missions to the National Assembly'.²² This committee was somewhat critical of the Central Board of Missions, noting that it 'may not have achieved all that some hoped'.²³ In line with a recommendation from the Lambeth conference²⁴ it was proposed

¹⁸ Grimes, *Towards an Indian Church*, p.132. Though it did not solve all the complex problems.

¹⁹ Chatterton, *History of the Church of England in India*, p.345. M.E.Gibbs *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970* (Delhi, Indian SPCK, 1972) p.354.

²⁰ This had first met in 1891, the Canterbury Board having been set up in 1884 and the York Board in 1889. See C.T. Dimont and F.W. Batty *St. Clair Donaldson* (London, Faber and Faber, 1939) p.143.

²¹ *The Missionary Work of the Church* p.5.

²² 'Report of the Committee appointed to consider the relation of the Central Board of Missions to the National Assembly' As adopted 15/7/1921, copy in G/APc 2/2

²³ *Ibid*, p.2.

²⁴ The committee on 'Missionary Problems' were very clear in this recommendation. (Lambeth Conference Report 1920 p.84), the formal resolution (res 33 p.35) was more general but clearly emphasised the need for missionary societies come under 'the supreme Synodical Authority' of the Church.

that there should be a new body, 'constituted by, and responsible to the National Assembly'.²⁵ The proposals for its structure were based on those previously outlined in 'The Missionary Work of the Church' report and included official representation of the Missionary Societies.²⁶ A system of 'Recognised Societies' was devised as the mechanism for representation. A Missionary Society (or Diocesan Association) would be recognised if they were

in the opinion of the Assembly, ... needed for carrying out some part of the Church's work overseas,... efficiently carrying out that work, and... willing to accept recognition as agencies of the Church.²⁷

The Council would have 35 members elected from the Assembly and a further 25 members from the Missionary Societies. This representation was based on the income of the society, with a maximum of six representatives for the biggest societies.²⁸ While still a minority on the board, there would be a substantial representation from Missionary Societies.

The proposals were accepted by the Church Assembly and the Missionary Council (MC) was set up in 1921.²⁹ The MC was to be chaired by the new Bishop of Salisbury, St. Clair Donaldson.³⁰ Davidson had earlier in the year urged that Donaldson be recalled to England from his post as Archbishop of Brisbane, partly to play a role in the MC.³¹

Initially Donaldson's experience in Australia meant that he favoured the approach taken by the Australian Board of Mission, which functioned as a central executive. Bardsley wrote of him

²⁵ 'Report of the committee appointed to consider the relation of the Central Board of Missions to the National Assembly' As adopted 15/7/1921, copy in G/APc 2/2 p.1.

²⁶ Ibid, p.3.

²⁷ Ibid, p.3.

²⁸ It was slightly enlarged in 1925.

²⁹ Renamed the Overseas Council in 1950.

³⁰ Born 1863 educated at Eton and Trinity, Cambridge he was ordained in 1888, Curate at St Andrew's Bethnal Green, Vicar St Mary's Hackney Wick 1891-1901, Vicar of Hornsey then Rural Dean 1891-1904, Bishop of Brisbane 1904-1921, Bishop of Salisbury 1921-1936.

³¹ Dimont & Batty, *St. Clair Donaldson*, p.142. Davidson 'set his heart on securing the appointment of Donaldson' but had to convince Lloyd George that the delay before Donaldson could take up his post was not undue. Bell II p.1248-1250. Palmer states that Davidson had royal encouragement to recommend Donaldson, B.Palmer *High and Mitred - Prime Ministers as Bishop -Makers 1837-1977* (London, SPCK,1992) p.182.

During his first year it was difficult for him to understand the position of the Missionary Societies, but he was wise enough to be guided by others.... his chief contribution ... was the spirit he helped to create, rather than the working out of any policy which he initiated.³²

Donaldson believed the MC should be 'a Power House of Propaganda at home, and the Foreign Office of the Church'.³³

The CMS was among the missionary societies invited to become recognised societies. The CMS General Committee's accepted the position 'Recognised Missionary Society' in December 1921 and appointed six representatives to the MC.³⁴ This is a landmark decision in the history of the CMS, since it is the first time that any formal relationship with the Church of England was laid down. The CMS had been involved with the Church of England from its inception, but this was always informal and recognition was on a practical rather than an official level. Williams argues that at the end of the 19th century it was the desire for a closer relationship with the Anglican authorities that became the leading ideal in the CMS. Twenty years after the crucial 1901 Memorandum, which committed the CMS to working within existing Anglican structures overseas, the CMS itself accepted a formal relationship with its own home Church.

However, in spite of its symbolic importance, in practice this meant very little change for the CMS at that time. As a large society the CMS was able to appoint six representatives, but beyond that 'recognition' did not immediately amount to much. Ten years later the question of what acceptance of recognition actually meant became an important issue. However there was one very significant impact of the MC on the CMS in the year after it was founded. This was the fact that the MC was to have a full time secretary. Bardsley was the chosen candidate, and he was offered the job at the end of 1922. His acceptance meant that he left the CMS at the end of what can best be described as an *annus horribilis*.

³² Bardsley quoted in Dimont & Batty, *St. Clair Donaldson*, p.147.

³³ St. Clair Donaldson 'The Missionary Council of the National Assembly,' in *Church Missionary Review* 75(1924) 295-304 at300. Also Dimont & Batty, *St. Clair Donaldson*, p.148.

³⁴ Minutes of the G.C. 14/12/1921, G/C1 1921, p.398. The six included the Honorary Secretary, the Lay Secretary, the Home Secretary, two lay men and one woman.

5.3 The Split within the CMS and the Formation of the BCMS

‘There were Evangelicals *and* Evangelicals’ - Stock 1873.³⁵

Within the Anglican Church, ‘evangelical’ has always been a broad category. Bebbington discusses some of the problems in trying to define the term.³⁶ In the twentieth century there were growing tensions between conservatives and liberals within evangelicalism in general and within Anglican evangelicalism in particular.³⁷ Bebbington describes various ‘fault-lines’; on the ‘social gospel’, on the doctrine of the atonement and on liturgical practice, but identifies the key issue as the authority of the Scriptures.³⁸ The CMS was supported by evangelical Anglicans of all persuasions, and employed both liberal and conservative evangelicals at home and abroad. Indeed, until 1910, the post of Honorary Clerical Secretary was held by a conservative, Fox and after 1910 by a liberal, Bardsley. Three key pressure groups were involved when the tensions between the two parties resulted in conflict within the CMS.

On the conservative side was the non-denominational ‘Bible League’ which was formed in 1892 to oppose ‘high criticism’ of the Bible. Its aim was

To promote the Reverent Study of the Holy Scriptures, and to resist the varied attacks made upon their Inspiration, Infallibility and Sole Sufficiency as the Word of God.³⁹

Bebbington describes it as maintaining a ‘watching brief over missionary developments’ and notes that ‘its influence can be detected behind outbursts of opposition to higher criticism’.⁴⁰ After his retirement from the CMS, Fox became secretary, then president of the

³⁵ Stock 1909, *My Recollections*, p.130.

³⁶ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.2

³⁷ For example, in 1910 the Cambridge CICCUC disaffiliated from the SCM. See Hastings, 1986 p.89. The use of the term ‘liberal’ and ‘conservative’ to describe the two camps seems the best terminology, and indeed seems to be something both sides agreed on, being used in both the BCMS history (Hooton and Wright, *The First 25 Years of the BCMS*, p.4) and in Bardsley’s biography (Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.68-69).

³⁸ Bebbington, ‘Missionary Controversy’, p.144.

³⁹ See <http://www.rcp.org.uk/blq>. Also in Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.187.

⁴⁰ Bebbington, ‘Missionary Controversy’, p.147 and Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.188.

‘Bible League’,⁴¹ which was keeping watch over the CMS for signs that liberal views were taking hold.⁴² As the conflict developed, in 1918, the conservatives, led by D.H.C. Bartlett, a Liverpool incumbent, formed a specifically Anglican group, the ‘Fellowship of Evangelical Churchmen’.⁴³

On the liberal side, was the ‘Group Brotherhood’ with whom Bardsley had been involved since before his appointment to the CMS.⁴⁴ This was a less formal organisation, described as ‘a theological network for braver spirits’, which sought to co-operate in the institutional life of the Church of England in a way that more conservative evangelicals refused to do.⁴⁵ Membership was by invitation, and it remained in the shadows until, in 1923, it came out into the open, published a book called *Liberal Evangelicalism: an Interpretation*⁴⁶ and became the ‘Anglican Evangelical Group Movement’. By 1935 it had a membership of 1500 clergy.⁴⁷ As a network it proved quite effective in campaigning. As one of its leaders, Guy Rogers,⁴⁸ put it

Evangelicals like myself were engaged in a life-and-death struggle to secure freedom of thought, not only for ourselves but for the organizations and institutions in the Church of England through which Evangelicals made their contribution to the life of the Church... Needless to say, the CMS in which most of us were nurtured from childhood was the greatest of these and the dearest to our hearts.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Another connection between the CMS and the Bible League was Bishop Ingham, a former CMS missionary, Bishop of Sierra Leone 1883-1897 and CMS home secretary 1904-1912.

⁴² Bebbington, ‘Missionary Controversy’, p.147.

⁴³ G.W.Bromiley, *Daniel Henry Charles Bartlett. A Memoir* (Burnham on Sea, Dr. Bartlett’s Executors, 1959) p.24.

⁴⁴ The Group Movement is discussed in Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.46-69 and Walmsley, *The History of the Evangelical Party*, p.149 & 202. In 1928 Bardsley was also associated with the ‘Cromer Convention’, a more liberal version of the Keswick Convention. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.55-58. The Group Movement was not connected with the Oxford Group.

⁴⁵ Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.47.

⁴⁶ Member of the Church of England. *Liberal evangelicalism : an interpretation*. (London, Hodder, 1923) contributors included G. Rogers, G Warman and AW Davies.

⁴⁷ G. Rogers *Rebel at Heart* (London, Longmans, 1956) p.170-172.

⁴⁸ Then vicar of West Ham, member of the Group Brotherhood, a relative of Bardsley and joint author with him of a book on revival. Rogers, *ibid*, p.82.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.164.

5.3.1 The Conflict

Although there had been earlier skirmishes, the conflict started in earnest in 1917. Rogers believed that the time had come for the CMS to state publicly that it was willing to accept missionaries who held liberal views. He organised what became known as the ‘Chelmsford Memorial’,⁵⁰ which called on the CMS General Committee to make certain affirmations that would effectively secure a broad base that would include liberal evangelicals. The Memorial was signed by about 80 people, three quarters of whom were associated with the Group Brotherhood.⁵¹ This Memorial was provocative and was a crucial departure on the road that would lead to a split in the CMS. Its potential to cause schism was apparently recognised at the time by Davidson.⁵² When Fox saw a copy of the memorial he mobilised opposition and a swift response was organised by D.H.C. Bartlett.⁵³ This took the form of another Memorial, this time signed by 1000 people, and seeking an exclusivist approach which would have prevented those with liberal views from becoming CMS missionaries.⁵⁴ It is perhaps an indication of the degree to which liberalism was tolerated in the CMS that at this time it was prepared to have its missionaries trained in theology at Cambridge University, while recognising that this would expose them to ‘a large variety of theological opinion’.⁵⁵

Bardsley’s attitude at this time can be discerned in a private letter to Bishop Price of Fukien, quoted earlier⁵⁶, in which he hopes for a closer relationship between the CMS and the Church arguing

If CMS remains in any real sense a sectional Society within the Church it can never fulfil its vocation...⁵⁷

⁵⁰ So called because it was presented to the CMS committee by the Bishop of Chelmsford.

⁵¹ Hewitt I, p.463.

⁵² E.A.Knox *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* (London, Hutchinson, 1934) p.329.

⁵³ Bromiley, *D.H.C. Bartlett*, p.22. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* p.218.

⁵⁴ Hewitt I, p.464.

⁵⁵ ‘Interim report ... on training of missionaries...’, 3/12/1918, G/AZ4.

⁵⁶ See p.117.

⁵⁷ Bardsley to Price, 13/9/1917, G/AC8.

Effectively, Bardsley wanted things both ways; a broader Society, but one which still included the conservatives. The debate was intricate, prolonged and involved, but centred around the issue of the degree of latitude allowed on the issue of the authority of Scripture. Put simply the liberals wanted missionaries to be allowed to hold a range of views on scripture, whereas the conservatives wanted a limit such that someone holding certain liberal views would be disbarred from being a CMS missionary. The crucial problem was that someone like Bartlett felt that their conservative beliefs prohibited them from working with people who took too liberal a view of Scripture. Although the liberal argument was simply that a wider range of beliefs should be acceptable within the CMS, in reality this excluded those who, in conscience, could not work within a Society which contained such liberal views. A temporary truce was achieved after a compromise was reached through the work of a 'Memorials Sub-Committee'. This was warmly welcomed by Bardsley, who had been giving careful consideration to resigning, but did not believe that it would be in the best interests of the Society if he did.⁵⁸ In 1922 the problems resurfaced and this time the cracks could not be papered over.

There have been a number of descriptions of the disputes from 1917 to 1922, which eventually resulted in the formation of the BCMS. The most comprehensive account is given by Hewitt,⁵⁹ but, as Ward points out, he wrote his account at a time when it was still a 'painful and sensitive issue'.⁶⁰ As such, he has a slight tendency to understate the severity of the split, and so it takes a fairly careful reading to realise, for example, that in losing Fox and Gladstone the CMS lost a former honorary clerical secretary, (the most senior executive post in the CMS) and the CMS treasurer (second only to the Society President within the committee structure). As Hewitt's account gives very clear details of the attempts to gain agreement, this detail does not need to be repeated here. The split is also described, with a conservative bias, by Walmsley,⁶¹ and there is also a similar account in the official BCMS history.⁶² Both Bardsley's and Bartlett's biographies give accounts from

⁵⁸ Bardsley to Gladstone, 18/3/1919, G/AS 3/4, in response to Gladstone's call for him to resign.

⁵⁹ Hewitt I p.461-473.

⁶⁰ Ward in *The Church Mission Society*, ed. Ward and Stanley. p.34.

⁶¹ Walmsley, *The History of the Evangelical Party*, p.185-201.

⁶² Hooton & Wright, *The First 25 Years of the BCMS*, p.4-16.

their differing perspectives.⁶³ Hylson-Smith's reasonably balanced summary locates the dispute within the context of Anglican Evangelicalism.⁶⁴ Bebbington gives an account in his 'Evangelicalism in Modern Britain', and in a more recent article,⁶⁵ which both place the controversy in the wider perspective of conflicts within Evangelicalism at the time.

In 1922, the main debates took place in the General Committee of the CMS. Over 400 people attended instead of the normal 60.⁶⁶ Agreement was close but elusive. Fox was 'particularly insistent that the time had come to act'⁶⁷ and in October 1922, he, Bartlett, Gladstone and various others formed the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society. A meeting of the CMS General Committee the following month failed to heal the breach. Hewitt records that only two serving missionaries left over the issue, but across the country the CMS lost support from various individuals, groups and churches, with some 78 clergy resigning their membership.⁶⁸

Although the cause of the split was disagreement over what views on the Bible were acceptable within the CMS, the split also coincided with two major changes, in the CMS, at home and abroad. Their contribution to the conflict needs to be considered. The first was the CMS's acceptance of 'recognition' by the Missionary Council, in December 1921. As mentioned previously, this meant an official relationship now existed with the Church of England; this would certainly fit with the liberal agenda. However there is no indication of conservative objections to this, and the fact that the BCMS also, eventually, became a recognised society indicates that this was not a particularly divisive issue.

The second point is more complex. In March, 1922 the CMS India delegation produced its report which called for immediate 'diocesanization' - the handing over of control of CMS-

⁶³ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.69-75. Bromiley, *D.H.C Bartlett*, p.22-36.

⁶⁴ Kenneth Hylson-Smith *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984* (Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1988) pp.252-255.

⁶⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.217-218 and Bebbington, 'Missionary Controversy', 150-152.

⁶⁶ Hewitt I, p.467.

⁶⁷ Bromiley, *D.H.C Bartlett*, p.26.

⁶⁸ Hewitt I, p.471. One of those who identified with BCMS was the father of Bishop Stephen Neill. Yates, 'Anglican Evangelical Missiology', p.148.

founded Churches to the Dioceses in which they were located. Again, this was not specifically raised as a reason for forming a separate society, but it was something Bartlett and others did object to. Over the coming years Bartlett made it clear that the BCMS

was not prepared to sacrifice the vital principles of true churchmanship in submission to the will of the diocese in which it might be working.⁶⁹

The India delegation report might well have proved an additional factor that encouraged Fox, Bartlett, Gladstone and others to believe that setting up a separate society was the right course of action. It certainly did nothing to convince them to stay within the CMS. Years before, Fenn had warned Fox that the full implementation of Stock's plan would not be possible while holding 'Evangelical Principles',⁷⁰ and, as will be seen, Fenn was, in some ways, correct.

5.3.2 Effects of the Split

The India delegation report might not have caused the split, but, inversely, the split almost certainly meant that the acceptance and implementation of the new policy was more straightforward. As Gibbs puts it

The policy of diocesanization [was] made easier in the twenties when the Conservative Evangelicals, who stood for separation ... split off to form BCMS.⁷¹

Policy changes may have been made easier, but the CMS remained an evangelical society, and continued to experience debates concerning breadth and doctrine.

Walmsley claims that after 1922 Liberal Evangelicals 'had captured the CMS',⁷² and Rogers certainly claims success for the liberals in 'setting the CMS free to enter on the new world of thought and experience, of aspiration and unity ...'.⁷³ However this is not the full story, as many conservative evangelicals chose to remain within the CMS.⁷⁴ As Bebbington puts

⁶⁹ Hooton & Wright, *The First 25 Years of the BCMS* p.129.

⁷⁰ Fenn to Fox, 21/12/1899, G/C 9/2 Part 1, discussed more fully in chapter 3 above.

⁷¹ Gibbs *The Increase of Church Consciousness*, ACC318/Z3/2, p.4. Similarly in Gibbs 1972 p.361.

⁷² Walmsley, *The History of the Evangelical Party*, p.207.

⁷³ Rogers, *Rebel at Heart*, p.164. See also Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.74.

⁷⁴ Bromiley, *D.H.C Bartlett*, p.36.

it ‘the division was within conservative ranks’.⁷⁵ Webb-Peploe, a key leader in the Bible League and of Keswick, continued to support the CMS very publicly.⁷⁶ Conservatives also remained in leadership positions; Walmsley himself cites GT Manley, who continued as Africa secretary, as holding a conservative view on the Bible.⁷⁷ As will be seen in the next chapter, the CMS General Secretary appointed in 1925 was certainly not a liberal. In due course the CMS proved willing to set up a conservative enclave within its organisation in the shape of the Ruanda Mission.⁷⁸

The CMS had firmly rejected an approach that required a clear doctrinal definition of its evangelical beliefs;

We believe that the Society will best perform its task if, in accordance with the traditions of the past, it depends for its Evangelical character on the guidance of its affairs by Evangelical men and women constantly depending upon the Holy Spirit rather than on formularies or expressions of faith.⁷⁹

The CMS remained an evangelical Society, containing liberal evangelicals and those conservative evangelicals whose beliefs were such as to allow them to continue to work within a society that contained people with more liberal views.

5.4 Bardsley’s Resignation and Replacement by Lankester

It is somewhat difficult to determine whether Bardsley’s resignation should be considered a separate issue or whether it ought also to be viewed as a result of the conflict. Bardsley resigned at the end of November 1922.⁸⁰ There is no ambiguity about the reason; it was because he had been offered the post of Secretary to the new Missionary Council of the Church Assembly. The offer came from the chairman of the MC, Donaldson the Bishop of

⁷⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.218 see also Bebbington, ‘Missionary Controversy’, p.152-154. Bishop Knox speaks of three camps, the BCMS, the AEGM and his own. He opposed Modernism but did not accept ‘verbal inspiration’ as the BCMS did. Knox, *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian*, p.329.

⁷⁶ Bebbington, ‘Missionary Controversy’, p.152-153.

⁷⁷ Walmsley 1980 p.134, though Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p.189 notes that he did not assert ‘inerrancy’. Manley was later to edit various books for the IVP, including *The New Bible Handbook*, 1947.

⁷⁸ See Hewitt I, p.267-269.

⁷⁹ *Report of the Special Sub-Committee appointed in pursuance of the Resolution of the General Committee of July 12 1922*, G/AP 11, p.1-2.

⁸⁰ Minutes of Patronage Committee, 28/11/1922, G/CS3, p.375.

Salisbury, but it also had Davidson's and Lang's approval.⁸¹ It was an important post and Bardsley's subsequent elevation to the episcopate emphasises that in making this appointment there was no intention from the Anglican hierarchy of simply getting Bardsley out of the way.

However, Bardsley himself was one of the key stumbling blocks for conservatives in the CMS at that time.⁸² As quoted earlier Gladstone believed that if Bardsley resigned 'it would probably resolve most if not all the difficulties'.⁸³ In retrospect, Rogers claimed Bardsley's and his own names were 'anathema to so many of the fundamentalist supporters of the Society'.⁸⁴ Bardsley's biography says that he

realised that in the Archbishop's mind and in the minds of many people he had made his greatest contribution to the CMS, and now it would be easier for all concerned that the Society should have a new leader, unconnected with the recent controversy.⁸⁵

The degree of sensitivity that the CMS felt at this time is indicated by the delay in appointing a full successor. Six months after Bardsley's resignation Dr. Herbert Lankester was appointed, temporarily, with the understanding that a clergyman would eventually be appointed.⁸⁶ The field of candidates for the re-named post of General Secretary was substantially widened by the decision, to provide a salary for the post for the first time.⁸⁷

Lankester,⁸⁸ was a licenced Lay Reader⁸⁹ and an uncontroversial choice because, as a layman, he was not as clearly aligned to a particular party as a clergyman would have been. He was a medical doctor, and had worked in the West End of London before being

⁸¹ Davidson to Bardsley, November 1922, G/AC7.

⁸² Hylson-Smith notes that frequently the dispute was 'bitter and even personal especially when it was directed at ... Bardsley' Hylson-Smith, *Evangelicals in the Church of England*, p.253.

⁸³ S.H. Gladstone to Bardsley, 15/3/1919, G/AS 3/4.

⁸⁴ Rogers, *Rebel at Heart*, p.82.

⁸⁵ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.77.

⁸⁶ Minutes of 'The Sub Committee on the appointment of the General Secretary', 18/5/1923, G/CS3, p.381.

⁸⁷ Of £1,000 per annum plus allowances. Ibid.

⁸⁸ 1862-1947

⁸⁹ by the Bishop of London see Stock III, p.667.

appointed as Physician to the CMS in 1894.⁹⁰ He had held various posts within the CMS, having originally started in 1891, in a voluntary capacity, as honorary secretary of the Medical Mission Auxiliary. He moved on to become CMS Home Secretary in 1903 and Financial Secretary in 1910. Hewitt sees him as a ‘familiar and trusted member of the headquarters staff’,⁹¹ and as such he was eminently suitable to provide a breathing space after the turmoil of 1922. As will be seen, under Lankester, the CMS continued on the course planned for it during Bardsley’s last few years in post, specifically in implementing changes in India.

5.5 India Post War, and the CMS Delegation

The time for courageous action had not only come but is, in many parts of India, long overdue.⁹²

So wrote A. W. Davies in 1919, after an informal conference of English and Indian friends who were heavily involved in the work of the Church in India. This meeting had expounded the need for Missions to hand over control of the Church to Indians

It is our conviction ... that in certain parts of India development has reached the stage where there are Indians of ability and devotion who are fully capable of directing the work of the Church.⁹³

As will be seen, several of those present would play a key role as the CMS responded to the changes in India.

The 1909 Memorandum had resulted in very little change and had given no real impetus to the movement of control from the CMS to the Dioceses. By the end of the War a re-think of the position of the CMS in India was overdue, but it seems that such a re-think was overshadowed by events happening in the Church at home. Although there was a recognition that the issue of Church and Mission needed to be revisited, there was a reluctance to open up the issue. In 1920 a Review Committee was set up and it included a Policy Sub-Committee. In this the Secretaries were asked to prepare papers for discussion on the transfer from mission to Church, but they requested that ‘the question might be

⁹⁰ Stock III, p.661.

⁹¹ Hewitt I, p.443.

⁹² *Foreign Missions and the Indian Church, Report of an Informal Conference Allahabad May 1919, G/Az4*

⁹³ Ibid.

postponed for a time'.⁹⁴ A delegation to India was being planned. With the Lambeth Conference at home, and the various tensions within the CMS, the Secretaries wanted to postpone any discussion until after the delegation.

One committee member persisted, raising the question again

can definite steps be recommended to promote transfer of power to the native community,⁹⁵

Again the secretaries were not ready to discuss the matter and this Review Committee did not address the issue at all.

It is symptomatic of the changes taking place that further decisions on the work in India would not be made by a committee in Salisbury Square, but in India itself. The PC was 'sending out a Delegation to India to study in India, and with Indians',⁹⁶ the issues facing the Church. There were of course practical advantages to this: the visit to India would not only give clear information to the CMS leaders but would also provide them with ample opportunity for discussion during the long journeys. However, it was the inclusion of three leading Indian Christians which marked the most significant change in approach; it signalled that the Church in India was coming of age and it no longer simply fell to the CMS to make decisions on its behalf. This was emphasised in a letter to CMS workers in India - 'While the Delegation desire to take counsel with the foreign missionaries, it may best be thought of as a Delegation to the Indian Church'.⁹⁷ The General Committee specifically included Indians in the delegation so that there would be the maximum opportunity for consultation and because 'of the great issues at stake in the Church in India'.⁹⁸ The whole delegation was instructed that 'all possible opportunity for consultation with Indian as well as European opinion'.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Minutes of the Policy Sub-committee, 9/2/1920 & 8/3/1920, G/CR 2/2.

⁹⁵ Letter from E.R. Kenyon, Minutes of the Policy Sub-committee, 16/7/1920, G/CR 2/2.

⁹⁶ 'Indian Delegation Paper No. 1 To our Brethren and Fellow-workers in the Church of Christ in India.', 11/7/1921, G/AD 1/3.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Minute of the General Committee, 28/4/1921, G/C1 1921, p.145.

⁹⁹ Minute of the General Committee, 13/1/1921, G/C1 1921, p.40.

The delegation consisted of six English members and three Indians. The English contingent was

E.F.E. Wigram	India Secretary
Dr. Garfield Williams	Education Secretary and former missionary in India
Miss D. Rhoda Williams	Daughter of the CMS President. ¹⁰⁰ Regular member of the General and the Home & Foreign committees
Miss Baring-Gould	Held various CMS posts since 1892 (See chapter 2)
Gurney Barclay	Missionary in Japan
C. Bardsley	Honorary Clerical Secretary

This was clearly a strong group, for which Bardsley provided strong leadership.¹⁰¹ the presence of the India, honorary and Education Secretaries would give particular weight to the delegation's findings. Garfield Williams had recently returned from India, where he had been principal of St Andrew's College, Gorakhpur. He had been one of those present at the Allahabad conference mentioned earlier and so was fully committed to handing over control of the Church to Indians.

The delegates from India were an equally formidable group¹⁰²

Bishop Azariah	Bishop of Dornakal
Mr Rallia Ram	'A leading Punjabi layman' of the YMCA Lahore
Dr Kerioth Bose	A doctor working in Punjab since 1890

Rallia Ram had also been present at the Allahabad conference in 1919.

The delegation party, pictured in figure 5.1 below, also included Mrs Bardsley and Miss Phelps as secretary. In India, by the 1920s, out of a total population of 300 million, there were about 6 million Christians¹⁰³ of whom just under one third of a million were associated with the CMS.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Assumed from *Who Was Who* which records that Rhoda Williams, daughter of Sir Robert Williams married RL Barclay, Gurney Barclay's brother.

¹⁰¹ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.61 & 67.

¹⁰² Gibbs describes them as 'three notable Indian Christians', Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India*, p.330 & 361-362.

¹⁰³ J. Brown, *Who is an Indian? Dilemmas of National Identity at the End of the British Raj in India*. (Currents in World Christianity Project, Position Paper 131), p.3.

¹⁰⁴ Table of statistics for the India mission, 1922, G/Y/Ig2 1922-37.

Figure 5.1 The CMS India Delegation, 1921-1922.



5.6 Report of the India Delegation

The delegation produced a two part report which it had written while in India.¹⁰⁵ The first part was published, but the second part remained confidential. The confidential part contained an analysis of the situation in each Mission, often with very frank comments and detailed recommendations on institutions and general work in each Mission; for example, recommendations on whether certain schools should be retained or closed. It provides an insight into the way each Mission was functioning at that time and also various glimpses of the tensions that the delegation found. For instance, it noted that the Allahabad Corresponding Committee, governing the United Provinces Mission had

four Indian visitors nominated by the Indian Section of the Diocesan Council who were appointed full members but who refused to act on the grounds that such representation was not sufficient. This Mission is an outstanding example of a Mission administered by a small committee which is unrepresentative and which lacks proper knowledge of the work.¹⁰⁶

Another example was the Punjab where the reports said ‘there is little self-expression and self-government, as a whole the work is treated so largely as mission-centric’.¹⁰⁷ The amalgamation of LGB and NCC discussed in chapter 4 had not proved a particularly

¹⁰⁵ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.67

¹⁰⁶ *CMS India Delegation Report Part II 1922*, G/Y Ig2, p.26-27.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p.33.

effective way of developing a self-governing Church. A significant number of the specific recommendations were acted on, but a substantial number were not.¹⁰⁸

The first part of the report was published in May 1922¹⁰⁹. This was too late for it to have been a major cause of the controversy of 1922, which was already underway, but it might still have been a factor in encouraging people to start a separate missionary society. The report was very clear and direct. In the introduction, by Bardsley, it emphasised the changed situation in India.

The one outstanding fact which gripped the Delegation, and which in their judgement needs to be grasped by the Committee if they are to consider rightly this report, is that India to-day is very different from India a few years ago.¹¹⁰

Such a statement presumably was aimed at the various General Committee members who had experience of India in the past, either as missionaries, chaplains or colonial administrators. It would have undermined many possible objections to the report based on earlier experience. This section of the report discusses various issues, including Education, Mass Movements, Training of Clergy and Re-trenchment, but by far the most significant section was entitled 'Church and Mission' which was reprinted as a separate booklet at the end of 1922.¹¹¹

In addition to the obvious Venn influence, two other distinct influences can be seen in the delegation's *Report on Church and Mission in India*. The whole thrust of the report matches that of the Lambeth conference report of 1920 discussed above. The delegates

¹⁰⁸ G/Y Ig2, contains a typed document which is undated and anonymous & headed 'Proposals of the CMS Delegation to India 1921-22'. It would appear to have been written post 1930. It begins 'There is a general opinion that most of the proposals of the delegation proved abortive. On the contrary most of them have been acted upon.' It then list all the recommendations as listed in the report with comments. Roughly, of 110 proposals, 48 were carried out fully, 21 were rejected fully, 12 were carried out partially, 14 are still being carried out, 10 did not happen due to lack of funds or people, and 5 are not known.

¹⁰⁹ Copy, G2/O 1923, dated 29/5/1922 It was also reproduced in International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 3: The Younger and Older Churches*. (London, OUP, 1928) p.240-4.

¹¹⁰ *CMS India Delegation Report Part I 1922*, G2/O/1923, p.4.

¹¹¹ *Church and Mission in India*, G/Y/Ig3. In the original, full report, this section begins at page 17, but the reprint begins with page 1, and in the following section this is the version that is being referred to, with page numbers indicated in brackets.

would have been familiar with that report, published the previous year, and they had the extra advantage of one of their delegation, Bishop Azariah, having been on the committee that wrote it. The other influence is less distinct, but the report does seem to show the influence of Roland Allen, particularly in its stress on the importance from the first of instilling a commitment to witnessing and self-support, and in the way the report criticises missionaries for preventing this, albeit unintentionally (p.4-5).

The report recommended that

the control of the Society's missions, with the exception of the N-W Frontier Province mission and possibly of one or two other districts, be transferred as rapidly as possible to the several dioceses, such transfer involving the replacement of the Society's administration in these missions by diocesan administrations (p.16).

Here was a call for action, not 'in the fullness of time' or 'when the time is ripe', but 'as rapidly as possible'. Two key reasons are given for the urgent need for devolution of powers.

The first was nationalism, which was resulting in a 'growing estrangement between the missionaries and the Indian Christian community' particularly in northern India (p.2). This had been fuelled by the war and the subsequent return of about 1 million people to the villages of India, having seen something of the outside world. The report cites Gandhi's rise to prominence as further evidence of nationalist sentiment. The report is unambiguous

We are fully convinced that continuance of such a state of affairs any longer will be fatal to the Cause of the Master, and must, therefore, be ended in the interests of the Kingdom at the earliest possible moment (p.2).

The second reason for urgent devolution was the issue of Church reunion. The report made it clear that 'it is organised Churches and not Foreign Societies that must unite to form the united Church of the future' (p.2), and stressed the importance of an evangelical contribution from the Anglican side that would come from the CMS missions playing a part in the Dioceses. Again there is no equivocation, the CMS must not be 'semi-independent' but should 'throw its lot completely and without reserve into the Indian Church'(p.2).

The handing over of control to the dioceses is couched in terms that had been missing from CMS reports for some time; the idea of 'euthanasia' was back. The first main section of the

report is headed 'The new call to the Mission to lose its own life in developing that of the Church', which was a call for the CMS to enable the Church 'to develop its own life on its own lines, and to fulfil its own vocation' (p.1). The Church being developed was to be an indigenous Church. The 'euthanasia' of the Mission was now essential because the Mission organisation had become divisive. Whatever form of LGB there was, 'administration is actually accomplished through a CMS office and a CMS secretary' (p.14). The report explains

It is impossible for such an organisation to be other than a divisive influence in the diocese, for as an inevitable result there are two authorities, on the one hand the Bishop and his office and his councils, on the other hand the CMS secretary and his office and his committees, and the more strong and efficient the CMS secretary, his office and his committees, the more divisive will be their influence.(p.14)

The mere existence of the CMS administrative machinery was now a problem to the development of the indigenous church, not least because nationalism was seen to make Indians identify with the Diocese rather than the Mission. Indigenising the Mission was not considered an option.

It will not solve the problem if we make the CMS secretariat and its committees predominantly Indian; for in that case we shall simply have perpetuated a dual control within each diocese (P.14).

However, the report did declare that 'the time for Henry Venn's complete euthanasia has not fully come. But it is coming ...'(p.12). As well as recommending the transfer of control as speedily as possible, the report was clear that certain things needed to be in place for the handover of control from the Society to the Dioceses - 'it is impossible to hand over men and money to a Church which largely exists only as an ideal' (p.11). This was not the same as simply saying that the time was not ripe. The report did not prevaricate, proposing a specific mechanism which would allow control to be handed over and defining exactly what needed to be in place for this to happen. Where these conditions were already in place, the report was adamant that 'as much handing over as is possible must take place with all despatch' (p.12).

The delegation had noted a distinct problem in terms of implementing its proposals. It found that

again and again ... we were only suggesting changes which had been suggested and approved of long before, but somehow or other had never been made (p.15)

It concluded that

changes of a radical nature will not come to pass unless there is some definite body whom [the] PC delegates and empowers to see them through.(p.15)

They therefore proposed the formation of a new body in India that would 'represent the Parent Committee in the actual transference of the Society's work to the diocese' (p.15).

This would be a 'Committee of Reference'.

The primary requirement for complete hand over was for the Church to be free from State control (p.12). Various issues were connected with this. It would allow for a constitutional episcopate that could be extended significantly, and was not, at the highest level, controlled by a foreign power. Within each diocese some form of representative Church government was needed, ideally in a form that would not prevent future reunion. This should include representation of all sections of the church regardless of race or gender, as the report put it

each diocesan government should be really democratic and really representative of the Christians within it, irrespective of race or sex (p.12).

The idea was that standing committees of these diocesan bodies would be formed which could be 'trusted to take the place of the Society's Corresponding Committees or missionary conferences' (p.13). This was already happening in some dioceses and it was considered that such a structure could be formed in each diocese.

The report addressed the question 'Will the changes proposed allow the Society to continue fulfilling its vocation as an evangelical society?' (p.11) It gave six clear reasons why the answer was 'yes', based on the proper representation in the diocesan structures of the Churches CMS had formed, and the continued involvement of CMS missionaries.

The whole report is summed up by a word that the delegation appears to have invented - 'diocesanization'. It is not mentioned in any of the initial papers of the delegation, nor in the delegation's early reports of its visits to missions. The first use seems to be by Rhoda Williams in her report of West India in January 1922. It is then used once in the delegation

report (p.16). Wigram did not use it in his article on the delegation's findings,¹¹² but it came to prominence, in the CMS, when Bishop Waller published an article in the CMR, strongly advocating the proposed policy, entitled *The Diocesanization of the Church Missionary Society*.¹¹³

Diocesanization does not refer to the formation of dioceses. It is rather the process by which missionary societies handed over control of churches or institutions, that they had founded, to the existing diocese in which the Mission was located. This had been strongly advocated by the 1920 Lambeth Conference,¹¹⁴ without using the word 'diocesanization'. As a policy it had to be implemented by the missionary society concerned. Several members of the delegation were at first opposed to this new policy, but Bardsley records that unanimity was reached.¹¹⁵

5.7 Implementation of the India Report

The report was dealt with by the India Committee of the CMS,¹¹⁶ the Secretary of which was Wigram, who had been part of the delegation. In all the turmoil of 1922, the report did not get lost and in February 1923, a Minute drawn up by the India Committee was approved by the General Committee. This set up the 'Committee of Reference' in India which proceeded to draft a document which would be a definitive statement on when and how diocesanization should take place. Various draft versions of this document were produced before its final version was approved by the GC in June 1924.¹¹⁷ The various documents which led to this final statement are detailed in table 5.1.

¹¹² E.F.E Wigram 'The CMS Delegation in India and Ceylon', *Church Missionary Review*. 73 (1922)114-126 (but does speak of Henry Venn's idea of euthanasia p.118)

¹¹³ E.H.M. Waller 'The Diocesanization of the Church Missionary Society,' *Church Missionary Review*. 73 (1922) 204-210. In 1945 'diocesanised' is used to describe missions in 7th Century England, J. McLeod Campbell, *Christian History in the Making*. (London, Church Assembly, 1946) p.9.

¹¹⁴ Lambeth Conference 1920, Resolution 34 p.35-36.

¹¹⁵ Bayldon 1942 p.67.

¹¹⁶ See minute of GC, 10/5/1922, G/C1 1922, p.58.

¹¹⁷ Minute of GC, 17/6/1924, G/C1 1924, p.417.

Table 5.1 Documents leading up to Final Statement of India Report

<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Comments</i>
May 1922	Church and Mission in India	CMS India delegation	Part of a much longer report of the delegation
Feb 1923	Minute of the General Committee on Church and Mission in India	Group II Committee, but adopted by the GC	
July 1923	Fundamental Principles	Committee of Reference	Including along with minutes of the committee. After this the secretary came to London for consultation
Jan 1924	Draft Statement of Fundamental Principles regarding the Transfer of Work in India from the CMS to Diocesan Control	Committee of Reference	Including Appendix discussing certain tricky questions
n.d.	Draft Statement of General Principles upon which the Society proposes to act in respect to the handing over of any of its work in India and Ceylon to Diocesan Control	Committee of Reference	Includes 13/2/1923 minute as an appendix
June 1924	A Further Statement on Church and Mission in India setting Forth the General Principles upon which the Society proposes to act in respect to the handing over of any of its work in India and Ceylon to Diocesan Control ¹¹⁸	Adopted by GC	

The final four papers in table 5.1 are different versions of the same document. The development between them is illustrated by the changes in the titles; the basic meaning remains, but was explained more fully and more carefully at each stage. Only the final version will need to be discussed in detail, though some aspects of the process throw light on the attitude of various people involved. For ease of discussion this document, in its various draft forms, will be referred to as *General Principles*, except where a clear distinction needs to be made between earlier versions.

¹¹⁸ All in G/Y/Ig3.

5.7.1 The 1923 Minute

The 1923 Minute had two functions; to provide the historic background to the CMS's policy and to actually set up the Committee of Reference. The historic background was expounded in order to show the 'continuity with previous action of the CMS' and readers were specifically referred to Stock's history¹¹⁹ and to the 1906 regulations.¹²⁰ The discussion of the policy went back to Venn's guidelines on *The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Churches*, 1851, and is supplemented by the inclusion, as appendices, of the full text of the Memoranda of 1901, 1909 and 1914. Although reasonable weight is given to Venn's policy, it would appear from this paper that there were no developments in the policy on the indigenous Church between Venn and the 1901 Memorandum. This fits with Williams' thesis that Stock had successfully downplayed developments after Venn, particularly a memorandum of 1877, so that the 1901 Memorandum was seen to fit smoothly with previous policy.¹²¹

The 1923 Minute gave a great deal of emphasis to the 1901 Memorandum; more space was devoted to it than to the whole of the developments in the nineteenth century. The 1909 and 1914 Memoranda were just given brief mentions, as was the adoption of the Calcutta Diocesan constitution of 1917. The situation at the time of writing was discussed, repeating the main reasons why action was required at this time. This included a recognition that the 'Anglican Church in India is now making a definite effort after autonomy'. While it recognised that this would involve all races it also noted that 'the predominant membership and the main point of view of the Church will be Indian'.¹²² This is a crucial point. In handing over control to the dioceses, the CMS was giving control to an organisation which while having English bishops and significant English influences was still predominantly Indian and in which Indian influence would clearly grow.

In setting up the Committee of Reference the 1923 Minute did not go quite as far as the India delegation had suggested. In particular, the recommendation that the Committee of

¹¹⁹ Particularly chapter 39 of Volume IV.

¹²⁰ Minute of GC, 13/2/1923, G/C1 1923, p.353-356.

¹²¹ Williams *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church* p.81-82, also p.73.

¹²² Minute of the CMS General Committee, 13/2/1923, G/C1 1923, p.6.

Reference should have one or two full time secretaries was not accepted.¹²³ The India delegation had left open the question of whether the Committee of Reference might have a role once diocesanization was achieved, possibly with powers as a governing body for all CMS work in India.¹²⁴ It appears that, on reflection, the CMS India Committee did not want to give too much power to this new committee. However, their Minute was very specific in defining the powers that the Committee of Reference would have. It was to make detailed proposals and advise on the transfer of work, workers and property and was empowered to represent the Parent Committee in preliminary negotiations with the diocesan authorities and local governing bodies of the Missions concerned.¹²⁵

Prior to diocesanization, the existing LGBs would continue to represent the society and administer the Missions except for those matters which were within the Committee of Reference's jurisdiction.¹²⁶ It was specifically required 'to give due consideration' to the principles previously laid down in the Memoranda of 1901, 1909 and 1914 and was to provide proposals for the transfer of control to the Dioceses of Colombo, Tinnevely, Travancore and Dornakal in the near future. Special consideration had also to be given to the control of educational institutions.

5.7.2 The Committee of Reference

The 1923 Minute lists the members of the Committee of Reference, who between them could claim experience of the Church across India and Ceylon, and also had a breadth of experience in terms of the types of work the CMS was engaged in, including medical, educational, evangelistic and pastoral work. One member, Bose, had been on the India delegation. They were

¹²³ Wigram and Williams (Education Secretary) to India Bishops, Mission secretaries and members of the Committee of Reference Circular 'A' 22/2/1923, G2 AZ 1.

¹²⁴ *CMS India Delegation Report Part I* 1922, G2/O/1923, p.15-16.

¹²⁵ Minute of the CMS General Committee, 13/2/1923, G/C1 1923, p. 8.

¹²⁶ The Committee of Reference were somewhat concerned about this relationship and one of its first decisions was to ask that CMS secretaries arrange for members of the Committee of Reference to be visitors to the LGB meetings when diocesanization was under discussion. Minutes of the Committee of Reference July 1923, G/Y/Ig3.

Archdeacon T.K. Benjamin	Travancore
Miss K.M. Bose	Punjab
Rev. R Force-Jones	Punjab
Rev A.G. Fraser	Ceylon
Dr Henry Holland	Quetta
Miss G.I. Mather	Western India
Rev R.W. Peachey	Madras
Rev. S.K. Tarafdar	Bihar
Miss A.F. Wright	United Provinces
Canon A.W. Davies (Sec)	Agra
Kanwar Maharaj Singh CIE (chair)	

The chairman was to Kanwar Maharaj Singh was the first president of the National Missionary Society of India in 1905, which had Azariah as its secretary and was supposed to chair the first All India Conference of Indian Christians in 1914, but was prevented from doing so by the death of his son.¹²⁷ At the first meeting of the Committee of Reference he ‘expressed himself as in full sympathy with the policy of diocesanization’ and urged that principles rather than detail should be the Committee’s concern.¹²⁸ Privately, he was concerned that this Committee, which was predominantly made up of CMS missionaries, might ‘attempt unduly to shackle the dioceses as they develop’.¹²⁹

The Secretary was the Rev. Arthur Whitcliffe Davies. Educated at Uppingham School and University College, Oxford, he was ordained in 1908 and began as a CMS missionary, lecturing at St John’s College, Agra, and was described by Stock as one of the ‘most fervent and energetic of the younger missionaries’.¹³⁰ Privately wealthy, he contributed a great deal in terms of money and his own abilities to building up the college.¹³¹ He became principal of St. John’s in 1913, a post he held until 1928, when he returned to England to work for the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly. He became General Secretary of the Missionary Council in 1930, replacing Garfield Williams,¹³² who had held the post

¹²⁷ Stock IV, p.164 & 174.

¹²⁸ Minutes of the Committee of Reference July 1923, G/Y/Ig3.

¹²⁹ Davies to Wigram, 23/8/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

¹³⁰ Stock IV, p.516.

¹³¹ Hewitt II, p.124.

¹³² Previously the CMS Education Secretary and a member of the India delegation.

since taking over from Bardsley. Davies left the Missionary Council and became Dean of Worcester in 1934.

Davies was a liberal evangelical, and contributed the chapter on the church overseas to the book *Liberal Evangelicalism*. In this he calls for an urgent readjustment in ‘the relationship between Church and Mission’ and also applauds the Lambeth Conference’s report calling for true Native Churches.¹³³ As quoted earlier, he had made his views very clear about the need for change in India, in reporting an informal conference held in Allahabad May 1919, which he had convened. In 1921 he wrote an article for the CMR on the situation in India, in which he said

We applaud our fathers for maintaining so stoutly that ‘the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.’ Are we prepared to allow a like liberty in the empire of India?¹³⁴

Thus, in appointing Davies, the CMS was giving the Committee of Reference a Secretary of obvious ability, who was strongly committed to the objectives of the committee and had already proved himself willing to actually do something about it. The speed with which the committee was able to get through its work was largely down to his detailed preparation, assisted by Miss Mather.

5.7.3 The Process of Writing *General Principles*

The first meeting of the Committee of Reference was held in July 1923 and lasted two days. In that time the first version of the ‘Fundamental Principles’ document was drafted, which contained all the key elements of the final version. It was sent to England for comment, as Davies put it

The Parent Committee must consider whether we have included... all the essential conditions. It must also consider whether we have included too many.¹³⁵

Davies expressed surprise at the degree of unanimity in the recommendation that dioceses should have a large degree of control over CMS missionaries and grants after diocesanization.¹³⁶

¹³³ Davies in *Liberal evangelicalism*, p.280 & 283.

¹³⁴ AW Davies ‘The Position in India’ in *Church Missionary Review* 72 (1921)106-115 at 114.

¹³⁵ Davies to Wigram, 23/8/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

The PC responded to the Committee of Reference's proposals very positively, giving their provisional approval.¹³⁷ They did however stress that the Committee of Reference was only empowered to hold 'provisional' negotiations with the diocese. Various other minor points were mentioned and the Committee of Reference was then requested to produce an amended version that could be issued as the PC's final pronouncement on the relationship of Mission and Church in India.¹³⁸ Davies was not particularly enthused by the response. He seemed frustrated by how drawn out the process of diocesanization was proving to be.

It is evident, as no doubt you have realised, that it is going to be - as I suppose is intended - a very slow process.¹³⁹

Davies was particularly annoyed by what he described as a 'sinister' suggestion by Wigram. In an earlier letter Wigram had said that it would be

easier to get the committee to hand over complete control of certain of the essentials such as pastoral and evangelistic work if, to a large extent, that work to which they are still to contribute is of the nature of the special educational work still controlled by a Committee more or less independent of the Diocese.¹⁴⁰

This was linked with an indication that some of the PC wished to see a distinct limit to the time that grants would be given to diocesanized churches. The old idea of linking self-support with self-government was clearly still held by some on the India committee, and perhaps, to a degree, by Wigram himself. Several years earlier, Davies had argued that self-government would have to precede self-support.¹⁴¹ This effectively presupposed the whole approach to diocesanization. Davies was incensed at Wigram's attitude, seeing it as cutting 'at the root of real diocesanization'.¹⁴² At the next meeting of the Committee of Reference in January 1924, which lasted three days, *General Principles* was redrafted, still clearly indicating the CMS's intention to continue giving block grants to the dioceses after diocesanization. As an appendix, there was a note written by Davies at the request of the Committee of Reference which made clear the importance of continuing the block grants

¹³⁷ Extract from minutes of the CMS India committee, 3/10/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Davies to Wigram, 20/11/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

¹⁴⁰ Wigram to Davies, 25/10/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

¹⁴¹ *Foreign Missions and the Indian Church, Report of an Informal Conference Allahabad May 1919, G/Az4*

¹⁴² Davies to Wigram, 20/11/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

if the CMS wished to have any influence on the dioceses after diocesanization.¹⁴³ He also pointed out the frustration that there was in India with the slow progress

it is right that the Parent Committee should understand that the procedure adopted and the delays involved have not added to the Society's popularity in the dioceses.¹⁴⁴

Further work continued on this draft. A substantial introductory text was added and minor changes in content were made. The original order of the main section discussed the 'Mission' before discussing the 'Diocese'. It is symbolic of the whole policy that this order was reversed. The final version was approved by the General Committee in June 1924. Davies was much happier once the final version was ready for approval

When it is issued the Committee of Reference and the Diocesan and Mission authorities in India will have a very clear idea of the Society's mind. Hitherto there has been much uncertainty and much doubt we have had to work in the dark, and in an atmosphere of secrecy and suspicion, fumbling where we ought to have felt no doubts, and unable to give definite replies to enquiries from the Dioceses and the Missions. Now we shall be in a position to carry through preliminary negotiations with infinitely greater ease and certainty.¹⁴⁵

5.7.4 The Final Version of *General Principles*

Like the 1901 and 1909 Memoranda, *General Principles* began by recognising that framing diocesan constitutions was not the CMS's job (p.5).¹⁴⁶ However, unlike in 1909, it was recognised that at certain times the CMS would be consulted concerning the incorporation of CMS work into a diocesan constitution. It therefore sought to lay down clear principles on what the CMS would hope to see in the diocesan constitution, how the transfer would happen and what the CMS relationship to the diocese would be after the transfer.

¹⁴³ 'Draft Statement of Fundamental principles...' by Committee of Reference, Jan 1924, G/Y/Ig3, in the Appendix written by Davies at request of the Committee of Reference.

¹⁴⁴ 'Draft Statement of Fundamental principles...' by Committee of Reference, Jan 1924, G/Y/Ig3.

¹⁴⁵ 'Note on a further statement of Church and Mission by Canon A.W. Davies', May 1924, G/Y/Ig3.

¹⁴⁶ In the following section, page references refer to the page in the final version of *General Principles*.

5.7.4.1 Safeguards Desired Prior to Diocesanization.

The fundamental principle that the CMS felt essential in any diocesan constitution was 'effective Indian representation'. It was expected that the corner stone of this would be the election of representatives from Parochial Church Councils (p.6); however it was recognised that there was a danger in some dioceses of domination by chaplains and missionaries. So not only would Indians be on every board and committee, 'including those which deal mainly with European work', but also Indian work would need 'to be under the direction of a body in the composition of which Indians will be a large and effective majority' (p.5). This issue had been expounded by Davies in a letter to Wigram under the heading 'Effective India Representation'

We took the word 'effective' to mean what it says. There is no doubt that ideally the diocese should be in respect of all its work a unity, but equally there is no doubt that in the northern dioceses where Europeans exercise so large an influence, the Indians will never feel that the Church is theirs unless that part of the work in which they are most interested is obviously under their direction, and unless their committees and boards are saved from European domination. It is to be remembered that this domination does not consist in a numerical majority nearly so much as in the presence of powerful personalities who are speaking their own language and are familiar with the ins and outs of mission and church procedure as the Indians at this stage cannot hope to be. This is why we have the theoretically indefensible system of European, missionary and Indian sections in the Lucknow Diocesan Council.¹⁴⁷

In other words, it was expected that Indian opinion would be predominant in the diocesan structures, and where this was not the case, there would be a section of the diocesan structure, governing Indian work, which would be almost entirely Indian. At the same time there would be Indian representation on all the other diocesan bodies.

Various other issues connected with representation were also included. The importance of strong lay representation on all committees was stressed,¹⁴⁸ particular as this was seen as vital to any future Church reunion (p.5-6). Concern was also expressed that lay missionaries should have separate representation. Clerical missionaries would normally be on the Diocesan Council by dint of their position, but this was not the case for lay missionaries. They could have sought election by a local Church Council, but this would have been at the

¹⁴⁷ Davies to Wigram, 23/8/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

¹⁴⁸ This was an issue that Bardsley felt strongly about in the English context also, see Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.15 & 123.

expense of an Indian representative and was therefore considered inappropriate. A useful approach adopted in Tinnevely was the suggestion of having special 'Church workers' representation, which would include lay missionaries (p.6). The question of women's enfranchisement caused problems, with the recommendation changing in various drafts of *General Principles*, from their full enfranchisement being essential to the less direct final version which said that women should not permanently be excluded from 'rights or privileges which are open to the laity' (p.6). The Committee of Reference was in a quandary. It wanted to empower Indian Christians, both men and women, but in some areas Indian opinion was against women's enfranchisement and the committee felt that they could not force the issue. However they did stress that women's work needed a special committee if it was not to be neglected. Also the adoption of the order of deaconess was encouraged (p.6).

General Principles included other safeguards that the CMS wished to see in place before the transfer of CMS founded churches. It recognised that, in future, the diocese would be solely responsible for the appointment of pastors, but hoped that the mechanism would include congregations being consulted and then appointments resting with 'a board containing a majority of elected members' (p.8). The issue of the training of clergy will be discussed later. During the drafting process there had been concern expressed about safeguarding 'Modes of Worship'. This issue was made simpler by the provisional Provincial Constitution including safeguards for congregation's rights in ritual and ceremonial. The final version of *General Principles* was thus able to note its satisfaction with this proposal and expressed the hope that each diocese would adopt the same rule (p.8).

The Committee of Reference was divided over what to say about the powers of the Episcopate. It felt that saying too much might rouse hostility in the dioceses but raising the issue without explaining what was in the CMS's mind would simply raise suspicion.¹⁴⁹ Elsewhere the Committee of Reference drew attention to the problem of the autocratic

¹⁴⁹ 'Draft Statement of Fundamental principles...' by Committee of Reference, Jan 1924, G/Y/Ig3, in the Appendix written by Davies at request of the Committee of Reference.

powers of the chairmen of the Church Councils, noting that frequently these powers were then taken over by the Bishop.¹⁵⁰

This section of the report was carefully re-worded several times. In the end it made clear that no criticism was implied of previous action by bishops but that diocesan committee recommendations should be ‘treated by the Bishop not merely as tentative suggestions but as responsible recommendations to be reversed only under exceptional circumstances’ (p.8-9). It also stated that bishops should not control the appointment and transfer of members of staff of colleges or hospitals (p.9).

5.7.4.2 The Actual Process of Transfer of Control

There were two distinct elements of CMS work that were considered separately in terms of diocesanization, the work in churches, and the work in institutions. Van Andel points out that while the CMS could justifiably claim to ‘own’ the institutions it had established, this was not the case with the Churches.¹⁵¹ For churches the issue was relatively straightforward. The existing Church Councils, which had been set up by the CMS, could simply be incorporated as self-contained units into the diocesan structure or there might be a merger with other similar structures that already existed in the diocese. The appropriate course would be dependent on the situation in the diocese (p.9-11). Either way, the transfer would be rapid and complete; it was made clear that ‘it is the Society’s intention ... to transfer the initiative to the Dioceses in such matters as the determination of policy, the opening and closing of stations, and the fixing of salaries of agents’ (p.10-11). The ownership of parochial property (churches, parsonages and schoolhouses) would also be transferred to ‘a suitable trust association in the various dioceses’ (p.9-10).

The more difficult problem was institutions. Davies provides an insight into the attitude of at least one of the doctors on the Committee of Reference

Holland was, I think, rather taken aback by the suggestion that the diocese should have some representation upon the local body controlling medical

¹⁵⁰ See Minute of the Committee of Reference on ‘Tinnevelly Scheme’, 20/1/1924, G/Y 110/3.

¹⁵¹ H.A. Van Andel ‘The Devolution of the Work of Missions on to the Indigenous Christians,’ *The International Review of Missions* 26 (1935) 349-357 at 355.

work, not that he was opposed to it but that it was a novel suggestion to him.¹⁵²

The key limit in *General Principles* is that while the CMS was very willing to hand over control of the Churches it had founded, it was not prepared to simply hand over its institutions to the dioceses. This reluctance was disguised in a two stage process of transfer. The first stage would see institutions governed by more or less the same committee as previously, which would now be formally under the diocese but with the CMS PC still appointing the secretary (p.11). The second stage was more distant, and presupposed that this committee would take over responsibility for all such work in the diocese. Only then would the secretary be elected by the diocesan council. At this stage it was hoped that the committee would be primarily elected, with representatives of workers, both European and Indian (p.11). Even so, it was explicitly stated that some institutions should and would be kept for a longer time under more direct CMS control, until the Indian Church had more medical or educational experts to manage them (p.12).

5.7.4.3 The CMS Relationship with the Diocese after Diocesanization

After diocesanization, the CMS would still help the diocese with money and personnel. It was emphasised that diocesanization was not aimed at saving money. This was demonstrated by the CMS expressing its willingness to help with the extra administrative costs for Diocesan offices which resulted from these changes (p.13). However, it was also emphasised that self-support should be encouraged, and although no rigid rules would be applied, annual grants to dioceses should not be regarded as endowments, though the CMS would endeavour to maintain them (p.12). The CMS would also consider additional grants for extension of work (p.13). The CMS was particularly keen on maintaining the evangelistic impetus and recommended that there should be diocesan bodies specifically charged with this work which would receive financial support from the CMS (p.6-7). It was suggested that the Missionary Conference had value in maintaining evangelistic impetus and should be replaced by regular conferences for those interested in evangelistic or educational work among non-Christians. Such conferences would have no executive powers but could make policy recommendations (p.6-7).

¹⁵² Davies to Wigram, 23/8/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

Diocesanisation would involve the dissolving of the LGBs. Once the institutions had been diocesanized, there would no longer be a mission secretary, though a missionary might be appointed as CMS representative, possibly with a small committee ‘ to deal with personal affairs of missionaries’ (p.13). However the meaning of ‘personal affairs’ was limited because it was clear that missionary’s

location and transfer should be left with the Diocese, subject to the general understanding upon which they joined it; and while their salaries, allowances, and conditions of service will continue to be determined by the Society ... the actual payment of such ... would more naturally be made through the diocesan organization. (p.13)

The diocese would have the power to dispense with the services of any missionary, but ought to do this only after consultation with the Society (p.13).

5.7.5 Example of Diocesanization - Tinnevelly

One of the first Missions to be diocesanized under the Committee of Reference was Tinnevelly.¹⁵³ Some of the discussions for this took place prior to the final approval of *General Principles*. It provides a useful case to examine how flexible the CMS and Committee of Reference would be in applying their rules. In 1921 CMS had handed over its property in Tinnevelly to a trust governed by the CMS Church Councils, but with the understanding that it would be passed on to the control of a Diocesan Church Council when one came into existence, without the matter being referred to the CMS again. The adoption of the proposed Diocesan Constitution would establish a Diocesan Council, and it was intended that it would take over control of the CMS-founded Churches. The main points that the CMS wanted to see were present in the diocesan constitution, but did not fully match their ideal.¹⁵⁴ The draft constitution had been produced before the Committee of Reference was established and the Committee of Reference was very critical of the Society for its slowness in action. They pointed out that the CMS contributed less than 10% of the income of the CMS Church Councils and clearly believed that, on some of the issues, it was too late for the CMS to try to influence the constitution. The Committee of Reference argued that

¹⁵³ See Minute of the Committee of Reference on ‘Tinnevelly Scheme’, 20/1/1924, G/Y I10/3.

¹⁵⁴ *Diocese of Tinnevelly, Ramnad & Madura, Constitution 1923*, copy in G/Y I10/3.

if the Society had been kept in touch with the rapid growth of diocesan feeling in the last few years, its wishes upon special points should have been made clear at a very much earlier stage and that if it had not been kept in touch then the whole system of communication between the Society and its representatives in India needed urgent review.¹⁵⁵

In Tinnevelly there was, in addition to the CMS founded churches, a substantial Anglican community that was the result of the work of the SPG. The procedure adopted for the diocesanization of the churches was for the CMS Church Councils to be merged with the SPG structure to form a new system of church councils which covered CMS and SPG parishes alike.¹⁵⁶

Missionaries working in institutions would still come under the diocese in the same way as other missionaries, with the bishop responsible for their location. This fell short of what the CMS had hoped for. However, the institutional property would still belong to the CMS, and the CMS would continue to run the work on behalf of the diocese, under a special governing body. This was more or less the degree of independence that the CMS had desired.

In several other areas, the final agreement fell short of CMS aspirations as laid out in *General Principles*. In negotiations, the Committee of Reference succeeded to some degree in getting women's franchise accepted, but this was made a matter for individual church councils, and was still not a general diocesan policy. Also, the CMS's desire that pastorates should be consulted before a new pastor was appointed was judged by the Committee of Reference to be impractical in this case; they felt that the elected 'Standing Committee on Pastoral Work' gave adequate safeguards. The bishop also maintained his power of veto over committee decisions.

Although the proposals do not quite match the CMS ideal as laid out in *General Principles*, the Committee of Reference was adamant that it would be disastrous for the CMS to try to prevent or delay diocesanization, given that the CMS Church Councils and the

¹⁵⁵ See Minute of the Committee of Reference on 'Tinnevelly Scheme', 20/1/1924, G/Y I10/3 section E.

¹⁵⁶ See also Hewitt II, p.75.

missionaries were in favour. It argued that, even if the constitution was ‘unsatisfactory’, which it stressed it wasn’t, then there still should be no delay.

The CMS General Committee agreed to the proposals in March 1924. This meant dissolving all CMS committees and councils once the constitution came into force, ending the Madras Corresponding Committee’s responsibility for the work in Tinnevely, accepting the bishop as having the ultimate say in whether individual CMS missionaries should work in the diocese and appointing a CMS missionary as the representative in the Diocese. The GC saw this as a culmination of Venn’s policy:

the Committee rejoice to recognise that they are carrying practically to its final stage in Tinnevely the policy inaugurated by Henry Venn and consistently developed in their various Mission Fields during the past seventy years.¹⁵⁷

There is some difficulty in detailing the results of diocesanization in other parts of India. Dornakal underwent diocesanization at about the same time as Tinnevely,¹⁵⁸ and Travancore was diocesanized in 1928, but the process was different in each Mission, with various local circumstances having an effect. The continuation of the CMS policy of diocesanization will be discussed in chapter 7, but a detailed regional study would be needed to clearly understand what happened in any given Mission, something beyond the scope of the present study. Secondary sources are limited. The most helpful is Gibbs,¹⁵⁹ who describes the process for each of the missions. Hewitt was criticised by Neill for his coverage of this material, and Hewitt’s own notes on writing his book indicate that he relied heavily on Gibbs, including an unpublished manuscript.¹⁶⁰ Gibbs’s coverage is accurate, but necessarily limited, and there is clearly more to this story.

¹⁵⁷ Minute of the General Committee, 11/3/1924, G/C1 1924.

¹⁵⁸ Some of the effects of this are described by Harper *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.227-228.

¹⁵⁹ Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India*, p.361-364.

¹⁶⁰ Eg. Hewitt II p.70. Material by Gibbs, was deposited in the CMS archives by Hewitt. acc318/Z3/2.

5.8 Appointment of Bishops During this Period

The same themes, as discussed in the previous chapter, continued in regard to the appointment of bishops. Bardsley continued to speak of ‘nomination’ of episcopal candidates to the Archbishop,¹⁶¹ but in an informal sense. Davidson always consulted the CMS about any appointment which directly affected them, but never conceded an actual right to nominate. The CMS reacted swiftly to any curtailment of its influence in episcopal appointments and used its financial support of bishops as the key argument in this. During this period the CMS made no steps towards an indigenous episcopate, in spite of specific opportunities.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Bardsley continued Fox’s custom of dealing with episcopal nominations himself, consulting with others only as he felt necessary. This was apparently challenged at some stage, it is unclear by whom, but presumably from within the secretariat, and Bardsley asked for a ruling from three of the CMS grandees, Kennaway, Stock and Sir Robert Williams. They confirmed Bardsley’s approach, which he later explained to Davidson

On the one hand, I must take full care to consult all who could reasonably expect to be consulted, and, if and when asked to do so, to present their views to the Archbishop; but, on the other hand, that I must have freedom.¹⁶²

This freedom meant that Bardsley never consulted official CMS committees about episcopal appointments and so he specifically asked Davidson to speak of him consulting the Society rather than the ‘Salisbury Square Committee’ in any official correspondence.¹⁶³

When Lankester became General Secretary, he continued the practice of handling correspondence with regard to episcopal appointments himself. He did, however, consult the secretaries’ meeting,¹⁶⁴ but specifically did not consult any formal CMS committee meeting.¹⁶⁵ When, as occasionally happened, Davidson organised a wider consultation, on

¹⁶¹ Bardsley to Davidson, 12/1/1921, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁶² Bardsley to Davidson, 12/1/1921, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁶³ Bardsley to Davidson, 12/1/1921 and Davidson to Bardsley, 8/1/1921, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁶⁴ Eg. Lankester to Davidson, 5/11/1924, G/Y CH2/2.

¹⁶⁵ Lankester to Molony, 21/8/1924, G/Y CH2/2.

a particular area, Lankester could find himself in a meeting that included Bardsley, now representing the Missionary Council.¹⁶⁶

One of Lankester's first duties of this kind was arranging the successor to Bishop Banister of Kwangsi and Hunan. The CHSKH was not yet a fully autonomous Church and its bishops were appointed either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the case of English mission areas, or by the American Episcopal Church, for American areas. Although they were united in one House of Bishops, there was a degree of tension between the two groups. So, when the CMS was approached by the American Episcopal Church to consider handing over the Kwangsi and Hunan diocese to the American Church, on the retirement of Bishop Banister,¹⁶⁷ Banister raised various points against the idea. He argued that it would 'alter the balance of the Synod' and because 'American Bishops are practically autocrats' there would be a change of policy away from the 'democratic and constitutional' approach.¹⁶⁸

In 1921 the House of Bishops of the CHSKH had made clear their intention of seeking permission to nominate a candidate for any vacant see from the authorities of the Mother Church making the appointment.¹⁶⁹ This worried the CMS as it seemed to imply that no other nominations would be considered. Previously, in cases where the CMS provided all, or most, of the bishop's stipend, the CMS had always had a substantial voice in the new appointment.¹⁷⁰ Banister had expressed concern to Bardsley as to who would be dealing with episcopal appointments after Bardsley left office. Davidson had specifically wanted to delay discussions until after Bardsley left because he did not want to change who he was dealing with at the CMS half way through discussions.¹⁷¹ Lankester actually took over responsibility, even before his formal appointment as General Secretary, by virtue of his

¹⁶⁶ Davidson to Lankester, 29/5/1923, G/AC7.

¹⁶⁷ Wood to Bardsley, 5/8/1922, G/Y CH5/2.

¹⁶⁸ Bardsley's notes of interview with Bishop Banister, 11/9/1922, G/Y CH5/2.

¹⁶⁹ Extract from Minute of the General Synod of the CHSKH, 1921, G/Y CHg3. The Japanese Church made a similar request shortly after see 'Some facts about Nippon Sei Kokwai...' for meeting of 19/7/1923, G/AC7.

¹⁷⁰ Baylis to Davidson, 13/2/1922, G/Y CHg3.

¹⁷¹ Banister to Bardsley, 16/12/1922, G/Y CH5/2.

post as lay secretary.¹⁷² In this appointment Davidson was very careful to consult the China House of Bishops, as he felt ‘under practical obligation to act with considerateness’ to the CHSKH. He was, however, very clear that he did not ‘leave the nomination in their hands’.¹⁷³ As such the CMS, through Lankester, was able to see its candidate, J. Holden, appointed. In this case Holden was also the first choice of the House of Bishops of the CHSKH. From the CMS’s position, the important point was one of principle.

In considering appointments Lankester gave thought to the precedent that was being set. From his correspondence it is clear that he believed that, in the case of CMS-funded bishops, the CMS should have a say in the appointment;

If the Society is to find the emoluments, they must have some voice, and cannot bind themselves to finance whatever individual the House of Bishops may choose.¹⁷⁴

The *modus vivendi* by which the CMS as a Church Society supported bishops financially and was consulted informally on appointments, was stretched by the possibility of the division of Western China Diocese, one half being funded by the China Inland Mission, a non-denominational mission, who staffed that particular mission area with Anglicans. One way round this was for the CMS to act as guarantor for the CIM.¹⁷⁵ Davidson was reluctant, and in the end an assistant bishop was appointed, who was supported by a Diocesan association, but with the CMS acting as guarantor.¹⁷⁶

The arguments in favour of English assistant bishops were severely undermined by the experience of Gresford Jones in Uganda. He went out to Uganda, at Willis’s invitation, to be his assistant bishop in 1920 and from the start things did not go well. Jones appears to have clashed with Willis and his autocratic ways. As a result, Jones wanted an independent charge. Since some division of the Uganda diocese was being considered, this was thought to be a way forward. The CMS PC were not happy with the idea on financial grounds, whereas Davidson ‘was very clear that it is not desirable to meet emergent conditions by

¹⁷² Eg. Lankester to Davidson, 20/2/1923, G/Y CH5/3.

¹⁷³ Davidson to Lankester, 2/6/1923, G/y CH5/2.

¹⁷⁴ Lankester to Molony, 21/8/1924, G/Y CH2/2.

¹⁷⁵ ‘West China Diocese’ copy of memo presented to Davidson, 16/12/1920, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁷⁶ See various papers and letters 1920-1922, G/Y CH3/3.

a step of a permanent nature such as the dividing of a diocese'.¹⁷⁷ Jones moved to the East of Uganda and for a time had effective charge of the work there. He believed that this was not enough work for a bishop, and resigned in 1923.¹⁷⁸

Thus when F.M. Jones, the Bishop of Lagos wanted one of his missionary archdeacons, A.W. Smith, to become his suffragan bishop in 1924, Davidson was against the idea. He accepted that it was an appropriate solution to the difficulties of Western China, but could not see why the diocese could not be divided and Smith be made diocesan of the other half. Davidson specifically mentioned the difficulties in Uganda as one of the reasons why he was opposed to the move.¹⁷⁹ In an internal letter Manley, the Africa Secretary, gave Lankester various reasons why the diocese should not be divided at this stage and also made the point that the relationship between Jones and Smith was already good and there was no reason to expect problems.¹⁸⁰ One of the main reasons not to divide the diocese, according to Manley, was that when the diocese was eventually divided the question of 'whether it is possible to appoint an African bishop to one section' would need to be answered.¹⁸¹ There was already a long-standing native assistant bishop, Oluwole. If Jones retired, Smith was Manley's choice to replace him. If Oluwole died or retired then the whole situation would need to be reconsidered. It appears that Manley did not want Oluwole to become a diocesan, neither did he want any other African as a diocesan. This is not explicitly stated and no reasons are given but it appears that he assumed Lankester would share the belief that appointing an African diocesan was inappropriate. Oluwole remained an assistant bishop, continuing in his post until just before he died in 1932.

This was not the only clear opportunity that the CMS had to seek the appointment of an indigenous diocesan bishop. Hind, Bishop of Fukien, wanted, in 1922 to resign his See in favour of his Chinese archdeacon. Hind would then work as his assistant.¹⁸² There is no

¹⁷⁷ Notes of Baylis' interview with Davidson ,16/11/1921, G/Y A7/2.

¹⁷⁸ There is extensive correspondence on the subject between all parties, G/Y A7/2, from 1920-22, and the subject is summarised by Hewitt I, p.230-231.

¹⁷⁹ Davidson to Lankester, 10/10/1924, G/AC7.

¹⁸⁰ Manley to Lankester 28/10/1924, G/AC7.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Hind to Bardsley 8/7/1922, G/Y CH4/2.

response to this suggestion in the files, perhaps because the timing of this offer, from Bardsley's point of view, could not have been worse, coming as it did in the middle of the 1922 crisis. Hind remained bishop until 1940 when he was replaced by another missionary. The only forward move was also in China, where in 1918 the first Chinese bishop, Shen Tsai-sheng was appointed as Assistant Bishop of Chekiang diocese. However, this appointment seems not to have involved the CMS at all, as the decision was taken by the Diocesan synod and confirmed by the House of Bishops.¹⁸³ Shen's consecration was the first time that the oath of allegiance was made to the CHSKH.¹⁸⁴

5.9 Training of Clergy

One of the main reasons, besides institutional prejudice, why native bishops were not appointed at an earlier stage, was the lack of suitable, well educated, candidates. The root of this lies partly in the failure to recruit into the service of the Church the best educated native Christians, but mainly in the failure to provide high quality theological training for the clergy that it did have.

Hewitt, in considering the provision of good theological training for clergy, speaks of the difficulty 'in translating a theoretical recognition of its importance into effective provision for its maintenance and development'.¹⁸⁵ At the beginning of the twentieth century it is not altogether clear that the CMS did fully recognise the importance of theological training. As a subject it was discussed only briefly in the centenary review.¹⁸⁶ The 1901 Memorandum said nothing about theological training for clergy, and in terms of developing a native episcopate it simply said that

every effort should be made both to attract to the ministry of the Church the best men of the Native Christian community, and to prepare and test the leading Native clergy for higher positions by giving them the superintendence of districts and other functions of importance.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Hewitt II p.266 and Charles H Long, 'China & the Anglican Communion: The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui,' *Anglican & Episcopal History* Vol. LXVII. No. 2, 1998, p.161-189. at175.

¹⁸⁴ Bell, *Randall Davidson II* p.1227-1228 ('Shen' is referred to as 'Sing').

¹⁸⁵ Hewitt II p.235-236.

¹⁸⁶ *Section I Report*, 1899, G/CCb 14, p.5.

¹⁸⁷ 1901 Memorandum para 9.

The report of the committee writing the 1901 Memorandum said nothing more on the subject, although in 1900, in answer to questions from the Boards of Missions of the Church of England, the CMS had recognised that crucial to preparing native clergy to be bishops, were ‘first-rate theological colleges’.¹⁸⁸ Similarly the 1906 ‘Regulations’ gave limited attention to the issue of the training of clergy. A principle that was being followed was that

In order that a native ministry should be available as early as possible, too high a standard of attainment should not at first be required.¹⁸⁹

However, it goes on to see the need for ‘the establishment of good Theological Colleges on sound Scriptural principles and on a permanent foundation’ as being the best way of securing ‘soundness of views’. These would be most suitable for clergy who are from, or will work in areas which contain, ‘educated classes’.¹⁹⁰ Overall, good theological education of native clergy does not appear as a priority. The issue is ignored by the 1909 Memorandum. By 1913 the India Group Committee gave a report that emphasised the need of ‘reviewing the present methods of training Indian Agents’ both lay and ordained. The report stated that

The training institutions at present in existence are not adequate, either in numbers or efficiency.¹⁹¹

The importance of advanced training ‘for the ablest of the native clergy’ was stressed by the 1908 Lambeth Conference ‘in view of the great importance of the establishment of the native episcopate’.¹⁹²

The 1921-22 India delegation gave some space in its long report to theological training, but little more than two pages, compared to 33 pages on education in general. The strong Bishop’s College at Calcutta is of course mentioned as the only college ‘for men of

¹⁸⁸ Answers to Questions submitted by ... United Boards of Missions ...’ adopted by the GC 10/4/1900, G/C 9/2.

¹⁸⁹ *Church Organization in the Mission Field ... being the Society’s ‘Regulations, Part IV* 1905, G/AH 1/6 p. 42.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p.43.

¹⁹¹ ‘Statement of the India Group Committee’ for Swanwick Conference, 1913 G/GA4, p.2.

¹⁹² Lambeth Conference Report 1908 p.34 and resolution 21 p.50.

university status', but the long term need for another such college was mentioned.¹⁹³ The report then discussed the training of clergy with less academic backgrounds

At present it is entirely in the hands of Missionary Societies, though the CMS work in this connection has during recent years been reduced to a minimum. In some vast village mission areas the Society is doing little or no clergy training work.¹⁹⁴

The delegation proposed that such training should be done by dioceses rather than by missionary societies, to encourage integration across party divisions, with societies assisting. Generally, this section of the report is quite weak. There is no real engagement with how to strengthen theological training overall. It concludes

If the Society can help in providing God-inspired leaders for Schools of this type it will be making one of the biggest contributions in its power towards the evangelisation of the East. We earnestly trust that it will recognise and use its great opportunity.¹⁹⁵

Bardsley recognised that many missionary societies were not giving sufficient emphasis to good theological training and that at the time it was being done 'by men who are often amateurs in theological teaching'.¹⁹⁶

When the Committee of Reference considered clergy training Davies commented

It had from the first surprised me to find how little has been said under this head in the various documents which have been submitted to us by the Parent Committee. Quite obviously, it is a matter of very greatest importance and of very great difficulty.¹⁹⁷

He and the committee were less convinced that colleges should not be run by the CMS. When considering the Tinnevely Constitution, they concluded that the only way that the CMS could be assured that ordination candidates would be 'well taught in the great fundamentals of evangelical faith'¹⁹⁸ was if the CMS set up, staffed and ran its own theological colleges. But the CMS could not force such a college on a reluctant diocese. All versions of *General Principles* left the option open that 'in some cases the Society

¹⁹³ *CMS India Delegation Report Part I* 1922, G2/O/1923, p.99.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.101.

¹⁹⁶ Bardsley, C.C.B. *The Vocation of a Missionary Society Today* n.d. (c.1919), G/AZA, p.2.

¹⁹⁷ A.W. Davies, 8 page covering letter (enclosing the draft minutes 21/8/1923), G/Y/Ig3

¹⁹⁸ See Minute of the Committee of Reference on 'Tinnevely Scheme', 20/1/1924, G/Y I10/3 section D.

might be willing to maintain or establish a college or hostel of its own'.¹⁹⁹ However, it is clear that the problem for the CMS throughout this period was that it never had the resources, in terms of manpower and money, to establish its own colleges in sufficient number. Hewitt gives an account of the various CMS colleges involved in training clergy around the world, almost all of which struggled. The real situation is sometimes hard to discern because theological training was taking place along side other types of training, frequently teacher training, and so the real size and strength of the theological work was masked. Regional studies, or a detailed study of the CMS's approach to theological training, would give a clearer picture. As it is, the general impression is that the CMS recognised its importance but failed to act on this recognition. There were exceptions. Hewitt picks out the work in Tinnevely of Neill and Hollis in the 1930s, but comments that

Forward planning of this kind was all too rare in clergy training and it throws into relief the hand-to-mouth methods which were so frequent a sign of weakness.²⁰⁰

5.10 Conclusions

This period saw substantial changes in the CMS and its Missions. In retrospect, the most significant changes were in India, but these were overshadowed at home by the conflict in the CMS. In the words of Bardsley's biographer, in this conflict 'an attempt had been made to narrow the basis of the Society, and it had failed'.²⁰¹ The CMS had refused to define, in doctrinal terms, what it meant to be an evangelical Society. At the same time, the CMS had accepted recognition by the Missionary Council. The precise meaning of this would not be unravelled for nearly a decade, but it did represent a move closer to the Church of England as an institution.

In the midst of this upheaval, one of the most important developments in the CMS's policy on the self-governing, indigenous Church was progressing, controlled by a committee in India rather than Salisbury Square. The crucial question in assessing the degree to which diocesanization can be seen as moving towards a self-governing indigenous Church, rather than simply swapping one foreign power for another, is the amount of indigenous representation on the Diocesan Councils. Unfortunately an accurate answer to this question

¹⁹⁹ *General Principles*, p.8.

²⁰⁰ Hewitt II p.144.

²⁰¹ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.74.

would need a detailed regional study for each area, but the India delegation report does provide some clues. In the dioceses where the diocesan councils were well established, such as Tinnevely, it consisted of ‘all the clergy, lay delegates of the pastorates, and nominees of the Bishop’.²⁰² This would have meant a majority of Indian members, but the actual figures are not given. However, in the northern Mission of Punjab and Sindh, which had a very large European contingent, the report specifically notes that the Diocesan Council and its standing committee were ‘predominantly European’. This meant that on the standing committee only 6 of the 16 members were Indian.²⁰³ Even this is a far higher proportion of Indians than on any CMS Corresponding Committee, or indeed Missionary Conference. It seems reasonable to suppose that, because the India delegation singled this Mission out for its low number of Indian representatives, other dioceses in India had a much greater number of Indian representatives. Ten years later, an International Missionary Council report noted that in India, Diocesan Councils had ‘a predominantly Indian membership’.²⁰⁴

The Committee of Reference was successful in arranging diocesanization, particularly in dioceses in the South of India. To achieve this it had to define the general principles on which the CMS was prepared to diocesanize its Missions. Davies thought that the process should have started much earlier. Substantial blame for this lies with the vagueness of the 1909 Memorandum, but the First World War prevented an early re-consideration of the situation, which was not helped by Bardsley’s long absence, serving on the National Mission.

There are various ways of viewing the appointment of the Committee of Reference. From Davies’ point of view it was appointed too late, and hand over should have happened years before. This delay weakened the CMS’s hand in negotiations. However, the appointment of Davies as secretary of the Committee of Reference, given that his views had already been made clear, can be seen as a very shrewd move by the CMS Secretariat. They set up a powerful committee, with a secretary who would push diocesanization as fast as was possible. This minimised the objections and delays that might have come were it left to the

²⁰² *CMS India Delegation Report Part II* 1922, G/Y Ig2, p.12.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, p.32.

²⁰⁴ International Missionary Council *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India* (London, OUP, 1931) p.57.

India Committee and the various Corresponding Committees. When Lankester took over from Bardsley, he allowed the process to continue.

Diocesanization at this time was not complete. In some Missions no steps were taken at this time. Missions, such as Bengal and Bihar, which had made some changes before 1922, were not forced to make further progress at this stage.²⁰⁵ Similarly the Punjab Sindh's changes in 1903 seemed to leave it immune to full diocesanization. Also, diocesanization at this stage excluded most of the largest CMS institutions. This was justified on the basis of the expertise needed to govern them. Fifteen years later, some in the CMS would see them as bastions of evangelicalism. It would fall to Cash, the next General Secretary to guide the CMS through the tensions that diocesanization produced for a Society that was still seeking to be both Evangelical and Anglican.

²⁰⁵ Hewitt II, p.69.

Chapter 6 - The Background to CMS Policy under Cash

This chapter will provide the background material for the next stage in the CMS history. It will concentrate on the new General Secretary, but will also examine some external factors which impinged on the CMS during the period 1926-1942.

6.1 The Appointment of W.W. Cash as General Secretary

Lankester's appointment in 1923 was intended to be only 'until such time as a clergyman should be found to undertake the post'.¹ The matter was handled by the Appointments Committee, one of the members of which was W.W. Cash, a former missionary in Egypt and at that time CMS Home Secretary. Cash's name was mentioned early in the discussions,² however the preferred candidate proved to be A.W.T. Perowne, the Bishop of Bradford. He was approached, but, after some thought, he declined the appointment.³ The committee then recommended that the Executive Committee should nominate Cash as General Secretary.⁴

Before accepting the nomination, Cash wrote to the CMS president, Sir Robert Williams. His aim in this was to ensure that

my view of the duties devolving upon the General Secretary is in accordance with the opinions of the Heads of the Society, and in particular of the Executive Committee.⁵

This shows Cash's direct approach, trying to anticipate the possible problems that his leadership style might bring, and seeking assurance that his approach was in line with views of those appointing him. The Appointments Committee discussed the approach laid out in Cash's letter and concluded that 'it correctly interpreted' a minute already passed by the Executive Committee.⁶ In fact Cash's letter sees slightly greater powers for the General

¹ Appointments Committee Minutes, 5/10/1925, G/CS5, p.47.

² Along with 6 other clergy and Bishop Heywood of Mombasa. Appointments Committee Minutes, 18/5/1925, G/CS5, p.35.

³ He was then asked to reconsider, but still said 'no'. Appointments Committee Minutes 27/5/1925, p.40, 10/6/1925 p.42, 15/7/1925 p.44, G/CS5.

⁴ Appointments Committee Minutes, 23/9/1925 p.45, G/CS5.

⁵ Cash to Sir Robert Williams, 13/10/1925, G/AP11 1921-37.

⁶ Appointments Committee Minutes, 13/10/1925, G/CS5, p.50.

Secretary than had been agreed by the Executive.⁷ This letter is a key to understanding how Cash approached the job of General Secretary. He begins the letter with the phrase *primus inter pares* which, he says, ‘may mean ... almost anything or nothing’. Cash specifically puts the emphasis on ‘primus,’ going on to argue

not in any sense as giving the General Secretary autocratic powers. My experience in the army and in CMS both at home and abroad, has shown me that individualistic rule is impossible if the team spirit is to be maintained. At the same time I feel that I cannot properly represent the Society unless the General Secretary is, in a very real sense ‘primus’ and this involves that none of the work of the Society is outside the superintendence of the General Secretary. ... copies of all draft minutes of all committees are sent to him before they are brought before the committees.⁸

He emphasises the need for ‘team spirit’ and ‘group thought’ but says ‘a team does imply a Captain’.

The Pennefather Commission in 1914 had recommended that one of the Group Secretaries be given the title ‘Chief Foreign Secretary’. However that is not the way Cash saw things working. When appointed he was in his third year as the CMS home secretary, but before that he had been a missionary. He was therefore the first person to lead the CMS who had personal experience of missionary work and he intended to have a direct role in the CMS work overseas. In his letter he argued that, because the main work of the CMS was abroad, the General Secretary ‘should be in the position of a chief Foreign Secretary’. This went beyond what was envisaged by the Executive Committee. He further argued that nominations to the Appointments Committee or to the Archbishop should come through him. Cash would have the right to correspond directly with bishops abroad ‘when important matters of policy are being dealt with’. Finally, Cash said that ‘if appointed, I should seek to watch over the devotional life of Salisbury Square, to be a personal helper and advisor to all on the staff’.⁹

Cash was appointed with effect from the 1st of January 1926, though in practice this had an immediate effect from the time it was decided in October 1925. Thus Cash, with Lankester, interviewed Bishop Heywood, discussing the Rev. Handley D. Hooper who was

⁷ Minute of the EC, 22/4/1925, G/C1 1925, p.272-273.

⁸ Cash to Sir Robert Williams, 13/10/1925, G/AP11 1921-37.

⁹ Ibid.

subsequently appointed as Africa Group Secretary.¹⁰ Lankester was entitled to six months notice but it was decided that the last three of these would be as Secretary Without Portfolio, on full pay. There seems a concern to be generous to Lankester, discussing the possibility of getting him the job of Treasurer again, but eventually appointing him as ‘Honorary Advisor to the Society’ with an honorarium.¹¹ Lankester had been made the treasurer of the Conference of British Missionary Societies in 1924 and continued to serve in that voluntary capacity until 1931. He was made a vice president of the CMS in 1927.

Cash had a more direct role in shaping and implementing the CMS missionary policy during his time in office than his predecessors in the twentieth century. As was seen in earlier chapters, Fox never played a leading role in the work overseas, while Bardsley only started to do so at the end of his term in office. Lankester was simply a temporary appointment, but Cash, who was to serve for nearly 15 years until made Bishop of Worcester in 1941¹², took a lead role from the start. In many ways Cash was overshadowed by his exceptionally able successor, Max Warren; there is no biography and he is rarely mentioned in the various histories.¹³ Obviously he appears regularly in Hewitt’s study, but with very little about him as a person. This chapter will therefore strongly focus on Cash, and, in the absence of any biography, it will consider his personal background and character. The following key events of Cash’s period in office will be referred to at various times

1926	Cash takes over as General Secretary
1928	International Missionary Conference, Jerusalem
1930	Lambeth Conference
1931	CMS delegation visits Australia including Cash
1932-1934	CMS Commission on Policy
1934-1935	CMS delegation visits India including Cash
1938	International Missionary Conference, Tambaram Madras
1940	Original date for the Eighth Lambeth Conference - cancelled due to war
1941	Cash appointed Bishop of Worcester

¹⁰ Appointments Committee Minutes, 18/11/1925, G/CS5, p.52.

¹¹ Appointments Committee Minutes, 5/10/1925 p.45 and 9/12/1925 p.54, G/CS5.

¹² To succeed Perowne who was translated to Worcester from Bradford in 1931.

¹³ Even the recent Ward and Stanley, *Church Mission Society and World Christianity 1799-1999*, affords him the briefest mention p.34.

6.2 William Wilson Cash

6.2.1 General Biography

William Wilson Cash was born on 12th June 1880 in Manchester, and educated at Cambridge School, Sale. He married Alice Maude Ladkin in 1906. They had one son and two daughters. Cash died on the 18th July 1955, two years after his wife.

He went to work in Egypt in 1902 with the fairly new, conservative evangelical, Egypt General Mission.¹⁴ He became fluent in Arabic, and changed missionary societies in Egypt, joining the CMS in 1909. He was ordained deacon in 1910 and priest the following year. During the war he served as a chaplain in the Egypt Expeditionary Force, rising to Assistant Principal Chaplain and gaining the D.S.O. in 1917 and an O.B.E in 1919. In 1920 he became the CMS Secretary for the Egypt, Palestine and Northern Sudan Mission before returning to Britain to become the CMS Home Secretary in 1923.¹⁵ He became General Secretary of the CMS in 1926 and remained in that post until being made Bishop of Worcester in 1941. He was Prebendary of St. Paul's from 1933-41 and chaplain to the King from 1939-41.¹⁶ Although he received an honorary D.D. from Wycliffe College Toronto and made a 'Select Preacher, Oxford University 1943-45' it appears that he had no formal higher education or theological education. One of Hewitt's few personal notes about Cash that he 'was not a scholar in the sense that his two immediate successors were scholars'.¹⁷

6.2.2 Publications

Compared with his predecessors, Cash published widely, with a total of 15 books. He wrote two scholarly books on Islam.

¹⁴ Founded in 1900 by seven men from Belfast YMCA who had gone out to Egypt two years previously. Initially called the Egypt Mission Band, it became the Egypt General Mission in 1903 and the Middle East General Mission in 1957, before finally joining with two other Missions in 1976 to form Middle East Christian Outreach. It was a member of the fundamentalist Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association. See 'http://www.gospelcom.net/meco/website/mecohistory.htm' 6/2/2001 and 'http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/guides/352.htm' 14/3/2002

¹⁵ Chosen for the post out of a list of 11 names - see Appointments Sub-Committee Minutes, 19/11/1923, G/CS5.

¹⁶ Biographical details from *Who was Who* and from *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, 1947.

¹⁷ Hewitt I, p.443.

The Expansion of Islam - An Arab Religion in the Non-Arab World 1928
Edinburgh House Press, London

and

Christianity and Islam - Their Contacts and Cultures Down the Centuries 1937
SCM, London

The first of these had a preface by Professor D.S. Margoliouth, which saw the book as one that could be 'perused with profit'. The second was based on Cash's 1936 'Haskell lectures', an annual series of lectures on religion connected with University of Chicago. His three other books on Islam and Islamic areas, published by CMS, can best be categorised as books aimed at bolstering the missionary cause

The Moslem World in Revolution 1926 CMS
Persia Old and New 1929 CMS
The Changing Sudan 1930 CMS

They show both a commitment to evangelism and also an understanding of Islam.

Cash wrote five simple books on Bible Study

Helps to the Study of Ephesians 1930
Helps to the Study of Philippians 1933
Helps to the Study of Colossians 1935
Jeremiah : a Prophet to the Nations 1945
Bible Readings in the First Epistle of St. Peter 1947

His book *Helps for the Quiet Hour* 1931 remained in print for over 20 years. Hewitt notes that 'his "helps" ... were widely appreciated for their depth of insight'.¹⁸

As part of the response to the CMS's financial crisis, Cash wrote *The Responsibility of Success* in 1934, which argued that the lack of commitment to giving to missionary work is connected with the lack of commitment to evangelism at home. Following his visit to Dornakal, Cash retold the story of how the work among the outcastes started in *How a Village Movement Grew - The Story of Venkayya* 1936. In 1948, for the 150th anniversary, Cash wrote *In the Power of the Spirit* which looked at the work of the Holy Spirit in the Bible and in the history of the Church and its missionary work.

Cash's most important missiological work was *The Missionary Church*, published in 1939, and based on material produced for the James Long Lectures. This book can be seen as part

¹⁸ Hewitt I, p.443-444.

of the writing connected with the 1938 Tambaram Conference, and is one of the few books for which Archbishop Lang ever wrote a foreword while at Canterbury, saying

I am so strongly convinced that what he has written demands and deserves the attention of all Christian people that I must make an exception to my usual rule.¹⁹

This book looked critically at the history and contemporary situation of missionary activity, and sought to lay out a framework for the future.

6.2.3 Cash's Commitment to Evangelism

Cash was strongly committed to evangelism. In his early days as a missionary in Egypt he began direct evangelism in an area that had previously been well served by a medical missionary. He saw this as an effective way of opening doors

Through the medical work prejudice had been broken down and the whole district thrown open to the Gospel.... Wherever I found Dr. Harpur was known I had abundant openings for the Gospel.²⁰

At this early stage there are other influences on him - 'My aim was to live with the natives and as a native, that I might the better understand the needs and possibilities of the province'.²¹ This indicates the probable influence of Hudson Taylor, although there is no direct reference in any of Cash's writings.

From the start Cash recognised the need for what Venn describes as 'native agency' - 'Our greatest need in these dark Egyptian villages is a band of devoted and thoroughly trained 'native' catechists who will go everywhere preaching the Word'.²² Throughout his time as General Secretary, evangelism was seen as vital. His speech at the 1934 Swanwick Conference gave a great emphasis to evangelism²³, as did his book on this conference, *The Responsibility of Success*, mentioned above.

The Missionary Church also gave substantial space to evangelism throughout, arguing that it should be explicit in any form of missionary work

¹⁹ Lang's foreword in Cash, *The Missionary Church*.

²⁰ Extracts from Annual Letters 1910 - W.W. Cash, 24/10/1910.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Copy of Cash's speech, September 1934, G/GA4.

The challenge of missionary service is that a man must have so vital an experience of God in his own life that he will inevitably share it with others. However we may interpret evangelism it fails unless it brings men and women into direct and personal touch with Christ, the Lord.²⁴

Cash understood evangelism, not simply as a task for individual Christians, but for the whole Church; evangelization was the Church's duty, at times he went so far as to call it the 'primary duty' of the Church.²⁵

Cash went on to defend evangelism against Gandhi's campaign against proselytizing.²⁶ Equally with respect to Islam he wrote

more than thirty years leaves me with the clear conviction that if Moslems are to find fulness of life and spiritual experience it will only be as Christ is acknowledged as Lord and Master.²⁷

At the end of his time with CMS, in his retiring report to the executive committee, Cash summed up the CMS as 'a Society with one supreme task to evangelize the world'.²⁸

6.2.4 Cash's Commitment to Working with Other Missionary Societies

Cash began his missionary career with a different society and very early in his missionary work with CMS he was to benefit from effective comity of Missions, when the American Presbyterians handed over its school and services in the area where he was working²⁹. At this time Cash also mentions the Coptic Church and his hope of winning 'the help and co-operation of these ancient Christians'.³⁰

While working in Jerusalem, Cash built a strong friendship with an Anglo-Catholic Canon at St. George's Cathedral: Stacy Waddy, who later became the Secretary of the SPG from 1924 till his death in 1937. Waddy related various stories about Cash from this time, including a journey he made with him immediately following the First World War. Cash used his fluency in Arabic, and his and Waddy's physical size (both were well over six foot)

²⁴ Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.230.

²⁵ Ibid, p.237 & p.200.

²⁶ Ibid. p.232-6.

²⁷ Cash *Christianity and Islam* p.11.

²⁸ Cash, W.W. *Report to Executive Committee of the CMS* 15/10/1941, G/AP11/1941-45.

²⁹ Extracts from Annual Letters 1910 - W.W. Cash 24/10/1910.

³⁰ Ibid.

to intimidate a French official who had accused them of being spies.³¹ Some of Cash's first correspondence after his appointment was with Waddy, now leading the SPG, who had written to congratulate him on his appointment - 'The Archbishop told me today you are to be General Sec of CMS. Glorious. And I might tell you the Arch was as pleased as I am'.³² Cash saw the SPG as the other key player, besides Church Assembly representatives, in the Missionary Council of the Church of England.³³ Although there had been limited co-operation and consultation between CMS and SPG prior to Cash's appointment,³⁴ his longstanding relationship with Waddy made things much easier; several times Cash refers to conversations he had with Waddy 'at the club'.³⁵ Cash's friendship with Waddy was close; Waddy's wife records the Bishop of London saying 'There might be a hyphen between Cash and Waddy'.³⁶ This helped reduce the rivalry between the CMS and the SPG. Still, Cash was willing to confront Waddy if he felt that the CMS had been unfairly treated.³⁷

Even before officially taking up his post, Cash was consulted by Waddy about the possibility of a particular SPG missionary as Bishop of Madagascar. Cash replied:

I never had the slightest difficulty myself in getting on with him, although we are supposed to be somewhat different in views - I being dubbed an Evangelical, and he a Catholic - I think he combined a sort of evangelical catholicism that made him happy with us all.³⁸

One of Cash's first actions as General Secretary, though still partly under his Home Secretary brief, was to seek further cooperation with the SPG over exhibitions.³⁹ In 1926 Cash managed to persuade a reluctant East Asia Secretary to agree to approach the SPG

³¹ Etheldred Waddy, *Stacy Waddy - Cricket, Travel and the Church*. (London, Sheldon Press, 1938). p.270.

³² Waddy to Cash, 2/10/1925, G/AC11.

³³ Cash, W.W. *Report to Executive Committee of the CMS* 15/10/1941, G/AP11/1941-45.

³⁴ For instance on the form of the oath to be taken by Japanese bishops. Montgomery to Bardsley, 21/11/1917, G/Y J2.

³⁵ Eg. Cash to Waddy, 7/02/1927, G/G4. or Cash's 'Notes of an interview with Canon Waddy of the SPG', 15/4/1935, G/Y I 9/2.

³⁶ Waddy, *Stacy Waddy*, p.256.

³⁷ Eg. Cash to Waddy, 15/12/1925, G/AC11.

³⁸ Cash to Waddy, 2/10/1925, G/AC11.

³⁹ Waddy to Cash, 7/11/1925, G/AC11.

to help with funding the stipend for the proposed Bishop of Hokkaido.⁴⁰ However, at the same time, an idea for a joint appointment with the SPG of an organising secretary in the York & Sheffield area for raising funds was received unenthusiastically by Cash.⁴¹

6.2.5 Cash's Understanding of Islam

The respect and understanding that Cash developed for Islam is clear from the various books he wrote on the subject. In the foreword to *The Moslem World in Revolution*, 1926 the Bishop of Egypt and the Sudan (Llewellyn H. Gwynne), wrote

He is always fair to Islam, whose good points as well as inherent weaknesses he recognizes fully. Both the author of the book and the writer of this Foreword are proud to reckon amongst their friends Moslems who talk most naturally with them about their religion.⁴²

While maintaining his belief in the uniqueness of Christ, Cash engaged in constructive dialogue, describing one situation when

I soon found myself in an atmosphere where controversy was eliminated and where Christians and Moslems embarked upon a common quest for God, where they shared spiritual experiences and lived only for a fuller realization of communion with the Infinite. The issue was clarified in my mind as I realized that I could frankly recognize the sincerity of the quest by my Moslem friends.⁴³

One obvious question is the degree to which his commitment to Muslim evangelism was to colour his approach in other areas. In India he argued for the urgent need for Muslim evangelism:

If all India is to be won for Christ every race and religion must be saturated with the Gospel, and here lies a danger and a menace.... The great majority of missionaries even in areas where Moslems form a large percentage of the population have given their time and strength almost entirely to non-Moslem work.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Cash to Heaslett, 23/11/1926, G/Y J4.

⁴¹ Various letters, 1926-27, G/G4.

⁴² Cash 1926 p.4.

⁴³ Cash 1937 p.9.

⁴⁴ Cash, W.W. *The Moslem World in Revolution*, (London, CMS, 1926), p.76.

6.2.6 Cash's Attitude to Africa

With the clear exception of the Muslim North, Cash did not demonstrate a positive attitude to pre-Christian Africa. This may, to some degree, have extended to Africans in general. In a foreword to a popular biography of Apolo Kivebulaya by Roome, Cash wrote:

When Mackay, a young engineer, began his work in Uganda, he saw the African in the raw. A cruel king burnt the first converts to death, tribe made war on tribe, fear stalked through the land by day and terror by night. Missionary faith and vision saw the native not as he was in his cruelty, superstition and lust, but as he would be through the redeeming love and power of Christ.⁴⁵

In a sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral for the consecration of two African assistant bishops, Cash began with a quotation from an early report from West Africa on which he reflects - 'here we see absolutely ignorant and utterly degraded heathen'.⁴⁶ Although he does draw a parallel with the pre-Christian Britain, there was no indication of anything positive in Africa or the African before the arrival of the missionaries. Towards the end of this sermon he added 'We in England have learnt to admire the qualities of the African races; their amazing patience in tribulation and their gift of good comradeship in service'. While care must be taken not to judge Cash by present standards, the 1927 CMS review of the year, by Phyllis Garlick, took a much more positive approach speaking of 'a new sense of value of the African' and the danger of 'disregard of those elements in 'native' traditions and institutions which are not incompatible with Christian ethics'.⁴⁷

Cash rarely referred to Bishop Crowther. In the above sermon he simply mentioned his 'great traditions and high resolves'.⁴⁸ In *The Missionary Church* there was a brief section on his early life.⁴⁹ In a paper for the 1932 CMS Commission he did speak of the rarity of 'a Crowther, an Azariah or a Song', but later went on to say that 'great as Crowther was, his authority over agents and clergy was too laxly exercised'.⁵⁰ It seems that Cash was

⁴⁵ W.J.W Roome, *Apolo - The Apostle to the Pygmies* (London, Marshall, Morgan and Scott 1934) p.5.

⁴⁶ Cash, W.W. *Sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral* 11/6/1937, G/Y A1/2

⁴⁷ Phyllis Garlick. *Church Missionary Society Review of the Year* (London, CMS, 1927) pp85-6.

⁴⁸ Cash, W.W. *Sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral* 11/6/1937, G/Y A1/2.

⁴⁹ Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.84-5.

⁵⁰ Cash for the CMS Commission on 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

affected by the CMS attitude to Crowther, discussed in a previous chapter, that saw Crowther's episcopate as a failure.

6.2.7 Cash's Fear of the Church Dying Out

A common theme through several of his books is the idea that the Church was established in certain areas and then died out. This was perhaps to be expected from a missionary who had worked in North Africa, but he spoke of other areas also. For example he introduced *The Missionary Church* with

We go back into the past to ask why Christianity once flourished in part of the Near East and then completely died out, why the Church planted in India long years ago stagnated until the modern phase of Missions brought a quickening breath to India, why early Christianity in China is marked to-day by nothing more than a stone monument.⁵¹

Later on he spoke graphically of the situation which resulted

The world is strewn over with the extinct volcanoes of Christian Churches of a bygone age. Where in days gone by the blazing light of the Gospel shot up to the skies in brilliant witness to an unseen divine power, to-day there is nothing but the barrenness of cold ashes, a witness to something extinct, dead.⁵²

In *The Muslim World in Revolution* the final chapter begins with the story of man Cash met, who laboured for 10 years to make the desert fruitful, only to see his flourishing vineyard laid waste in the war. Cash continued

here one saw a vivid picture of the mission station where recruits are withheld and the work is not backed up.... the labourers are far too few for the great task committed to them.⁵³

Cash was committed to an indigenous Church, but, it will be argued later, he was in no great hurry to hand over the reigns of command held by the CMS. He was, perhaps, looking further into the future and seeing danger in giving too much control to the new Churches.

6.2.8 Cash's Evangelical Position

Cash was an evangelical leader at a time where there were no outstanding evangelical leaders in the Church of England. He saw the CMS as vital to the existence of

⁵¹ Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.2.

⁵² Ibid p.129.

⁵³ Cash, *The Moslem World in Revolution*, p.147.

evangelicalism as a party in the Church of England.⁵⁴ He was a ‘frequent and acceptable’⁵⁵ Keswick speaker,⁵⁶ and a writer of popular books on bible study. In response to a request to start a ‘Divine Healing Prayer Group’ in Salisbury Square, Cash not only signalled his approval but added that he ‘should like to be regarded as one of your number’.⁵⁷ He spoke the language of evangelicalism fluently and was thus in a strong position to continue to defend the CMS against charges, that persisted after the BCMS split, that it was abandoning its founding principles. He was able to do this while still building relationships with the more Catholic wing of the Church. As his obituary in *The Times* said

He believed in the preservation of the evangelical tradition as such, and in the maintenance of the distinctively CMS influences in all the numerous overseas dioceses and institutions where it operated; but he believed also in active cooperation with other more catholic traditions. His was thus a unifying policy, and in the event it strengthened evangelical influence.⁵⁸

There is no doubt about his ability to get on with people from very different churchmanships. His friendship with Waddy is one example. In 1931, Cash was asked by the Bishop of Sheffield for confidential information on Duppuay, then Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong.⁵⁹ Duppuay wanted to return to England and Cash was asked whether ‘his views are evangelical?’⁶⁰ Cash’s reply shows his ability to sympathise with how evangelicals appeared to other people

while I think that he would describe himself as a liberal evangelical, he is a man of very broad views, and one who can work in with all parties in the Church without any difficulty - in fact I do not think party things form any share in his life at all - he is too big to be swayed by such considerations.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Cash’s speech as Swanwick, September 1934, G/GA4.

⁵⁵ Hewitt I, p.443.

⁵⁶ Randall sees 1926 as a watershed after which the AEGM set up a conference as a rival to Keswick, so that in the 1930s Keswick was associated with, and strongly influential on conservative evangelical groups. See Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, p.22, 269 & 276.

⁵⁷ Cash to Dorothy Davidson of Exhibitions Dept., 12/12/1933, G/AC11.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Rt Rev Charles Ridley Duppuay, died 1944.

⁶⁰ Bishop of Sheffield to Cash, 2/4/1931, G/AC6.

⁶¹ Cash to Bishop of Sheffield, 7/4/1931, G/AC6.

Cash's eventual elevation to the Episcopal bench shows that he was an acceptable person to the Church hierarchy. Although Lang recommended him to Churchill, he was the second choice in a list of two possible candidates, and Lang tried very hard to persuade Churchill to take the first choice. It is possible that, for Lang, Cash was a little too evangelical. Palmer argues that Churchill insisted on Cash as he was impressed by Cash's DSO.⁶²

As will be seen later, Cash sometimes did act instinctively to preserve the evangelical tradition, and perhaps he was more strongly evangelical at heart than he normally revealed in public.

6.2.9 Cash's View of the Church and its Relationship to Mission

Cash's view of the Church is the most outstanding aspect of his theology. In most other areas he displayed views that were typical of an evangelical Anglican of his day. He was not a narrow conservative, but neither was he a liberal like Bardsley. Yet Cash held a very high view of the Church, in that he saw the Church as the foundation of Mission and the centre of Mission. This view was so strong that he seemed at times to wish that Missionary Societies did not exist,

In theory Missions should never need to be diocesanized. They should be based from their inception upon such Church principles as would secure that the Mission was a Mission of the Church. It may be argued that this is not the CMS method. This may be so, but the fact remains that where Church and Mission have had separate organizations there has been a multiplying of machinery, a duplicating of committees and it has more often than not taken from the Church all initiative for extension and all interest in missionary work.⁶³

This contrasts with, for example, Max Warren's view of the importance of Missionary Societies as representing 'initiative, flexibility and spontaneity' within the Church.⁶⁴

Where Cash got this view of the Church from is not clear. Something made him leave the non-denominational Mission in Egypt and deliberately join a Missionary Society linked with the Anglican Church, and accept ordination, but his reasons are not recorded. Perhaps his commitment to the Church dates from that time and Islam may have been an influence. He

⁶² Palmer, *High and Mitred*, p.218.

⁶³ Cash for CMS Commission, 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

⁶⁴ See Yates, 'Anglican Evangelical Missiology', p.152.

was clearly impressed by the regular devotion of Muslims⁶⁵ and this could have affected his thinking about the Church. Another factor from his missionary days, was his friendship with Waddy, who would have introduced him to a more Catholic view of the Church. However, Cash's view of the Church contrasts with a conventional High Church view in that he did not have a particularly high view of the episcopacy. Indeed he was always careful to state that diocesanization was not simply handing over to the authority of the bishop; Cash believed that the key difference between the CMS and the SPG in terms of relation to overseas dioceses was that 'the CMS seeks rather to act through the bishop and council, than through the bishop alone'.⁶⁶

A later influence on Cash was Bishop Azariah. Much of *The Missionary Church* is based on lessons learnt from observing the Diocese of Dornakal in action.⁶⁷ Linked with this is the influence of Roland Allen; if Cash had not actually read his books, Allen's ideas were nevertheless mediated through Azariah.⁶⁸

Kraemer also influenced Cash to some degree.⁶⁹ As a delegate to the 1938 Tambaram Conference, Cash read Kraemer's *The Christian Message in a non-Christian World*.⁷⁰ Kraemer's description of the Church was fuller than Cash's,⁷¹ indeed Cash specifically concentrates on one aspect of the Church's life, indicated by the title of his book, *The Missionary Church*. For Cash evangelism is essential to the life of the Church, but this came as a result of the worship life of the Church; 'The Church is taught to worship first, and out

⁶⁵ Eg. Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.10.

⁶⁶ *The Policy of the CMS on its Episcopal Side*, Cash December 1930, G/AP11 1921-1937. See Chittleborough 'Towards a Theology and Practice of the Bishop-in-Synod' in *Authority in the Anglican Communion*, ed. Stephen W. Sykes (Toronto, Anglican Book Centre, 1987)144-162 for a theological exploration of such an approach.

⁶⁷ Eg. Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.66-72, gave a 20 point list of the principles on which Dornakal Diocese's success was based.

⁶⁸ For example, as a result of what he saw in Dornakal, Cash (Ibid, p.68) spoke of the importance of regular Holy Communion, which is a key theme in Roland Allen. Allen, R. *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 1962. First published 1912).

⁶⁹ Cash quotes Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* several times in *The Missionary Church* see p.166,191,192,296.

⁷⁰ Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*.

⁷¹ A full discussion of Kraemer's theology is beyond the scope of this present work.

of a new sense of the abiding presence of the living Lord there has come the urge to witness'.⁷²

Kraemer spoke of the continuing need for fellowship between the younger and older churches,⁷³ but Cash's approach is stronger and predates Kraemer's. At the Jerusalem Conference in 1928 various delegates from China and India emphasised the importance of 'mutual relationships'.⁷⁴ Cash, as part of this discussion, said

I want to challenge the statement that the day is coming when missionaries will not be needed. I say so not because the missionaries must dominate, but because a great co-operative work has grown up between the East and the West. In these days, when we are facing the great race problem, this is surely one of God's answers. We must think of the presence of the missionary as permanent. The word 'independent' with reference to the indigenous churches is entirely wrong. We want the word 'interdependent.' We are all members of the body of Christ.⁷⁵

Cash's approach contrasts with, say, the 1930 Lambeth conference which, while maintaining episcopal links, was looking for more independence for Churches.

In 1932 Cash again emphasised his rejection of the idea of independence.

It is misleading to speak of Churches gaining their independence. This term cuts across Catholic tradition and is apt to lead the younger Churches to forget their historic past in the Christian faith.⁷⁶

Cash does not see the traffic in ideas and support as one way; 'the young Churches need the contribution of the Churches in other lands, and these in their turn need the contribution which the young Churches have to give'.⁷⁷ These ideas are a forerunner of the idea of 'mutual responsibility and interdependence', which was to come to the fore in the 1950s, but it is difficult to determine whether there is a direct link. Neill, for example, in 1952 specifically echoed the rejection of the term 'independent' when applied to Churches using

⁷² Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.67. (One of the principles listed for Dornakal Diocese).

⁷³ Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, p.426 also p.40 which Cash quotes in *The Missionary Church*, p.191-2.

⁷⁴ Jerusalem International Missionary Council, *Reports Vol III: The Relations between the Younger and Older Churches 1928* (London, OUP, 1928) p.62 & 166-176. Also see Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*, 66-67.

⁷⁵ Jerusalem I.M.C, *Reports Vol III*, p.185.

⁷⁶ Cash for CMS Commission, 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

⁷⁷ Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.266.

instead 'interdependent'.⁷⁸ Neill must have been aware of Cash's work,⁷⁹ but whether he was directly influenced is not clear.⁸⁰

Cash developed these ideas into a deliberate rejection of Venn's 'euthanasia of the Mission'.

In a paper in 1932 he wrote

I think that events of the last 70 or 60 years have shown that we need a fresh approach to Henry Venn's conception of the euthanasia of a Mission.⁸¹

He went on to give the famous quote from Venn on euthanasia (as quoted in chapter 2) before elaborating his idea of Churches being interdependent even when 'ecclesiastical independence' was achieved. He argued that missionaries will continue to be requested and sent

And thus our evangelical witness will live on in the young Churches. 'Euthanasia' will be replaced rather by 'Athanasia'⁸²

By 1941 Cash was saying

Personally I believe Henry Venn's use of the word euthanasia is now obsolete and that the CMS is achieving something far grander than euthanasia.⁸³

Cash, in a way reminiscent of Stock's 1901 Memorandum, believed that as the new indigenous Churches took over, from the CMS, the control of the Mission activity in their areas, they would want the presence of missionaries who could continue to help and support them from the riches of Western Christian experience.

Cash was, throughout his time in office, a practical advocate of Mission that was centred on the Church. Bosch sees Tambaram as associated with 'Church-centred mission' and the

⁷⁸ Neill, *Christian Partnership*, p.28.

⁷⁹ In this book Neill summarises the various Missionary Conferences, and Cash's contribution in 1928 is part of the record of that conference.

⁸⁰ Webster, *Truly Called*, p.9 also speaks of 'interdependence rather than independence', but again it is not possible to identify where he got this idea from.

⁸¹ Memo by the Secretaries for the C.M.S. Commission meeting on 12th May 1932, G/APc2/2. Although the memo is not signed, and is headed 'from the secretaries' it is written in the first person, the Appendix begins with a note initialled by Cash, on the same paper and typed in the same way. This section of the paper was not actually discussed by the Commission as the issue of the home relations of the CMS dominated the proceedings at this stage.

⁸² 'the mortal will be replaced by the immortal'. Memo by the Secretaries for the CMS Commission meeting on 12/5/1932, G/APc2/2.

⁸³ Cash, W.W. *Report to Executive Committee of the CMS* 15/10/1941, G/AP11/1941-45.

theological move after the Second World War to ‘mission-centred Church’.⁸⁴ Not only was Cash ahead of Tambaram in his Church-centric approach to mission, but also, in *The Missionary Church*, he was advocating a Church that was mission centred. Cash did not extend this thinking into an analysis of the Trinity, as Barth would later do, but he did make the step of identifying God as the one who sends forth the Missionary Church.

We see, however, this task of an increasing, ongoing Church fulfilling God’s purpose in the world as we discover its realization in the Kingdom of God.

Our Lord called out His Church for the sake and service of the Kingdom.⁸⁵

This is not a fully fledged concept of *Missio Dei*, but that is the direction in which Cash was moving, more than a decade before the Willingen Conference.⁸⁶

6.3 Factors Which Impinged on CMS Policy, 1926-1942

6.3.1 General Issues

During Cash’s period in office the spectre of financial problems constantly loomed.. This took the form of both national and international economics as well as the funds, or lack of funds, of individual missionary societies. Specific dates can be arbitrary. Clearly there was an impact on missionary activity when in 1926 the Rupee (used from East Africa to India) was pegged ‘to the pound at the controversially high rate of 1 shilling 6 pence, where it remained until the end of the colonial period’.⁸⁷ Two other crucial points were the Wall Street Crash of 1929 and the abandoning of the Gold Standard (with a 25% devaluation in the pound) in September 1931. Walls describes the great depression as ‘the solvent for the missionary movement’.⁸⁸ Whatever the economic cause, the 1930s were dominated by substantial falls in income for missionary societies across the world, with various approaches being adopted to deal with them.

⁸⁴ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p.370.

⁸⁵ Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.317 also p.17 reads ‘From the Day of Pentecost we see the emergence of the Church with its divine mission to the world’.

⁸⁶ Seen by Bosch as when the concept of *Missio Dei* was first clearly seen. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p.390.

⁸⁷ D. K. Fieldhouse ‘The Metropolitan Economics of Empire’, in *The Oxford History of the British Empire IV*, ed. Brown and Lewis. p.94.

⁸⁸ A.F.Walls ‘British Missions,’ in *Missionary Ideologies*, ed. Christensen & Hutchison, 159-166 at 159.

In the British Empire, attempts were being made to rationalize both Empire and Commonwealth. In 1926 the meaning of 'Dominion Status' (for Australia etc.) was defined and sealed in 1931 with the Statute of Westminster.⁸⁹ When such 'Dominion Status' was set as the goal for India by the British Government in 1929 it tended to increase, rather than decrease, the agitation in India for independence which continued throughout the period.⁹⁰

In Africa, by contrast, the movement for independence did not gain much momentum until the Second World War, although Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 caused rioting and protests in cities across Africa, Ethiopia being seen as a symbol of African independence.⁹¹ Even by the end of the war Low argues that few predicted the speed of the coming of independence to Africa.⁹²

By the end of this period armed conflict dominated the international scene. The war between Japan and China, starting in 1937 was only a foretaste of things to come. It is almost impossible to overstate the significance of the Second World War. For the CMS, this time it was not just its missionaries abroad who would have first hand experience of the war. Its headquarters in Salisbury Square would be bombed, with so much of London.

6.3.2 Anglican Influences

Evangelicals in the Church of England, at the time of Cash's appointment, were not in a strong condition or position. Hastings describes them as 'depressed, in-turned, lacking in leaders, unable to appeal widely even to its normally favourite undergraduate clientele'.⁹³ This began to change in the 1930s and Neill speaks of Anglican evangelicalism moving beyond the old liberal/conservative division, into a less confrontational mode.⁹⁴ In universities, the new Inter Varsity Fellowship began to expand at the expense of the SCM.

⁸⁹ See John Darwin 'A Third British Empire - The Dominion Idea in Imperial Politics' - in *The Oxford History of the British Empire IV*, ed. Brown and Lewis, p.54.

⁹⁰ Low identifies three distinct phases, approximately 1917 to 1923; 1927 to 1934 and 1939 to 1946 Low, *Eclipse of Empire*, p.67.

⁹¹ J.F.A Ajayi, & Michael Crowder (Eds.) *History of West Africa Vol. 2* (London, Longman, 1974) p.591.

⁹² Low, *Eclipse of Empire*, p.227.

⁹³ Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, p.453.

⁹⁴ Neill, *Anglicanism*, p.400.

Evangelicals had a very limited representation on the bench of bishops, and before the appointment of Chavasse in 1940,⁹⁵ perhaps the most prominent evangelical bishop was Bardsley.

Although Cash did have access to the inner councils of the Anglican hierarchy, it would appear that he was never really an insider. On his appointment to the SPG, Waddy had been put up for membership of the Athenaeum by Davidson.⁹⁶ Lang⁹⁷ was also a member as was Oldham⁹⁸ and Bardsley, but Cash never was, belonging instead to the National Club,⁹⁹ as Fox had been. A telling point in Lockhart's biography of Lang is a quotation where Lang lists those who he has available to advise him on various matters, 'for the Church overseas there was always available the Secretary of the SPG'.¹⁰⁰ It falls to Lockhart to point out in a footnote that the CMS were also consulted. Lang's reluctance to see Cash elevated to the House of Bishops should also be noted.

6.3.3 The 1930 Lambeth Conference

Lang succeeded Davidson¹⁰¹ in 1928 giving him time to settle in office before the seventh Lambeth Conference took place in 1930.¹⁰² Less momentous than 1920, there are certain things of note which came out of this conference. Careful thought was given to the nature of the Anglican Communion, with that Committee being chaired by the Bishop of Salisbury and several CMS bishops taking part.¹⁰³ Their report stressed that 'the fundamental unit of Church organisation is the territorial Diocese under the jurisdiction of one Bishop',¹⁰⁴ but

⁹⁵ Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, p.200.

⁹⁶ Waddy, *Stacy Waddy*, p.256.

⁹⁷ J.G. Lockhart *Cosmo Gordon Lang*. (London, Hodder 1949) p.336, (though he found little time available to go).

⁹⁸ Clements, *Faith on the Frontier*, p.286.

⁹⁹ Inviting H.W. Hinde to lunch there - Cash to Hinde, 15/4/1926, G/Y CH3/3, see similarly Cash to Heaslett 10/12/1926, G/Y J4.

¹⁰⁰ Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, p.329.

¹⁰¹ Lang and Davidson had had a close working relationship Palmer, *High and Mitred*, p.160

¹⁰² Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, p.343, sees this as deliberate timing.

¹⁰³ Including the bishops of Uganda, the Niger, Tinnevely and Kwangsi-Hunan, Lambeth Report 1930 p.152.

¹⁰⁴ Lambeth Report 1930 p.157.

strongly recommended the formation of provinces. The whole conference approved a 'statement on the nature and status of the Anglican Communion'

The Anglican Communion is a fellowship, within the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of those duly constituted dioceses, provinces or regional Churches in communion with the See of Canterbury, which have the following characteristics in common :-

- (a) They uphold and propagate the Catholic and Apostolic faith and order as they are generally set forth in the Book of Common Prayer as authorised in their several Churches ;
- (b) They are particular or national Churches, and, as such, promote within each of their territories a national expression of Christian faith, life and worship; and
- (c) They are bound together not by a central legislative and executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the bishops in conference.¹⁰⁵

The last clauses can be summed up in the phrase 'self-governing, indigenous churches'. They were self-governing, indeed independent, in the sense that there was no legislative connection binding them together, their links were entirely voluntary. Each Church sought to be indigenous, in the sense of giving a national expression to faith, life and worship. This was emphasised in the encyclical letter, which welcomed the consequence that Churches founded by Missions would become 'less and less Anglican'.¹⁰⁶

This conference recognised that Japan and China were now provinces which had become 'constituent Churches of the Anglican Communion'.¹⁰⁷ The formation of a province of East Africa was also encouraged.¹⁰⁸ This was the ultimate goal everywhere that the CMS was working. The CMS was officially committed to working to build and strengthen national Churches which would be part of dioceses and provinces of this Communion. However, the 1930 Lambeth Conference also paved the way for South India to break the mould, with its scheme for reunion with other protestant Churches. This will be discussed later, but the key point is that this conference gave general approval to the scheme and left it to the bishops in India to work out the details.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, resolution 49, p.55.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p.29.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.55 resolution 57.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p.55 resolution 58.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.55 resolution 40.

Indirectly connected with the conference was a meeting of the overseas bishops arranged by Waddy of the SPG. As will be discussed later this led to the 'Unified Statements' on the needs of the Church overseas and indirectly to the conferences and meetings which gave clarification to the relationships between Missionary Societies and the Church of England.

It should be noted that the eighth conference was originally scheduled for 1940, but was cancelled at a late date due to the war.

6.3.4 The India Church Act 1928

This was a major change in the laws governing the Anglican Church in India, effectively disestablishing it and making it self-governing. The need was clear. In 1924 Whitehead pointed out the ridiculous complexity whereby, for instance, the ecclesiastical laws in force in India were the English laws as they stood 100 years previously.¹¹⁰ The massive variation in the rules for the appointment of India's bishops has been mentioned elsewhere. This was finally rationalized by the India Church Act of 1928. Its importance was explained by Neill

There is no doubt that from the moment the Act came into force the attitude of the Indians towards the Church changed. They felt that what had previously been a foreign body, loved and venerated for its antiquity and for what it had done for them, but still somewhat strange, was now their very own.¹¹¹

Wand sees the change as more subtle, but still far reaching.¹¹²

6.3.5 Influences from the Wider Missionary Community

The CMS was part of the network of missionary societies that extended beyond Britain and beyond Anglicanism. This involved the CMS in conferences and consultations across the world at various times. For instance, the 1931 report, commissioned by the International Missionary Council into 'Christian Higher Education in India'.¹¹³ In America a report was produced in 1932 entitled 'Re-thinking Missions - A Laymen's Inquiry after 100 years'. This looked at the work of several protestant Missions, mainly in China; it commented on

¹¹⁰ Whitehead, *India Problems*, p.90.

¹¹¹ Neill, *Christ, His Church and His World*, p.72.

¹¹² J.W.C. Wand *The Anglican Communion* (Oxford, OUP 1948) p.87.

¹¹³ *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India* 1931.

the various missionary methods with an objective of increasing financial support.¹¹⁴ However, the most important events in the world of missionary societies were the International Missionary Conferences. The conference held in Edinburgh in 1910 has already been mentioned. The next two were held during Cash's period in office, in Jerusalem in 1928 and in Tambaram, Madras, in 1938. In both of these the CMS played its full part, with Cash, and other CMS personnel, participating in both.

Just before the 1938 conference Cash compared the three conferences

1910 was a Conference of sending Churches
 1928 was a Conference of Mission Boards with leaders of other countries
 1938 will be a Conference of older and younger Churches, on an equality in numbers and equality in status.¹¹⁵

One of the constant themes of the Jerusalem conference was handing over of power to the 'younger' Churches. The 1928 conference included the CMS's 1921-22 India Delegation Report as an appendix to its volume on 'The Relations between the Younger and Older Churches'. Cash's comments at this conference criticising the idea of the 'euthanasia of the Mission' have been mentioned earlier, but he also spoke out on the issue of the division between Mission and Church

Missions and churches have grown up side by side in a sort of diarchy, and the immediate demand is that this should cease, and that missionary activity should centre in and around the Church. The note needed therefore is not domination, either by the West or by the East, but complete co-operation by both missionaries and nationals.¹¹⁶

This tied in with the report of meeting of the International Missionary Council, which had found that

The world mission of Christianity has become church-centric. This was the central fact. It came out strongly in the discussion as well as in the findings. Our work and service is increasingly related to the Church, and the foreign mission, as an administrative entity, is rapidly dropping in insignificance.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ W.E. Hocking (Ed.) (& The Commission of Appraisal) *Re-thinking Missions - A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years*. (London, Harper, 1932). This was clearly well known at the time, being referred to by Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, p.36 and Hooft, *The Church and its Function in Society*, p.55.

¹¹⁵ At Missionaries Conference at High Leigh, 28/5/1938, G/APc2/9.

¹¹⁶ Jerusalem I.M.C, *Reports Vol III*, p.167.

¹¹⁷ Jerusalem I.M.C, *Reports Vol III*, p.165.

Within the CMS, the process of diocesanization was a good example of this, and shows that the CMS was part of a bigger change taking place in missionary activity.

The Church in Africa did not play a large part in the Jerusalem Conference, either as a participant or as matter of discussion. Similarly, the holding of the Tambaram conference in India, inevitably led to a degree of concentration on India; Bediako is correct in seeing Africa marginalised at both Jerusalem and Tambaram.¹¹⁸ Tambaram saw the delegates who were nationals of the younger Churches outnumber those from the older Churches.¹¹⁹ Kraemer played a very influential role in this conference, and Cash's link with this has been discussed previously.

6.4 CMS Internal Factors 1926-1942

6.4.1 CMS Committees

When Cash came to office, the substantial reforms to the CMS committee structures of the previous 10 years, which were discussed in chapter 2, still left an Executive Committee of 50 members. This was too large for executive discussion. The Secretaries met together regularly, (such meetings were not minuted) but at times a wide circle for discussion was needed. This need was filled by various committees which reported to the Executive Committee. Effectively, many of these committees functioned on an ad hoc basis, being called to deal with particular questions or problems as they arose, and comprising of a membership appropriate to the task. A relatively short lived example was the Foreign sub-committee, called into existence to deal with retrenchment in 1932. It brought together the secretaries with two or three senior members of the Executive committee (including the president) to prepare proposals for cutbacks. Another obvious example of this was the much larger¹²⁰ Appointments Committee, which would only meet when there was a senior appointment to be made.

¹¹⁸ Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, p.201 He identifies a conference with substantial African participation held at Le Zoute, Belgium in 1926 as 'the real watershed in the missionary consciousness'. This conference argued that Africa should not be the poor relation to India and China with regard to missionary recruits.

¹¹⁹ W.Paton 'The Tambaram Meeting,' *International Review of Missions* 28, (1939)161-173 at 162.

¹²⁰ 27 members.

The Ecclesiastical Committee seemed to function in a similar way. Although theoretically permanent, it would sometimes not sit for a year.¹²¹ Indeed, it seemed to fall into complete abatement while the CMS Commission was meeting, being recalled by Cash in 1936 after five years¹²² in response to a perceived crisis. It was originally set up by the Executive Committee in November 1927¹²³ with a mandate to ‘examine and advise upon the Draft Diocesan and Provincial Constitutions now being formulated to meet the needs of the growing Church in overseas dioceses where the CMS is at work’.¹²⁴ Initially its membership consisted of Cash and eight others, including Warman, the Bishop of Chelmsford¹²⁵ as the chairman and Whitehead, the former Bishop of Madras. Several extra members were co-opted on in 1936, including Miss R.E. Doggett, the only woman member.

When examining the work of these committees, an obvious question, is the degree to which what went on in these meetings can really be known. Normally the only sources available are the minutes, and any papers distributed for the meeting. However, in the case of the April 1936 Ecclesiastical Committee meeting, a verbatim transcript of the meeting remains in the files. This was used to produce some of the quotations used in the minutes, but included more material than the minutes do. Since this meeting was crucial in the debate on continuing evangelical influence, it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, casting light both on that subject and on the way a heated discussion in a committee was recorded in the minutes.

In September 1934 a four day conference, bringing together 180 CMS supporters from across Britain, was held at Swanwick. Papers were given by Cash and most of the Secretaries. The aim was to encourage support by giving clear information on the various CMS Missions.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Eg. in 1929 see p.163 Ecclesiastical Committee minutes 21/10/1929, G/CS5.

¹²² Ecclesiastical Committee minutes 29/4/1936, G/CS5, p.283.

¹²³ It appears another committee of the same name under the old structure did exist.

¹²⁴ G/CS5, p.80.

¹²⁵ F.S. Guy Warman. Later Bishop of Manchester; Chair of the 1918 Commission of enquiry - then vicar of Bradford, member of the 1918 Memorials sub-committee.

¹²⁶ All papers for this are, G/GA4.

6.4.2 The 1932-1933 CMS Commission

The Commission was set up by the General Committee in March 1932. Unlike the Centenary Review Committees, the Secretaries were heavily involved from the start, ‘free to attend all meetings of the Commission and to take part in discussions thereat, but without vote’¹²⁷. The Bishop of Rochester, Martin Linton Smith, was the chair, and at their first meeting on 22nd April 1932, Cash was asked to ‘undertake the Secretaryship of the Commission’.¹²⁸ Even though he was, like the other Secretaries, without a vote, this would give him a great deal of influence. The Commission consisted of 23 members of whom three were women, eight were clergy and four more were bishops, one of whom was Bardsley.

The Commission had very detailed, and wide ranging, terms of reference. It was explicitly stated that the Commission should feel free to go beyond the terms of reference if it desired.

The first point was that the Commission was:

to examine into the relationship of the CMS to the Anglican Church both at home and abroad with special reference to

- (a) The work and policy of the Missionary Council
- (b) The report of the Finance Commission of the Missionary Council
- (c) The desire of the Diocesan Missionary Councils to help the societies ...
- (d) The growing demand that the Church officially shall take a greater share than heretofore in the missionary enterprise of the Church.

This was to be with regard to the ‘distinctive evangelical contribution’ and ‘the independent character of the Society’. It was also to consider ‘the Church character of the Society as illustrated by Henry Venn’s ‘euthanasia’ and the devolution policy of the CMS.

There were 11 other points in the terms of reference. Specific items of note include the home administration, the relation of the CMS with non-Anglican Societies and boards and the possibilities of federation with other evangelical societies. They were also specifically required to ‘examine the present working of the CMS policy of devolution in dioceses overseas’ and to ‘examine the block grant system as distinct from the CMS method of financing overseas work’.

The Commission reported in two stages, the first after just six months on the issue of the relationship between the CMS and the Missionary Council (MC) of the Church Assembly.

¹²⁷ Minutes of the CMS Commission, 22/4/1932, G/APc2/1. Terms of Reference point 11.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

The final report, produced in December 1933, was divided into two sections, one on the 'Home Activities of the CMS'¹²⁹, the other was on 'The Foreign Work of the CMS' and was published widely under the title 'Looking Forward'.

The final report received approval by the General Committee in December 1933, describing it as 'an epitome of the policy of the CMS in its foreign work'.¹³⁰ It was published as 'Looking Forward' in 1934. It has 9 sections and runs to 52 pages with a further 23 pages of appendices etc. It is a very significant statement of the CMS's policy on its overseas work especially given the time and care given to its preparation, and its historical context - half way through Cash's period of office, immediately following the ecclesiastical independence of the Indian and Chinese Churches and at a point when new financial realities had been accepted.¹³¹ It is indeed true that, in practical terms, it endorsed current practice to a very large extent; but given that there had been no full statement of CMS policy since the turn of the century this was an important task in itself. However the emphasis on a 'Church centric' approach to mission is an important ecclesiological point. Lang described it as 'in the true sense a very statesmanlike document distinguished by real breadth of view and courage to face the realities of the situation'.¹³²

The link with Venn is emphasised in the titles of the first three chapters - 'A Self-Governing Church', 'A Self-Supporting Church' and 'A Self-Extending Church'. A copy of 'Looking Forward' was sent to every missionary of the society. In Cash's covering letter he speaks of the key points of the report

The whole Report is based upon the idea that the work of the C.M.S. must centre in the young Churches, that the missionary society has been erecting the scaffolding, but the permanent building is the Church and that ultimately our missions must become missions of the Church of those lands in which the missions have been established, and that executive authority must pass more and more from the sending country to the Church in the field. The

¹²⁹ This included the recommendations and points submitted in the Section I of the report, slightly rephrased, with minor alterations in line with developments.

¹³⁰ 27/9/34, G/C1, p.481.

¹³¹ The reality of a reduced income is explicitly stated - *Looking Forward*, p.8.

¹³² Lang to Cash, 7/12/1933, G/APc2/4.

Commission therefore has placed great emphasis upon the training of a native leadership, a native ministry and kindred subjects.¹³³

In the foreword to *Looking Forward*, the chairman, Linton-Smith, wrote

The main problem with which the Report deals is the growth of the Church and the repercussions of that growth upon the Missions of the Society; it may be described as an attempt to translate into principles that can be applied in practice much of what is implied in that happy phrase of Henry Venn, the ‘*euthanasia* of a Mission’.¹³⁴

Comparing this view of ‘*euthanasia*’, to that of Cash, shows that they are using the phrase in very different ways. Linton-Smith is using it to describe the end of the ‘Mission’ as an organisation in a particular field. The whole process of diocesanization did not however, mean the end of missionaries working in that diocese, far from it. Yet Venn’s understanding of ‘*euthanasia*’ was that once control of the work has been passed on ‘then the missionary and all missionary agency should be transferred to “the regions beyond”’.¹³⁵ Cash’s understanding of *euthanasia* was much closer to Venn’s, and that is what Cash rejected, seeking a continual relationship between mother and daughter Church, even after the latter is fully self-governing. Precisely what relationship Venn envisaged after ‘*euthanasia*’, is not fully clear since no Mission reached that stage during the 19th century.

The Commission’s findings on the CMS’s relationship to the Church of England, on diocesanization and on the training of clergy will be discussed in the next chapter. Other parts of its findings lie beyond the scope of this study. However the Commission did make recommendations on the responsibilities of the CMS secretariat. In these they fully endorsed the understanding that Cash had expounded at the time of the appointment, that including seeing the General Secretary as ‘the chief Foreign Secretary’.¹³⁶

¹³³ Cash to all Missionaries of the Society, January 1934, G/APc2/4.

¹³⁴ Martin Linton-Smith, Bishop of Rochester, December 1933, in Foreword to *Looking Forward*.

¹³⁵ Henry Venn *Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers* 1851 reproduced as Appendix 1 in Shenk *Henry Venn - Missionary Statesman*, p.188. A fuller quote is given in chapter 2 above.

¹³⁶ Report of the CMS Commission Section II - The Home activities of the CMS p.18. Compare with previous situation described in Minute of the EC, 22/4/1925, G/C1 1925, p.272-273.

6.4.3 Overseas Visits by Cash and CMS Delegations

At the end of his time with CMS Cash spoke of the influence that visits had had on him, especially in the area of diocesanization.¹³⁷ In retrospect, Cash listed the visits which, for him, were most crucial¹³⁸

1930-31 New Zealand {and Australia}

1932 Saxony - 200th Anniversary of Moravian Missions

1934 India - particularly Dornakal

1937 Central Africa

In addition, Cash twice visited Egypt, in 1931 and in 1933 when he also visited the Sudan and Palestine. He also took the opportunity of his attendance at the Tambaram conference to visit parts of India in 1938. Cash never seems to have visited China, though Barclay did in 1936-7.

Like Bardsley, it was Cash's visit to India, this time as part of the India Delegation of 1934-5, which had the most noticeable effect on him. This visit resulted in a booklet by Cash which shows how impressed Cash was by the rapid growth in some areas of India, but also contains a typical worry about stagnation without adequate missionary support.¹³⁹ His visit to India can be seen as influencing two changes in policy. The first was a marked change in his attitude to the idea of an indigenous episcopate, as a result of seeing the effectiveness of Bishop Azariah. The second was a re-opening of the question of what it meant for the CMS to be an evangelical society, after Cash observed the effect that the policy of diocesanization was having on evangelical influence in some areas.

¹³⁷ Cash, W.W. *Report to Executive Committee of the CMS* 15/10/1941, G/AP11/1941-45.

¹³⁸ W.W.Cash, *In the Power of the Spirit*, p.5.

¹³⁹ W.W. Cash *How a Village Movement Grew - The Story of Venkayya* (London, CMS, 1936) p.18.

Chapter 7 - CMS Policy under Cash

7.1 The Relationship of the CMS to the Church of England

As discussed in chapter 5, the CMS accepted the position as a 'recognised missionary society' at the request of the National Assembly of the Church of England in December 1921. What this recognition meant was unclear.¹ Cash described the situation before 1921 as the CMS having 'a completely independent position in regard to the Church on its official side'.² Obviously this relationship with the Church of England was not new, but previously there had been no formal and institutional connection.

The Missionary Council was still chaired by Donaldson,³ Bishop of Salisbury, with whom Cash built a good relationship, not least through travelling together to various international conferences.⁴ The Secretary of the Missionary Council was no longer Bardsley. After less than a year, to the distress of Donaldson but the delight of his other friends,⁵ Bardsley left to become Bishop of Peterborough. He was replaced as MC Secretary by Garfield Williams who was replaced by A. W. Davies in 1930. Both were former CMS missionaries. Where Williams had been on the 1921/22 India delegation, Davies had been secretary of the Committee of Reference. Another former CMS missionary, J McLeod Campbell,⁶ took over from Davies in 1935.

¹ A point accepted by Davies, the MC Secretary in discussion with the CMS Commission - see Minutes of the CMS Commission, 17/5/1932, G/APc2/1.

² Cash, W. W. *Report to Executive Committee of the CMS* 15/10/1941, G/AP11/1941-45.

³ Lloyd *The Church of England*, p.444-448 gives an account of Donaldson's contribution to the MC.

⁴ Dimont & Batty, *St. Clair Donaldson*, p.162-165.

⁵ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.84-86.

⁶ Formerly Principal of Trinity College, Kandy in Ceylon. His moderate approach to the Missionary Council is described in Campbell, *Christian History in the Making*, pp.338-344.

Hewitt points out⁷ that the rise of the MC produced some concern in the CMS and among its supporters.⁸ Such concern was not confined to the CMS. Davies recognised that other Anglican societies were suspicious of the Missionary Council.⁹ Their primary fear was of the eventual eclipse and demise of missionary societies under the slogan ‘The Church - its own Missionary Society’. This was the idea that the Church itself should be a missionary society, without separate organisations like the CMS. Methodist missions, for example, were governed directly by the national organisation. This approach was developing in parts of the Anglican Communion.¹⁰ For example, in 1931 the CMS expressed unease that, in Australia, a church board, which itself sent out and supported missionaries, was supervising the Australian CMS.¹¹ Both Cash and Bardsley believed that ideally the Church should not need missionary societies,¹² but both considered the society system too well established to be changed. While Bardsley was Secretary of the MC there had been ‘no idea that the Council should collect money or send out its own missionaries’.¹³

The problem facing the CMS in the early 1930s was that the MC wanted a greater say in the missionary activities of Church. It also wanted to play a larger financial role through central fund raising. The possibility of the MC sending missionaries was never seriously considered, collecting money was another matter; a central missionary fund had been proposed in 1918.¹⁴ The CMS’s disquiet was heightened by ‘two events of considerable importance’.¹⁵

⁷ Hewitt I, p.416 see also J.R.H Moorman *A History of the Church in England*. (London, A & C Black, 1953) p.210.

⁸ An article by Donaldson in the CMR, 1924, while not particularly threatening, would not have calmed CMS feelings. St. Clair Donaldson ‘The Missionary Council of the National Assembly’ in *Church Missionary Review* 75 (1924) p.295-304.

⁹ Minutes of the CMS Commission, 17/5/1932, G/APc2/1.

¹⁰ Described in Lambeth Conference Report 1920 p.83.

¹¹ See *Report of the Society’s delegation to Australia* 1931, G/Y Au3.

¹² Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.82. This was also the ideal recognised in Church of England National Mission. *The Missionary Work of the Church. Being the Report of the Archbishops’ First Committee of Inquiry*. London, SPCK, 1918. p.5.

¹³ Bayldon, *Cyril Bardsley*, p.82.

¹⁴ *The Missionary Work of the Church*, p.19.

¹⁵ Memo by the Secretaries for the CMS Commission meeting on 12/5/1932, G/APc2/2.

The first was a 'Missionary Finance Commission' set up by the MC, which Cash attended with at least four other Churchmen with strong CMS links. Its report, published in 1932, indicated a division of opinion as to whether the missionary societies should be the only channels for funds raised by the MC. Sending money directly to overseas churches would have undermined the financial support of the various societies at a time of significant financial difficulty. There was, however, unanimity in support of the statement that 'in our day and generation there can be no question of abolishing the society system',¹⁶ something that Cash clearly welcomed.¹⁷

The second event was a residential conference of the MC which met once the Finance Commission had reported.¹⁸ Cash's speech at this conference explicitly showed that he believed the CMS's relationship to the Church of England had changed significantly in 1921, and was continuing to change.¹⁹

Obviously the major concern for the CMS was the continuation of the society system and there was clear relief that the first resolution of the conference (subsequently approved by the MC itself) defined the function of the MC as

to stimulate the sense of corporate responsibility, the Church, and to do this in such a way as to increase the volume and effectiveness of the service rendered by the Missionary Societies as officially recognised agencies of the Church of England for its overseas work.²⁰

As a result, the CMS Secretaries were able to inform the CMS Commission that they regarded 'the slogan of "the Church its own missionary society" as a dead issue.'²¹

¹⁶ See *Missionary Finance - Report of the Missionary Finance Commission set up by the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly 1932*, copy in G/APc2/2, eg. p.4.

¹⁷ Cash's talk at the Missionary Council Conference, High Leigh, 23/2/1932, G/APc2/2.

¹⁸ The 1932 CMS Commission can be seen partly as a reaction to these events - see G/APc 2/1 p.1. This was set up just before the MC conference took place but did not actually meet until afterwards.

¹⁹ Cash's talk at the Missionary Council Conference, High Leigh, 23/2/1932, G/APc2/2.

²⁰ Resolutions of a Conference of the Missionary Council held at High Leigh Feb 1932, as adopted by the Council 26/4/1932, G/APc2/2.

²¹ Memo by the Secretaries for the CMS Commission meeting on 12/5/1932, G/APc2/2.

However, some concerns remained,²² one of which was the decision to set up 'permanent area councils' for the various missionary fields.²³

This whole episode worried the CMS. If the MC started to regulate the work of the Societies, what could the CMS do? Would CMS co-operation with the MC in programmes to raise money for missionary work, eventually weaken the CMS's position? The Secretaries told the 1932-4 CMS Commission

From a CMS point of view something took place when the Society accepted recognition which has altered its position, the implications of which have never really been thought through by the Society.²⁴

The first task of the Commission was to think through these implications. The discussions were detailed but the conclusions reached were far from radical. Recognition of the CMS by the MC came down to a willingness by both parties to cooperate and not hamper one another. The Commission accepted that it was 'the function of the Missionary Council to advise a society as to its policy, whether at home, or abroad in its bearing upon the responsibility of the whole Church',²⁵ but also made the explicit assertion that 'the right of the Society to initiate fresh work, or new Missions, is in no way subject to the control of the Council.' Most significantly they said that recognition

involves no obligation on the part of a society to compromise its doctrinal and ecclesiastical outlook or to admit the right of the Missionary Council to control the affairs of the Society or to be the only link between the home Church and provinces and dioceses overseas²⁶

The MC only ever had one power; to grant or revoke recognition to Missionary Societies. For small societies, and diocesan associations such a threat might have worried them. The CMS and the SPG were so large that removing their status would have harmed the credibility of the MC more than the Society concerned. As long as funds raised through the MC were channelled through Societies, and the CMS did not have to communicate with

²² A major point of conflict, that is beyond the scope of the study, was how fund raising for missionary work should be carried out in the English dioceses.

²³ Resolutions of a Conference of the Missionary Council held at High Leigh Feb 1932, as adopted by the Council 26/4/1932, G/APc2/2.

²⁴ Memo by the Secretaries for the CMS Commission meeting on 12/5/1932, G/APc2/2.

²⁵ *Report of the CMS Commission: Section 1* September 1932, G/APc2/1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

overseas dioceses through the MC, the CMS was happy have the MC offering advice and providing a forum for discussion between Anglican Missionary Societies.

The Commission published a speedy report, just on the relationship with the MC,²⁷ before continuing with its other work. This cleared the way for the CMS to co-operate fully with the 'unified statements' on the needs of the overseas Church.²⁸ The final Commission report recommended

That the Society should regard as central to its policy a continuous and hearty co-operation with the work of the Missionary Council.²⁹

As Williams has argued, a closer relationship with the Anglican Church at home came to the top of the agenda for the CMS at the end of the 19th Century, and it seems symbolic that this was the first item addressed by the 1932-4 CMS Commission. At this time the CMS feared that the relationship had become too close, jeopardising the independence of the CMS. In practice, the MC was too powerless to provide much of a threat and by resisting attempts to strengthen the MC's financial influence the CMS reached a situation with which it was happy, and which it understood. Having decided what being an Anglican missionary society meant, the CMS was now faced with the question of what it meant to be an evangelical society at a time when it was handing over the fruits of its work to generally non-evangelical ecclesiastical authorities.

7.2 Diocesanization.

Diocesanization was a policy that Cash inherited when he came to office, and as will be shown, officially remained the policy throughout his period in office. However, throughout the period there was a constant tension between the policy of diocesanization and the desire to ensure that 'evangelical principles'³⁰ would continue to function within the Churches founded by the CMS.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. The Commission also objected to a quota system for fund raising, an idea subsequently dropped by the MC after widespread opposition.

²⁹ *Report of the CMS Commission: Section II, Home Activities* December 1933, G/APc2/1.

³⁰ This undefined phrase was used in the 1924 *General Principles*.

Cash saw diocesanization as ‘the absorption’ of the mission organisation in the field by the diocesan organization.³¹ This is in line with the *Looking Forward* Report’s formal definition of diocesanization as

transferring initiative and control from the mission organization in its various fields to that of the dioceses acting through their synods or councils.³²

Hewitt, in his discussion of this movement from ‘mission to diocese’ identifies a slowing down of the process of diocesanization, under Cash’s administration, derived from ‘a protective policy towards the CMS point of view’.³³ Hewitt is careful not to offer specific criticism of Secretaries, merely noting that ‘a later generation of CMS secretaries in London’, in the 1930s, did not share the ‘1921-22 delegation’s enthusiasm for the transfer of administrative responsibility to dioceses’³⁴. A possible way of viewing this is as a continuing tension between the desire for diocesanization and the desire to maintain an evangelical influence. Such tension was far greater in dioceses where the CMS was working alongside other Anglican missions, particularly the SPG. In Ceylon, for example, the CMS component of the diocese was small compared to the Anglo-Catholic component and the desire for diocesanization was sometimes eclipsed by the desire to maintain evangelical influence. Ceylon was the ‘exception that proved the rule’ - the rule being that, in India, diocesanization would go ahead but with safeguards to maintain the evangelical contribution.

The slowing down of the process of diocesanization, mentioned by Hewitt, is not however uniform. There also appears a discontinuity between the approach before and after the 1934-5 delegation to India. This was not necessarily the only cause for the change.

³¹ Cash for CMS Commission 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6, p.5.

³² *Looking Forward* 1934 p.17-18.

³³ Hewitt II, p.69.

³⁴ Hewitt II, p.77 & 226.

7.2.1 The CMS Policy of Diocesanization under Cash, 1926-34

7.2.1.1 The Continuation of the Earlier Approach

The policy of diocesanization continued after Cash came to office, in 1926. In areas like Travancore, where the diocese was purely the result of CMS work, diocesanization was effectively the culmination of Venn's policy, except that there was not a 'native' bishop. Cash described diocesanization in such cases as effectively being an extension of the process of 'devolution' from Salisbury Square to the field.³⁵ The mission became the diocese and the CMS could be confident that 'evangelical principles' would be maintained. In such cases, the diocesanization process matched very closely what had been laid down by the Committee of Reference in 1924. Thus E.A.L. Moore, Bishop in Travancore & Cochin wrote of his diocese

Here diocesanization took place in January 1928, within about two years of my arrival here. By this step the whole work of the diocese and mission was brought under diocesan authority (except the CMS College, Kottayam). The Missionary Conference was abolished, and the importance of the office of CMS Secretary was thereby very greatly reduced. He is no longer the CMS Secretary, but CMS Diocesan Representative.³⁶

In this case, when diocesanization happened, all the work was taken over, with the exception of one major institution, and the CMS machinery in the diocese reduced to a single representative.

Diocesanization also continued in dioceses which were not purely the result of CMS work. In these cases the CMS saw a danger that 'evangelical principles' might not be maintained. During Cash's first year in office the CMS had to decide whether to sanction diocesanization in Ceylon. They decided that the CMS would make its best contribution if it entered 'wholeheartedly into diocesan life and organisation'.³⁷ The argument was that 'evangelical principles' would have their greatest influence if the policy of diocesanization was pursued, particularly in dioceses where the CMS was in a minority position. Even so, the minute went on to ask for various safeguards before steps would be taken to hand over pastorates.

³⁵ Cash for CMS Commission 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

³⁶ E.A.L. Moore, Bishop in Travancore & Cochin to Walton 7/10/1935, G/Y 15/3.

³⁷ Minute of the Executive Committee of 10/11/1926, G/C1 1926, p.405-410 (on diocesanization in Ceylon).

Some of these were simply those laid out in the *General Principles* of 1924, such as setting up a Diocesan Missions Board to encourage evangelism, conserving the elected Pastorate Committees and District Councils, and safeguarding rights of congregations with regard to their form of worship. Others went further than the 1924 guidelines, particularly wanting the Pastorate Committees to have the right of nomination of pastors to the bishop.

7.2.1.2 Early Concerns over Ceylon

In 1930 Cash received reports about the negative effects of diocesanization in Ceylon on the position of evangelicals. After consultation with the CMS secretary in Ceylon, Cash was able to reassure his correspondent that evangelicalism was secure in Ceylon, with a Patronage Committee over the Pastorates, and CMS control continuing over the various CMS institutions.³⁸ Cash went on to discuss some ‘underlying principles’

Diocesanization is simply the realization of the ideal Henry Venn set out and had he been in my place to-day I think he would have agreed that we were taking every precaution to safeguard the principles for which he stood.³⁹

Cash certainly believed safeguards were necessary; he was more worried about the situation in Ceylon than is revealed above. His correspondence with Donaldson, the chair of MC,⁴⁰ in the same year, described the Bishop of Ceylon’s policy, which

seemed to be to dismiss as fast as possible all previous CMS workers, and to put in fresh workers of a catholic type, and thus bring the whole district over to a catholic position, and to give it a catholic colour.⁴¹

Cash argued that complete diocesanization, including CMS institutions, would mean that evangelical principles would be ‘squeezed out in a comparatively short time’.⁴² The preservation of evangelical principles was coming into conflict with the policy of diocesanization. However, Cash’s concerns over Ceylon did not prevent him from pursuing the policy of diocesanization. His close involvement in the diocesanization process is particularly shown in 1933, when, during a visit to Palestine, Cash personally worked out

³⁸ Cash to ‘Mr. Watson’ as CMS support concerned about Ceylon 26/7/1930, G/Y CE2.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Who from 1931 would officially act as Lang’s advisor in missionary affairs -see Cash’s ‘Notes of interview with the Archbishop...’ 16/10/1931, G/Y A5/3.

⁴¹ Cash to Donaldson (Bishop of Salisbury) 17/2/1930, G/Y Ag3.

⁴² Ibid.

a scheme of diocesanization for the Palestine Native Christian Council under the Bishop of Jerusalem.⁴³

7.2.1.3 Minor Changes in Approach

One significant change in the process of diocesanization under Cash was that, by 1930, decisions were no longer being taken by the Committee of Reference, which appears to have been discontinued after Davies's return to Britain in 1930.⁴⁴ The details for India were now worked out in Salisbury Square, giving Cash a close, personal, control over the process. This is well illustrated by Lucknow Diocese. Early moves from mission to diocese were mentioned briefly in chapter 4 above.⁴⁵ In 1920 two District Church Councils functioned under the Diocesan Council, one associated with the CMS, the other with the SPG. In 1925 they combined on the recommendation of the LGB. In 1930 the Executive Committee expressed 'the Society's desire to hand over administration of CMS work in the United Provinces to the Lucknow Diocesan Council'.⁴⁶ In other words it wanted full diocesanization. This would include evangelistic and most educational work. Instead of the Committee of Reference, a sub-committee was formed in Salisbury Square, which included Cash, Treanor (the India Secretary) and Davies, who was now Secretary of the MC. They met with the Bishop of Lucknow and concluded that 'most of the principles laid down by the General Committee of the Society in 1924, ... were fulfilled in the revised Lucknow Constitution.'⁴⁷ This statement was supported by a document from the India department which details the ways that the Constitution satisfied the *General Principles* conditions.⁴⁸ Various practicalities were discussed, including making it clear that the CMS Representative would no longer be the channel of communication between the CMS and

⁴³ Report by Cash 1933, G/AD1/4.

⁴⁴ EC of 10/11/1926, G/C1 1926, p.407 said that the Committee of Reference would be consulted in future as necessary.

⁴⁵ See also Hewitt II, p.73-4.

⁴⁶ Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Diocesanization in Lucknow Diocese 12/9/1931, G/Y I7/3.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 9/5/1932, G/Y I7/3

⁴⁸ 'Diocesanization of CMS work in the Lucknow Diocese' 23/3/1932, G/Y I7/3, signed 'India Department'.

the diocese; he would now only deal with ‘matters touching the missionaries personally, their status, position, privileges and allowances’.⁴⁹

The CMS tried to achieve more official recognition, because of the number of missionaries and amount of money it was giving to the diocese. The suggestion was that the bishop should appoint ‘a CMS official at Salisbury Square as their commissary’.⁵⁰ This idea was not apparently acted on, but does reflect the growing concern about the position of the CMS after diocesanization.

7.2.1.4 The CMS Commission and Diocesanization

Had Cash wished to change the policy of diocesanization, then the CMS Commission was the forum in which to do it; it had the authority to question any matter of policy. He was its secretary and produced the initial papers that were to be the basis of discussion, so he was in a position at least to try to amend the policy, if he so wished.

In one such discussion paper, Cash gave an historical survey of the CMS’s approach to devolution, showing how the present policy of diocesanization was a natural growth from the approach of Venn, the 1901 Memorandum and the work of the early 1920s. His conclusion was that previous action of the CMS committee

has therefore committed the Society to action which now would seem to be irrevocable. The Commission in examining this question is not called upon to try and do what has already been done but rather to examine the question in the light of experience during the years in which devolution has been practised.⁵¹

Cash was clearly stating that the basic policy should not even be debated. Diocesanization was linked in his mind with a ‘Church-centric’ approach to mission, which he saw as the only defensible policy

The argument that those who pay must control is indefensible in the light of the missionary interests of the young Churches. Control must be by the

⁴⁹ Document entitled ‘Notes on the relationship of the CMS to the Diocese of Lucknow’ undated and unsigned, G/Y I7/3.

⁵⁰ Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Diocesanization in Lucknow Diocese 9/5/1932, G/Y I7/3.

⁵¹ Cash for CMS Commission 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

Church whoever pays, and authority must be vested ultimately not in Salisbury Square, nor in the Missionary Committees, but in the Church, the Body of Christ.⁵²

The only conclusion is that Cash, at this stage of his term in office, did not wish to change the policy of diocesanization. He did mention the difficulty of diocesanization in a diocese like Ceylon, but only briefly; maintenance of evangelical principles was a problem related to the policy, but not a reason to change the policy.

The first recommendation of the final *Looking Forward* report was simply ‘that the Society should re-affirm its adherence to its declared policy of diocesanization’, while the second recommendation discussed points arising out of the policy of diocesanization, calling for a close relationship between Mission and Church in evangelistic activities and the development of ‘native’ leadership.⁵³

The whole approach of the 1924 *General Principles* document was reaffirmed, but some key changes were made. The Commission objected to the policy of block grants and preferred a system where dioceses would ‘submit an annual itemized budget showing how the funds of the Society would be spent if granted’.⁵⁴ Such tighter control over the money was reinforced by recommending that the diocesan representative of the CMS, who should not be the bishop, would sign cheques for the Society as well as dealing with personal matters of missionaries. In order to do this he was allowed a small committee to help, ‘the utmost care being taken to avoid the danger of creating a dual authority within the diocese.’⁵⁵ Also missionaries were encouraged to continue periodic conferences for mutual fellowship. The CMS decided to retain ownership of CMS property in the missions, other than Churches.⁵⁶ Hewitt sees these changes as providing ‘a powerful braking-system on

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Looking Forward* p.16-18. Four reasons were given for this recommendation: the assumption that any Churches formed would ‘become an integral part of the duly constituted local branch of the Anglican Communion’; the need to avoid ‘all appearance of western domination’; the experience that diocesanization creates in the Churches ‘a sense of responsibility both for self-support and witness; and ‘to ensure that evangelical principles take their due place in the life of the whole diocese’.

⁵⁴ *Looking Forward* p.20.

⁵⁵ *Looking Forward* p.20.

⁵⁶ *Looking Forward* p.25.

devolution from mission to diocese'.⁵⁷ This is too harsh a judgement; such changes did not prevent diocesanization, and although they could have been used as ways to undermine diocesanization once it had occurred, this was not the intention. The aim was to provide some degree of security for the evangelical principles without which the CMS was not willing to hand over control of its Missions. Indeed, from the perspective of the CMS, these changes were necessary to allow diocesanization rather than to stop it. By 1938, some missionaries in India were raising objections to the way CMS still controlled the money, and advocated the block grant system. Cash noted that some missionaries were even 'willing to put themselves in the hands of the diocese and accept as allowances whatever the diocese could afford to pay them'.⁵⁸

Cash appears to have been fully happy with the commitment to diocesanization given by the Commission. Just after its publication, in a speech to CMS supporters gathered at Swanwick he said

When we talk about diocesanization it is not a new thing, but a perfectly ordinary and necessary outcome of the work of over a century of the Society... This is an absolutely essential element in the work of the Society.⁵⁹

7.2.2 The CMS Policy of Diocesanization under Cash 1935-41

7.2.2.1 The India Delegation 1934-1935

This was Cash's first visit to India and it raised serious doubts for him about the results of diocesanization. This delegation was on a smaller scale than in 1921, and does not need to be examined in detail.⁶⁰ In its report, diocesanization is not debated but assumed, though a tension over churchmanship persists. For example

When diocesanization takes place the Evangelical contribution of the CMS, in order to be preserved, should be positive and constructive.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Hewitt I, p.424.

⁵⁸ *Report of General Secretary on His Visit to India Nov 7 - Jan 7 1938*, G/AD 1/8 p.9.

⁵⁹ Cash's speech at Swanwick 18/9/1934, G/GA4 p.6.

⁶⁰ It comprising Cash, Walton and Cook and taking place from 29/11/1934 to 16/3/1935.

⁶¹ *Report of the Secretaries' Visit to India 1934-35*, G/AD1/5 p.10.

Cash's views on the role of the Church in mission were reflected in the report. Thus the idea and approach of diocesanization is transformed into an overall theology of a 'Church-centric' approach to mission, or more specifically to evangelism.

We look to a vigorous Church, its members corporately evangelizing their non-Christian neighbours and advancing with the backing of British missionaries. The progress of the Gospel in India will not depend on the resources of a foreign society. The CMS becomes an auxiliary.⁶²

The exception to the policy of diocesanization was in Higher Education, where the CMS was to maintain overall control 'to ensure the Evangelical traditions and Christian basis for which the Society stands'.⁶³ This had been allowed for in the *Looking Forward* report and is a case of evangelical principles prevailing over the policy of diocesanization.

7.2.2.2 The 'Crisis' over the Results of Diocesanization

Although the report of the India delegation did not emphasise the problem, partly as a result of his visit Cash became very concerned about the results of diocesanization. A memorandum from a missionary in Ceylon and a letter from Rev. W.E.S.Holland, a former principle of St. John's Agra spurred Cash into action. Holland was very forthright

As no Diocesan or Provincial constitution can adequately secure to the Indian Church the continuance of the distinctive evangelical contribution, it is the responsibility of CMS to do all it can to that end.⁶⁴

Cash's response was to recall the Ecclesiastical Committee, after a five year break.⁶⁵ Cash sent members copies of the memorandum that he had received, a copy of Holland's letter and a long and detailed memorandum of his own.⁶⁶ His memorandum was entitled 'The CMS and the Church Overseas' and marked 'Strictly Confidential', a point stressed in the opening paragraph. Cash was still adamant that 'we should not reopen the question of diocesanization,' however he continued 'I feel that the time has come when the CMS should face some of the resultant issues.'⁶⁷ One issue is spelt out quite explicitly

⁶² Ibid, p.5.

⁶³ Ibid, p.7.

⁶⁴ Extract from letter from Rev. W.E.S. Holland to General Secretary, 1/3/1936, G/C22.

⁶⁵ Ecclesiastical Committee minutes, 29/4/1936, G/CS5, p.283.

⁶⁶ Cash to Ecclesiastical Committee, 24/3/1936, G/C22.

⁶⁷ Memorandum by Cash for Ecclesiastical Committee n.d. (c.24/3/1936), G/C22.

the aim of bishops in India (speaking generally) seems to be to eliminate the distinctive elements which came from the CMS and to produce a single type of Churchman - Central or High.⁶⁸

Cash presented the issue of theological training as crucial. The key point being whether to cooperate in diocesan schemes or provide an alternative. Ceylon is cited as an example, with diocesan theological training which is on 'definitely Anglo Catholic lines'. Cash argues that

the CMS has either to co-operate in this College, send its ordinands to it and be prepared for them to become Anglo Catholics; or the Society must set up an alternative theological centre of its own. ...We have ceased in Ceylon to provide an evangelical ministry for an evangelical Church which the Society has built up during a period of 118 years. The parishes ask for evangelical clergy and they cannot be found.⁶⁹

Cash explained at length a similar problem being faced in North India, where the CMS was struggling to produce evangelical clergy through the existing system. He contrasted the system in place in England where

there has been no corresponding diocesanizing of theological training. As far as I know no serious body of clergy have advocated the amalgamation of Ridley and Cuddesdon or Wycliffe and Mirfield.⁷⁰

The Ecclesiastical Committee meeting of April 29 1936 is unusual in that, in addition to the usual minutes, the CMS archives contain what appears to be a verbatim report of the arguments during the meeting.⁷¹ This meeting thus offers some insight into the relationship between what actually happened and the minutes produced. The meeting was chaired by the Bishop of Manchester, F.S.G. Warman. Cash obviously played a leading role, as did Davies. A key role was also played by the Rev J.Paul S.R Gibson who, as a CMS missionary in Ceylon, had been principal of Trinity College, Peradeniya from 1914 to 1927. At the end of his time in Ceylon he fell into a serious clash with the Bishop of Ceylon over forms of

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ 'Notes of discussion at Ecclesiastical Committee' 29/4/1936, G/C22. The verbatim document does not record everything said by Cash in his first speech, as recorded in the minutes, but has more than the minutes thereafter. It might be have been used to produce the minutes or, alternatively, might be a separate record specifically for the General Secretary.

worship and intercommunion.⁷² Gibson had returned to England as Principal of Ridley Hall. Hewitt says that ‘there was a deep vein of Protestantism’ in his faith.⁷³ He was a person who spoke with authority, and feeling, on matters pertaining to Ceylon.

The meeting began with extensive comments by Cash as he spoke to his memorandum. His spoken comments again make clear his views

Having founded an Evangelical ministry, how is it going to be maintained?
Not by safeguards. No formula will suffice. It becomes a question. Where
is the CMS going?

In the early stages, the minutes represent a fair, though brief, summary of discussions. A long speech by Davies is effectively summarised in one comment ‘We are in grave danger of regarding what has happened in Ceylon as typical of other dioceses.’ Gibson’s long and detailed response, in essence that there were hopeful signs, but that Ceylon might well prove typical of India, is again summarised well in the minutes. It was as the pace of discussion picked up, and people’s comments were much shorter, that the minutes failed to tell the whole story. Feelings ran high. One example, left out of the minutes, will suffice. After the financial problems and difficulties of finding suitable missionaries were explained, there is the following exchange

Bishop of Rochester - Does that mean then that we do nothing? We must do something in this matter.
Gen. Sec. We cannot stand by and see the work of 80 years which has been built on Evangelical lines and our Congregations turned into Anglo-Catholics.

Various ideas were brought forward. Some were ignored by the other members, some were knocked down immediately by Gibson wielding detailed local knowledge; all without comment in the minutes. As the meeting progressed the sense is of a chairman desperately trying to reach a consensus on some plan of action that can be recommended to the Executive Committee. A plan eventually emerged with one or two members demurring, sometimes aggressively, but eventually bowing to the majority. In the end it was agreed to send missionary reinforcements to Ceylon, to extend the policy of bringing suitable Ceylonese to train in England and to seek ways for more CMS involvement in clergy training in Ceylon. For North India, Cash’s plans for an Inter-Diocesan College were

⁷² Minutes of the Ecclesiastical Committee 8/12/1927 G/CS5, also Hewitt II, p.191-2.

⁷³ Hewitt II, p.192.

accepted. This would be permanently under CMS control and not subject to diocesanization. The minutes record the conclusions, but do not give a full picture of the intensity of the debate.

Cash wrote several times to the Bishop of Ceylon,⁷⁴ indicating an interest by the CMS in the training of evangelical clergy in Ceylon.⁷⁵ The Bishop was willing, but complained that CMS missionaries expected ‘to maintain rigid “watertight compartments” of work and influence’.⁷⁶ In February 1937 Cash proposed a meeting with the Bishop to include various other people. At the same time he indicated that he believed further diocesanization in Ceylon should be suspended until after discussions with the Bishop.⁷⁷

7.2.2.3 Davies’ Resignation

In Ceylon, at least, the desire to maintain ‘evangelical principles’ was overshadowing the policy of diocesanization. Davies, who as secretary of the Committee of Reference had been responsible for implementing the policy in India, felt that the CMS was going back on its commitment to diocesanization.⁷⁸ He therefore resigned as a member of the India Committee. The resignation of such a prominent figure would be damaging for the CMS; Davies, no longer Secretary of the MC, was the Dean of Worcester.

Cash wrote to him, maintaining that there was a misunderstanding. The importance which Cash placed on Davies’ resignation is shown in his arranging a special trip to Worcester to talk to Davies.⁷⁹ After Cash’s visit, Davies wrote a long letter to Cash showing that he accepted Cash’s ‘very precise assurance ... that the suggested policy was not in fact a reversal of the policy of diocesanization’.⁸⁰ However Davies also had some difficulties with the attitude of the CMS to education, claiming that ‘there is no one at Salisbury Square who

⁷⁴ Initially causing more tension eg Cash to Carpenter-Garnier July 1936, and Carpenter-Garnier to Cash, 19/8/1936, G/Y CE2.

⁷⁵ Cash to Carpenter-Garnier, 15/10/1936, G/Y CE2.

⁷⁶ Carpenter-Garnier to Cash, 25/11/1936, G/Y CE2.

⁷⁷ Memo by Cash to India Secretary, 18/2/1937, G/Y CE2.

⁷⁸ Arthur Davies to Cash, 4/5/1938, G/Y CE2.

⁷⁹ Cash to Davies, 15/3/1938, G/Y CE2.

⁸⁰ Arthur Davies to Cash, 4/5/1938, G/Y CE2.

has made it his business to understand and sympathise with High School and College work.’⁸¹ Davies had been principal of St. John’s College, Agra and later had been a member of the International Missionary Council’s *Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, 1931. As such he had a deep commitment to and strong understanding of educational work. He criticised Cash personally saying ‘for some reason you yourself, who have such a grasp of general principles, always seem almost deliberately to close your mind to educational problems.’⁸² Davies was therefore not prepared to continue to serve on the CMS India committee, even though he had been convinced that his original reasons for resigning was not, as he had first thought, ‘a fundamental issue of principle’.⁸³ In spite of Davies’ clear explanation of his position, Cash again tried to persuade him to change his mind,⁸⁴ but Davies still refused. Cash accepted this with ‘very deep and very sincere regret’.⁸⁵

Davies was not alone in thinking that a change of policy had happened, and Cash had to write to the CMS secretary in Lucknow Diocese,

Here I want to say quite categorically that P.C. has formulated no new policy on the subject of diocesanization.⁸⁶

However the slowing down of the policy can also be seen in Lahore Diocese, where the Punjab mission had made almost no progress in handing over control to the local diocese since it had led the way in changes in 1903.⁸⁷ One of the key problems was that the system adopted in 1903, while radical at the time, gave the mission secretary a great deal of power as an ex-officio member on every committee under the Church and Mission Central Council (of which he was ex-officio secretary).⁸⁸ During a visit in 1938, Cash agreed to recommend to the India Committee that certain changes be made to the way the Mission was governed.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Cash to Davies 6/5/1938, G/Y CE2 (it may be that this crossed in the post with the letter of the 4/5/1938).

⁸⁵ Cash to Davies, 13/5/1938, G/Y CE2.

⁸⁶ Cash to Sully, 7/4/1938, G/Y I7/2.

⁸⁷ See chapter 4 above.

⁸⁸ Gibbs *The Increase of Church Consciousness*, acc318-z3-2, p.6.

Until that time the PC had held the view that changes should not be made as diocesanization would soon mean a complete change to the constitution and working methods.⁸⁹

Hewitt makes no mention of the crisis meeting of the Ecclesiastical Committee or the resulting correspondence between Cash and the Bishop of Ceylon. Neither does he mention Davies' resignation. He simply records that the final steps towards diocesanization in Ceylon took place in 1940-41.⁹⁰ In retrospect this crisis was little more than a hiccup in the whole process of diocesanization, but in addition to its immediate impact at the time, it shows the depth of concern in CMS over the loss of evangelical influence following diocesanization.

7.2.2.4 Diocesanization at the End of Cash's Time in Office

Cash continued to support the policy of diocesanization both in word and action. In *The Missionary Church*, published in 1938, Cash gave a clearly argued defence of diocesanization.⁹¹ He was equally clear in his 1941 leaving speech

My visits abroad and my many contacts with our missionaries have convinced me that the CMS must develop its policy of diocesanization. No paper safeguards will protect the evangelical tradition and some sacrifices by the CMS have had to be made for the sake of the unity of the Church being built overseas.⁹²

However, the most striking demonstration of his commitment to diocesanization was in 1940 when Cash wrote in very strong terms to the India Secretary, objecting to the further formalizing of the system of dual control in Persia. Cash recommended rapid diocesanization.⁹³ This was one of the rare occasions where Cash directly intervened in the work of one of the Group Committees. He convinced the India Committee, and subsequently wrote to the Bishop of Iran, on their behalf, urging diocesanization, in more

⁸⁹ *Report of General Secretary on His Visit to India Nov 7 - Jan 7 1938*, G/AD 1/8, p.4.

⁹⁰ Hewitt II, p.180.

⁹¹ Cash 1938 p.185.

⁹² Cash, W.W. *Report to Executive Committee of the CMS* 15/10/1941, G/AP11/1941-45.

⁹³ Cash to Cranswick 20/11/1940, G/Y/PE8.

or less the form fixed in 1924.⁹⁴ Thus, at the end of this term in office we see Cash still advocating diocesanization.

The comparatively rapid turn over of India Secretaries meant that Cash played a closer role in Indian affairs than he might otherwise have done.⁹⁵ However, diocesanization was supported by all three India Secretaries appointed during Cash's period in office, Treanor,⁹⁶ Walton⁹⁷ and Cranswick.⁹⁸ However, Africa and Asia had the same two Secretaries throughout Cash's period in office. Their views consequently had a greater impact on the policy in their areas.

7.2.3 Diocesanization in Areas other than India

Thus far discussion of diocesanization has been confined to India, but the policy had implications for all CMS missions. The Africa Secretary wrote to Wigram soon after the proposals for diocesanization in India became clear. While admiring the proposals he added

they will form a most valuable contribution to the general [sic] aspects of the problem ... whilst I regard the Minutes of the Committee of Reference as a most useful document, it evidently, and rightly, looks at the problems from a purely local point of view.⁹⁹

He then pointed out the far reaching implications, noting that areas outside India would be affected. He noted 'the preparation of recommendations must proceed from a Committee which goes beyond the limits of the India Committee'.¹⁰⁰ The implications for other areas were not discussed in detail before the 1932 Commission.

7.2.3.1 Diocesanization in the Far East

In a paper for the CMS Commission, Barclay, a former missionary, now the Far East Secretary, detailed the advantages and disadvantages of diocesanization. On balance he was

⁹⁴ Cash to Bishop of Iran, 13/12/1940, G/Y/PE8.

⁹⁵ Eg. in 1930 the Bishop of Lahore wrote to Cash rather than the newly appointed Treanor because Cash had been present at a meeting with Wigram the previous year. Bishop of Lahore to Cash 9/4/1930, G/Y I4/4.

⁹⁶ Treanor 'Devolution in the India Group of Missions' 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

⁹⁷ Eg. Walton's paper at Swanwick, September 1934, G/GA4.

⁹⁸ Cranswick to Paton, 29/8/1940, copy in G/Y Ig2.

⁹⁹ Manley to Wigram, 1/10/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

¹⁰⁰ Manley to Wigram, 1/10/1923, G/Y/Ig3.

strongly in favour of diocesanization, though worried by the possible ‘eclipse of CMS principles’.¹⁰¹ This is much the same as Cash’s approach. Barclay commended the *Looking Forward* report to the CMS missions in the Far East, indicating his full participation in its composition

Perhaps the most valuable thing in the Report is the stress which is laid on the Native Church and the importance of our work being Church centric rather than Mission centric.¹⁰²

This shows Barclay’s acceptance of Cash’s view on the Church and Mission. Barclay was enthusiastic about diocesanization, describing it in a as

the establishment of a Church so vitally strong ... a great fact in Christian history of which we are legitimately proud and for which we give God thanks.¹⁰³

Barclay’s enthusiasm for diocesanization was one reason why the policy was extended into China; another being the financial situation. The early 1930s saw CMS income falling below the plateau of the mid 1920s. The Foreign Sub-Committee, chaired by Bishop H.J. Molony, a former Bishop of Chekiang, met several times in early 1932 to discuss how to reduce expenditure. As each of the three groups was examined, savings were found in each area, but in China a pattern emerged from the recommendations on the various missions

At this stage the Committee began to see that a policy of transference of work to the dioceses was emerging in regard to China, which would mean in ten years time the withdrawal of CMS from large areas in the country and from heavy present commitments.¹⁰⁴

However the key difference between China and India, as Hewitt points out,¹⁰⁵ is that in China there was never a Committee of Reference that would push the policy forward and thus a rational and controlled process of diocesanization was not completed before the outbreak of war.

¹⁰¹ Unsigned but explicitly attributed to Barclay by Cash ‘Memorandum on Devolution in the Far East Group of Missions’ Sept 1932, G/APc2/6. Barclay gave a similarly clear indication of his support for diocesanization in his speech at Swanwick 18/9/1934, G/GA4.

¹⁰² Barclay to Far East Missionaries, 9/2/1934, G/APc2/4.

¹⁰³ Paper by Barclay, September 1934, G/GA4.

¹⁰⁴ Minutes of the Foreign Sub-Committee, 1/2/1932, G/CS5.

¹⁰⁵ Hewitt II, p.267.

7.2.3.2 Diocesanization in Africa

An important difference between Africa and the other main CMS areas is that in Africa CMS dioceses were not formed into provinces until the 1950s.¹⁰⁶ There were various moves to form provinces in Africa, but all proved abortive. In East Africa, for example, Cash spent a great deal of time during his 1937 visit, trying to understand the opinions of various parties. He came to the conclusion that African opinion was against the idea of a province because it was believed this would be dominated by Europeans, and that non-missionary Europeans in Kenya were in favour for the same reason.¹⁰⁷

This may have been one reason why diocesanization did not move ahead quickly in Africa; handing over control to a diocese which was still under Canterbury was not the same as handing over to the diocese that was part of a national or regional Church. The main reason, however, was that the Africa Secretary, Hooper, does not appear to have been in favour of the policy of diocesanization at all.

Handley Hooper was the son of Douglas Hooper, a missionary in Kenya, where Hooper also served from 1916-26, before becoming Africa Secretary. This family background was staunchly evangelical, but with an independent streak,¹⁰⁸ which may account for Hooper seeing ecclesiastical organisation as less important than Cash did. A recent study of Hooper's time as a missionary describes his 'as one of the newer post-war breed of CMS recruits, Oxbridge educated and liberal minded'.¹⁰⁹ He had 'an acceptance of the colonial distribution of power in Kenya' combined with 'a moral earnestness about the ideal of trusteeship'.¹¹⁰ He had a commitment to missionary involvement in education which, by the 1940s, manifested itself in a perception of the missionary role as parallel to the British

¹⁰⁶ See table in chapter 2 above.

¹⁰⁷ *Report by General Secretary on his visit to East and Central Africa in 1937...*, G/AD1/7, p.4 & p.10.

¹⁰⁸ Hewitt I, p.136.

¹⁰⁹ J.Casson "‘To Plant a Garden City in the Slums of Paganism’: Handley Hooper, the Kikuyu and the Future of Africa' in *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, 4 (1998), 387-410 p.398.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.398.

Government's in aiding development.¹¹¹ He believed firmly in the possibility of the development of Africa; spiritually, intellectually and politically.¹¹² Though strongly paternalistic,

Hooper's attitudes towards African development reveal what can be called an *open horizon* which was able to countenance the prospect that the potential adulthood of the African races, to which most paid lip service, was actually at hand.¹¹³

It may be, however that Hooper's experience in Kenya, one of the least developed CMS Missions, meant that he did not fully recognise the degree to which, in other areas of Africa, development was such that Africans could take a wide role in directing their Church. His time as a missionary, combined with his experience as Africa Secretary made him very confident in structures that the CMS had developed

I have been too long in my post at Headquarters to be anxious to disturb the familiar processes by which our work is done in the relationship of the overseas secretaries and Salisbury Square. I have learnt to depend upon the shrewd experience of our secretaries in Africa, and to set much store by the sound instinct of Local Governing Bodies in the management of their own affairs.¹¹⁴

In 1932, where the other two Group Secretaries were very open in their support for diocesanization, Hooper withheld his support. He never actually expressed his disagreement, but did raise various objections. One was that it might, in Africa, hinder relations with other denominations. Another was that it might 'focus too much attention on clerical organisation, and so on male leadership, to the detriment of women's training'.¹¹⁵

Where the other two Group Secretaries commended, to their Missions, the *Looking Forward* report, with its commitment of the CMS to diocesanization, Hooper was much more reticent. His letter to the Group III Missions reads as if he expects *Looking Forward* to be unpopular and emphasises that it should not be regarded 'as a final pronouncement'. He sought comments from the missionaries, effectively apologising that there had not been

¹¹¹ H.D. Hooper, 'The End and the Means in Missionary Enterprise,' *International Review of Missions* 32 (1943)377-381.

¹¹² Eg. H.D. Hooper *Africa in the Making* (London, CMS, 1922) p.19-20.

¹¹³ Casson, 'To Plant a Garden City' p.403.

¹¹⁴ Hooper to Warren, 26/7/1944, G/Y/Ag2.

¹¹⁵ Section by Hooper in paper prepared by Cash for CMS Commission, 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

extensive consultation before publication. Hooper's most positive comment on the report was

If we will regard the Report as a genuine attempt to do our thinking together, despite the distance which separates us, I am sure that, in the providence of God, it will be used to strengthen our understanding of one another, and to confirm our faith in the common responsibility committed to us.¹¹⁶

Hooper was right to think that in parts of Africa the report would not be well received. The Kenya missionaries were firmly against diocesanization, and spoke of 'the very great danger' of such a policy in Kenya.¹¹⁷

The Church Council in Sierra Leone had become independent of CMS authority in 1890 when the constitution of the Native Church was set up 'without provision for appeal to any outside authority', with a slight modification of the constitution in 1929.¹¹⁸ In the rest of Africa, diocesanization, as understood in the Indian context, happen in only one diocese during this period. As with India and China, to give a full account and explanation of what happened in each diocese would require detailed local studies. However, an outline of key features of the CMS transfer of control in Africa illustrates the way that it was treated very differently than other regions.

In an earlier study¹¹⁹ I have shown how, in Uganda, after Bishop Tucker's constitution was accepted in 1909, a process began which was effectively the opposite of diocesanization. Authority in the diocese rested with the synod and bishop. The small Missionary Committee was supposed to deal only with missionary affairs which the PC quickly clarified as including locating missionaries and giving them their instructions. Over the following years this committee grew in importance and was eventually taken over by the Missionary Conference. This, in turn, set up a standing committee and various sub-committees. It functioned no differently to any other LGB, even producing a constitution of the Uganda

¹¹⁶ Hooper to Group III Missions, 1/2/1934, G/APc2/4.

¹¹⁷ Extract of the response from Kenya Mission, attached to note from Hooper to Cash, 17/17/1934, G/APc2/4.

¹¹⁸ T.S. Johnson *The Story of a Mission: The Sierra Leone Church* (London, SPCK, 1953) p.119.

¹¹⁹ The following paragraph is a summary of pertinent points from my MA dissertation, chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Mission in 1929. The Bishop of Uganda was happy with this development, and wrote about the entirely separate, but parallel, system of committees under both Mission and Church which made a degree of dual control inevitable. By 1942 the Missionary Conference was still dominant, even initiating an enquiry into the doctrine of the Church. The powers of the Missionary Standing Committee were continued until 1953. Cash seemed unaware that originally Uganda had been in a very different position to the other African Missions,¹²⁰ apparently not realising the degree of control that the missionaries had. For example, in 1940, Cash held up Uganda as a fine example of diocesanization functioning well.¹²¹

In the Yoruba Mission in West Africa, Hewitt points out the changes following the acceptance of a diocesan constitution in 1928. Instead of winding up the LGB, the PC reconstructed it. The Missionaries' Conference replaced the executive committee and was strengthened by the inclusion of Africans. A standing committee was in charge of general administration, chaired by the bishop, with mixed African and missionary membership. Hewitt describes this approach as 'unusually conservative' and 'tending to withdraw responsibility from the Synod'.¹²²

Setting up such a system in a CMS Mission in 1928 was a retrogressive step. This was the structure of LGBs that the CMS had rejected in 1908, because it meant strengthening the Mission at the expense of the Church. As a system, it was very similar to what had developed in Uganda, though in Uganda there were no Africans on the Missionary Conference. In spite of later pressure from the PC, no further moves towards diocesanization happened in the Yoruba mission while Cash was in office.

Sierra Leone Diocese does not seem to have been diocesanization at all in this period, its European Staff simply got fewer.¹²³ It was the Niger Diocese which was the only Mission in Africa where diocesanization occurred on similar terms to India.¹²⁴ Its background, with the Niger Delta Pastorate Church and the CMS Mission in the same diocese, was unique

¹²⁰ Cash to Stephenson, 17/6/1930, G/Y A8/2.

¹²¹ Cash to Bishop of Iran, 13/12/1940, G/Y/PE8.

¹²² Hewitt I, p.60.

¹²³ Hewitt I, p.13-17.

¹²⁴ Hewitt I, p.111-112.

and the Diocesan Constitution of 1931 was specifically aimed at healing the historic division. The Missionary Conference was again made the LGB of the Mission, but in this case was accepted as a constituent committee under the Synod. Its powers were greater than the CMS representatives in India after diocesanization; it still controlled the location of missionaries, institutions and money provided by the CMS. CMS property, except for some institutions, was passed to the Synod.

In 1930 Cash was directly involved in advising on the new constitution for the Tanganyika Diocese, which had been formed in 1928 when the Australian CMS took over the Mission from the CMS. The objective was to produce a diocesan system of administration of the Mission from the start. Cash saw this as presenting ‘a great opportunity to frame a Constitution on broad lines that would obviate dual control’.¹²⁵ This presumably meant that Cash realised dual control was a feature of other CMS Missions in Africa. Cash’s proposed constitution gave a much less significant role to Africans than was given in the constitution, as finally agreed. He wanted the existing CMS executive committee to become the new diocesan Board which would have executive powers under the Synod.¹²⁶ Cash said

I frankly admit that this involves at the moment a white domination of the diocese, but for some years to come this is inevitable. It does not exclude the bringing in of a black element as education advances.¹²⁷

In his estimation of African abilities, Cash seems to confuse education and intelligence. In this instance, he does not expect that Africans would have a useful contribution to an executive committee unless they were sufficiently well educated.

7.2.4 Assessment of Diocesanization under Cash

In India, Cash was in favour of diocesanization throughout the period, but after 1935 his enthusiasm was tempered by a desire to preserve evangelical influence. The diocesanization that had begun under Lankester continued under Cash, and Cash also extended the process into other parts of India. Some institutions were diocesanized, but by the late 1930s the CMS believed that it could maintain some evangelical influence by keeping control of key institutions. Cash was correct in claiming that this was not a change of policy, the CMS had

¹²⁵ Minutes of the Ecclesiastical Committee, 18/2/1930, G/CS5.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Cash to Chambers, 18/2/1930, G/Y A8/2.

never committed itself to diocesanizing all its institutions, but it did mark a higher priority being given to ‘evangelical principles’.

The influence of Barclay, along with financial difficulties, meant that diocesanization was extended to China. However, Cash’s enthusiasm for diocesanization did not extend itself to Africa. Partly, it would appear, because Cash did not believe that Africans were sufficiently developed to take on the responsibility. Hooper’s ambivalence about diocesanization meant that CMS Missions in Africa were not pressured into making structural changes. The changes that did happen, in Yoruba and Tanganyika, were because of the wishes of the diocesan bishop.

As discussed in chapter 5, diocesanization meant that local Christians had a much greater say in the overall running of their Church than when administration was under the CMS. This was emphasised by the CMS Commission in its definition of diocesanization, quoted earlier. Handing over to the diocese in the form of the bishop alone could simply have been seen as transfer from one foreign authority to another.¹²⁸ The CMS emphasised that transfer was to ‘dioceses acting through their synods and councils’. This meant that, although all but one of the bishops were British, the CMS was handing over to a body that was numerically dominated by local Christians. However, as long as these dioceses had foreign bishops, they were not truly self-governing.¹²⁹ It was only in Dornakal, where there really seemed to be a self-governing, indigenous Church.

7.3 Reunion in India

The 1901 Memorandum identified the possibility that a duly constituted Church might choose to leave the Anglican Communion. Four dioceses in the South India chose a path of uniting with Methodists and Presbyterians, which meant that the united Church formed was not an Anglican Church.¹³⁰ The Tranquebar conference of Indian Christians of 1919 can be seen as a major landmark on the journey that would lead to the inauguration of the Church of South India in 1947. The complex stories of the negotiations and the subsequent

¹²⁸ A point noted by the CMS delegation to India in their report, 1935, G/AD1/5, p.10.

¹²⁹ As Cash himself points out, Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.223. See also Wand, *The Anglican Communion*, p.221-222.

¹³⁰ Neill, *Christian Partnership*, p.109.

debate over the new Church's status have been told elsewhere,¹³¹ but throughout it was clear that 'the pressure to unite comes from the Indians'.¹³² On the Anglican side, Azariah played the lead role.

Throughout the process, the CMS gave its full support, something that the SPG was not able to do.¹³³ The CMS Commission viewed the proposals 'with great thankfulness and sympathy'.¹³⁴ In commending *Looking Forward* Cash said 'it is ultimately a re-united Church that the Society aims at seeing'.¹³⁵ Cash's personal support for the scheme was made clear in the final chapter of *The Missionary Church*, but behind the scenes he worked to ensure that the scheme would not be blocked by those who viewed it as schismatic. In November, 1936 Cash wrote to Temple (then Archbishop of York) seeking his help to organise support for the union scheme. Cash noted that

Our friends on the Anglo Catholic side are very busy organising an educational campaign throughout the whole Church, covering the period from now until the Lambeth Conference, and culminating in large meetings, all calculated to defeat the plans of those working for reunion.¹³⁶

Temple was willing to profess his personal support, but felt that having been chairman of the Unity Committee of the 1930 Lambeth Conference, and likely to be playing a role in the next conference, he ought not to be seen as heading the campaign.¹³⁷ Cash was also actively working with Azariah to counteract the campaign against the Union Proposal in South India.¹³⁸

¹³¹ A history of the negotiations can be found in B. Sundkler, *Church of South India: The Movement towards Union 1900-1947* (London, Lutterworth Press, 1954). A detailed account from the perspective of Azariah is given in Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*. The problems after inauguration are discussed in Hanson, *Beyond Anglicanism*, and Neill, *Anglicanism*, p.381.

¹³² E.H.M. Waller *Church Union in South India* (London, SPCK, 1929) p.30.

¹³³ Because of its Charter and pressure from supporters. O'Connor, *Three Centuries of Mission*, p.97-98.

¹³⁴ *Looking Forward* p.9.

¹³⁵ Cash to all Missionaries of the Society, January 1934, G/APc2/4.

¹³⁶ Cash to Temple, 24/11/1934, G/Y I2/3/1.

¹³⁷ Temple to Cash, 27/11/1936, G/Y I2/3/1.

¹³⁸ Azariah to Cash 5/7/1939, G/APo1.

Azariah died before seeing the culmination of his vision, but the Church was not left without an Indian diocesan bishop; Dornakal had elected an Irishman, but Travancore & Cochin finally elected Jacob in 1945, whose appointment Cash had argued for in 1938. Bishop Jacob presided over the inauguration of the Church of South India. This was identified by Leslie Brown¹³⁹ as the birth 'of a truly indigenous, self-governing Indian Church'.¹⁴⁰

7.4 Cash and the Appointment of Bishops

7.4.1 The Extent of Cash's Influence

Cash continued the strategy of his predecessors in keeping personal control of advice on episcopal appointments. Three main events affected the CMS's role in episcopal appointments, Davidson's replacement by Lang as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1928, the India Church Measure of 1927, and two resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1930. The latter two will be discussed shortly.

Cash's influence was strongest where the appointment lay with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Davidson always kept careful control over such appointments, but did consult Cash very carefully about dioceses where the CMS had a Mission.¹⁴¹ While noting that some things were 'not exactly the business of CMS' he acknowledged that in some cases 'it does concern the Society's work so closely that I should not feel justified in acting without the fullest advise that you are able to convey to me.'¹⁴²

Lang also consulted Cash closely whenever the CMS had an interest. Indeed Cash would often play a leading role in the appointment. In one instance Cash did not actually give Lang a copy of the prospective bishop's CV until after the appointment.¹⁴³ Lang also relied on Cash to explain what procedure should be followed, at one time saying 'I am so anxious to make no mistake'.¹⁴⁴ In another case, while trying to decide who should make a particular

¹³⁹ CMS missionary in India who later became Archbishop of Uganda.

¹⁴⁰ Brown, *Three Worlds: One Word*, p.75.

¹⁴¹ Eg. in China - Davidson to Cash, 3/5/1926, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁴² Davidson to Cash when considering the division of a diocese, 25/1/1926, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁴³ Cash to Lang, 11/3/1936, G/Y A1/2.

¹⁴⁴ Lang to Cash, 11/4/1936, G/Y A5/3.

episcopal appointment, Lang was apparently unaware that the 1930 Lambeth conference had recognised the CHSKH as a province, until Barclay told him.¹⁴⁵

The most remarkable example of Cash acting as bishop-maker and, indeed, bishop remover was in Lagos Diocese. The sitting bishop, Melville Jones, was 73 in 1938 when Cash wrote, confidentially and unofficially, to L.G. Vining, to sound him out about whether he would accept the bishopric, if offered it.¹⁴⁶ This was on the strong recommendation of Bishop Lasbrey. After a positive response Cash indicated that discussions were already in hand with Lang.¹⁴⁷ The successor sorted out, Cash wrote an official letter, with Lang's approval, to Jones giving 'Society's view that in their opinion the time has come when you should resign your Bishopric.'¹⁴⁸ Jones was not happy about this¹⁴⁹ and it fell to Lang to smooth things over. It was agreed that Jones would serve 18 more months and retire at the Lambeth Conference in 1940.

Cash was not very open about the extent of the CMS's influence. Vining's appointment sparked complaints from the diocese that the CMS had failed to consult them before making the appointment. Cash passed on the comments to Lang but replied to his critics

The CMS as a Missionary Society, never appoints, neither does it even nominate Bishops to overseas dioceses. ... I should not like it to be thought that the CMS exercises any authority in the appointment of Bishops.¹⁵⁰

The practice actually shows a huge CMS involvement in the appointment of bishops. As has been seen in previous chapters, the CMS never had an official right to nominate bishops, but there existed an unofficial 'understanding'. Cash himself spoke of a CMS 'right of nomination' in relation to Mombasa Diocese, and, on another occasion told a prospective bishop that 'the Archbishop has given his approval to our nomination of you as Bishop of Sierra Leone'.¹⁵¹ In relation to Western China, Cash wrote of co-operation in the

¹⁴⁵ Barclay's memo to Cash, 21/7/1933, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁴⁶ Cash to Vining, 13/4/1938, G/Y A2/3.

¹⁴⁷ Cash to Vining, 13/5/1938, G/Y A2/3.

¹⁴⁸ Cash to Bishop Melville Jones, 13/6/1938, G/Y A2/3.

¹⁴⁹ Bishop Melville Jones to Cash, 4/7/1938, G/Y A2/3.

¹⁵⁰ Cash to Bishop Melville Jones, 12/12/1939, G/Y A2/3.

¹⁵¹ Cash to Horstead, 9/3/1936, G/Y A1/2.

nomination of the bishop with the diocesan association.¹⁵² However, when necessary, the CMS was careful to distinguish between official and unofficial rules. Thus, when the BCMS sought the right of nomination of the Bishop for the new Diocese of North Africa, Cash objected, telling Lang ‘that we had never asked for any nomination, even in CMS areas’.¹⁵³ The CMS ‘nomination’ of Bishops was not official; there was no written constitution giving this right, but, as so often in Anglicanism, an unwritten tradition has as much force as a written rule.

One case, where Cash seems to have had a disproportionate influence, was in the appointment of a new bishop of Jerusalem in 1932.¹⁵⁴ The usual notes on his meetings with Lang are not in the archives. This is perhaps explained by the fact that one of the first to turn down the post was Cash himself.¹⁵⁵ With his knowledge of the area, fluency in Arabic and acceptability to the various missionary societies, he was an ideal candidate, and his refusal seems to have annoyed Lang.

After 1930 there were several dioceses where the appointment lay with the new province or National Church. This substantially limited Cash’s influence, though, as will be seen, he still sometimes had a role. Some dioceses adopted a system of some kind of election for new Bishops. When the Bishopric of Colombo fell vacant in 1938, Cash wrote to the CMS Mission Secretary in Ceylon, stressing that as a member of the nomination committee, he should see himself partly as representing the CMS Parent Committee.¹⁵⁶ In reply Cash received details of the names of the candidates, even though at the time they were being kept strictly confidential.¹⁵⁷ Cash tried unsuccessfully to seek Lang’s help.¹⁵⁸ He also wrote to various people in England to elicit support for his preferred candidate, being careful to say that he was not actually canvassing. His letters produced cables which were printed in

¹⁵² Cash to Hinde, 24/8/1933, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁵³ *Notes of interview with the Archbishop ...* 3/2/1936, G/Y A1/2. A similar point is noted with respect to CMS Australia and Tanganyika see Cable from Hewett to CMS London date unclear, G/Y A8/4.

¹⁵⁴ Lang to Cash, 9/3/1932, G/Y P7.

¹⁵⁵ Cash to Warren, 26/11/1943, G/Y P7.

¹⁵⁶ Cash to Jackson, 21/3/1938, G/Y CE2. (‘personal and private’ to Jackson).

¹⁵⁷ Jackson to Cash, 11/4/1938, G/Y CE2.

¹⁵⁸ Cash to Sargent, 6/5/1938, G/Y CE2.

the information about the candidates in Ceylon.¹⁵⁹ His efforts were to no avail, and the ‘soundly catholic’¹⁶⁰ C.D. Horsley was duly elected.

7.4.2 Consulting Dioceses about Episcopal Appointments

The 1930 Lambeth Conference made two resolutions which had a direct bearing on the appointment of bishops in CMS areas. The first meant that the Archbishop of Canterbury should consult with the diocesan bishop as to whether the diocese could be entrusted with electing its own bishop, and if not, then recommending that ‘the Diocese should in some way be consulted before such appointment is made’.¹⁶¹

Where the CMS was the sole, or dominant, society Cash consistently tried to ignore or limit the practical implications of this. It appears that, for him, consulting the outgoing bishop was sufficient. In the case of Kyushu Diocese in 1935, Cash suggested that Lang consult the presiding Bishop of the Nippon Sei Kokwai, with whom the CMS had already agreed a name.¹⁶² In Uganda in 1931 it was Lang who raised the issue of consulting the diocese in some way. Cash then

pointed out that the Bishop’s stipend entirely depended upon CMS, that the appointment was solely in the hands of the Archbishop, that the diocese, although it had a Synod, could not be regarded in the same sense as a responsible body as a Synod say of an English diocese, or of Australia.¹⁶³

Cash suggested that Bishop Willis be left to consult the diocese informally, but Willis seems to have had more faith in the structures of the Ugandan Church¹⁶⁴ and formally put Stuart’s name before the Cathedral Chapter which he said ‘represents the whole diocese and all

¹⁵⁹ See Cash to Archbishop of York, 5/7/1938, and Cash to The Master (sic) of Hertford College, Oxford, 5/7/1938 as well as the information on candidates, 8/7/1938, all in G/Y CE2.

¹⁶⁰ Father Talbot CR in information on candidates, 8/7/1938 all, G/Y CE2.

¹⁶¹ Resolution 56 of the 1930 Lambeth Conference in the report page 58

¹⁶² Barclay to Cash, 29/3/1935, Cash to Lang, 11/4/1935 and 17/4/1935, all in G/Y J5.

¹⁶³ Cash’s ‘Notes of interview with the Archbishop...’, 16/10/1931, G/Y A5/3 and copy in G/Y A7/3.

¹⁶⁴ This, despite the fact that he had been one of the two missionaries opposed to the final version of Tucker’s constitution, a view that he subsequently changed. Willis, J.J. *Memoirs* 1950 ACC 120 F1 p.66.

departments of the work.’¹⁶⁵ In the event Willis reported their support for Stuart was unanimous, but felt that there were great advantages in having asked them.¹⁶⁶

When Cash could not avoid consulting a diocese, he had a preferred method. Firstly, Lang would choose a suitable person on Cash’s recommendation. This person was then approached to see if they were willing to be appointed. If they were, only then did consultation take place, the diocese merely being asked to approve the name chosen. Lang would then formally announce the appointment. This approach is in many ways a parallel of the system in use in Britain at the time, where the King, after advice from the Prime Minister, would send a name to the Cathedral Chapter of a diocese, which was required, under threat of extreme punishment, to elect that person as bishop. Cash’s preferred method was used, for example, in the appointment of Crabb as Bishop of Mombasa in 1936.¹⁶⁷

The only time that Cash failed to get the appointment he desired was in 1932. The consultation process in Hong Kong, instead of simply deciding on Lang’s suggestion, led to a further name being suggested, R.O. Hall. Cash’s enquiries about Hall confirmed his concern, he was told that

He is a first-rate man with exceptional gifts, but somewhat impulsive and erratic. ... his sympathies would run in line with high church friends or keen advanced people, rather than with CMS folk.¹⁶⁸

However, this time Cash was out manoeuvred. Lang had met Hall, was ‘favourably impressed’¹⁶⁹ and was clearly minded to appoint him, but first wanted to secure CMS approval. Cash replied that ‘he had no wish to put any opposition in the way of the appointment if the Archbishop thought it wise to make it.’¹⁷⁰ Cash was opposed to Hall’s appointment, but reluctant to attempt to use his unofficial power of veto. It would have been very hard for him to justify doing so, given Lang’s approval, the outgoing bishop’s approval, and the apparent support of both sides of the Church and of the missionaries.

¹⁶⁵ Willis to Cash, 27/1/1932, G/Y A7/3.

¹⁶⁶ Willis to Cash, 27/1/1932, G/Y A7/3.

¹⁶⁷ Eg. Cash to Hayward, 25/11/1935, G/Y A5/3.

¹⁶⁸ Maclennan to Cash, 5/5/1932, G/Y CH1/3.

¹⁶⁹ Lang to Cash, 31/5/1932, G/Y CH1/3.

¹⁷⁰ Cash’s ‘Notes of interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury’, 2/6/1932, G/Y CH1/3.

7.4.3 Cash and Bishops in China and Japan

Davidson wanted appointments in China to be dealt with by the Chinese Church. Thus in 1928, the new Bishop of Chekiang was nominated by the CHSKH House of Bishops. Bell sees this as giving ‘the autonomy of the Church in China a deeper emphasis’,¹⁷¹ but even so the CMS was involved in the discussion of candidates before the nomination was made.¹⁷² The extension of the CHSKH’s autonomy in the appointment of its bishops should have been given a substantial boost, under Lang, with the adoption by the 1930 Lambeth Conference of another resolution which had an impact on the appointment of bishops. This was the formal recognition that

the provincial organisation attained in Japan and China, whereby the Nippon Sei Kokwai and the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui have become constituent Churches of the Anglican Communion.¹⁷³

In theory this meant that they would henceforth appoint their own bishops. However, one thing prevented it - the question of who was paying the salary. Cash never actually adopted a ‘he who pays the piper calls the tune’ approach - he never demanded the right of appointment for a bishop financed by CMS. However he took the view that ‘he who does not pay the piper cannot be expected to call the tune’. Specifically, if the CMS paid the bishop’s stipend then the appointment should be the responsibility of the Archbishop of Canterbury, not of either the diocese concerned or the House of Bishops in Japan or China.

In 1933 the Chinese House of Bishops appointed bishops for Western China and Kwangsi & Hunan, by an irregular procedure that broke the CHSKH’s canons. Lang was very critical of them

If I am to accept the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui as a fully autonomous church and defer to it’s own Canons, the House of Bishops ought themselves to act in accordance with them.¹⁷⁴

He went so far as to threaten to withdraw the waiving of his right of appointment of bishops in China. The following year Cash, after consulting Barclay and Waddy of the S.P.G.,¹⁷⁵ sent a letter to Lang advising that the right of appointment should be reserved to the Archbishop of Canterbury where the stipend was ‘provided by the Mother Church or a

¹⁷¹ Bell, *Randall Davidson II*, p.1228-1229.

¹⁷² Cash to Molony, 6/7/1928, G/Y CH2/2.

¹⁷³ Resolution 57 of the Lambeth Conference 1930.

¹⁷⁴ Lang to Norris, 23/8/1933, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁷⁵ Barclay to Cash, 7/5/1934, G/Y CH3/3.

Missionary Society representing the Mother Church'.¹⁷⁶ Cash convinced Lang that the Lambeth 1930 resolution did not stand in the way of such a proposal,¹⁷⁷ and Lang appears to have taken the advice.¹⁷⁸ This was a marked change of attitude to that of Davidson, as described by Bell, who wanted to bring to an end the 'quasi-Metropolitan relationship exercised by Canterbury, Canada and USA'.¹⁷⁹

Cash's attitude to the appointment of Chinese bishops changed during his time in office. Soon after taking office Cash was presented with the possibility of a Chinese bishop. Cassels, the first bishop of Western China, died in post in 1925.¹⁸⁰ H.W.K. Mowll, his assistant bishop of three years standing, favoured the appointment of a Chinese bishop, or at the very least the appointment of a Chinese assistant bishop to whom responsibility could be quickly passed.¹⁸¹ Davidson asked the CMS view and Cash replied.¹⁸²

Theoretically, the CMS would, I think, agree with the Bishop as to the desirability of appointing a Chinese as Bishop, but so far we have not had the name of a single person put before us who would, in our opinion, be at all suitable. We doubt, therefore, whether the question of appointing a Chinese is practical politics at present.¹⁸³

On the recommendation of the Chinese House of Bishops,¹⁸⁴ with Cash's agreement,¹⁸⁵ Mowll was appointed bishop. Cash then tried to delay any decision to appoint a Chinese assistant bishop, and also to rule out one of the obvious candidates.¹⁸⁶ Cash was convinced that 'there is no Chinaman of sufficiently outstanding character to fill this post'.¹⁸⁷ He gained Davidson's agreement that 'no steps would be taken without further consultation

¹⁷⁶ Cash to Lang, 24/4/1934, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁷⁷ Cash's 'Notes of interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury', 7/5/1934, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁷⁸ Lang to Cash, 5/12/1935 in G/Y CH 3/2.

¹⁷⁹ Bell, *Randall Davidson II*, p.1228.

¹⁸⁰ Mowll to Isaac, 23/11/1925, copy in G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, Isaac was Cassels' commissary in Britain and he produced a Memorandum entitled 'Western China' by B.W. Isaac 4/1/1926, which he sent to Davidson, Isaac to Davidson 4/1/1926, copies in G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁸² Six pages long - Cash to Davidson, 26/2/1926, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Roots to Davidson, 4/5/1926, copy in G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁸⁵ Cash to Davidson, 7/5/1926, and also Cash's 'Notes of interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury,' 6/5/1926, both in G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁸⁶ Cash to Mowll, 7/5/1926, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁸⁷ Cash to Hinds, 10/5/1926, G/Y CH3/3.

with the CMS.’¹⁸⁸ Mowll was not easily stopped and wrote a memorandum advocating the appointment of three Chinese bishops.¹⁸⁹ Again Cash was far from enthusiastic, and told Davidson that he still did not believe there were suitable candidates, concluding, ‘I am sure we ought not to hurry in this matter’.¹⁹⁰ C.T. Song was eventually consecrated assistant bishop in June 1929 and H.L. Ku shortly afterwards.¹⁹¹

In Fukien Diocese, in 1927, Cash was faced with a *fait accompli*. The decision to appoint I. Ding as assistant bishop to Hind had been taken, in Fukien, by the Diocesan Synod, with the approval of the CHSKH House of Bishops.¹⁹² Ding was paid by the CMS as a ‘special agent’ and the CMS was asked to continue to support him. Cash would have been aware of how strongly Hind felt on this matter as, in 1922, Hind had considered resigning in favour of Ding.¹⁹³ The CMS Far East Committee was willing to continue its support, but Cash never indicated, in correspondence, any happiness at the appointment. He raised one issue of principle, whether, in general, ‘native’ bishops ought to be supported by their dioceses, rather than by the CMS.¹⁹⁴

Barclay was more enthusiastic about Ding’s appointment,¹⁹⁵ and it does appear that he was always in favour of the appointment of ‘native’ bishops. So, for example, Barclay disapproved of the proposal, in 1926, to appoint an English bishop for the vacant Hokkaido Diocese in Japan.¹⁹⁶ Cash did approve of this but felt it was difficult to move ‘in the face of the Far East Secretary’s strongly expressed views’.¹⁹⁷ However, the question of how the bishop would be paid proved vital. It was agreed that if the diocese wished to have a

¹⁸⁸ Cash’s ‘Notes of interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury’, 6/5/1926, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁸⁹ ‘Memorandum for Committee of New Dioceses from Bishop Mowll respecting the Diocese of Western China’, n.d. (c.1927), G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁹⁰ Cash to Davidson, 20/6/1927, G/Y CH3/3.

¹⁹¹ Hewitt II p.286.

¹⁹² Extract of letter by Hind, 9/5/1927, G/Y CH4/2.

¹⁹³ See chapter 5.

¹⁹⁴ Cash to Davidson, 10/6/1927, G/Y CH4/2.

¹⁹⁵ Barclay to Hinds 28/6/1927, copy in G/Y CH4/2.

¹⁹⁶ Gurney Barclay’s ‘Memorandum to General Secretary - English bishop for the Hokkaido - Notes of week-end thoughts on our conversation on Friday last’, 8/11/1926, G/Y J4.

¹⁹⁷ Cash to Heaslett, 23/11/1926, G/Y J4.

Japanese bishop then they would need 'to promise that the diocese would raise the salary of the bishop and, to some extent at least, finance his work.'¹⁹⁸ The following year the Hokkaido Synod requested that a missionary bishop be appointed and Cash, recommended to Davidson the appointment of G.J. Walsh.¹⁹⁹ After meeting him, Davidson agreed to the appointment.²⁰⁰ It is not entirely clear what made the Hokkaido synod request a missionary bishop but what is clear is that it they knew that it would be cheaper for them to have a missionary bishop. Again, in 1935, Cash explained to Lang that a Japanese could only be appointed to Kyushu Diocese if the diocese 'pays the entire support, and asks for no grant from abroad'.²⁰¹

The next opportunity for a Chinese bishop to be appointed came in Western China, when Mowll was nominated as Archbishop of Sydney in 1933. By then he had delegated substantial responsibilities to his two Chinese assistant bishops and felt they could take on greater responsibility.²⁰² He told his commissary, Isaac, that the appointment of an English Bishop would be 'a backward step' and urged him to convince Cash of this point.²⁰³ It seems that Barclay also agreed, not least because of the financial savings, and he told Cash 'I feel sure that all our missionaries would work willingly and very happily under Bishop Song.'²⁰⁴ However, before Cash expressed an opinion, the Chinese House of Bishops acted and appointed an English missionary, J. Holden, as successor to Mowll. When the diocese was divided in 1935, after consultation Cash accepted the advice from various missionaries and recommended to Lang that a Chinese should not be appointed as one of the bishops at that time.²⁰⁵

In 1938 Holden had to retire on health grounds and firmly recommended Bishop Song as his successor, a view that Cash fully supported to Lang:-

¹⁹⁸ 'Memorandum - Hokkaido' by Davidson, 22/11/1926, G/Y J4.

¹⁹⁹ Cash to Davidson, 25/6/1927, G/Y J4.

²⁰⁰ Davidson to Cash, 16/7/1927, G/Y J4.

²⁰¹ Cash to Lang, 17/4/1935, G/Y J5.

²⁰² Mowll to Isaac, 22/4/1933, G/Y CH3/3.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Barclay to Cash, 9/6/1933, G/YCH3/3.

²⁰⁵ Cash to Lang, 28/11/1935, G/Y CH 3/2.

I think the appointment of Bishop Song is most advisable I should therefore rather depreciate the appointment of an Englishman supported by CMS when I think we have at last a really good Chinese who could be Bishop.²⁰⁶

Since Song would not be paid by the CMS Cash assumed that the House of Bishops of the CHSKH would be able to elect him themselves.²⁰⁷ However, Lang's letter to Norris (the Presiding Bishop in China), indicating that the CHSKH Bishops could appoint Song without consulting Lang, was apparently misunderstood to mean that they could appoint who they wished.²⁰⁸ This misunderstanding was cleared up and Norris later informed Cash:-

You will doubtless be glad to hear that the House of Bishops of the CHSKH 'appointed' Bishop Song as Diocesan.²⁰⁹

Norris's use of quotation marks is quite pointed; he clearly resented the way that Lang had been persuaded to take back control of episcopal appointments in China. The CHSKH House of Bishops had earlier in the year annoyed Cash. They had nominated, to Lang, C.B.R. Sargent as an assistant Bishop of Fukien, expecting the CMS to support him financially. Sargent was not a CMS missionary, but the CMS somewhat reluctantly took him on, while at the same time pointing out that this was not reasonable.²¹⁰

7.4.4 Cash and Bishops in India

The complexity of the appointment system for bishops in India has been discussed earlier. The passing of the India Church measure in 1927 meant that in future all appointments would be made in India,²¹¹ and the CMS would only be consulted because of its financial support for some bishops, the Metropolitan being required to ensure that there were 'satisfactory financial arrangements'.²¹² Various methods of selecting bishops were laid down; most involved election, but less developed dioceses had their bishops appointed by the Metropolitan.²¹³

²⁰⁶ Cash to Lang, 13/5/1938, G/Y CH3/3.

²⁰⁷ Cash to Mowll, 15/5/1938, G/Y CH3/3.

²⁰⁸ Don to Cash, 21/9/1938, G/Y CH3/3.

²⁰⁹ Norris to Cash, December 1938, G/Y CH3/3.

²¹⁰ Memo by Cash 'Diocese of Fukien - Proposal for the Appointment of an Assistant Bishop', September 1938, G/Y CH4/2.

²¹¹ See Grimes 1946.

²¹² E.A.L. Moore, Bishop in Travancore & Cochin to Cash, 20/9/1935, G/Y I5/3.

²¹³ Gibbs 1972 p.357.

The limited number of appointments that Cash was involved in make it hard to generalise about his policies. The first appointment in India involving Cash was in 1930, when the Bishop of Lahore, H.B. Durrant, sought an assistant bishop for the mainly CMS area. Cash originally suggested that a CMS missionary should be found, which would make it easier for the CMS to pay his stipend. Durrant was reluctant to narrow the field in this way.²¹⁴ Durrant eventually decided to appoint Canon Bannerjee, an Indian from outside the area, who was already paid as a CMS missionary.²¹⁵ Cash warmly welcomed this appointment,²¹⁶ and later said that the CMS had pushed for the appointment of an Indian,²¹⁷ but, if so, the first thought had been the appointment of an English missionary. The following year Bishop Azariah asked the CMS for help with an assistant bishop, but in the financial crisis of the time Cash could only offer help if the person chosen was already supported by the CMS.²¹⁸ However, two years later the CMS gave a grant of £125 per year for an assistant bishop, with no conditions attached, but with the recommendation that he be an Indian,²¹⁹ though in the end a European was appointed.

In 1935 Canon S.K. Tarfdar, an Indian, was chosen by the Bishop of Calcutta as his assistant.²²⁰ Cash's response was enthusiastic, though it is interesting that having previously met him, Cash had had him in mind only as a future archdeacon.²²¹ It certainly appears that in the early 1930s Cash was in favour of appointing Indians as assistant bishops. Whether he held the same view in the 1920s, or whether he thought the same about diocesan bishops, is unclear, as he was not involved in such appointments at that time. However, by 1938 Cash's views were firmly in favour of Indian diocesan bishops.

When E.A.L. Moore, Bishop of Travancore & Cochin decided that the time was near for his retirement, Cash sounded him out on the possibility of an Indian successor - Archdeacon

²¹⁴ Bishop of Lahore to Cash, 9/4/1930, G/Y I4/4.

²¹⁵ Bishop of Lahore to Cash, 14/10/1930, G/Y I4/4.

²¹⁶ Cash to Treanor, 7/11/1930, G/Y I4/4.

²¹⁷ Cash to Banerjee, 21/6/1935, G/Y I4/4.

²¹⁸ Cash to Azariah, 6/1/1932, G/Y I9/2.

²¹⁹ Cash to Azariah, 25/1/1934, G/Y I9/2.

²²⁰ Bishop of Calcutta to Cash, 12/4/1935, G/Y I 1/2.

²²¹ Cash to Bishop of Calcutta, 29/4/1935, G/Y I 1/2.

C.K. Jacob.²²² Moore held Jacob in high regard and noted that the previous bishop had sent him to England fifteen years previously with the idea of his becoming a bishop. However, there were tensions in the diocese between the minority Syrian Anglicans and the rest of the diocese, Jacob being a 'Syrian'. Moore therefore felt that

it is unlikely that the diocesan council would elect him; & if he were elected & appointed, I fear he would shrink from accepting.²²³

In spite of having no direct role in the appointment, Cash was drawn further into the search for a new bishop. In response to a request from Benjamin, an Indian Archdeacon in the diocese, Cash, in consultation with the other Secretaries, suggested four names, including Jacob and Stephen Neill. Cash argued:-

We feel that the success of the Dornakal Diocese through an Indian being appointed as Bishop is so important, and that the Travancore Diocese should if possible be given an Indian as its Bishop. We therefore recommend as our first choice Archdeacon Jacob.²²⁴

Cash's keenness on an Indian was such that he suggested asking the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevely if they could recommend anyone. Benjamin's response was clear - 'the appointment of an Indian as bishop is out of the question at present. Travancore is unlike Dornakal in this respect.'²²⁵ The main reason he gave was the diversity of the diocese, including the Syrian Church and its various divisions and the relationship with the Government.²²⁶ After a long search Cash suggested a former missionary to the Punjab, B. Corfield. When he proved reluctant Cash applied pressure on him visiting him personally.²²⁷ Cash also persuaded Moore, now in England, to visit Corfield. Cash clearly stated that if Corfield refused:-

it is quite likely that a man of very different sympathies from CMS may be nominated; and it would certainly be difficult for us in so strongly an evangelical Diocese, to have an Anglo-Catholic as Bishop. ... I am therefore

²²² Cash to E.A.L. Moore, 23/7/1935, G/Y I5/3.

²²³ E.A.L. Moore, Bishop in Travancore & Cochin to Cash, 20/9/1935, G/Y I5/3.

²²⁴ Cash to Archdeacon Benjamin of Chungam, Kottayam, 22/4/1937, G/Y I5/3.

²²⁵ Archdeacon Benjamin to Cash, 25/5/1937, G/Y I5/3.

²²⁶ Archdeacon Benjamin to Cash, 17/5/1937, G/Y I5/3.

²²⁷ Cash to Corfield, 4/3/1938, G/Y I5/3.

most anxious that all possible pressure should be brought to bear upon Corfield.²²⁸

Corfield accepted.²²⁹ In 1945, Jacob succeeded Corfield - 25 years after he was first identified for the post. The disestablishment of the Church in India failed to produce Indian bishops. Azariah discussed with the Episcopal Synod in 1942 the problem of Indian dioceses being unwilling to elect Indians as Bishops.²³⁰

Cash was so impressed by Azariah that at last the CMS was actively promoting the appointment of Indians as diocesan bishops, but by this time the CMS had little influence. Cash also wanted him to be a model for the approach elsewhere. One difficulty was that Cash had unrealistic expectations of other Indian bishops, because of Azariah. Following his visit to India, Cash wrote a long and very critical letter to Bishop Banerjee, assistant bishop in Lahore Diocese. In it, he contrasted him to Azariah and urged him to work in the rural villages, criticising his location in the city of Amritsar.

My dear Bishop, ...will you lead the way by becoming a village Bishop yourself... The CMS undertook certain support for you as Bishop because they believed the sort of policy I have outlined above would be brought about. Do please pray about all this because it really hurts me to feel that the big needs which could be met very quickly are left untouched.²³¹

Banerjee was understandably upset by this letter

After reading your letter which has hurt me much ... My dear Prebendary Cash it is clear you have not known me... you evidently consider me a sulky boy immersed in all the joys, ease and comforts of the world, unwilling to sacrifice those for any big Cause, and since you as the Secretary of the Home Society must coerce him to his right place in life.²³²

In defending himself Banerjee makes the points that he is an assistant bishop of 3 years 'a man of humble gifts' and to compare his work with what Azariah has achieved after 22 years in sole charge of his diocese is unfair. He explains that he did not choose Amritsar, the mission and diocesan did, and that he has had barely 30 days at home in the past year.

²²⁸ Cash to Moore, 4/3/1938, G/Y I5/3.

²²⁹ Cash to Metropolitan, 14/3/1938, G/Y I5/3.

²³⁰ See Harper, 'Ironies of Indigenization', p.18 and Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.165-168.

²³¹ Cash to Banerjee, 21/6/1935, G/Y I4/4.

²³² Banerjee to Cash, 29/7/1935, G/Y I4/4.

Banerjee also complained that during the recent delegation, Cash had not taken time to talk to him personally. Cash's response to this letter does not contain any apology.²³³ This incident reflects badly on Cash. He appears to have expected Banerjee to achieve the same results as Azariah in a fraction of the time. Such blunt criticism is not seen in any of Cash's communication with English Missionaries, let alone English bishops, and he even used the fact of CMS contribution as a further reason why Banerjee should work in the way the CMS wanted.

7.4.5 Cash and Bishops in Africa

There were two key aspects to Cash's involvement in the appointment of bishops in Africa. One, mentioned above, was Cash's persistent refusal properly to consult the dioceses concerned. The other was a consistent refusal to even consider the appointment of an African diocesan bishop. These two elements are linked in several ways. Both show a lack of trust in African Christians; both meant that the CMS maintained a greater say. Full consultation might have resulted in moves to appoint an African bishop.

G.W. Wright had been Bishop of Sierra Leone since 1923, and the only other missionary was J.L.C. Horstead, the CMS secretary. In 1934 the appointment of an African assistant bishop was discussed and it was agreed that this would not prevent the appointment of another European diocesan.²³⁴ Lang had already given his tentative approval for Horstead to succeed Wright, on Cash and Wright's recommendation.²³⁵

All seemed set for Horstead to succeed Wright, who was ready to hand over to a younger man, until Wright raised another possibility:-

I say younger man, if he be white. There is a thought in my mind that the time may be ripe for the Diocese of Sierra Leone, confined to the limits of the Sierra Leone Colony and Protectorate, to be given a trial as the work of an African, especially if one of the experience of Bishop Howells (A.W. Howells) were promoted to the See.²³⁶

²³³ Cash to Banerjee 13/9/1935, G/Y I4/4.

²³⁴ Memo from Hooper to Cash, 14/11/1934, G/Y A1/2.

²³⁵ Cash to Wright, 15/11/1934, G/Y A1/2.

²³⁶ Memo by Bishop Wright, 20/8/1935, G/Y A1/2.

It would appear that immediately upon receipt of this,²³⁷ Cash met with Lasbrey, bishop on the Niger and wrote brief notes on their discussion of an African diocesan Bishop for Sierra Leone.²³⁸ Cash lists Lasbrey's comments

He thinks it wd be difficult to have an African
as Bp. Howells is too old
But Cannon Le..... might do.
The British of S.L. wd not want an African
There is difficulty of funding a successor if an African is appointed
Lasbury thinks that African diocesan Bps unwise until a province is formed

These notes also indicate that Lasbury was in favour of Horstead as successor to Wright. The idea seems then to have been quietly dropped - Cash did not mention to Lang the possibility of an African successor, but specifically sounded him out on Horstead, and received a favourable response.²³⁹ Cash then confirmed with Wright that he would recommend Horstead to Lang,²⁴⁰ and the appointment was finalized. Soon after, at Horstead's request, the CMS broke with its tradition and helped fund an African assistant bishop, T.S. Johnson.²⁴¹ Cash had never met him, but passed on the recommendation to Lang, emphasising his suitability as an assistant bishop.²⁴² Although he held a Durham B.D. and was an educationalist, his age of 63 meant that there was no possibility of his succeeding Horstead. It is outside the scope of this study to assess whether he would have been a suitable appointment, a year earlier, instead of Horstead, but Cash's whole approach seems to have made him a non-runner.

The issue of waiting for a province to be formed before appointing African Diocesan, mentioned by Lasbury above, connects with the various moves to form provinces in Africa. The CMS seems to have been fairly even handed, but the PC was definitely not prepared to force provinces on reluctant Churches.²⁴³ The CMS realised that, in Africa, the formation

²³⁷ An assistant foreign secretary acknowledged receipt of this memo on 28/8/1935 and Cash met with Lasbury on 29/8/1935, see G/Y A1/2.

²³⁸ Notes on Cash's headed paper 29/8/1935, G/Y A1/2.

²³⁹ 'Notes of interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury', 11/11/1935, G/Y A1/2.

²⁴⁰ Cash to Wright, 18/11/1935, G/Y A1/2.

²⁴¹ Cash to Horstead, 18/12/1936, G/Y A1/2.

²⁴² Cash to Lang, 11/12/1936, G/Y A1/2.

²⁴³ Eg. Cash to Stuart, 28/5/1937, G/Y Ag/5.

of provinces would mean the loss of 'its present right of nomination of bishops'.²⁴⁴ This was made clear in a paper advocating the rapid formation of provinces, written by the Bishop of Salisbury, Donaldson in preparation for the 1930 Lambeth Conference.²⁴⁵ Cash's response picked up the Donaldson's early Church analogy and questioned the overall size of the provinces,

The vast areas covered are so great that on an early Church analogy the dioceses in these areas, at present time, seem to me to represent provinces in embryo.²⁴⁶

Decades later, this proved to be true, but it does show one approach that the CMS could have taken at that time, particularly in West Africa. It could have sought to divide its large dioceses into smaller areas with African diocesans.

Cash's preemptive move in the case of Lagos diocese has already been mentioned. The main reason Cash gives for moving so quickly was 'in order to avoid a good deal of wire-pulling'.²⁴⁷ The history of the CMS work in that area was such that there might well have been very strong moves to secure an African diocesan bishop. As it was, there was a good deal of discontent and a petition from 600 Church members was sent to Cash 'asking that the Church out here may be consulted about the appointment of its Bishops.'²⁴⁸

The extent of the CMS commitment against African diocesans can be seen partly in the change made to the rules on a 'West African Native Bishopric Fund'. It was originally started by Bishop James Johnson in 1900 to endow an African diocesan bishopric, but by 1930 was being used to fund an African assistant bishop after an application to the Charity Commissioners.²⁴⁹ The Sierra Leone clergy objected to this in very strong terms to the CMS and to Lang.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁴ Cash for CMS Commission, 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

²⁴⁵ Paper by Donaldson, n.d. (c.1930), G/Y Ag3.

²⁴⁶ Cash to Donaldson, 17/2/1930, G/Y Ag3.

²⁴⁷ Cash to Hooper, 22/5/1939, G/Y A2/3. Wire-pulling is generally an Americanism, meaning the same as pulling strings (see Oxford English Reference Dictionary).

²⁴⁸ Bishop Melville Jones to Cash, 2/11/1939, G/Y A2/3.

²⁴⁹ Memo, 14/7/1930. and other papers, G/Y AFW 1.

²⁵⁰ Johnson, *The story of a Mission*, p.122-124.

7.4.6 Assessment of Cash's Approach

At the start of his period in office, Cash was not in favour of indigenous bishops, diocesan or assistant, except perhaps in India. This might have been due to his background in Egypt, where the Mission was too undeveloped to think of appointing 'native' bishops. Perhaps he was influenced by the people who he was in contact with; Davidson with his caution, or Heaslett of Japan who seemed firmly opposed. After the first couple of years in office, Cash's opposition to indigenous assistant bishops seems to have disappeared; certainly Barclay would have encouraged this. The difference between China and West Africa is also significant, as indigenous assistant bishops were effectively a permanent feature in West Africa, but were seen as a brief transitional step in China.²⁵¹ Cash sought to retain CMS influence over appointments, by limiting consultation and by persuading Lang to keep the control of the episcopal appointment process in England, where Cash could exert most influence. In practice, this meant that Cash deliberately undermined two of the 1930 Lambeth Conference resolutions.

By 1937, outside of Africa, Cash was actively promoting the appointment of indigenous diocesan bishops. However, with Japan, it is clear that Japanese bishops could have been appointed on several occasions if Cash had been more flexible about seeing self-support as a pre-requisite. In India, the key to Cash's change of attitude was how impressed he was by Azariah and his work in Dornakal. This might also account for his change of attitude to Chinese bishops, although Cash might also have been influenced by the consecration of 20 Chinese as Roman Catholic bishops between 1926 and 1933.²⁵² The irony was that Cash's change of attitude came after he had lost the crucial influence that could have resulted in more indigenous bishops. He was not far sighted enough to change his approach in Africa, the area where he still effectively controlled episcopal appointments. As an African assistant bishop put it in 1937

It is maintained that devolution of authority should not take place till the native had shown capacity for carrying responsibility, but how can he develop that if no opportunity for development has been given? It is like asking someone to be able to swim before going into the water.²⁵³

²⁵¹ See also Neill, *Anglicanism*, p.332.

²⁵² Hastings, *The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism*, p.7.

²⁵³ Johnson, *The Story of a Mission*, p.120.

7.5 Training of Clergy

Cash laid the blame for the small number of 'native' bishops, whether diocesan or assistant, solidly on the lack of suitable candidates. He explained

It is difficult to believe that the men are not being produced at all. It may be that they are not picked out early enough to be given satisfactory training.²⁵⁴

The training of clergy was identified by the Jerusalem International Missionary Conference of 1928 as one of the most pressing needs.²⁵⁵ The CMS had realised this for some time, but seemed unable to provide the resources needed to make a dramatic change.

There was a substantial amount of theological training being carried out in CMS missions. In 1932, the CMS was involved in 23 theological institutions.²⁵⁶ Brown gives an account of the college at Kottayam in 1938 which shows the great dedication of the staff there.²⁵⁷ Other examples could be given from detailed regional studies.²⁵⁸ However, the evidence would suggest that most colleges were short staffed. Cash spoke of the 'shortage of trained men for posts as principals and tutors'.²⁵⁹ While he was in India in 1934, the need for theological educators was such that Cash wrote immediately to theological colleges in England to see if any member of staff would be willing to come out to meet this need.²⁶⁰ One of his papers from this time reads 'With so inadequate a provision of training facilities it is scarcely to be wondered at that there is a great dearth of Indian clergy'.²⁶¹

There also seems to have been little money devoted to securing higher theological training. Yet the value of bringing possible episcopal candidates to England for training was often

²⁵⁴ Cash for CMS Commission, 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

²⁵⁵ Jerusalem International Missionary Council *Vol III: The Relations between the Younger and Older Churches* (1928) p.210.

²⁵⁶ Cash's Memo to Foreign Secretaries, 29/12/32, G/APc2/6.

²⁵⁷ Brown, *Three Worlds: One Word*, p.25.

²⁵⁸ My MA dissertation describes the remarkable result of a special ordination course held in Kampala, and also the problems that bringing gifted and enthusiastic students into a traditional college could bring.

²⁵⁹ Cash's Memo to Foreign Secretaries, 29/12/32, G/APc2/6.

²⁶⁰ Draft of letter by Cash to Theological Colleges written from Punjab, 4/6/1934 G/AD 1/5

²⁶¹ Document entitled 'Memorandum on Clergy Training, North India', Unclear authorship. G/Y I3/3.

stressed. Cash saw Bishop Song's visit to Britain for study, prior to consecration, as 'of great value'.²⁶² As mentioned above, Bishop Jacob had been sent to Britain as part of his preparation, as had Archdeacon Benjamin, later to become bishop.²⁶³ The CMS also recognised the dangers of training people outside of their own culture and thus overly westernising them.²⁶⁴ There is another side to this issue, visiting Britain, for whatever reason, would normally mean meeting the people involved in deciding on episcopal appointments. For example, having met Song, Cash appears to have thought very highly of him.²⁶⁵ Such personal knowledge would make future preferment more likely. The effect on West Africans of participation in international conferences was similarly beneficial, both educationally and to furthering careers.²⁶⁶

Criticism of theological training was not confined to the CMS. In 1931 the *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*²⁶⁷ said of the whole of India

If one considers the state of theological education as a whole one is impressed by its elementary character, its denominational character, and its isolation from the general trend of academic education.²⁶⁸

The report said that staff and curriculum were 'too much under the influence of western tradition, too little adapted to the needs of the Indian Church'²⁶⁹ and the biggest need was for 'a strong body of Indian theological teachers'.²⁷⁰

In the CMS the worries over diocesanization led to a new emphasis on the value of theological education as a way of maintaining evangelical principles. While preparing papers for the CMS Commission, Cash commented to the other Secretaries

²⁶² Cash for CMS Commission, 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

²⁶³ Brown, *Three Worlds: One Word*, p.43.

²⁶⁴ Jonathan J. Bonk *The Theory and Practice of Missionary Identification 1860-1920*. (Lewiston NY, Edwin Mellen Press, 1989) p.157 discusses this whole problem.

²⁶⁵ Mowll to Isaac 22/4/1933, G/Y CH3/3.

²⁶⁶ See Frieder Ludwig 'Tambaram: The West African Experience,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 31 (2001), 51-91.

²⁶⁷ Commission on Christian Higher Education in India. *Report* (London, OUP, 1931)

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.237. The only exception was those college associated with Serampore.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.244.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.248.

I think our policy for the future ought to be an emphasis upon this theological training quite definitely with a view to the production of the right type of theological colleges for the ministry overseas.²⁷¹

The CMS Commission noted that where evangelical principles were threatened it was substantially due to the CMS's 'failure adequately to train the native clergy'.²⁷² This failure in training was seen as very serious

the Society must either develop this work or it may cease to make its present Evangelical contribution. ... this need should be placed in the forefront of the commitments of the Society.²⁷³

Looking Forward spoke of 'the urgent need for stronger support of these institutions both in increased grants, and in man power'.²⁷⁴ It recommended that LGBs should not be allowed to reduce grants to theological colleges, and that priority should be given to filling vacancies in them.²⁷⁵ It also recommended that 'carefully chosen men should be brought to England from time to time for further study and experience'.²⁷⁶

The 1935-36 India delegation did not find a great deal of improvement in India and in its report also stressed the importance of more theological training, and recommended setting up a new institution for North India.²⁷⁷ This was also the conclusion of the Ecclesiastical Committee, discussed above, when it enquired into the problems of diocesanization. During his visit in 1938, Cash visited the clergy Training College at Khatauli, which had been set up as a result of the 1935 delegation visit, serving Lahore and United provinces.²⁷⁸ It was closed in 1950.²⁷⁹

The Tambaram, Madras International Missionary Conference was particularly critical, for instance:

²⁷¹ Cash's Memo to Foreign Secretaries, 29/12/32 in G/APc2/6

²⁷² See Minutes of the CMS Commission, 19/12/1932, G/APc2/1.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ *Looking Forward* p.30.

²⁷⁵ Ibid, p.30.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p.31.

²⁷⁷ *Report of the Secretaries' Visit to India 1934-35*, G/AD1/5, p.7.

²⁷⁸ *Report of General Secretary on His Visit to India Nov 7 - Jan 7 1938*, G/AD 1/8, p.7.

²⁷⁹ Hewitt II, p.142.

Almost all the younger churches are dissatisfied with the present system of training for the ministry and with its results. ... From every field has come the conviction that a highly trained ministry is necessary for the well-being of the Church.²⁸⁰

Neill comments on the difficulty of responding to recommendation from Tambaram once war started²⁸¹ and the criticisms were echoed at the Whitby conference in 1947.²⁸²

In criticising the CMS for making inadequate provision for theological training, it must be remembered how little the Church of England did to train its own clergy. As the 1918 report put it

The Church of England, in a way without parallel in other Christian communions, has in its corporate capacity done practically nothing to provide an adequate education for its ministry.²⁸³

Since 1913, the importance of theological education had been emphasised in report after report, but the CMS only really tried to do something when it was too late.

7.6 Assessment of Cash

Venn's vision of the euthanasia of mission - that is, of bringing mission-agency control of the African church to an end - was neglected. The CMS itself became a vehicle of white domination over the churches it had helped to found. But then again, under the more recent leadership of Max Warren and John Taylor, the society had begun once more to work out a definite mission of reparation, this time perhaps for some of the sins and failures of Western missions in the first half of the twentieth century.²⁸⁴

(Simon Barrington-Ward, CMS General Secretary 1975-1985)

Without mentioning his name, this quotation is sharply critical of Cash. Cash preceded Warren, so Cash is here presented as part of the problem which Warren and Taylor sought to solve.²⁸⁵ And there is a substantial degree of truth in this. With regard to Africa, Cash

²⁸⁰ International Missionary Council. *Madras 1938. Report Vol 2: The Life of the Church* (London, OUP, 1939) p.201.

²⁸¹ Neill, *Christ, His Church and His World*, p.93.

²⁸² Margaret Sinclair 'Christian Witness in a Revolutionary World,' *International Review of Missions* 27 (1948), 3-39 at 33.

²⁸³ Church of England National Mission. *The Teaching Office of the Church. Being the Report of the Archbishops' First Committee of Inquiry* (London, SPCK, 1918) p.10.

²⁸⁴ Barrington-Ward, 'My Pilgrimage in Mission, p.62.

²⁸⁵ Ward ' "Taking Stock": The Church Missionary Society and its Historians' in *The Church Mission Society* ed. Ward & Stanley, p.30 also sees Warren's time as when the

pursued what can be described as an un-enlightened policy. Hooper should carry some of the blame, but Cash deliberately adopted the title 'Chief Foreign Secretary' and with it, ultimate responsibility. Hetherington points out that

The period between the wars was characterized by almost universal support for the idea that it was necessary for Britain to stay in Africa, either indefinitely or until particular reforms had been achieved.²⁸⁶

As such, Cash was a child of his time, but the CMS needed leadership that could see beyond prevailing prejudices. However, this is not the whole story. Cash did continue and extend the diocesanization policy elsewhere, which meant that by 1942, outside of Africa and the Middle East, the CMS had ended the mission-agency control of the almost all the Churches it had helped to found.

In 1929 Cash advised new missionaries to 'seek not position or power but a place of partnership in the young Church'.²⁸⁷ Cash's attitude to Africans belied this. Furthermore the 1934-35 delegation to India did not draw out Indian opinion in the way that Bardsley had done.²⁸⁸ Cash's treatment of Bishop Banerjee was discourteous and dismissive, though he always treated Bishop Azariah with great respect. Cash appears to have been influenced greatly by certain people, Muslim leaders in Egypt, delegates at Jerusalem in 1928, Waddy and Azariah. It may be that these were people who he met as equals, but that others would not command the same respect.

Cash played his part in helping the Church of South India come into being, and within the CMS Cash laid the foundations on which Warren would build. He had brought the CMS back to a model of leadership which would allow the General Secretary to lead. He organised the finances such that Warren took over a solvent Society.²⁸⁹ He set up various mechanisms, such as the CMS Newsletters, that Warren would use so effectively.²⁹⁰ Cash

CMS changed its approach.

²⁸⁶ Penelope Hetherington *British Paternalism and Africa 1920-1940* (London, Frank Cass, 1978) p.154.

²⁸⁷ *Instructions to Missionaries 1929*, G/AM/1.

²⁸⁸ Hewitt II, p.77 describes the 1935-36 delegation as having a 'backward look'.

²⁸⁹ Hewitt I, p.433.

²⁹⁰ Timothy Yates: CMS Newsletters since Max Warren. 1963-1985,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 12 (1988)11-15, at 11.

brought back a sense of unity after the split with the BCMS, keeping both liberal and conservative evangelicals in the CMS.

But it is in respect of his theology of mission that Cash seems to have been unfairly overlooked. Hastings speaks of ‘a certain unmistakable mental mediocrity settling down upon the world of the missionary societies by 1920’.²⁹¹ Fox was no scholar, neither was Bardsley, but Cash is another matter. While he is dwarfed by his two successors, Max Warren and John Taylor,²⁹² it would seem fairer to class him as the first of a more scholarly breed of leader in the CMS, than the last of those characterised by ‘mental mediocrity’.

His works on Islam were noteworthy, but it is his theology of the ‘Missionary Church’ which deserves some recognition. By the 1950s it was generally recognised that the Churches should be seeking ‘interdependence’ not ‘independence’. Stephen Neill wrote on the subject.²⁹³ Warren also spoke of interdependence, pointing out that at the Whitby conference it had been called Partnership. Warren saw this approach as more forward-looking than had been the case at Tambaram or Jerusalem.²⁹⁴ But Cash had spoken for ‘interdependence’ at the 1928 Jerusalem Conference, and continued to do so. The contribution to the concept of ‘interdependence’ from the various delegates at the 1928 Jerusalem Conference deserves more attention.

Bosch says that, between the Tambaram Conference in 1938 and the Willingen Conference in 1952, there had ‘been an almost imperceptible shift from an emphasis on a church-centred mission to a mission-centred church’.²⁹⁵ Cash’s book, *The Missionary Church*, was written immediately after Tambaram, and at the very least is indicative of this transition. Perhaps the reason Cash was overlooked in the development of these ideas was that he had published his book in 1939, and as such it was overshadowed by larger events.²⁹⁶ In 1963

²⁹¹ Hastings, *A History of English Christianity*, p.252.

²⁹² As Hewitt points out. Hewitt I, p.443.

²⁹³ Neill, *Christian Partnership*, p.28.

²⁹⁴ M.A.C. Warren ‘The Missionary Obligation Today,’ *International Review of Missions* 39 (1950)393-409, at 406 & 408.

²⁹⁵ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p.370.

²⁹⁶ One of the few references to it is Campbell 1945 p.338 & 349. There is a colourless review in Oscar Buck ‘Two Studies in Modern Missions’ *International Review of*

the Anglican Congress adopted the approach to mission of 'Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence'.²⁹⁷

Cash believed in the priority of evangelism and was a solid evangelical. He was also a Churchman with a strong belief in the Church, and more particularly in a Church that was missionary. In this, at least, he stands beside Warren, Neill and Taylor.²⁹⁸

Missions 29 (1940) p.290-292. Neill notes Cash's works on Islam in his bibliography to *A History of Christian Missions*, p.597, but makes no mention of *The Missionary Church*.

²⁹⁷ Stephen Bayne. *Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ* (London, SPCK, 1963).

²⁹⁸ Compare with Yates' description of Warren and Neill as both being 'Gospel-men' and 'Church-men'. Yates, 'Newsletter Theology', p.11.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

8.1 A Self-Governing Indigenous Church?

‘Policy’ ... is the prudent and prayerful use of knowledge, accumulated experience and foresight brought to practical uses: it is essential always to keep ‘policy’ in its right place - it must be the servant not the master.¹

Diocesanization in the 1920s and 1930s was the culmination of the policy agreed in 1901. Stock had discerned the road that the CMS had to take, and had done so with remarkable accuracy. His committee skills and ability to draft documents won the day in producing the 1901 Memorandum. However, Stock did not discern how that journey ought to begin. The 1901 Memorandum did not describe how the CMS should embark on that road, and the route that Stock advocated in 1909 proved, in the Punjab at least, to delay rather than hasten, the CMS’s ultimate relinquishing of control. Although the Punjab approach, of amalgamating the Mission and the Church, became the policy officially advocated by the CMS for India, Baylis’ pragmatic, non-committal policy became preeminent. Western India was the only CMS Mission to follow the Punjab’s lead, and again this resulted in no further changes.

Baylis’ drafting of the 1909 Memorandum meant that he could continue the approach of maintaining as much power as possible for the CMS Secretaries, and under them, the various mission authorities in the field. Outside India, the policy of the CMS on the relationship of the Mission to the Church, in 1909, was not to have a definite policy. Thus, in Uganda, the most consistent element in the PC’s approach to the Church constitution, was to keep some form of separate missionary committee, which it appointed. Tucker’s vision for uniting the Mission and the Church in a diocesan organisation remained just a vision. He failed to convince the missionaries or the CMS Secretariat to allow the Mission, as a separate entity, to die. The great weakness in the CMS policy at this time was that it had failed to address the question of how it wanted to relate to dioceses, once the dioceses controlled the indigenous Churches. This was true in all CMS Missions, both in India and elsewhere. Such pro-active planning could have been done at any time during the first two decades of the twentieth century; the issues were raised in 1909, but not addressed.

¹ *Memorandum Explaining some Proposals ... of Policy* anonymous 9/10/1911, G/AP11 1911-1917.

In 1922, the CMS, through its India delegation, realised that such planning was now overdue. It decided that a policy of immediate diocesanization was needed in India. It also recognised that policy decisions had a tendency not to be implemented. It therefore set up a structure in India to ensure that diocesanization happened. The first task was to answer the question that should have been answered in 1909. The answers were not hard to find, and by 1924 the clear *General Principles* had been agreed. A crucial issue that this identified was clergy training. If the CMS wanted to maintain ‘evangelical principles’ in Churches after diocesanization, then involvement in theological training was the most obvious opportunity. From this time on, repeated reports recognised theological training as an area of weakness. Some attempts were made to improve matters, but substantial change would have required a dramatic increase in resources, which the CMS was not able to find. Failure to invest in theological education, in the first half of the period, stored up problems that emerged in the second half of the period. The place of ‘institutions’ in CMS policy has only been touched on in this study, but the CMS was always far slower in handing them over, than it was with churches. Bosch notes that, when finally handed over, many ‘turned out to be impediments rather than assets to the life and growth of the younger churches’.²

Under Cash the diocesanization policy continued, but control of the process quickly returned to Salisbury Square. This meant that when diocesanization was extended to China, it was haphazard. Diocesanization was never really pursued in Africa during this period. Fears about the effect of diocesanization in India and Ceylon, and about ‘evangelical principles’ dominated part of the 1930s, but partly due to Cash’s strong commitment to the paramount place of the Church in Mission,³ the CMS never considered changing its policy of diocesanization.

The concept of the ‘euthanasia of the mission’ was quietly ignored by Stock, and explicitly rejected by Cash. The only time it that is was mentioned positively was during the early 1920s, significantly the time when the CMS made the fastest moves in handing over control.

² Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p.365.

³ Which included a belief in the centrality of mission in the life of the Church.

It is a concept that has its difficulties, but seems useful in concentrating the mind of missionaries and mission administrators on the future shape of their work.

Kraemer argued that ‘the way towards becoming an indigenous Church goes through becoming first a real Church’.⁴ Diocesanization did not mean that the Churches became indigenous, but it did help them become ‘real’ Churches, free from the control of missionary societies. Cash wrote of the need to ‘distinguish clearly between Indianization and diocesanization’,⁵ urging the latter as well as the former. These Churches were already indigenous to some degree, but would only become more fully indigenous when the leadership was no longer foreign. The issue was always complex, Azariah was not indigenous to Dornakal Diocese, and turned down the chance to be bishop in his native diocese,⁶ but he demonstrated what Indian leadership could mean. It is to the CMS’s credit that they gave Azariah authority over their Mission at an early stage. However, the success of the Diocese of Dornakal underlines strongly the most glaring failure of the CMS during this period. The CMS did not produce ‘native’ diocesan bishops. This can largely be blamed on the unjustified belief that Crowther was a failure as a diocesan bishop. In the mid 1930s, after meeting Azariah, Cash began to actively promote Indian diocesan bishops, but this change of heart came too late; the CMS no longer had influence on the appointment of bishops in India. It was only in the late 1930s that Cash extended this thinking to China, resulting in the only indigenous diocesan bishop appointed as a result of CMS influence during this period: Bishop Song of Western Szechwan. The CMS was only able to influence this appointment because Cash had undermined the decision to give autonomy to the Chinese church. In Africa, the consistent policy was that Africans should not be diocesan bishops, and no moves were made to appoint African assistant bishops outside of West Africa. In India and China the CMS took action on appointing bishops when it was already too late. The same mistake was being repeated in Africa. Cash was deliberately preventing the appointment of African bishops at the same time as bemoaning the fact that it had taken so long to get Indian bishops. The irony was that Indians repeatedly elected Europeans as

⁴ Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, p.411.

⁵ Cash, *The Missionary Church*, p.71.

⁶ Harper, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, p.163&195.

their bishops. Even Azariah was replaced by an Irishman.⁷ Stock had foreseen such a possibility in 1901. A different system for appointing bishops might have helped. Eventually several missionaries simply refused to be nominated.⁸

In 1942 the results of the CMS policy on the indigenous Church were still to come to fruition. In China, diocesanization and the eventual appointment of Chinese bishops meant that there was a Church, able to struggle on when war came. But Long's summary is accurate 'indigenization and autonomy did come to the CHSKH but too little too late'.⁹ In the political situation of post-war China it was not possible for the Church to be indigenous and Anglican at the same time, in Long's words:

The vocation of Anglicanism in China seems to have been to disappear, while offering its distinctive gifts, traditions, and leadership to an emerging national church of a very different style.¹⁰

In India diocesanization had laid the basis of a self-governing Church which could develop its own indigenous identity. In some parts of India the Church had already chosen its path, which took it outside the Anglican Communion. Stock had foreseen this possibility.

In Africa there was a self-extending Church, which in places was self-supporting, but nowhere was self-governing. Diocesanization, where it had happened at all, consisted of little more than giving control to the missionaries, as office holders in the Church. Missionaries still dominated the Church, severely limiting how indigenous forms of Anglicanism might develop. Indigenous leaders who emerged, found scope for their gifts limited in the Church structures, and had to find other ways to exercise their gifts. Sometimes this was within Anglicanism, sometimes without, resulting in 'Independent Churches'. The CMS had not learnt the lessons from India and was developing indigenous leadership too slowly. As political independence swept across Africa, the CMS was still struggling to hand over power. Only when the Church became self-governing, could the process of sifting its inheritance, both missionary and African, really begin.¹¹ These

⁷ Neill, *His Church and His World*, p.74.

⁸ Brown, *Three Worlds: One Word*, p.88.

⁹ Long, 'China & the Anglican Communion', p.190.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.189.

¹¹ Eg. see Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church*.

Churches have continued to grow and at present remain part of the Anglican Communion, indeed numerically they now pre-dominate.

8.2 History Matters

The Church of Christ on earth has an altogether different face and an altogether different shape as a result of the events of the twentieth century.¹²

Examining the history of the CMS ‘may also prompt new perspectives on more recent developments’.¹³ Various issues that the CMS faced are still alive in the Church today. The question of whether episcopal authority should be territorial is one such example.¹⁴ In 1900 this debate was presented as being a choice between the ‘native’ Church and Anglicanism, though in reality it was more a choice between evangelicalism and Anglicanism. Many in the CMS feared placing CMS-founded Churches under bishops of a very different theological stamp. In the debate this fear was outweighed by the desire for episcopal oversight that was divided territorially, rather than racially. The CMS was willing to place its churches under the authority of bishops with whom it disagreed profoundly, though not without much agonising within Salisbury Square. Any separate episcopal oversight would only be permitted under the overall authority of a diocesan bishop.

The CMS, as an organisation, learnt to live as an evangelical society in a Church that was not exclusively evangelical. It is easy to forget how great some of the differences within Anglicanism were. Differences between Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics were not just matters of approach or emphasis, but were founded on substantial doctrinal disagreements. Campaigns, and even prosecutions, against Catholic practices were not the result of differing aesthetics. Evangelicals believed such practices, and the beliefs behind them, were not only inappropriate, but actually sinful. Yet even the BCMS stayed within the Church of England in spite of such ‘sin’.¹⁵

¹² Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*, p.71.

¹³ Porter, ‘Changing People, Changing Places,’ 392.

¹⁴ Lambeth 1998 invited the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint a commission to consider circumstances in which he might exercise an ‘extra-ordinary ministry of *episcopate*’ within a different province. Lambeth 1998, Resolution IV.13.

¹⁵ By 1937, the BCMS had even accepted the position of ‘Recognised Society’ by the Missionary Council. *The Advancing Church*, p.107.

The CMS also grappled with the issue of being Anglican and evangelical in some, but not all, of its Missions. In dioceses which contained Anglicans who were the fruits of other missionary work, or substantial expatriate congregations, diocesanization involved coming to terms with Anglicans who held different beliefs and worshipped in different ways. But in areas that had no colonial church to speak of, and where the only Churches were the fruit of CMS Missions, this readjustment did not happen with diocesanization. As Cash said

In such dioceses as Uganda, Upper Nile, Nigeria, Tanganyika etc. where the CMS is predominantly strong the diocesanizing of the work does not need in any way to alter its evangelical character;¹⁶

With the formation of provinces, some dioceses that with a completely CMS background, were joined with other dioceses from different traditions.¹⁷ In India, inter-denominational reunion both in the South and later in the North, meant an even greater experience of learning from other traditions. Some provinces of the Anglican Communion, however, were formed without any substantial element outside of the evangelical tradition represented by the CMS.¹⁸

Thus it is only now that some CMS-founded Churches are having to face the problems of being part of a Church which, on some issues, believes very different things. Being self-governing within the Anglican Communion, means that, whatever one province chooses, no other is required to follow that same path. The Anglican Communion is not centralised; provinces are expected to decide most issues for themselves. This concept was emphasised at the 1998 Lambeth Conference by the acceptance of the principle of ‘subsidiarity’, as expounded in the *Virginia Report*.¹⁹ However this has two sides to it. One province cannot force another province to follow a particular course, but neither can a province be prevented from choosing a particular course. Discussion, advice and argument are all that can be used. As each Church seeks to understand God’s call in its own culture - to be

¹⁶ Cash for CMS Commission 28/10/1932, G/APc2/6.

¹⁷ In East Africa for example.

¹⁸ Most notably Uganda and in West Africa.

¹⁹ Summarised as ‘a central authority should have a subsidiary function, performing only those tasks which cannot be performed at a more immediate or local level’ Lambeth 1998, Resolution III.3.

indigenous - it should also remember what it means to belong to a wider fellowship. It must always try to balance Walls' two principles,²⁰ and will inevitably fail in some ways.

Tasie uses a definition of an indigenous Church that assumes that a mission-founded church can never be indigenous; the term is reserved for churches founded by local Christians - 'Independent Churches'.²¹ Anglicans would not agree with this. The key strength of a mission- founded Church is that, through its history, both the good and the bad, it is overtly linked to the Church Catholic. In the words of Cash, Churches are not independent but interdependent. They need each other, and sometimes this interdependence demands, in the words of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, learning 'in some matters to give each other a little more time and space for thought'.²²

The only sanction that Churches of the Anglican Communion can use in a disagreement with each other, is breaking off communion.²³ In 1901, the CMS decided that its Missions would found Anglican Churches. However, it was recognised that such Churches would be free to choose whether they wished to remain part of the Anglican Communion. Some of these Churches are now facing that choice. The Church of South India chose to leave for a very positive reason - to reunite with other churches. Overall this expanded the fellowship of which it was part. It would be a tragedy if, today, some Churches chose to leave over doctrinal difference. The loss would be felt by all parts of the Church. Every Church in the Anglican Communion has a duty to stand along side the other Churches, to support, to pray for and occasionally to prophetically upbraid partner Churches. Always recognising that outsiders can never fully understand the local culture and what it means to be an indigenous Church in that area.

²⁰ 'Indigenising' and 'pilgrim' principles, Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, p.8.

²¹ G.Tasie 'Christian awakening in West Africa 1914-18' in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, ed. O.U. Kalu (London, Longman,1980) p.293.

²² *Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Bishops of the Church of England* June 2003, <http://www.lambethconference.org/acns/articles/34/75/acns3485.html>.

²³ The Nigerian Church fears that dispute with Western Churches will cost it financially. Historically, the West has done little to allay such fears. *Encyclical to the Anglican Membership in the Church of Nigeria* June 2003, <http://www.lambethconference.org/acns/articles/34/75/acns3486.html>

As Churches seek to walk together, understanding their own local histories is vital, but so is seeing this as part of a global picture. It is hoped that this present work will be of some use to historians writing the history of Churches which the CMS has played some role in founding. The importance of history to the present policies of the Church was well understood by Cash's successor, Max Warren:

I try to enter into conversation with the past, make it my contemporary, argue with it and treat it as a living companion. I do not believe we can understand the present and plan for the future unless we see clearly how continuous the present is with the past and how all-pervading is the influence of past patterns upon present behaviour.²⁴

²⁴ Max Warren quoted in Dillistone, *Into all the World*, p.80. Also cited by Ward 'Taking Stock' in *The Church Mission Society*, ed. Ward & Stanley, p.42.

Sources and Bibliography

1. The CMS Archive, Birmingham University

This is the main source for this study. A crucial tool in using these archives are the detailed 'handlists'. Also, a book by R. Keen, *General Guide and Introduction to the Archive* 1998, proved very useful. All archival reference material used in this study comes from these archives. Reference letters to the files begin 'F' for Finance department, or 'G' for General Secretary's files. Files beginning 'G1', 'G2' or 'G3' would refer to Group files for one of the three Groups. Only two references to the 'G2', India files have been made. The following list is of the files consulted. Major reports, memoranda and booklets cited in the text have been listed separately at the end of this list. Various material for the acquisitions, 'ACC' series was consulted. This is material deposited in the archive by individuals connected in some way with the CMS. All ACC items are listed separately in the reports, memoranda and booklets list, following.

1.1 Finance Department

Relevant material for the period 1900-1942 was checked in Correspondence (F/AC), Deputations (F/AD), Commissions (F/APc), Staff (F/AS), Misc. (F/AZ), Committee work (F/C) and Salisbury Square building (F/PYGBHQ). The following material has been cited.

F/ASg1	Staff: correspondence and rules
F/APc1	Pennefather Commission 1914
F/APc4	Home Realignment Commission 1947
F/C11	Committee on constitution of the General Committee

1.2 General Secretary's Material

All files for the period 1900-1942 were checked for relevant material. The following have been cited.

Outgoing Correspondence

G/AC11	Private and Confidential correspondence with staff and others, including Stacy Waddy of SPG
G/AC6	Private and Confidential correspondence on references and appointments, (including episcopal appointments 1906-1917 & 1925-1933)
G/AC7	Correspondence with Archbishop of Canterbury (appointment of Bishops 1917-1925)
G/AC8	Correspondence with Bishops 1914-1922

Delegations

G/AD 1/2	Far East 1912-13
G/AD 1/3	India 1921-22
G/AD 1/4	Egypt 1931-32
G/AD 1/5	India 1934-36
G/AD 1/7	East and Central Africa 1937
G/AD 1/8	India 1938

Home and General Administration

G/AH 1/6	CMS Regulations
----------	-----------------

Missionaries

G/AM1	Instructions to Missionaries
G/AM7	Letters to mission secretaries and bishops 1919 & 1926-1949

Policy

G/AP11	Policy File 1911-1949 (4 files)
G/AP11 1911-1917	
G/AP11 1921-1937	
G/AP11 1941-1945	

Commissions

G/APc2	CMS Commission 1932
G/APc 2/1	
G/APc 2/2	
G/APc 2/4	
G/APc 2/6	
G/APc 2/9	

Staff

G/AS 3/3	Secretariat duties under Wigram
G/AS 3/4	Secretariat sub-committee
G/AS 8/1	Staff matters in general 1907-1950

Miscellaneous

G/AZ4	Printed and duplicated papers
-------	-------------------------------

Committee work

G/C1	Minutes for the following committees: General, Finance, Correspondence (to 1916), Home(to 1919), Foreign (1919-1923), Executive (1923-1949).
G/C15	Special Committee on mission administration in the field 1908-1909
G/C16	Sub-committee on Bishop Tucker's resolutions 1913-1914
G/C26B	CMS Headquarters administration
G/C 9/1	Sub-committee on the constitution of native churches 1899-1901 (minutes)
G/C 9/2	Papers relating to G/C 9/1

G/C 20/2 Special Committee on Secretariat and staff
 G/C22 Ecclesiastical Committee 1930-1936

Centenary Committee B

G/CCb 4 Section 4
 G/CCb 5/1 Section 5
 G/CCb 13 Minutes
 G/CCb 14 Reports

Review Committees

G/CR 1/1 Review 1906-1907
 G/CR 1/3 Review 1906-1907
 G/CR 1/5 Review 1906-1907
 G/CR 1/7 Review 1906-1907
 G/CR 2/2 Review 1920

Miscellaneous Sub-committees

G/CS3 Minutes of sub-committees (1895-1923): Patronage,
 Ecclesiastical, Secretariat.
 G/CS4 Minutes of misc. sub-committees (1904-1923): including on
 mission administration, women on committees, Bishop Tucker's
 resolutions
 G/CS5 Minutes of sub-committees: appointments (1924-1949),
 Foreign (1931-1933), Ecclesiastical (1927-1930, 1936 & 1942)

Conferences

G/G4 Organising Secretaries conferences 1927
 G/GA4 Swanwick Conference 1934

Specific Areas

(all material for the period was examined, the following have been cited)

G/Y AFE 1/1 East Africa
 G/Y AFE 1/3 East Africa
 G/Y AFW1 West Africa
 G/Y A1/2 Sierra Leone
 G/Y A2/3 Yoruba
 G/Y A5/3 Kenya
 G/Y A7/1/7 Uganda
 G/Y A7/2 Uganda
 G/Y A8/2 Tanganyika
 G/Y AU3 Australian Board of Mission
 G/Y CE2 Ceylon
 G/Y CH1/3 Hong Kong
 G/Y CH2/2 Chekiang
 G/Y CH3/2 Western China
 G/Y CH3/3 Western China
 G/Y CH4/2 Fukien
 G/Y CH5/2 Kwangsi-Hunan
 G/Y CH5/3 Kwangsi-Hunan

G/Y CHg3	China General, appointment of bishops
G/Y I1/1/5e	Calcutta diocese constitution
G/Y I1/2	North India
G/Y I2/1/2C	South India
G/Y I3/1/4	Western India
G/Y I3/3	Western India
G/Y I4/4	Lahore
G/Y I5/3	Travancore
G/Y I7/2	United Provinces
G/Y I7/3	United Provinces
G/Y I9/2	Telegu
G/Y I10/3	Tinnevelly
G/Y Ig2	India General Correspondence
G/Y Ig3	India Committee of Reference
G/Y J2	Japan
G/Y J4	Japan
G/Y P7	Palestine
G/Y PE4	Persia
G/Y PE8	Persia

1.3 Group 2 Files - India

G2 AZ 1	Wigram and Williams (Education Secretary) to India Bishops, Mission secretaries and members of the Committee of Reference Circular 'A' 22/2/1923 in G2 AZ 1
G2/O 1923	Report of the CMS's Delegation to India, 1921-22 p.101 copy in G2/O 1923

1.4 Reports, Memoranda and Booklets

Documents with Specific Author

- Bardsley, C.C.B. *The Vocation of a Missionary Society Today* n.d. (c.1919), G/AZ4
- Baring-Gould, Edith *50 years in Salisbury Square* 1941, Acc21 Z10
- Baylis, F. *Memo by Rev. F. Baylis ... on a Racial Episocopate* n.d c.1919, G/C 15
- Baylis, F. *Memorandum on the Functions of a Mission Secretary* 31/10/1919, G/AM7
- Baylis, F. *Memorandum on the Functions of a Mission Secretary* 10/5/1920, G/AM7
- Baylis, F. *Memorandum for the Special Sub-committee* (9 Pages) Jan 1909, GC 15
- Baylis F.B. *Memorandum on question of separate episcopal over-sight for different races in the same area* n.d. (c.1908), G/C 15

- Baylis, F. *Memorandum for the Special Sub-committee* (6 Pages) Jan 1909, G/C 15
- Beamish H.W. (Accountant Commercial Union Assurance) *Report* 18/5/25, G/AS 8/1
- Cash, W.W. *Sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral* 11/6/1937, G/Y A1/2
- Cash, W.W. *Report to Executive Committee of the CMS* 15/10/1941, G/AP11/1941-45
- Fox, H.E. & Baylis, F. *Memorandum from the Secretaries on the Proposed Constitution of the Church of Buganda* 25/2/1898, in G/Y/AY/1/7
- Fox, H.E. *Recollections and Hopes* 1910, in G/AZ4
- Fox, H.E. *Memorandum on the Office of Honorary Secretary of CMS* 1910 F/APc1
- Gibbs, M.E. *The Increase of Church Consciousness i.e. Growth towards Venn's Ideal of Self-Governing, Self-Supporting, Self Extending Churches* ACC318/Z3/2 p.2-3
- Houlder H.F. *Reminiscences of H.F Houlder*, ACC215
- Stock, E. *Plain exposition for plain people* G/C 9/2 part1
- Willis, J.J. *Memoirs* 1950 ACC 120 F1

Documents with no Specific Author

- A Further Statement on Church and Mission in India setting Forth the General Principles upon which the Society proposes to act in respect to the handing over of any of its work in India and Ceylon to Diocesan Control*, 1924, G/Y/Ig3
- Abstract of Replies to Report and Memorandum* 8/1/1901, G/C 9/2
- Centenary Committee 'B' Report* 1899 G/CCb 14
- Church Organization in the Mission Field ... being the Society's 'Regulations, Part IV* 1905, G/AH 1/6 (published 1906)
- CMS Rules for Clerks*, F/A3g1
- CMS India Delegation Report Part I* 1922, G2/O/1923
- CMS India Delegation Report Part II* 1922, G/Y Ig2
- Diocese of Tinnevelly, Ramnad & Madura, Constitution* 1923, G/Y I10/3
- First Interim Report of the Sub-Committee on the work of the Office* 14/7/1914, F/APc1 (part 2)

Foreign Missions and the Indian Church, Report of an informal Conference Allahabad May 1919, G/Az4

Looking Forward - Report of the CMS Commission: Section II, Foreign Work 1933, G/APc2/1

Majority Report of sub-committee on Representation of Women on Committees 10/3/1914 G/C 26B

Memorandum on the Support of Native Agency in the Mission Field 1914, G/CS4

Memorandum regarding the appointment of CMS Bishops by 'W.R.C.C.' 4/7/1912, G/Y CHg3

*Memorandum on the Constitution of Churches in the Mission Field 1901, G/C 9/2
Reproduced in Stock History of the CMS Vol. IV p.402-408*

Memorandum 'B' for the Special Sub-committee 3/6/1908, G/C15

Memorandum 'A' for the Special Sub-committee May 1908, G/C15

Minority Report of sub-committee on Representation of Women on Committees 10/3/1914 G/C 26B

Minutes of the Committee of Reference July 1923, G/Y/Ig3

Missionary Finance - Report of the Missionary Finance Commission set up by the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly 1932, G/APc2/2

Recommendation of Group II Committee on the scheme for the Punjab & Sindha CMS organisation 1903, G/AZA

Report of the CMS Commission: Section II, Home Activities December 1933, G/APc2/1

Report of the CMS Commission: Section I September 1932 G/APc2/1

Report of an Informal Conference on Synodical Church Government in India 9/7/1913, G/Y I3/1/4

Report of the Committee appointed to consider the relation of the Central Board of Missions to the National Assembly 15/7/1921, G/APc 2/2

Report of the Sub-Committee on the Committee System of the Society 19/11/1918, F/C11

Report of the Special Subcommittee on the Constitution of Native Churches 1901, G/C 9/2

Report of the Special Sub-Committee appointed in pursuance of the Resolution of the General Committee of July 12 1922, G/AP 11

Report of the Special Sub-Committee on the Training and Status of Missionaries Jan 1902, G/AZ4

Review Sub-Committee (third) Interim Report 16/7/1907, G/CR 1/7

Review Committee's 1st Interim report 6/3/1907, G/CR 1/7

Review Sub-Committee (Fourth) Report 10/12/1907, G/CR 1/7

Review Committee's 2nd Interim Report 8/4/1907, G/CR 1/7

2. Lambeth Palace Library, London

This archive was visited only once, to check whether there was correspondence relevant to the CMS that did not appear in the CMS Archives. The material simply confirmed what was found in the CMS archives, and no direct reference to material in this archive is made in this study.

The following material was consulted from the Davidson Papers at Lambeth Palace Library
 393, ff111-304; 394; Japan
 252, ff232-319; Mowll
 215, ff337-379; 217, ff110-120; Tanganyika

The following material was consulted from the Lang Papers at Lambeth Palace Library
 115, ff166-276; Hall
 182, ff226-302; Cash
 124, ff171-241; Western China
 100, ff81-111; Status of CHSKH
 105, ff249-257; ditto
 124, ff171-252; ditto
 95, ff317-329; Western China
 140, ff31-77; Sierra Leone
 177, ff250-359; Lagos
 183, ff278-83; Lagos
 47, ff10-310; Mombasa
 44; ff3-306; Jerusalem
 147, ff316-354 Upper Nile
 153, ff8-12; Lambeth 1940
 178, ff18-25; Bardsley
 122, ff187-94; Uganda
 115, ff45-71; Uganda
 174, ff231-253; West Szchwan
 141, ff248-304; East Szchwan
 175, ff371-373; East Szchwan
 180, ff190-216; East Szchwan
 133, ff258-283; Kyushi
 135, ff198-223; Kyushi
 144, ff73-74; Kyushi
 165, ff284-316; Kyushi
 155, ff62-75; Johnson Sierra Leone

3. Unpublished Theses

Farrimond K.J.T. *The Connection between CMS Mission Policy as Formulated at the Home Base and its Practical Application in the Diocese of Uganda, with Special Reference to Busoga 1910-1947*. Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education, M.A. Dissertation, 1995.

Griffiths T.F.L. *Bishop A.R. Tucker of Uganda and the Implementation of an Evangelical Tradition of Mission*. University of Leeds, PhD Thesis, 1998.

Kagume A.M. *Church and Society in Ankole, Uganda*. University of Bristol, PhD Thesis, June 1993.

Okeke, D.C. *Policy and Practice of the Church Missionary Society in Igboland 1857-1929*. Aberdeen University, Ph.D Thesis, 1977.

Walmsley, John William. *The History of the Evangelical Party in The Church of England Between 1906 and 1928*. University of Hull, Ph.D. Thesis, 1980.

4. Websites

The Anglican Communion Office

An Introduction to The Anglican Communion Anglican Communion , 27/7/2002.
<<http://www.anglicancomunion.org/introduction.html>>

Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Bishops of the Church of England June 2003, <<http://www.lambethconference.org/acns/articles/34/75/acns3485.html>>

Encyclical to the Anglican Membership in the Church of Nigeria June 2003, <<http://www.lambethconference.org/acns/articles/34/75/acns3486.html>>

The Bible League Trust 5/9/98

General Website, May 2002
<<http://www.rcp.org.uk/blq>>

Middle East Christian Outreach

<<http://www.gospelcom.net/meco/website/mecohistory.htm>> 6/2/2001
<<http://www.aboutmeco.org/website/megm.htm>> 6/2/2001

Wheaton College

<<http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/guides/352.htm>> 14/3/2002

5. Official Reports

Church Missionary Society. *Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries For the Year 1910*. London, CMS, 1911.

Church Missionary Society. *The Search. Being the CMS Story of the Year 1928-9*. London, CMS, 1929.

Church Missionary Society. *A Manual Outlining its History, organization and Commitments*. London, CMS, Undated.

Church of England, Board of Social Responsibility *From Power to Partnership - Britain in the Commonwealth, The Church of England in The Anglican Communion*. London, Church House Publishing, 1991.

Church of England National Mission. *The Missionary Work of the Church. Being the Report of the Archbishops' First Committee of Inquiry*. London, SPCK, 1918.

Church of England National Mission. *The Teaching Office of the Church. Being the Report of the Archbishops' First Committee of Inquiry*. London, SPCK, 1918.

Church Assembly Missionary Council. *The Advancing Church 1937-1938: Unified Statement*. London, Church Assembly, 1937.

Church Assembly Missionary Council. *The Call from the Far East*. London, Church Assembly, 1926.

Church Assembly Missionary Council. *The Call from India*. London, Church Assembly, 1926.

Church Assembly Missionary Council. *The Call from Africa*. London, Church Assembly, 1926.

Church Missionary Society. *Church Missionary Society Archive. General Guide and Introduction to the Archive*. Marlborough, Adam Matthew Publications, 1998.

Church Missionary Society. *The Centenary Volume of the CMS for Africa and the East*. London, CMS, 1902.

International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 5: Missions and Industrialism*. London, OUP, 1928.

International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 6: Missions and Rural Problems* London, OUP, 1928.

International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 7: International Missionary Co-operation*. London, OUP, 1928.

- International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 8:Addresses and Other Records*. London, OUP, 1928.
- International Missionary Council. *Madras 1938. Report: Addresses and Other Records*. London, OUP, 1939.
- International Missionary Council. *Madras 1938. Report: The Life of the Church*. London, OUP, 1939.
- International Missionary Council. *Madras 1938. Report: The Authority of the Faith*. London, OUP, 1939.
- International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 4: Missions and Race Conflict*. London, OUP, 1928.
- International Missionary Council. *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*. London, OUP, 1931.
- International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 1:The Christian Message*. London, OUP, 1928.
- International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 2: Religious Education*. London, OUP, 1928.
- International Missionary Council. *Jerusalem 1928. Report: Vol 3: The Younger and Older Churches*. London, OUP, 1928.
- International Missionary Council. *Madras 1938. Report: The Growing Church*. London, OUP, 1939.
- Lambeth Conference. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports*. London, SPCK, 1908.
- Lambeth Conference. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports*. London, SPCK, 1930
- Lambeth Conference. *The Reports of the 1920 and 1930 Conferences, with Selected Resolutions from the Conferences of 1867,1878,1888,1897and1908*. London, SPCK, 1948.
- Lambeth Conference. *The Official Report of the Lambeth Conference 1998. Harrisburg, Morehouse, 1999*.
- Lambeth Conference. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports*. London, SPCK, 1878.
- Lambeth Conference. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports*. London, SPCK, 1897.

Lambeth Conference. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports*. London, SPCK, 1888.

Lambeth Conference. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports*. London, SPCK, 1920.

The Virginia Report in Lambeth Conference. *The Official Report of the Lambeth Conference 1998*. Harrisburg, Morehouse, 1999. pp.15-68

World Missionary Conference. *Edinburgh 1910. Report: Co-operation and the Promotion of Unity*. Edinburgh and London, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910.

World Missionary Conference. *Edinburgh 1910. Report: The Church in the Mission Field*. Edinburgh and London, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910.

World Missionary Conference. *Edinburgh 1910. Report: The Home Base of Missions*. Edinburgh and London, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910.

World Missionary Conference. *Edinburgh 1910. Report: The History and Records of the Conference*. Edinburgh and London, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910.

6. Books and Articles

- Ajayi, J.F.A. & Crowder, Michael (eds) *History of West Africa Vol. 2*. London, Longman, 1974
- Ajayi J.F.Ade. 'From Mission to Church: The Heritage of the Church Mission Society,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol.23 No. 2, April 1999, p.50-55.
- Ajayi, J.F.A *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891*. London, Longmans, 1965.
- Ajayi, J.F.A. *A New Christian Politics? The Challenge of the Mission-Educated Elite* NAMP, Position Paper 49, 1998.
- Allen, R. *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 1962 (first published 1927).
- Allen, R. *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* Grand Rapids Michigan, Eerdmans, 1962 (first published 1912)
- Allen, Roland 'The Whole and the Parts in Foreign Missionary Administration,' *Church Missionary Review*. 71, September 1920. p.329-337.
- Allen. R. *Missionary Principles*. London, Lutterworth, 1964.
- Althausen, Johannes. 'What comes after Mission Agencies? A Reflection on Four Decades in the History of the Berlin Mission,' *Christian Mission in Transition. Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 2 No. 3, July 1978, p. 81-85.
- Andel, H.A. Van 'The Devolution of the Work of Missions on to the Indigenous Christians,' *The International Review of Missions* Vol. XXIV No. 95, July 1935, p.349-357.
- Anderson, Gerald H.(Ed.) *The Theology of the Christian Mission*. London, SCM, 1961.
- Anderson-Morshead A.E.M. *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Vol I 1859-1909*. London, UMCA, 1955.
- Anon. *Awake, an African calling*. London, CMS, 1937 (Biography of Blasio Kigozi compiled largely from material supplied by J.E. Church)
- Ayandele, E.A. *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914*. London, Longman, 1966.
- Ayandele, E.A. 'The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria 1870-1918'. in *History of Christianity in West Africa*. Ed. Kalu, O.U. p.133-158. London, Longman, 1980.
- Azariah, V.S. and Whitehead, H. *Christ in the Indian Villages*. London, SCM, 1930.

- Azariah, V.S. 'Self-Support: False and True,' *The International Review of Missions* Vol. XXVII No. 107, July 1938, p.361-371.
- Baker, J.G.H. 'The Anglican Communion and Its Missionary Task,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. 47, 1958, p.445-453.
- Balleine, G.R. *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England*. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1909.
- Bardsley C.C.B. *Revival - The Need and the Possibilities*. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1916.
- Bardsley, C.C.B. 'A Message From the Honorary Clerical Secretary,' *Church Missionary Review*. 61, September 1910. p.577-579.
- Barnes, Irene H. *In Salisbury Square*. London, CMS, 1906.
- Barnes, Andrew E. 'Evangelization where it is not wanted,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXV, 1995, p.413-441.
- Barrington-Ward, Simon. 'My Pilgrimage in Mission,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol.23 No. 2, April 1999, p.60-64.
- Bassham, Rodger C. 'Mission Theology:1948-1975,' *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 4 No.2, April 1980, p.52-58.
- Bayldon, Joan. *Cyril Bardsley Evangelist*. London, SPCK, 1942.
- Bayne, Stephen F. Jr. *Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ*. London, SPCK, 1963.
- BCMS *Bible Churchmen's Missionary Messenger*. 1, January 1923.
- Beaver, R.Pierce. 'The Legacy of Rufus Anderson,' *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 3. No.3, July 1979, p.94-97.
- Bebbington, David. 'Missionary Controversy and the Polarising Tendency in Twentieth-Century British Protestantism,' *Anvil*. 13, 1996 p.141-157.
- Bebbington, D.W. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*. London, Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Bediako, Kwame. *Christianity in Africa - The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1995.
- Bell, G.K.A. *Randall Davidson. Archbishop of Canterbury. Vols.I & II*. London, OUP, 1935.
- Bennett, John C. 'Voluntary Initiative & Church Order', *Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies* , 1990-91, p.1-15.

- Beyerhaus, Peter. 'The Three Selves Formula. Is it Built on Biblical Foundations?' *The International Review of Missions*. 53, October 1964. p.393-407.
- Bickers, Robert A. and Seton, Rosemary (Eds) *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*. London, Curzon Press, 1996.
- Blood, A.G. *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Vol II 1907-1932*. London, UMCA, 1957.
- Blood, A.G. *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Vol III 1933-1957*. London, UMCA, 1962.
- Bonk, Jonathan J. *The Theory and Practice of Missionary Identification 1860-1920*. Lewiston NY, Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.
- Bosch, David J. *Transforming Mission - Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. New York, Orbis, 1991.
- Bradshaw, Tim. *The Olive Branch. An Evangelical Anglican Doctrine of the Church*. Carlisle, Paternoster, 1992.
- Bridges, Roy. *Missionaries, Geography and Imperialism in East Africa. c. 1844-1890*. NAMP, Position Paper 75, 1998.
- Bromiley, G.W. *Daniel Henry Charles Bartlett. A Memoir*. Burnham on Sea, Dr. Bartlett's Executors, 1959.
- Brown, J. *Who is an Indian? Dilemmas of National Identity at the End of the British Raj in India*. Currents in World Christianity Project, Position Paper 131, 2000.
- Brown, Judith M. and Louis, W. Roger (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire IV - The Twentieth Century*. Oxford, OUP, 1999.
- Brown, L. *Three Worlds: One Word*. London, Rex Collings, 1981.
- Buck, Oscar M. 'Two Studies in Modern Missions,' *International Review of Missions*. 29, April 1940. p.290-292
- Campbell, J. McLeod. *Christian History in the Making*. London, Church Assembly, 1946.
- Camps, Arnulf. *Policy and practice in Roman Catholic missions in 19th Century Asia*. NAMP. Position Paper 32, 1997.
- Carpenter, Edward. *Cantuar. The Archbishops in Their Office*. Oxford, Mowbray, 1988.
- Cash, W.W. *The Expansion of Islam - An Arab Religion in the Non-Arab World*. London, Edinburgh House Press, 1928.

- Cash, W.W. *How a Village Movement Grew - The Story of Venkayya*. London, CMS, 1936.
- Cash, W.W. *The Moslem World in Revolution*. London, CMS, 1926.
- Cash, W.W. *Christianity and Islam - Their Contacts and Cultures Down the Centuries*. London, SCM, 1937.
- Cash, W.W. *In the Power of the Spirit*. London, CMS, 1948.
- Cash, W.W. 'The Jerusalem Conference,' *Church Missionary Review*. 75, April 1924. p.127 -136.
- Cash, W.W. *The Missionary Church*. London, CMS, 1939.
- Cash, W.W. *The First Epistle of St. Peter*. London, Church Book Room Press, 1947.
- Cash, W.W. *The Responsibility of Success*. London, CMS, 1934.
- Casson, J. "“To Plant a Garden City in the Slums of Paganism” : Handley Hooper, the Kikuyu and the Future of Africa”, *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, 4 (1998), p.387-410
- Chatterton, E. *History of the Church of England in India*. London, SPCK, 1924.
- Chatterton, E. *Our Church's Youngest Daughter*. Westminster, SPG, 1928.
- Christensen, T. and Hutchinson, W (Eds.) *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*. Denmark, Aros, 1982.
- Church of England, Members of. *Liberal evangelicalism : an interpretation*. London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1923.
- Church, J.E. *Quest for the Highest*. Carlisle, Paternoster, 1981.
- Clarke, Lowther. *Constitutional Government In the Dominions Beyond the Seas and in Other Parts of the Anglican Communion*. London, SPCK, 1924.
- Clements, K.W. *Faith on the Frontier: A Life of J.H. Oldham*. Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1999.
- Cnattingius, Hans. *Bishops and Societies - A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion 1698-1850*. London, SPCK, 1952.
- Commission on Christian Higher Education in India. *Report*. London, OUP, 1931.
- Copley, Antony *Protestant Missionaries and their Indian Christian Communities: An Achilles Heel?* NAMP. Position Paper 33. 1997.

- Cracknell, Kenneth. *Justice, Courtesy and Love*. London, Epworth Press, 1995.
- Crane, William H. 'Indigenization in the African Church,' *International Review of Missions*. 53, October 1964. p.408-422.
- Cuming, G.J. (Ed.) *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*. Cambridge, CUP, 1970.
- Dammers, A.H. *Great Venture*. London, Highway Press, 1958.
- Davadutt, V.E 'What is an Indigenous Theology,' *The Ecumenical Review* Vol. II No. 1, Autumn 1949, p.40-51.
- Davies, A.W. 'The Position in India,' *Church Missionary Review*.72, April 1921. p.106-115.
- Dillistone, F. W. 'The Legacy of Max Warren,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol.5 No. 3, July 1981, p.114-117.
- Dillistone, F.W. *Into all the World - a Biography of Max Warren*. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1980.
- Dimont C.T. and Batty, F. de Witt. *St. Clair Donaldson*. London, Faber and Faber, 1939.
- Doggett, R.E. *CMS Through the Ages - Its Share in Building the World-Wide Church*. London, CMS, 1941.
- Donaldson, St. Clair 'The Missionary Council of the National Assembly,' *Church Missionary Review*.75, September 1924. p.295-304.
- Donovan, Vincent. *Christianity Rediscovered*. London, SCM, 1978.
- Donovan, Vincent. *The Church in the Midst of Creation*. London, SCM,1989.
- Elphick, Richard. *Evangelical Missions and Racial 'Equalization' in South Africa, 1890-1914*. NAMP, Position Paper 78, 1998.
- Elphick, Richard. *Missions and Afrikaner Nationalism: Soundings in the Pre-History of Apartheid*. Currents in World Christianity Project, Position Paper 133, 2000.
- Fleming, Daniel Johnson, *Devolution in Mission Administration : as exemplified by the Legislative History of Five American Missionary Societies in India*. New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1916.
- Fox, H.E. *Christian Inscriptions in Ancient Rome - Their Message for Today*. London, Morgan and Scott, 1920.
- Fox, H.E. 'The World Missionary Conference 1910,' *Church Missionary Review*. 55, February 1909. p.99-104.

Fox, H.E. 'Changing Conditions and Unchanging Principles,' *Church Missionary Review*. 60, May 1909. p.321-329.

Fox, H.E. *Christmas Time in Many a Clime*. London, CMS, 1905.

Francis-Dehqani, Guli. 'CMS Women Missionaries in Persia: Perceptions of Muslim Women and Islam, 1884-1934' in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Ward, Kevin and Stanley, Brian (Eds.)pp.344-352. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2000.

Francis-Dequani, Gulnar Eleanor. *Religious Feminism in an Age of Empire. CMS Women Missionaries in Iran, 1869-1934*. Bristol, Centre for Comparative Studies in Religion and Gender, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Bristol, 2000.

Freytag, Walter. 'The Critical Period in the Development of an Indigenous Church,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. 29, 1940, p.204-215.

Furedi, Frank. *Ambivalent Westernisers-The Missionary Encounter with Traditional Societies*. NAMP Position Paper 24, 1997.

Fyfe, Christopher. *A History of Sierra Leone*. London, OUP, 1962.

Gairdner W.H.T. "Edinburgh 1910" *An Account and Interpretation of the World Missionary Conference*. Edinburgh and London, Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910.

Garlick, Phyllis. *Church Missionary Society Review of the Year*. London, CMS, 1927.

Gibbs, M.E. *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970*. Delhi, Indian SPCK, 1972.

Gibson, J.P.S.R. 'One Way to Victory in Ceylon,' *Church Missionary Review*. 76, April 1925. p.230-236.

Gibson, J.P.S.R. 'An Experiment in Federation,' *Church Missionary Review*, 71, April 1920. p.135-141.

Githige, Renison Muchiri. 'The Mission State Relationship in Colonial Kenya,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1982, p.111-125.

Gollock, Georgina A. *Eugene Stock: A Biographical Study. 1836 to 1928*. London, CMS, 1929.

Graham, Carol. *Azariah of Dornakal* London, SCM, 1946.

Graham, Carol. 'The Inauguration of the Church of South India,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. XXXVII. No. 145, January 1948, p.49-53.

- Grimes, Cecil John. *Towards an Indian Church - The Growth of the Church of India in Constitutional Life*. London, SPCK, 1946.
- Groves, C.P. *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*. London, Lutterworth, 1954.
- Hanciles, Jehu J. 'Dandeson Coates Crowther & the Niger Delta Pastorate: Blazing Torch or Flickering Flame?' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 18. No. 4, October 1994, p.166-172.
- Hanciles, Jehu J. 'Anatomy of an Experiment: The Sierra Leone Native Pastorate,' *Missiology: An International Review* Vol. XXIX No. 1, January 2001, p.63-82.
- Hansen, H.B. 'European Ideas, Colonial Attitudes and African Realities: The Introduction of a Church Constitutions in Uganda 1898-1908,' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. 13 2, 1980. p.240-280.
- Hansen, H.B. *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting. Uganda 1890-1925*. London, Heinemann, 1984.
- Hansen, H.B. 'Mission and Colonialism in Uganda: a Case Study in Forced Labour' in *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*. T.Christensen and W. Hutchinson Denmark, Aros, 1982.
- Hanson, Anthony Tyrrell. *Beyond Anglicanism*. London, DLT, 1965.
- Hardy, Daniel. *Upholding Orthodoxy in Missionary Encounter: Theological Issues*. NAMP, 1998.
- Harper, Susan Billington. 'Ironies of Indigenization: Some Cultural Repurcussions of Mission in South India,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 19 No. 1, January 1995, p.13-20.
- Harper, S.B. *In the Shadow of the Mahatma - Bishop V.S. Azariah and the Travails of Christianity in British India*. Grand Rapids, Michigan/ Richmond, Eerdmans/ Curzon Press, 2000.
- Hastings, A. *The Clash of Nationalism and Universalism within 20th Century Missionary Christianity*. Currents in World Christianity Project, Position Paper 130, 2000.
- Hastings, Adrian. *Church & Mission in Modern Africa*. London, Burns & Oates, 1967.
- Hastings, Adrian. *A History of African Christianity 1950-1975*. Cambridge, CUP, 1979.
- Hastings, Adrian. *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985*. London, Collins, 1986.
- Heeney, Brian. 'The Beginnings of Church Feminism: Women & the Councils of the Church of England 1897-1919,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* Vol. 33 No. 1, January 1982, p.88-109.

- Henson, Herbert Hensley *The Church of England*. Cambridge, CUP, 1939.
- Herbert, Christopher. 'Anglican Identity,' *Anglican World* Issue No. 106, Trinity 2002, p.13-15.
- Hetherington, Penelope. *British Paternalism and Africa 1920-1940*. London, Frank Cass, 1978.
- Hewitt, G. *The Problems of Success*. Vol.1&2. London, SCM, 1971.
- Hocking, William Ernest. (& The Commission of Appraisal) *Re-thinking Missions - A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years*. New York & London, Harper & Brothers, 1932.
- Hodge, Alison. 'The Training of Missionaries for Africa: the Church Missionary Society's Training College at Islington, 1900-1915,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*.4. p.81-96
- Hoekendijk, J.C. 'The Church in Missionary Thinking,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. XLI No. 163, July 1952, p.324-337.
- Hollis, M. *Paternalism and the Church*. London, OUP, 1962.
- Holtrop, Pieter N. & McLeod, Hugh. (eds.) *Studies in Church History Subsidia 13 - Missions and Missionaries*. Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2000.
- Hooft W.A.V. 'T & Oldham J.H. *The Church and its Function in Society*. London, Allen and Unwin, 1937.
- Hooper, H.D. *Leading Strings*. London, CMS, 1922.
- Hooper, H.D. *Africa in the Making*. London, CMS, 1922.
- Hooper, H.D. 'A Synthesis of Missionary Field-Work,' *Church Missionary Review*. 76, September 1925. p.334-342.
- Hooper, H.D. 'The End and the Means in Missionary Enterprise,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. 32, 1943, p.377-381.
- Hooton, W.S. & Wright, J.Stafford. *The First twenty Five Years of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society. 1922-1947*. London, BCMS, 1947.
- Horstead, J.L.C. 'Co-operation with Africans,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. XXIV No. 94, April 1935, p.203-212.
- Hylson-Smith, Kenneth. *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984*. Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1988.
- Idowu, Bolaji. *Towards an Indigenous Church*. London, OUP, 1965.

- Ilogu, Edmund. 'The Biblical Idea of Partnership and the Modern Missionary Task,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. 44, 1955, p.404-407.
- International Review of Missions. 'Invitation to Christians,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. LXVII: No. 267, July 1978, p.252-272.
- Iremonger, F.A. *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury. His Life and Letters*. London, OUP, 1948.
- Islington Clerical Meeting January 15 1901. *The Old Century and the New - Experiences of the Past, and Lessons for the Future*. London, W. Gordon/ Record Office, 1901.
- Jackson, Eleanor. *From Krishna Pal to Lal Behari Dey: Indian Builders of the Church in India OR Native Agency in Bengal, 1800-1880*. NAMP. Position Paper 37, 1997.
- Jackson, Eleanor and Clark, John (Eds.) *Anglicans in Mission: A Transforming Journey*. London, SPCK, 2000.
- Jacob, W.M. *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide*. London, SPCK, 1997.
- Johnson, T.S. *The Story of a Mission: The Sierra Leone Church*. London, SPCK, 1953.
- Jongeneel, Jan. *European - Continental Perceptions and Critiques of British and American Protestant Missions*. NAMP, Position Paper 74, 1998.
- Kalu, O.U. (Ed.) *The History of Christianity in West Africa*. London, Longman, 1980.
- Kalu, O. *Passive Revolution and Its Saboteurs: African Christian Initiative in the Era of Decolonization, 1955-1975*. Currents in World Christianity Project, Position Paper 134, 2000.
- Kaplan, Steven. 'The Africanization of Missionary Christianity: History & Typology,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1986, p.167-186.
- Kay, P. Cecil. *Polhill, Pentecostal Missionary Union, and the Fourfold Gospel with Healing and Speaking in Tongues: Signs of a New Movement in Missions?* NAMP, Position Paper 20, 1996.
- Keen, R. *General Guide and Introduction to the Archive*. 1998
- Kent, John. *William Temple*. Cambridge, CUP, 1992.
- Kings, Graham. *Christianity Connected. Hindus, Muslims and the World in the letters of Max Warren and Roger Hooker*. Zoetermeer (The Netherlands), Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2002.
- Kings, Graham. 'Max Warren: Candid Comments on Mission from His Personal Letters,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 17, No. 2, April 1993, p.54-58.

- Kirk-Greene, A.H.M. *The Principles of Native Administration in Nigeria - Selected Documents 1900-1947*. London, OUP, 1965.
- Kirk, J. Andrew. *What is Mission?* London, DLT, 1999.
- Knight, Frances. 'From Diversity to Sectarianism: The Definition of Anglican Identity in 19th Century England,' in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*. Ed. R.N. Swanson. p.377-386. Oxford, Blackwell, 1996.
- Knox, E.A. *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian*. London, Hutchinson, 1934.
- Kraemer, H. *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*. London, Edinburgh House Press, 1938.
- Kraemer, H. *World Cultures and World Religions*. London, Lutterworth, 1960.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity (Volume VII) Advance Through Storm*. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1947.
- Lehmann, H. *Missionaries without Empire: German Protestant Missionary Efforts in the Interwar Period (1919-1939)*. Currents in World Christianity Project, Position Paper 135, 2000.
- Lloyd, Roger. *The Church of England 1900-1965*. London, SCM, 1966.
- Lockhart J.G. *Cosmo Gordon Lang*. London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1949.
- Long, Charles H. 'China & the Anglican Communion: The Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui,' *Anglican & Episcopal History* Vol. LXVii. No. 2, 1998, p.161-189.
- Long, Charles H. & Rowthorn, Anne. 'The Legacy of Roland Allen,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 13 No. 2, April 1989, p.65-70.
- Longridge, George. *A History of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta*. London, Mowbray, 1910
- Low, D.A. *Eclipse of Empire*. Cambridge, CUP, 1991.
- Ludwig, Frieder. 'Tambaram: The West African Experience,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2001, p.51-91.
- Lugard, Lord. *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. (5th Edition)*. London, Frank Cass & Co., 1965.
- McKibbin, R. *Class and Cultures in England 1918-1951*. Oxford, OUP, 1998.
- Manwaring, Randle. *From Controversy to Co-Existence - Evangelicals in the Church of England 1914-1980*. Cambridge, CUP, 1985.
- Montgomery, Henry H. *Foreign Missions*. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1904.

- Moorman, J.R.H. *A History of the Church in England*. London, A & C Black, 1953.
- Morgan, E.R. (Ed.) *Essays Catholic and Missionary*. London, SPCK, 1928.
- Morgan, Dewi. *The Bishops Come to Lambeth*. London, Mowbrays, 1957.
- Morgan E.R. and Lloyd R. *The Mission of the Anglican Communion*. London, SPCK & SPG, 1948.
- Morris, James. *Heaven's Command*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973.
- Morris, James. *Farewell the Trumpets*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1978.
- Morris, James. *Pax Britannica*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968.
- Moss, C.B. *The Old Catholic Movement, Its Origins and History*. London, SPCK, 1948.
- Mott, J.R. *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions*. London, CMS, 1910.
- Muga, Erasto . *African Response to Western Christian Religion*. Nairobi, East Africa Literature Bureau, 1975.
- Murray, Jocelyn. 'The Church Missionary Society and the "Female Circumcision" Issue in Kenya,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* Vol. VIII, , p.93-105.
- Murray, J. *Proclaim the Good News*. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1985.
- Murray, Jocelyn. 'The Role of Women in the Church Missionary Society 1799-1917' in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Ward, Kevin and Stanley, Brian (Eds.)pp.66-90. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2000.
- Nazir-Ali, Michael 'Martyn & Martyrs: Questions for Mission,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 23, No. 2, April 1999, p.56-59.
- Nazir-Ali, Michael. *Mission and Dialogue*. London, SPCK, 1995.
- Neill, S. *Christ, His Church and His World*. London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948.
- Neill, S.C. 'History of Missions: An Academic Discipline' in *Mission of the Church & the Propagation of the Faith*, G.J.Cuming (Ed.) p.149-170. Cambridge, CUP, 1970.
- Neill, S. *A History of Christian Missions*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1986.
- Neill, S. (Ed.) *Twentieth Century Christianity*. London, Collins, 1962.
- Neill, S. *Creative Tension*. London, Edinburgh House Press, 1959.
- Neill, S. *Anglicanism*. Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1958.

- Neill, S.C. *Colonialism and Christian Missions*. London, Lutterworth, 1966.
- Neill, S. *Christian Partnership*. London, SCM, 1952.
- Newbigin, Lesslie. *Foolishness to the Greeks - The Gospel in Western Culture*. London, SPCK, 1986.
- Newbigin, Lesslie.. *South India Diary*, London, SCM, 1951.
- Newbigin, Lesslie. *The Reunion of the Church*. London, SCM, 1948.
- Newbigin, J.E.L. 'The Ordained Foreign Missionary in the Indian Church,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. XXXIV No. 133, January 1945, p.87-94.
- Nthamburi, Zablon. 'Toward Indigenization of Christianity in Africa. A Missiological Task,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 13. No. 3, July 1989, p.112-118.
- O'Connor, Daniel. (Et.al.) *Three Centuries of Mission - The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000*. London, Continuum, 2000.
- Oldham, J.H. *The World and the Gospel*. London, Baptist Missionary Society, 1916.
- Oliver, R. *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. London, Longmans Green, 1965.
- Oliver, R. and Fage, J.D. *A Short History of Africa*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1962.
- Olson, Gilbert W. *Church Growth in Sierra Leone*. Gand Rapids Michigan, Eerdmans, 1969.
- Page, Jesse. *The Black Bishop - Samuel Adjai Crowther*. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1908.
- Palmer, B. *Imperial Vineyard. The Anglican church under the Raj from the Mutiny to Partition*. Lewes, The Book Guild, 1999.
- Palmer, B. *High and Mitred - Prime Ministers as Bishop -Makers 1837-1977*. London, SPCK,1992.
- Paton, David, M. (ed) *Essays in Anglican Self-Criticism*. London, SCM, 1958.
- Paton, David M. *The Ministry of the Spirit - Selected Writings of Roland Allen*. London, World Dominion Press, 1960.
- Paton, William. 'The Tambaram Meeting,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. 28, 1939, p.161-173.
- Paton, William. *The Message of the World-Wide Church*. London, Sheldon Press, 1940.

- Paton, David M. *Reform the Ministry*. London, Lutterworth, 1968.
- Paul, Rajaiah D. *The Cross over India*. London, SCM, 1952.
- Peel, J.D.Y. *Religious encounter and the making of the Yoruba* Bloomington, Ind. Indiana University Press, 2000.
- Perham, Margery. *Lugard - The Years of Authority 1898-1945*. London, Collins, 1960.
- Pinnington, J. 'Church Principles in the Early Years of the Church Missionary Society: The Problem of the "German Missionaries,"' *Journal of Theological Studies*. 30, Pt,2, October 1969.
- Pinnington, J. 'Church Principles in the Early Years of the CMS,' *Journal of Theological Studies* Vol. XX, Pt. 2, October 1969, p.523-532.
- Pirouet, M.L. *Black Evangelists*. London, Rex Collings, 1978.
- Porter, Andrew. *The Universities Mission to Central Africa: Anglo-Catholicism and the Colonial Encounter in the Twentieth Century* Currents in World Christianity. Position Paper 136. 2000.
- Porter, A.N. *Evangelicalism, Islam and Millennial Expectation in the Nineteenth Century*. NAMP, Position Paper 76, 1998.
- Porter, Andrew. *The Oxford History of the British Empire - Vol. III The Nineteenth Century*. Oxford, OUP, 1999.
- Porter, Andrew. '“Commerce and Christianity”: The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Slogan,' *The Historical Journal*. 28, September 1985. p.597-621.
- Porter, Andrew. 'Changing People, Changing Places,' *International Review of Mission*. 88, October 1999. p 390-398.
- Porter, A. N. 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 20, 1992, p.370-390.
- Presler, Titus. 'Christianity Rediscovered,' *Missiology: An International Review* Vol. XVIII, No. 3, July 1990, p.267-278.
- Prestige, G.L. *The Life of Charles Gore - A Great Englishman*. London, Heinemann, 1935.
- Ramachandra, Vinoth. *The Recovery of Mission - Beyond the Pluralist Paradigm*. Grand Rapids Michigan, Eerdmans, 1996.
- Randall, Ian. *Evangelical Experiences - A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism 1918-1939*. Carlisle, Paternoster, 1999.

- Reissner, Anne. 'The Dance of Partnership: A Theological Reflection,' *Missiology: An International Review* Vol. XXIX No. 1, January 2001, p.14-44.
- Robert, Dana, L. *The 'Christian Home' as a Cornerstone of Missionary Thought and Practice*. NAMP, Position Paper 98, 1998.
- Robert, Dana L. 'The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: :The Evangelization of the World in This Generation', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 10, No. 4, October 1986, p.146-149.
- Roberts, R. Ellis. *H.R.L. Sheppard. Life and Letters*. London, John Murray, 1942.
- Roberts, A.D. *The Cambridge History of Africa Vol 7*. Cambridge, CUP, 1986.
- Rogers, G. *Rebel at Heart*. London, Longmans, 1956.
- Roome, W.J.W. *Apolo - The Apostle to the Pygmies*. London, Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1934.
- Rouse, R. and Neill, S.C. (Ed.) *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*. London, SPCK, 1954.
- Sachs, William, L. *The Transformation of Anglicanism - From State Church to Global Community*. Cambridge, CUP, 1993.
- Samuel, Vinay & Sugden, Chris. 'Mission Agencies as Multinationals,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 7. No. 4, October 1983, p.152-157.
- Sanneh, Lamin *Translating the Message*, Maryknoll NY, Orbis, 1990.
- Sanneh, Lamin. 'The Horizontal and the Vertical in Mission: An African Perspective,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 7 No. 4, October 1983, p.165-171.
- Saunders, Graham. *The Anglican Mission and the Brooke Raj in Sarawak 1848-1941*. Singapore and Oxford, OUP, 1992.
- Scotland, Nigel. *The Life and Work of John Bird Sumner*. Leominster, Gracewing, 1995.
- Sharpe, Eric J. 'Reflections on Missionary Historiography,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 13, No. 2, April 1989, p.76-81.
- Shedd, Clarence Prouty (Et al.) *History of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations*. London, SPCK, 1955.
- Shenk, Wilbert . 'Rufus Anderson & Henry Venn: A Special Relationship?' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 5, No. 4, October 1981, p.168-172.
- Shenk, W. *Henry Venn - Missionary Statesman*. New York, Maryknoll, 1983.

- Shenk, Wilbert 'The Role of Theory in Mission Studies' *Missiology: An International Review* Vol. XXIV No. 1, January 1996, p.32-45.
- Shepherd, A.P. *Tucker of Uganda*. London, SCM, 1929.
- Simon, Glyn, Bishop of Llandaff (Ed). *Bishops*. London, The Faith Press, 1961.
- Sinclair, Margaret. *William Paton*. London, SCM, 1949.
- Sinclair, Margaret. 'Christian Witness in a Revolutionary World,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. XXVII No. 145, January 1948, p.3-39.
- Smith, Maynard H. *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*. London, SPCK, 1926.
- Spencer, Leon P. 'Christianity & Colonial Trust,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1982, p.47-60.
- Stanley, Brian. 'Afterword: The CMS and the Separation of Anglicanism from "Englishness"' in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Ward, K and Stanley, B (Eds.)pp.91-119. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2000.
- Stanley, B. (ed) *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2001.
- Stanley, B. 'The East African Revival,' *The Churchman*.92, 1977.
- Stanley, B. 'The Reshaping of Christian Tradition: a Western Denominational Identity in a Non-Western Context,' in Swanson, R N. (ed.), *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, SCH 32 (1996), p399-426. Oxford, Blackwells, 1996
- Stanley, B. *The Bible and the Flag*. Leicester, Apollo, 1990.
- Stephenson, A.M.G. *Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences*. London, SPCK, 1978.
- Stock, E. *History of the CMS Vol I- III*. London, CMS, 1899.
- Stock, E. *History of the CMS Vol IV*. London, CMS, 1916.
- Stock, E. *My Recollections*. London, James Nisbet & Co, 1909.
- Stock, E 'The Recent Controversy in the CMS,' in *Church Missionary Review*, March 1923
- Stock, E *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1910.
- Stock, E. 'Some Lessons from Past Times,' *Church Missionary Review*. 73, April 1922. p.103-113.
- Sundkler, B. *The Christian Ministry in Africa*. London, SCM, 1960.

- Sundkler, B. and Steed, Christopher. *A History of the Church in Africa*. Cambridge, CUP, 2000.
- Sundkler, B. *Church of South India: The Movement towards Union 1900-1947*. London, Lutterworth Press, 1954.
- Sykes, Stephen W. (Ed.) *Authority in the Anglican Communion* Toronto, Anglican Book Centre, 1987.
- Tatlow, Tissington. *The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland*. London, : SCM, 1933.
- Taylor, A.J.P. *English History 1914-1945*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Taylor, J.V. *The Primal Vision*. London, SCM, 1963.
- Taylor, J.V. *Christianity and Politics in Africa*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1957.
- Taylor, J.V. *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*. London, SCM, 1958.
- Taylor, J.V. *For All the World*. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1966.
- Taylor, J.V. 'My Pilgrimage in Mission International,' *Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 17, No.2, April 1993, p.59-61.
- Temple, William. *The Church Looks Forward*. London, Macmillian, 1944.
- The Times, *Church and Empire*. Reprint of The Special Number - June 25, 1930.
- The Times *Obituaries 1951-1960*. Reading, Newspaper Archive Developments, 1979.
- Thompson, D.M. *British Missionary Policy on the Indigenous Church: The Influence of Developments in Domestic Ecclesiology and Politics*. NAMP Position Paper 38, 1997.
- Thompson, T.Jack. *Xhosa Evangelists in Late Nineteenth Century Malawi: Black Strangers or Fellow Countrymen?* NAMP. Position Paper 34, 1997.
- Thompson, David M. 'The Politics of the Enabling Act (1919),' in *Church, Society and Politics*. Ed. Derek Baker, pp.383-392. Oxford, Blackwell, 1975.
- Thompson, K.A. *Bureaucracy and Church Reform - The Organizational Response of the Church of England to Social Change 1800 - 1965*. Oxford, Clarendon, 1970.
- Thomson, David *England in the Nineteenth Century*. Harmondsworth, Pelican, 1950.
- Tiedemann, R.G. *Indigenous Agency, Religious protectorates and Chinese Interests: The Expansion of Christianity in China, 1830-1880*. NAMP. Position Paper 36. 1997.

- Tuma, A.D.T. 'Major Changes and Developments in Christian Leadership in Busoga Province, Uganda 1960-74' in *Christianity in Independent Africa*. Ed. E. Fashole-Luke & Goodwin Tasie London, Rex Collings, 1978.
- Tuma, A.D.T. *African Participation in Church Growth and Expansion in Busoga 1891-1940* PhD. University of London, 1973. published as *Building a Ugandan Church*. Nairobi, Uzima, 1980.
- Tuma, A.D.T. and Mutibwa P. (Eds.) *A Century of Christianity in Uganda*. Nairobi, Uzima, 1978.
- Waddy, Etheldred. *Stacy Waddy - Cricket, Travel and the Church*. London, Sheldon Press, 1938.
- Waller, E.H.M. 'The Diocesanization of the Church Missionary Society,' *Church Missionary Review*. 73, June 1922. p.204-210.
- Waller, E.H.M. *Church Union in South India*. London, SPCK, 1929.
- Walls, Andrew F. 'The Legacy of Samuel Ajayi Crowther,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 16, No. 1, January 1992, p.15-21.
- Walls, Andrew F. *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History*. Orbis/T&T Clark, Maryknoll NY/Edinburgh, 2002.
- Walls, Andrew F. 'British Missions,' in *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*. Christensen, Torben & Hutchison, William R. (Ed.)pp.159-166. Denmark, Aros, 1982.
- Walls, Andrew F. *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*. New York/Edinburgh, Maryknoll/T&T Clark, 1996.
- Walls, Andrew F. 'Missionary Societies and the Fortunate Subversion of the Church,' *The Evangelical Quarterly* Vol. 60, 1988, p.141-155.
- Walmsley, E.G. (Ed.) *John Walmsley: Ninth Bishop of Sierra Leone*. London, SPCK, 1923.
- Wand, J.W.C, *The Anglican Communion*, Oxford, OUP 1948.
- Ward, Kevin. 'Uganda: The Mukono Crisis of 1941,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* Vol. XIX, No. 3, , p.195-227.
- Ward, Kevin. "'Taking Stock": The Church Missionary Society and Its Historians,' in *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Ward, Kevin and Stanley, Brian (Eds.)pp.15-42. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2000.
- Ward, Kevin and Stanley, Brian (Eds.) *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999*. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 2000.

- Ward K. *Called to Serve*. Mukono, Uganda, Bishop Tucker Theological College, 1989.
- Ward, K. 'The Relationship between Early Balokole and the Church of Uganda,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*. 1989.
- Ward, Kevin. 'The Legacy of Eugene Stock,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 23, No. 2, April 1999, p.75-79.
- Warren, M.A.C. *Revival - an Enquiry*. London, Lutterworth, 1944.
- Warren, M A C. 'The Fusion of IMC and WCC at New Delhi,' *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 3 No. 3, July 1979, p.104-108.
- Warren, M.A.C. *The Christian Mission*. London, SCM, 1951.
- Warren, M.A.C. *The Calling of God*. London, Lutterworth, 1944.
- Warren, M.A.C. *The Christian Imperative*. London, SCM, 1955.
- Warren, M.A.C. *Crowded Canvas*. London, Hodder, 1974.
- Warren, M.A.C. *To Apply the Gospel*. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdman,s 1971.
- Warren, M.A.C. *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*. London, SCM, 1965.
- Warren, M.A.C. *Perspective in Mission*. London, Hodder, 1964.
- Warren, M.A.C. *Partnership*. London, SCM, 1956.
- Warren, M.A.C. 'The Missionary Obligation Today,' *International Review of Missions* Vol. 39, 1950, p.393-409.
- Webster, Douglas. *Mutual Irresponsibility: A Danger to be Avoided*. London SPCK, 1965.
- Webster, James Bertin. *The African Churches Among the Yoruba 1888-1922*. Oxford, Clarendon, 1964.
- Webster, Douglas. (Ed.) *Truly Called - Four Studies of the Training of Men for the Ministry in the Church Overseas*. London, The Highway Press, 1954.
- Welbourn, F.B. *East African Rebels*. London, SCM, 1961.
- Wells, R. A. *History and the Christian Historian*. Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 1998.
- Westermann, D. *Africa and Christianity*. London, OUP, 1937.
- White, Gavin. 'Frank Weston and the Kikuyu Crisis,' *Bulletin of the Scottish Institute of Missionary Studies* 8-9, 1992-93, p.48-55.

- Whitehead, Henry. *The Village Gods of South India*. London, OUP, 1921.
- Whitehead, Henry. 'Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah,' *International Review of Missions* Vol 34, 1945, p.184-187.
- Whitehead, H. *India Problems in Religion Education Politics*. London, Constable, 1924.
- Who Was Who*, London, A&C Black, 1996.
- Wiest, Jean-Paul *Roman Catholic Perceptions and Critiques of British and American Protestant Missions (1807 -1915)* NAMP, Position Paper 73, 1998.
- Wigram, E.F.E. 'The Tinnevely Diocese,' *Church Missionary Review*. 75, June 1924. p.222-228.
- Wigram, E.F.E. 'The CMS Delegation in India and Ceylon,' *Church Missionary Review*. 73, April 1922. p.114-126.
- Wilkinson, A. *The Church of England and the First World War*. London, SCM, 1978.
- Wilkinson, John (Ed.) *Mutual Responsibility: Questions and Answers*. London, SPCK, 1964.
- Williams, C. Peter. *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church*. Leiden, Brill, 1990.
- Williams, C. Peter. *The CMS and the Indigenous Church in the Second Half of the 19th Century*. NAMP, Position Paper 31, 1997.
- Williams, C. P. ' "Not Quite Gentlemen", an Examination of "Middling Class" Protestant Missionaries from Britain, c.1850-1900,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* Vol. 31, No. 3, July 1980, p.301-315.
- Willis, J.J. *An African Church in Building*. London, CMS, 1925.
- Willis, J.J. 'Organization of the Anglican Church in Uganda,' *International Review of Missions*. 7, 1918. p.481-491.
- Willis, J.J. 'Christianity and Primitive Peoples,' *International Review of Missions*. 4, 1915. p.382-394.
- Wills, David. *Evangelical Missions and the Birth of Black Evangelicalism: Reflections on the Ambiguities of Conversion*. NAMP. Position Paper 13, 1996.
- Wilson, G.H.W. *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*. Westminster, UMCA, 1936.
- Wingate, Andrew, Ward, Kevin, Pemberton, Carrie and Sitshebo, Wilson (Eds.) *Anglicanism: A Global Communion*. London, Mowbray 1998.

- Woods, E.S. & MacNutt F.B. *Theodore Bishop of Winchester*. London, SPCK, 1933.
- Woods, F. Theodore, West-Watson, C., Bardsley, Cyril C. B. & Woods, Edward S. *The Creed of a Churchman*. London, Longmans, Green and Co. 1916.
- Yates, T.E. *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, CUP, 1994.
- Yates, T.E. *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad*. London, SPCK, 1978.
- Yates, Timothy. 'Anglican Evangelical Missiology 1922-1984,' *Missiology: An International Review* Vol. XIV, No. 2, April 1986, p.147-157.
- Yates, Timothy. 'Henry Venn' in *Anvil* 17, 2000, p.41-43.
- Yates, Timothy (Ed.) *Mission; An Invitation to God's Future*. Calver, Cliff College Publishing, 1999.
- Yates, Timothy. 'Newsletter Theology: CMS Newsletters since Max Warren. 1963-1985,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 12, No. 1, January 1988, p.11-15.