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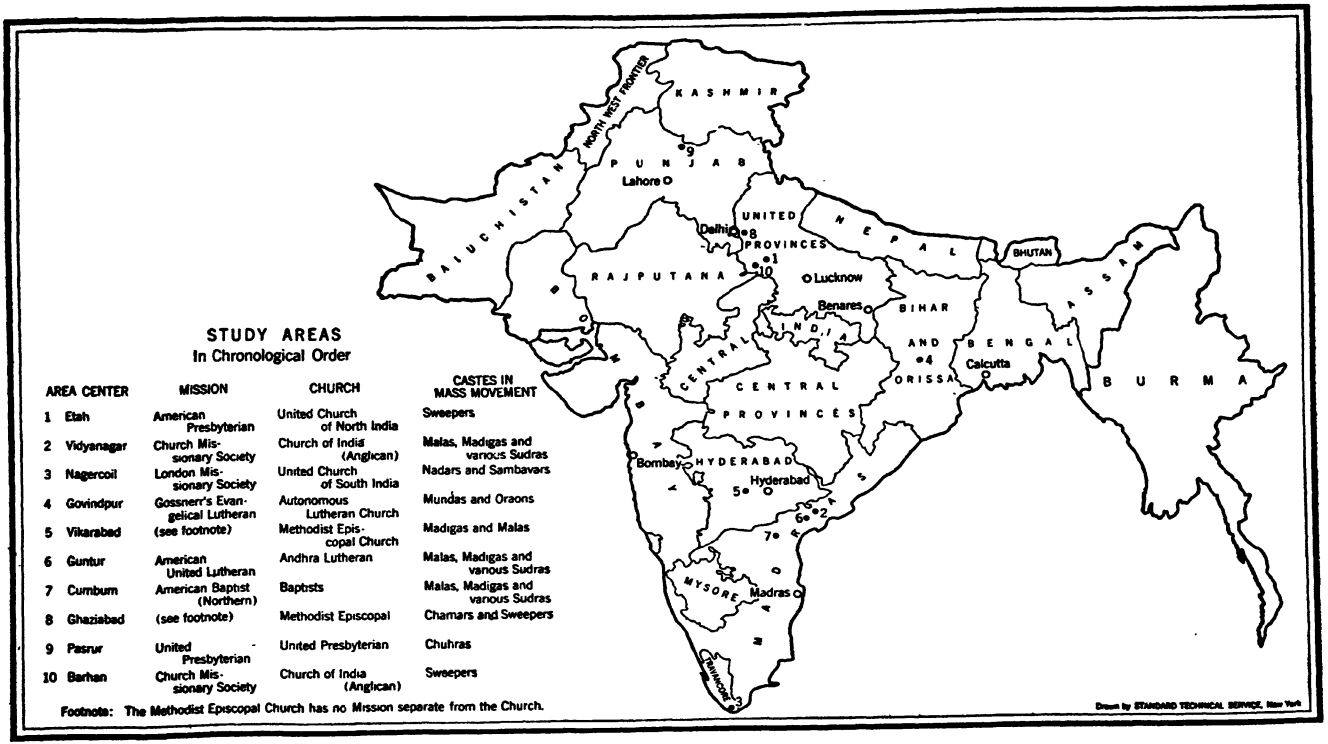

MAP OF CHRISTIAN MASS MOVEMENT AREAS SURVEYED

Christian Mass Movements in India

A Study With Recommendations

J. WASKOM PICKETT
Director Mass Movement Study, National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon

Foreword by
JOHN R. MOTT
Chairman International Missionary Council

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FOREWORD

THE Christian mass movements in India constitute a significant phenomenon in the non-Christian world—an extensive and impressive effort for the social and religious uplift of depressed multitudes. Large populations are involved because these movements are chiefly in the villages, and the 750,000 villages of India contain nine tenths of its 350,000,000 people.

It is estimated that one half of the Roman Catholics in India are descendants of mass-movement converts, and that not less than 80 per cent of the 1,800,000 Protestants are the product of mass movements. But the numerical aspect of these movements is not the most important. The transformations they have wrought afford a compelling present-day evidence of Christianity. It would be difficult to overstate the faith-kindling power of this modern apologetic. A striking illustration is the influence that the object lesson afforded by the lives of mass-movement converts in South India has had and continues to have on the conversion of Sudras. Moreover, where is there presented a better demonstration of the integral, all-embracing, individual, and social Christian gospel?

These movements in the sub-depths of India are becoming increasingly a subject of concern throughout Christendom. Without doubt they have powerfully stimulated the interest of Moslems and of high-caste Hindus in the outcastes and other depressed groups of India. These experiences contain instruction and inspiration for the leaders of the Christian forces in rural fields of China, Siam, Japan, Korea, the Dutch Indies, and parts of Africa. It may be questioned whether any situation confronting the Christian world mission presents a more powerful challenge for generous, heroic action.

Considerations such as these emphasize the importance and relevancy of this volume, which sets the results of the first critical survey of Christian mass movements. The

Indian National Christian Council was fortunate in securing as Director of the Survey, Dr. J. Waskom Pickett, who brought to the undertaking extensive and fruitful experience in India as missionary, writer, and administrator. It has likewise been of inestimable value to the enterprise that it has had the general oversight of Dr. V. S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal and Chairman of the National Christian Council. He, of all Indian leaders, is the one with the most successful experience in mass-movement work. The close collaboration of Mr. J. Z. Hodge, General Secretary of the National Christian Council and an authority on all that pertains to rural problems, and of Dr. Warren H. Wilson, one of the foremost American Christian surveyors and administrators dealing with rural programs, has contributed greatly to the success of the undertaking. These leaders have had the co-operation of the various Provincial Councils in India and of the International Missionary Council; and, at critical stages in the survey, the expert counsel of the staff of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

As a result of the painstaking work by this competent group, we have placed in our hands a notable conspectus of the achievements, values, weaknesses, and possibilities of this great human and divine enterprise. We may address ourselves to its consideration with confidence, for a careful study of the volume will afford ample evidence of the author's truly objective, balanced, realistic attitude. We shall also find the treatment constructive and forward-looking. While the survey was not without its limitations, to which with commendable frankness the Director has repeatedly called attention, the net impression is that the factual basis is sufficiently wide and authentic to support the conclusions and recommendations. It will be surprising if anthropologists and sociologists do not seize upon the data here presented for light upon the modification of ancient folk-ways under the impact of a powerful new force.

After making all allowance for reaction, breakdown, grievous lapses in different mass movements, and bitter disappointments as a result of inadequate leadership and follow-up work, the reassuring fact standing out in this survey is that the condition and outlook of these depressed com-

munities, after Christ and his messengers have broken in upon them, in contrast with their state before, are as the break of dawn following upon the deep darkness of night. The countless transformations in individual lives and in social conditions and relationships, which go to make up these various mass movements, cannot be traced to any evil or purely secular influence. They are proof positive that the living, loving Heavenly Father is brooding over these most abjectly needy and neglected of his children, creating in them hopes and aspirations for larger life and liberty, and by his Spirit moving them to will and to do. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

The survey was not designed to be an end in itself. It is of immediate and vital concern to at least four important groups. In the first place, to the Indian and missionary leaders of the mass movements themselves. This comprehensive analysis will afford them priceless guidance in reshaping policies and revising or enlarging plans. It furnishes for the first time an adequate opportunity for the all-too-few and scattered workers to profit by one another's knowledge and experience, successes, and failures. This in turn will make possible the overcoming of dangers and weaknesses, and the enriching of the program.

Secondly, it will be a great boon to administrators of Mission Boards in Europe, North America, and Australasia as they seek to strengthen the hands of their representatives in India, both those now at work in mass-movement areas and those who may, under God's creative influence, inaugurate elsewhere similar movements.

A third group who should share the tragic and inspiring facts of the survey are donors whose gifts, large and small, have helped to make possible this Christlike ministry, and whose continued and enlarged giving is absolutely necessary, if the Church is to press the advantage afforded by these mass movements. Of the many recent studies and reports on the mission field, there is none better calculated to stimulate sacrificial giving.

This significant work also calls for interpreters and advocates to mediate it to the Church membership. Therefore it brings a new responsibility to editors, writers for the reli-

gious press, professors in theological seminaries, and all ministers of churches. Through them it should come with great power of appeal.

It is a solemnizing reflection which must come to every attentive reader that his attitude toward the moving facts revealed in this survey is indeed a touchstone of his own faith. For failure to respond in heart and in action to these evidences of God's wonder-working power must inevitably inhibit a man's own spiritual vitality and the outreach of his unselfish influence; while eager responsiveness in Christlike "compassion for the multitudes" in these mass movements will not only foster reality in his own religious experience but also through the contagion of his own faith lead inevitably to the still wider and more triumphant working of superhuman power in all the scattered fields of these mass movements.

JOHN R. MOTT.

INTRODUCTION

SINCE the beginning of Christian mass movements in connection with Protestant missions large and influential sections of the missionary body and of the Indian Church have questioned their spiritual validity and have doubted whether they should be encouraged. There is some reason to believe that similar doubt assailed the Roman Catholic Church over earlier mass movements in India. The unfortunate attempt of Robert de Nobili and his associates to win the Brahmans of South India by introducing a "lost" Veda, which they had prepared for the purpose, and by representing themselves as European Brahmans of great sanctity, seems to have been a protest against the reception of large groups from the depressed classes and low Sudra castes into the Church. Nor has any mission connected with one of these movements escaped internal controversy about it. Many missionaries and Indian ministers testify to the doubts they experienced before receiving and baptizing groups that had unitedly confessed Christian faith and purpose. This hesitation and criticism were based on the depressed state of many of the groups, their motives for seeking recognition as Christians, the supposed obstacles that their conversion puts in the way of winning members of the higher castes to Christ, and the belief that the religious needs of the individual are obscured and his development as a Christian retarded by group decision.

But, despite their own initial uncertainty, the opposition encountered within their missions and the disappointments from which no one who ministers to the human spirit is ever entirely free, few ministerial pioneers of these mass movements ever turned from them in discouragement. Experience carried most of them from hesitation to conviction. As opposition weakened, many missions encouraged mass movements. But new missionaries have rarely failed to question the rightness of the policy. While the same processes that transmuted early opposition into support have continued,

they have never completely dispelled doubt; for experience, instead of dissolving, has sometimes strengthened opposition.

Meanwhile, missions and churches not associated with mass movements, have been perplexed as to their own policy. Should they seek to bring about mass movements, or should they discourage them, and continue their original program of calling upon individuals for separate and independent acceptance of Christian faith and allegiance? The few conversions they witnessed contrasted with the many reported from the mass-movement areas. But how real were the latter? Would the mass movements issue in a merely nominal Christianity? Were they, with their fewer converts, more surely promoting true religion? Despite their prolonged instruction and careful protection of each convert these missions had known disappointments. Would groups less thoroughly instructed and not so carefully guarded prosper in their religious life? Was the desire for a larger number of converts a temptation that should be resolutely suppressed on the score of quality instead of quantity? These doubts were not resolved by the reports from mass-movement areas. Stories of spiritual triumph were offset by accounts of disillusionment and defeat. Echoes of the conflict of opinion within the missions concerned, rumors of unworthy motives and of quarreling between the new converts and their neighbors discounted the appreciative declarations of those aiding the movements. Thus developments were neither uniformly encouraging nor uniformly discouraging.

From time to time additional Christian workers, Indian ministers and foreign missionaries, have reached definite conclusions as to the attitudes they should take. The proportion of those prepared to welcome and aid mass movements has steadily increased; yet scattered individuals, a number of large groups, and several entire missions have remained aloof and skeptical, as if awaiting some authoritative pronouncement and data that would help them to a definitive attitude. Such a situation called for an objective and penetrating study of mass movements. The call was strongly seconded by the need for information on a wide range of issues created by these movements. Missionaries who aided them and the leaders of the churches that arose through them, have en-

countered many problems that require the help of experienced Christian leaders. Some of these are peculiar to mass movements in India; others take their own special forms. In several language areas, where two or more missions and churches are engaged in these movements, conferences on common problems have been rewarding. But distance and related difficulties have prevented representatives of all mass-movement churches, and missions aiding them, from pooling the results of their experience. Valuable data have been locked up in geographical and denominational compartments, while mistakes, from which they might have shown a way of escape, have continued to damage and weaken the Church.

The Preliminaries

When the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon met in Madras in December, 1928, it had to consider two resolutions from constituent bodies calling for efforts to improve the quality of work done by churches and missions in mass movements. These resolutions and the keen interest of members and visitors brought mass movements into a prominence they had not attained in any previous session of the Council. In the resultant deliberations, sentiment crystallized in favor of a study directed by an appointee of the Council as an essential preparation for any service it might hope to render. Dr. John R. Mott and the Rev. William Paton, president and secretary, respectively, of the International Missionary Council, assisted in formulating the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

> The Council considers that as soon as possible a secretary should be appointed to initiate, in close consultation with Provincial Christian Councils, a study of the work in mass-movement areas and asks the executive to prepare proposals regarding the choice of such a secretary and the raising of funds, outside the regular budget of the Council, for his support.

The Participation of the Institute of Social and Religious Research

After consultation with representatives of missionary societies abroad the executive requested the help of the Institute

of Social and Religious Research, of New York City. The Institute responded with assistance in forming plans for the study and with a generous financial grant, which included provision for the employment of a technical consultant. In the second stage of the study, when the assembled data were being interpreted and the report was being written, the Institute rendered further service by placing office space and the invaluable counsel of the staff at the service of the director.

The Development of the Proposal

In applying to the Institute for a grant it was proposed to make "a comprehensive and thorough study of mass movements in selected areas, with the end in view of evaluating their main results, for the guidance of the churches, missions and boards concerned in the revising of policies and the framing of constructive programs." In support of the proposal it was said:

> The study will for the first time assemble and compare information regarding chief types of the mass movement in different regions which should be invaluable to leaders of the Indian Church, and of the missionary organizations co-operating therewith, in helping them to think through the existing maze of conflicting opinions and experiences of the movement and to shape their policies and programs accordingly.

The following questions indicate the scope of the inquiry:

1. What is the mass movement?
2. What are the strength, extent, and boundaries of the movement?
3. What methods have been effective in imparting Christian ideas to illiterate converts of the mass movement?
4. Do mass movements tend markedly to protect individuals from dislocation and to conserve certain wholesome group standards which are apt to be sacrificed when conversion takes place singly or by families? What are the corresponding losses; for example, does group conversion preserve the caste organization as a rival to the Church?
5. What group lapses have occurred and under what well-recognized conditions?
6. When mass-movement converts have broken away from their castes, what have been the social and religious effects on them?
7. To what extent are mass-movement converts obtaining free-

dom from what may be called the depressed-classes mentality? What church or mission policies have helped or hindered their escape?

8. Do the historic communal occupations of converts provide a reasonable basis for the economic independence of the Christian group?

9. To what extent should churches and missions pursue the policy of lifting promising members of mass-movement groups out of the mass, and to what extent should they concentrate on lifting the mass itself?

10. How have mass movements affected the accessibility of the higher Hindu castes and the Mohammedans for Christian teaching?

11. What are the requirements as to training for ministerial leadership, and to what extent has the employment of unpaid workers been successful?

12. Do mass-movement converts from different castes or tribes retain their caste or tribal consciousness or do they merge to form a unified church?

The Selection of Areas

In the choice of areas care was taken to include various types under each of the following categories: language; caste or tribe and communal occupation; Christian denominational families; length of time since mass movement began; policy as to the emphasis in effort, whether it be the selective development of individuals with a view to the ultimate but indirect development of the mass or the direct and simultaneous uplift of groups as a whole.

Five selections for study by the director and his staff were the Church Missionary Society's work in the Kistna District of the Madras Presidency (Telugu), the London Missionary Society's work in South Travancore (Tamil), the Gossner's Evangelical Lutheran Mission work in Chota Nagpur (Hindi), the Methodist Episcopal work in the Western United Provinces (Urdu), and the United Presbyterian work in the Punjab (Punjabi). The American Presbyterian work in the Etah District of the United Provinces was chosen for a trial study for testing and revising the inquiry schedules. It was desired to supplement data gathered in the above-named districts by data from ten or a dozen other areas through the co-operation of missions and churches at work therein. Arrangements were completed for only four of

these supplementary area studies, but they provided an invaluable addition to the data collected in the original areas. These supplementary investigations were led by the Rev. C. B. Hill and the Rev. John Patterson in the Methodist Episcopal work around Vikarabad in Hyderabad State; by G. S. Ingram, Esq., in the Church Missionary Society's work around Barhan in the United Provinces; by the Rev. A. T. Fishman in the American Baptist work around Cumbum in the Madras Presidency; and by the Rev. M. L. Dolbeer in the American Lutheran work around Guntur, also in the Madras Presidency. The director visited each of these areas, except Barhan, at the beginning of the intensive study, explained the schedules and demonstrated their use. At Barhan he was represented by the Rev. G. D. Knox, an Indian minister who had been on the staff in three areas.

The selection of the particular areas within the aforementioned missions was subject to many considerations. Representative areas were necessary. Accessibility to experienced leaders of church and mission was important. A time had to be chosen when the heads of Christian families were free from the pressure of seasonal work and available for interviews, and the villages accessible to travelers. The provision of adequate living quarters and food for all members of the staff was also a difficult problem. In one area this necessitated repairing two old bungalows, hiring furniture and transporting it with a staff of servants and food supplies for forty miles into the interior. The availability of a corps of competent field workers and interpreters for such members of the staff as were unable to converse freely in the local vernacular was another consideration. We were fortunate in finding mission houses and school hostels available in several areas, and occasionally the responsibility of the housekeeping was carried by local missionaries and their associates.

Some Necessary Limitations

Our resources did not permit the extension of the study to Assam and Burma, where mass movements have produced large churches that exercise considerable influence in the life of their provinces. While regretting their exclusion, we

hope that the representative character of the areas intensively studied will be generally recognized. The director was sorry to omit four major language areas where movements have occurred: the Gujerati, Kanarese, Malayalam, and Marathi. In all these areas, except the Marathi, movements have assumed large dimensions. We especially regret that no area study could be arranged in connection with the great mass-movement work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in their Tinnevelly or Chota Nagpur missions, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in the Nizam's Dominions, or that of the mission of the Northern churches among the Santals. Contact, however, was established with the work of a number of other missions in the areas of intensive study, and a few representative families were included in the study. Thus, the Nagercoil work of the Salvation Army was studied with the help of Indian and European officers, and schedules were filled out for about seventy families. Likewise a few families from the mission of the Missouri Lutheran Synod were included through the co-operation of one of their missionaries. In the Govindpur study the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel came frequently under observation, and members of the staff, including the Bishop of Chota Nagpur, co-operated cordially in helping us to appraise it.

In conferences at Guntur for the Telugu area, at Ranchi for Bihar and Orissa, at Gujranwala for the United Provinces and the Punjab, and at Nagpur for the whole of India, representatives of churches and missions not included in the study areas, independent observers of mass movements, and representative men and women of the areas, gave freely of their valuable experiences.

The director spent four days with the superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in the Nizam's Dominions on a tour of several circuits where mass movements have developed in a number of Sudra castes following and paralleling movements of the depressed classes. In addition he gave a series of four addresses on mass movements, each followed by a discussion, at the Annual Missionary Conference at Kodaikanal, and conferred with groups at Mussoorie, Cawnpore, Bareilly, Ludhiana, and Muttra. So it is hoped

that the gaps in the area studies have to a considerable extent been filled by other processes of obtaining information.

The Staff

The writer was invited to be director of the study, and his acceptance was made possible by the approval of the Board of Foreign Missions of his church and the bishop responsible for his appointment. Dr. V. S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, who is also president of the National Christian Council, was prevailed upon to serve as executive chairman, in which capacity he became chief counselor to the director and presided at the four conferences held for considering and supplementing the data gathered in field work.

For each area a temporary staff of associates was recruited. No fewer than forty-two ministers and laymen, including foreign missionaries, gave honorary service. Forty-one helpers were paid for their work. We must mention especially the help received from the Rev. and Mrs. Graham Parker and the Rev. G. D. Knox, of the American Presbyterian Mission at Fatehgarh, U. P., who with the consent of their mission helped as follows: Mr. Parker in the Etah, Vidyanagar, Nagercoil, Ghaziabad, and Pasrur areas; Mrs. Parker and Mr. Knox in the Etah, Ghaziabad, and Pasrur areas.

For every area the staff included representatives from other mass-movement areas and people familiar with the local situation. All of the paid and many of the honorary helpers were acquainted with the language of the people studied. In every area the schedules were thoroughly discussed in staff conferences before field work was begun, and no one was allowed to write up a household or village schedule until he had witnessed at least two demonstrations of its use by others. The staff usually worked together, though occasionally it was divided into two or three sections to expedite the day's task. Each area consumed from a month to five weeks of study. Staff conferences were held frequently, in some areas every day. While not accounted members of the staff, pastors, school-teachers, evangelists, and other local employees of church and mission, everywhere co-operated with us.

The Instruments of Research

For securing data three schedules were extensively used. The most productive was a household schedule used for every Christian family in the areas studied. For some households more than three hundred and fifty separate entries were recorded. The second schedule combined a search for factual data about the villages we visited, with an effort to learn what intelligent Hindus and Moslems of the villages know and think about their Christian neighbors. The third schedule was devised to produce information about pastors, their families, work, and congregations.

A schedule was also prepared for superintendents of churches and missions, and in the Govindpur, Ghaziabad, and Pasrur areas, an instrument was developed for a special inquiry concerning Christian women and their families. A form for recording the work done each day throughout the year by each member of a selected number of families, and the remuneration received therefor in cash or kind, was prepared and distributed during the later stages of field work, but no complete year-round record is available for this report.

These instruments were not imported from abroad, nor manufactured in an office nor in a council chamber. Instruments that had proved their value in projects comparable at any point to this one were examined and such features as gave promise for our task were copied in our experimental forms. But our instruments incorporate many original features devised in the course of the study to meet situations with which we could not otherwise deal effectively. Several times in the trial study at Etah the schedules were radically changed, while new features were added and old features improved in every area study.

The Procedure

In each area an effort was made to visit all villages within an agreed radius of the staff's place of residence, and to include every Christian household of the mass-movement group in each village visited. While not entirely successful in those efforts, we are confident that adequate care was

taken to prevent any selection that would invalidate the representative character of the households studied.

Superintendents and pastors co-operated generously in arranging our programs, assisting us to meet their people, and transporting us to the villages. As far as possible word was sent to each village several days in advance of our coming and, except where the nature of their work made it impossible, the entire body of Christian men awaited our arrival. In some areas we were nearly always met outside the village, according to an ancient custom, and escorted through it to the Christian section. Occasionally it was clear that we were taken by a circuitous route to apprise the whole village of our visit, and we were more frequently than not preceded by a band. In one area the band was often led by two or three dancers, who combined religious zeal, community loyalty, and personal self-expression with a welcome to their guests in a dance that for freedom of movement, power of expression, and enjoyment by performers and onlookers would make the professional dancing of the West seem tame. In another area we were often met outside the village by the Christian men and escorted to their section of the village. There their wives and daughters met us bearing brass bowls, water pitchers, and towels, and with the grace and dignity characteristic of so many Oriental women proceeded to wash and dry our hands, a custom recently substituted for the ancient one of washing the feet of their guests, now made obsolescent by the wearing of Western-style shoes instead of the easily removed shoes or sandals of former generations.

After these welcome formalities we repaired to the church or schoolhouse, or to the shade of a tree, where we engaged in a short service of worship, followed by an explanation of the purpose of our visit by a staff member. At the first village in one area loud protest was made against the fifteen-minute address of the director, because it was not sufficiently sermonic in character. When our purpose had been stated and we had urged the importance of correct replies to all of our questions, the elders first, and then other heads of families, were called forward and each assigned to some member of the staff for questioning. It required from thirty minutes to an hour to complete a household schedule. This

included a full record of every member of the household and of all absent children as to sex, age, baptism, marriage and literacy; a record of the number of dead children, their sex and age at death; and ranged over such issues as the reason for the head of the family becoming a Christian, his relations to the caste organization, his work and income, land and live stock, debt, contributions to the church, use of intoxicants, eating habits, frequency of bathing by men, women, and children of his household, attitudes toward idolatry, fear of evil spirits, and knowledge of Christian teaching.

Question and Answer

Two facts about this process deserve mention because of their bearing upon the credibility of the answers recorded. First, these questions created amazingly little embarrassment. Indian villagers are notoriously reticent with anyone whose friendliness they doubt, but the auspices under which we were introduced and the nature of our inquiry secured from the Christians in all but a half dozen villages, and from at least ninety per cent of the non-Christians, an easy and apparently frank responsiveness, even when we put questions which in the early stages of the study embarrassed us. Second, the questions were asked and the answers given in the presence of neighbors who did not hesitate to register dissent by word or gesture, or even to offer corrections. Those about debt nearly always started a conference to which often some absent member of the group was called. In the village group every man knows nearly as much about his neighbors' debts as about his own. As we shall see, this custom provides a measure of protection among illiterates.

"How much do you owe?" we would ask Ram Lal. "Well, I owe Jiwan Dass, the money-lender, forty rupees," Ram Lal would begin. "Forty-one rupees," some neighbor would interrupt. "Why so? It was forty rupees last month." "Exactly, but you didn't pay that one rupee due on interest on the first, did you?" "You're right. Then I owe Jiwan Dass forty-one rupees, and I owe Basant Ram, the cloth-merchant, fourteen rupees." "No, it's eighteen rupees since you bought that *sari* for your wife and the *dhoti* for your son last week." "Of course, and I owe Bihari Singh, the landlord, twelve

rupees. That's all, isn't it, brothers?" "What about the seven rupees you borrowed from your uncle Patras, last year?" someone asks. "You haven't paid the interest and it's nine rupees now." "Then, add it all up and that's how much I owe—forty-one rupees and eighteen and twelve and nine." "That amounts to eighty rupees," we remarked, as we entered the figure in the schedule, confident that it was approximately correct.

The answers to many questions were subject to tests; for example, when a man was asked if he knew the Lord's Prayer or the Apostles' Creed or the Ten Commandments, his answer was not recorded until his knowledge had been tested. Surprisingly few were unable to prove the knowledge they claimed. Negative replies to questions about knowledge were more frequently disproved in the tests than were affirmative ones.

Invaluable assistance was obtained from pastors, catechists, school-teachers, and missionaries, one or more of whom was with us in ninety-five per cent of the villages visited. Church records were often consulted in tracing facts about dates of birth and baptism, and relations to the church. The pastors' assistance was especially valuable in the inquiry about church contributions. Apart from the help they gave us in the household schedules, many of them were asked to answer the questions on the pastors' schedule, and only twice during the entire study did we encounter any unwillingness to answer all questions frankly.

CHAPTER I

CLEARING THE GROUND

The Term "Mass Movement"

THE choice of the term "mass movements," to cover the field we have been studying, was in some respects unfortunate. A wiser choice might have been "group movements." Except quite recently, and within very narrow limits, nowhere in India have the people turned to Christ *en masse*. But in every province of British India and in many Indian states large numbers profess adherence to the Christian religion because of movements that developed within a group to which they, or one of their ancestors, belonged.

These movements are much older than the term by which they are known. Who first called them "mass movements" we have not discovered. The term did not gain wide currency until the early years of this century. We have searched more than a hundred volumes of reports from missions in which these movements developed during the latter half of the nineteenth century without finding a single use of the term before 1892. The need for any distinctive term to describe them apparently was not felt by the missionaries under whose ministry they began. In the early reports of these movements there appears surprisingly little recognition of the caste or tribal unity of those who were being converted. The first converts brought relatives and neighbors to profess faith in Christ and to be instructed in the Christian way of life; that seemed a normal thing to do and one for which to rejoice and be thankful. Missionaries accustomed to "revivals" in their home churches found that term sufficient to describe what was happening. Others drew upon the vocabularies current in their churches and found them equal to the need they felt.

The term "mass movement" has not meant the same to all who have used it. To some it has stood for hasty baptism and

loose administration. To others it has been synonymous with the reception into the Church of "outcastes" or "untouchables." Some have applied it to the conversion of one or two small groups whose change of religion has not disrupted their social and economic integration; others have considered its application to the conversion of many groups, aggregating thousands, to be unwarranted because they have not represented a large proportion of their caste in the territory. A few have conceived of it as representing the conversion of the whole populace to a strictly nominal confession of Christianity.

Much controversy about that which the term has been used to describe was caused by these divergent interpretations. Criticism has been directed at ministers for baptizing and receiving into the Church large numbers of people because it was supposed that they have come from many or all of the caste-divided, and to some extent antagonistic, elements of the Indian social organism. Had it been understood that the so-called mass in these movements consists of homogeneous groups, thoroughly accustomed to joint action, this criticism would not have arisen. Other critics insist that mass movements are in essence caste movements, and either carry into the Church caste-divisions that have afflicted Hindu society or compel converts from other groups to join a church that differs little from a section of the caste of the people that compose and control it.

The Nature of Recognized Mass Movements

The distinguishing features of Christian mass movements are a group decision favorable to Christianity and the consequent preservation of the converts' social integration. Whenever a group, larger than the family, accustomed to exercise a measure of control over the social and religious life of the individuals that compose it, accepts the Christian religion (or a large proportion accept it with the encouragement of the group), the essential principle of the mass movements is manifest. The size and distribution of the group are of immense interest, but do not affect the principle. A mass movement, which we would prefer to call a group movement, may comprise either a large or a small group. The mighty

Chuhra movement in the Punjab began when Ditt, the lowly first convert of a very lowly people, unlike all previous converts in the Punjab, retained his place in the group to which he had belonged, and then persuaded that group in his village to throw off the age-old bondage to animistic superstition and fear for the liberty which he had found in Christ.

The movement did not begin when Ditt was converted, but when by a valiant fight he turned group opposition, that would have expelled him, into group approval that carried all the Chuhras of his village into a confession of the Christian faith. After the decision of that first village group, Chuhras in other villages became interested, and year after year increasing numbers of them, acting together, entered the Christian fold. Within forty years in the Civil District of Sialkot only small fragments of the Chuhra community remained outside the Church. The principle that operated to bring Chuhras throughout Sialkot to Christ was established when that first little group in Ditt's village made its decision and was received into Christian fellowship.

Group action, uninfluenced by the prior conversion of an individual, also came to light. The mass movement of Mazhabi Sikhs in the United Provinces, source of so many prominent Christian families in North India, began when five men, representing their caste in several villages, told a missionary that, after various members of their group had heard the preaching of the gospel, they had decided in a general meeting to accept Christianity. Convinced of the sincerity and earnestness of these men the missionary baptized them; some weeks later all members of the groups they represented were baptized and a church was organized.

The group deciding for Christ ordinarily is composed of one caste, and often includes all the members of that caste in one, or more than one, village. But, occasionally, members of two or more castes in one or several villages have combined in turning from old allegiances, beliefs, and practices in religion to those which they have understood to be Christian. A decision by a local group to become Christians sometimes leads to trouble with other groups of the same caste in their own or neighboring villages. Instances

came to our attention of caste leaders from all the villages of a wide territory coming together to consider complaints made against groups for having joined the Christian movement. Some gatherings voted to oppose the Christian movement by punishing all that might join it. Some decided to do nothing, leaving every caste member or every local group free to join the movement. Some decided to advise all members of the caste to become Christians.

A change of religion by a group is sometimes resented by other castes in their village and leads to unpleasantness or even to conflict. When groups in two or more castes act in concert in declaring a change of religion, each group supports the other, and all feel that they have less to fear from the opposition than if their group had acted alone.

The Term "Outcaste"

Another unfortunate term, "outcaste," has caused confusion and error in thinking about mass movements. To many friends of India in Western lands, and not a few with considerable knowledge of the country, "outcaste" has meant a man without caste in a caste-ruled society, a desocialized being. As it was known that outcastes were prominent in the mass movements it was often supposed that these movements were overwhelming the Church with wild hordes that had never known the discipline or other benefits of integration in a body of friendly folk with common interests.

In fact, however, the outcaste is very much in caste. The term means only that he is regarded by orthodox Hinduism as being unclean, not because of personal habits, but because of the group within which he was born. Thus, he is an outcaste because he was born in a caste that for many centuries has been denied the privilege of religious and social relations with "respectable" Hindus. He may be treated as untouchable and even unapproachable; he may be restricted to the most degrading of occupations and, by the meagerness of his pay, be condemned to a life-long experience of devastating poverty; he may be denied the comfort of sharing the religion of his Hindu overlords, throughout his life being forbidden to enter a Hindu temple; but he is nevertheless a member of a caste. There are groups that receive him with

respect, gatherings in which he is accorded favored treatment for the very reason that his Hindu superiors despise him, that is, because of the caste in which he was born.

Nor is the outcaste, so called, less subject to control by his caste-fellows than are members of other castes. The Brahman is not more afraid to defy the orders of his caste than is the outcaste. If happily free from most of the ceremonial that entoils the Brahman, he is nevertheless under a rule by his fellows, in the name of caste, that in some aspects of his life is even more exacting than what the Brahman has to endure. Furthermore, if the latter be outcasted by his fellows, he can find a fellowship with some less pretentious caste; but in many cases if the outcaste is expelled by his fellows, no refuge awaits him. If single, he can find no wife unless from the home of another victim of caste punishment. If married, his children can marry only if he finds for them mates that have shared his or their disgrace. Neither he nor any member of his family may eat or drink or visit with any member of any caste. If one of his family dies, only outcasted outcastes can attend the funeral.

"Outcaste" is being supplanted by other words, as its widely used synonym of other days, "pariah," has been. "Untouchable" and "depressed classes" have come into common use. Members of these classes are increasingly asking to be called *Adi Hindus,* which means "aboriginal residents of India."

"Mass movement" may live or die as a term of reference to the movements of caste, tribal, and community groups in India to Christ. "Group movement" is more accurately descriptive, covers both caste and tribal movement, and carries fewer misleading connotations. However, let this be said for "mass movement," that, compared with the numbers in India who have come into Christian fellowship through other processes, those who have come through these movements have been *masses* indeed. *They have not been the people as a whole but they have often been a whole people.* Entire social units have moved in compact ranks. In hundreds of villages, where no one professed the Christian faith one month, every member of some caste group has made that profession the next month. In hundreds of other villages,

where the members of one caste did not all come to the new profession within a few days, or weeks, a decided majority did, and those who remained in their old faith were but fragments that broke off when the mass moved.

Why Mass Movements Take Place in India

It is probably true that in every land religion spreads most naturally and commonly on social and occupational lines. In American cities one church is composed largely of business men, bankers, manufacturers, et cetera, with their families; another of clerks, salesmen, teachers, retail dealers, et cetera, with their families; and a third of factory employees, day laborers, servants, and people of comparable social and occupational levels, with their families; while certain social and occupational groups remain almost entirely unrepresented in church membership and attendance. Similar congregational demarcations obtain in Great Britain and the Continent. Certain types of preaching and orders of service, appreciated by one group, are entirely unacceptable to another. Theological conceptions that spread rapidly through one group can hardly gain a hearing in another. In India, where social and occupational lines have hardened into castes, they determine even more than elsewhere the direction and distribution of religious concepts and standards. The people most likely to be influenced by a man's attitude on religion are his fellow castemen, especially his relatives and members of his local group. Their interest is certain, and if his stand does not cause his separation from the group, it has an excellent chance of influencing them.

From infancy the village Indian has been trained to subordinate personal initiative to the guidance of the caste group. It is no exaggeration to say that he is more controlled by the judgment and desire of his group than is the average European or American by his family. Some have gone so far as to say that the typical Hindu villager doesn't think of himself as an individual at all, but as a member of a group. Ask him who he is and he will tell you not his name, but the name of his caste. To address him in the singular is to insult him, unless you speak as a member of his family circle or as an intimate friend. He resents any suggestion that he

is by himself, a man apart. His association with others, his membership in a family and a caste must be recognized. To have many relatives is a great honor; to have none is a disgrace. This typical villager consults his fellows about matters of importance and is guided by the consensus or the weight of opinion in his group. If he thinks his son or his daughter should be married, he consults the group, and, if they agree, they aid him in selecting a suitable mate and arranging the marriage. If he receives an offer of employment, it is referred to the group for consideration and advice. If the landlord, the money-lender, or the village *chowkidar* oppresses him, his course of action is determined by the attitude of his group. If they support him, he may file a complaint in court or with the police, or appeal to the elders of the village; but if they tell him to make the best of the situation without reprisal, he follows their advice.

Thus it would be surprising if the religion he professes were not a subject for group action, especially when we realize that in India it determines many of his civil and political rights and responsibilities. Ask our typical villager, happy in his group associations, to take an action involving his profession of religion, without consultation with or regard for the opinion of his group, and you outrage his sense of propriety, even his ethical sense. He believes that it is right and proper—even that it is his duty—to refrain from action until the other members of his group shall have considered the proposal. If there seem to be reasons why he should act as you advise, he assumes that they should apply with equal force to his fellows, and he wants to submit them to their judgment.

Who Have Become Christians in Mass Movements?

The greatest number of mass movements to Christianity in India have occurred among the depressed classes. These movements have appeared in so many places, have assumed such dimensions, and have been so heavily charged with dramatic interest and publicity value, that they have diverted the attention of the public, even of church administrators and students of missions in India, from Christian mass movements of people not belonging to those classes.

Yet the latter movements have made substantial contributions to Roman, Anglican, Lutheran, and other branches of the Church in India. Various Sudra castes have been represented in mass movements that have established Roman Catholicism in many parts of South India. The fishermen for hundreds of miles along the western coast are an example. There are two castes among them, one engaged in catching fish, the other in marketing them. They are all Christians. One finds, in their quaint villages by the sea, commodious, stately, and much-used churches. The Nadars, who comprise the largest number in the strong Anglican Church of Tinnevelly and the vigorous and potent United Church of South India in the Tamil Districts of Travancore, are Sudras, formerly reckoned as low-caste, but now regarded as one of the alert and progressive elements in those areas. In the same churches, especially the former, are considerable numbers that come from mass movements of Valalas, a Sudra caste of considerably higher standing. These movements were unfortunately arrested after a few years of activity.

Aboriginal tribes—Mundas, Oraons, Kharias, Santals, Hos, Bhils, and others—have contributed hundreds of thousands of converts through mass movements. They must not be confused with the depressed classes; their position, in relation to the Hindu community, is radically different. Sudra movements of immense significance, now developing in the Telugu country as typical mass movements, have already brought more than twenty-five thousand people to public profession of the Christian faith.[1]

The Meaning of Caste

To understand what mass movements in India are and to comprehend their operation one must have a clear conception of India's caste system. This system is a unique phenomenon and has produced a social order radically different in many respects from any known outside of India. The conception of caste in India as corresponding to the social distinctions that exist in other countries is utterly wrong, and

[1] These movements are the subject of Chapter XIII.

will badly mislead any who entertain it. In the Indian cities, at least, social distinctions exist in addition to caste and run across caste lines. There are Brahmans who have no social position and Sudras who rank among important society leaders in their province.

A no less erroneous conception, and one more widely prevalent, is that there are only four castes in India. This conception arises from identifying the four *varnas* (colors) of the *Dharmasastras* with castes. To do so is to complicate the definition of caste hopelessly. There are hundreds of castes: no one can say authoritatively how many. The ancient *varna* should be understood as a class which cannot be reconstructed in modern India. Any attempt to do so must proceed by grouping together many castes that are not related either organically or functionally, and by ignoring overlapping. The four *varnas* of the Sanskrit classics are given as: *Brahmans,* priests and learned men; *Kshatriyas,* warriors and nobles; *Vaisyas,* traders and agriculturists, and *Sudras,* servants. There is no such thing as the Brahman caste, or the Vaisya caste. But there are many castes that claim to be and are recognized as Brahmans, a number that claim to be Kshatriyas but are commonly regarded as Vaisyas, some that have long ranked as Sudras but claim to be Kshatriyas, et cetera. Members of Brahman castes serve in the army as warriors, work on the land as agriculturists, engage in trade, and even serve as cooks for lower-caste families. Sudras include among their numbers teachers, warriors, nobles (Rajahs and Maharajahs), traders, and agriculturists, as well as artisans and servants.

The four *varnas* are supposed to include all groups recognized in the Hindu system. Outside of this system are only barbarous and despised people, foreigners, to whom is given the name *Mlechchhas.*[2] This latter class covers the so-called outcastes, who, however, in the India of to-day are as thoroughly organized into castes as are the Brahmans.

Despite the diversity of occupations among them and the disrepute into which some of their castes have fallen, the Brahmans generally have a secure hold at the top of the

[2] Senart, E. *Caste in India,* London: Methuen & Company, Ltd., 1930.

Hindu social order. With a bewildering overlapping and confusion of functions, the Kshatriyas still provide a disproportionate share of soldiers and of members of the landed aristocracy. The Vaisyas still dominate trade and, except in the South, the Sudras are still chiefly occupied in working for the higher classes. And while the *varnas* cannot be so reconstructed as to place every caste with assurance in one of the four caste compartments, or outside among the despised Mlechchhas, they nevertheless provide a chart for the classification of castes by which the approximate social position of most of the castes can be determined.

What, then, is a caste? The attempt to produce a definition that will apply to all castes in India encounters almost insurmountable difficulties. But the following applies to the vast majority of them: A caste is an exclusive, endogamous, hereditary, corporate group, bound together by the tradition of a common origin and by a body of common customs. This definition says nothing about a common occupation. It is necessary to make exceptions even to the foregoing. Some castes are not in fact rigorously endogamous, nor are all completely hereditary. A few castes have been built up from elements of diverse origins. New castes are constantly being formed through divisions of old ones, or through the union of groups that, for one reason or another, have emerged from two or more different castes, and by the absorption into Hinduism of tribal groups that had previously remained outside the system.

Most, perhaps all, castes have a traditional common occupation; but very few, if any, are now exclusively engaged in a single occupation, and in very few is the traditional occupation the primary work of all members of the caste. For example: The priesthood provides work for only a very small proportion of the Brahmans, and in some Brahman castes there are no members who work as priests. The common occupation of the Bhuinhar Brahmans of Bihar is agriculture, and the Sanauriya Brahmans of Bundelkhand have long been noted for robbery. It would be a mistake to think of departures from traditional caste occupation as being a distinctive phenomenon of recent times. Manu's declaration that a Brahman must be regarded as a high divinity

"whatsoever trade he follows"[3] is a clear indication that even in his time Brahmans were represented in a number of occupations besides those officially assigned to them. Nevertheless, some authors have been so impressed by the importance of occupation as a factor in caste that they have judged it to be the very foundation and principle thereof.

Caste in Operation

There is a traditional organization pattern which, with surprisingly few and slight variations, is in force in all castes in every part of India. Authority resides in the caste as a whole. On rare occasions assemblies may be held, and these exercise plenary powers. Outlying groups tend towards independence and the formation of new castes. Local issues are handled by the local group of the caste. Considerable authority is delegated to leaders, either hereditary or elected (often elected from among hereditary eligibles), who act in behalf of the local group. These leaders are aided by councils of elders composed of the most respected men in their respective groups. They interpret and enforce the caste regulations, adjudicate disputes between members of the caste, advise concerning disputes of members with anyone outside the caste, preside at festivities, and represent the caste in negotiations with other groups over intercaste and community issues.

In smaller villages all members of one caste usually live in adjoining houses and act as one group. Occasionally there, and often in towns and larger villages, two groups are found with separate leaders and councils of elders. Each local group forms close relations with other local groups, though not always with those nearest them, and certain leaders acquire influence and a sort of authority over other groups. During our study we met men who were accounted leaders of their caste in as many as fifty villages. At the present time a few castes maintain general headquarters with a paid secretariat.

First among the subjects of caste-regulation is marriage. Many restrictions are placed upon whom a member of the

[3] *Ibid.*

caste may marry. These restrictions are of two kinds. The first draws circles outside of which marriage is not permitted, the second draws narrower circles within which marriage is not permitted. The first circle incloses the caste. All marriages must take place within the caste. Inside this large circle may be a circle establishing geographical limitations, as, for instance, restricting the choice to families residing west or east of the Ganges River, or within the province, and another circle establishing clan limitations, or occupational limitations, thus excluding from consideration members of certain clans accounted inferior, or certain families engaged in occupations regarded with disfavor. Regulations of the second kind draw circles around the family and demand that marriage must take place outside those circles.

These smaller circles introduce us to the *gotra* (clan), which is prevalent throughout Hinduism and even in many Moslem tribes. The gotra sometimes appears as a kind of enlarged family. It always operates to limit marriage, as in the West it is limited by tables of consanguinity, to which it is commonly, but not correctly, compared. The clan of the father passes to the children, and no marriage to a member of that clan is permitted, thus excluding not merely blood relations on the paternal side, but all members of the clan regardless of relationship. In North India, marriage to members of the mother's and the grandmothers' clans is also commonly prohibited; but in the South such prohibition is rare, and in many castes marriage to a close relative on the mother's side is encouraged. The names of the gotras suggest that their origins are sometimes totemistic, sometimes geographical, sometimes traceable to a common ancestry. In our study of Christian families emerging from the Chuhra movement in the Punjab, we listed thirty-seven gotras and found that at least twelve of these bear names that are found among Sikhs and Moslems and high-caste Hindus.

The caste also imposes an extensive set of regulations upon eating and drinking. Chief among these is a restriction as to the people with whom one may eat, or from whom one may accept prepared food. Eating with people of a lower caste is forbidden, as is also the taking of food prepared or even touched by a member of a lower caste. The effect of

these rules is to prevent partaking meals with, or accepting food from, any except members of one's own caste, since exact equality of castes cannot be established, and one cannot eat with his inferiors nor can his superiors eat with him. Among educated people, and others who have come under the influence of modern reform movements, these regulations have been considerably relaxed, but for probably ninety-nine per cent of the rural population the old rules still hold firmly.

The common conception that no orthodox Hindu of good caste will eat meat is incorrect. Some Brahman castes eat meat. Many castes eat only goat's flesh. The eating of pork and chicken is, in the main, restricted to the lower castes. Only the depressed classes will eat beef, and many of them will not eat the meat of a butchered cow, as that would encourage the killing of cows, a sacrilegious act in Hinduism: but they eagerly seize any opportunity to eat the flesh of a cow that has died of itself, whether from old age, disease, hunger, or even poison. The use of strong drink is disapproved by many castes. In some regions, more often in the North than in the South, repeated drinking provokes disciplinary action which may extend to expulsion from the caste. In the South, however, toddy drinking is common in a majority of castes, and everywhere there seem to be ways by which the influential are able to drink, if they care to do so, without incurring severe penalties. In some castes and in most, if not all, aboriginal tribes heavy drinking is common. This subject is treated as it becomes relevant in the various chapters.

The rule of the caste is not controlled by legal formulæ so much as by custom. The leaders and their council do not often refer to an authentic code accessible in written form—though they may be influenced by knowledge of ancient texts—but rely upon local custom within the caste.

The Village Organization

There is another relationship with which an introductory acquaintance is advisable at this stage. The individual not only belongs to a caste, but, through it, he has a place in a

village community that is radically unlike anything known in the West, or even in the modern cities of India. The village is constructed in its human aspect out of castes. While its pattern varies in detail, yet it is substantially the same over most of India. In the areas of our study major differences were observed only in Travancore and Chota Nagpur. But the centuries have introduced into these village communities many disintegrating forces; repairs and alterations have imposed upon the original pattern a wide variety of changes.

As originally conceived, this plan of construction provides that every caste is related to every other caste in the village in an elaborate system of rights, responsibilities, and perquisites. One caste owns the land. Its members are entitled to a share in the produce of all the fields connected with the village. Out of this share they meet the land tax of the government, provide for poor relief, and distribute grain after each harvest to the priests and to the families of the serving classes. The priests are supposed to care for the religious needs of the community and of all castes within the Hindu system, and are entitled to presents from every family. The tenant-farmers are entitled to the assignment of fields to cultivate, to a share in produce therefrom, to credit as needed and to concessions of various kinds, and are obliged to contribute out of their share of farm produce to the support of the priest and of the serving classes, and to render many kinds of service to the landowner.

The serving classes, including the carpenter, the weaver, the leather-worker, the blacksmith, the potter, the oil-presser, the washerman, the barber, the sweeper, et cetera, have their several duties to perform and their rights to claim. Let us take the carpenter, as reported by W. H. Wiser in his study, *The Hindu Jajmani System,* written after spending the major part of five successive years in one village in the United Provinces:

> During the plowing season he must remove and sharpen the point of the plow once or twice a week. During the harvest he must keep the sickles sharp and renew the handles as often as demanded. He must repair carts whenever called upon to do so and must make minor repairs on houses. In return he should

receive at each harvest twenty-eight pounds of grain for every plow owned by each family in his clientele.

The caste has an obligation to see that the service for which its members are responsible is available for all families that need it. If there is not a sufficient number of families of their caste in the village to render the required service to the whole village, the caste should arrange for another family to come and share their work. The new family may buy from families already there a share of their clientele, thereby obtaining the right to work for the families "sold" to them, and to receive from them the customary payments. The relationship is not terminated by the death of either party, but passes, as an asset or a liability, to the heirs of the deceased.

The community is interested in assuring the continuance of all kinds of service to which it is accustomed, and views with apprehension the introduction of forces that may threaten to terminate any such service, or modify to the disadvantage of others the terms on which it is rendered. The conversion of a group of sweepers has been known to occasion alarm lest it be followed by the group's abandonment of its traditional occupation and the community be deprived of its sanitary service. The conversion of a group of leatherworkers has thrown a village community into panic through fear that conversion would be followed by refusal to remove the dead bodies of animals from the village. The "duties" of some of the serving classes include participation in occasional community religious rites. The obligations of others include contributions to the upkeep of the village temple. Various aspects of these relationships will be discussed in subsequent chapters, but perhaps the foregoing is sufficient to show that the village organization has important significance for any comprehensive understanding of India's Christian mass movements.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL STATEMENT

IT is not our purpose to attempt a critical study of the history of Christian mass movements. That task must await the efforts of a competent church historian. We wish to assemble a few readily available facts about the beginnings and the development of mass movements, so that the present situation may be seen against the background from which it has emerged.

Christian missionaries did not invent the mass movement as a facile method of getting converts. Much of the expansion of Mohammedanism in India, before the modern era of Christian missions, took place through mass movements. Some entire Hindu castes went over to Islam with the result that in certain districts a number of occupational groups are practically unrepresented in present-day Hinduism. The expansion of Hinduism also has been accomplished by mass movements. Through the centuries many tribal units have been absorbed into Hinduism. Nor has expansion by this process ceased. The 1931 census of Assam quotes "The Hindu Mission" as claiming that over sixty thousand Santals, Oraons, Khasis, etc., were absorbed into Hinduism in 1928, and that at least a million animists were received into Hinduism in Assam, Bengal and Bihar between the census enumerations of 1921 and 1931.

During our study we found an interesting example of a recent mass movement within Hinduism, but away from Brahmanical authority. Around Nagercoil, in Travancore State, we found that in many villages there was no Brahman priest. A few years ago there was at least one such priest in every village. But there had been a mass movement as wide as the community itself, and the priests were driven out. It was the counterpart in religion of the non-Brahman political movement that had swept the adjoining Presidency of Madras.

Early Christian Mass Movements

When the first of the Christian mass movements in India began no one can say. Certain characteristics of the ancient Syrian Christians in South India suggest a mass movement origin. We refer to their castelike social integration, their acceptance of a definite place in the social gradation of peoples in the areas where they are numerous, and the typical caste attitudes they have taken, until recently, toward the depressed classes. These characteristics support the hypothesis that a dominant section entered the Church en masse from one or more castes high in the Hindu scale, without the destruction or radical weakening of caste integration. The alternative hypothesis that individual converts from different castes became so effectively organized and were so influenced by the Hindu example that they evolved caste characteristics meets more serious difficulties, and finds less support in the data available from the history of the community.

Before the advent of Protestant missions a number of mass movements occurred in association with the Roman Catholic Church. In Goa, where a majority of the population is Roman Catholic, accessions occurred in caste groups and in groups that included two or more castes in one or several villages. The same processes occurred in and about Bassein, the abandoned but once important port north of Bombay. In both Goa and Bassein the Portuguese government, under pressure from the Jesuits, the Franciscans, and other religious orders, used political powers to promote the profession of Roman Catholic faith. In several branches of government all employment was reserved for professing Christians. Hindu temples, idols, and shrines were demolished. When governmental pressure was withdrawn various groups reembraced Hinduism. In professing and subsequently renouncing adherence to Catholicism action was taken by caste groups, much more than by individuals or single families.

In 1532 a mass movement that quickly assumed huge proportions began among the fishermen of the coast between Cape Comorin and Ramnad. Seventy men sent as delegates to meet the Portuguese clergy at Cochin were baptized before

returning to their homes. Father Miguel Vaz, later vicar-general of Goa, led a band of priests who instructed the people and in a short time baptized twenty thousand persons residing in thirty villages. In 1543 and 1544 Francis Xavier worked among these converts and extended his church into adjoining areas in Travancore State. It is said that during that time he founded forty-five churches in Travancore. Among these fishermen, comprising two castes, the spread of Roman Catholicism was not promoted by the vicious methods used in Goa and Bassein, and it has not been followed by counter movements away from Christianity.

Since the era of Protestant missions began the Roman Church has continued its experience with mass movements. The most spectacular recent mass movement to Roman Catholicism has been in Chota Nagpur, where it has paralleled and outstripped movements into the Lutheran and Anglican Churches.

The earliest of the Protestant mass movements to assume large dimensions, though not the first instance in Protestant missions of group action involving the essential principle of mass movements, occurred in Tinnevelly and South Travancore. The beginnings in Tinnevelly antedated those in South Travancore. Among the castes participating in the Tinnevelly movements the Nadars, or toddy-drawers, then generally known as Shanars, were prominent. They also provided the first large movement to Christianity across the boundary in Travancore State, where, however, the first converts were not Nadars but Sambavars, then known as Pariahs, a term which they now regard as offensive. In the Madras Presidency, where this caste is numerous, its members now prefer to be called Adi-Dravidas.

An Early Protestant Saint in India

Before any Protestant mission was established in the Tamil districts of Travancore, Vedamanickam, a Sambavar convert of the village of Mailady, a few miles from Cape Comorin, had interested many of his neighbors in Christianity. The story of Vedamanickam's conversion and part in establishing the Church in South Travancore is one of the most inspiring in the annals of the modern expansion of Christianity. A

Sambavar, and thus an outcaste, Vedamanickam in middle life developed an overpowering desire for a personal experience of God. Forbidden access to Hindu temples, he nevertheless determined to go on pilgrimage to the holy places of Hinduism, getting as near as possible to the sites where caste Hindus were alleged to have found illumination and peace in a sense of God's presence and favor. He persuaded a nephew to join him, and the two, renouncing home and forsaking sorrowing loved ones, started on their quest. They experienced a long series of disappointments. At last they decided to visit the famous temple at Chidambaram, necessitating a long and hazardous journey. Arriving in its outer courts, exhausted and worn in mind and body, Vedamanickam was rewarded by a strange experience, a trance or a vision in which a white-robed old man appeared and told him to return south where he would find enlightenment. He started homeward, visited Christian relatives at Tanjore, who directed him to the Mission at Tranquebar. He and his nephew hurried to the Mission, were instructed about Jesus, and became convinced and devoted Christians. Here they met a young man, the Rev. William Tobias Ringeltaube, Prussian by birth, Lutheran by training, who had recently arrived in India as a missionary of the London Missionary Society and was seeking guidance as to a field of labor. They invited him to come to Travancore, and while he considered they returned to their homes. After some initial trouble they interested a number of relatives and neighbors in their message and organized a group for instruction and worship.

Ringeltaube arrived in Travancore in 1806, obtained from the Maharajah permission to establish a mission, and settled at Vedamanickam's village of Mailady. He found a small group ready to confess Christ, baptized them, and appointed Vedamanickam as their catechist. But Ringeltaube was disappointed with conditions in Mailady. Vedamanickam and his nephew and fellow pilgrim, Masillamani, had so impressed him by their earnestness and quickness to learn that he had formed too sanguine expectations of the character and religious interest of their neighbors. Of this first Sunday in Mailady he wrote:

I spent the Lord's day here very uncomfortably in an Indian

hut in the midst of a noisy, gaping crowd which filled the house. Perhaps my disappointment contributed to my unhappy feelings. I had expected to find hundreds eager to listen to the Word, instead of which I had difficulty in making a few families collect for an hour.

The records show Ringeltaube as an able and devoted, but decidedly eccentric missionary. He lived very simply in an humble hut, toured almost constantly on foot, horseback, or in a palanquin; opened schools, built chapels, and distributed alms. His small allowance was given away or spent in some good cause almost as soon as it arrived, after which he lived on what the people gave him until his next allowance came.

In 1810 he had seven chapels "almost built," and wrote to his sister that he had baptized about four hundred people. He cherished few illusions about these converts, saying frankly that he did not think much of them: "About forty of them may be the children of grace." But this estimate later seemed to be over-optimistic, for in 1813 and 1814 he wrote:

> I have now about 600 Christians. . . . Three or four may have a longing for their salvation. The rest have come from all sorts of motives, which we can only know after years have passed. . . . You cannot have any confidential intercourse with many of the people. They are great rogues. The poorest of them consent to become proselytes for money and good words, and afterward they cleave to you like leeches. I have about 600 of them and therefore I am quite poor.

The converts of these early years were mostly from the lowly Sambavars, but some were from other castes. Ringeltaube's chief helpers were recruited from Vedamanickam's family. In 1810 several groups of Nadars (Shanars) asked to be received into the church. But Ringeltaube felt that their primary purpose was to escape from paying a poll tax and rendering certain service required of them. Refusing to further their escape from these exactions, the missionary saw their enthusiasm dwindle. He wrote that "As soon as the people saw that no temporal advantages were to be obtained, their zeal for the Protestant religion collapsed." Yet the next year he baptized nearly four hundred persons.

In 1816, his health undermined, and feeling that his work

in Travancore was done, Ringeltaube placed Vedamanickam in charge and left Travancore. He visited Madras, then Colombo and Malacca, after which he disappeared and was never heard of again. Vedamanickam held the church together and was accepted by all its members as their leader. In December of 1817 a new missionary, likewise a man of great force of character, the Rev. Charles Mead, arrived in Mailady. Within a year of his coming three thousand Nadars were added to the number of professing Christians. That year marks the beginning of the Nadar mass movement in this area. From then the Nadars have been predominant in the church associated with the London Mission. Other missionaries came in 1819 and succeeding years, new stations were opened, and the Nadar movement expanded rapidly.

A Caste Protest and Persecution

In 1822 the first of a series of disturbances arose when upper-caste Hindus demanded that Christian converts obey an old caste law that forbade the wearing of any cloth above the waist by men or women of the so-called low castes. Christian women had begun to wear small jackets. When challenged they asserted their freedom from the old caste law. For this many were assaulted. Mr. Mead, after repeated attempts, secured a decree from a magistrate supporting the claim of the Christians.

But several years later the trouble broke out in more virulent form. Mr. Mead was attacked and a plot to assassinate him was reported. An official inquiry found against the Christians. They were treated as culprits. Many were beaten, hundreds were imprisoned. The earlier decree granting the right to wear a cloth above the waist was canceled, and Christians were ordered to obey all the old caste laws, especially those inculcating submission to the higher castes.

This issue frequently arose. The stand of the Christians won the sympathy of their non-Christian fellow sufferers, and although the persecution caused limited reversions to Hinduism, after each storm larger numbers of non-Christians applied for instruction and baptism. In 1858 came another

severe outbreak of persecution. It continued until July, 1859, when Sir Charles Trevelyan, governor of Madras, intervened with a proclamation to which the Maharajah gave reluctant assent, allowing members of the lower castes to wear a cloth over breasts and shoulders. There followed a large ingathering of converts. By 1870 Christian adherents numbered 30,969; preachers, 210; and schools, 161. But communicant church members in this year numbered only 2,331.

Between 1875 and 1879 nearly 9,000 persons became Christians. While Sambavars were, from time to time, added to the Church, with a few members of other castes, the predominance of the Nadars, established as early as 1819, continued. In 1900 adherents numbered 63,152.

In 1889 Commissioner Booth-Tucker established the Salvation Army in Travancore. Three years later, in this area where the London Mission had worked so long and ably, a strong movement of Sambavars turned towards the Salvation Army. Later the Missionary Society of the Missouri Lutheran Synod also came into this area and its missionary representatives were soon dealing with groups of Sambavar inquirers.

The Chuhra Movement in the Punjab

We now turn to a movement that began in a distant part of India more than sixty-five years after Ringeltaube went to Travancore. It is the Chuhra movement in association with the United Presbyterian Mission in the Punjab. This mission was begun at Sialkot in August, 1855. The first converts, two in number, were baptized on October 25, 1857. One was a young high-caste Hindu, the other an aged Chuhra. The Chuhras are an outcaste community, who perform work done in other provinces by sweepers and leatherworkers, and are also extensively employed as agricultural laborers. A second Chuhra convert was baptized three weeks later. The first was cut off from his people, the second died shortly after his profession of Christian faith.

The baptism of these Chuhras led to considerable controversy. Fear was expressed that their inclusion among Christians would repel "respectable" Hindus and Moham-

medans. The superintendent of the mission affirmed his conviction that Chuhras could be received when they declare their purpose to follow Christ, but decided to work especially for the conversion of the people of the higher Hindu castes and of superior Mohammedan families. Within a year after these first baptisms ten converts from upper-class Hindu and Moslem homes were baptized, of whom one was a woman. A large harvest was confidently expected. But it did not come. The highest net increase in membership in any one of the first nineteen years of the mission's work was nineteen. In four of those years a decrease occurred. Concentration on the upper classes failed to produce the hoped-for results.

By Trial and Error

More effective in closing the hearts of Hindus and Moslems against Christianity than the conversion of the lowly Chuhras was the break in social relations that followed the baptism of converts from their own groups. Living in the mission compounds to be indoctrinated and protected against temptations, the new converts were too much separated from their people. The effects of this separation were perhaps equally bad on the converts and in turn on the attitude of their relatives, friends, and neighbors towards Christianity.

Few converts may be said to have prospered in any sense. They became too dependent—socially, economically, and religiously—upon the missionaries, and learned to think of themselves as a people apart, not only from the groups to which they had belonged but from the whole body of their fellow Indians. So many disappointments were experienced that the founder of the mission wrote frankly: "It was painful to go among our dependent Christian brethren, or to meet them, or even to see men coming to us professing to be inquirers."[1] Of fifty inquirers of the upper classes in one area Doctor Gordon says that only seven were baptized, and four of those apostatized. In 1870 the missionaries perceived

[1] Gordon, the Rev. Andrew, *Our India Mission.* Philadelphia. Andrew Gordon, 914 Filbert Street, 1886.

that their methods should be revised, and began to urge new converts to continue to live in their homes and to do their utmost to retain friendly relations with their neighbors. But their first success came in unforeseen circumstances and occasioned much foreboding. As Doctor Gordon tells the story these are its essential facts:

Nattu, a Hindu of the Jat caste, son of a prosperous landowner and *lumbardar,* was converted, but disappointed the great expectations the missionaries had for him. He squandered his property and forfeited his position as prospective *lumbardar* in succession to his father. In every sense he proved a weak brother. Yet one day he appeared at the mission house in Sialkot accompanied by a dark, lame, little man named Ditt, whom he had taught and who declared his desire to be a Christian. The missionary examining Ditt found him well instructed and concluded that he was honest in his confession of faith, but proposed that he remain in Sialkot for a while to attend church services, receive further instruction, and permit the church to become better acquainted with him. Nattu vouched for his strict integrity, but Nattu's own status was not such as to make his commendation convincing. But Ditt pressed for immediate baptism. The missionary, the Rev. S. Martin, finally baptized him, "not because he saw his way decidedly clear to do so, but, rather, because he could see no scriptural ground for refusing."[2]

After his baptism Ditt asked permission to return to his village. Mr. Martin hesitated. The policy favored for converts of the upper classes seemed too dangerous in this case. He feared that the poor, illiterate man, lame, weak, and little-instructed, could not stand when assailed by arguments, taunts, and oppression. But, seeing that Ditt was determined, Mr. Martin bade him go and urged him to make a bold confession and to try to win his neighbors.

The Grain of Mustard Seed

Ditt had five brothers living in his village of Mirali. His own and their families numbered sixty persons. These rela-

[2] *Ibid.*

tives resented his conversion and declared that they would not eat, drink, nor in any way associate with him so long as he professed to be a Christian. Abuse was heaped upon him, but Ditt remained faithful, refusing either to deny his faith in Christ or to cut himself off from his people. He resisted all their efforts, and he triumphed. Three months after his baptism he reappeared in Sialkot and presented his wife, his daughter, and two neighbors as candidates for baptism. He had taught them what he knew; they professed their faith and their purpose to follow Christ and had walked thirty miles to be baptized. After examining them, instructing them and praying with them, Mr. Martin administered the rite, whereupon they immediately started back to their village. Six months later Ditt brought four other men who were also adjudged ready for baptism. The missionaries were by now convinced that a work of God was in progress in Ditt's village, and that it showed the way of escape from old methods of work that had seemed right but had proved wrong.

Ditt's humble occupation of buying and selling hides took him to many villages. Wherever he went he told his fellow Chuhras of Christ. Many abused him, but an increasing number heard him patiently, and before long groups here and there began to follow his lead. In the eleventh year after Ditt's conversion more than five hundred Chuhras were received into the Church. By 1900 more than half of these lowly people in Sialkot District had been converted, and by 1915 all but a few hundred members of the caste professed the Christian faith.

We have given fuller accounts of the developments in South Travancore and in the United Presbyterian area in the Punjab than necessity requires or space permits for other areas. But they are fairly representative of developments in many other areas to which briefer reference will be made.

Chota Nagpur

Four Lutheran missionaries arrived in Chota Nagpur in November, 1845, as the first Christian missionaries in that part of India. In the next five years fifteen other mission-

aries joined them. Only two of the nineteen were ladies. Six died within the first five years. Others left broken in health or discouraged. Those who remained found the people so unresponsive that they asked their director, Father Gossner, to allow them to look for a more promising field elsewhere. He demurred, urging them to continue where they were.

In the early summer of 1850 four members of the aboriginal tribe of Oraons came to Ranchi and asked the missionaries to show them Jesus of whom they had been preaching. They were told to attend the church. But, having done so, they were disappointed that they did not see Jesus. Before returning to their village they were made to understand that the Master could not be seen with eyes of flesh. After further instruction they professed conversion, and on June 9, 1850, were baptized. On October 26 of the next year two members of another great tribe, the Mundas, were baptized. The gospel was taken by these converts to their relatives and neighbors, and in a short time new converts were being won in each tribe.

By 1857, the year of the Mutiny, baptized converts numbered 900 and unbaptized inquirers more than 2,000. During the Mutiny the missionaries fled to Calcutta and the converts were sorely persecuted. Not one recanted. When order was restored the movement increased wonderfully. By 1868 baptized Christians exceeded 10,000. A division among the missionaries brought the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel into the area, and over 600 Lutheran converts accompanied several of the missionaries into the Church of England. But, by 1872, the Lutherans numbered 17,000. Meanwhile the Anglicans had consolidated their position and reported almost 5,000 converts. During the World War the German missionaries were expatriated and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Anglican) came to the aid of the Lutheran Church. Other societies assisted, and the Autonomous Evangelical Lutheran Church of Chota Nagpur and Assam was organized. This Church now reports a Christian constituency of more than 100,000 persons. The Roman Catholics entered in 1887 and soon became engaged with this mass movement of aborigi-

nal tribesmen to Christ. Since 1891 successive census reports have given the following totals of Christians in Chota Nagpur:

1891	95,616
1901	157,497
1911	251,207
1921	284,043
1931	393,695

The Lone Star Mission in the Telugu Country

The largest movements have occurred among Telugu-speaking people. They began in connection with the work of the American Baptist Mission in Nellore District.

Those beginnings were linked with the earlier conversion of an individual at Ellore under the ministry of an English missionary, the Rev. F. N. Alexander, of the Church Missionary Society. The record as related by the Rev. John E. Clough, Baptist missionary, gives the following facts:[3]

Vongole Abraham, a Madiga hide dealer, was converted at Ellore. Several years later an epidemic caused the death of thousands of cattle in the Godavari District. Many dealers made their way to that district to buy hides. Among their number was a distant relative of Abraham, Yerraguntla Periah, of the village of Tallakondapaud, forty miles southeast of Ongole. Periah and several companions spent two days with Abraham en route. He gave them hints that helped them in buying, and told them of his conversion to Christianity. They were deeply impressed and promised that they would make further inquiries about the new religion.

Periah, although illiterate, was a man of strong character and deeply religious nature. As a young man he had been a disciple of an elderly caste woman who had taught him the doctrines of the Ramanuja sect and initiated him in the practice of Yogi. For years he had spent an hour daily in meditation. A number of other Madigas of his neighborhood had joined the same sect, but Periah held aloof from

[3] Clough, John E., *Social Christianity in the Orient.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.

them, feeling that they did not live according to the standards required of the true Yogi.

Returning from the Godavari District, Periah again stopped at Ellore and went to see Mr. Alexander to learn more about Christ. Following a long conversation he declared: "This religion is true. My soul is satisfied." He accepted the teachings and asked to be baptized. Mr. Alexander felt that he could not baptize a man whose home was so far away and for whose further instruction he could not arrange. But he had heard that the American Baptist Mission planned to establish a station at Ongole, forty miles northeast of Tallakondapaud, and advised Periah to inquire for a missionary there.

Periah returned to his village a changed man. He told his relatives and neighbors what he had learned about Jesus and refused to join them in the old worship. They were indignant and heaped abuse upon him. But, after a while, his wife first, and then others, joined him in Christian worship. He told them that he knew little but hoped to learn more as soon as the white teacher should come to Ongole.

At this time the American Baptist Telugu Mission consisted of only one station, Nellore, opened in 1835. For this reason it had become known as the Lone Star Mission. After twenty-eight years there were only thirty converts. Three times the society had been on the verge of closing the mission in order to concentrate on the more fruitful work in Burma. In 1865 there were three missionaries at Nellore. In March, 1866, two of them went to Ongole, where property had previously been purchased. From the Christian caretaker of the property they learned of Periah, who had been there several times, asking when the missionary was coming.

They sent for Periah. Before he arrived one of them, Doctor Clough, returned to Nellore. The other was greatly pleased with Periah and his wife and taught them for three days. Doctor Clough was then appointed to open the mission at Ongole. He sent three Indian preachers to Tallakondapaud. They returned, reporting that Periah was preaching with great zeal and power, and that probably two hundred people were believing on Jesus. As soon as Doctor

Clough was settled at Ongole, Periah came to see him and urged him to visit Tallakondapaud to preach, teach, baptize converts, and organize a church. This the missionary feared to do. He wanted the inquirers to come to Ongole for instruction in the mission compound after the prevailing order in the missions known to him. But eventually he went to the village, and after five days of instruction, preaching, and worship he baptized twenty-eight people. Severe persecution followed. A preacher was sent to live with the new converts. In six weeks nine others were baptized. The movement spread rapidly. By 1869 hundreds, and by 1878 thousands, were being converted. Periah's baptism occurred four years after his visit to Mr. Alexander at Ellore. He became a great leader of his people and through his direct efforts thousands were converted.

Conversion of a Robber Chief

The story of the beginnings of these movements in other churches in the Telugu country is equally interesting. At Bezwada, in the Kistna District, Mr. Darling, a Church Missionary Society missionary, had worked for seven years without winning a single convert. His eyes were upon the high caste Hindus, and he had preached to them and had personally sought out individuals among them with constant diligence, but their lack of interest discouraged him.

One day he preached at a *mela* on the river bank. His hearers were so indifferent that he went home and began to pray. Presently he heard voices outside. Several men had come to see him, and a Hindu servant was trying to send them away. They were outcastes. Their leader was named Venkayya. He had been the head of a band of robbers. His son fell ill. He sacrificed to the village goddess, but the lad died and Venkayya was filled with grief. A fellow robber told him of the Christian religion, of which he had heard a little. The story touched his heart. He composed a prayer which he said every day—"God, teach me who thou art, show me where thou art, help me to find thee."

Three years passed, then he went to Bezwada on a festival day. He was standing on the river bank watching the pil-

grims bathe to wash their sins away. A Brahman priest approached, and asked why he was not bathing. "Because I do not believe in all this," Venkayya answered.

"Are you, then, a Christian?" asked the priest.

"No, but I want to know God."

Then the priest, who must have been influenced by Christianity more than the discouraged missionary knew, told him that Mr. Darling could tell him about God. Thus Venkayya and his friends had come to Mr. Darling, who told them very simply the story of Jesus.

"This is my God, my Saviour. I have long been seeking him. Now I have found him and will serve him," Venkayya cried.

Visits to Venkayya's village followed and, after due instruction, he and a group of his relatives and neighbors were converted. The erstwhile robber was transformed and became an ardent Christian. In his old age he became blind, but used to sit outside his mud hut and bear witness of Jesus to passers-by. Venkayya was converted in 1849. In 1901 there were 29,186 Christians in Kistna District. By 1911 the number had increased to 49,863. By 1928 Christian adherents of the Church of England alone in the district numbered 122,500. The growth has been very rapid since that time. There are also several thousand Baptist converts in the district.

The mission of the American United Lutheran Church has been associated with very large movements centering in Guntur and Rajahmundry, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission with movements of great strength centering in Medak in the north of the Nizam's Dominions, and the Methodist Episcopal Church has won a community of more than 60,000 centering around Vikarabad. The Canadian Baptist Mission and the London Missionary Society also have won thousands of converts.

In all of these areas both Malas and Madigas have been converted. In most of them, in quite recent years, numbers of people of the middle Hindu castes have joined the Christian movement, but that development is reserved for treatment in Chapter XIV.

The Mazhabi Sikh and Sweeper Movements in the United Provinces

Very soon after the Methodist Episcopal Church opened work at Moradabad in the United Provinces in 1858, a group of Mazhabi Sikhs, from a village twenty miles distant, presented themselves as candidates for Christian instruction and baptism. Several of them had heard a band of preachers of the American Presbyterian Mission at a *mela* on the banks of the Ganges in an adjoining district. A Chamar convert of the Church Missionary Society from another district across the Ganges was employed as a catechist to live in their village and teach them. Members of this group were soon baptized, and several young men from their families were brought to Moradabad for instruction and training for evangelistic work.

Bishop James M. Thoburn says[4] that before their conversion these Mazhabi Sikhs were professional thieves. They were in constant difficulty with the police. Even after their conversion arrest, beatings, and imprisonment were common. But the converts gradually established a better reputation and their fellow castemen in other villages were converted. By 1881 the Mazhabi Sikhs as a non-Christian community had practically disappeared from the Moradabad District. By 1890 they were no longer regarded as professional thieves.

In 1859 several young men of the Sweeper caste were converted in the Budaun District. Two of them became preachers. In each year of the succeeding decade a few Sweepers were converted in that district. But these converts came as individuals and occasionally as families. There was no group movement, but young men, after training as evangelists, went among their people preaching. By 1871 groups began to confess faith and ask for baptism. Shortly thereafter a revival movement led many groups to Christ. It spread to adjoining districts and thence to a very considerable part of the United Provinces, until now there are probably a quarter of a million professing Christians in the United Provinces, who have come from among the Sweepers. The American Presby-

[4] Thoburn, Bishop James M., *India and Malaysia.* New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1896.

terian Mission and the Church Missionary Society, as well as the Methodist Episcopal Church, are associated with the Sweeper movement.

Assam

Some of the most spectacular mass movements in India have taken place among the mountain tribes of this little-known province. In the Khasi Hills the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission has built up a large church, to which many fine tributes have been paid. In the remote Lushai Hills two Baptist missionaries began work in 1893. Welsh missionaries followed a little later. The Baptists work in South Lushai, the Welsh in North Lushai.

The superintendent of the census of Assam (1921) describes the progress made by Christianity as one of the most remarkable features of the decade 1911-21.

> In a district of 7,000 square miles, sparsely settled by less than 100,000 people, there are now 27,000 Christians, where ten years ago there were only 2,000. At the present time it is quite the fashion to be a Christian, and even the Chiefs are joining the movement.

The 1931 census reports 59,000 Christians in this territory.

In many villages and groups of villages in these hills the entire population belongs to a single tribe, and has adhered to Christianity almost en masse. When the figures of the 1921 census showed such a large increase in the number of Christians, the superintendent suspected that overzealous Christian enumerators had reported as Christians many who had not entered the community. But an investigation proved the opposite to be true. The following quotation illustrates what the superintendent learned: "The five-year-old son of Christian parents had been recorded as an animist because the young scoundrel was so greedy that he failed to say grace before meals." In the whole of Assam Christians numbered 132,106 in 1921 and 249,246 in 1931, an increase of 88.7 per cent.

Burma

Across the Bay of Bengal in Burma a mass movement has brought into existence a Karen Church, which is perhaps in

some respects the strongest of the indigenous churches of the Indian Empire. The Karens, though backward as compared with their Burman neighbors, had not suffered from an oppressive caste system, as had so many of the groups won in mass movements in India proper. They had, however, in the past suffered under their Burman rulers. Their economic condition was relatively good and they were early persuaded to accept financial responsibility for the church. Besides furnishing an example of a self-supporting Christian Church, the Karens are co-operating with the American Baptist Mission in sending the gospel to other tribes along both sides of the boundary between Burma and China, and mass movements are in progress within several of those tribes at the present time.

Other Mass Movements

Limitations of space permit no more than a reference to the fact that mass movements have developed in many other castes and areas. Some of these are among the Santals of Bihar and Bengal, the outcastes of Gujerat, the Dhusiya Chamars of Shahabad District in Bihar and Ballia District in the United Provinces, the Doms of Benares, and the quite different Doms of the Kumaun and Garhwal Hills in the United Provinces, the Mangs and Mahars of Bombay Presidency, the Bhils of Central India, and various Panchama castes in the Kanarese districts of Bombay and Madras Presidencies and in Orissa.

Relation to Government Policies

Both in India and from Western countries the suggestion has come to the writer that the mass movements may have been promoted by government policies, and that consideration should be given to the question whether the wish to be recognized as Christians can be traced to the desire for a favored position with the government or with its Christian officials. It is probably true that such a desire actuated some mass-movement converts. The writer has heard outcaste converts boast that the King-Emperor was their brother in Christian faith, and preachers have been known to counter the oft-repeated charge that only low people profess the

Christian religion by referring to the collectors, commissioners, governors, the viceroy and the royal family as Christians.

Two of the British *Residents*[5] in Travancore assisted the Christians when they were being hard pressed by persecuting Hindu officials. We have Ringeltaube's opinion that many Nadars tried to become Christians to escape a poll tax and certain other exactions. Ringeltaube's successor, Mead, and a Church Missionary Society missionary, Norton, were for a short time District Judges in Travancore State, a position of great power, that might have encouraged the expectation that certain advantages would accrue to Christians. But these appointments were held for a very short time and were surrendered as a precaution against that belief.

After Hindus in a part of Shahabad District in Bihar had attacked Moslems, the Government located a punitive police force in the affected area and assessed Hindu residents to meet the cost. Moslems and Christians were exempted from this assessment. When announcement of the tax and its exemptions was made, thousands of leather-workers applied for recognition as Christians. But church leaders ceased baptizing for several months, and asked the Government to make clear that the exemptions for Christians would be applied only to those who had professed Christianity before the riots took place.

Does Western Influence Foster These Movements?

A prominent Indian Christian, long an officer of an indigenous missionary society, expressed concern because mass movements had not occurred in any of the Society's areas, although in several adjacent areas, where foreign missionaries were at work, such movements were in progress. A partial answer is provided by the fact that many mass movements are taking place in areas under Indian superintendents, and several are in connection with the work of indigenous missionary societies. Another relevant observation is that in a large majority of areas where foreign mis-

[5] The official representative of the British government at the capital of an independent Indian state.

sionaries work there has been no mass movement. It is further observed that these movements have not generally developed where missionaries were most closely associated with the Government. American and Continental missions have been connected with more of these movements and with more converts than have British Societies.

It is also asked whether the movements show a correlation with either the spread of Western influence or with the number of missionaries and other agents of missionary societies, or with the number of years of missionary work in the area. No such correlations are apparent. Mass movements have not occurred in areas where Western influence has been most strongly felt. Bengal and Bombay, with only small mass movements, have been more deeply penetrated by Western secular influence than the United Provinces, Hyderabad State, or Assam, where large movements have occurred. The Tamil districts near Madras City, where mass movements have not developed strength, have been more Westernized than the Telugu districts of Nellore, Guntur, and Kistna, where mass movements are strongest.

Nor have the movements generally developed in areas where missionary forces have been most numerous or longest at work. Not infrequently the missionary occupation followed the movement, or the latter began soon after the mission was opened. The Lutheran movement in Chota Nagpur began less than five years after the first missionary arrived. Missionaries of the same mission labored in the Tirhoot Division of Bihar for seventy-five years without a suggestion of a mass movement. In Shahabad District, in a field of the same mission, there was no mass movement until one spread from adjacent territory seventy years after missionary work began.

Some Features Common to Mass-Movement Beginnings

Apparently the features most common to the beginnings of the movements in different areas are that missionaries and ministers of the Church did not seek them, and that they began through the conversion of individuals who refused to be separated from their caste fellows and went among

them as witnesses for Christ. The real founder of the Church in Travancore was not Ringeltaube, but Vedamanickam. In Kistna it was not Darling, but Venkayya. In Sialkot it was not Gordon, but Ditt. Before these movements began, the missionaries in practically every area were working primarily for the higher castes, hoping that they might first be won and might then take over the winning of the lower castes. They sought individual converts and tried to destroy their connection with castes. They saw castes only as obstructions to the spread of the gospel, never as channels along which it would spread.

The fear that the reception of large numbers of the depressed classes into the Church would interfere with the winning of the upper classes seems to have restrained a section, at least, of the missionaries in every area when movements were beginning. It is useless to speculate on what might have happened had the movements not occurred. But it is a matter of record that the great harvest expected of the upper classes, and the subsequent conversion, through their efforts, of those lower in the social scale, have not occurred in any of the numerous areas where there has been no movement of the depressed classes.

In conferences at Guntur, Ranchi, Gujranwala, Kodaikanal, and Nagpur, attended by more than three hundred Christian workers, about sixty per cent of whom had been associated in some way with mass movements, there was general agreement that converts from the upper classes have been at least as numerous in areas where mass movements of the depressed classes have occurred as elsewhere. Only one member of any of these conferences reported a belief that the conversion of the depressed classes had adversely affected the number of converts from other classes in any area with which he was acquainted. This one stated that in the area of the London Mission, in the Telugu country, the number of converts from the Sudra castes fell off when the Malas and Madigas began to enter the Church. But he expressed the opinion that the changed life and character of Mala and Madiga converts are now impressing the Sudras of that area so favorably that conversions from among them, on a larger scale than formerly, now appear imminent.

Where Mass Movements Have Not Occurred

The results of mass movements are by no means confined to the areas where they have occurred. Converts from those areas have gone in substantial numbers into other parts of India, and even to other countries. A study of the membership rolls of a large city church, far distant from any mass-movement area, indicated that at least eighty per cent of the members had come, through one or more of their ancestors, out of mass movements. In neither Calcutta nor Bombay has there been a mass movement, but there are hundreds of Christians in each city who have come out of the mass movements. An independent union congregation, in a provincial capital, was found to contain in its membership, or constituency, people whose entrance into the Christian community could be traced to mass movements in nine different areas and associated with missions of eleven different churches.

Mass movements have not monopolized missionary forces. Decidedly more than half of the Protestant foreign missionary force in India in 1930 was unattached to mass movements. An analysis of the distribution of missionary resources in Bihar and Orissa indicates that not more than 40 per cent of the missionary personnel, nor more than 35 per cent of foreign missionary funds, have gone into the mass movements which have produced 95 per cent of the professing Protestant Christians of the province.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF MASS-MOVEMENT CONVERTS

IN this chapter "converts" will be extended to include the entire Christian community that has resulted from mass movements, and "social condition" will be interpreted as including status and characteristics. We should expect communities recruited from divers castes in widely separated parts of India and brought under the influence, varying in intensity and duration, of Missions from sundry Churches in several foreign lands, to differ in their status in relation to other groups in their villages and in the habits and attitudes that characterize them.

That expectation is confirmed by the data compiled in the ten areas of our study. There are vast differences in the social conditions of the Christians from Nadar extraction around Nagercoil and those from the Sweepers around Etah, for instance, as there are, also, in the conditions of either of them and those of the Christians from the Mundas around Govindpur, the Malas in any of the Telugu areas, or the Chuhras around Pasrur.

Even where geographical separation and different influences subsequent to conversion have not contributed to divergence, differences, though smaller in number, are numerous and striking. Let us consider groups of Christians of Nadar and Sambavar extraction around Nagercoil. The castes from which these groups have sprung have lived side by side for many centuries. Subjected to the same climatic forces, they have been ruled by the same governments, and both have suffered, though unequally, the contempt and oppression of the higher castes around them. But they have reacted very differently to their environment, and probably brought varying social endowments to the situation in which they have lived. Since the London Missionary Society began work in South Travancore in 1806 many groups from both

castes have embraced Christianity. Yet these Christian groups display impressive contrasts both in the status accorded to them by their neighbors and in social characteristics.

Caste rules perpetuate social differences by assuring the continuance of distinctive customs and by reducing social contacts to the minimum necessary to community life. In the above groups those rules were somewhat relaxed following conversion, and intercaste contacts were increased by joint membership in one Church, though not in all cases in one congregation: but the two groups continued to live in separate clusters of houses and to maintain many of the customs and institutions that make for separate corporate identity.

Many forces contribute to the existing social variations among mass-movement converts. The ten areas intensively studied in this project reveal Christian groups that have emerged from Panchama and Sudra castes and aboriginal tribes, missions representing Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Presbyterian Churches and the Salvation Army and missionaries from Canada, England, Germany, Norway, Scotland, Switzerland, and the United States of America.

However, the recognition of so many variants should not force the conclusion that the social conditions of these converts, except in respect to their group integration, were at the time of their conversion, or are now, in all respects dissimilar. On the contrary, there were other striking resemblances in the conditions of all these groups before their conversion, except, perhaps, of the Valalas of Travancore and of some of the Sudra groups in the recent movements in the Telugu country.

These resemblances are as arresting as any of their more numerous differences. All were in one respect or another underprivileged and had a grievance against the social order in which they lived. All were poor. Except for a few scattered individuals in each group, all were illiterate. Upon all were imposed disabilities of one kind or another. They were all being exploited. In Chota Nagpur the aboriginal Mundas and Oraons were in conflict with the Maharajah

and his agents over land ownership and taxes. The untouchables in all areas, and the Nadars in Travancore, were subject to many oppressions and indignities, and while they had learned that they could not engage in open conflict without suffering defeat and further disadvantages, they had not lost the desire for relief and better conditions of life.

It is not to be supposed that these mass movements occurred only among the castes and tribes that were being exploited, nor that the castes in which they occurred were suffering more than others; but it is significant that they occurred among people who felt themselves oppressed and exploited. This fact should be remembered in reading the chapter on motives. We are reminded of Saint Paul's observation that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called." The privileged classes in the Hindu system, the wise "after the flesh," the mighty and the noble, have not come to Christian faith in mass movements. Compared with the masses of the simple, weak, and despised victims of the social order, not many of the privileged classes have come singly or by families.

Social Disabilities

Bearing in mind the exceptions that must accompany practically all statements about caste and its concomitants in India, it may be said that social disabilities are outgrowths of the idea that the people on whom they are imposed are unclean. *Untouchability* is applied to prevent contact with "unclean" people. *Unapproachability* implies that those against whom it is enforced are so very unclean that their approach closer than the prescribed limits (often thirty feet) would cause unpleasantness or even pollution. It is not necessary for our present purpose to speculate upon the origins of the idea or the evolution of the disabilities. Group unity is at the heart of the issue. The disabilities have been imposed upon castes, and the individual has not been considered apart from his caste. So it happens that an individual may be free from the unclean characteristics of his caste, and yet be made to suffer the penalties imposed upon the caste for uncleanness.

Something needs to be said about the standards by which

castes are accounted clean or unclean. Occupation and eating habits are the chief criteria used. Workers in raw leather along with scavengers are everywhere accounted unclean, because they work with the bodies of dead animals, as are Sweepers, because they work with human excreta. The village community is dependent upon the leather-worker for removing carcasses, curing skins, and making necessary leather articles which all use, and upon the Sweeper for removing filth; but that does not prevent the villagers from feeling or manifesting disgust for both occupations and for those engaged in them. When it is known that certain other castes eat the flesh of animals that have died of themselves,[1] or that they catch, kill, and eat animals regarded with loathing, similar feelings of disgust are excited, and those castes are accounted as unclean. All members of the caste are then treated as unclean.

It will be seen that this is quite unfair and unreasonable. Under its operation people of exemplary cleanliness may be treated as unclean, and subjected to severe social disabilities because they were born into unclean castes, while people of filthy habits may be treated as clean, and accorded special privileges because they were born into clean castes. In the course of our study we occasionally had the experience of passing through filthy quarters to seats surrounded by filth, and hearing men whose persons and clothes were dirty say that they enforce untouchability on account of uncleanness against people of their village whom we had found clean in person and dress, and living in clean quarters. But, as irrational as all this may seem, it is well for us to remember that strikingly similar conduct appears in other lands. The experience of the American Negro provides parallels. Many American Negroes of education and exemplary habits of cleanliness know what it means to have dirty white folk treat them as unclean.

While untouchability, once proclaimed against a caste, may continue for generations after the reasons for its enforce-

[1] This biblical expression is chosen in preference to the commonly used, but generally libellous, term "carrion," which means "putrid meat." For the attitude of the Hebrews to this matter see Leviticus 17. 15; Deuteronomy 14. 21; Ezekiel 44. 31.

ment have disappeared, there are indications that a number of Hindu castes, now regarded as clean and touchable, were once subject to its penalties. There are also indications that sections of unclean castes have escaped from untouchability, and the disabilities connected with it, by forming new castes and conforming to the demands as to occupation and food set up by their higher-caste fellow villagers.

While untouchability and caste are Hindu institutions they exercise a powerful influence upon the attitudes of non-Hindu elements. Village Moslems not infrequently are as reluctant as their high-caste Hindu neighbors to have any sort of contact with the castes accounted untouchable. Europeans, Indian Christians of higher-caste extraction, and even Christians who have emerged from among the untouchables, often fail to withstand the influence of environment and discriminate against a man because of his caste. Members of the Sweeper caste in North India, learning by experience that British army officers hesitate to employ a member of a Sweeper caste as a cook or table servant, conveniently call themselves Christians when seeking such employment. An Indian pastor told us that he knew personally more than a hundred non-Christian Sweepers working as cooks and table servants in the homes and clubs of a single cantonment, who were known to their employers as Christians.

This fact invites speculation as to what proportion of the much-advertised criticism of Indian Christian servants by army officers and civilians may derive from this practical way of escape from caste discrimination.

Through our household and village schedules we tried to measure the extent and severity of disabilities imposed upon Christian families. Our information came from the heads of Christian families and representative men of the village communities in which they live, that is, from spokesmen of those who suffer the disabilities and those who impose them.[2]

Residential Segregation

We may well begin this enumeration of disabilities with residential segregation. Castes accounted unclean are re-

[2] In Chap. IX will be found an analysis of the religious affiliations and castes of these representative men who became our informants.

stricted to areas allotted to them at one edge of, or a little apart from, the village. Their closest neighbors are generally the lowest of the "clean" castes. This custom is so thoroughly fixed in the order of village life that it is not an issue anywhere. Its antiquity goes back to Aryan times. Village plans, elaborately plotted, particularly the plan called *Nandyâvarta* (abode of happiness), were given in Mānasāra's building treatise, the *Silpa-Sâstra,* composed, according to E. B. Havell, about the fifth or sixth century A. D., but embodying older traditions.[3]

A former missionary says, "The man born in the outcaste village may as soon think of building his house in the other group as a pig may think of going to live in his master's front room."[4] This had special reference to South India conditions, where the houses of the outcaste are so completely separated from those of "clean" castes that they are often practically separate villages, and sometimes even bear separate names. On the basis of the data collected we conclude that it is substantially true of all parts of India represented in our study, but that it is possible for Christian converts of an outcaste group to live among the higher castes, in villages other than those around their birthplace, when they are not thoroughly and openly identified with the local group of outcastes. For Christian converts and their descendants who remain in their local groups this restriction is not relaxed, except very gradually after the passage of a generation or more, and we found little disposition for Christians thoroughly integrated in their local groups to question or resent it. Nowhere did we find any group contending for the withdrawal of this restriction, as Negroes contend against segregation in the United States.

Our non-Christian informants were unanimous in telling us that local Christians of outcaste origin cannot rent or build houses in the sections where the "clean" Hindu castes live. But in several Punjab villages Mohammedans professed that it might be possible for a few of the more respected of those

[3] Havell, E. B., *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India.* London: John Murray, 1915.

[4] Phillips, G. E., *The Outcastes' Hope.* London: London Missionary Society, 1912.

Christians to buy land and build in the Mohammedan sections. Occasionally one of our informants suggested that the Christian preacher or school teacher could secure a house among the Hindus or Mohammedans because of the high esteem and respect in which he was held. We found a few Christians, who confessed to us their "outcaste" origin, living in the midst of the higher castes, but they were, in all cases, people who had come from the outside as educated men or men of position and were not identified in the public mind with the outcastes. It is fairly clear that in many villages in different areas outcaste origin is not sufficient to bar residence in the more desirable sections of the village, provided it is not paraded or advertised by a mode of living or an occupation associated with outcastes.

Low-caste Sudras ordinarily live in clusters of houses, but are not excluded from the main village area like the "outcaste" groups. In Chota Nagpur the higher-caste Hindus often build their villages apart from the aboriginal tribes, but the latter usually employ a few Hindu families of the lower Sudra castes, and allow them to build houses in their settlements, so the question of segregation hardly arises.

Limitations Upon the Use of Roads

Much publicity has been given to the hardships enforced upon certain groups of outcastes, in some areas, by compelling them to leave the roads on the approach of a high-caste Hindu. This is an inevitable outcome of the enforcement of unapproachability, of which happily we found no trace in any area of our study. All the groups we met use the roads, in the ordinary course, without any sort of restriction due to their castes or caste origins. But we heard occasional complaints that roads in the sections of the villages where the Brahmans and the landowners live are forbidden for certain purposes. For instance, in a number of Telugu villages we were told that neither funeral nor marriage processions of outcastes, or converts from the outcastes, can pass along those roads. But in only one village was this represented as a hardship, as in other villages alternate roads were available for passage in and out of the village, and there was no reason to go on the forbidden roads, except to prove that they could.

Restrictions of Trading Rights

Trading rights may seem to belong to our chapter on economic conditions, but, since certain restrictions upon those rights are an outgrowth of the idea of uncleanness, they can hardly be omitted here. These restrictions operate against the outcaste both as buyer and seller. A bright-eyed Christian boy of a Sweeper family in a North India city, studying in a mission school, when asked why he was so eager to learn, promptly said: "So I will be able to go to a shop and buy what I need just as other boys do. I don't like to stand outside while everybody else is being served, then have what I buy thrown to me or put down on the street for me to pick up." In the city, with a little education, he would be able to hide the fact that he came from the Sweeper caste. In the villages, where the shopkeepers know all local residents, it is not so easy to escape from such humiliations.

All over India the "outcastes" are subjected to discrimination as buyers. They must wait, standing off to one side, until customers of other castes have completed their purchases. Then they cannot go up as others do and examine articles before selecting what they will buy, but must tell what they want, or point to it, and buy it without examination. Merchants often take advantage of this disability to sell them inferior or damaged goods at high prices. Once they touch an article it is contaminated and cannot be returned.

We found these restrictions more generally and severely enforced against Sweepers in the United Provinces than any other group in our study. An ex-preacher in the Ghaziabad area, unemployed because of reduced mission funds, told us of his experience when he returned to his village to resume work as a Sweeper. Accustomed to being treated as a respectable man while working as an evangelist in another area, he went to the market place and stepped up to the side of a cloth-merchant's stall without remembering that he was again a Sweeper in his home village. The merchant saw with horror that he was about to put his hand on a roll of shirting and yelled at him. Onlookers turned on him with anger, and he was subjected to a stream of abuse that appalled him.

No such complaints were made to us by any Christian families from Sudra castes or aboriginal tribes, except in a village of the Vidyanagar area, where several men of a low Sudra caste, noted for robbery, complained that they were sometimes treated as though the merchants would prefer that they keep away from the vicinity of their shops. They were very recent converts, and one of them said that the merchants had already begun to treat them more kindly since it was known that the pastor visited them frequently and they were attending church. In the Telugu areas many families of outcaste origin assured us that all discrimination of this sort against them and their families had ceased.

Another set of restrictions is applied against the outcastes as sellers of food products. Raw grain may be sold without difficulty, but the caste question is raised to restrict the sale of prepared food. The difficulty arises most frequently for those who own milch animals and wish to sell *ghi* (clarified butter), which is the chief milk product bought and sold in India's villages. It is the luxury cooking fat. Members of the "clean" castes will not purchase *ghi* from an outcaste. But a great deal of *ghi* is nevertheless made and sold by outcaste families, who take their product to some merchant in another village five to ten miles distant. This merchant either ignores the caste of the vendor, or takes advantage of it to pay a little less than the market price. The consumer rarely asks where the *ghi* came from, and when he does, the merchant is resourceful enough to keep from losing a sale.

Only in four areas were any Christian families working as merchants in the villages surveyed. All of them said that their sales are restricted because of their caste origin, and only in Nagercoil, where eighteen out of the total of twenty-five Christian merchants we met are located, are any of them attempting to sell food articles, prepared or raw. These eighteen are all of Sudra extraction, and so do not have to contend with the feeling existing against outcastes.

Service Deprivations and Discriminations

Among the disabilities which Christian families converted from Hindu untouchable castes feel most keenly are certain deprivations and discriminations in the matter of personal

service. Washermen are arranged for in the villages by the intercaste council of elders known since ancient times as the *panchayat,* and work under the *jajmani* system, or some kindred plan of occupational relationship. But the untouchables, including Christian converts from among them, are not included as members of the community when these arrangements are made. The washermen either refuse to work for them at all or do their work under conditions which they find humiliating. The most common conditions are that the untouchables take their clothes to the washing place—a stream, a tank, or a water hole—and dip them into the water, whereupon the washerman will accept them, wash them carelessly, and later take them in a rough heap to his house, where the owners must call for them. In some villages we were told that these grievances were further aggravated by the washermen demanding the same or even higher pay for this limited service than they received from the higher castes for calling for the clothes, washing them carefully, and delivering them in good condition.

Barbers are arranged for in some sections on a village community basis and in others on a caste basis, but here too social taboos are observed. Under neither arrangement will a barber who serves the "clean" castes cut the hair of one of the untouchables or shave him. In some sections, where large numbers of an untouchable caste are concentrated in one village or scattered over near-by villages, castes of barbers are found who work only for members of that caste. In the area around Nagercoil there is a caste of barbers that works for the Nadars, another that works for the Sambavars. A barber who works for Nadars will not marry the daughter of a barber who works for Sambavars, nor can he marry the daughter of a Nadar. Whether the barber caste related to each of these castes originated through members of those castes taking up barber's work and gradually evolving a separate status, is a question that invites inquiry.

In the Punjab the Chuhras are served by barbers who live among them with an inferior status. There are indications that these barbers were Chuhras who had taken up barber's work, and were in the process of becoming a caste within a caste when the Christian movement began. The

children of Chuhra barbers were not allowed to marry children of Chuhras following other occupations.

Around Nagercoil, in South Travancore, and Pasrur, in the Punjab, these caste barbers have generally followed their employers in becoming Christians.

Those castes for which a separate barber service has been evolved have no sense of grievance, for they have the service they need; but those castes whose smaller numbers or more fragmentary distribution have made the development of such service economically impossible, resent deprivation of the village barber service. The deprivation has, however, carried with it an economic compensation, for members of the caste have barbered for each other on a service-exchange basis which has relieved them from the obligation to pay for the work received. Where there are Mohammedans living in or near the villages of untouchables it is often, but not always, possible to arrange for the service of a Mohammedan barber. We heard of a few cases in the United Provinces where Mohammedan barbers would work for Christian converts from the Sweeper castes, but not for unconverted Sweepers.

The Hindu seamster sews for the untouchable only if the cloth is given by the merchant without the untouchable putting his hand upon it. Christian converts from untouchable castes are generally subject to the same discrimination, but perhaps ten per cent of Christian heads of families of untouchable origin told us that they are able to get Hindu seamsters to sew for them even when they take the cloth to them. Mohammedan seamsters, so far as our inquiries indicate, nowhere make this discrimination against Christians, and seldom do so against non-Christians of untouchable castes.

Occasionally, in the villages around Nagercoil in the South and Pasrur in the North, and in two villages near Ghaziabad, we learned of Christian women of untouchable-caste origin who were accustomed to do most of the sewing required for their families, and in several areas we met Christian men who were trying to make a living as seamsters. We refer to them in another chapter. But few women in the villages of India have learned to handle a needle, and the poorer the

family the more remote is the possibility that sewing will be numbered among the accomplishments of its women folk.

Through the centuries much attention has been given to making and keeping the village as nearly self-sufficient as possible, but the methods adopted for realizing that ideal have promoted the interdependence of the families, or more properly of the caste groups in the village. Public opinion has discouraged any move toward caste or family self-sufficiency, lest it deprive others of work assigned to them. The good citizens were always those who gave work to as many families as possible. Despite the humiliations and the painful, unremitting poverty to which they have been subjected in the process, the untouchables have respected this sentiment and have employed others to do work they might have done for themselves.

Difficulties in Securing Water

Few disabilities bear upon the outcastes so harshly as the refusal to permit them to draw water from village wells used by other castes. We came across Christian groups who were obliged to carry their drinking water a half mile, or further, although an abundant supply of cleaner water was available in wells within one hundred yards of their houses. They were not allowed to draw water from the near-by well because of the traditional uncleanness of the caste in which they were born. They were cleaner, in fact, than were some of the castes making use of the well; but that made no difference.

Where as many as twenty families of one untouchable caste are grouped, they generally manage to obtain a well for their own exclusive use. Such wells are dug and the supporting walls constructed at the expense of the group, or with the joint funds of the group, and charitably minded members of other castes in the neighborhood, or with public funds voted by some governmental body. Where the water level can be reached without digging through stone, the expense consists mainly of building the supporting wall, which is practically always made of brick; and if the water level is near the surface, the expense is small. But in places where stone is encountered close to the surface, as in much

of the Cumbum area, or where the water is far below the surface, as in parts of the United Provinces, the expense is heavy and even large groups are often unable to obtain wells.

In a number of areas the untouchables get water from the wells used by other castes by taking their vessels there and waiting until some kind-hearted person of the "clean" castes comes along and consents to draw the water and pour it into their vessels, or they can employ a member of one of the "clean" castes to draw water for them and bring it to their homes.

Several local governments have declared wells constructed at public expense to be available for all castes without discrimination, but the declarations are seldom made effective without a court case or an appeal to officials, and the untouchables in most cases refrain from demanding their rights, either because of the expense involved, or from fear of reprisals by their neighbors. When orders are issued and the untouchables begin to draw water from a public well, the "clean" castes usually discontinue using that well and, even though it be in a section of the village where only "clean" castes live, it becomes virtually reserved for the use of the untouchables. To avert the calamity of losing their well, the "clean" castes may raise a fund to provide a well for the untouchables in the latter's section of the village.

But caste mentality dominates even the outcaste. The untouchable castes do not act together to remedy this grievance, but draw the same lines against each other that the "clean" castes drew against all of them. The Chamars and the Sweepers of the United Provinces do not share wells. If the Chamars have a well, they forbid the Sweepers, who have none, to draw water from it. In the Telugu country the Malas and the Madigas are both excluded from the village wells, and each caste excludes the other from any well it may control. When groups of these castes living side by side in a Telugu village become Christians, one of the most difficult problems is to persuade them to adopt a Christian attitude on this issue. A Hindu official in Vidyanagar area told us that in one large village the government had been compelled to dig three wells at public expense, one for Malas, who were Christians; one for Madigas, who were Christians;

and the third for the remainder of the village. All the Hindu castes and the Mohammedans were willing to share a well provided neither Malas nor Madigas were permitted to use it, but those two untouchable castes, although both recently converted to Christianity, insisted upon separate wells.

Sudras and aborigines experience no particular difficulties over wells, so far as our data indicate, and Christian mass-movement converts from these groups make no complaints, though individual Sudra converts, thrown into conflict with their caste groups by their Christian conversion, have sometimes been treated as "outcastes" and forbidden to draw water from wells controlled by their erstwhile fellow castemen.

Denial and Abridgment of School Rights[5]

Until Christian missions began to serve them, the untouchables were nowhere provided with school privileges. They were not expected to learn to read; no one saw any reason why they should care to learn. The work assigned to them did not require that they read; religious books were not for them; and they had no part or lot in the government. Schools attended by Hindus of the "clean" castes were closed against them, while Mohammedan schools were chiefly concerned in teaching the Koran to Moslems. Even mission schools ignored them for years, while bidding for the attendance of children of the upper classes. When, at last, mission schools began to receive a few of them, both the schools and the untouchables concerned—parents and children—had trouble with the "clean" castes. Many mission schools were temporarily closed when the pupils from the "clean" castes withdrew in a body rather than attend school with untouchable children.

In those days education was almost completely decentralized. Each village did as it wished about a school. If one was started a Brahman taught it, it was supported from local resources and ran without assistance or interference from any central educational department, promotional agency, or inspecting staff. But that situation has been radically

[5] For further data on this subject see Chapter XII.

changed. To-day, in every province of British India and in most Indian states, there are Education Departments administering considerable appropriations for the opening, inspection and support of schools. All provincial governments, and many Indian states, have declared that the untouchables may send their children to school on the same terms as others or on easier terms. Where fees are charged they are often remitted for children whose parents are unable to pay.

But, as we have already indicated in reference to other disabilities, the declaration by the government of a right policy toward the untouchables by no means insures the removal of their disabilities. In many villages children of the untouchables are as effectively barred from the school as if the government had ordered their exclusion. If the key men of the village so desire, they are almost always able to frighten the parents into keeping them away, or to persuade the teacher or the other pupils to make life so miserable for the children that they will be unwilling to attend. However, very real progress has been made in opening the schools to untouchable children. Missions have contributed largely to this progress by starting schools for untouchable children, especially in villages where groups of them have become Christians, and by inviting the attendance of children of other castes. The teachers have generally been recruited from among untouchable converts who had attended mission schools. For Hindus of the upper castes to send their children to schools where they must not only sit beside children of the untouchable castes, but also be instructed by and subject to the discipline of a teacher from one of those castes, has necessitated a power of adjustment for which they deserve immense credit.

In a number of villages, particularly in the Punjab, we found that objection to the attendance of Christian children of untouchable caste origin has been so far conquered that teachers of non-mission schools are eagerly seeking to enroll them, and are even obtaining the co-operation of leaders of the highest castes in the village in urging them to attend their schools. There was apparently somewhat less eagerness to enroll children of those untouchable castes that

had not embraced Christianity; but the public attitude toward the attendance of the formerly despised untouchables had been so changed that no children of any caste wishing to attend school would be denied the privilege.

In still other villages we found that the modification of the public attitude had taken the form of discrimination between families previously treated alike, that is, in destroying the solidarity of a group as judged by the public. Nonmission schools in many villages were eager to admit children of certain Christian families of untouchable origin, but preferred that children of other families of the same group should not attend. Questioned on this point, our non-Christian informants said that the families whose children were welcome at the school had undergone reconstruction since becoming Christians, while the families whose children were not wanted were essentially the same people they had always been, despite their profession of Christianity.

A fact that came out occasionally in our interviews is that the admittance of a child to a non-mission school does not insure that he will be taught like other children, or, indeed, that he will be taught at all. We were told of instances where it is alleged that teachers compelled untouchable children to sit on the veranda day after day without teaching them anything. They only received attention when they annoyed the teacher by too much talking, or some other infraction of school rules, and were punished. One literate father said that he had sent his son to a government school for two years, and the teacher never once allowed him to sit with his class, nor gave him any personal instruction. Other parents told of their children being so humiliated by the teachers' constant railing at them, or by frequent undeserved punishment, that they refused to continue in school. The committee appointed by the government of Bombay to inquire into the condition of the depressed classes (untouchables) and aboriginal tribes in that Presidency reports that in a majority of the common schools the depressed classes are admitted, but mentions several kinds of discrimination practiced against children after admission. The following quotation reveals a situation somewhat unique, which, however, discloses an attitude and a spirit encountered by the

untouchables of many villages whenever they try to secure the privilege of school attendance for their children:

> The most extreme case actually seen by any member of the committee during its investigation was in Nasik District, where a Depressed-Class boy was made to sit on a platform exposed to the sun and rain outside the school, which was held in an upper room, while the teacher occasionally leaned out of the window to give instruction to him. On rainy days he had to go home.[6]

Despite the denial of their school rights, there were a few literates among untouchables before Christian missions began the service that has opened so many schools to them. Vedamanickam, the pioneer convert in Travancore, was literate before starting on the tour in which he met Christian missionaries and was converted. In other early mass movements occasionally a man was found who knew how to read. In this study we encountered a number of men who could read, though they had never attended school, and a fair proportion of them had learned to read by means that were not connected directly with the Christian movement, or with that more liberal attitude of the community toward the untouchables which is one of the large results of the interest Christian missions have taken in them. That any of these people were literate is one of several evidences of a truly remarkable capacity within their groups for resistance to oppression and the retention of self-respecting optimism.

Although the Nadars were classed as low-caste Sudras, they were not welcomed in the schools of Travancore before the Christian movement began among them, nor in non-mission schools for many years thereafter. To-day, so far from being an underprivileged group in respect to education, the Christians who have emerged from that caste in the mass movement around Nagercoil are leaders in the educational progress of their villages. We found the descendants of the early Nadar converts building and maintaining schools attended by children of all castes. They are aided by grants from the state government.

The aboriginal tribes in Chota Nagpur enjoyed no school privileges before the Christian movement began, but this was

[6] *Bombay Presidency: Report of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1930).

due more to their geographical isolation and lack of interest in schools than to any purpose on the part of others to exclude them. The Christians have been the leaders in taking advantage of schools provided by missions and the government, and the literacy rate among them is much higher than among non-Christians of their tribes. This educational advance of Christian members of aboriginal tribes has been made to serve the tribes as a whole, for the Christians are providing vigorous leadership in efforts to improve social conditions throughout the tribes, and have been perhaps the chief factor in producing a rapid rise in their status and relation to the Hindu castes and the population as a whole.

Attitudes of Inferiority Enforced

The dominant Hindu castes also enforce attitudes of inferiority. Some of these are recognized in the following quotation:

> As a degraded people the Depressed Classes are expected to follow a code of behavior in which the Depressed-Class man may not do anything which will raise him above his appointed station in life. He should not dress in a style superior to that of his status, nor should his wife adorn herself with ornaments after the fashion of the higher-class Hindu women. He should not have a house better nor bigger than the houses of other people in their village. He should not own land or be independent. He should not take to new and more remunerative services except those which are customary.[7]

While these demands have differed according to geographical area and caste, and while they have been considerably relaxed in recent years, we have found all of the above and many others in operation in one or more areas, and some of them in every area studied. Some additional demands are that the outcaste shall show deference to high-caste Hindus, always addressing them with respect and taking a servile attitude in their presence. He shall not ride a pony in the presence of a high-caste Hindu, but if he meets one while mounted he shall dismount and lead the animal past. He shall not carry a raised umbrella in the presence of a high-caste Hindu. In the villages of the Barhan area, in the

[7] *Ibid.*

United Provinces, complaint was made by Sweepers, including Christian converts, that they are not permitted to ride in the motor busses that ply on the public road for hire.

Emancipation in Progress

Despite the many grievances of which they spoke, Christian converts in untouchable castes were, with surprisingly few exceptions, emphatic in saying that much improvement has taken place in the attitude of the higher castes toward them, and they were quite generally confident that the future holds a promise of more rapid improvement. Early in the study an old man was asked whether being a Christian had made any difference in his relation with people outside his caste. With a gleam of satisfaction and pride he answered: "Yes, sir, I can sit here now talking with you and can look you in the eye without fear or embarrassment. Before we became Christians I had to cringe before any one who wasn't an outcaste." A young man in the Punjab, after being called away by a landlord from his interview with us and spoken to harshly about some incident for which he said he was not to blame, remarked: "In my father's time the landlord would have struck him and he could have made no reply. He spoke to me roughly but didn't strike me, and I talked back to him. When my boy becomes a man the landlord will write him a letter if he wants to make a complaint."

Our observations and study of the evidence gathered convinces us that large improvement has taken place in recent years in the status of the people variously known as outcastes, untouchables, and depressed classes, that Christian missions have been one of the most potent influences contributing to this result, and that the improvement has been most rapid and general in the case of Christian converts among these people.

Symptomatic of the spirit of the times are the growth of Nationalism, the introduction of new democratic institutions in government, the displacement or modification of old conceptions in religion, and Mahatma Gandhi's campaign against untouchability and espousal of the right of the outcastes to enter the Hindu temples. These and numerous other forces have combined to weaken the ancient attitude

of exclusiveness that made possible the imposition of so many disabilities upon the untouchables. The realization has come to many, and is spreading rapidly, that the destinies of all classes and castes in India are linked, and that all are suffering from the harm these disabilities have done to the untouchables. A number of Hindu and Moslem organizations have been formed to help to emancipate the untouchables. "It would not be unfair to say that they have arisen out of a desire to emulate the work of Christian Missions, and are inspired partly by something of the spirit of Christ, and partly by a purely emotional and uncritical love of what is Indian."[8]

These influences working upon the higher castes in the villages have moved a few of them to active intervention in behalf of the untouchables, and have prepared many more to respond to any indication of changes in the untouchables that offer help in supplanting the old attitude of contempt with one of respect. The profession of Christianity by the untouchables, when associated with new practices like church attendance and sending their children to school, and especially if it is accompanied or followed by the discontinuance of eating customs that give offense, evokes that response in many. But, where custom means as much as it does in the villages of India, progress in the improvement of the status of any people is, of necessity, slow. The well-disposed high-caste observer of the untouchables, acquiring a new respect for them, is less likely to show it by a violent break with the past than by the encouragement of a gradual assumption of rights.

We found villages, during this study, where pastors had been allowed to draw water from the village well used by all except the untouchables, then the preacher-companions of the pastor, then other guests in the pastor's home, then boys of the local Christian group home from high school, then members of the local group associated in the public mind more with the pastor and what he stands for than with the old life of the caste. In those villages new customary rights for Christians of outcaste origin are being built up slowly.

[8] Mayhew, Arthur, *The Education of India.* London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926.

The opportunity to do this would probably be forfeited by a rapid forcing of the issue. The conservatism of the Indian villages has a plastic quality. A "custom" is established with an ease of which many missionaries have had painful experience. When a group have assumed a right for a short time without challenge, custom comes to their aid and establishes that right.

Conversion By Itself Does Not Remove Disabilities

Whether members of untouchable castes, otherwise known as depressed classes, upon conversion to Christianity should continue to be regarded as belonging to those classes, has been much debated in recent years. Prominent Christian leaders, both Indian and foreign, have argued that since Christianity is not responsible for untouchability, or any of the disabilities associated with it, and cannot approve its continuance, conversion immediately lifts an individual, a family, or a group of families, out of the depressed category and places him, or them, in the community of Christians among whom there is no caste and no depressed class.

That argument is, we think, founded upon confusion of the position of such converts within the Church, and the recognition by the Church of their position within the village. The Church can and should accord to depressed-class converts an honored place in its membership, and the need for a reminder of this obligation is, in some places, painfully evident. But, for the very reason that the Church is not responsible for untouchability, it cannot end it by declaring it inapplicable to those of its victims who profess faith in Christ and pledge allegiance to him. Moreover, the aim of the Church should be to liberate all upon whom social disabilities are imposed, and not merely those who are converted to Christianity. The process of liberation is not helped, but is hindered, by the claim that the mere public profession of Christianity is sufficient to effect immediate removal from the ranks of the depressed.

Several provincial governments have set up agencies to work for the uplift of the depressed classes. In the Madras Presidency the Department of Labor administers a sizeable fund for their benefit. We have received complaints of

discrimination by this department against Christian converts of depressed castes made on the ground that in Christianity there are no depressed classes. We are told that scholarships have been refused to children of depressed-class groups because they or their parents had become Christians, and that in some instances the hope of securing one of these scholarships has kept some families from publicly identifying themselves with Christianity. This involves penalizing children for their religious convictions, and even for the convictions of their parents, and using public revenues to pay other families for continuing to profess adherence to Hinduism.

The committee appointed to advise the Bombay government on measures for the uplift of the depressed classes and aboriginal tribes considered this issue and made a recommendation which would prevent the grave mistake of the Madras Labor Department:

> The position of Indian Christians has been considered. They form a difficult problem, as in culture and economical position they are found in all grades of society. But in some areas, for example, Gujerat and parts of the Deccan, those who formerly belonged to the Depressed Classes, or who are descendants from such, still live in the Depressed-Class quarters in large numbers and share their life. They also share their disabilities in all respects, for example, exclusion from the common well of the village or from the common school.
>
> Though the general level of the Christians prevents us from placing them in any category of the Backward Classes, it seems to us that in those areas where, in actual fact, they are still treated as untouchables, the efforts we propose to make to raise the other communities treated as untouchables must be extended to them also. In fact, the struggle for the common rights will be made much easier if both unite for this purpose.[9]

To deny or ignore the disabilities under which Christian converts suffer is a positive disservice both to them and to their fellow sufferers who have not become Christians.

The Social Status of Mohammedan Converts From Untouchable Castes

We have already referred to mass movements of untouchables into Mohammedanism, but we revert to the subject to

[9] *Bombay Presidency, Report of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee* (1930).

consider how those movements have affected untouchability. There are communities in different parts of India that profess Mohammedanism but are treated as untouchables. The Bombay Government Committee, quoted in the preceding paragraph, mentions three such communities in the Bombay Presidency, that is, the Tadvi Bhils, the Mianas, and the Mohammedan Bhangis.[10] But certain other untouchable caste groups, converted to Mohammedanism, have entirely escaped from untouchability and all associated disabilities. One finds, for example, groups of Mohammedans who clearly trace back to the untouchable leather-workers,[11] who live in the village, instead of being kept outside or on the edge of it, use the common wells, send their children to school, buy and sell without restriction and, in short, suffer no loss because their ancestors were untouchables. It would be helpful if we could trace the steps in this transformation. It is apparent that the process included the abandonment of the eating of the flesh of animals that had died of themselves, keeping of pigs, and working in raw leather.

These Mohammedan mass movements have continued for centuries without breaking up untouchability in the Hindu population, but in some areas they seem to have softened the hardships suffered by the untouchables. The contrast between the position of the untouchables of the Punjab with its Mohammedan majority, which includes large numbers of descendants of Hindu untouchables, and those of the United Provinces with its overwhelming Hindu majority is striking.

The Chuhra caste in the Punjab, within which a great mass movement to Christianity has taken place, had long been under Mohammedan influence, and a slow movement toward Mohammedanism was arrested by the development of the Christian movement. Many Chuhras had, and their Christian descendants now have, names that reflect that Mohammedan influence. The Chuhras had given up the raising of pigs, possibly under a form of compulsion, and had acquired much of the Moslem antipathy to pigs. While still treated as untouchables, their relations with the Moham-

[10] *Ibid*, p. 12.
[11] *Census* of India.

medans were friendly and afforded them a measure of protection against the more devastating social and psychological effects of untouchability. One sees among them, for example, more initiative and less servility than among the untouchables in other areas.

Mass-Movement Converts Detached From the Mass

Hitherto we have dealt with the social condition of mass-movement converts who have remained in their village groups. But the report would be incomplete and misleading if we did not consider the large numbers of converts and descendants of converts of mass movements who have left the villages where they were converted. In the Punjab thousands of village Christians of the Chuhra group have gone into the districts opened to cultivation by irrigation projects. From Chota Nagpur hundreds have gone to the tea gardens of Assam. From South India thousands have gone to Ceylon, Burma, and Malaysia. We have had no opportunity to investigate social changes that have followed these emigrations, but have found a general belief among our informants in the areas from which these Christians have gone that improvement in the social status and characteristics of the emigrants has been accelerated by their change of residence.

More significant is the fact that many thousands of untouchables have gone from their villages through schools, mainly boarding schools at the headquarters of mission districts, to cities, towns, and rural areas all over India, and established themselves in honored positions entirely free from any suggestion of their origin. Lawyers, doctors, Government officials, high-school principals, college professors, etc., honored by their fellow Indians of all classes, castes, and creeds, have come out of the mass movements, and must be considered in any appraisal of these movements.

Social Characteristics: Co-operation

The indications of social characteristics, implicit in the foregoing, need to be explicitly elaborated and supplemented as a protection against incorrect and unfair inferences. The emphasis upon group solidarity and the subordination of the individual may lead readers not possessed of personal

experience of the Indian village to suppose that co-operation is more advanced than it really is. The limits within which the group acts for the individual or in his interest are fixed by custom and vary somewhat by area and caste. Despite the occupational concentration, so prominent in caste, the possibilities of collective bargaining have been surprisingly neglected. Despite residential segregation the group has done extremely little to make the common physical environment more pleasant.

Occasionally wells have been provided by group action. More frequently a community house has been built for the reception of marriage parties, the holding of caste meetings, etc. In the rainy season lanes between the houses become a nuisance and cause positive hardships to all, when a few hours of work by the men of the caste would drain them and bring relief to all, but no one does anything about it. Men who submit to dictation by the group as to whom their son or daughter may or may not marry, who would count exclusion from feasts a tragedy almost worse than death, will not think of joining with others of their group in collective buying or selling.

Co-operative Credit Societies are common in the Christian movement in several areas, but their founders and promoters all agree that their establishment was extraordinarily difficult, and that the traditional group action in other realms proved a disappointing foundation for the erection of joint responsibility for dealing with credit. Co-operative support of the Church has been difficult to establish. But probably the troubles here have been due in large part to a faulty approach to the problem by missionaries and Indian ministers, who have presented plans of support modeled on experiences of the Church in other countries, and in Indian cities, rather than on lines familiar in the Indian village.

Reactions to Oppression

The oppressive treatment to which the untouchables have been subjected for many centuries has contributed to the development of certain attitudes and traits that may be regarded as characteristic. These have been referred to in composite as the Depressed-Class mentality, which has been

said to include a very bad inferiority complex. It has generally been impossible for these oppressed people to respond directly to the stimuli of oppression without increasing their troubles; they have been unable to acquire actual unresponsiveness; the result has been indirect response in distorted reactions and puzzling behavior.[12]

Many observers have said that the untouchables do not resent their oppressions. The data we have collected lend no support to that belief. We were, of course, dealing in the main with Christians, but more than three thousand Christians whom we interviewed are untouchables in actual fact. While the Christians would not be entirely typical of the groups whose disabilities they share, and while they talked of their grievances much more freely than the non-Christian untouchables whom we interviewed, yet we have strong reason to believe that the resentment against oppression which they revealed lies deep in the soul of all untouchables.

Appearances of indifference to their suffering and of submissive acceptance of their status are, if we judge aright, masks which the accumulated experience of centuries has taught them to wear. They resent the treatment they receive, but ordinarily hide their resentment. They fight only when some new oppression appears, that custom has not presented with the appearance of invincibility, or when some circumstance makes them believe there is a chance to escape from an old oppression or to ease its burden upon them. And when they are not fighting they wear the mask of submissiveness. Many a pastor, many a missionary, many an employer has been surprised at the extraordinary violence with which an ordinarily docile and apparently contented man of one of these classes will sometimes express himself over a real or fancied grievance, and no less surprised, when the issue is disposed of, at the quickness with which he will resume his normal attitude.

Abject dependence, lack of ambition and initiative, carelessness, deceitfulness, extravagance, drunkenness, insolence and harshness in dealing with others are character weaknesses which many observers have found to be especially common

[12] Heinrich, Rev. J. C., *Inferiority Reactions and Mission Policy in India.* Calcutta: The Association Press.

among untouchables: they probably all enter into the common understanding of depressed-class mentality. Their exceptional prevalence may, we think, be traced to distorted reactions to oppression.

The direct response to oppression increases among Christian converts. Profuse evidence came to us of a growing independence and a diminishing fearfulness among Christian untouchables. Doubtless they and their unconverted fellow outcastes have been inspired also by a desire to share in the new national life stirring in India.

Cleanliness

Our many references to the alleged uncleanness of the untouchables calls for consideration here. To what extent are Christian converts from untouchable castes addicted to physical uncleanness? The differences between castes and areas are marked. Occupation is an important factor in determining these differences. The leather-workers are generally less clean than other groups. Many Sweeper women maintain standards higher than those prevailing in supposedly clean castes of their village. Lady missionaries and wives of Indian ministers, accustomed to visit the homes of all classes and castes, assure us that in many villages the home of the Sweeper ranks high in respect to cleanliness and order, and that the Sweeper woman is cleaner than many of the women for whom she works.

It must be remembered that standards of bodily cleanliness are high in India. The Saturday-night bath, such a familiar feature of middle- and lower-class life in more than one Western country, has no Indian counterpart. The daily bath has more patrons than the weekly bath. The bath may be criticized as to quality; soap is an expensive luxury for the poor; but in many of the so-called unclean castes frequent bathing is popularly accounted one of the necessities of life.

It is, however, extremely difficult for the untouchable to present an appearance of cleanliness. His poverty, his difficulty in getting his clothes washed combined with exceeding reluctance to wash them himself, the poor results of the kind of washing they do get occasionally, and the fact that he is

generally denied access to plentiful supplies of water, serve to make him appear dirty. In fact, he *is* dirty, but not continuously so. He knows and appreciates the value of water externally applied, and uses it with a frequency that seems incongruous with his environment, reputation, and restricted opportunities. As with other castes, so with the untouchables, the men bathe generally in the open without concern as to the number of onlookers, but the women bathe usually in their homes. Many a proud Westerner, accustomed to think of his race as strong and hardy and of the Indian people as physically weak, has been puzzled in North India on a cold winter morning when, clad in his warmest clothes, including overcoat, gloves and muffler, he has seen Indian men, high caste and low, about the wells or hydrants of the city water system, or on the river banks, calmly strip to a loin cloth and then with seeming pleasure pour vessels of cold water over themselves, with no protection against the cold except the friction produced by vigorous rubbing of their hands.

The Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur are recognized as a singularly clean people. We repeat that they must not be confused with the untouchables. They object to many so-called clean castes among the Hindus because of their unclean habits.

The Nadar Christians of Nagercoil are among the cleanest people of their villages, and very decidedly cleaner than the masses of non-Christian Nadars around them.

That conversion of the untouchables to Christianity is followed by distinct improvement in cleanliness of their persons and of their living quarters, is the fact upon which the largest number of our Hindu and Mohammedan informants agree; but we leave for Chapter IX the consideration and analysis of their testimony.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MASS-MOVEMENT CONVERTS

BEFORE we consider the data gathered on Christian families that have participated in mass movements, it is necessary to establish a background for economic conditions in India as a whole, and particularly in India's rural areas: without it our facts and figures cannot be correctly interpreted or appraised. Incomes representing moderate prosperity under conditions in which they are acquired in Indian villages might suggest to readers unfamiliar with those conditions an almost intolerable poverty. Also, debts which many of our readers would consider trifling in any conditions known to them, can be liquidated by the landless laborer in the Indian village only through years, even a lifetime, of most exacting economy, joined with unceasing eagerness to work on the part of his family and himself and rare good fortune for them all in obtaining work and escaping illness.

India has had a long and painful experience with poverty. Through centuries of suffering her masses have developed a rare capacity for enduring privation. That poverty is one of the real rulers of India is less a figure of speech than a grim fact. Neither Government nor caste, neither religion nor custom rules the daily life of the rural masses in this subcontinent more surely than poverty does.

Average Annual Incomes

That India is poor all authorities affirm and no one denies. But when efforts are made to tell how poor India is agreement ceases. "The materials for estimates of average income are of such an unreliable and uncoordinate nature that the conclusions drawn therefrom can be nothing more than conjectures of more or less doubtful accuracy."[1] Few investigations have been made with any claim to statistical adequacy.

[1] Pillai, Dr. P. Padmanabha, *Economic Conditions in India.* London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1928.

The best studies cover so few and such limited areas that their results, while not without value, must be received with caution.

The first recorded attempt to compute the average per capita annual income for India as a whole was made in 1870 by the eminent Parsi Nationalist, Sir Dadabhai Naoroji. His estimate of Rs. 20 precipitated a storm of controversy. Twelve years later Sir David Barbour, using data from a Famine Commission Report, produced an estimate of Rs. 27. Lord Curzon concluded that in 1899 the income was not less than Rs. 30. Subsequent studies have provided higher figures. Professor Gilbert Slater in 1928 concluded that Rs. 100 would not be too high. An analysis of some of the most important estimates is provided in Table I.

TABLE I—COMPUTATIONS OF ANNUAL AVERAGE PER CAPITA INCOME IN INDIA

By Whom	Date	Area	Amount	Note
Sir Dadabhai Naoroji,	1870	India	Rs. 20	"Approximately"
Sir David Barbour,	1882	India	27	
Lord Curzon,	1899	India	30	"Not less than"
The Hon. E. M. Cook,	1911	India	80	"About"
Prof. Gilbert Slater,	1928	India	100	
Madras Dept. of Agric.,	1921	Madras Pres.	100	
Census of Bombay Pres.,	1921	Urban Areas	100	
Census of Bombay Pres.,	1921	Rural Areas	75	
Bombay Presidency, Labor Department,	1921	Certain Rural Areas	33–12–0	
Mr. J. C. Jack,	1916	Rural Areas, Faridpur Dist., Bengal	50	
Prof. Gilbert Slater,	1917	Several villages in Madras Presidency	72	

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The average incomes for all of India are, of course, raised somewhat by the inclusion of people of large wealth. The fortunes of princes and the landed aristocracy are large enough to draw world attention, and the leading port cities contain millionaires comparable to those of many Western cities. But faulty distribution is not a primary cause of poverty in India. There are few fortunes, and the number of moderately large estates is surprisingly limited. Relatively few Indian villages possess even one home with as many conveniences as the poorly paid rural school-teachers

of Great Britain consider necessary for their comfort, or a single resident whose normal income exceeds one half of that of the union carpenter or bricklayer of New York in this period of depression. But if few favorites rise above the common level to wealth, many hapless ones sink to extreme privation. If we assume an average annual income per capita of Rs. 100, it will be seen that one man with an income of Rs. 100,000 above the average will offset 4,000 with incomes Rs. 25 below the average. The difference between the economic position of the poorest and that of the average is not large by common scales of measurement, but when the average is as low as it is in India, any fall beneath it produces a poverty much more severe than results from an equal fall in Western lands.

The Influence of Caste

A distinctive feature in the economic life of India which radically affects the distribution of wealth is introduced by the caste system. The assignment of functions and occupations to caste communities to a considerable extent controls the economic potentialities of all families and individuals. There are often decided differences in the economic conditions of the several families of any caste in a village, but the range of economic variation possible for any family is pretty well determined in each village by the caste to which it belongs. A Brahman may be very wealthy or entirely poverty-stricken; but in wide areas on meeting a member of a Brahman caste one may be fairly sure that he is neither very rich nor very poor. His caste places upon him restrictions against acquiring wealth and insures him against being reduced to extreme poverty. Likewise, meeting a member of one of the untouchable castes whose historic communal occupation is casual field labor, one assumes with little chance of error that he is extremely poor.

"In a Hindu village in North India," writes W. H. Wiser,[2] "each individual has a fixed economic and social status, established by his birth in any given caste." The effect of a caste occupation upon the distribution of wealth is enhanced by caste customs, traditions, and characteristics.

[2] Wiser, W. H., *The Hindu Jajmani System.* (In preparation.)

Caste customs may cut off sources of income open to members of other castes in the same occupation, or may necessitate expenditures which in other castes are discouraged. Mr. M. L. Darling vividly contrasts agriculturists of the Rajput and Jat castes in the Punjab:

> The Rajput, whose title literally means "son of a rajah," is the aristocrat of the countryside, proud of his birth and his traditions, loving the bravura of life and scorning its drudgery. If he is of pure descent, he is forbidden to touch the plow; and even if he is not bound by this rule, where the Jat plows deep he will only scratch the surface of the soil. His hedging and weeding are equally superficial. To make matters worse, the Rajput's regard for his *izzat* forbids him to take any help from his wife. She can do nothing outside of the house and very little within. . . . The wife of the Jat does almost as much as her husband, and sometimes more. . . . All roads lead a Rajput into debt. . . . No tribe is in stronger contrast to the Rajput than the Jat. Unremitting in toil, thrifty to the verge of parsimony, self-reliant in adversity, the Jat is the ideal cultivator.[3]

Mass-Movement Converts Mainly From Poor Castes

The castes within which Christian mass movements have taken place are, with few exceptions, very poor. The fishermen along the western coast in South India, converted to Roman Catholicism in mass movements in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, apparently were then, and certainly are now, definitely middle class in their economic status. The Vallalas of the Tamil country, who have had limited mass movements to Christianity, are a prosperous caste of the upper-middle classes. Recent movements in the Telugu country have brought into the Church large numbers of people of average or more than average economic strength. But the Malas and Madigas of the Telugu country, the Nadars and the Sambavars, or Adi-Dravidas, of the Tamil land, the Puliyars of the Malayalam area, the Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur, the Santals of Bihar and Bengal, the Chamars and Sweepers of the United Provinces, and the Chuhras of the Punjab, which are the castes and tribes that have contributed most largely to the growth of the non-Roman

[3] Darling, M. L., *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt.* London, New York and Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1928.

churches through mass movements, have all been desperately poor. This is not to say that they have all been the poorest castes in their respective areas. On the contrary, we learned of one or more castes in every one of the ten areas of our study that are poorer than either the Christians or the unconverted sections of the castes to which the Christians had belonged.

In Chota Nagpur the aboriginal Mundas and Oraons are poor, but they provide employment for Hindu non-aboriginal castes whose economic position is definitely inferior to theirs. In the Telugu country we were constantly running across Hindu groups to whom Christians of Mala and Madiga origin referred as even poorer than they. In the United Provinces we found Dhanuks, Sainsiyas, Doms, and other castes who were decidedly poorer than the Christians or the Sweepers and Chamars from whom the Christian groups had been recruited.

The Incomes of Christian Families

When we began our household study, it seemed that the process of ascertaining total incomes would demand more time and money than we could give to it in fairness to other lines of inquiry. We therefore decided to study only the cash income, which then appeared to be a more significant index of economic condition than we can now regard it. We regret that we did not from the beginning seek a record of total income of all sorts. In the Pasrur area in the Punjab, where the last of the area studies under the immediate supervision of the director was conducted, a schedule was devised for securing total incomes which was used with satisfactory results for 179 families there, and for 140 families in the Barhan area in the United Provinces.

Our ten areas give us income information for a total of 3,452 households. The average annual family cash income recorded in the schedules is Rs. 121. Two important questions concerning these figures arise: (1) Are they approximately correct? (2) What is the relation of cash income to total income?

A careful study of the entries in the household schedules and their comparison with other data suggest that in all

areas, except Cumbum and Govindpur, the cash income figures are a little higher than they ought to be. Field workers often included in cash income the estimated money value of payments made in kind, and not turned into money. Three facts partially offset this:

(1) Some of the heads of households were afraid that assessments of some sort were being planned and successfully sought to hide a portion of their earnings.

(2) Certain items of cash income, notably money received from absent members of the family and small payments from village patrons (jajmans), although recorded under another head, were frequently omitted from the schedule of income.

(3) The earnings of adult members of the family, other than the head and his wife, were apparently not always examined with the requisite thoroughness.

In the Cumbum area the figures are undoubtedly lower than they ought to be. The following table gives the totals for cash income as recorded and after necessary corrections have been made.

TABLE II—AVERAGE FAMILY CASH INCOMES AS PER SCHEDULE (A) AND AS CORRECTED (B)

	A Rupees	B Rupees
Barnan	141	136
Cumbum	27	43
Etah	168	138
Ghaziabad	125	109
Govindpur	51	60
Guntur	162	138
Nagercoil	186	185
Pasrur	106	95
Vidyanagar	101	82
Vikarabad	71	70
All Areas	121	116

Our data even less conclusively answer the second query. In the Punjab the *total* income of 179 families in cash and kind averages Rs. 133, while the *cash* incomes of 391 families as recorded in the schedules average Rs. 106, and as corrected average Rs. 95. Accepting the latter figure, total income is seen as 40 per cent higher than cash income. But the ratio

between cash and total income varies widely in the several areas. In Barhan the total income of 127 families in cash and kind averages Rs. 153, as against an average for the same families of Rs. 136 in cash only, making total income about 15 per cent higher than cash income. In Nagercoil and Vidyanagar areas a day-by-day record of work done and payments received by twelve agricultural laborers and their families, selected as typical of Christian families engaged as field laborers, joined with data from the schedules about income for those families from sources other than daily work, for example, sale of field produce, animals, and receipts from absent relatives, shows their total incomes to be approximately 60 per cent higher than their corrected returns of cash income. But an analysis of the records for 100 families in Vidyanagar and for 80 families in Nagercoil, joined with a computation of their probable receipts in kind, based on land farmed or rented to others for a share of the crop, on animals owned and payments for work at rates prevailing in those areas, shows total income only 14 per cent higher than cash income in Nagercoil, and 47 per cent higher in Vidyanagar. The same processes, applied to the other areas for which the schedules had not provided data, have enabled us to prepare a table of probable total incomes.

TABLE III—PROBABLE TOTAL FAMILY AND PER CAPITA ANNUAL INCOMES

Per Family	Area	No. Persons in Average Family	Per Capita
Rs. 153	Barhan*	5.6	Rs. 27- 5-0
112	Cumbum	4.8	23- 2-0
170	Etah	4.8	35- 7-0
146	Ghaziabad	4.8	31-11-0
288	Govindpur	6.5	44- 5-0
165	Guntur	4.6	35-14-0
212	Nagercoil	4.8	44- 2-0
133	Pasrur†	5.6	24- 0-0
149	Vidyanagar	4.6	32- 6-0
109	Vikarabad	5.1	21- 6-0
172	All Areas	5.06	33- 9-0

* By schedules for 127 families.

† By schedules for 179 families.

While representing a careful computation on the most comprehensive basis possible in the circumstances, we must warn against regarding it as even approximately correct. So far as we can tell, it indicates the relative size of the total incomes in the several areas, but more elaborate studies would be necessary to make a categorical statement on either the absolute or relative size of incomes. This statement on the tentative nature of these findings applies to all schedules on income.

Per Capita Incomes

Obviously, the degree of adequacy of a family income depends in part upon the number in the family. In Guntur and Vidyanagar, families average only 4.6 persons, while in Pasrur and Barhan, they average 5.6 and in Govindpur, 6.5. The average for 3,744 families in ten areas is 5.06 persons. The highest annual per capita total incomes in the table are shown as Rs. 44-5-0 in Govindpur and Rs. 44-2-0 in Nagercoil, and the lowest as Rs. 21-6-0 in Vikarabad and Rs. 23-2-0 in Cumbum. The average for all persons included in the study is Rs. 33-9-0.

Professor Gilbert Slater, writing, presumably, in 1925, tells of "a very recent inquiry" by Mr. Ranga Nayakulu that yielded an estimate of Rs. 30 per annum as the average income per head for the laborers of untouchable castes in the Godavari delta.[4] The Vikarabad, Vidyanagar, Guntur, and Cumbum areas of our study are comparable to the field of Mr. Nayakulu's inquiry, and the Christians in these areas are in the main from the same untouchable castes. There was a big decline in commodity prices and in the scale of payments between Mr. Nayakulu's inquiry and ours, which was clearly not less than 40 per cent. Raised by 40 per cent to approximate the price levels of 1924, which we assume as the date of Mr. Nayakulu's inquiry, our figures for the incomes of the four Telugu areas would become: Vikarabad, Rs. 30; Cumbum, Rs. 32-6-0; Vidyanagar, Rs. 45-5-0; and Guntur, Rs. 50-4-0.

[4] Pillai, P. Padmanabha, *Economic Conditions in India.* London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1928.

Sources of Cash Income

In an agricultural country like India where primitive customs survive it is common to find payments in kind instead of cash. Labor in fields and villages is the chief source of cash income reported in six areas: Barhan, Ghaziabad, Guntur, Pasrur, Vidyanagar, and Vikarabad. In Govindpur and Nagercoil it is exceeded only by crops raised and sold. For the eight areas the combined totals are Rs. 131,749 for work in fields and villages and Rs. 82,725 for crops. These are also the chief sources of income in kind. Work in fields and villages is casual or coolie labor.

When grain prices were high, a few years ago, village employers preferred to pay wages in cash. To this the laborers objected, as the cash wages were seldom sufficient to buy as much grain as they had been accustomed to receive. But with prices falling, when our field work was done, positions were reversed. Employers favored payments in kind and laborers were clamoring for cash. Where money payments were being made, they were on a lower scale than in the years just past.

The third largest source of cash income is labor in towns and cities. It represents considerably higher rates of pay per day and still higher rates per hour of work done. In the villages the daily rates run from 1 anna 6 pies for women and 2 annas for men to 5 annas for women and 6 annas for men; in the towns and cities they run from 4 annas 6 pies for women and 5 annas for men to 10 annas for women and 14 annas for men.

Of the cash income reported a combination of labor and capital investment produced 32.4 per cent. The sources thus grouped include crops, rent, trade, animals, and animal products, hauling, building and money-lending. Inherited caste occupations produced 7.5 per cent; unskilled labor, 43.2 per cent; new occupations as village artisans, 3.8 per cent; church and mission work, 5.9 per cent; government jobs, 2.6 per cent; miscellaneous work of old types, not associated exclusively with their caste inheritances, 1.7 per cent, and miscellaneous work of new types, 2.3 per cent.

Practically 20 per cent of the cash income reported can be

traced to sources not open to these groups before the Christian movements among them began. These new sources of income are most numerous in Nagercoil, where the mass movement is older than in any other area. Guntur and Pasrur show an encouraging number of new income sources. Vikarabad and Barhan show the least new sources.

Forty-four families report income from money-lending. This contrasts with 2,656 families in debt. Interest paid or due to others is 232 times as much as income from money-lending. The debt of the Christian families, except what is owed to Christian co-operative societies, is, therefore, overwhelmingly an external debt. It is mainly a debt to the high-caste Hindus who enforce social and economic disabilities upon them.

Relative Earnings of Men and Women

Men are credited with earning 80.7 per cent; women, 9.7 per cent; and children 9.4 per cent of the aggregate cash income for all areas. But it must be remembered that most of the reports came from men and were recorded by men. They undoubtedly give men more credit than they deserve. In several areas women work in the fields well-nigh as much and as hard as the men do, yet when income from crops was reported, it was almost always recorded in the men's column. Although paid less for a day's work, women field laborers earn about one third as much as men. In Guntur and Vikarabad their earnings approximate 50 per cent of those of the men.

Women work in the fields in every area, but the field work of Sweeper women is very limited. Literate women work in the fields less than illiterate women, but apparently contribute more to the family income as they more frequently take up work as lacemakers, and care for cattle, goats, and poultry, and a considerable number become school-teachers. Women who have studied beyond the primary grades dress better, take better care of their children, and generally raise the standards of living in their homes. The largest number of literate women is found in the Nagercoil area. The income of families in which the wife is literate averages 80 per cent higher than the average income of all

families in the area. However, it would be a mistake to credit this additional income entirely to the earnings of the wife, or to her influence upon the earnings of the family, or to a combination of both. The literate girl naturally marries into families whose economic status is above the average. It is significant that though she brings to her home a higher standard of living, spends money more freely on clothes and food for herself and for all of the family, and does less work in the fields, the economic status of the family is certainly not lowered and is apparently to some extent raised by her presence there instead of one of her illiterate sisters.

Emigration From the Village

Emigration from the village in search of work has assumed largest dimensions in the Barhan and Govindpur areas, and is smallest in the Cumbum and Vikarabad areas. At least one member of the family was working elsewhere in 36 per cent of the homes of the Barhan and Govindpur areas when our data were gathered. The corresponding percentages in Cumbum and Vikarabad were 3 and 1.

The Barhan men who leave the villages work chiefly as Sweepers, though a beginning of other work is indicated. Although Barhan is approximately six hundred miles from the sea one man from this area works as bath steward on a ship. Two are table servants in a city hotel, and several are in other kinds of domestic service. From Govindpur the exodus is to the tea gardens in Assam, to Ranchi, to Calcutta, and to the mines, mills, and factories around Tatanagar and Asansol. Thirteen men from Govindpur area were working as teachers, 3 as preachers, 7 as farmers (four of these in distant Assam), 10 as cooks, 6 as clerks, 15 as skilled laborers, 5 as surveyors, 3 as forest guards, 3 as vaccinators, 22 in other miscellaneous jobs and 21 as coolies.

Of the 670 homes studied in Guntur 44 had a total of 56 members working elsewhere. But 21 of these were teaching school and 9 were preaching or doing other types of church or mission work. Others were: domestic servants, 4; stone-cutters, 4; clerks, 4; chowkidars, 4; doctor, 1; nurse, 1; motor driver, 1; government officials, 3; merchant, 1; and coolies, 3.

In Nagercoil, of 654 families, 77 report a total of 97 members working elsewhere. Of these 20 were school-teachers, 5 preachers, 30 clerks, 5 farmers and only 7 coolies. The remainder are divided among 18 other occupations.

Debts

Income figures are not absolute indexes of economic condition. Quite apart from the cost of living, which varies according to standards and locality, consideration must be given to indebtedness and the demands that debts make upon income. We were rather more successful in securing the information on debts than on income. For each household head we listed the debts, their interest rates, the debtor's reason for incurring them, and the approximate interval since their incurrence. The information is complete in a sufficiently large number of cases to permit a good many valuable generalizations. The entries were secured from the heads of families under circumstances that encourage us to regard them as approximately correct. In the Indian village information on debt is widely distributed, especially within caste compartments. We would ask a man about his debts. He would call several of his neighbors and they would confer about the answers to our questions. It seems that these illiterate and oppressed people have learned by experience that the individual's interests are in a measure protected against unscrupulous creditors by making the group a repository for information about the debts of its members. It is less easy for a dishonest merchant, landowner or moneylender to falsify the accounts if the debtor's fellow caste-men know all the circumstances connected therewith.

In three areas we tested the information given us by consulting representative creditors, and found substantial agreement with the figures in our household schedules. None of the creditors interviewed claimed that any Christian for whom the schedules had been filled owed accounts which had not been reported to us. In less than five per cent of the cases reported was there a greater variation than could be accounted for by the inclusion of a recent installment of interest by the creditor and not by the debtor, or vice versa.

Proportion of Heads of Families in Debt

Of 3,819 heads of families questioned, 2,656, or 69.5 per cent, were in debt. There are wide differences in the proportions in debt in the several areas. The lowest proportion, 40.5 per cent, is in the Govindpur area; the highest, 81.69, in the Ghaziabad area.

Two classes of people are free from debt: (*a*) Those who are prosperous or thrifty enough not to require credit and (*b*) Those who are so poor, or so improvident, that they cannot obtain credit. It is not safe to assume that because in one area a larger proportion of Christian families is in debt than in another area, therefore the economic condition of the Christians is better in the former area than in the latter. The larger proportion free from debt may indicate greater prosperity; on the other hand, it may indicate more devastating poverty or a worse reputation. A slightly larger proportion of the Christians in the Barhan and Etah areas is free from debt than in the Nagercoil area, yet, on the whole, economic conditions are decidedly better in Nagercoil than in either Barhan or Etah.

Table IV—Proportion of Heads of Families in Debt

Barhan	61.7
Cumbum	75.
Etah	61.9
Ghaziabad	81.6
Govindpur	40.5
Guntur	66.2
Nagercoil	64.9
Pasrur	80.9
Vidyanagar	76.6
Vikarabad	80.4
All Areas	69.5

The Average Amount of Indebtedness by Areas

The 69.5 per cent of heads of families in debt report an average total indebtedness of Rs. 185. The area averages range from Rs. 47-13-0 in Etah to Rs. 346-12-0 in Nagercoil. Barhan, Cumbum, Govindpur, and Vidyanagar averages are below Rs. 100, Ghaziabad and Guntur are below Rs. 150, and Vikarabad and Pasrur above Rs. 250.

TABLE V—AVERAGE INDEBTEDNESS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES BY AREAS

AREA	Rs.	As.
Barhan	76	4
Cumbum	61	9
Etah	47	13
Ghaziabad	143	4
Govindpur	77	8
Guntur	133	4
Nagercoil	346	12
Pasrur	294	11
Vidyanagar	82	0
Vikarabad	262	14

COMPARISON OF DEBT AND CASH INCOME

Many debts are not paid with cash, but with grain or labor. A comparison of debt with cash income may be relevant. Debts are most excessive in relation to cash income in the Vikarabad, Pasrur, and Nagercoil areas and lightest in the Etah, Barhan, and Guntur areas. If interest charges on all of these debts should be suspended to-day, and the indebted heads of families should apply all the cash income obtained by themselves and their families towards the payment of the principal of the debts of all in each group by areas, the Etah group would be first to cancel their debts, and it would take them five months and ten days! The next group to get free would be Guntur, and it would take them ten months and twenty days. The Nagercoil group would require their cash income for two years, eight months, and six days; and the Vikarabad group for three years and seven-months.

TABLE VI—LENGTH OF TIME NECESSARY FOR ALL CASH INCOME OF INDEBTED FAMILIES TO EQUAL DEBTS OF INDEBTED FAMILIES (DISREGARDING ACCUMULATED INTEREST CHARGES)

AREA	Years	Months	Days
Barhan,		8	15
Cumbum,	2	8	10
Etah,		5	10
Ghaziabad,	1	2	4
Guntur,		10	20
Nagercoil,	2	8	6
Pasrur,	3	2	12
Vidyanagar,		11	10
Vikarabad,	3	7	0

Interest Rates

But, in interpreting debt as an index of economic condition, it is advisable to give as much consideration to the interest rate as to the principal. Some of the small debts reported to us were causing more trouble to the debtors than were many of the larger, because of the higher interest charges made upon them. J. L. of the Ghaziabad area owes only Rs. 80 but the interest charge for this amount is Rs. 40 per annum, while H. S. in the Guntur area owes Rs. 300 but is called on to pay only Rs. 36 per annum in interest. In the ten areas the average annual interest rate per debt reported is 21.38 per cent, and per rupee owed is 18.94 per cent. The difference in these rates is due to the fact that debtors obtaining the lower rates borrow or buy on credit more than those who are charged higher rates.

A few debts were reported on which no interest is charged. The creditors in those cases were relatives, or Mohammedans whose religious scruples keep them from charging interest and who made loans or sold on credit because of friendship; or employers who sought to insure their labor supply by placing laborers under obligation to them. Where interest was reported the rate runs from 5 per cent to 75 per cent. We occasionally heard of rates as high as 100 per cent, but no one in the survey claimed that he was charged above 75 per cent per annum. The range of area averages is from 12.45 per cent in Guntur to 43.62 per cent in Barhan per debt; and 11.49 per cent in Nagercoil to 41.55 per cent in Barhan per rupee borrowed.

A high rate of interest ordinarily indicates that the debtor is regarded by the creditor, and by other potential creditors, as a bad risk because of uncertainty either of his ability or of his will to pay, or of both.

Table VII—Average Annual Interest Rates by Areas

Area	A Per Debt	B Per Rupee Owed
Barhan	43.62	41.55
Cumbum	17.50	16.82
Etah	33.69	37.98
Ghaziabad	30.73	24.75
Govindpur	19.01	15.28

Area	A Per Debt	B Per Rupee Owed
Guntur	12.45	11.96
Nagercoil	12.58	11.49
Pasrur	27.43	25.57
Vidyanagar	19.58	18.83
Vikarabad	24.49	23.78
All Areas	21.38	18.94

SHARE OF CASH INCOME REQUIRED FOR INTEREST CHARGES

In the relation of interest charges to cash income the indebted Christians of the Guntur area are less distressingly situated than any of the other groups of debtors included in the study, yet they need to spend 10.61 per cent of their income to meet the interest charges on their debt. In only one other area, Etah, is the share of cash income required for interest less than 20 per cent. In two areas the share required exceeds three fourths of the total reported: Pasrur, 79.68 per cent; and Vikarabad, 83.68 per cent.

TABLE VIII—SHARE OF AVERAGE CASH INCOME REQUIRED FOR AVERAGE INTEREST CHARGE

Area	Percentage
Barhan	28.83
Cumbum	45.26
Etah	12.42
Ghaziabad	32.64
Govindpur	23.07
Guntur	10.61
Nagercoil	29.01
Pasrur	79.68
Vidyanagar	17.63
Vikarabad	83.68

A group of 177 indebted agricultural laborers working under the *sepi* system in the Punjab report average cash incomes of Rs. 69-6-10 and average interest charges of Rs. 73-8-5, making interest exceed cash income by 5.91 per cent. Isolated individuals are in an even worse position: A barber in the Punjab with a *total annual income in cash and kind* of Rs. 96 owes Rs. 500 on which the annual interest amounts to Rs. 125!

Taking the entire group of debtors in the Punjab for whom total incomes in cash and kind were ascertained, we

find that the interest charges on their debts equal 63.31 per cent of their entire income.

The average amount of interest annually charged those debtors from whom we secured full information is Rs. 31-8-0.

Payments on Debt

The bare recital of these facts suffices to show that many interest charges are not paid because the debtors are unable to pay them. The Indian villager has long been familiar with incapacity to pay as an argument for the revision of debt agreements. The debtor is, however, extraordinarily slow to make use of it, and the creditor demands an extremely strong case before he admits the need for revision. Formal bankruptcy is apparently unknown in the village groups with which we are concerned. In a large proportion of cases the money realizable from a sale of the debtor's assets would fall far below the amount of his debts. There is surprisingly little willful evasion of payment. The debtor continues year after year paying what he can and at his death his sons assume his debts almost without question, although they are seldom under a legal obligation to do so. Mr. M. L. Darling intimates that sons are bound to their father's debts by the triple chain of caste, custom, and character, but not by law.[5] It was not possible for us to attempt a record of payments actually made. Such a record would probably show that payments fall far short of the amounts recorded as due. But numerous families deprive themselves of many of the primary needs of healthy living in order to make interest payments in whole or in part when, under existing conditions, they have not the slightest chance of paying the principal.

Debt and Personal Reconstruction

The report of the Royal Commission on Labor, under the heading "Indebtedness and Efficiency," makes these observations:

The evil done by indebtedness is not confined to the hardship involved in the loss of money. . . . Debt is one of the principal obstacles to efficiency, because it destroys the incentive to effort. . . . The indebted worker who makes an extra effort has little

[5] Darling, M. L., *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt.* New York, London, and Calcutta: Oxford University Press.

hope of securing a proportionate reward; in many cases the only result may be to enrich the money-lender. The most powerful incentive to good work with the great majority of mankind is the prospect of securing a better livelihood; for too many Indian workers there can be no such prospect.

These remarks are perhaps more generally true of the depressed classes in our village groups than of the workers in industrial centers of whom they were written.

Indebtedness has done even more damage to the debtor than the Commission has indicated. Long subjection to the necessity of paying to creditors all earnings above a bare subsistence level of expenditure has left him without experience in the constructive spending of money. Missionaries and other welfare workers have often commented upon the disappointing conduct of people long accustomed to the rule of debt when they have come into the possession of funds. They have begun an orgy of extravagant and harmful spending.

The expenditures of industrial workers from the villages on drink provide an example. The indebted villager, coming to the industrial center, has his first experience of earning money away from the watchful eyes of his creditors; he also receives far more money than he ever received in the village; but, instead of improving his standard of living, or reducing his debt, he very frequently spends a large proportion of his earnings on drink. The writer some years ago made an investigation of groups of shoemakers from Bihar working in Calcutta. Their cash incomes ranged from Rs. 20 to Rs. 45 a month, but they lived in hovels, ate poorer and less food than in their village homes, and sent very little money to their families or their creditors. Liquor shops and brothels abounded around them and apparently gathered a large proportion of their earnings.

To extricate the depressed-class villager from his debts is only a slight help unless accompanied by service that effects changes in him, so that he will use the funds released for constructive purposes, and will not plunge in as deeply again.[6]

[6] In the chapters on "The Christian Attainment of Mass Movement Converts" and "The Social Power of Christian Worship" we discuss some of the evidence obtained in the study bearing on personal reconstruction in relation to debt and economic status generally.

Attitude Towards Debt

We have remarked that there are two classes of people who are not in debt: (*a*) those prosperous enough not to require credit; (*b*) those too poor or too improvident to obtain credit. While there is considerable evidence that the former class is being enlarged through the entry of families reconstructed by education, by abandonment of evil habits like drink and gambling, by the service of co-operative societies which lower interest rates and discourage extravagance, by the release of new powers of initiative, etc., there is no less evidence that many in every area have neither expectation nor hope of entering that class, and are rather proud of the evidence their debts provide that they do not belong to the latter class. We often noted the satisfaction with which men in the villages told of their debts and the humiliation with which others confessed that they were not in debt. In the sight of many, a debt is a certificate of character, a proof that someone in the community trusts the debtor to the extent of risking money on him.

Another consideration that re-enforces the debtor's complacency is the protection his creditors afford him. The depressed classes and all weak classes in the villages feel that they are in constant need of protection. When a strong man invests in one of them by lending money or selling on credit, he feels that his position in the village is strengthened. The creditor, as money-lender or merchant, may be harsh and oppressive, but he has a monetary interest in keeping the debt, and consequently the debtor and earning-members of his family, alive and in condition to produce income.

If illness comes, he prefers to lend more money for treatment, rather than risk losing his money through the death or prolonged incapacity of a creditor. If a court case threatens the debtor with imprisonment, the creditor has an interest in seeing that he does not go to jail. If an angry landlord or a hostile neighbor wishes to drive the debtor from the village, the creditor will defend his right to remain. This consideration is strong, for the contingencies suggested and others like them are constantly arising. We found several instances of members of co-operative societies withdrawing

in order to put themselves again under obligation to, and consequently under the protection of, their former money-lenders. The societies give credit at considerably lower rates of interest than those charged by the money-lenders, but they do not offer debtors a substitute for the personal interest and protection of their ally and patron, the money-lender.

But income and debt do not tell the whole story of the economic condition of any people. Two families or two groups with equal per capita incomes and equal debts may differ radically in economic condition. A comprehensive appraisal must consider housing, land, and animal holdings and exactions made by the community, its institutions and its component parts in money, commodities, and labor.

Housing

A very small proportion of the families in our survey, probably less than two per cent, pay rent in money or commodities for their houses. About fifteen per cent own their houses and the sites on which they are built, and have the right to sell them if they can find purchasers. But the remainder occupy their houses on a basis of limited ownership which necessitates, theoretically at least, the performance of some type of work for the village community, or for the owners of the fields with which the village is administratively connected.

The land on which the houses are built is not theirs, and the houses can be sold only with the consent of the landlords, who assure themselves that the new tenants will be satisfactory, and that the old ones receive as little as possible from the transfer. This limited ownership may pass to a son or another heir within the immediate family, but generally not to a more distant relative, a friend, or an institution. If abandoned for a year, the house may revert to the owner of the land, who can give, or sell it, to some new tenant, or tear it down and dispose of its materials. A villager whose home is "owned" on these terms finds a sale practically impossible. If for any reason he must leave the village with his family for a lengthy stay, there is no alternative to the forfeiture of his home, unless he can get some relative to occupy it until his return. The landlord's rights are based on his ownership

of the sites and are often strengthened by his provision of materials used in the construction of the house. The materials, mud or stone, of which the walls are constructed, come from his fields, and he generally permits the cutting of trees on his estate for the wood used in the door-frames, window-frames, and roofs.

Limited ownership we found everywhere linked with poor houses. Complete ownership, involving the right to sell, is associated with better houses. This is the more noteworthy, as the concessions that go with limited ownership are not granted to those who build their houses on land they themselves own.

Except in Nagercoil and Vikarabad areas, mud is the usual building material, and of it the walls of 68.5 per cent of the 3,597 houses examined are made. Sun-dried bricks are used in 16.8 per cent of the houses; stone in 9.3 per cent; thatch in 3.6 per cent; and burned bricks in 1.6 per cent.

The sun-dried bricks are used chiefly in Nagercoil, 545 houses being so constructed, while only 125 houses have walls of mud. This is the area where ownership of house sites is most common. The stone houses are found in Vikarabad (177), and Guntur (135), in villages where stone lies in vast quantities in the fields and costs nothing. Thatch is used by the poorest families and is most common in Cumbum (49), and Vidyanagar (33).

Thatched roofs cover 1,882 houses; tiles, 770; wood and mud, 763; wood and slate, 25; bricks, 13; re-enforced concrete, 3; and corrugated iron, 2.

Rooms and Overcrowding

Almost forty per cent of the families studied live in one-room houses. In more than five hundred of these rooms there lives at least one adult besides the father and the mother. In more than two hundred houses at least one cow, buffalo, ox, goat, or pony shares the room. Fowls are kept in more than two hundred of them. Many houses have a small veranda, which is used for cooking and sleeping, when the weather permits. In one room measuring twelve by nine feet live a man and his wife, their five children, the man's father, uncle, and younger brother. In another room, built

of thatch on a circular base with a diameter of ten and a half feet, live a man and his wife, their widowed daughter-in-law with two small children, a sixteen-year-old son, two daughters—eleven and nine—and an aged grandmother. In still another we find that a seventeen-year-old bride has just come to a single room already housing the eighteen-year-old groom, his father, stepmother, two brothers—fourteen and eleven—and three sisters—twelve, seven, and three.

Twenty-eight per cent of the houses consist of two rooms, 19 per cent of three rooms, 9 per cent of four rooms, and 3 per cent of five rooms.

One-room houses are most common in the Telugu areas: Guntur, 70 per cent; Cumbum, 68 per cent; and Vidyanagar 65 per cent of all houses examined. In Govindpur only 3 per cent and in Nagercoil only 11 per cent of houses have but one room. In Govindpur and in Nagercoil, 65 per cent of the houses contain three rooms or more. The corresponding percentages in Cumbum, Guntur, and Vikarabad are 5, 4 and 7.

TABLE IX—NUMBER OF ROOMS IN HOMES OF CHRISTIANS

	No. of Houses Considered	Proportion Having					Average No. Persons in Household
		1 Room	2 Rooms	3 Rooms	4 Rooms	5 or More Rooms	
Barhan	96	.3436	.2083	.2708	.1354	.0416	5.63
Cumbum	203	.6847	.2610	.0443	.0098	....	4.82
Etah	167	.2335	.4191	.2335	.0718	.0419	4.78
Ghaziabad	218	.4931	.2921	.1415	.0502	.0228	4.88
Govindpur	334	.0329	.2515	.3233	.2694	.1227	6.50
Guntur	603	.7031	.2553	.0281	.0132	....	4.62
Nagercoil	705	.1106	.2383	.3233	.1914	.1361	4.71
Pasrur	484	.2685	.3119	.2355	.1115	.0723	5.61
Vidyanagar	408	.6495	.1789	.1617	.0098	....	4.50
Vikarabad	254	.3937	.5315	.0708	.0039	....	5.08

WINDOWS

Seventy per cent of all the houses examined have no windows; 16 per cent have only one window. Only 12 per cent of rooms commonly used for sleeping purposes have a window. In Govindpur, however, where windows are almost unknown, the houses are built with a large air space between the walls and the roof, which rests on pillars at the corners or

on poles set just inside the walls. In Nagercoil 68 per cent of the houses have at least one window; in Barhan and Etah only 6 per cent. The absence of windows is most serious in the North, where the houses are constructed as nearly air-tight as possible because of the cold winter.

Agricultural Lands

There are so many conditions of tenure of agricultural lands, some of them are so complicated and they vary so greatly in the several areas of our study, that it is very difficult to draw up a uniform schedule for presenting the facts about such holdings.

In the United Provinces a few Christian families, chiefly from the Sweeper castes, hold plots from one third of an acre to three acres in size under what is known as *Khidmat-muafi,* which means, "free from revenue payments in consideration of service." In most cases these plots were granted to the ancestors of those who now hold them as part of the consideration for which they settled in the village. On this land they pay neither taxes to the government nor rent to the landowners. It was originally expected that this land would be surrendered if the family ceased to do the work in consideration of which it was given, but with the passage of the years this condition has generally become inoperative. To-day, in some villages, we see the anomaly of one family holding land for doing sweeper's work and using it to maintain independence from that work, which they regard as degrading, while other families do the work but hold no land. This condition probably arose from the division of a father's assets among his sons, one son taking the land, and the other the *jajmani-haqq.* By the latter term is meant the payments in cash and kind which certain families of the village, bound to the father under the ancient Hindu system of occupational relationship, were obliged to make in return for work done.

In several areas outside the United Provinces a few families report land holdings on which they are not required to pay taxes or rent. The conditions on which these holdings were obtained are obscure. But the total number of such families does not exceed twenty, and the holdings amount

to an aggregate of only fifty-one acres. The *khidmat-muafi* land in the United Provinces amounts to sixty-eight acres divided among thirty-eight families.

The most common form of tenure is one that may be described as ownership of tenant's rights with long-term fixation of rents by governmental agencies. These rents in some areas are paid directly to the government, in others to landowners, who are responsible to the government for taxes. These tenant's rights represent a very variable equity in the land. In some cases rent, or revenue, payments do not exceed 10 per cent of the net income from the fields; in others they exceed 60 per cent. Those tenants who pay their rents directly to the government are more fortunate than those who pay to landowners, as they generally pay a smaller share of the produce of the fields and escape many oppressions which tenants of landlords must endure.

Land is also held on leases paid in money or a share of the crop, and on mortgage as security for debts.

In the Govindpur area 93 per cent of the families studied are engaged in farming, and farm an average of 5.72 acres. Apparently about 95 per cent of the land farmed by Christians in this area is held under tenant rights. The equity is larger than in any other area studied. Beside the land thus held by families, the village groups hold in common a number of rights in other land, but along with non-Christians of their tribes the Christians of this area are, and long have been, in many controversies about these rights with the Maharajah of Chota Nagpur and other large landowners.

In the Vikarabad area 70 per cent of the families farm an average of 7.62 acres. But the yield of land in this area is small, and the conditions of tenure are very unfavorable.

Around Nagercoil 69 per cent of the families farm, but the average of land farmed is only 1.6 acres. Yet, next to Govindpur, this area has distinctly the best situation of all areas studied. Low lands, used for rice growing, are very productive. Land on higher levels is used chiefly for the cultivation of coco-nut and toddy trees and tapioca, whose yield in normal times is very profitable. When our study was made, trade was extremely depressed and the incomes reported from dry land were not more than 30 per cent of the average

of the preceding decade. The Nadar Christians hold most of the land reported. Those of Sambavar extraction are chiefly laborers in the rice fields.

In the Telugu districts of British India the Christians who reported some farming constitute 60 per cent of the total families studied in Cumbum and 44 per cent in both Guntur and Vidyanagar areas. The land farmed by these families averages 2.94 acres in Cumbum, 2.83 in Guntur, and 3.89 in Vidyanagar. The figures for Vidyanagar are swollen by the inclusion of eighteen families of Sudra converts, several of whom own farms of from twenty to forty acres. Much of the land reported in these areas has been obtained in grants from the Government in recent years, is of very poor quality and has not yet become a factor of consequence in economic life.

In Barhan and Etah areas, where the families are all of Sweeper extraction, the proportions engaged in farming are 33 and 41 per cent, and the areas farmed average 3.54 and 3.08 acres respectively. In these areas *khidmat-muafi* is of considerable importance in the holding of land, but more and larger plots are held under tenant rights. In Ghaziabad the families studied are approximately 36 per cent of Sweeper extraction and 64 per cent from the leather-workers. *Khidmat-muafi* holdings within the Sweeper group are less common than in Barhan and Etah, perhaps because the groups are larger. Only 19 per cent of families in this area engage in farming, but land farmed averages 5.68 acres. The largest holdings are on the basis of tenant rights and are held by families of Chamar extraction, a few of whom are quite comfortably fixed.

Pasrur shows the smallest proportion of families farming, only 14 per cent, but the largest average of land farmed, 8.2 acres. Holdings are chiefly of two kinds—ownership of tenant rights and annual leasing of fields in part payment for work done under the *sepi* system. In no area, except Govindpur, is a larger proportion of the families actually engaged in work on land than in Pasrur, but the families here work chiefly for others on a system different from any we have described. They plow, sow, plant, fertilize, weed, irrigate, harvest, and care for animals—in short, do all kinds of farm

work, but are paid on annual or seasonal contracts and are classified as engaging in farm labor rather than in farming.

Christians of Chuhra extraction share with non-Christian Chuhra communities in most of the Punjab legal restrictions upon the right to purchase land. Legislation, undertaken with the commendable purpose of protecting agriculturists from rapacious money-lenders by making it impossible for them to alienate land to nonagriculturists, has had the unforeseen result of operating against the depressed classes because they are excluded from the schedule of agriculturists. No class concerned with agriculture in the Punjab needs protection more than do these weak, but hard-working, people, and, so far from placing obstacles in the way, the Government should encourage them to acquire land. Nothing else stimulates hard work and thrift in the poor villager like an opportunity to obtain land. Chuhras, and especially Christian converts from among them, have given ample proof in the canal colonies that they can make capable and worthy peasant proprietors.

Live Stock

The accompanying Table No. X provides an analysis of the live stock owned by each Christian family in the areas studied.

Table No. X—Animals and Poultry Owned by Christian Families

District	No. of Families	Number of	Cows	Oxen	Horses	Male Buffaloes	Female Buffaloes	Goats	Sheep	Hogs	Poultry
Barhan.....	126	families owning	0	14	10	23	46	44	3	67	89
		animals owned	0	22	11	28	76	160	5	445	702
Cumbum.....	304	families owning	49	27	0	27	116	23	5	19	224
		animals owned	92	40	0	33	174	108	6	22	563
Etah.....	176	families owning	0	16	14	16	56	53	0	83	111
		animals owned	0	28	19	21	92	140	0	609	547
Ghaziabad.....	328	families owning	40	34	13	20	140	11	2	29	51
		animals owned	72	68	19	22	251	77	14	176	251
Govindpur.....	374	families owning	257	276	6	155	54	185	54	98	354
		animals owned	776	731	7	342	102	796	250	249	2626
Guntur.....	670	families owning	56	37	6	70	350	9	4	80	306
		animals owned	65	55	8	92	521	16	16	110	1017
Nagercoil.....	655	families owning	171	144	2	93	29	67	2	13	330
		animals owned	391	310	3	177	51	136	2	21	975
Pasrur.....	522	families owning	155	76	48	59	227	13	0	0	89
		animals owned	263	104	58	86	398	26	0	0	340
Vidyanagar.....	389	families owning	47	44	1	103	185	10	5	61	238
		animals owned	112	99	1	182	299	17	7	108	822
Vikarabad.....	227	families owning	122	97	3	15	46	41	7	2	61
		animals owned	318	323	3	17	69	100	19	3	215
All Areas.....	3771	families owning	897	765	103	581	1249	456	82	452	1853
		animals owned	2089	1780	129	1000	2033	1576	319	1743	8058
		Percentage of families owning	23.7	20.2	2.7	15.4	33.1	12.0	2.1	12.0	49.0

TABLE NO. XI—MILCH ANIMALS OWNED BY CHRISTIAN FAMILIES

DISTRICT	NO. OF FAMILIES	FAMILIES	
	Total Number	With One or More Milch Animals	
		No.	%
Barhan	126	69	55
Cumbum	304	147	48
Etah	176	88	50
Ghaziabad	328	158	48
Govindpur	374	292	78
Guntur	670	374	56
Nagercoil	655	230	35
Pasrur	522	294	56
Vidyanagar	389	202	52
Vikarabad	227	148	65
All Areas	3,771	2,002	53

CATTLE

Table No. XI shows that 53 per cent of the families own one or more milch animals. But many cows and female buffaloes are not actual suppliers of milk. The highest percentage of milch animals is reported in Govindpur, where no less than 78 per cent of the families own one or more cows, female buffaloes, or female goats, and the number of these animals owned is more than four times the number of families reporting. Yet milk is hardly used at all by these Govindpur families. The cows are scrawny little specimens and very few of them are milked. They are maintained not as milch animals but for farm work and for breeding oxen. The buffaloes are not much better and are kept for the same purposes.

In several villages we were told that milk is not procurable locally. Grown men said they knew not the taste of milk. The non-Christian aboriginal tribesmen believe that it is wrong to deprive a calf of any share of its mother's milk, and few converts to Christianity have discarded this belief. It is probably true that the calves of these animals need every drop of the milk their mothers produce.

We discovered no trace in this area of any effort by Government, Mission, Church, or private initiative to introduce a better breed of cattle or to improve the quality of the breed that is there. Our inquiries as to why stronger cattle are not imported practically always brought the reply that they could not afford to feed them. The small breed, indigenous to Chota Nagpur, requires no food other than can be had by grazing, but the larger cattle that might be imported from adjoining Bihar or from the North require generous feeding. We have seen no situation that calls so urgently for instruction in animal husbandry as this one, nor a greater opportunity for helping a people to improve their economic position.

In Nagercoil, also, cattle are of very poor quality and of little value as milk producers. In the Telugu areas the cattle are decidedly superior to those in Govindpur and Nagercoil but quite inferior to those in the United Provinces and the Punjab. Mala Christians seem to get better economic results from cattle-raising than do Madiga Christians. In the Guntur area 189 of the 350 owners of female buffaloes report cash income averaging Rs. 28 from the sale of milk and ghi. In the Cumbum, Vikarabad, and Vidyanagar areas incomes from this source average only Rs. 7, 8, and 10 respectively. The Guntur Christians are mainly Malas, those of Vikarabad and Cumbum mainly Madigas, while in Vidyanagar both castes are well represented. In the Pasrur area only seventeen families report cash income from milk and ghi, but the average reported is Rs. 43. In Ghaziabad seventy families report an average cash income from these sources of Rs. 75. Buffaloes, from whose milk most of the ghi is made, give about twice as much milk per head in Ghaziabad as in Guntur.

The prices at which animals are sold provide another test

of relative values of animal holdings in the several areas. Some price averages per head are as follows: For oxen—Govindpur, Rs. 12; the four Telugu areas, Rs. 45; the four areas of the North, Rs. 102. For cows—Govindpur, Rs. 16; the Telugu areas, Rs. 25; the northern areas, Rs. 50. For buffaloes—Govindpur, Rs. 21; the Telugu areas, Rs. 28; the northern areas, Rs. 66.

An illuminating sidelight is that none of the Christians of Sweeper origin in our household studies of Barhan and Etah areas, and only three such Christians in the Ghaziabad area own cows. In the Etah and Ghaziabad areas several Christians said that Hindu neighbors would object if they should undertake to keep cows. Others denied that, and said it simply is not the custom of Sweepers to keep cows. Twelve Hindus, when consulted, were unanimous in saying that no one would object if the Christians in question should purchase cows and care for them, although two added the proviso that they must not sell cows to Mohammedans to be butchered. And several said that in times past Hindus probably felt that cows, being regarded as sacred, should not be subjected to the indignity of being owned by such low human beings as Sweepers. Christian preachers and teachers of known Sweeper origin own cows without objection being raised.

Goats

Goats are most common in Govindpur, approximately half of the families owning one or more, and an average of almost five per family. In Barhan 35 per cent own goats, the average being four. In Etah 30 per cent of the families own an average of three goats each.

In Etah, Mr. A. E. Slater, of the American Presbyterian Mission, aided by the Imperial Agricultural Research Fund, is endeavoring to develop new breeds of goats, combining the ability of indigenous breeds to thrive in the Indian climate, their resistance to disease and their feeding characteristics with the milk-giving capacity of the best breeds of Europe. The goat is rightly called the poor man's cow. As Hindus do not object to the killing of goats, their use as a source of meat supply can be developed without giving offense; and if

their milk production be increased, they may be the means of achieving a measurable improvement in the economic condition of the masses.

Hogs

In India the hog is held to be unclean by Hindus and Moslems, and does not appear as the important item it is in Western economy. Only outcastes and aborigines keep hogs and eat pork.

Twelve per cent of the families in our survey raise hogs: 1,743 hogs are owned by 452 families. The industry is found in all areas except Pasrur, but is of extremely small proportions in Vikarabad. Mohammedan influence is clearly responsible for its disappearance in Pasrur and weakness in Vikarabad. It is a factor of considerable economic importance in Barhan, Etah, and Govindpur areas, but it is responsible for much ill-feeling arising from failure to keep the animals out of neighbors' fields and frequently occasions expensive litigation. It is generally regarded as a symbol of social degradation, and interferes with the acquisition by the untouchable convert of the respect that opens the door to many opportunities for economic gain. We think it would be well for all Christian groups, especially those in the villages, to consider whether their welfare would not be promoted by giving up the raising of hogs.

Poultry

Approximately fifty per cent of the Christian families surveyed own poultry. But the number owned is surprisingly small. Of 1,853 poultry owners more than four hundred have only one fowl. The average is only a little more than four fowls per family. The quality is usually poor. Egg production is very small. The hazards are numerous. Beside the well-known poultry diseases there is the hazard of numerous snakes, kites, jackals, mongooses, and other foes. The market for the sale of eggs and fowls is very limited, but is growing as caste restrictions weaken. In Etah, where Mr. Slater has for twenty years promoted poultry-raising, we found that a few Christian families had added to their incomes by earning prizes at poultry shows. A co-operative

society has recently been organized for marketing eggs and there seems to be an opportunity for an expansion of business.

Taxes

The groups with whom our study is concerned are peculiarly fortunate in regard to direct taxation. Most of them pay no direct taxes of any kind. A few in the towns pay an annual house tax. In several areas a minority pay a tax assessed by a local board, or its equivalent, for the support of village watchmen. A very few pay a land tax. Larger numbers pay indirect taxes on land through rentals to landowners.

Compulsory Labor

But if fortunate in respect to taxes, a number of these Christian groups are peculiarly unfortunate in exactions made upon their time and labor. Landowners, the police, petty officials, and bullies in the higher castes compel weak members of the depressed classes to work for them either without pay or at less than the prevailing rates of pay. These forms of compulsory labor cause other damage beside loss of wages; they exercise a corroding influence upon the victims' self-respect and faith in the possibility of improving their condition. One heartbroken man, who had made several attempts to escape from this injustice and each time had been beaten or threatened with arrest on false charges, told us that during the preceding harvest when he had his best opportunity of the year for remunerative employment, he had been compelled to work twelve days without pay of any sort. This story was confirmed by the man's neighbors, both Christian and non-Christian, and differs only in detail from many others heard during the study.

But compulsory labor is diminishing. Not only Christian converts but many non-Christians are resisting it. Christians often take the lead in demanding relief. A number of landowners, unreconciled to the loss of free service from the depressed classes, complained bitterly to us that Christianity encourages these people to refuse to work for their superiors without pay. All Guntur Christians and all but four Nagercoil Christians report freedom from this oppression.

TABLE XII—SUBJECTION OF CHRISTIAN FAMILIES TO FORCED LABOR

AREA	Number of Families Questioned	NUMBER OF FAMILIES REPORTING FORCED LABOR EXACTED BY: Landlords	Agents of Landlords	Police	Others
Barhan	138	6	1	1	1
Cumbum	305	80	52	95	91
Etah	176	28	11	12	2
Ghaziabad	328	52	26	73	15
Govindpur	371	19	11	4	3
Guntur	627	0	0	0	0
Nagercoil	655	3	0	0	1
Pasrur	522	122	55	275	55
Vidyanagar	389	8	3	1	0
Vikarabad	244	127	134	148	73

THE SALE VALUE OF FIXED OCCUPATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

In considering incomes we referred to payments received in cash and commodities on account of certain permanent, or semipermanent, occupational relationships, widely known as *jajmani*. These relationships entail obligations and assure rights to both employers and employees. They bind the employee to an economic and social status that is, in many respects, oppressive; nevertheless, in some cases they are so highly esteemed that they possess a sale value. It may be distressing that a family of Sweepers earn their living by cleaning cesspools and privies, but prolonged unemployment is even worse. Jajmani is a guarantee of work, an assurance against starvation. To a Sweeper family in the United Provinces it brings stale bread every day from every family for which they work. They are also entitled to food scraps and left-overs from the homes of their employers. When their well-to-do jajmans have feasts, they receive food of a quality that the poor are never able to buy or prepare in their homes. So it happens that those Sweepers who do not aspire to freedom from the social degradation and physical trials of sweeper's work desire a large and prosperous group of jajmans.

It is rare for a jajman, or employer, to attempt to dismiss

his Sweeper. The legal position is somewhat obscure: courts have ruled that a jajmani relationship cannot be terminated by the employer without due cause. But the triple chain of custom, caste, and character binds the jajman of the United Provinces to his Sweeper as firmly as, already noted, it binds the son of a deceased villager to his father's debts.

Barhan gives us a clear picture of the sale value of these relationships. Sweeper Christians have established jajmani rights as sweepers, as midwives, and as basket-makers. Of 118 families from whom information was secured, 110 claim jajmani rights for one or more of these kinds of work. In 106 of these families the women claim rights as midwives for a total of 6,563 families, an average of more than 60. Sixty-five families claim jajmani rights as sweepers to an average of more than ten families. Five claim jajmani rights as basket-makers to an average of twenty-three families. The estimated sale values average Rs. 1—12—0 per family for midwife's rights, Rs. 21 per family for sweeper's rights, and Rs. 4 per family for basket-maker's rights. One recent authentic case was brought to our attention of a man who had purchased a relative's sweeper clientele of eight families at a rate of Rs. 24 per family. The purchaser had worked for years as municipal sweeper but preferred to return to his village and settle his family on a jajmani.

In the Ghaziabad area sweeper jajmanis are valued about 25 per cent lower than in Barhan. Our schedule for the investigation of jajmani grew out of discoveries at Etah, but took shape too late for use in the trial study there. The jajmani system in regard to sweeper's work prevails in most of the United Provinces and in some other areas. An amusing illustration of the sale value of jajmani rights comes in the story of an old Sweeper convert who willed her rights as sweeper for thirty families to a dignified senior missionary! She specified that he should sell the rights and give the proceeds to a Baby Fold of which she had heard him speak.

The jajmani is often a Sweeper's only marketable asset. He has, we think, under normal conditions little chance of realizing such values as are indicated in the figures quoted. He can sell only to Sweepers who have money, or credit, and either have no jajmani or wish to enlarge jajmanis that center

in the same or some near village. In the sweeper jajmanis most of the work is done by the women, a fact that doubtless augments the enthusiasm of some men for them.

Jajmani is by no means limited to Sweepers nor to the United Provinces, but in no other group do members dispose of it by sale so frequently or to such advantage. The leather-workers of the United Provinces occasionally sell jajmani rights. In the Ghaziabad area, however, only three leather-workers mentioned prices at which they would sell their rights. The average figure is Rs. 21 per jajman. A few leather-worker women quoted the sale value of rights they claimed as midwives at Rs. 2 per family.

In the Telugu area these rights are more often leased than sold. Many men claiming rights as leather-workers said that they neither would, nor could, sell them, but would lease them on annual contracts for from four annas to one rupee per jajman.

Of the Christians interviewed in the Nagercoil area only sixteen, all of the Sambavar group of farm laborers, claimed jajmani rights. While possessing features akin to jajmani as found in the United Provinces and to a limited extent in the Telugu areas, their occupational relationships are not secure enough to make them marketable assets.

In the Punjab permanent relationships are not established, but annual or seasonal contracts are made. These contracts are, so far as we could learn, always oral, but seldom lead to litigation or serious strife between employer and employee. Many are renewed year after year; and if an employee has given satisfaction, it is recognized that he has the right of first refusal for the next year's or next season's work; but as he does not acquire the right to name his successor, he cannot negotiate a sale.

In Govindpur the aboriginal Christians, as agriculturists, are on the employer end of many jajmani relationships. They have their carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, leather-workers, washermen, etc., whom they do not feel at liberty to dismiss, and to whose support they contribute on a sort of fixed-charge retainer fee, plus special payments for work done in excess of normal requirements.

Food and Hunger

It is customary to refer to the depressed classes of India as being habitually hungry. Missionary literature about these people is heavily laden with references to millions of people going to bed hungry every night and never in their lives having enough to eat. Indian political leaders have often used similar language with reference not only to them but to millions of their neighbors of higher-caste status. Economists have written in terms not much more conservative. Dr. Gilbert Slater, writing of the Adi-Dravidas of Madras, under the name of Pariahs, says:

> Of these people and of the kindred castes of Pallans, Parayas, Cherumas, etc. . . . it may be said generally that they are habitually hungry. . . . Their earnings in grain and coin barely suffice for the subsistence of families large enough to maintain their numbers from one generation to another, the surplus offspring dying off.

In order to secure accurate data on these representations as applied to groups of mass-movement converts, we included in our household schedule this question: "How many meals are you accustomed to eat daily?" In every area a large majority replied "Three meals," and most of the remainder, "Two meals." These answers differed not according to the frequency of eating so much as to understanding of what constitutes a meal. For instance, in one Punjab village seven heads of households reported that they and their families were accustomed to three meals a day, while three heads of households reported two meals a day; but further discussion revealed that the custom was substantially the same in all ten homes. Before going to work in the morning all were accustomed to eat one or two pieces of bread left over from the evening meal of the day before and with it to drink a glass of watered milk, or buttermilk, or sweetened water. Seven of those men had counted this as a meal, while three had not. An analysis of 602 replies shows 2 reporting one meal a day, 86 two meals a day, 512 three meals a day, and 2 four meals a day.

In an effort to trace poverty as a factor in determining the number of meals eaten daily, we made another analysis

of the schedules filled up for these 602 families and selected the 25 per cent that by the tests of low per capita cash income, jajmani, or kindred rights, and holdings of land and animals appear to be poorer than the remaining 75 per cent. These poorest 25 per cent include 43 per cent of those who report that they eat only twice a day, and both of the families that report only one meal a day. In the entire group of more than 3,500 that answered this question, sixteen reported only one meal a day, and fifteen of the sixteen are among the poorest families in their areas.

While the data are limited, and allowance must be made for difference of interpretation as in the Punjab case, there seems to be a relation between economic condition and the number of meals customarily eaten. In a large group extreme and sustained poverty apparently reduces, in a considerable proportion of cases, the number of meals commonly eaten, as well as the quantity and quality of food consumed.

In each of the ten areas of the study a large majority, from 70 to 92 per cent, claims to be accustomed to three meals a day. This does not fit into the picture of a starving people or of a people habitually hungry. At times, when work is very scarce and grain prices are at their maximum, a minority of the poorest in each group is unable to get enough food of any kind to banish hunger. This minority may be as high as 20 to 25 per cent in unusual situations.

But it must be borne in mind that certain coarse foods that will satisfy hunger can be bought very cheaply; also, that the organization of Indian villages has tended to insure the distribution of at least a small quantity of food for every home. Many agriculturists sow mustard broadcast in their fields in the expectation that the poor, and especially such as work for them, will help themselves to a daily mess of greens as long as they last. Fruit trees are often accounted common property, and the poorest classes, if on good terms with the owners, are encouraged to help themselves. In some areas a landlord who would sell the crop of his mango trees, or reserve the whole of it for private use, would face an outraged public sentiment. In the individualistic communities of the West a poverty equally severe would produce much

more prolonged hunger and starvation than it does in India's villages.

But if we discovered little to support the conception of a people always hungry, we saw vast evidence of chronic undernourishment. There is, of course, a radical difference between satisfying hunger and meeting the food needs of the body. The majority of the poor are able in normal times to get enough food to avert the pangs of hunger, but they do not get what they need. In every group of Christians of outcaste origin met in the study a majority appeared to be undernourished. That a minority, large or small, should occasionally, for a few days or weeks, be unable to secure enough food to banish hunger is deplorable; but it is of little consequence compared with the fact that a majority should always be undernourished.

Poverty is not the sole cause of this condition; ignorance of food values prevents the selection of the best among available foods. But in most areas poverty alone prevents the frequent consumption of such favored and needed foods as milk and ghi and certain vegetables, fruits, and meats. The effects of deficiencies in diet are considerably mitigated by the extent to which men, women, and children live in the open with much of their bodies exposed to the sunshine.

In the Ghaziabad, Govindpur, and Pasrur areas we collected, from a limited number of families, records of food consumption and expenditures. When the records of consumption are compared with the recommendations made by dietitians for mission boarding schools in North India, as essential for the health of school children, a serious deficiency is found in the average consumption of these households in all three areas. In Govindpur less rice and more wheat is needed. In every area there is a marked deficiency in the consumption of vegetables. To substitute the boarding-school diet for that reported by the village families would increase expenditures by from 40 to 60 per cent in Govindpur, from 60 to 80 per cent in Ghaziabad and from 50 to 80 per cent in Pasrur.

A poignant indication of the insufficient diet of several groups unexpectedly comes to light in a study of the effects of abandoning the custom of eating the flesh of animals that

have died of themselves. One of the arguments commonly used for persuading people to give up this custom is its supposed ill effects upon health. But we find in all but one area a higher death rate in the families of those who claim to have given up the eating of this meat than in those families in which its continued use as food is admitted.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL POWER OF CHRISTIANITY

MUCH has been written about the influence of social patterns upon religious conceptions. The evolution of religion among an isolated people certainly tends to conform to the accepted social pattern. The India of our times provides many examples of that fact; also of its corollary that the penetration of a community, previously isolated, by new social forces powerful enough to modify old social patterns, produces corresponding changes in religious conceptions.

The religion of a large proportion of the present generation of Hindus has conformed to the acceptance of a new social pattern in which *sati* and female infanticide have no part. The writer listened recently to a boy of high-school age read a paper on Hinduism based upon materials that were two or three generations old. For the times when that lad's grandfather was young, what he read was in its broad outlines substantially true. But the religion he described bore so little resemblance to the religion of the present generation of Hindus that the writer, as he listened, found himself resentful at what was in effect a libel upon a great people whom he has learned to love and respect.

To-day the social pattern of the Hindu masses is being further modified, and corresponding changes in the Hindu religious outlook are evident. The depressed classes are acquiring a higher social and political status, their children are being admitted to government schools, they sit beside the higher castes on the trains and in the motor busses, and the religion of their former oppressors is adjusting itself to the new situation, with the result that they are now being admitted to some Hindu temples which formerly were rigorously closed against them. Women are taking part in public affairs, the result being that Hindu theology and religious practice are being modified. Women are seen as having a religious life and religious needs quite independent of those of their husbands; to take a single example of the reconstruc-

tion of religious practice, the time-honored *devadasi* institution, which made prostitution a religious rite linked with the temple, is being abandoned.

Some may think that the above statements should be reversed, and that the social changes mentioned should be attributed to the influence of new conceptions in religion. It is true that new religious conceptions have been propagated and have attained a wide currency contemporaneously with new social patterns: in many minds and perhaps in some groups acceptance of the new conceptions in religion has preceded the new social patterns. The two forces have certainly acted and reacted on each other. But it is, we think, clear that changes in accepted social patterns are forcing a reconstruction of Hindu religious thought, even of the assumptions that underlie that thought.

Studious observers of the expansions of religion have also noted changes in social standards and patterns which have followed the acceptance of a new religion. There seems to be a power in Mohammedan religious conceptions that brings to pass radical social changes. This power is abundantly exhibited in India. One notes the changes that are rapidly consummated in the relations of husband and wife and of parents and children when a family of Hindus embraces Mohammedanism, and the wider social changes that ensue when a caste group goes over to Mohammedanism. Of course here, again, religious conceptions and social patterns act and react on each other, and it is not possible to chart the rate of growth or measure the strength of either at any given time. The new convert to Islam associates with people whose social pattern is different from that which has been his; and one cannot say with certainty how much his social pattern would be modified if he were subjected only to the Moslem religious conceptions, and not brought under the influence of the living example of his new confreres in religion.

The Hindu caste system has offered stubborn resistance to some of the teaching of Islam, with the result that Indian Mohammedanism is very different from that of other lands. The doctrine of the brotherhood of all Moslems has not prevented the maintenance of caste by many Indian Moslems.

Until 1931 the census of India listed Mohammedan castes exactly as it did Hindu castes, and one discovers with surprise that there are followers of the Prophet who in the census proclaim themselves as Brahmans, and others who boast of their Kshatriya caste. Likewise, there are Mohammedans of the depressed classes against whom even their fellow Mohammedans enforce untouchability. Doubtless the Mohammedans in these matters adjust their religious thinking, by a process of rationalization, to social patterns which they are unwilling to abandon. But this successful resistance to a central teaching of Islam does not dispose of the fact that religious conceptions propagated by Mohammedanism have induced significant changes in social standards and patterns.

There is a like social power in Hinduism. The expansion of Hinduism to animistic tribes has continued for centuries and has been greatly accelerated in recent years. As these tribes have accepted Hindu conceptions they have modified their social patterns. The centrality of the doctrine of *karma* in Hinduism has given it an exceedingly strong power over the mind of its adherents, both new and old. Hindu converts from animistic tribes have been induced by the conception of *karma* to acquiesce in a degraded and oppressive social status. It seems extremely unlikely that social conformity preceded the acceptance of the religious conceptions of Hinduism, since the social position these tribes have been accorded is so low and carries with it so much of economic disadvantage.

Some, at least, of the social changes that follow adherence to these religions seem to be related to worship concepts and programs. In Mohammedanism the exclusion of women from public worship promotes the withdrawal of women from public appearance. The worship program of Hinduism, with the concentration of priestly functions in the Brahman, alters, if it does not shatter, the traditional tribal organization.

Social Changes With Christian Conversion

Changes in social characteristics and standards and in the whole social pattern are taking place among groups that have embraced Christianity in mass movements. They take place

much more rapidly with converts whose old social integration is destroyed by individual conversion. But we are concerned now with the social power of religion in the group. Some of these social changes in mass-movement groups seem to be very closely related to Christian worship. The conception that this is so came independently to various members of our staff as they examined social changes in the several areas of the study.

Beneficial social changes appear to have taken place most generally where Christian worship has been most firmly established, as in Nagercoil, Vidyanagar, Ranchi, and Guntur, and least generally where Christian worship has been least successfully inaugurated, as in Barhan, Etah, Ghaziabad, and Vikarabad. Where these converts have learned to worship God as revealed in Christ and have established habits of worship, they have acquired concepts of God and of themselves in relation to him that have powerfully affected their social standards, their conduct, and, in the course of time, their status in their villages. Worship of the God of Christ by these victims of the Hindu caste system is apparently destructive of the estimate of themselves that Hinduism had given to Malas and Madigas, Chamars and Chuhras. Belief in the love of God for them, enlivened and empowered by their worship, helps to create or to strengthen a sense of their value. Instruction, unless followed by worship, seems to achieve little in that direction. We found in the areas of the United Provinces many members of the Christian groups who had been taught that God is love and loves them, and who could recite John 3. 16, but still thought of themselves, as their fathers and ancestors had been taught, as a degraded, worthless people. Many times we heard from them the excuse that they were only Sweepers or Chamars. But in the areas where regular worship has become a feature of group life, we heard extremely little of that sort of thing.

We have referred elsewhere to the psychological reactions of inferiority that have handicapped and afflicted the depressed classes. Centuries of acquiescence in the Hindu assignment to them of menial work, and of degraded social status, have produced in them numerous inhibitions. The *karma* doctrine that their degradation is due to their mis-

conduct in previous lives has strengthened these inhibitions. Thus they have not responded normally to the stimulation of nature and environment. But Christian teaching, followed by active Christian worship, has introduced a new force into their lives strong enough to loosen and in many cases to destroy those inhibitions, and to restore the possibility of normal response to stimulations. As they pray to God with the conviction that he is no respecter of persons, as they praise him for his infinite mercy to them, and as they consider his call to render service in his name to other communities, they find release from the old inhibitions. As these old inhibitions are broken, unsuspected powers are released. They see opportunities and take hold of them with a confidence they had never known before. To members of the survey staff one of the greatest surprises the village inquiry produced was the discovery of the occupational variation that had been achieved by the older groups of Christians, and especially by those that had developed a strong worship program.

In the Nagercoil area the Nadars, who when the Christian movement began among them were confined almost entirely to drawing the juice of the toddy palm, fermenting and selling it, are now entering every kind of work in their villages, and have, indeed, been pioneers in the introduction of new occupations. In the Guntur area Malas and Madigas, formerly restricted respectively to weaving and leather-work, joined with coolie labor, are now engaged in a wide variety of occupations. It would be encouraging if entrance to these new occupations had been made possible by training in mission industrial or vocational schools, but it is even more encouraging to discover that this is not generally the case, for in the main the people have discovered the opportunities and taken advantage of them on their own initiative. The same thing is true in other areas, notably in Govindpur and in Pasrur.

Some of the most significant examples of this new power to recognize and respond to opportunity come from Pasrur, where Christians are found working as tailors, carpenters, masons, gardeners, watch-repairers, gut-makers, and even as potters. Here we discover that while an industrial school,

that had been maintained on a level of efficiency reached by few of such institutions, had been trying to prepare Christian boys from the villages to work as tailors and as carpenters, relatively little success had been achieved, but village boys who had never attended the industrial school had begun to do those types of work in their villages, and were making a success of it. A prominent factor in the situation seems to be that boys who have never left the village have been freed from the old inhibitions common to their caste and have not in the process lost their adjustment to any phase of village life, whereas the boys who have gone to the industrial school, while obtaining more thorough training with better equipment than the village affords, have lost their adjustment to village conditions, and were not succeeding in establishing themselves in the villages to practise the trades they had learned.

A Sharing of Privilege

Worship in terms of Christian teaching has given many of these mass-movement converts a desire to share their blessings with their Hindu neighbors. Thus they have acquired a sense of mission, which is having revolutionary effects upon them. This is especially true in the Telugu areas, where we found abundant evidence that the sense of mission is prevailing over the sense of grievance, and results in establishing happy relations between Christians and higher-caste Hindus, and in bringing the latter to the Christian faith.

A typical instance came to our attention in a certain village of the Vidyanagar area. The Malas had been Christians several years, and had discontinued much of their quarreling with their traditional enemies, the Madigas. Under the leadership of the ordained pastor of their circuit and their local teacher and lay pastor they began to hold daily worship services with a program prepared by the bishop of the Diocese and his helpers. The Christian Malas came to feel a sense of responsibility for the conversion of the Madigas and began to show a special interest in them, with the result that the Madigas were converted. Then the two groups, worshiping together, began to consider how they could win various groups of Sudras. Their relations with all castes im-

proved, the Yanadis were converted en masse, and members of two other Sudra castes enrolled in classes for instruction and worship preparatory to baptism and admission to the Church. We consulted a representative of yet another Sudra caste and he declared that half of the Sudras of the village were inclined to become Christians and that all had been influenced in a large way by Christianity.

The worship program of various mass-movement groups seems to have contributed to improved relations with their neighbors in another way also. Before their conversion to Christianity the religion of these groups was regarded by both Hindus and Moslems as of an extremely low order. The community judgment is usually rather cynical when the depressed classes are seen becoming Christians. But if, following the change of allegiance, they see the development of a new religious life, characterized by a high order of worship and by marked faithfulness in worship, they are greatly impressed and begin to respect the worshipers. Respect for religious people has always been high in India, and has never been kept within community bounds. Moslem "saints" command the respect, even the veneration of Hindus, and Hindu mendicants believed to be particularly pious and unworldly win the respect and support of Moslems.

Among the effects upon the worshipers themselves we note that cleanliness and an appreciation of beauty appear to be promoted by the development of Christian worship. We have reported elsewhere the overwhelming testimony of non-Christians that cleanliness has increased in these mass-movement groups following conversion. Such cleanliness is most in evidence—and non-Christian opinion is most united in declaring it—in those areas where Christian worship has been most firmly established. We and our non-Christian informers observed it least in the districts of the United Provinces, where the geographical distribution of converts and other factors have prevented the formulation of a successful worship program. The growth of self-respect, the acquirement of belief in a personal God who takes an interest in them, and to whom they offer prayer and praise, and the assembling in church, all seem to contribute to the raising of standards of cleanliness.

The writer vividly recalls a group of Christian Malas in a village of the Vidyanagar area. Forty years ago the Christian movement reached the village and the entire Mala caste joined it. A small building was erected to serve as school and church. The people were desperately poor. Educational progress was slow. But now the majority of men under forty are literate. The standard of the school has been raised to the sixth class. Three teachers are employed and a large proportion of the children are making encouraging progress in their studies. Bricks have been collected for a new church building, much larger and in every way superior to the old.

But the most moving aspect of the picture is of the people assembling for worship. A bell was rung and they came hurrying from the fields and the village. Ten or fifteen minutes later they began emerging from their houses and gathering at the church. Almost without exception they had washed and changed their clothes. The women had oiled and combed their hair in the simple but beautiful style of the Telugus, and a large proportion wore a flower in the hair. Men, women, and children approached the church quietly, but with apparent joy and eagerness. Entering they each knelt for private prayer, then sat on the mat-covered floor in rows; the men and boys on one side and the women and girls on the other. They sang heartily, joined in the responses of the liturgy and seemed, almost with one accord, to be absorbed in the worship of God. It was hard to realize that these attractively clad, clean and neat-looking, orderly worshipers could have developed in forty years from a group of dirty, shiftless, Mala outcastes.

Here and there in nearly all of the areas we found Christian families growing flowers around their homes. We saw no flowers about the homes of non-Christians of the castes from which these mass-movement converts have come. Twenty of the twenty-two first-generation Christian families who were questioned about their flowers said they had become interested in them after their conversion. One of these men said that when he first planted a few flowers in front of his house prominent Hindus of the village objected, saying that flowers were not for low-caste men like him. He

added, however, that no one now objects, and occasionally high-caste Hindus ask him for flowers. Many Hindus of the higher castes are lovers of flowers, but the depressed classes have generally been almost completely indifferent to them.

In the older areas some beautiful churches are being built. Their construction speaks eloquently of the rising appreciation of worship and of beauty and the increase of economic strength. One of the noblest of these structures is being erected at Martandam, far off the railway in South Travancore. Much of its cost is being provided from profits on lace made by women in the surrounding villages. The great cathedral of the Wesleyan Methodist Church at Medak, although erected with funds contributed in the main from Great Britain, is having a remarkable influence in stimulating the desire for better places of worship.

In a number of villages in the Nagercoil area the third in a succession of churches has been erected, or is being planned. The early churches have been outgrown both in a physical and in an æsthetic sense. In one of those villages we worshiped with a Sunday-morning congregation of more than four hundred in a commodious, chaste, and worshipful structure, built by the gifts of members of the church without missionary help from abroad. For nineteen years that congregation had contributed for the new church, which took the place of a smaller and cruder building erected forty or fifty years before with the aid of the mission. When the Christian movement began in that neighborhood one hundred and twenty-five years ago, the humble Nadars and Sambavars had neither the capacity to appreciate, the religious understanding to use, nor the resources to make possible such a structure as their descendants have built, and to which they now so faithfully and joyously resort at every call to worship.

There are many villages in every area where the church building is small, crude, and ugly, and in several areas many of the buildings used for worship are neglected. Moreover, in the areas of the United Provinces very few of the village Christian groups have a church building of any sort, and without a building extremely few have a program of regular

congregational worship. In the Ghaziabad area, after a very bad beginning, some success has been achieved in quite recent years in arranging regular services, and this has resulted in awakening a desire for a suitable place for these services. Raised platforms have been constructed in a few villages and set apart for worship. Already the practice of worship is causing attention to be given to the place of worship and some of these raised platforms are being decorated and otherwise improved. When the visit of the pastor to the village is primarily an occasion for discussion, whether the subject be the people's grievances and needs, the pastor's claims for support, or even the teachings of the church, the social effects seem small as compared with those that attend his arrival for a service of united worship. The love of beauty, which seems to be so clearly linked with worship in several areas, is not strongly apparent in those areas where worship has been neglected.

Women's Share in the Church

It is impressive also to note that the participation of women in the activities of the church seems to be promoted by the development of regular congregational worship. In the Nagercoil and Govindpur areas, and in the older Christian groups in the Telugu areas, women take part in the church activities on nearly equal terms with men. But in the areas where the worship program has remained weak, women hold back as if afraid. The contrast is revealed in these highly typical incidents:

(1) In a village in the Nagercoil area, after the Sunday-evening service, the writer accompanied the pastor to the adjacent school building to attend a meeting of the Christian Endeavor Society. The leader was a young woman, nineteen years of age. She had never been out of the village for school, but conducted that public meeting without a trace of embarrassment. Thirty-six people were present—seventeen young men and nineteen young women; and four young men and five young women discussed the topic of the evening.

(2) In a village of the Ghaziabad area, although notice

of our coming had been sent in advance, and the pastor and his unordained assistant had preceded us to the village to make arrangements, we were able to get only four women from the sixteen Christian families to attend the service with which we were to introduce our inquiry. The men were practically all there, but, although the group had been nominal Christians for twenty years, the women kept up the old pre-Christian attitude of aloofness.

Where regular worship has become established the women are as faithful in attendance and take part almost as freely as the men. But where that has not taken place the women gain little from the service of the pastor; they hold back from the visiting and discussion, unless, as is not often the case in most villages, he is accompanied by his wife or a lady missionary. In the Ghaziabad area, which we take as an example of small success in establishing regular worship, we found that only twenty-three women in a total of 328 families had ever taken the holy communion, and only eight of them had communed within a year, whereas in the Guntur area, where regular worship has been firmly established, in a total of 627 families 535 women had communed, 327 of them within a year. In Ghaziabad five times as many men had communed as women, but in Guntur the figures were practically even.

Parents with regular and prolonged worship experience more regularly send their children to school. It seems that having accepted one Christian institution, and having by experience learned of its values, they are more ready to try another. Perhaps also the experience of worship strengthens their hope for a better, richer life for their children. Whatever the explanation, the figures show that where Christian worship has become an established force in a village group the Christian school is attended by the children from Christian homes; it is not so in those villages where worship has not been well-established.

Closely linked with the above is the issue of child-marriage. In the areas where a strong worship program has been established we learned of few instances of children being married under the legal age. In the other areas we found that the parents are still in large numbers getting their children

married below the age set by the law of the land and of the Church, and by non-Christian rites.

Where the membership of a local congregation has been converted in a mass movement the development of a rounded church program, including congregational worship, is much easier than where it is composed of converts that have not been socially integrated, and, accordingly, possess no experience of working together. So far as we have been able to learn, only in mass-movement areas are congregations holding services every evening of the year. Nowhere else in India do we find such a high proportion of Christian families contributing to the support of the Church as in the best of the mass-movement areas, and nowhere else is the level of contributions so high in proportion to income. We are, of course, not including in these comparisons congregations composed almost entirely, as some are, of mission employees, who by deductions made from their pay, or by tithing in response to urging by their paymasters, maintain high average contributions.

The Evils of Westernization

Social changes that are promoted by Christian worship are more prominent in the mass-movement groups than are other changes often associated in India with Christianity. The charge is commonly made that Christian converts are subject to forces that denationalize and Westernize. Westernization has made little progress among mass-movement converts except as they have left the villages and mingled with others in the cities. How seriously Westernization can be mistaken for Christianity, and is being so mistaken, is illustrated by the following incident: A young Rajput and his wife came to a missionary in Bihar saying they had decided to become Christians and would like to be baptized. Asked what had led them to desire to become Christians, the young woman with naïve frankness replied that they had three reasons: (1) That they might eat together at a table rather than separately as their relatives insisted; (2) That they might eat chicken, of which he had become fond while on war service over-seas; (3) That they might drink whisky. To them, whatever else Christianity might stand for, it

meant freedom from three restrictions that they had found irksome in Hinduism.

There is no doubt that the identification of Christianity with certain "Western" indulgences and social standards has been made by many tens of thousands of India's people, nor is there any doubt that while commending itself to many as it did to the young Rajput couple, it has caused very large numbers to repel the appeals of Christianity. A prominent Hindu political leader told the writer that he three times set the date for his baptism, and each time changed his mind because of the thought of the influence that would likely be exercised upon his children by the nominal Christians of the city in which he lived, to whose conduct he objected. He recognized that what he complained about was not Christianity, but feared that it had become so intrenched in the Christian community that he could not take himself and his family into that community without danger to ideals that he wished to maintain for himself and his family.

In the most successful of the mass-movement areas there is evolving an Indian Christian culture that is thoroughly Indian and distinctively Christian, with a minimum of the kinds of Western influence that offend Indian standards of good taste, ethics, and pure religion.

CHAPTER VI

THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY UPON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

THE term "Christianity" is susceptible of an almost infinite number of interpretations. It probably does not convey exactly the same meaning at any time to two individuals, nor to the same individual on any two occasions. It is a term to which life is constantly giving new meanings and from which it often takes old meanings. Each person's understanding of it is compounded of many unstable elements.

In this chapter we are not concerned with a critical definition of what constitutes Christianity. We have to report observations upon groups of men and women who have been offered and have accepted widely divergent conceptions of the Person, the ministry, and the teachings of Jesus, who worship God in a variety of forms, who hold conflicting theories of the Church and its ministry, and who could not agree on what is the Christian message for the world in these times.

It is not necessary for us to pass judgment on any of these conflicting conceptions or practices, for we shall, for the purpose of this chapter, endow the term "Christianity" with a meaning wide enough to comprehend them all. The term will represent the sum total of forces operating in, through, or in association with, the Christian movement; although some of those forces are certainly not distinctively Christian, and some may even be in some particulars out of harmony with the life, character, and teachings of Jesus. It will include creedal instruction, the Church as an institution, its ministry and worship; the Bible and "Christian" literature; the Christian school, its teaching and supervising staff; organizations subsidiary to the Church, such as the Sunday school, young people's societies, and mothers' unions; and service of every kind performed, instigated or inspired by the Church or mission or the representatives of either.

We shall not attempt to apportion credit or blame for economic influences, traced to Christianity thus defined, between forces which are and forces which are not distinctively Christian, nor, indeed, to suggest what forces belong to each of those categories. The influence of a school or of a co-operative society maintained by a church or a mission, or by representatives of either, is, within the meaning of the term as used here, a part of the influence of Christianity.

However, practical considerations compel the placing of one limitation upon the comprehensiveness suggested. It is not possible to isolate Christian elements, either real or nominal, in such agencies as Government or trade and to appraise their influence. Many Government officials, and some representatives of other agencies such as trade, for example, are members of Christian churches and supporters of missions. The service of some of these men and women has strongly influenced the economic conditions of mass-movement converts, as it has that of other groups, both Christian and non-Christian; but no effort has been made to trace such influence in our household and village inquiries and it will not be considered in our treatment of the subject.

Benefits to India as a Whole

Christian missions have added to the wealth of India by the large sums of money which they have imported from foreign lands. These amounts have been net additions to the national wealth, for they have not been paid for by exports of any kind. They have been used to support Indian ministers, school-teachers, clerks, etc., as well as missionaries from the contributing countries; to erect buildings which have given temporary employment to thousands and to maintain schools, hospitals, and other social institutions. The sum of these gifts to India during the present century alone has been large enough to make a measurable difference in the average family income throughout the nation.

The monetary contribution of Christian missions to India's economic life has probably been exceeded by the monetary value of contributions made in service. Thousands of able men and women, Indian and foreign, have served India in the Christian movement at less than com-

mercial rates of pay. Every aspect of national welfare has been promoted by this service and the economic life has largely benefited. To have paid for this service at Governmental rates out of the public treasury would have added largely to the tax burdens of the nation. The economic value of education received in mission schools, of life saved or health restored in mission hospitals, of spirits revived or minds refreshed by visits of catechists or Bible women, cannot be computed. Hundreds of thousands of men and women who do not profess the Christian religion bear grateful witness to help of the above types received from Christian institutions or individuals.

Christian Influence Upon Depressed Class Groups

The foregoing is but introductory to our primary purpose, which is to consider the influence of Christianity upon the economic condition of families that have participated in Christian mass movements. Chapter IV shows that a large proportion of those families are in economic distress.

Because critics of missions have often attributed the spread of Christianity among the depressed classes to the desire for material gain, missionaries seem to have been reluctant to discuss the economic consequences, or concomitants, of conversion. There seems to have been widespread fear that the declaration that converts or their descendants have derived material gain might give the critics a weapon with which to strengthen their attack, or might induce poor people to profess Christianity for the sake of economic improvement.

That economic benefits have come to many participants in Christian mass movements as a result of conversion is, in the light of this study, indisputably clear. That is not a fact that need be hidden or discussed in whispers. Considering how Jesus tried to meet the needs of the poor, healing their diseases and other afflictions, and feeding the hungry, it would seem that the Church has no reason to apologize if its ministry to the poor reduces hunger and disease among them. Jesus let it be known that in some places he could do no mighty works because of the unbelief of the people, and if the mighty works of the Church have occurred among those who have believed in Jesus, this is not surprising.

Economic improvement is not an unnatural consequence of the application of the teachings of Jesus to the depressed classes and other poor groups in India. Moral improvement, education, increase of self-respect, elevation of the status of women and escape from social thralldom are recognized as legitimate aims and natural results of missionary endeavor. All of them contribute to the betterment of economic conditions.

Benefits Not Immediately Realized

The first observation about economic improvement following conversion is that it is not uniform in the communities studied, nor in the several families of any community. The mere profession of Christian faith, which is almost the only experience of Christianity common to *all* families included in the study, has not lifted anyone out of poverty. Improvement has nowhere, so far as we have learned, been immediate, and in quite a few cases the first difference registered in economic state has been the reverse of improvement. Conflicts have very often followed conversion, resulting in loss of work, destruction of property, withdrawal of credit, or in court cases.

Group solidarity may be achieved in renouncing a religion previously professed and adhering to Christianity, but not in the kind and degree of response to the many stimuli brought by Christianity. In no group do all members respond exactly alike to opportunities for instruction, for worship, for social release or for good works. As long as personalities differ, response to the impact of Christianity on individuals will be varied, no matter how strong group life may be.

The influence of Christianity has widened variations in economic conditions within mass-movement groups. The denial of opportunity tends to produce uniformity through general depression of the economic state; the bringing of opportunity tends to disrupt that uniformity. There are numbers of families within the Christian groups of each of our sample areas that are as poverty-stricken now as they were before they professed the Christian faith. In some areas such families form a distinct majority. In other areas

they are a small minority. But these wider differences have not been effected at the expense of any members of the group. They have not made any families poorer, but represent the acquisition of new assets and the release of what may be called "frozen assets" within their personalities.

Improvements Effected Through Education

Let us look first at the small numbers of men and women from these mass-movement groups who have completed college or university courses. In nine of the ten sample areas, though not in families surveyed in all of them, we learned of college graduates whose fathers or grandfathers were poverty-stricken illiterates when converted. Some of them hold responsible and highly remunerative positions. Some are serving the Church on sacrificial salaries. It is exceedingly unlikely that any of these men and women would have gone to college or even to high school but for the influence of Christianity. In one recent year at least seventeen young men and seven young women from Christian families converted in mass movements took degrees from the universities of a single province. While definite information is not available, it is doubtful if an equal number of men and women from the sixty millions or more of the depressed classes and aborigines, who have not become Christians, were graduated in the whole of India in the same year. Besides those who graduate, many Christians out of the mass movements attend colleges or technical and professional schools of collegiate grade for a time and drop out because of financial reasons or failure in examinations.

The increased incomes earned by men and women who have obtained the advantages of higher education are often widely distributed among their relatives and friends. The writer talked with one man earning Rs. 230 a month in a Government appointment who showed money-order receipts for monthly remittances, aggregating almost half of his income, sent to nine relatives, seven of whom were in school. These did not include his own children.

One mass-movement convert became a cook and never earned more than Rs. 12 a month, but before he died the monthly income of his sons educated in Christian schools

aggregated Rs. 2,000/. Another mass-movement convert, who did not learn to read until his late teens, lived to see one of his sons, likewise educated in a Christian school, serve as a Deputy President of the Legislative Council of his province.

The professions of medicine, law, teaching, and the ministry are being adorned by men lifted out of the ranks of the depressed classes and from the homes of untutored aborigines. At least two men from such homes have been appointed to the judiciary. More than two score of ladies, who but for the conversion of their parents would have lived as women of the depressed classes, have become practising physicians, most of them as sub-assistant surgeons in Government employ.

Through high schools Christianity has brought opportunity for a smaller, but yet considerable, improvement in economic condition to many more families in the mass-movement groups. These men and women who had the ability and the good sense to use the opportunities given to them are found working as clerks in Government departments, schools, professional offices, industrial establishments, and other institutions, as school-teachers and private tutors, as nurses, compounders, technicians, and health visitors, as tradesmen, railway employees, and insurance agents, as catechists, evangelists, and pastors and in many other vocations.

It is unfortunate that few of those who have obtained the benefits of a high-school education have remained in or returned to their villages, or have lived where they could assist in lifting the level of life in the groups to which they or their fathers belonged. In many cases, especially in North India, they have broken all contact with the villages of their forefathers.

When we come to primary and middle schools we find the benefits of the Christian movement more widely diffused and better conserved in the local population. Boys and girls who have passed only the primary and middle schools have not so generally left the villages.

Among the direct effects of primary and middle-school education upon economic conditions two are outstanding. These are:

1. Protection against fraud in the keeping of accounts, the signing of notes, etc. The amount of fraud practised against the illiterate by shopkeepers, money-lenders, etc., is undoubtedly very great. One Hindu money-lender, while protesting that his own record was clean, told the writer that 80 per cent of the money-lenders defraud their illiterate clients. Among practices which he said are common are (*a*) raising the amount of the note; for example, loaning Rs. 50 and preparing a note for Rs. 80, upon which the borrower places his thumb print in lieu of a signature, under the belief that the note is for the amount he has received; (*b*) raising the interest rate; for example, promising a loan for 25 per cent but writing into the note a promise to pay 37½ per cent; (*c*) giving receipts for smaller amounts than had been paid, or giving as a receipt a document with a totally different content.

One literate person in a community may be able to protect the entire community against fraud. A resident school-teacher or preacher often renders such service. But a shrewd money-lender is often able to outwit an illiterate man and get him to sign a document under the pressure of a strong need or desire for money at once, without insisting that his literate relative or neighbor see and advise him first.

2. Opening doors to employment. Many men and women who have completed a middle-school course and some who have lacked a year or two of completing it are employed as village school-teachers. Although salaries in primary schools are small they are a highly desirable asset to a poor family. In those areas where the Missions are maintaining a network of schools the employment of Christian teachers is sufficient to register quite a difference in the economic condition of Christian groups. In a group of villages in the Nagercoil area one out of every eighteen Christian families has an income from school-teaching.

Our thirty-eight hundred household surveys show more than five hundred persons employed in work that could not be done without at least a primary-school education.

Improvement Through Health Service

Without considering the indirect contributions of schools

to economic betterment, let us turn to improvements that are effected through hospitals and other health service, both curative and preventive.

Mission hospitals are not numerous in India, and most of them are located apart from the mass-movement groups. But in Etah, Govindpur, Nagercoil, Pasrur, and Vikarabad the survey forms show Mission hospitals ministering to members of the households studied. Much health service is rendered by Christian agencies in every one of these ten areas. Pastors, catechists, evangelists, school-teachers, superintendents, district missionaries, and Bible women agitate constantly for the improvement of health. Many of them render first-aid and dispense simple remedies. They often serve as unofficial agents for Government hospitals or dispensaries. A majority of pastors listed, among the chief demands upon their time, attention paid to the illnesses of their flock, visiting the sick, taking them medicines, and persuading them to go to hospitals or to call doctors. A Mohammedan physician in a Government hospital said that if Hindus and Mohammedans visited the hospital in the same proportion as Christians, his staff would have to be quadrupled. Asked why the Christians came more frequently, he replied that it was because the missionaries, pastors, and school-teachers brought or sent them until their prejudice was broken down, after which they came of their own accord when they needed treatment.

It is clear that much economic loss has been stopped by the contribution of Christianity to the prevention and cure of illness. The school-teacher and two members of the church committee in a village in the Vidyanagar area, in which malaria is endemic, estimated that in one year the loss of two hundred and twenty-one days of work had been prevented by the distribution of quinine by the teacher among the twenty-nine Christian families. McKee says that in the Punjab seizures and deaths from malaria normally outnumber those from all other causes put together.[1] The economic loss from the scourge in every province in India is prodigious.

[1] McKee, W. J., *Developing a Project Curriculum for Village Schools in India.*

Prophylactic doses of quinine are advocated by the medical profession. A large proportion of Christian ministers and teachers employed in mass-movement areas distribute quinine at times. Much more could be done in that line.

Although one needs to be cautious in interpreting the figures, it will be profitable to examine the death rates for children in the homes surveyed in our ten sample areas. Our household schedules provide data for 14,663 sons and daughters of Christian parents. Some died in infancy, some in early childhood, some in their teens, and some in adult life. The lowest death rates reported are in families that have been longest under Christian influence, namely, those in Nagercoil and Govindpur. The rate in Nagercoil is 23.8 per cent; in Govindpur, 21.1 per cent. In both of these areas the Church has been firmly established, and intensive pastoral oversight of all Christian families has long been in operation. The highest death rates are in Etah, 45.3 per cent; and in Ghaziabad, 41.1 per cent. The Christian communities in Etah and Ghaziabad have nearly all been recruited within the present generation; they are scattered through many villages in small groups, and pastoral service, confronted by especially formidable difficulties, has been less constant and more restricted than in other areas. The rate in Etah is more than twice that in Govindpur. The rates in these ten areas correlate more closely with the length and intensity of Christian service to the groups concerned than with any other influence we have been able to test.

In the four Telugu areas the rates are as follows: Guntur, 30.3 per cent; Vikarabad, 32 per cent; Vidyanagar, 34.8 per cent; and Cumbum, 36.6 per cent. Vikarabad has had a smaller ministerial and teaching staff than the other Telugu areas, but a mission hospital has done considerable extension work in the villages covered by the study, and Vikarabad was the location, until a few years ago, of Dr. Hugh H. Linn's Mission Medical Tablet Industry. Doctor Linn has built up a large business in making and selling medical tablets for distribution by Christian workers to the sick, whom they are constantly meeting. Sales of quinine and cinchona tablets, or pills, have run into hundreds of thousands annually.

Improvement of Housing Conditions

Christian influences are also effecting improvement in economic standards by stimulating a desire for better living conditions.

In Nagercoil, where the Christian mass movement began one hundred and twenty-five years ago, and many families with several generations of Christian influence behind them were included in the study, 80 per cent of the houses are superior to the average prevailing in all other areas except Govindpur. Of the 20 per cent of Nagercoil houses that are inferior, approximately three fourths are occupied by first-generation Christians. Nowhere else is the evidence so extensive that a demand for better houses has been stimulated by the Christian movement, but there are a good many scattered families in other areas living in improved houses that indicate a standard of living associated with the Christian movement.

In the Vidyanagar area we found an illiterate man adding a second room to his house, because a daughter, attending a mission boarding school, insisted that he do it. The father, mother, grandmother, and four children had lived in one room until the daughter's experience and training in the school had made her want and demand another room. Again, at Pasrur, a pastor's advice and example were cited to explain an extraordinary number of recent improvements in one village, new rooms added to several houses, and windows put into a half dozen houses. In one village in Guntur, where the Christians' houses are quite superior to those in most Telugu villages, a venerable church elder said that when the group accepted Christianity in his boyhood, their houses were worse than those of the outcastes in any neighboring village. When asked to explain the difference, he replied, "The school, the church, and service." By "service" he meant employment on the railway, in the rock quarries, in offices and shops at Guntur and Bezwada, and as domestic servants.

The low standards of housing prevailing in all areas but Nagercoil and Govindpur indicate both poverty and indifference to better living conditions. By itself poverty cannot

permanently keep an entire group from improving its housing. It is an obstacle to the building of new houses and the improvement of old ones, but is not insurmountable unless the desire for better houses is dormant. The unfavorable conditions of tenure of building sites and the limitation of house ownership seem to account to a considerable extent for the poor housing conditions. Legislation is needed to deal with this difficulty. Absolute ownership of the sites on which their houses stand should be substituted by law for the limited ownership that has operated so unfairly against the poor. For their protection the law should prevent the mortgaging of their houses. But, as achievements here and there show, even under present conditions of tenure much improvement is possible. The problem is to make people want better houses strongly enough to overcome poverty and get them. We found that such a desire is being stimulated, but the prevailing mood after every study of our data is one of disappointment that so many Christian families in these mass-movement areas are living in houses entirely inadequate for their needs, apparently without any active desire to improve them. About eighty per cent of the one-room houses investigated are on sites that permit the addition of a room on the ground level.

Improvements Through Personality Reconstruction

Christianity has improved the economic condition of mass-movement converts by breaking down inhibitions and occupational restrictions. This has been done partly, but not exclusively, through schools. Changes have been wrought in the attitudes of Christians toward work other than that to which they or their group had been accustomed and in the public attitudes toward the taking up of new work by these converts. Many Christians have acquired new concepts of themselves which have made it possible for them to undertake work that was inhibited by old concepts. Hindu and Moslem neighbors likewise have acquired new concepts of the Christians and have encouraged, or at least tolerated, work by them that would have been impossible had the old concepts not given way to the new.

This process has released powers of initiative so long

inhibited that no one, least of all the converts themselves, suspected their existence. That a Sweeper should become a potter is unthinkable. Suggest to a typical Sweeper in any part of India that he make pottery and sell it to his Hindu and Moslem neighbors, and he will think you are either crazy or entirely ignorant of the conditions by which he is surrounded. Ask a typical Hindu if he or his neighbors would buy pottery from Sweepers or any other outcaste group in his village, and he will assure you that it is impossible. We tried this latter and the answers were without exception decisive denials. Yet in the Pasrur area we found Sweeper converts earning a comfortable living by making pottery and selling it to Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs, as well as to their fellow Christians. The explanation is that the Christians have acquired a new concept of themselves, and that this or a like concept has been accepted by their neighbors.

Confirmation of this theory is provided by the decline of the use of the old term by which the Christians in this area were known before their conversion. The term "Chuhra" is falling into disuse. Hindu, Moslem, and Sikh informants told us that among themselves they seldom or never refer to the Christians of their villages by the old caste name.

The Madras *Census* of 1911 says, "One of the immediate effects of conversion (of an untouchable to Christianity) is the commencement of deliverance from his bondage. . . . In Nellore several of the erstwhile serfs appeared at a recent show in the rôle of successful exhibitors of prize cattle."

In many villages where the conversion of groups of untouchables led to severe persecution, because it was foreseen that they would no longer be content with their bondage, public sentiment has become reconciled to their deliverance, and has accepted as masons, carpenters, tailors, farmers, even as teachers and ministers of religion, men who were previously condemned to work only as sweepers, leather-workers, or coolies.

Reduction of Interest Charges

In several areas interest charges have been lowered through the influence of Christianity. This has been achieved by

two means chiefly, (1) Through the organization by the missions of co-operative societies. The societies have made credit available to their members at a rate below that commonly charged by money-lenders and merchants. The latter have reduced their rates to many others who would otherwise have joined the societies. (2) By making the converts better risks. A Hindu money-lender in Nagercoil said that he considers a Sambavar who attends church a twenty-five per cent better risk than one who does not attend, and the average second-generation Nadar Christian a fifty per cent better risk than the average non-Christian Nadar. We did not interview a sufficient number of money-lenders to be able to say whether they would generally assent to the above statement. But in the areas where the Church has been most securely established and a Christian character most clearly stamped upon the groups, prevailing interest rates are much lower than where the Church remains weak and a distinctive Christian character is lacking.

Reduction of Wasteful Expenditures

We discuss elsewhere the evidence that Christianity has effected a reduction in drink and drug consumption and in gambling. Where, and to the extent that, reduction in these vices has taken place, economic conditions have gained. The testimony of many neighbors of these Christians regards the cessation or the decrease of drinking and gambling as a cause of increased prosperity. One convert in Ghaziabad area estimated that he and seven other Christian men of his village had saved an average of Rs. 15 each annually by giving up drink. The others agreed. Hindus in the village said the estimate was not excessive. In Pasrur we got from two Christian men, who admitted that they still used intoxicants, estimates of their annual expenditures on liquor. They averaged Rs. 7 each. The economic effects of decreased drinking are not confined to the money saved, for in many cases drinking results in the loss of time from work, in dismissal from employment, in decreased effectiveness while at work, in the destruction of property and in expenditures for medical relief.

Some gain has been made in several areas through cam-

paigns against extravagant weddings. The chief cause of preventable indebtedness is extravagant expenditures on marriage ceremonies. Where the Christian service is substituted for the old rites, the minister, assisted by the elders of the church, is sometimes able to prevent unreasonable expenditures. A number of groups of Christians testified that much less is spent at their weddings now than in pre-Christian days. A group of inquirers in the Vidyanagar area mentioned the reduced expenditures at weddings as one of the minor benefits they expected to gain from being Christians.

However, this means of effecting improvement is more notable for the opportunities it offers than for the use hitherto made of it. We are not sure that in some areas extravagant expenditure at weddings has not increased in keeping with new assets derived from improvements produced by other processes.

Influences That Make Economic Conditions More Difficult

But the influences of Christianity, as defined in this chapter, have not all been on the side of improvement in economic conditions. The missionary, and very frequently his Indian ministerial colleague, coming to the Christian groups as intimate advisers on a wide range of affairs, often unconsciously, and sometimes consciously but with little understanding of what may follow, bring new social patterns, new standards of expenditure and new scales of value that exercise, for a time, at least, a disconcerting and deleterious effect upon economic conditions.

The village schoolboy sees the missionary, the pastor, and the school-teacher wear a collar and a necktie. He concludes that as a Christian he should wear a collar and a necktie, and teases his father to buy them and a shirt with which a collar and tie can be worn, instead of being content with the simple and less expensive *kamis* common in the village.

A girl sees the lady missionary, the pastor's wife, or the woman teacher wearing Western-style shoes and stockings, and decides that she wants shoes and stockings, and that, as

a Christian girl who has gone to school, she needs them to mark her difference from the ignorant girls and women about her.

This is not to say that it is always economically injurious in the long run for the boy to want the collar and tie or for the girl to want the shoes and stockings. In some cases the desires release energies or arouse a will to earn money with which they may be met. But one finds a good many families in some areas whose economic position has been made more difficult because the ambitions of the rising generation to be properly outfitted have developed more rapidly than the new resources necessary to provide for their realization.

Some years ago a report on tuberculosis, submitted to the Calcutta Corporation, found that Indian Christians were suffering from tuberculosis more than Hindus. One of the explanations offered was that Christians were accustomed to expend a larger proportion of their income on clothes and consequently had less to spend on food. The life of most village groups can be enriched by the creation of certain new needs, or, rather, an appreciation of certain needs and a desire to provide for them; but when a desire is created for things that meet no genuine need, the community is not enriched but impoverished.

Boys and girls who leave their village homes to attend boarding schools sometimes return with exaggerated ideas of their importance and rights as "educated" people. Boys do not find work they consider proper for them and refuse to do what is available, with the result that sacrifices made to keep them in school result only in the necessity of supporting them in idleness. Girls refuse to do their share of the work of the home or the fields and become a burden to their families or to the unfortunate men who marry them. But these cases form a minority in what is yet a small body, for the mission boarding schools have provided opportunities for relatively few village boys and girls.

There is evidence of the growth within several mass-movement groups of sentiment that threatens considerable economic loss through the boycott of certain occupations. The leather-workers have a virtual monopoly of the raw material of the leather industry. Handled wisely this position may

be made to contribute to the economic uplift of Christian converts from these castes. But there is developing a disposition to turn away entirely from all work connected with raw skins. A number of Chamar converts around Ghaziabad boasted that they do not remove the skins of cows or buffaloes or collect bones for sale, although these are historic rights of their caste and yield considerable profit. They suggested that as Christians they ought not to do work of that kind, as they make higher-caste people despise them and their religion. Christians of the Sweeper caste, less concerned about the social penalties attached to removing skins and collecting bones, which are less severe than those they experience as Sweepers, are taking over these functions from their Chamar fellow converts.

In several places we found that pastors and educated laymen have refused to admit to full membership in the Church anyone who was working as a sweeper. As many Sweeper converts in these places were unable to get other regular work, they were compelled to choose between remaining out of church membership and sinking lower into poverty.

In many places poor Christians could make a reasonable living by working as washermen or barbers, but they are prejudiced against those occupations, and persistently avoid them. In the large cities a few Roman Catholics run barber shops for the upper classes, but so far as we know Protestants have not attempted to enter that field.

A serious obstacle to economic improvement is the occasional development of a spirit of dependence upon the Mission. This is most common among boys who have been given free or nearly free education in boarding schools. Instead of looking for opportunities for earning a living and fitting themselves therefor, they assume that the responsibility for assuring them a job belongs to the institution or the people that made it possible for them to get an education. This spirit also occasionally infests village communities. Some preachers, having themselves received scholarships in middle schools, high schools, and theological schools, are unwise enough to instill in the minds of those to whom they minister a belief that if they make their condition appear distressing enough, the mission will help them finan-

cially. A few missionaries have been so lacking in understanding as to respond to appeals set up in that way. However, there has been, we gather, much less of that kind of thing where mass movements have taken place than in other areas of missionary work.

Some income has been sacrificed by Christians refusing to work on Sunday. Two Hindu creditors of Christians complained that their debtors could not meet the payments due to them because they earned no Sunday wages. But our schedules showed that three of the four men they named had each earned more money the previous twelve months than had any of the eight Christian men of their village who were accustomed to work on Sunday. The Sunday rest from ordinary work has not injured the economic conditions of any group, so far as we could tell. It is most common in those groups that are most prosperous, but whether that is a cause, an effect, a combination of both, or a mere coincidence, we do not know.

CHAPTER VII

MOTIVES UNDERLYING MASS-MOVEMENT CONVERSIONS

THE subject of motives is always difficult. It is doubly so in this case. Its consideration encounters much prejudice and excites strong feeling. Many Christians think it necessary to examine with great care the motives of all who seek entrance to the Church of Christ or any other recognition by Christians as one of them. Others, fearful of placing themselves in the position of a judge, take the attitude that whosoever will may come, and while trying to stimulate motives that they consider proper, scrupulously refrain from prying beneath the voluntary declaration of the inquirer.

Criticisms of the motives of mass-movement converts are so numerous and come from so many and such responsible sources that they cannot be ignored. In Western lands opponents of "foreign missions" have often raised the cry "rice Christians," thereby impugning the motives that have made poor people, especially in India and China, call themselves Christians. While the use of that epithet has not been confined to converts in mass movements, nor used chiefly of them, it is nevertheless true that large numbers of Christian people in Western lands have supposed that objectionable motives are most common among those who enter the Christian fold in mass movements, especially among those who come from the depressed classes. In fact, many critics of mass movements, East and West, both Christians and non-Christians, appear to believe that unworthy motives predominate in making the masses therein move to a profession of Christian faith, and also in making ministers receive them into their churches.

A distinguished American minister who visited India a few years ago uttered a criticism that is representative of the thinking and perhaps of the assumptions of many. He spoke with great vigor about what he called "the heresy of

mass conversion," which he attributed to the desire of shrewd men among the masses to secure some material benefit for themselves and to "an almost idolatrous regard of some missionaries for numbers." He gave no reasons for his assumption that the desire for material gain is a stronger factor in mass movements than among those who come alone to a decision to follow Christ, and one who heard him in India was surprised to hear him at a later date, speaking to a congregation in his own country, give an interpretation of modern history that seemed to indicate that the material good things of life had been bestowed by God upon those nations that hold most loyally to the Protestant faith, which he was commending to his hearers. His interpretation may have been motivated by a purely academic interest in truth, but it impressed at least one of his hearers as being an effort to reenforce the Christian purpose of members of his audience by an appeal to their natural desire for material gain.

A Diversity of Reasons

Prominent non-Christians, among them the versatile and influential Mr. K. Natarajan, the venerable but dynamic Pandit M. M. Malaviya, and the illustrious Mahatma Gandhi, have referred to the mass movements in terms that imply that the motives are entirely secular and mostly unworthy. A less prominent Hindu leader of the North, who said that he objects to conversion by anyone from one religion to another under any circumstances, in a personal interview told the writer that the Sweepers of his district had become Christians for three entirely unworthy motives:

1. "They want to be treated like respectable people, and only the missionaries and a few foolish Indian Christians will treat them that way.
2. "They want to quit doing Sweepers' work or, at least, to find other work for their children.
3. "They want the help of the missionary when their landlords or the police complain against them and Christian officials have to decide their cases."

On inquiry, however, we learned that from the beginning of the Sweeper movement in that district it had been the settled policy of the missionaries to refrain scrupulously

from any representations to officials concerning police or court cases.

A missionary who was strong in declaring that the motives of candidates for admission to baptism and the Church must be carefully examined and only those admitted whose motives were "pure," and who was afraid that the motivation of mass movements had not been above criticism, expressed the opinion that *the preaching of the gospel often awakens in the mind of the receptive hearer a desire for self-improvement and a fuller, as well as a better, life, appreciation of kindnesses shown to him, hope of escape from century-old wrongs previously endured without question, and ambition for his children.*

The three motives accounted by our Hindu friend as entirely unworthy might all be traced to the preaching of the gospel, according to the understanding of this missionary. Some have even criticized Jesus because he tried to persuade his disciples to do right by telling them, "Great is your reward in heaven." Probably few Christian readers of this report would be willing to subscribe to the thesis that those motives only are truly religious and worthy which are associated with indifference to the future welfare of the subject and his loved ones. Bishop Gore has said: "We cannot separate love for God from a desire to find our own happiness in God. We must crave for ultimate satisfaction, recognition, and approval."[1] Some of us see in the desire of the Sweepers in many Northern India districts to be treated like respectable people, to secure for their children some other work than the cleaning of cesspools and privies, and to obtain help against oppression, not evidence of unworthy motives, but, rather, support for their claim that they have admitted Jesus to their midst. From an unexpected source, a secular, official and academic document like the Census, we glean this gratuitous comment: "The hope of a decent life on earth is not any more, or any less, a bribe than the hope of a blissful eternity hereafter."[2]

Friends of the mass movements, including some of the

[1] Gore, The Rt. Rev. Charles, Bishop of Oxford, *The Sermon on the Mount.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896.

[2] *Census* of India, Madras Presidency, Part I, Chap. IV, 1911.

ablest officers of churches assisting them, speak of the motives that operate in these movements as "mixed." Bishops Azariah and Whitehead say, "The motives that lead people to become Christians in mass movements are strangely mixed."[3] But they deal only with a mixture of motives within the group, and not in the mind of an individual of the group. They mention, among motives that have led to mass-movement conversions, the desire for self-improvement, the education of their children, the conviction that they were bad men and should become good men, salvation from a degraded life, a belief that they had been ordered in dreams to turn to Christ, and a simple faith in the Fatherhood of God and the saving power of Jesus.

The Psychology of Conversion

We have referred to the lack of psychological understanding. While psychology has made great progress in recent years, it has not yet perfected instruments with which one may analyze another's mind and learn with certainty the motives that determine a decision in such an inclusive, complicated, and far-reaching issue as a change of religious affiliation. And the great protagonist in this field, Professor William James, is no longer with us. The mass movement awaits a genius like his to analyze it. It suffices, however, to quote some of his observations on conversion:

> Were we writing the story of the mind, from the purely natural-history point of view, with no religious interest whatever, we should still have to write down man's liability to sudden and complete conversion as one of his most curious peculiarities.
> . . . what is attained is often an altogether new level of spiritual vitality, a relatively heroic level, in which impossible things have become possible, and new energies and endurances shown. The personality is changed, the man is born anew, whether or not his psychological idiosyncrasies are what give the particular shape to his metamorphosis.
> A small man's salvation will always be a great salvation *for him,* and we should remember this when the fruits of our ordinary evangelicism look discouraging. Who knows how much

[3] Azariah, Rt. Rev. V. S., and Whitehead, Rt. Rev. Henry, *Christ in the Indian Villages.* London: Student Christian Movement, 1930.

less ideal still the lives of these spiritual grubs and earthworms . . . might have been, if such poor grace as they have received had never touched them at all?[4]

Two learned psychologists would be unlikely to agree on an analysis of the motives that lead any typical American to support the nominees of a political party or to join some particular church. But they would hardly differ on the statement, concerning either decision, that several motives or many were at work in his mind. Religion appeals to many motives, as does politics, and it is doubtful whether any normal individual can change his beliefs, his practices, and his allegiance in religion without the operation within him of many motives. Certainly no wide movement in religion takes place without engaging numerous motives. Nevertheless, it may happen that one is so much stronger than all others that it may fairly be considered the primary cause of action.

Thus an inquiry into religious motives is attended by many difficulties and should be attempted with caution and humility. After much discussion within our staff and with interested friends, we determined to ask the heads of all families included in our household survey why they became Christians. By now we trust our readers appreciate the complexity and subtlety of the apparently simple question we posed to people, overwhelmingly illiterate, who are unaccustomed to analyzing their motives.

Our informants had been Christians for from a few days to more than seventy years. To analyze correctly one's own motives for any action at any time is difficult; to project oneself back through the years, recapture a state of mind that obtained long ago and dissect the motivation that led to a decision on an issue so complicated as the religion he professes, is well-nigh, if not quite, impossible. But we did not ask for an analysis of motives. Our question was asked in the hope that we might learn what our informants considered to be the primary reason for their decision to become Christians. To tell us that much was, for many, a difficult task.

[4] James, William, *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* New York, London, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Company, 1902.

We quickly saw that dramatic considerations came more easily to their minds than some others that may have been much stronger at the time of their conversion.

To illustrate: (*a*) an old man, asked why he became a Christian, after a moment's thought, replied, "My uncle was beaten by the village landlord." But, a few minutes later, he mentioned that he had been studying in a Christian school, had learned that only Jesus can redeem from sin, and had long been urging his parents and others of his caste to become Christians. He said, "I loved Jesus three years before we all became Christians." (*b*) A middle-aged man who had been a Christian for about twelve years, replied very quickly, "To save my children from starvation"—but further inquiry elicited the facts that he had been through a famine several years before his conversion and had been haunted by the memory of children starving, but at the time of his conversion he was a widower and had no children. His brother had persuaded him and the entire group of his caste-fellows in the village to become Christians, and he had been the last to yield.

The Temptation to Rationalize

The temptation to rationalize is as common in the East as in the West, as often among simple as among sophisticated people. Thus, we found a natural tendency to interpret one's own actions in the way that reflects most credit upon oneself. We sometimes felt that men were telling us not the reasons for their having become Christians, but what they now believed to be good reasons for becoming Christians. We did not think of them as consciously trying to mislead us, but as having, by certain normal processes of rationalization, wiped out from their mental picture of themselves at the time of conversion the lines that showed any motive which their subsequent experience had made them regard as questionable, and as having "touched up" the lines that represented their motivation as very good. In one village, where instruction had been especially thorough, we discovered that a majority of the answers had been given in the identical words of the catechism with reference to this subject. In another area an officer of the church said he became

a Christian "for the salvation of my soul and the love of God," but we later learned that he had been in love with a Christian girl and that she and her people had insisted that he must renounce idolatry and join the church, or she could not marry him. That he had become an exemplary Christian was the testimony of his pastor, his Christian neighbors and our non-Christian informant in his village.

Observations made by several members of the staff, independently and in different areas, suggest that the degree of thoroughness in training, and the measure of happiness of association subsequent to conversion, strongly influenced the answers given us. Men who had been well taught and ministered to, and were happy in their religious associations, were likely to idealize the beginning of their experience as Christians, while men who began under the same conditions, if neglected by their pastors, or if, for any reason, they had lost their sense of the divine favor, were likely to refer to their conversion in less appreciative terms and to imply that unworthy motives had been encouraged by those who influenced their decision.

Our question sometimes led to conversations that made the short entries we were making in our record seem inadequate and even misleading. In the Ghaziabad area the writer was personally filling the schedule for the leader of the Christians of his village. "Why did you become a Christian?" was asked. "Because the landowners were oppressing us very badly. We went to the missionary for help." A check was entered under "sought help of the missionary." But the leader wanted to talk about it. "What kind of help did you hope to obtain from the missionary?" we asked. "Kindness and love," came the unexpected reply. "Not money, nor any sort of help in a court-case?" "No, they were not necessary. We took courage, and the landowners became afraid when the missionary and the preachers began coming to the village and treating us with honor, like they treat other people."

"Why did you become a Christian?" we asked a young man in Vidyanagar, who had been baptized less than a year before. "All of us in this village became Christians together," came the quick response, and it was recorded that

he had followed the crowd. "But you didn't have to become a Christian because these others were doing so." "No, I wanted to be a Christian." "Why so?" "So I could be a man. None of us was a man. We were dogs. Only Jesus could make men out of us."

"Why did you become a Christian?" we asked a Nagercoil man who had two sons in Christian work. "To find peace," he replied. "Were you troubled by something?" the recorder asked. "Yes, I was in great sorrow because of my sins. My life was very evil." "And did you find peace?" "Yes, and I have it yet after thirty years," he answered.

A Pasrur widow replied, "We became Christians because our old religion never helped us." "Has Christianity helped you?" we asked. "Yes, we are very different now. We know the truth and worship God. Evil spirits don't trouble us, and even our enemies have become our friends." Her face shone with joy as she talked.

But occasionally the follow-up talk was saddening. "Why did you become a Christian?" we asked a Govindpur man. "Because the others did, I suppose," he answered. "Don't you know whether that is so?" he was asked. "No, I don't *know* why I became a Christian. One religion is as good as another. They told me I'd be very happy as a Christian and that they would do a great deal for me. But after I was baptized they forgot me." "Will you then go back to the religion of your fathers?" we asked. "No, I don't believe in it now." "Will you renounce the Christian religion?" "No, it is as good as any other and why should I change again?" This was his final word on the subject.

All Sorts of Motives

The following replies were culled from the household survey forms and from notebooks used in the study. Some of them were repeated in essence a number of times, while others were heard but once. The fact that they were recorded in words instead of being reduced to one or another of the standardized forms of reply, and checked thereunder, indicates that they were different enough to have awakened special interest. Not more than 200 replies were recorded in words. More than 3,400 were adequately represented by

the standardized replies printed in the forms to facilitate recording and classification.

1. Because I was tired of the devil.
2. To change my character.
3. To escape from cholera.
4. To marry a good girl.
5. So I could amount to something in life and go to heaven.
6. Because I was sorry for my sins.
7. Because Jesus rescued me from the devil.
8. To do my duty.
9. To fight the devil and help my children.
10. Because I wanted instruction.
11. Because I didn't want to be a fool all my life.
12. To receive help from God.
13. Because the landowners oppressed us.
14. Because Chamars are stupid, and I didn't want to remain a Chamar.
15. Because I didn't want to hinder God's Spirit.
16. To get rid of my sinful habits.
17. Because I thought the Christian religion best for me.
18. Because I saw advantages while I live and after I die.
19. Because God worked in me and I had to do it.
20. To take the name of God as a protector.
21. Because I liked Christian people.
22. Because our missionary helped us against the Brahmans and Rajputs.
23. Because I wanted God's blessing for my family.
24. To obtain peace in my heart.
25. Because the love of Jesus won me.
26. Because I was a devil and God made me a man.
27. Because Jesus is better than Krishna.
28. Because I was sick of gods who couldn't hear my prayers.
29. To get a wife for my younger brother.
30. For Jesus' sake.
31. Because I like the teaching.
32. Because this religion melted my heart.
33. Because a British soldier in France taught me to worship God and to love Jesus.
34. To be saved from forced labor.
35. Because I wanted to know God.
36. Because it is right. Everyone ought to be a Christian.
37. Because I was unhappy as I was.
38. Because the wise men of my caste said I should.
39. Because I was invited to do so many times. The Christians were always after me.
40. For many reasons it seemed best.

We conclude that the motives that lead Indian people to Christ in mass movements are the motives that lead people anywhere to him. If this question were asked of Christians in any Western country, or in any other country of the East, or of Indian converts apart from mass movements, the answers we would get might be phrased differently, but the experiences behind them would be very much the same. Perhaps fewer people would tell of following the counsel of their group leaders or the decision of the group, but we would know that many of them had been led by their fellows as truly as were these people in India.

The correlation of the motives claimed in the answers to our question with the subsequent attainment of converts in the Christian life as far as we could measure it, has been one of the most interesting experiences of our study.

These motives are considered in four groups.

In Group 1 (Spiritual Motives) are placed all answers that had been recorded under the heads: "seeking salvation," and "convinced by the preacher," and also all such answers as "to know God," "to find peace," "because of faith in Jesus," "because of the love of God," etc.

In Group 2 (Secular Motives) are placed all answers that had been recorded as "sought help of the missionaries," "in hope of education for the children," "for improved social standing," "had agricultural service," and "had medical service," and also all answers that revealed a hope of personal gain not definitely spiritual, such as "to marry a Christian girl," "because the landowners oppressed us," etc.

In Group 3 (Social Reasons) we put all answers checked as "family was being baptized," and "brotherhood was being baptized," and all such answers as "I didn't want to remain a Hindu when my relatives were Christians," or "My people told me to do so."

Group 4 (Natal Influences) is composed of those whose replies were entered as "child of Christian parents." Their parents were Christians when they were born or became Christians while they were quite young, so that they were brought up in the Christian faith.

Where motives or reasons belonging to two or more of

the above classifications were mentioned, the men concerned were put in each group for which their answers qualified them. Where the question about motive was not answered, or the answer could not be interpreted with confidence, no entry was made in this record.

The classified answers total 3,947. Group 1 contains 1,371 replies, or 34.8 per cent of the whole number; Group 2, 322, or 8.1 per cent; Group 3, 885, or 22.4 per cent, and Group 4, 1,369, or 34.7 per cent.

Correlation Between Motive and Attainment

It will be seen that there is a relation between the motive claimed and the showing made in the measures of Christian attainment used in the study. Groups 1 and 4 show to distinctly better advantage than Groups 2 and 3.

For example, while in Group 3 only 713 of a thousand known to have been married after becoming Christians, and in Group 2 only 798 of such a thousand, were married by Christian rites, the rate in Group 1 is 858 and in Group 4 it is 960.

All of the comparisons between the groups are interesting, but we call attention here to only a few. In abstinence from drink the poorest record is made by those in Group 2, and better records go to Group 3, Group 1, and Group 4 in that order. The fact that the children of Christian parents in these mass-movement areas drink less than any of the three groups of first-generation converts is distinctly encouraging. Several years ago a widely known religious leader of certain Mohammedan groups in Delhi, Khwaja Hassan Nizami, militantly anti-Christian at all times, made an attack, at a mass meeting in Delhi under the auspices of the Prohibition League of India, upon Christianity in India, charging that its spread was accompanied or followed by a large increase of drink consumption. The data on abstinence are one of several evidences emerging from this study that the charges are not true in the mass-movement areas, but that a material reduction of drinking has been effected through the Christian movement.

As regards Sabbath observance we find that Group 2 reports only 32.2 per cent claiming to refrain from work on

Sunday; that Group 3 reports 37.1 per cent; Group 1 reports 50.7 per cent; and Group 4, 67.1 per cent.

Also in tests involving memoriter work, Group 2 is lowest, Group 3 stands second from the bottom, Group 1 third from the bottom, and Group 4 at the top. That such large proportions of those born in Christian homes can recite the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments is indicative of much faithful work among the younger generation, and is promising for the future of the Indian Church of the mass-movement areas.

Highest Attainments by Those Whose Parents Were Christians

In Groups 1 and 4 the number of replies is approximately equal, and is sufficient in both cases to support the belief that they present a typical picture of the two classes of Christians. The former are a select group of outcaste converts from Hinduism or animism, showing a higher level of Christian attainment than either of the other groups of such converts; the latter are Christians of the second or, in a few cases, a later generation. A comparison of the Christian attainments of these two groups throws light on the vitally important question of what happens to the religious outlook and experience of children and the later descendants of converts in the mass movements.

It has been the common sorrow of multitudes of zealous and devoted Christian parents, radiantly happy in their appreciation of the values that have come to them in Christian discipleship, that they have been unable to bring their children to share their experience or to impart to them the attitudes and beliefs that they associate with their Christian life. Yet the Church in every land lives because many of the children of Christians accept the faith of their fathers, and emulate their attainments in the Christian life. One often hears missionaries, and ministers of Indian churches related to mass movements, speak with more or less discouragement about the converts whose formative years of childhood and youth had passed before they came under Christian influence, and not infrequently they express confidence in the mass movement because they expect the children of the con-

verts to become better Christians than their parents. Our data indicate that the children of Christian parents, considered as a whole, reach higher levels of Christian attainment than their parents.

Group 4 is shown to better advantage than Group 1 by sixteen of the nineteen measures on which we have information. The three exceptions are: (*a*) membership in the church, (*b*) loyalty to the church when it is in conflict with the brotherhood, and (*c*) eating the flesh of animals that have died of themselves. Concerning (*a*), it should be borne in mind that Group 4 contains a larger proportion of young men than does Group 1, and that many of these would naturally become members of the church within a few years. If the heads of families who are under twenty-one were dropped from consideration under this head, the result would be to raise the percentage of church members in Group 4 considerably above that of Group 1. The significance of (*c*) is discounted by the discovery that of the 254 children of Christian parents who are recorded as indulging in this practice, 214 are in the Govindpur area, where the Christian community, in the main, is a result of a mass movement that took place in a previous generation. In this one field, where the church is composed of converts from several aboriginal tribes and is, in some respects, one of the greatest triumphs of Christian missions in India, sentiment against the eating of this kind of meat has developed slowly. The converts from animism retained the old tribal custom, and now that most of them have died and their children are on the scene, the custom survives in their children. Govindpur adds only 31 names to Group 1, and 25 of them eat this kind of meat, while it adds to Group 4 the names of 275, of whom 214 eat it. If Govindpur is excluded, because of its untypical character, the result is that Group 4 shows to much better advantage in this matter also.

Possibly the result most worthy of emphasis here, and of consideration by the Church, thus far has not been mentioned, but is the encouraging attainments of converts listed in Groups 2 and 3. The smallness of the margin between Groups 1 and 2, we venture to say, will surprise many of our readers who have not supposed that a purely secular

motive, such as the desire for help against oppression, may lead to conversion and a wholesome, productive religious experience. Likewise the nearness of Group 3, in many of these tests, to Group 1 will surprise people who have not already discovered how God uses social forces to bring men under the influences of the gospel.

We find that 70 per cent of the men who say they became Christians for some motive not accounted as spiritual, and 75 per cent of those who declare that they became Christians because others of their family or caste did so, have become regular attendants at church services. We also find that the homes of 93.2 per cent of the former and of 94.8 per cent of the latter are free from all signs of idolatry; that 90.5 per cent of the former and 91.4 per cent of the latter contribute to the church; that 86.8 per cent of the former and 84.1 per cent of the latter regularly confess themselves as Christians to their non-Christian neighbors and in such official records as the census, despite many inducements to refrain from doing so.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHRISTIAN ATTAINMENT OF MASS-MOVEMENT CONVERTS

WHEN this study was undertaken many interested people were asked to formulate questions on which they would like information to be secured. Almost all responses included a question about the Christian attainment of mass-movement converts. We may regard the following as fairly representative. An Indian layman wrote:

> Please inquire whether mass-movement converts are *real* Christians. I have heard that many never attend church, that they remain ignorant of the elementary facts about our Lord's life and death, and do not change their lives in any way. But I have also heard stories of great devotion and heroism. What is the truth? Find out and tell us frankly.

An American officer of a Missionary Society wrote:

> I hope you will collect information about the converts of the mass movement, not just the leaders, but the rank and file. . . . What do they learn? What kind of Christians do they become? Are their lives changed? Do they give up idolatry? Do they boldly confess Christ to their non-Christian neighbors?

These questions require discriminating answers. In the truest sense it is not possible to measure Christian attainment. No schedule can be devised that will discover how Christian any individual or group has become. Only God knows or can know the heart of man, where the full record of Christian attainment is kept. But it is possible to measure response to many requirements and recommendations of the Church, and it is reasonable to interpret the results as indications of Christian attainment. They provide at least partial answers to many of the questions asked.

In presenting the data we have collected we must emphasize their limitations. It is quite possible for every measure reported here to be favorable about an individual who is not

in his heart a good Christian. It is also quite possible for several of these measures to be quite unfavorable about one who in his heart is a genuine and devoted follower of the Christ. We present and interpret the data that our processes brought us and leave to our readers the task of appraising them according to their own judgment, knowing that each of the measurements we have made will seem more important to some readers than to others. We hope to avoid any appearance of either of those profitless exercises—confessing other people's sins and testifying to other people's Christian experience.

Sources of Information

The materials in this chapter were gathered in the main by questioning the heads of Christian families in the ten areas of field work. Their replies were recorded, collected, analyzed, and correlated. The questions were asked in the presence of other members of the local group. Whenever there seemed to be any reason for doubting the correctness of the replies, and often when no such reason was apparent, the pastor, or some other official of the local church, was consulted. Church records were often examined to confirm, correct, or supplement the information given by the heads of families. Also, in hundreds of instances, the wife of the head of the household was questioned.

Creedal Knowledge

Time did not permit us to ask many questions about creedal knowledge. In the main schedule we asked only whether the head of the household and his wife knew the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments. The man's answers concerning his own knowledge were practically always tested. Whether he said "Yes" or "No," he was asked to prove his answers. Very rarely did anyone claim to know what he could not recite. There were more cases of people reciting what they had said they did not know than of people unable to recite what they had claimed to know. Where the wife could be found at the time, she was examined about her knowledge. Men were even more inclined to understate their wives' knowledge

than their own. About 20 per cent of wives who were reported by their husbands as not knowing the Lord's Prayer later recited it successfully. These questions were not asked in the Etah area. In the remaining nine areas 65 per cent of the heads of families and 52 per cent of the wives of heads of families knew the Lord's Prayer. The corresponding figures for the Apostles' Creed were 48 and 38 per cent, and for the Ten Commandments, 53 and 42 per cent.

The variations by areas are very large. Where regular and frequent church services are held, the figures reported are much higher than in other areas. In Nagercoil 94 per cent of the heads of families and 83 per cent of their wives knew the Lord's Prayer, but in Ghaziabad the corresponding figures were only 25 and 11 per cent. These represent the extremes. More than half of the men knew the Lord's Prayer in all areas except Ghaziabad, Vikarabad, and Barhan.

The highest figures for the Apostles' Creed come from the Govindpur area, where 90 per cent of the heads of families and 78 per cent of their wives were able to recite it. The lowest come from Vikarabad, where the corresponding figures were 7 and 3.7 per cent.

Eighty-seven per cent of household heads in Govindpur, and 83 per cent in Nagercoil, and 71 per cent of wives in Govindpur, and 76 per cent in Nagercoil were able to recite the Ten Commandments, while the corresponding figures for Ghaziabad were 16 and 5 per cent.

TABLE XIII—CREEDAL KNOWLEDGE

AREA	PERCENTAGE KNOWING LORD'S PRAYER		PERCENTAGE KNOWING APOSTLES' CREED		PERCENTAGE KNOWING TEN COMMANDMENTS	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Etah	Information not sought					
Barhan	38.2	20.2	11.4	5.2	27.5	7.7
Ghaziabad	25.2	11.	8.8	3.8	16.6	5.6
Pasrur	60.6	41.5	48.3	33.	48.9	33.1
Govindpur	91.1	82.6	90.3	78.	87.3	71.
Nagercoil	94.4	83.2	81.2	73.9	83.5	76.2
Cumbum	68.	52.1	9.2	8.5	21.6	18.4
Guntur	57.2	39.6	47.2	29.8	50.5	33.8
Vikarabad	31.1	26.4	7.6	3.7	37.	23.
Vidyanagar	74.7	62.6	56.1	45.7	62.9	49.3

A missionary at Vikarabad writes:

> Your questionnaire is faulty in that the questions about knowing the Lord's Prayer, etc., are asked only of fathers and mothers. The young folk learn more than the older folk, and better results would be shown if the tests had covered the knowledge of the younger generation.

He is probably correct. The areas where the mass movements reached large proportions in an earlier generation, so that the majority of the Christians interviewed have been under instruction or in touch with the Church since early childhood, all show high rates of success in these tests of knowledge. But, if we isolate those areas where a majority of the heads of families have been converted from Hinduism or animism, we still find very striking differences in the results of these tests. More than half of the heads of families interviewed in the Vidyanagar, Guntur, Ghaziabad, and Vikarabad areas belong to this category, but the chart shows a very wide difference of attainment, with the best figures in Vidyanagar, where the average length of time that has elapsed since conversion is shortest.

Sabbath Observance

In six areas—Barhan, Cumbum, Ghaziabad, Govindpur, Nagercoil, and Pasrur—information was obtained about Sabbath observance. In Govindpur secular work, apart from the care of animals and the home, is almost completely suspended on the Sabbath day; only 3.7 per cent of the heads of families continue their work. Practically every family is represented by someone in attendance at church. Central churches serve a group of villages. Many people walk several miles to get to church. In one church service which we attended local members of our staff estimated that 300 members of the congregation had come from other villages, 220 from more than two miles away.

In Nagercoil 23.5 per cent work on Sunday. Most of these are climbers by occupation, which means that they climb the toddy palms to get the sap that has collected, make a fresh cut so that the sap will continue to run and replace the pails into which it drops. This work has to be done every day or

the sap lessens. In many churches a special service is conducted at noon every Sunday for the climbers who have to be at work when the regular morning service is held.

In Cumbum 28.5 per cent report that they work on Sunday. The corresponding figures are 63 per cent in Pasrur, 71 per cent in Barhan, and 90 per cent in Ghaziabad. In the last-named area two very serious difficulties attend Sabbath observance. The leather-workers purchase their raw materials and sell their products at a weekly bazaar in Ghaziabad town. This bazaar is held on Sundays. About half of the leather-workers are Christians and they have twice appealed to the Government to set another day for the bazaar, but the non-Christian leather-workers and practically all of the merchants and customers with whom they do business prefer that the day be not changed. Government officials have not seen their way to interfere.

The other difficulty is even more serious. The Christian community is large and scattered. The pastors are so few that they cannot conduct services on Sunday within a reasonable walking distance of even half of the Christian groups. In some villages regular services are held on week-days and there are many villages where a service is not conducted by an ordained minister more frequently than twice a year.

One difficulty common to all areas except Govindpur, but less widespread and potent in Nagercoil than elsewhere, is that many of the Christians are not masters of their time and cannot say when they will not work. Coolies who refuse to work on Sunday are not permitted to work on Monday or other days of the week. In some places this difficulty has been overcome, as the Christians have built up reputations that have persuaded their employers to take a tolerant attitude toward their desire to observe the Sabbath.

Church Membership

The Baptists in the Cumbum area are the only Church in which baptism admits to full membership. They restrict baptism to adult or adolescent believers. In all other areas there is a separate ceremony admitting to church membership under conditions that make admission a test of attainment subsequent to baptism. In the Lutheran Church in

the Govindpur area, and in the Church of India (Anglican) in the Vidyanagar area, a confirmation service is held. In other areas candidates are received into membership or "full membership" after training, or probation.

TABLE XIV—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

AREA	Total Persons Considered	CHURCH MEMBERS	
		Number	Per Cent
Barhan	519	0	0
Etah	0	0	0
Cumbum	1,022	433	42
Ghaziabad	1,106	416	37
Govindpur	1,616	960	59
Guntur	1,403	910	64
Nagercoil	1,611	553	34
Pasrur	1,626	954	58
Vidyanagar	1,783	593	33
Vikarabad	1,121	596	53
All Areas	11,807	5,415	46

Table XIV provides an analysis of the numbers in church membership in each area.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Taking the totals for all ten areas, we find that 82 per cent of the heads of families and 74 per cent of their wives claim to attend church regularly, either in their own or in some other village. But attendance-figures for all areas, or even in separate areas, are not significant unless we consider the frequency and the type of services held.

THE FREQUENCY OF SERVICES

In a number of villages in the Vidyanagar, Cumbum, and Vikarabad areas services are held every day of the year. In the Vidyanagar area this is the rule wherever there is a resident minister, catechist, or school-teacher, which means in about 90 per cent of the villages in which Christians live. The exceptions are villages in which the number of Christian families is too small to warrant maintaining a school. The daily services are a part of the program of the diocese; lessons are prescribed, records of attendance are kept, and

the bishop, the archdeacons, the deanery chairmen, and the pastors are engaged actively in their promotion. In Cumbum and Vikarabad daily services apparently have depended on the initiative of individual pastors and teachers and are reported in only a few villages. But wherever the daily service is held the attendance records are good. In the Vidyanagar area discussion with deanery chairmen, pastors, teachers, and the heads of families, combined with study of attendance records, led us to the conclusion that at least 80 per cent of the entire Christian population above the age of eight attends church every evening.

Another common program is holding two services on Sunday and one on a mid-week evening. This is usual in the Nagercoil, Govindpur, and Guntur areas and in most of the villages with adequate ministerial service in other areas. But there are villages in Barhan, Etah, Ghaziabad, Pasrur, and Vikarabad areas where services are held so irregularly that not even approximate agreement as to the frequency of services held could be obtained. "I attend when the pastor comes, if I can get away from work," was a common reply. In the Ghaziabad area, one ordained minister was trying to serve 141 village groups. His only employed helpers were three men who taught schools in the villages in which they resided, and in their remaining time visited other villages within a five- or six-mile radius. In several villages, however, the local Christian leader had taken a short course in a training school at Ghaziabad so as to serve as an honorary assistant to the pastor, and these men were reported as holding services in their own and neighboring villages.

In Pasrur we found several villages where the general testimony was that only three or four services are held each year and regularity of attendance was recorded on the basis of their attendance at these services, but within three or four miles was a village where services are held every Sunday, to which they are invited and occasionally go. Except in Govindpur and Nagercoil, general success has not been achieved in persuading people to leave their villages for Sunday church services. Yet in areas that lack an extensive network of Christian schools, whose teachers can serve as

lay pastors, there seems to be no other hope of getting the majority of the Christians into a weekly Sunday service.

In conclusion, it should be noted that mass movements have produced an immense variety of situations in respect to the frequency of church services, and that the range of these variations extends from services twice daily to services two or three times a year. Attendance is high under all conditions and not least so where services are most frequent. The record in the Vidyanagar area is remarkable both for the number of services regularly held and for the high percentage of attendance. It is made possible by the use of school-teachers as lay pastors. There are villages in almost all areas where teachers, if similarly trained and led, might render the same service, provided the people of their villages were ready to respond to such a program. Whether they would be ready is a matter of conjecture. The results in Vidyanagar seem more than to justify the time and strength put into the program.

Types of Services Held

We have said that the significance of the records of regular attendance cannot be interpreted without some knowledge of the types of services held. Our inquiry has not given us many measured data on types of services, but significant facts often came to our attention.

In some villages the services seem to be occasions when the people worship God; in others, occasions when they watch the preacher worship and, as a concession to him, join in singing one or two songs. In some villages the services appear to hold first place in the interest of the people as Christians; in others a very subordinate place. Some services we attended seemed to express the aspirations, hopes, and experiences of the congregation and to meet their religious needs; others seemed to have little meaning to the congregation. In some villages complete preparations had been made for the service, the church was clean and neatly arranged, the people came in reverently, bowed, or knelt, in prayer, sat in order, did not talk, whisper, or look around, and at every opportunity took their appointed parts in the service.

In other villages there was no church or other recognized place of worship, and no proper preparation for the service. A place was chosen apparently without prior thought, and the people came together thinking and talking of everything but the worship of God. The place was not clean. There were many interruptions and distractions. The people sat or sprawled about in entire disorder, came and went freely, talked and laughed while the pastor prayed, read from the Bible, or preached. The latter services were apparently regarded by the pastor and people as a necessary but uninteresting addition to the day's program. The real interest had been aroused by the discussion of the people's troubles, the quarrel of Mithu Lal with the *zamindar's* agent, the complaint of Nanhe against the village *chowkidar,* the illness of Sohan's wife, or of Mohan's ox.

Relations to the Old Brotherhood[1]

Few issues have been more debated by missionaries and Indian ministers than the attitude of the Church and its representatives toward the relations of the converts with their old caste organizations. As indicated in Chapter I, the caste controls many aspects of the life of its members. This control is ordinarily exercised through local groups. The groups are held to common lines of action partly by respect for custom, partly by interlocking family relationships, and partly again by the frequent meeting of the leaders of the caste groups to discuss issues that have arisen within their villages. The question at issue has been: Should a Christian remain a member of his old brotherhood? or, Should a group of Christians remain associated with unconverted groups in their old brotherhood? The records of missionary conferences, councils, and committees in some areas are overburdened with resolutions opposing the continuance of relations. Many of the discussions have, of necessity, been largely theoretical because little information was available as to how the issue had been met, and with what results, in parallel situations elsewhere. Our household schedule contained these questions for each head of a family: "Are you a

[1] The term "brotherhood" is an exact translation of the Hindustani word for the local caste organization, namely, *biradari.*

member of your old caste brotherhood?" "When the church and the brotherhood are in conflict to which are you loyal?"

Experience proved that these questions had to be interpreted, and were not susceptible of equal interpretation and application in all situations encountered. The answers often depended upon the interpretation made by the inquirer or by the informant. Strenuous efforts were made to secure translations that stated the question objectively without imparting a suggestion of the inquirer's opinion as to what the answer should be. The results, however, are not wholly satisfactory. Some inquirers persistently brought in a large majority of affirmative replies to the first question, and other inquirers just as persistently brought in a preponderance of negative replies. And where the statement of the question did not determine the answer, the informant's interpretation of it often did so. For instance, among the Nadars in the Nagercoil area, people whose relation to the caste was exactly the same, gave opposing answers. One would say: "Yes, certainly. I have not ceased to be a Nadar because I am a Christian." Another would reply: "No. I am not in the old brotherhood had actually served with non-Christian Nadars found that men who replied that they were not in the brotherhood had actually served with non-Christian Nadars on caste *panchayats* to try offenses against caste rules. As proof that they were still treated as brothers by their old caste-fellows many told of invitations to weddings and the readiness of non-Christian Nadars to eat with them. Some offered as proof that they were not in the brotherhood the fact that their children could not marry non-Christian Nadars. Yet it was commonly agreed that the line against intermarriage was drawn by the Christians and not by the non-Christians.

We conclude that the bulk of the Christian Nadars are still in the caste organization, but that, in strict obedience to the orders of the Church, where the two organizations have been in conflict they have almost acquired independence from caste control, except for the prohibition of marriage outside of the Nadar community. Christian Nadars are effectively restrained from marriage with Christian Sambavars. A very few intercaste marriages have taken place,

but the parties thereto and their children after them have suffered social reprisals.

Turning to an area distant from Nagercoil, we find in Pasrur that the questions have little practical meaning for most of the Christians because they have come from one caste, the Chuhras, and almost the whole of that caste has been converted. More than seventy thousand Chuhras in the Civil District have become Christians, and less than three hundred remain in the old religion. The men generally stated that they had remained in the old brotherhood, but had Christianized it. However, several of the older pastors insisted that some twenty-five or thirty years ago a complete break with the old brotherhood had taken place, and that the refusal of the Christians to remain in social relations with non-Christian Chuhras had influenced the remaining non-Christians to accept Christianity.

The old caste *panchayat* in Pasrur has been succeeded by the council of elders of the church, who are chosen by a different process and partially on the basis of different criteria. The elders are elected by the people and have assumed much of the authority that the members of the old caste panchayat wielded. Certain of the old caste rules concerning marriage are enforced here and there, although they do not fit into the framework of ecclesiastical law on the subject. For instance, we learned of several cases of organized social reprisals against a man and woman for marrying when they belonged to the same *gotra* or clan. But even this rule is not uniformly enforced, for we learned of other marriages by persons of the same clan being ignored by the community, and we observed a tendency to forget the whole issue of clan. Many men had to ask their wives what clan they belonged to. We were assured that no non-Christian Chuhra could be so indifferent to his clan as to forget its name.

Taking the totals for nine areas (Etah not included), approximately eighty-five per cent declared that they belong to the old brotherhood. In the United Provinces, where missionaries and Indian ministers have been most thoroughly convinced that a break with the old brotherhood is necessary, the situation is least pleasing, for the control of the old brotherhood has been least affected. We conclude that a

demand for a break with the old brotherhood is less likely to produce helpful results than is a direct demand for uncompromising loyalty to the teachings and standards of the Church. It is often said that these issues are the same, that people cannot be loyal to the Church without breaking with the brotherhood. But the results of this inquiry prove that many Christians have been loyal to the teachings of the Church while remaining in their old brotherhoods. In any case the objective should clearly be that of a firm establishment of Christian principles and not the disruption of old associations.

When asking members of the old caste organization as to their loyalty in cases of conflict between the caste brotherhood and the Church, we were careful to make the question as concrete as possible by keeping to issues on which the two organizations have been known to be in conflict. A convenient check presented itself: the man's neighbors were happy to assist in considering what his record had been. Many confessions of loyalty to the brotherhood as against the Church were encouraged by the frank comments of these neighbors. Of more than 3,500 men who said they were members of their old caste brotherhood only 400 were recorded as having been loyal to that brotherhood when it was in conflict with the Church. These 400 were scattered through all areas, except Govindpur, but were proportionately most numerous in Barhan (77 out of 115), Vikarabad (87 out of 224), and Ghaziabad (99 out of 325). In Govindpur many insisted that a conflict between the church and the brotherhood could not occur since they mutually tolerate and respect each other. It is significant that in Govindpur much of the leadership of the tribes in agitation for what they conceive to be their rights is provided by Christians. Christians also are active in caste welfare societies in Nagercoil area.

Support of the Church

The measure of attainment by mass-movement converts in the support of the Church is a matter of such importance and requires such extended treatment that all remarks on the subject are reserved for Chapter X.

Idolatry and the Use of Charms

In the entire study the writer can recall seeing only two shrines or other places obviously set up for idolatrous worship in locations over which Christians had control. In a number of villages where Christians and non-Christians of the same caste live side by side we saw shrines that might be patronized by Christians. Members of the staff reported seeing four other shrines that seemed to be protected by Christians. So, in an examination of the houses and the vicinity of the houses of almost three thousand Christian families, only six shrines that seemed to be owned or protected by Christians were discovered. Reports on this matter were not provided for about a thousand houses included in the survey. Anyone who knows how many shrines of idolatrous worship have been found in and about the houses of depressed-class families when they have first invited ministers of the Church to instruct them, will agree with us that the discovery of only six shrines indicates a remarkable Christian attainment by these groups.

In examining the houses a search was made not only for shrines, but for any sign of the survival of idolatry in any form. The question in the schedule was: Are there any signs of idolatry about the house? This raised many questions about what should be considered signs of idolatry. Certain marks on the wall of a house, which Hindu women make in connection with a prayer to the god Ganesh for the prosperity of their husbands and sons, were discovered on a few homes of Christians. They were interpreted as signs of idolatry, although the women argued that they had made them because it had long been their custom to do so each year, but that they had not actually worshiped Ganesh. In a number of houses pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses were found; they were counted as signs of idolatry, although the householders insisted that they were on the walls for decoration only, and Christian pictures had not been procurable, as these had been, for two *pice* each, nor indeed at any price! With these and similar interpretations 109 homes were discovered with signs of idolatry.

Another question read: Are there signs of idolatry on the

person of any member of the family? After the forms were printed it was decided to widen the inquiry to include charms and amulets or talismans. Apart from charms, etc., the only sign discovered was locks of hair on the heads of children so matted as to indicate that they were to be offered to the goddess of smallpox in petition to spare the life of the child. In all ten areas a total of 123 signs were reported, of which 114 were charms, etc. It seems likely that in several areas this latter search was not pursued as thoroughly as it might have been, for no entry is made in a good many forms. The belief in charms has been weakened in every area. In some areas it has been almost completely eradicated from the Christian groups. One Brahman lawyer commented unfavorably on the refusal of the Christians of his village to protect themselves from misfortunes by wearing talismans he had offered to get for them.

Participation in Non-Christian Festivals

Related loosely to the preceding issue is participation in non-Christian festivals. Leaders of the Christian movement, both Indian and foreign, commonly object to the observance of those festivals by Christians. It is probable that inadequate consideration has been given the subject. Festivals, if observed without participation in any of their objectionable features, could serve a useful purpose for Christians. They are important features of Indian life. The color of pageantry surviving in the West, intricately woven into the social fabric, is even more a part of life in India. The miming and mumming of European festivals and pageants more or less artificially recall the past, but in India they are a positive link between past and present. The village people, especially those of the depressed classes who figure so largely in mass movements, are too poorly provided with the bravura of life; their somewhat barren and colorless existence needs more, not fewer, breaks in the monotony of the daily grind. The festivals have been joyous occasions and the poorest classes have learned to extract a great deal of pleasure from them at very little expense.

Slightly more than one fourth of the heads of families interviewed on this issue admitted that they participate in

one or more non-Christian festivals. But, in making that admission, many asserted that they do so without compromising any Christian principle. *Diwali,* or the Festival of Lights, is an occasion of frolic and gayety which many Christians, especially in the North, are reluctant to give up. With it, as observed by Hindus, are commonly associated two features that are objectionable from the Christian point of view, namely, gambling and idolatrous worship. The chief attraction to the Christians is its gala features. Small earthenware bowls are placed in rows on the roofs of the houses, in niches in the walls, in the window frames, and on the ground along the front of the houses; some vegetable oil is poured in, one end of a cotton wick is inserted and, with the coming of dusk, the other end is lighted. The result, when many houses are thus lit up, is a grand spectacle dear to all villagers and especially to the children. The rhythmic clash of small cymbals helps to sustain the holiday mood in the humble huts of countless villages. It is no wonder that many village Christians do not care to give it up, and it is entirely possible that many who make of the day and the early evening a gala occasion separate themselves completely from all that is incompatible with Christian teaching.

But perhaps the greatest day of frolic in the Hindu calendar is *Holi,* or the Festival of Spring, which until recent years was a Hindu version of the Roman Saturnalia—an occasion for lewd stories and other public liberties of speech and action in relation to sex, together with a degraded type of mumming. Latterly, however, these objectionable features are being discouraged by many Hindus. Christians are less disposed to participate in *Holi* than in *Diwali,* and those who do so appear to be the ones whose consciences have been least activated by Christian teaching.

It is not surprising to discover that where Christian festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, are generally observed, Christians are least inclined to take part in the festivals of other religions. In Nagercoil all informants in the village survey testified that the Christians observe both Christmas and Easter, and in this area we heard no word of any Christian taking part in any Hindu or Moslem festival. Likewise for Govindpur and Vidyanagar, all village schedules tell of

observance of both Christmas and Easter, and only one Christian in the former and two in the latter area admitted participation in non-Christian festivals. On the other hand, in Cumbum area, where village informants quite generally said that Christians observe Christmas but not Easter, eighty per cent of the Christians confessed to participation in non-Christian festivals; and in Barhan, where only thirteen of forty-two village informants reported that Christians observe Christmas, and only four that they observe Easter, fifty-three per cent of the Christians confessed to taking part in non-Christian festivals. A complete analysis of these figures is found in Table XV.

TABLE NO. XV—JOINING IN NON-CHRISTIAN FESTIVALS

AREA	Join In	Do Not Join In	Per Cent Who Join In
Pasrur	18	451	3.6
Ghaziabad	133	208	39.0
Govindpur	1	370	0.2
Vikarabad	94	143	39.0
Barhan	54	47	53.0
Nagercoil	0	328	0.0
Cumbum	318	78	80.0
Guntur	237	380	38.0
Vidyanagar	2	385	0.5
Etah	16	108	12.9
	873	2,498	25.9

Akin to the issue of the festivals is participation in *melas,* or local fairs, in which the interests of religion, pleasure, and trade are cleverly combined. Around some spot, designated by tradition as the scene of an appearance of a god or of some miraculous event, a fair is held. In some of these fairs reli-

gious interest predominates, in others the dominant interest is trade, in still others it is the holiday spirit. A few of these fairs have been found a menace to the Christian loyalty of recent converts. This menace has been combated by organizing Christian bands for preaching, testimony, the sale of Scripture portions and other Christian literature, the free distribution of tracts on religious and other welfare subjects, and the rendering of social service. It is regrettable that the last-named service has been much less commonly featured than any of the others. The mass-movement Church in the Pasrur area has provided the finances and much of the leadership for an annual effort at a well-known and largely attended Hindu fair a few miles from Pasrur.

In several areas we learned of efforts to organize and popularize Christian fairs. Missionaries engaged in this effort were hopeful about their experiments, but apparently no Christian fair has captured the imagination of local Christians sufficiently to make it a fixed institution. Those of which we heard have been lacking in dramatic and indigenous flavor, and have been too obviously artificial. A fair associated in some way with the local beginnings of the Christian Church, or of the Christian mass movements, might succeed better. The scene of the early triumphs of the gospel in Travancore under the ministry of Vedamanickam and Ringeltaube, both great heroes of the Indian Church, would seem to offer real dramatic and commemorative possibilities, as would also the village where lived the lame and obscure Ditt, first of the Chuhras to lead his group to Christian discipleship.

Fear of Evil Spirits

The texture of Hinduism, especially in the South, is richly embroidered with animism. One of the missionaries, whose work and understanding of his people most favorably impressed us, mentioned as the first result of the conversion of groups of the depressed classes in his district their relief from fear of evil spirits. All over India fear of evil spirits is prominent in the life of village people and, as in most of the afflictions of the village, the depressed classes suffer from it more than others.

The spirits are supposed to lurk everywhere, in gullies and chasms, in caves, in the trees, under stones, in abandoned buildings. They fly about in the air, they prowl through the fields and down the lanes of the village, ready to pounce upon any unprotected person at any moment. They are most active on dark nights. Sickness of men, or animals, is attributed to their activities, as is every kind of misfortune. Because invisible they are more dreaded. They have every advantage of men, and he is wise who knows their ways and never opposes or offends them. Certain of these spirits travel everywhere, others are local. One must learn what spirits inhabit or visit his village and its environs, and how each is to be avoided, or propitiated, if encountered and offended. It is probable that nothing else troubles many members of the depressed classes so constantly or so seriously as does the dread of attack by these spirits. Poverty is endured with less concern. Oppression by other humans worries them less, for they can do something to protect themselves against mere man, however powerful, or can find compensation in make-believe, but they are helpless before the attack of these powerful invisible spirits.

Conversion to Christianity does not magically destroy all belief in these fearful beings, but it does bring relief. A high-caste villager, recently converted, said that he first became interested in Christianity when he saw how it freed the Madigas of his village from fear. A recent Sambavar convert in Nagercoil said he became interested in Christianity when he saw that the evangelist who often came to his village ignored all rules for escaping the wrath of the spirits and still was not attacked, and that he decided that becoming a Christian was the simplest and most effective way of protecting oneself against them. The Bible stories of Jesus casting out evil spirits seem to contribute to the building up of confidence that disciples of Jesus cannot be harmed by them. One group of nominal Christians, told by an enemy that he had arranged with a magician to send upon them an evil spirit that would kill an entire family, destroyed an old shrine which they had secretly preserved and spent the day in song and prayer. When, by a strange coincidence, the magician died the following night, they said that the Lord

Jesus had saved them, and that the evil spirit, being denied the victims selected, turned in anger and killed the magician.

In seven areas we asked the heads of families what they do to protect themselves and their families from evil spirits. About 20 per cent replied that they do not believe there are any evil spirits; 75 per cent replied that prayer, or their faith in God, was sufficient protection; but almost 5 per cent confessed to the use of some additional protection, such as carrying a piece of iron whenever they go out at night, or wearing an amulet. In the Pasrur area an old man showed us a charm that he had obtained to keep off an evil spirit. It was a small locket that contained a piece of paper on which a verse of the Koran was written. The old man said that he always wore it, and that if he had to go out at night, he constantly repeated the name of Jesus when passing dangerous places!

Where the Church is firmly established, instruction is systematically imparted, regular services of worship are conducted and pastoral work is efficiently organized and faithfully done, there remains little fear of evil spirits. But where people have been baptized, and then neglected, that fear continues its dreadful oppression. Some measure of relief has apparently come to every professing Christian group that we encountered in the study, but there is a striking contrast between the complete relief in some villages and the limited relief in others.

Sorcery

Closely allied to the fear of evil spirits is the practice of sorcery. Since illness is believed to be caused by an evil spirit taking possession of the body, it can be cured by persuading the spirit to leave. Medicines can do no good so long as the spirit remains. Certain individuals have power over evil spirits and can exorcise them. These men are sorcerers. They make sacrifices, perform magical rites, and gain control over the spirits. Sorcerers are found in all castes and, strangely enough, are most numerous among the depressed classes, who, representing the oldest element in the population, are assumed to have inherited the greatest and

the most accurate knowledge of the evil spirits that inhabit the village and its environs. Almost every group of as many as a dozen families converted to Christianity in the mass movements of the depressed classes contains at least one person who has practised sorcery. Their supposed powers have been a source of income. On conversion they are expected to discontinue the practice. And our inquiry shows that most of them do abandon it. But others are unable to resist the pressure of neighbors. One man, whose reputation for power over evil spirits had extended over a wide territory, told us that, although he had been a Christian four years, hardly a week passed without its call to help some sufferer. Neighbors testified that he always told the people to pray to Yisu Swami (the Lord Jesus), who could drive away any spirit. Occasionally he goes to the homes of the people and prays; for this service he reported an income of Rs. 21 for the year.

Some at least of these sorcerers really believe they have power to dispel evil spirits. One old man told us with apparent sincerity that he had brought relief to hundreds of people by sorcery, but that now he helps just as many by teaching them to pray in the name of Jesus and by giving them medicines.

On the other hand, one sorcerer who had been a professing Christian several years said: "There is nothing in it. We sacrifice and make a noise. Sometimes the sufferer dies and they say we failed; other times he gets well, and they say we succeeded. It would be better if they would call a doctor and pray." "But why do you practise sorcery when you know there is nothing in it?" we asked. "Because the people insist and would get very angry with me if I refused," was his reply.

Christians sometimes resort to a sorcerer in times of fright. A pastor threatened to excommunicate an entire group of fifteen families because they had all reverted to sorcery in an epidemic of smallpox. They repented and have subsequently stood firm in several crises.

On the whole, the level of attainment of mass-movement converts, in freeing themselves from sorcery, is very high.

We doubt seriously if ten per cent of the pre-Christian volume of either the practice of sorcery or faith in it remains, and there are entire areas where hardly a trace of a once universal belief in its efficacy survives.

Christian Marriage

Marriage customs are among the most firmly established in all social groups. Converts in the mass movements bring with them into the Church many customs and beliefs related to marriage, some of which are antagonistic to Christian principles which have been accepted by all branches of the Church. Others are compatible with Christian teaching, but not with prevailing church usage. Some groups have been accustomed to polygamy and to very easy divorce; others have encouraged marriage within degrees of kinship prohibited by the Church, as, for instance, the marriage of a man to his elder sister's daughter. Against customs that are in conflict with Christian standards unremitting warfare must be waged. But a very different attitude has to be taken towards customs that do not violate Christian principles, however strange and contrary to prevailing practice they may be.

From earliest times the Church has insisted upon the recognition of God in the marriage ceremony, and made it a religious service. Not only has it placed upon the minister responsibility for invoking the blessing of God and pronouncing the benediction of the Church upon the contracting parties, but it has reserved for him the functions of addressing the couple on the duties and obligations they are assuming, of administering to them pledges of love and loyalty to each other and of declaring them man and wife. The Church has not generally denied the validity of a secular marriage, but has taught that parties contracting such a marriage have acted undutifully and as irreligious people would act.

In the mass movements earnest efforts have been made to establish the concept of the marriage ceremony of Christians as a Christian religious service. Many difficulties have been encountered. Available rituals for Christian marriage have been strange and unattractive to the contracting parties

and their friends. Some features of the ceremony, as, for instance, the holding of hands by the bride and groom, have been repugnant to the minds both of participants and onlookers. To people accustomed, in their old religion, to hours and even days of picturesque celebrations, the church service is so brief as to seem incomplete and unreal, and so lacking in color and pomp as to seem rude and unchivalrous.

Surprisingly little has been done to prepare forms of service more suitable for rural Indian congregations than are the forms that Western churches have borrowed from the Roman civil marriage ceremony. Bishop Azariah in his diocese of Dornakal, with the approval of his fellow bishops of the Church of India, is introducing a new form which has been prepared to meet the needs of that area. Whether it will be equally helpful for the marriage ceremonies of the converts in the older mass movements of depressed classes and the new movement of Sudras remains to be seen. In the United Provinces, where less progress has been made in establishing Christian marriage ceremonies, there has been much discussion of the need for forms more attractive to the people than those that have been produced by wholesale importation and translation from the West, and some experiments have been conducted, but hitherto no new standardized forms have been extensively adopted. An Indian minister, the Rev. Robert John, of Muzaffarnagar, assisted by a committee, has prepared a form which Bishop John W. Robinson, administrator of the Delhi area of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has approved for experimental use in the churches under his care.

The Church has insisted that the marriage of Christians be a Christian marriage. In British India, state law has reenforced the demand of the Church by providing that the marriages of Christians shall take place under certain rules which embody principles on which the Church is united, and by providing that ministers of religion may be marriage registrars. But, despite the demands of both Church and State, it is not easy to persuade new converts to Christianity to accept a procedure that seems to them and their friends unbearably dull and out of harmony with prevailing group-

standards and conventions. The group pressure upon the convert to follow the familiar old customs is heavy. If the old customs were altogether social and secular and involved no violation of Christian rules of conduct, the Church could sanction their use alongside that of the Christian ceremony, but unfortunately some of the most appreciated of the old ceremonials are idolatrous, while others are inconsistent with the Christian ideal of the relations between husband and wife.

The time at our disposal did not permit a detailed inquiry about prevailing marriage customs. We did learn, however, that in every area where Christian ceremonies have been extensively adopted some of the old customs survive. No instance came to our attention of a mass-movement area in which the Christian marriage service has completely replaced the old customs, but we were assured in a number of areas that all that is objectionable has been eliminated.

In order to ascertain how many of those in our survey were married as Christians and should have been married by Christian rites, we asked whether marriage had followed baptism. That gave the figure correctly for all except the Baptists in the Cumbum area, where we found the number who have been married by Christian rites far in excess of the number who were married after baptism. The explanation is that young men and women brought up in Christian homes wanted to be married by Christian rites, although one or both contracting parties had not yet made the personal decision to follow Christ, which to the Baptist is a necessary prelude to baptism.

In the Govindpur area there was reported a slight excess of marriages by Christian rites over marriages after baptism, possibly accounted for by the solemnization by Christian rites of a few marriages in which at least one of the parties was under Christian instruction, but had not yet been baptized. We discovered a disposition to say a couple had not been married by Christian rites if they had been married by a Roman Catholic priest, and also to say they had not been baptized if the baptism had been administered by a Roman Catholic. In the other areas the proportions that marriages

by Christian rites bear to total marriages after baptism are as follows:

Guntur	.999
Pasrur	.983
Nagercoil	.979
Vidyanagar	.956
Barhan	.308
Vikarabad	.239
Etah	.108
Ghaziabad	.068

In the Etah and Ghaziabad areas we were occasionally told that a Christian service of song and prayer was conducted in connection with the wedding, although the legal Christian marriage rites were not used. We did not count these as marriages by Christian rites.

From these facts it is clear that six areas consistently solemnize marriage by Christian rites and four do not. It is significant that the four areas where a minority of Christian marriages are performed by Christian rites are those areas where church services are held with least regularity and Christians are least concentrated in their geographical distribution; where ability to recite the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments is least common and the largest proportion of the heads of families report that they work on the Sabbath day.

In Etah one case was found of a Christian, in good standing with his fellows in the local church, who was living with two wives. The first wife was a cripple. By the standards of the community before their conversion, it was reasonable and proper for him to take a second wife. Although his father had for a short time been a preacher in mission employ, and he was thus familiar with Christian teaching on the subject, yet he persisted in arguing that he was doing no wrong in taking a second wife.

But this is not typical. We found many evidences of the adoption of Christian standards in the realm of the home and the relations of husbands and wives. One Hindu in the Punjab mentioned, as the greatest change effected in the mass-movement converts of his own and surrounding villages, a revolution in their attitude toward their wives.

He said: "Before these people became Christians they bought and sold wives like we buy and sell buffalos. Now they choose one woman and remain faithful to her as long as she lives. The women have changed as much as the men have."

In the Punjab study (Pasrur) a group of ladies, led by Mrs. Graham Parker, of the American Presbyterian North India Mission, prepared and used a very productive schedule of questions addressed to Christian women. One question was: "Do Christian men treat their wives differently?" It was followed by, "If so, how?" To the first question 143 answered "Yes"; 20 answered "No." Ninety of the wives who answered "Yes" replied to the supplementary question "How?" Among the answers are the following: "They take care of their wives." "They don't make us do what we know isn't right." "They don't abuse us in words or actions." "They trust them." "They let us have the money we earn." "They love them more." "They help their wives in their work." "They live peaceably." "They respect them." "They don't scold." "They bring their earnings home." "They don't fight." "They are kind and pray for us and our children." "They forgive our faults." "They consult us." "In Christian homes husband and wife obey each other." "Moslem women tell us that Christian men respect their wives more." "Divorce is not easy; Christian men are faithful to their wives." "They give their wives their rights."

Twenty-five women say that Christian husbands love their wives more because they are Christians, and an equal number say they show them more respect.

Two other questions in the Pasrur women's schedule yield information on one phase of the struggle between the old standards and the new in regard to marriage. They are: Should a widow marry her late husband's brother, (1) If he is unmarried? (2) If he is already married?

The unconverted Chuhra believes that a widow should become the wife of her late husband's brother whether or not he is married, while within some churches, though not in the United Presbyterian Church of which the Pasrur Christians are members, marriage to a deceased husband's brother is prohibited. The answers to the first question were: 179 "Yes" and 5 "No"; to the second, 11 "Yes" and

178 "No." Where caste and Church are in conflict the teaching of the Church is apparently accepted by 178 women and rejected by 11.

In the Govindpur study, Mrs. Charlotte Viall Wiser, joint author with her husband of *Behind Mud Walls*,[2] with local assistance prepared a schedule of 286 questions about the life of women in the Christian mass movement of that area and got twelve women to answer all her questions. She also asked if Christian men treat their wives differently from non-Christian men, and if so in what way. One of her twelve informants said "No," eleven of them "Yes, better"; but only two stated in what way Christians treat their wives better. One says, "They do not beat their wives." The other, "They do not fight with their wives."

Sexual Morality

To obtain reliable information about sexual morality is extraordinarily difficult. In our trial study at Etah we asked neighbors of the Christians about this aspect of the latter's conduct, but without exception they replied that they could not discuss the matter. Indian villagers are very reluctant to discuss moral questions that may lead to complaints about the character of women.

Prostitution is common in towns and in many of the larger villages, but does not ordinarily tempt men of the depressed classes, as prostitutes generally draw caste lines against them. In the larger cities, however, there are prostitutes that cater especially to the depressed classes.

However, among the depressed classes standards of sexual morality have been low. Divorce has been easy and common. Polygamy has been sanctioned by caste law. Irregularities have been treated lightly. That Christian converts hold higher standards and offend against them less frequently is undoubtedly true, but measured data are not obtainable by the processes used in this study.

The difficulty of dissolving a Christian marriage and the legal barriers such a marriage raises against polygamy have

[2] Wiser, Charlotte and William, *Behind Mud Walls*. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930.

resulted in practically abolishing divorce and polygamy among Christian converts. In the entire study we learned of only one Christian who had obtained a divorce, and only three Christian men who had more than one living wife. Of the latter, one had two wives when converted, and one had been excommunicated for marrying a second wife (by Hindu rites). The third case we have already mentioned.

The Use of Intoxicating Liquors

To drink or not to drink intoxicating liquors has been regarded by most Hindus as a fit subject for caste legislation. Many castes have demanded total abstinence and enforced their demand by punitive action against offenders, amounting in some cases to caste expulsion. Others have gone so far in the opposite direction as to make drinking on certain occasions almost mandatory. Between these two extremes have come most of the castes, a majority discouraging drinking, a minority encouraging it.

Of the castes represented in the mass movements studied none has demanded complete abstinence from drink. However, in the Pasrur area, Mohammedan influence on the Chuhras had promoted strong sentiment against drink before the Christian movement began. In all other areas the caste organization had encouraged drinking on ceremonial occasions, and among the aborigines in the Govindpur area that encouragement amounted to practical compulsion. In the Southern areas and in Govindpur drink is available in large quantities very cheaply, while in the United Provinces and in the Punjab the supply is limited and the price high.

When we turn from this background to the present attitude of mass-movement converts toward drink, it is distinctly encouraging to learn that only 12.4 per cent of the heads of Christian families are reported as drinkers.

The highest proportion of confessed drinkers among the heads of Christian families is reported from the Vikarabad area, where it reaches 44.7 per cent. The lowest, 1.5 per cent, is reported from the Pasrur area. In the Ghaziabad area the figure is 6.7 per cent; in Barhan, 8.5 per cent; and in Etah, 11.6 per cent. The lowest rate in the South is reported for Cumbum, 9.3 per cent. Vidyanagar reports 12

per cent; Nagercoil, 12.4 per cent; and Guntur 12.9 per cent. Govindpur reports 20.4 per cent.

Further light is thrown upon this issue by the testimony of detached village informants, presented in Chapter IX, and by an analysis of data presented in Chapter VII on the underlying motives of mass-movement conversions.

Drugs: Intoxicant or Narcotic

Eighty men, representing 2.1 per cent of the heads of families from whom information on the subject was obtained, confessed to the use of intoxicating drugs. These men are scattered through all areas except Vikarabad. The drugs used are, in order of frequency reported, opium, morphine, *bhang,* and *charas.* But opium is the only drug used in more than three of the ten districts. The area figures show 7.9 per cent of the heads of families using drugs in Etah, 5.5 per cent in Ghaziabad, 5.1 per cent in Barhan, 3.2 per cent in Govindpur, and 1.5 per cent in Pasrur. In the Southern areas the figures run on lower levels: 1.5 per cent in Nagercoil and Guntur, .5 per cent in Cumbum, and .7 per cent in Vidyanagar.

In two areas, Ghaziabad and Pasrur, we collected information about the giving of opium to children to keep them quiet while the mothers are at work. This extremely damaging practice is widespread in India. But we found only two mothers in each of these areas who admitted ever having given opium to their children, and all four were old women whose children were grown. In the Pasrur area the women were asked whether they consider it right or wrong to give a baby opium, and all affirmed that it is wrong. That is significant, for the women of India's villages have not generally realized the wrong involved in this practice.

Public opinion in India is less hostile to the use of intoxicating drugs than to alcoholic liquors. Whereas religion has vigorously opposed drinking, it has been quite tolerant of smoking, drinking, or eating drugs. Indian emperors *and princes, religious heroes, sadhus* and *fakirs,* in large numbers have been drug addicts.

In many parts of India Christianity has taken the lead in educating public opinion on the evil effects of intoxicating

drugs. The small numbers of Christian heads of families which confess to the use of drugs represents a considerable attainment in getting rid of drug addiction. We were told by a few men that they had used drugs before their conversion, but had since discontinued doing so. But the chief gain has been through prevention. Young men have been kept by Christian teaching from taking up the use of drugs. In Ghaziabad and Etah the average age of the men who admit using drugs is above sixty. It has been suggested that drug users may be mainly recruited from the older people because of supposed medicinal value most needed in old age, but it is significant that of eight men, from whom information about the length of their addiction to drugs was obtained, six began using them before their conversion to Christianity, and the average age when they began was only forty-two years.

CHAPTER IX

MASS-MOVEMENT CONVERTS AS THEIR NEIGHBORS SEE THEM

THE proposal to ask representative non-Christians in the villages about the life and character of mass-movement converts, and the influence of Christianity thereon, was formulated with much misgiving. When the advice of friends was sought, little encouragement was obtained. Many protested, warning us that we would encounter prejudice so strong as to make impossible both the recognition of any merit in people originating among the depressed classes, and the admission of any good influence effectively exerted upon them by Christianity. But, despite our own hesitation and the protests of friends, we decided to proceed, for we knew that there were non-Christian men who had been acquainted for years with Christians that we were to study and that their impressions, if impartially stated, would prove invaluable.

At first it was our purpose to go to the most prominent man in each village. He is usually a landowner, or a holder of some official position, such as *mukia, munsiff,* or *lambardar.* But frequent disappointments, due to his absence from the village or to some other cause such as illness in his home, made us turn to others, and soon we realized that there was added value to be had from questioning representative men of different social and economic grades.

Our records show one hundred and sixty-one successful interviews. In most cases our informant was assisted by one or more of his fellows. Sometimes as many as a dozen men discussed the questions, but in all cases the answers recorded were those of the individual whom we had selected. Occasionally the consensus in the group did not agree with the answers given. In a majority of the recorded instances of such disagreement the group opinion was more favorable to the Christians and to the influence of Christianity than were the replies of the men interviewed.

In two areas we met unexpected difficulty in finding non-Christians competent to reply to our questions. In only five villages in the Nagercoil area and four in the Govindpur area did we find non-Christian men possessing enough breadth of understanding to comprehend our purpose and sufficient acquaintance with the Christian group to make interviews worth while. This difficulty was due primarily to the fact that the classes who have become Christians in these two areas are often practically alone in their villages, so that when they participate in a Christian mass movement there are no detached local observers. In these places we had to question Christian men who, because of education or some other factor, were able to make a semidetached report upon the group.

Our informants are distributed according to their religious affiliation as follows:

Hindus, 103; Christians, 22; Moslems, 18; Sikhs, 10; Arya Samajists, 2; animists, 2; and Jain, 1. They represent occupational and caste groups as follows: Village headmen or officials, 48; landowners or high-caste agriculturists, 38; Brahmans, 10; members of the depressed classes, 10; teachers, 5; merchants, 6; ministers, 3. There were, also, forty instances where neither the occupation nor the caste of the informant was recorded.

Our experience in this inquiry disproved our own fears and the forebodings of our friends. While a few non-Christians revealed unreasoning hostility to their Christian fellow villagers, or to Christianity, a very large majority displayed an apparently fair and discriminating judgment. To us they were almost uniformly courteous and cordial. As a group they were much more appreciative of the character of the Christians, and of the influence of Christianity, than we had thought possible.

Christians and Drink

Contrary to popular opinion, the use of liquor is fairly common in Indian villages. As indicated elsewhere the depressed classes have been heavily addicted to its use. We desired to learn what our informants knew about the use of drink by the Christians of their villages, and asked:

"Do the Christians of this village drink alcoholic liquors?" To this question our informants responded as follows: "Yes," 44; "No," 105; "Don't know" or no answer, 12. However, the affirmative does not mean that all the Christians drink, but that at least one in the local group does. Only 44 out of 161 neighbors report knowing that any Christians of their villages drink. A number of these made such statements as this: "Most of them do not; one does frequently; two do occasionally."

A valuable check upon this information is found in the answers of the Christians of these same villages to the question whether they drink. In 38 of the 44 villages in which our informants reported knowing that Christians drink, one, at least, of the Christians answered in the affirmative. In 91 of the 105 villages where our informants said that they knew nothing of any Christian drinking, every Christian gave a negative reply to our question. This high proportion of agreement, under conditions where collusion was hardly possible, indicates a high degree of reliability in the testimony recorded on each set of forms.

A second question was asked about drink: "What has been the effect of conversion to Christianity upon the use of drink by local Christians?" Eighty-six replied that conversion to Christianity had led to a cessation or to a diminution of drinking, 63 that no effect was observable. Though it has often been charged in India that the spread of Christianity is responsible for an increase of alcoholic consumption, not a single one of these detached observers of Christian mass movements at close range suggested that conversion to Christianity had led to increased drinking.

Drugs: Narcotic and Intoxicant

The consumption of opium and the hemp derivatives, *charas, ganja,* and *bhang,* is common in some areas and is a worse evil than the drinking of alcoholic liquors.

Asked in two areas only, Pasrur and Barhan, if any Christians of their village were known to use any of these narcotic or intoxicating drugs, two men answered "Yes"; 55 answered "No."

To the question about the effect of Christianity upon the use of these drugs and narcotics by Christians of their village (asked in all areas) 22 replied that Christianity has stopped or has diminished their use; 103 that no change has been effected, because the Christians had never used them either before or after their conversion. One Brahman official told us that one of the elders of the church in his village had been an opium addict before his conversion and had been "miraculously saved from the habit."

Gambling

One hundred and thirty village informants said that so far as they know, no Christian of their village gambles. Of these, 105 said that Christians had never gambled either before or after their conversion; 25 said that gambling in the group of Christians had ceased since their conversion. On the other hand, 23 said that at least one of the Christians gambles, and of these 12 said there is less gambling now than before the group professed Christianity.

Cleanliness

The effect most commonly attributed to Christianity by these village observers of the mass movement is an increase of cleanliness of person and of living quarters. One hundred and thirty-four of these informants say that the Christians of their village are cleaner in personal habits, and 130 say that they keep their living quarters cleaner than before they embraced Christianity. Only 20 report no improvement in personal cleanliness, and only 23 that they have seen no change for the better around the living quarters.

Among notes in the records we find several on these questions. One Sikh landowner said, "They keep clean now because they never know when the Padri Sahib or the Miss Sahiba will come to see them." A Mohammedan in Guntur said, "Since they ceased to worship evil spirits and began to worship God, they have become clean." A Rajput in Ghaziabad said concerning a Sweeper group, "They always did keep cleaner than many Hindus, and they are cleaner than ever now."

"Dead Meat" and Food Scraps

Closely allied to the subject of personal cleanliness or its reverse in Hindu eyes, especially because of the taboo involved, is that of clean or unclean food. A large proportion of the depressed classes and many aboriginal tribes have been accustomed to eat the flesh of animals that have died without being butchered. Many of the depressed classes have also eaten food scraps, or leavings, from other homes. These practices have brought upon these classes the disgust of their Hindu neighbors.

Seventy-six of our informants told us that Christianity had effected a decrease in the practice of eating the flesh of animals that had died of themselves, while 71 said it had not and 14 made no reply. In the eating of food scraps or refuse from other houses, only 21 thought that Christianity had effected a decrease; 91 thought not; and 19 offered no reply. Unfortunately, our instruments did not give us information for each case as to whether these practices had prevailed in the local communities concerned before conversion.

Some of those who say Christianity has effected no change in these matters add that even before their conversion the Christians were not addicted to these practices, so the only information we get from the inquiry on this subject is that seventy-six representative observers of other groups credit Christianity with helping to eradicate from their villages the disgusting habit of eating the flesh of animals that have died of disease, old age, or poison, and that twenty-one such observers declare that it has caused a decrease of the eating of food scraps or refuse from other homes.

An interesting side light on the grading of castes is afforded by the joyous reply of a high-caste man in North India that Sweeper converts of his village had given up eating scraps from the homes of low-caste people, but wisely continued to accept such food from the houses of upper-caste people. He gave the credit for this discrimination to Christianity!

The significance of the remarks of our informants on these subjects is enhanced by the consideration given by the public to these practices in determining the social position of any

group. Often we were told that the Christians had ceased to be "untouchable," because they had discontinued the eating of *murdar* ("dead" meat) and *juthan* (food scraps). One Brahman, who said he didn't know whether the Christians of his village had really given up these practices as they claimed to have done, added: "When we are sure that they do not eat *murdar* and *juthan,* we will let their children attend school with our children, but until then we will let our children grow up without learning to read rather than let them go to school with their children." Another Brahman, an ardent Nationalist, said: "Christianity has brought a blessing to this village by saving a third of our population from these loathsome habits. What we Hindus failed to accomplish by boycott and abuse, the pastors have accomplished by instruction and kindness."

Industriousness

We have heard of many objections by landowners and others to the conversion of members of the depressed classes to Christianity based on the belief that it is followed by laziness and refusal to do hard work. But ninety-two of our informants said that one effect of conversion had been that the Christians of their village had become more industrious. Forty-seven said that they had observed no change. Only one suggested that industriousness had decreased, and he adversely criticized the Christians of his village on every subject and volunteered the belief that Christianity would disappear from India within one hundred years!

Honesty

One hundred and fifteen of these witnesses testified that the Christians of their village are more honest than they were before their conversion. Against this, thirty say they have seen no change in respect to honesty. One landowner said, "Fifteen years ago when they worshiped demons, there was only one honest man among them. Now half of them are honest." This was said about a group of sixty-four families. An element of doubt was exhibited by one man, who replied, "They are smarter now, and we can't be sure

about them, but we don't catch them stealing as we once did."

In the Telugu areas many informants said that the poisoning of cattle for the sake of the meat and the skins had once been a common crime, but had disappeared since the conversion of the Madigas in their own and neighboring villages.

Evidences of Christianity

"Do the Christians of this village indicate their Christianity by worship? By hymn-singing? By observance of Christmas and Easter? By any other means?" To these questions the replies of non-Christian neighbors were as follows:

By worship: 111 "Yes," 22 "No," 28 no answer.

By hymn-singing: 121 "Yes," 27 "No," 13 no answer.

By observance of Christmas: 108 "Yes," 23 "No," 30 no answer.

By observance of Easter: 62 "Yes," 56 "No," 16 no answer.

By any other means? This question was quite generally passed over, but in the few replies by non-Christians the following evidences of Christianity in the mass movement are reported: By reading the Bible, by urging others to become Christians, by refusing to join in community worship of Hindu gods and goddesses, by better living, by respect and kindness, by their attitudes, by Sunday schools, by moonlight song services, by greater intelligence, by more faithful work, by observance of Sundays, by bazaar preaching.

Asked whether the Christians of their villages all profess Christ publicly, calling themselves Christians when talking to non-Christians and when making official declarations, as in the census and in court cases, 139 replied "Yes," 16 "No," and 7 that they did not know. The 16 who replied "No" were all in the United Provinces, 13 being in Barhan, 2 in Ghaziabad, and 1 in Etah. Asked whether the Christians were accepted as such and called Christians by their fellow villagers, 113 replied "Yes," 32 "No," and 16 did not reply.

Good Christians

Asked whom in their villages they regard as good Christians, 17 replied that all are good, 12 that none is good, 63 named from one to seven men, and one said that "all are

fair but none are worthy to call themselves followers of the holy Jesus." Though our schedule did not ask for it, several of our informants told why they considered certain Christians good or certain others not good: "He is everybody's friend. Even our Mohammedans take advice from him." "He was very hot-tempered before he became a Christian. Now he is mild and gentle." "He is not a good Christian, for he beats his wife and children." "M. L. is the leader of the Christians, but he always wants to fight somebody." "Y. is a good Christian. He doesn't drink, or gamble, or eat meat, and he treats us all with respect." "The pastor is a holy man, just like Jesus." "My servant is a good Christian. I trust everything in his care." "H. R. is now the best man in the village. He will do nothing contrary to his religion."

Sorcery

The attempt to control illness by means of sorcery is very common in India's villages. In many areas all castes have practised it but the depressed classes have been popularly regarded as the most successful sorcerers. In its practice caste lines are more nearly obliterated than in any other function in village life. The outcaste sorcerer is not infrequently called to the homes of high-caste Hindus to drive away the evil spirit that is believed to be responsible for the illness of some member of the family.

We asked whether sorcery has decreased in the last twenty years, and, if so, to what extent and among what people most. To the first question 107 answered "Yes," 29 "No." A few said it had increased. Concerning the extent of decrease, 15 declared it had completely disappeared from their villages, while 92 gave estimates ranging from a decrease of 10 per cent to one of 95 per cent, the average of their estimates being 60 per cent. Thirty-five stated that the largest decrease had been among the Christians, 45 included the Christians among various groups in which they said the largest decreases had taken place, and only 19 omitted them from mention among those who have most generally turned from the practice. As the depressed classes have been chief among those practising sorcery, these testimonies indicate a remarkable turning away from it by Christian converts.

Economic Improvement

Asked what families had improved in twenty years, practically all of our informants interpreted the reference to be to economic improvement. Thirty-three replied that none had improved and one added: "They are all going backward —their condition is now worse than when they were converted." But 29 said that all had improved, and one that almost all had improved. A Hindu said, "There is the difference between heaven and earth in their condition twenty years ago and now;" and a Moslem said, "They are three times better off now than they were then." Seventy-two non-Christian witnesses indicated that certain Christian families had improved. One money-lender gave a report on each family in the village, declaring that 22 had improved, 7 had deteriorated and 4 had not changed.

When any family was said to have improved, we asked the supplementary question: "By reason of what?" In reply 27 named "Christian teaching" or "Christianity" as the reason for improvement; an equal number named "education"; 13 named "better conduct" ("gave up bad habits"). Other explanations were as follows: "Work harder," 12; "secured better paying work," 12; "obtained land," 11; "thrift," 1; "became civilized," 1; and, finally, "got rid of their inferiority complex," 1.

Co-operative Societies

We asked about co-operative societies and the relation of the local Christians to them. Societies were reported in sixty-eight villages. At least thirty-six of these societies were organized by Christians. In only four villages does it appear that any Christians have been admitted to societies organized apart from the Christian movement. Forty of our informants said that the upper classes of their villages would probably object to the admission of any local Christian into co-operative societies with them. Twelve suggested that the pastor, the catechist, or the teacher would be welcomed. The remainder thought all or some of the local group would be accepted.

Access to Village Wells

The next question relates to the drawing of water from village wells. We desired from these detached observers a record of the incidence and severity of restrictions against the Christians of their villages in this matter. We were told that there are a total of 1,478 wells supplying drinking water in the 161 villages; that Christians have unrestricted access to 219 of them and access under certain conditions to 31 others. All but 12 of the 219 wells are owned by, or reserved for, Christians or members of the depressed classes. The 12 are public wells theoretically open by Government orders for the use of everyone, regardless of caste or religion. But 28 of these informants told us that there is no well in their village from which the Christians can draw water. They said that these poor people must get their drinking supplies from stagnant pools, tanks, rivers, canals, or holes dug in the dry beds of streams, or by taking their water-pots to the well and there waiting until some member of one of the favored classes comes and consents to draw water and fill their vessels.

Often in the Telugu areas our inquiries on this subject brought out the disconcerting information that Christians of one of the depressed castes had a well from which they would not permit Christians of another depressed caste to draw water. In one village of the Vidyanagar area a village headman told us that there were three wells, all constructed at public expense: one for the Malas who were Christians, one for the Madigas who were Christians, and the third for the remaining eleven Hindu castes and the Mohammedans. The two Christian groups, who were denied access to the common well of the village, in turn denied to each other access to their respective group or caste wells. As mentioned elsewhere, the Malas and the Madigas have been hostile to each other for centuries and, although both have come under Christian influence, and in many villages all of each caste are at least nominal Christians, they are yet far from being completely Christian in their relations with each other. The perpetuation in these relations of the spirit of exclusion and oppression, from which these castes have suffered at the

hands of the general population, requires the earnest attention of church leaders.

Testimony by Areas

Until now we have dealt with the testimony of our informants in totals for all areas. But the examination of the testimony by areas reveals additional values. It should be borne in mind that the pre-Christian antecedents of the Christian groups, the missions by which they were influenced to embrace Christianity, the traditions of the churches with which they have united, and the standards of the population in which they live differ so widely that the significance of much of the testimony depends upon the area within which it was given.

In the Etah area our informants were unanimous in saying that none of the Christians of their village gamble. In three other areas—Barhan, Cumbum, and Vidyanagar—only one informant reported any gambling. But in Govindpur area twelve out of sixteen men interviewed said that Christians of their village gamble. Before the mass movement began around Govindpur certain forms of gambling, notably connected with cock-fighting, were exceedingly popular with Mundas and Oraons. Furthermore, the aboriginal Christians in this area are under neither the social nor the economic pressure that are common to the Christians from the depressed classes. They are a joyous, easy-going people with considerable leisure. It is not surprising that gambling is more common among them than in any other area of our study.

While forty informants in Barhan area say the Christians of their villages do not gamble, thirty-five of them say that Christian influence has not affected the situation. In Ghaziabad area eight informants say "No gambling," but all of them claim that none of these Christians gambled before their conversion. On the other hand, while more gambling is reported from Nagercoil, eleven out of twelve informants say that Christian influence has reduced or ended gambling by the Christians of their village.

In regard to alcoholic drink also there is a wide difference of opinion in the several areas. No case is reported from

the Etah area, where, however, 4 of our 9 informants are noncommittal. In Pasrur only 1 out of 24 and in Barhan 1 out of 42 report drinking. In Govindpur 14 out of 16 report drinking; in Vidyanagar 10 out of 14; in Guntur 6 out of 14; Ghaziabad 3 out of 12; in Nagercoil 6 out of 12; and in Cumbum 3 out of 15.

In the South India fields—Nagercoil, Cumbum, Guntur, and Vidyanagar—the drinking is chiefly toddy made from the juice of the toddy palm or coconut trees. It is available almost the entire year, its alcoholic content is low, and it is very inexpensive. In contrast to this, the drinking in the United Provinces is usually of hard liquor with a high content of alcohol, costs much more, and is available in only a few villages. In Nagercoil during our whole study we were probably never out of sight of a potential source of liquor, except when indoors. The Christians to whom we talked never spoke of liquor as expensive or hard to procure, but in North India the answer often was: "How could we get it? We would have to go a long distance for it, and it is expensive. No one can buy it in these days."

All of the churches whose work we studied discourage the use of intoxicants and have apparently convinced both their members and the public, as represented by our informants, that they favor abstinence, but in the emphasis that they give to teaching on the subject and in their use of discipline to enforce obedience to their teaching, they differ considerably. This matter is dealt with in Chapters VII and VIII, and reference is made here only to assist in interpreting the evidence by the testimony of our observers.

Informants in Etah, in a ratio of 6 to 1, say that Christianity has been responsible for a decrease of liquor consumption, and informants in Barhan agree by 10 to 1, but in Ghaziabad while 8 out of 11 say the Christians do not drink, none gives any credit to Christianity for their abstinence.

In the Guntur area, where only 8 observers say that the Christians of their village do not drink and 3 of those say they never did, 9 say that Christianity has effected a reduction of consumption.

In Ghaziabad, only 1 of our 12 non-Christian informants

says that the Christians are more industrious since their conversion. But in Pasrur, a couple of hundred miles to the north, 17 out of 24 say they are more industrious. Within these extremes we have testimonies of increased industriousness in the following proportions in the selected areas:

Etah, 6 out of 9; Barhan, 20 out of 42; Govindpur, 6 out of 16; Nagercoil, 10 out of 12; Cumbum, 12 out of 17; Guntur, 11 out of 15; Vidyanagar, 9 out of 15.

Additional Testimony in Etah Area

During the early stages of the first of our studies, that at Etah, we experimented with various questions which were not included in the schedules used in this inquiry elsewhere. However, they gave us some significant results, among which are the following:

Seven men told us that the Christians of their village are more respected than they were before their conversion, while five said they were not.

Eight said that the Christians of their village were less quarrelsome than before their conversion, eighteen that they were not quarrelsome, one that they were quarrelsome, but that he did not know whether they were more or less so than before they became Christians.

Nine said they were more truthful, and fourteen that they were truthful, while one said that he had recognized no change in them.

Seven men said that they considered some of the Christians of their village to be earnestly religious, eleven that they did not regard any as earnestly religious.

Twenty-one said they were more law-abiding than before their conversion, one that they were law-abiding and had never been lawless, and one that they were less obedient to the elders of the village. No one reported them less law-abiding.

Observations of a Police Officer

Two interviews with a high police official, a non-Christian, with an interval between them during which he made inquiries of his subordinates, confirmed this testimony that

the Christians are more law-abiding than before their conversion. While unable to furnish us with any data from official records, as he at first thought might be done, he declared that conversion of Sweepers in the district had undoubtedly been followed by a decided decrease in offenses committed by them against the law. But he was of the opinion that such offenses as are now committed are of a more serious character than were the offenses of former times. He suggested that the reason for the latter change might be that they were less ruled by fear than of old, association with respectable men and kindly treatment having made them think more highly of themselves, with the result that they were bolder and more daring when attempts were made to oppress them or infringe upon their social rights.

The Effect of Including Christians Among Informants

Many readers will probably wonder whether the inclusion of a few Christians among our informants, where non-Christians were not available, has weighted the data in favor of Christians or of the influence of Christianity. We have made a careful analysis and comparison to discover whether that is true. Recourse was had to Christians for information in twenty villages, one out of fifteen in Guntur, seven out of twelve in Nagercoil, and twelve out of sixteen in Govindpur. In seven areas all information came from non-Christians. The lone Christian in Guntur was one of the two who reported drinking and one of the two who reported gambling by Christians, but was with the majority in the area in reporting increased honesty, industriousness, and cleanliness. He was somewhat less generous than the non-Christians in estimating the diminution of the practice of sorcery and of the eating of "dead" meat by Christians.

In Nagercoil the seven Christians all said there was no gambling, while two of the five non-Christians reported gambling. Three of the seven Christians and three of the five non-Christians reported drinking. Christians unanimously declared that Christianity had led to increased industriousness, honesty, sobriety, and cleanliness, but two non-Christians differed regarding industriousness, sobriety and cleanliness and one regarding honesty.

In Govindpur a unique situation developed, in that three of the four non-Christians consulted were fellow tribesmen of the Christians, who had refused to move with them in becoming Christians. All three of those men made reports adverse to the Christians, and to Christianity's influence on every issue of the inquiry. The one non-Christian informant in this area who is detached from the Christian group by both religion and caste, or tribe, was very strong in appreciation of the influence of Christianity.

CHAPTER X

THE SUPPORT OF THE CHURCH

THAT mass movements would result in the establishment of self-supporting churches has apparently been the hope of all missions associated with them. Records of mission meetings, correspondence between missionaries and their societies, and reports and diaries of missionaries from the beginning of each of these movements have contained clear, and some of them forceful and frequent, declarations of this hope, and of the purpose to promote its realization as early as possible.

In conceptions of the process by which this hope would be realized, in plans and programs for its promotion and in the time estimated as required, the records show striking differences between and within the missions. But, despite these differences, the experiences of the missions have been surprisingly similar, especially in their early stages.

Without a clear comprehension by anyone of what was happening, the converts in every area, in respect to their religious life and training, assumed the status of wards or dependents of the missions, or of individual missionaries and their local associates. These dependents in the course of time were to be made fit and able to assume the rights and responsibilities of church members. Men were recruited and trained to minister to them. From the beginning in every area, so far as we can find, these men were urged to prepare the converts for church membership, teaching them, among other things, to contribute to the support of the ministry. But, without exception in every area, a *status quo* was established in which the locally recruited staff served, not the body of converts functioning as a church and aided by the mission, but the mission, aided slightly by the converts, in a program designed by its makers to establish a church. The situation disturbed some missionaries who, being unable to change it radically, eased

their minds by camouflaging it. They set up a skeleton organization which they called the church, not composed of the body of believers but of selected individuals from among them: this organization did not—perhaps could not—assume the responsibilities of functioning for these individuals in arranging for worship, a pastoral ministry, and discipline. These functions of the church were exercised by representatives of the mission.

This situation did not develop in exactly the same way in connection with all mass movements. But the foregoing represents in general outline the common experience in the first stages of all the movements we have studied.

Transition From Mission to Church

In such conditions transition from a system of mission-supported evangelists to a church-supported pastorate is extraordinarily difficult. It can be made possible only through the co-operation of the missionary, the evangelist, who is the potential pastor, and the body of converts, which is the potential church. The task is to induce the converts to accept the support of the pastor as one of their responsibilities. This step requires that they be both able and willing to provide his support. We shall shortly consider situations in which the ability is lacking, but must first look at those numerous situations in which the number and the economic resources of the converts are sufficient to make it possible for them to support a pastor.

We have not learned of a single group of mass-movement converts that has indicated a belief that it can get along without a spiritual adviser, a man who will teach the converts, lead them in worship, and give counsel concerning their problems. They have been accustomed to the idea of spiritual advisers and teachers of religion, and unquestioningly assume that in their new venture as Christians they require the help of a minister. But they do not assume that they should provide for his support. The evangelists have not come to them in the traditional guise of Indian religious mendicants but as men with financial backing. They have not been trained from childhood to give to an institution, nor to men of the type of the evangelist, and will not under-

take the evangelist's support on their own initiative. They must be made to see the reasonableness and the necessity of supporting the man whose services they require. If the missionary and the evangelist co-operate wisely, with conviction and determined purpose, the converts may be convinced and induced to accept the responsibility.

As the Missionary Sees It

Let us examine the positions of the missionary and the evangelist. The former is handicapped by certain severe limitations. He does not understand the social organization of the people; many of their customs and characteristics puzzle him; he does not know how to appraise the strength and meaning of much of what he sees and hears. His knowledge of the language in which he converses with them is limited. Idioms and shades of meaning often escape him. Even if he has mastered the correct literary forms of the language, the dialects of the village people introduce new and strange forms.

He is oppressed by the poverty and the generally pathetic condition of the people. His experience in his own country has never brought him into touch with such need. Congregations he has known there, with fifty to one hundred times the resources of the people with whom he is now dealing, have received mission grants to enable them to maintain a church and a pastor. He wonders whether it is right to insist that the poor people give for the support of their pastor. Can they do so, he asks, without taking food from the mouths of their children? He thinks of the people of his church at home, and asks if it would not be more in accord with Christian principles for them in their strength to bear the burdens of the weak people with whom he is dealing.

Moreover, he is subject to the common human forces that make for satisfaction in being able to spend money in a good cause. He appreciates the influence the spending of this money gives him and is eager to use it for the upbuilding of the church. But he believes that the future, if not the present, well-being of the church depends upon the acceptance by Christian converts of responsibility for maintaining

that church, so he speaks frequently on the subject. He looks forward to a time when there will be other converts who will be better provided than those with whom he is now associated with the means to support a church in India. It is not surprising if he insists less than he might that the existing church shall at once accept responsibility for the support of the pastor.

As the Evangelist Sees It

Let us turn now to the mission-supported evangelist. His association with the missionary, his education, and his widening outlook give him a rising scale of needs. He sees little opportunity to get from the poor converts to whom he is ministering the means to provide what seems to him a reasonable, even an irreducible, standard of living. In moments of spiritual exaltation he thinks he will throw himself entirely upon the people whom he serves, taking what they give him and bravely enduring any privation that step makes necessary. But he is a married man and a father. He has obligations to a wife and children. "What will become of them?" he asks, and the answer that comes from his fears drives him back into a cautious mood. The easy way for him is to protect his mission salary. It is possibly the only way to assure that his wife and children shall not go hungry or be clothed in rags.

Unless he has come directly and recently out of the group to which he is ministering, he is likely to have an ingrained dislike of the idea of being known to the public as economically dependent upon these poor and, in some respects, degraded people, who are held in contempt by the upper classes of the community. A pastor, who is supported entirely by a group of former outcastes in a rural pastorate, told us that his greatest difficulty in passing from mission-support to the present situation was this one that he had to meet in his own mind. When he was able to identify himself with a despised group of Sweepers, to the extent of being publicly recognized as dependent upon their gifts for the food that he and his family would eat and the clothes they would wear, his battle was more than half won.

In addition to the almost certain reduction in his income if he becomes dependent upon the local church for his support, the uncertainty and irregularity of the receipt of the reduced amount, and the fear of the loss of public esteem, the evangelist thinks of the humiliations that are likely to be heaped upon him by the converts themselves. He entertains no illusions about their saintliness. Although he may be ignorant of a psychological vocabulary he is acquainted with the facts that form the basis for our modern theories about inferiority complexes and reactions. He knows that a people who have long been oppressed are not tender in their dealings with folk who are dependent in any way upon them, especially when they recognize in those folk signs of advantages they have never enjoyed. One Indian pastor, who was an ardent Nationalist and very free in criticizing missionaries, told the writer that he would prefer to be paid Rs. 20 a month by any missionary he had known than to collect Rs. 30 a month from the Chamar converts he was serving, because so many of the latter would berate him and humiliate him when making their small gifts.

These difficulties of the evangelist all appear more formidable when regarded from the sheltered position within the mission budget than they do from the point of view of the men who have experienced them. Pastors who are being supported by their people discount all such difficulties and tell of compensations that make them prefer the support of their people. But we are now looking at the evangelist who is on mission support and trying to understand his relation to the call for a church-supported pastorate. It is not surprising that he does not often do all that he might to induce the body of converts to accept full responsibility for his support.

As the Converts See It

If we examine the position of the converts more closely, we shall find another set of obstacles. We are considering particularly groups of converts from the depressed classes. *It should be recognized that these classes have been trained by centuries of exploitation and servility to avoid the acceptance of responsibilities that may prove burdensome, and to get*

all they can out of every situation, while obligating themselves as little as possible.

Furthermore, these converted groups recognize a vast difference between the standards of living, the economic position of the missionary on the one hand and of themselves on the other. They understand that the missionary represents a large and prosperous company of people in his homeland, and assume that his potential resources are very large. They suppose that what he says about their duty to give is true, but they can think of a dozen reasons why they should not give, or should give only a little; moreover, they believe that if they do not give, or give just enough to escape the appearance of non-co-operation, the missionary's friends will come to the rescue. *The Hindu idea of giving to gain merit remains long in the mind of many Christian converts, and they think of the foreign supporters of the mission as being permitted to earn much merit by continued support of the evangelist who ministers to them.*

We must bear in mind that even those people to whom we have referred as being able to support their pastors are very poor. The need of some of them is desperate. Support of the church would necessitate for them an almost heroic devotion. If, for instance, all the expenditures for tobacco were stopped and the equivalent given to the church, a good many congregations would have enough from that source to pay their pastors in full. But if these expenditures were stopped, the money saved could be expended on additional food and still leave many families undernourished. In many homes it could be added to the amounts paid as interest to the money-lender and leave a part of the interest bill still unpaid.

If the extravagances connected with marriages were all stopped, and the money spent on the church, the pastors' salaries would be assured. If all the members should give a tithe of their income to the church, they could provide more than enough to pay the evangelists on their present scales of pay. But new converts are not much more likely to do any of these heroic things than are the members of the Church in Western lands, and they are far less able to pay the tithe of their income.

Missionary Funds Received in Every Area

When we turn to records of accomplishment the outstanding fact that faces us is that in no wide area have we found the Church fully supporting the program which its leaders have thought necessary for its proper development and extension. A grant-in-aid from foreign funds is being received for some part of the Church's program in each of the ten sample areas of our study, as well as in every other mass-movement area of which we have detailed information. But there are significant differences in the amounts of aid received and in the range of uses to which they are put.

In the United Presbyterian Church in the Pasrur area all of the ordained pastors receive their full support from the church, and no candidates for the ministry are sent to the theological school for training, or appointed after training, without a clear understanding that they will look for their entire support, throughout their ministry, to the churches they serve.

In the United Church of South India around Nagercoil, which is the field of the London Missionary Society, no man is ordained unless he has a call to a church that guarantees a minimum monthly salary of Rs. 25.

But in both of these areas unordained evangelists, supported in part by the mission, minister to weak congregations that do not contribute enough to support pastors and which have not been able to link up with other congregations in the joint support of a pastor.

In the Church of India, in the area around Vidyanagar, collections for ministerial support far exceed the salaries of the ordained ministers assigned to pastorates, but a great deal of pastoral work is done by lay teachers and by catechists, for whose support contributions are received from the Church Missionary Society and from individual donors abroad.

Statistics Do Not Tell the Whole Truth

Statistics on the support of the church in India are even more misleading than statistics usually are. Comparisons are of little value because of the different processes followed

in preparing the reports. Three illustrations will suffice to make the meaning of this statement clear.

1. Strong emphasis on stewardship and tithing led the preachers and their salaried lay assistants employed in one area to decide that a tenth of their salaries should be given each month to the church, being paid as a lump sum into the treasury. In the interest of efficient and easy collecting, these "gifts" were deducted at the source. In practice, therefore, the tithe contributed was based only on the grant-in-aid from mission funds. This resulted in a statistical increase of giving by the Indian Church whenever mission expenditures for salaries were increased, unless offset by decreases in giving by other members of the church; and a statistical decrease whenever mission salary expenditures were reduced, unless offset by increase in the giving of other church members. Thus, in a year when contributions from Indian sources really decreased, or were at a standstill, an encouraging increase might be recorded in the statistics because of a larger distribution for salaries of funds from outside India.

2. In one area standard salaries are fixed. A grant-in-aid is made on account of many salaries from centrally administered funds received from the Missionary Society. The preacher is supposed to collect the remainder locally. As the central administrative body escapes responsibility for paying the portion assigned to be raised by the people, it considers that portion as found locally, and statistics record it as given. "A's" salary is fixed at Rs. 25 per mensem. The funds available for his support in the Central Treasury amount to Rs. 15 per mensem. "A" is authorized to collect the remaining Rs. 10. What he does not collect he has the privilege of giving. He draws Rs. 15 each month from the Central Treasury and the church is recorded in the statistics as having given the remainder. Actually "A" may have received from the church an average of only Rs. 6 per mensem, in which case the statistics for the year are Rs. 48 too high; or he may have received an average of Rs. 12 per mensem, in which case the year's statistics are Rs. 24 too low.

3. Much of the giving is not in cash but in commodities. When statistics are recorded, the cash value of commodity

gifts is figured and included. In some areas a scale of values at which commodity gifts are to be figured is decided upon and sent to all who make the statistical reports. In others there is no central control or advice, but every reporter does what is right in his own eyes. Many rates for figuring these values are possible. Rice, for instance, sells fifty per cent higher at one season than at another, and either extreme rate, or some intermediate rate, may be used in the report.

According to church statistics in a certain area "B" was considerably better paid than "C." But when a detailed inquiry was made, it was found that "B" had translated his commodity receipts into cash values at a rate more than sixty per cent higher than the rate "C" had used. Actually "C" had been better paid than "B."

Some Advantages Gained by Support of the Pastors

When these mass-movement groups support their pastors, great benefits accrue to them. The result is most stimulating. Their self-respect gains, and they value the ministry of their pastor more highly. This is not mere theory. We have the unanimous report of church-supported pastors in the Pasrur area that their people have been more responsive to their ministry since they began to provide their entire salaries. Pastors of self-supporting congregations in Govindpur and Nagercoil also testified to the same effect. There has been a notable development of Christian consciousness. Discipline is more successfully and more easily enforced. The church is theirs, the people feel, since they pay for its maintenance. The pastor is their pastor and not merely an agent of the mission or the missionary. They are members of the church and not merely attached to it.

Success Dependent Upon United Effort

Enough has been written earlier in this chapter to make clear the importance of the personal qualities of the ministerial leadership, both indigenous and foreign, in bringing about the establishment of a church-supported pastorate. Wise and persistent effort, backed by clear thinking and firm conviction, can induce groups of converts to do what they would not seriously think of doing on their own initiative.

In a great many places it has led such groups to accept full support for their pastors and in some places to accept additional responsibilities. There is every reason to believe that the same kind of leadership can produce like, or better, results in many other places. But weak missionary leadership can make it impossible for the Indian evangelist to produce any of these results, just as an unconvinced or non-co-operating evangelist can make it impossible for the missionary to achieve them.

Conditions That Determine the Possibilities in Pastoral Support

There are mass-movement areas where purely physical difficulties apparently make it impossible for a church-supported pastorate to be established at the present time. Perhaps this statement should take the more conservative form that the possibility of a church-supported pastorate, under the physical difficulties confronted in some areas, has not been demonstrated. Chief of these difficulties is the wide geographical distribution of Christians in several areas, making it apparently impossible to include the number of families necessary to provide the salary of a pastor in a parish that is not too large for him to care for effectively.

In the Nagercoil area 230 villages, in which Christians live, contain an average of 29.5 families. Only 96 villages contain less than 6 families each. All of these small groups are within two miles of large groups, many of them within a half mile. Parishes containing a minimum of 100 families can be organized so that no pastor has more villages to visit than he can reach with adequate frequency, with all the families within a reasonable walking distance of a regular Sunday church service.

In the Vidyanagar Deanery 17 villages contain a total of 320 families, an average of 18.8 families per village. Here the staff consists of a Deanery chairman, who is also principal of a boarding school, an ordained pastor, who visits all the villages, and 14 teachers, each of whom conducts services daily, including Sunday. Only 5 of these villages have less than a dozen Christian families and all are within easy reach of Sunday services.

In the Govindpur area 58 villages contain an aggregate of 655 Christian families, an average of 11.29 per village. Here, also, pastorates that reach every village with the necessary home visitation and provide for Sunday services within reach of all have proved practicable, although the distances involved are greater than in Nagercoil or Vidyanagar. The missionaries in this section, with characteristic German thoroughness, taught the converts to attend church, even though they had to walk several miles to get there.

In the Pasrur area the average number of Christian families in four pastorates for which information was secured is 9.8 per village. Villages nearest the pastor's residence receive most of his service and pay most of his salary. But all Christian groups are visited several times a year. More pastors are needed before all the groups can be adequately ministered to.

The Complex Problem in the United Provinces

But when we come into the United Provinces, we find Christians in many areas much more scattered, and church-supported pastorates rare. The most difficult conditions reported from any area that has a large Christian community are in Moradabad District, in the field of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A survey of about two thirds of the district shows 700 villages and towns in which Christians live and an aggregate of 1,877 Christian families, or an average of 2.68 per village. Each of 306 villages contains only one Christian family. Three castes, Mazhabi Sikhs, Lal Begi Sweepers, and Chamars, have provided the village Christian population in this district. The first and second castes are widely scattered, and not frequently in the same villages. The third are more concentrated, but only a few groups have been converted. The Lal Begi Sweepers form the largest element in the church. In the social sense they form a mass, and they were converted in a typical mass movement, but geographically speaking they are a people broken into numerous small fragments.

Another unit of the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Aligarh District of the Northwest India Conference, where Sweeper converts predominate but a Chamar

movement is in progress, reports an average of 4.1 Christian families per village in which Christians live. In this matter of wide distribution Moradabad and Aligarh are typical of many districts of that church in the United Provinces, though fortunately not of all districts.

In the North India Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, comprising a compact territory in the United Provinces, of which the area at Etah is a part, and a number of isolated outlying districts, an aggregate of 5,357 Christian families are scattered through 1,757 villages, an average of 5.08 families per village. All but a few hundred of these families come from the Sweeper castes. Rural pastorates, locally supported, have not been successfully established in any part of this field.

Almost the whole of our study of the selected area around Etah was spent in a group of villages that were being ministered to by one unordained preacher, assisted for a part of the time by an American lady evangelist. This preacher's parish includes 48 villages in which Christians live. Some of these villages are ten miles from his residence at Etah. They are widely scattered. To some of these villages he had not been for six months before his visit there with us. Very few Christian families have learned to go to other villages for services. However, this situation is by no means unique.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United Provinces, as one of a number of tragic results of a devastating series of reductions in missionary income in recent years, there are dozens of preachers trying to care for an even larger number of village groups and succeeding no better than this Etah area pastor in providing regular pastoral service for their people.

The church-supported pastors of the Pasrur area were unanimous in saying that at least 100 families are required to provide a minimum support for a pastor. Some pastors thought the minimum figure should be 150 families. In Nagercoil and Govindpur, where the average economic strength of Christian families is higher than around Pasrur or in the United Provinces, the pastors estimated the minimum requirement as between 80 and 150 families. If the Pasrur standard of 100 families should be adopted for the

United Provinces, pastorates in Moradabad District would have to include an average of 38 villages, and throughout the North India Presbyterian Mission an average of 35 villages. In the Aligarh District the average would be 25 villages. But in the Pasrur area pastorates containing a minimum of 100 families each would require only 10 villages, in the Vidyanagar area only 6 villages, and in the Nagercoil area only 4 villages.

The obstacles to the establishment of church-supported pastorates in areas where Christian families are distributed over such a wide territory are not confined to the difficulties of pastoral visitation and the conducting of regular services within reach of the Christians. A major obstacle arises from the effect upon converts of their isolation from other Christians. There is little in their environment to re-enforce a Christian purpose or an appreciation of Christianity; there is much there to undermine both purpose and appreciation. The wonder is that these isolated families so generally continue to declare themselves Christians and to welcome the infrequent visits of their overburdened ministers.

A very much more hopeful situation prevails in a number of districts in the west of these provinces, where in addition to the Sweepers large numbers of Chamars have become Christians. The Chamars are more numerous than the Sweepers and live in larger groups. In areas where both they and the Sweepers have been converted the villages average as many as fifteen families of Christians. Around Ghaziabad approximately one third of the Chamars have been converted. As a result the concentration of Christians has risen to 11.21 per village. If the Chamar movement in this area should continue until the entire community is converted, it would be possible to set up many pastorates containing one hundred families each by combining only four or five villages.

How One Humble Lay Preacher Solved the Problem of His Support

A suggestion of the possibilities in this situation is provided by the experience of a very humble man trained at Ghaziabad, several years ago, to be a lay assistant to a pastor

in this field. He worked for a short time on mission support. When news came of a further reduction of missionary appropriations, he was dismissed. But his heart was in his work, and he had a strong desire to continue telling people of Christ. He knew of two villages, located only a mile apart, where groups of Chamars, a total of about twenty families, more prosperous than most, were eager to be instructed in Christian teaching and received into the church. He went to them, explained his situation, and asked them to provide for his support as their teacher. They gave him a house, a cow buffalo, the promise of fodder, and assured him of monthly offerings in cash and food. He opened a school for the children in which he and his wife both teach, and began holding regular and frequent services. A third near-by village group became interested and began to cooperate.

He had been among these people with his family about five months when we visited the main village, inspected his school, joined the congregation in worship, and interrogated him, his wife, and many of the people to whom they were ministering. Everyone was happy. The school was well established and had made an excellent start. The people had made remarkable progress. In creedal knowledge, in orderly worship, in comprehension of the meaning of Christianity, they impressed us as being more advanced than many groups that had been professing Christians for ten years or longer. The lay pastor and his wife are typical village people. They had had only a little better than an upper-primary education. Their needs are limited and they are happy with what these groups give them. A pastor, with sufficient education to qualify for ordination by any of the churches engaged in these mass movements, would demand and need more support than this lay preacher is getting, but he would provide reasonably well for the pastoral care of one hundred families who, with anything like proportional giving, could insure him a sufficient, though modest, living.

In the areas where Christians are divided into such small village groups and are so widely scattered as in Moradabad, Aligarh, and the North India Presbyterian Mission, the only

hope of establishing a church capable of supporting an all-inclusive system of pastorates would seem to lie in winning other elements of the population. There are indications that the Chamars in many districts would respond encouragingly to a vigorous effort to win them. But missionaries and Indian ministers alike hesitate to try to win new groups when they feel that so much remains to be done to establish the Sweeper converts. When they cannot care for the groups whom they have encouraged to enter the church, they fear to accept new responsibilities.

Yet the conversion of groups of the Chamars might provide the resources to increase the staff and reduce each preacher's parish to workable size. There is also reason to believe that converts from one caste are helped in many ways by the conversion of members of another caste. The Oraon and Munda movements in Chota Nagpur have re-enforced each other, the Mala and Madiga Christians of the Telugu country have each been helped by the movement in the other caste. The Sweeper Christians around Ghaziabad have been heartened by the conversion of the Chamars, and have been helped to develop the necessary new consciousness as Christians by association with them in worship and church discussions.

Where Christian converts are unable to support their preachers, because they do not have sufficient resources, the attempt to force them to do so by withdrawing mission appropriations must end disastrously. For a mission to abandon these scattered groups after bringing them to confess Christian faith, because they cannot do what is apparently impossible, would be a tragic blunder. The reduction of missionary appropriations in the last few years in the Methodist Episcopal Church has gone so far, and so many preachers have been dismissed, that thousands of families, while nominally included in parishes that were already unreasonably large, are now virtually abandoned. Unless missionary appropriations can be increased very soon, sufficiently to add to the staff again, the superintendents in those areas will find it necessary to completely abandon thousands of families in order to care effectively for the remainder. Several superintendents have, in fact, already formulated plans for doing so.

The Necessity for Christian Leadership From Within the Groups

The support of the Church in mass-movement areas is linked closely to the problem of securing effective Christian leadership within the several groups. This issue is in turn linked with caste. In the areas where the Church is supporting its pastors the groups are effectively led from within by men who have been prepared for Christian leadership by intensive training. In the Pasrur area, in the Punjab, practically every village group has two or more elders who have passed examinations in courses designed to train them for their duties. They are honorary assistants of the pastor, helping to arrange for church services, to encourage attendance, to minister to people in trouble, to enforce discipline, and to collect funds. In this area the pastors, with a few exceptions chiefly recruited in recent years, have come from among the Chuhras, who form an overwhelming majority of the converts. These pastors have never hesitated to declare their caste origin and even those who have come from other castes, or from the Mohammedans, have identified themselves fully with the people of their pastorates.

In the Vidyanagar, Guntur, and Cumbum areas this trained leadership has been provided very largely by the school-teachers, at least one of whom has been located in nearly every village. They have come from one or the other of the mass movement groups and have given strong leadership within their respective group councils. They have never set themselves off socially from their people.

In the United Provinces, however, this leadership from within has not generally been secured. A considerable proportion of the preachers has been recruited from converts from other castes, and many preachers who have come from among the Sweepers and the Chamars, in the process of their education and special training have broken away from their groups. The preachers in the United Provinces usually live in the quarters of the higher castes and work for and with their people from the outside. Elsewhere, they live with the groups to whom they minister and work from within. In the United Provinces the preachers have often acquired

a social prestige which has not benefited, but in some cases has actually harmed, the members of their congregation.

They have esteemed the privilege of living among the caste Hindus and to safeguard that privilege have cut themselves off socially from their people. Some who have come from the Sweeper caste have gone so far as to pose as converts from higher Hindu castes. Two groups of Sweeper converts known to the writer objected to proposals that young men from their villages go to a school to be trained as teachers in mission schools, saying that if they went, they would be lost to the groups, for when their training was completed, they would be ashamed to acknowledge that they had ever been Sweepers.

A side-light on this situation is provided in the fact that in the Etah and Ghaziabad areas more than sixty per cent of the preachers and teachers reported that their father's birthplace was in some other civil district than the one in which they were working, but in no area outside of the United Provinces was the proportion reporting their father's birthplace to be in another district as high as ten per cent. In other words, Etah and Ghaziabad, unlike the more successful areas outside the United Provinces, do not have a ministry that has come out of the Christian population in their districts.

We must not judge these preachers and teachers too harshly. It is hardly possible in the compass of this book to indicate what it would cost a man from the outside to go into a Sweeper *mohalla* and identify himself with its families, even though they be Christians. It is, in our judgment, more than can be asked of any man. But it is imperative that an able, trained, Christian leadership be provided for the converted Sweepers within their groups. Efforts in the past have generally failed because they have lifted the trained man out and left the group exactly where it had been.

Two lines of experiment are being conducted to meet this need. Dr. M. T. Titus, in the Moradabad District, has been in the forefront of an effort to train village leaders in a program of instruction built on the model of the elders' course in Pasrur. Selected men, often the village Chaudris, are intensively taught by the preachers in preparation for exami-

nation in the prescribed course, which includes, *inter alia,* a brief outline of the life of Christ, selected passages of Scripture, a form for congregational worship, a brief ritual for the burial of the dead, and a number of Christian *bhajans.* When these men have passed three sections of this course, if their conduct has been satisfactory and they are recommended by the church officiary, the superintendent may appoint them leaders of the Christians of their village, authorized to conduct services in the absence of a minister in their own or near-by villages, to bury the dead, and to perform other services as needed.

In the Ingraham Training Institute at Ghaziabad, the Rev. William Dye has developed a program for giving short-term courses (from three weeks to three months) to selected men, who on completion of the course are appointed honorary assistants to the pastor. A number of men have been trained and are said to be serving acceptably. They work on much the same program as that described above. Their training emphasizes the conducting of congregational worship in orderliness and reverence. Indian music is stressed and many of the men learn to sing, and accompany with typical village musical instruments, a number of Christian *bhajans.* These leaders must agree to oppose vigorously all idolatrous practices by the Christians of their villages, and of any other villages of which they are given oversight, to insist that all marriages of Christians in their villages be solemnized by Christian rites, to report cases of misconduct and to try to bring the offenders to penitence, and are held responsible for the records of their groups. The support of the pastor is much less difficult where an effective local Christian leadership is established.

Methods of Pastoral Support

There are three main plans of pastoral support operating in our ten selected areas. The most fundamental division in the discussion on the subject occurs on the issue of whether people should contribute to their pastor directly or to a central fund from which their pastor and others are paid. The United Presbyterians in the Pasrur area give us the best composite picture of a pastorate supported on a

parish basis. The Church of India in the Vidyanagar area provides the clearest example of pastorates supported through a central fund. The United Church of South India in the Nagercoil area (London Mission) is representative of several churches in which elements of the parish and central fund plans are combined.

The Pasrur plan has worked so well that twenty-one pastors in a single mission district are being fully supported by their congregations, with average incomes almost twice as high as those of their people. The churches are gradually taking on other expenses besides the support of the pastor. They finance a missionary effort to give the gospel to people in another area, further north, where there are as yet few Christian converts. They contribute to a seminary fund from which are paid the salaries of two Indian professors in the theological seminary where candidates for the ministry are trained. These professors had been pastors of self-supporting congregations, and when they were invited to join the faculty of the seminary they objected to going on mission support. Representatives of the churches then came forward with proposals that salaries be provided through contributions from the churches. These congregations have as yet done little toward the building of churches or schools.

The Vidyanagar plan of payment to a central fund has provided the salaries of all the ordained ministers who work as pastors, considerable money for administrative expenses, and contributions toward the salaries of teachers and catechists. The congregations have all erected buildings used both for church and school purposes and houses for the teacher-preachers. The weaker congregations have been assisted somewhat in their building program by grants from the central treasury into which are paid appropriations from the Missionary Society and gifts from individuals outside the area.

The Nagercoil combination of the features of the two preceding plans shows a number of congregations supporting their pastors and a number to whom evangelists, who are supported from the central fund, are ministering. Inducements are offered to congregations to support their own pastor. They are allowed to extend a call, and if the chosen

minister accepts and the arrangement is approved by the central administrative body, known as the Church Council, he is installed and ordained. A minimum monthly salary of Rs. 25 must be assured or the appointment will not be approved. Congregations supporting their pastor are entitled to representation in the Church Council, and are invited to contribute to the central fund from which the evangelists are supported, and connectional expenses are met. A few congregations also maintain parish schools for which generous grants-in-aid are received from the government of Travancore State. Church building has been emphasized, and a number of rural congregations have erected commodious structures of brick to replace the simple mud buildings of an earlier era. The Nagercoil plan differs from that in Pasrur only in the use it makes of the central fund and in the solicitation of contributions for it from congregations that are already supporting their own pastors. The men who work under the direction of the Church Council, and the district superintendents, who, as it happens, are practically all missionaries, are not mission employees, but Church-Council employees.

In favor of the parish-supported pastorate it is said that people contribute more generously to the support of their own local church and the pastor who ministers to them. In areas where *jajmani* governs occupational relationships this type of pastorate fits into that system. The pastor establishes his *jajmani haq,* or occupational rights, and every family within the pastorate is encouraged by the influence of the system to make its fair payment. The pastor is likewise encouraged to give due attention to every family and thus establish his claim.

Against the parish-supported pastorate it is said: (1) that it results in harmful inequalities of pastoral income; (2) that it projects the personality of the pastor into a situation where it does not belong, thus obscuring the truth that offerings are made not to man but to God; (3) that it unfairly distributes the burden of maintaining a ministry throughout a given area, when prosperous congregations, that should help to support pastors for weaker congregations, rest content with supporting their own.

Concerning jajmani, it is said that it lays a wrong foundation for the support of the church and tends to reduce the ministry to the status of menial service, with which jajmani is most prominently associated. However, this objection has ignored the fact that in some areas the Brahman priest is supported by jajmani.

The missions of the so-called Free Churches apparently tend to the establishment of the parish-supported pastorate, those accustomed to state endowment to a central fund pastorate.

Several Correlations

A study of the relation of the debts of Christian families to their contributions to the church in all of the selected areas, except Etah, where the necessary information was not obtained, shows that debt has surprisingly little effect in preventing contributions. Of 2,208 families in debt, 91.7 per cent made contributions to the church in the twelve months preceding our visit to their villages. During the same period 93.9 per cent of the 954 who were not in debt also made contributions. As stated in another chapter, nondebtors include a group who are prosperous enough to have no need for credit, and a group who are so poor that no one will give them credit. Of prosperous nondebtors more than 99 per cent contribute to the church.

The average annual contribution of debtor families was Rs. 2-3-0; of nondebtor families, Rs. 2-6-11. Contributions of debtors amounted to an average of 1.88 per cent of their cash income; of nondebtors an average of 2.02 per cent.

The lay officials of the church in the villages contributed an average of Rs. 4-13-9 against an average of Rs. 2-4-1 for all families. This equaled 3.34 per cent of their annual cash incomes. Ten village groups, which contain one or more lay officials of the church, show average annual contributions per family of Rs. 2-13-6, while ten village groups which contain no church officials show average annual contributions of Rs. 1-14-4. These groups were chosen at random from corresponding areas. The contrasting figures suggest that the organization of the local groups and the selection and training of leaders result in raising

the level of contributions. The lay official not only gives more to the church than he would as a private member, but he leads his Christian neighbors to give more generously.

The average annual contribution of 1,026 families whose head is literate is Rs. 3-14-7; of 2,397 families whose head is illiterate, Rs. 1-8-10. Families whose head is literate contribute amounts equal to 2.36 per cent of their cash income; those whose head is illiterate 1.6 per cent. The proportion of families contributing to the church is: (*a*) those with literate heads 95.8 per cent; (*b*) those with illiterate heads 90.8 per cent. It seems that mission money spent on schools re-enforces the support of the church by increasing both the capacity and the will to give.

CHAPTER XI

ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION AND POLITY

THE problem of administration with reference to any group begins before the first contact is made with its members by a representative of the church or the co-operating mission. Unless the agent of the church or mission, whether paid or honorary, has a wholesome comprehension of what the church is, of the relation of new converts to it and of what it means to be a Christian, he is likely to give to new groups conceptions that will add to the difficulties of administration and will retard their development as a unit in the Church of Christ. It will be impossible for us to account for the differences in levels of attainment between the several missions and churches unless we consider the contrasting conceptions and attitudes of their representatives in making contacts with new groups. One who presents Christianity as an expression of the desire of kind people to help, and invites his hearers to allow themselves to be helped, lays a poor foundation for a Christian Church. One who speaks of the soul's salvation from torment after death, but says nothing of God's kingdom of righteousness on earth, does no better.

Some of the groups encountered in our selected areas seem to have consented to join the church in the expectation that much would be done for them; others seem to have sought admission to the church to obtain inspiration and leadership in becoming the people they ought to be and in doing the things they ought to do. In one area a pastor told us of two village groups that were in striking contrast with each other. One group had made a bad start, and after more than half a century represented his most difficult administrative problem. The other had started well, represented his simplest problem, and provided his greatest encouragement. In the former village the senior elder, when asked how long his group had been Christians, said, "For fifty-two years, and we don't have a road to this village yet." Hearing this, an

Indian lay member of our staff remarked, "And you haven't yet cleaned up the filthy lanes in front of your houses." In the other village, replying to the same question, its leader said: "We decided to follow Christ three years ago and tore down our idol shrine. Then we built our church. Two years ago we were baptized. But we are just beginning to understand how much more we ought to do and how much better we ought to be to be called Christians."

A district superintendent said, "In every group of professing Christians in this district there is a certain amount of Christian faith and godliness, but some groups are suffering from the mistakes of evangelists who talked to them overmuch of what the mission would do for them if they became Christians."

Preparation for Baptism

When a group have decided to become Christians, the question arises, What shall be required of them before they shall be baptized and brought into the church? It is not possible to determine what requirements have been enforced in the areas which we have studied. Conferences, assemblies, or councils may adopt resolutions fixing certain standard requirements for baptism, but ministers within the jurisdiction of those bodies may baptize candidates who have not met all those requirements or may withhold baptism until additional requirements have been met. From the records of a number of mission and church organizations it appears that no one would be baptized who had not learned the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, but inquiry in the areas concerned shows that those requirements have been modified, either because of the inability of candidates to learn or of the inefficiency of the ministers and evangelists in teaching. We de not find resolutions saying that men will not be baptized unless their wives join them in professing Christianity, but we find this condition quite commonly enforced.

There have been two main schools of thought about baptismal requirements. One has advocated early baptism with a minimum of requirements; the other its postponement until formidable requirements have been met.

The late Bishop James M. Thoburn told of the baptism of several pioneers of a movement in the Bijnor District of the United Provinces. Having heard three or four open-air sermons and talked once or twice with the preachers, these men came to the missionary and said they had decided to become Christians. After finding their attitudes acceptable —that they believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, were desirous of being saved from their sins, and purposed in their hearts to do right—the missionary baptized them. The bishop expressed the opinion that to have refused to baptize them would have been to give enemies an opportunity to organize against them, and either by persuasion or by threats to keep them from confessing Christ. At that time, more than fifty years ago, baptism was regarded by Hindus as a kind of crossing of the Rubicon. A man's conversion to Christianity was a *fait accompli* if he had been baptized. He was then a subject for punishment, for vituperation, and out-casting. But if not baptized, there was a chance to keep him from becoming a Christian, no matter how much he had committed himself as to his faith or purpose.

Mr. Samuel Knowles, an advocate of immediate baptism when a convert has declared his acceptance of Christ, is said to have made it a custom to take water for use in baptizing with him to places where he was to preach in *melas,* bazaars, villages, or town *mohallas.* His theory was that baptism should be administered when confession is made and instruction given later.

The reports of Dr. John E. Clough and the Rev. A. V. Timpany, pioneer missionaries related to the mass movement of Madigas in the American Baptist Telugu Mission, tell of groups of people who had heard of Christ from relatives, or neighbors, coming to camp meetings, confessing their faith and being baptized the same day or the next.

Ditt, the heroic pioneer of the Chuhra masses who have been converted in the United Presbyterian Church in the Punjab, was baptized without instruction, if we except what he had received from a somewhat discredited lay convert in a neighboring village.

The work around Bijnor has not been considered to be very successful. Many converts have at one time or another

denied the faith and successive pastors and superintendents have grown discouraged. Yet several thousand people who have followed those early converts into the Church now bear witness to Christ. And the present superintendent of the church in the district, the Rev. George B. Thomson, an Indian minister, draws his entire salary from the scattered community he serves, which also contributes toward the support of pastors and unordained assistants.

Out of the work of Messrs. Clough, Timpany, and their colleagues, and in the direct line of those converts baptized with little instruction, has come a Baptist community of approximately a quarter of a million with scores of congregations supporting their pastor.

The Tarus of Gonda District, hundreds of whom were baptized by Mr. Knowles and his associates, forsook Christianity en masse, returning to their primitive animism, or going over to Mohammedanism. A contributing cause, and, perhaps, the only cause, of their apostasy was that successive preachers who went into the malaria-infested jungle of the Terai, in which the Tarus lived, contracted fever and died, so that the converts did not after their baptism receive either the instruction or the pastoral care which the missionary had thought he would be able to provide for them.

In the Punjab, Ditt, and many of those who followed him, despite the seeming inadequacy of instruction and leadership in worship prior to and immediately after baptism, developed a strong Christian loyalty and devotion, and a church of great strength and promise in that part of India has come into existence.

Turning to areas in which more instruction before baptism has been insisted upon, we select one in Gujerat. Bishop Cyrus J. Foss, speaking in Philadelphia in 1898, after a visit to India, thus described a service in which two hundred and twenty-five people were baptized:

> Bishop Thoburn strictly questioned all the adults before we baptized them. They were arranged in rows sitting on the ground and were questioned somewhat as follows: "Do you believe in one God?" "Do you believe in Jesus Christ?" "Have you put away every token of idolatry?" And when they had answered many such searching questions, I said to one of the mis-

sionaries: "Do these poor folk know anything of the Apostles' Creed?" He took the question forward and then those adults repeated the Apostles' Creed. "Do they know the Ten Commandments?" I asked. And they recited them. . . . They had been thoroughly instructed.

These were among the forerunners of a church that has developed much strength.

In the Dornakal Diocese, new candidates for baptism are placed under the care of teachers, pastors, or evangelists for a period of instruction and oversight. They are required to learn the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and an outline statement of the life, ministry, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus. In addition they are expected to attend church regularly, to contribute to its support, and to bear witness in their communities as Christians. There is a well-established order of catechumens who are taught to regard themselves as Christians and are reported in the church statistics as Christians in preparation for baptism.

Pastors are disposed to relax these conditions somewhat in the case of converts from the higher Sudra castes. Doubtless this process is promoted by the ease with which educated men, rare among outcastes but common in the upper castes of Sudras, can learn what is required of them, and by the delight of the pastors to have people of social influence and economic strength join the church.

In the Nagercoil area, the well-established church that has arisen from the labors of the London Mission requires of candidates for baptism, besides their confession of faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, a high standard of creedal knowledge, church contributions, and regularity in attendance at public worship.

It is not possible to base upon materials discovered in this study any pronouncement on the much-debated subject of the standards requisite for baptism. Successful churches have been established where the first converts were baptized with little training or testing, and no less successful churches where, from the beginning, prolonged training for baptism was required. We found instances of early baptism followed by wholesale apostasy, and instances of baptism after elabo-

rate training and testing followed by the complete collapse of faith and denial of allegiance. In one area in Bihar, where several thousand Chamars have become Christians since 1906, an earlier movement of Chamars collapsed and all converts apostatized after candidates for baptism had been given from three to six months' intensive training at the mission headquarters.

No course of instruction and no process of organization by church or mission can insure any group or any individual against temptation. A poorly instructed person or group may be more genuinely Christian than one that has been thoroughly instructed. And it is even possible to mislead seekers after God by overemphasizing the values of knowledge, forms of worship, and professions of faith and devotion. No survey can reveal the number and strength of mass movements that might have developed, but were prevented by unwise requirements or by misplaced emphases in preparation for baptism.

Whether baptism should be administered immediately after the first confession of faith and purpose to follow Christ, or only after training and testing, is apparently less important than that, after baptism, adequate provision should be made for pastoral care involving instruction, fellowship, worship, and the full ministry of the Word and the sacraments. If baptism is to be administered after limited opportunities for cultivation, it should certainly be only in those areas where the adequacy of the ministerial staff and the accessibility of the converts provide reasonable assurance of regular instruction and pastoral care after baptism.

The Importance of Church Organization and Administration

This study leads to the conclusion that the organization and administration of the church are issues of major importance. Where converts have received little instruction prior to baptism, but have been successfully incorporated into churches providing regular and frequent opportunities for worship and oversight by faithful ministers, they have become established as Christians, and by their improved conduct and enriched personalities have commended the gospel

of Christ. But even where they have been well instructed prior to baptism and have provided convincing evidence of spiritual regeneration, but for any reason have not been organized into churches and provided with the privileges of worship and fellowship under the care of a functioning ministry, they have not become established in Christian faith and purpose, nor have their conduct and personalities honored the religion they have professed.

We have referred elsewhere to Ringeltaube's grief over the apparent lack of spiritual life in the groups he had baptized during the first years of his ministry in and around Mailady. From his description we conclude that those converts were indeed a very unpromising lot. But Ringeltaube established a church and made provision for regular worship and for the full ministry of the Word and the sacraments. His successors stressed the development of that church and its ministry and gave themselves devotedly and assiduously to its administration. And, as a result, there has developed out of that unpromising material a body of Christians whose character and culture afford a striking contrast to Ringeltaube's description.

Some of the most glowing accounts of conversions, of steadfast witnessing to Christ in the face of persecution, of spiritual rebirth and moral transformation in the entire literature of mass movements, are found in the reports of missionaries concerning the beginnings of movements in areas where, to-day, conditions are least encouraging. One inclines to the belief that in some of those areas missionaries found such satisfaction in spectacular instances of early response to their preaching that they neglected and, perhaps, disparaged the continuing aspects of their ministry, such as the building up of the church organization, the enforcement of discipline, instruction, the cultivation of habits of worship and the use of other recurring means of grace.

The Value of Memoriter Work

Many questions have been addressed to us since the study began as to the value of memoriter work in the instruction of candidates for baptism or for admission to the church.

In Chapter VIII there is a report of the results of an inquiry about knowledge of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments.

Two values of the memorizing of creedal statements, prayers, selected passages of Scripture, hymns, liturgies, etc., were outstanding in our observations in the several sample areas. These are:

1. The memorizing produces a sense of achievement in the convert's mind, strengthening his self-respect, and in the case of new converts marking their coming to Christ. We often met illiterate villagers who took great pride in their ability to recite passages which to them symbolized, if they did not express, their faith. Sometimes we were told that those same villagers had at first insisted that they could not learn, and that they had been surprised and delighted to discover that they could learn and recite those passages. Several pastors remarked that in a new group it is nearly always more difficult to get the first man to learn than it is to get the second or any other person of normal intelligence, because the first man is sure he cannot learn and does not want to try. It needs only an example from among them to inspire the others to achievement.

One recent convert in Vidyanagar dramatically exhibited this feeling of pride in achievement when, being asked if he knew the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, he knelt and devoutly repeated the prayer, then arose and recited and elaborated the creed and the Commandments. He then told proudly how he was accustomed to expound the creed, the Commandments, the life of Christ, parables, Old-Testament stories, and hymns to groups of his neighbors, including the higher castes, who were astonished that he, an illiterate, whom they had considered hopelessly ignorant, could learn so much.

2. The passages help to fix in the minds of those who have learned them a conception or picture of themselves as Christians. The minds of Indian villagers, including the outcastes, are stored with Hindu lore, stories from the Vedas, and couplets from the *Ramayan* of Tulsi Das, or from the works of other poets. The outcastes also carry a burden of memories that recall their status as oppressed, exploited, and

despised members of society. They need a lot of assistance if they are to think of themselves as Christians.

A discerning Indian graduate pastor remarked that his most difficult task with new converts was to get Christianity into their subconscious minds, and that he was greatly assisted in this by teaching them to learn many passages and many hymns and to use them constantly in worship.

A trained teacher, who had become interested in psychology during his two years in college, attempted an analysis of his own reactions. He said that, when in his school, he seldom thought of himself as a Madiga. There were high-caste Hindu students in the classes he taught and they honored him as their teacher. He taught a Bible class and eagerly sought to turn his students toward Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. But whenever he returned to his village where his parents, older brothers, uncles and cousins were living, his education, his position as a teacher and a respected man seemed unreal. He began to fear that he would wake up and find that he had been dreaming, that some illiterate high-caste neighbor would kick him, or, with words of abuse, order him to clean out his stables. At such times he reads the Bible or prays or goes to some higher-caste Hindu to talk to him of Jesus, and these acts restore his confidence and composure.

In the United Presbyterian Church, in the Pasrur area, lady members of the inquiry staff found that many humble village women knew as many as eight or ten of the Psalms. In talking of their religious experience these women frequently used the language of the Psalms. It was clear that their knowledge of this classic devotional literature was enriching their minds, helping to erase the conception of themselves as despised Chuhras and to substitute one of themselves as Christians.

The Lutherans in Guntur and Chota Nagpur and the Church of India in Vidyanagar make large use of liturgies, and many illiterate members have learned them so well that they are able to make the required responses without hesitation. In several other areas also we found a definite tendency toward a liturgical form of service. Pastors who have had years of experience of services consisting only of the

singing of hymns, extemporaneous prayer by the pastor or by members of the congregation, a sermon and the benediction are now including the repetition of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed by the congregation. Pastors who have previously included the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed are adding the Beatitudes, the twenty-third Psalm, or other selected Scripture passages, collects, or pastoral prayers with responses by the congregation.

We nowhere found an encouraging situation where the process of storing the minds of converts with distinctive Christian material had not gone at least as far as the teaching of the Lord's Prayer and a number of Christian hymns. And we nowhere found a very discouraging situation where congregations were accustomed to frequent worship. The best records of church attendance are in the areas where the congregations participate most actively in the services, and the poorest attendance records are in the areas where the congregations are given the least part in the services.

A great deal of energy has apparently been wasted in some areas by teaching the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed to candidates for baptism and church membership and then allowing them to forget both. During the filling of the household schedules a good many men and women told us that they had learned both, but did not remember them. In one village of thirty-six families the only men or women who knew the Lord's Prayer were the headman, two women, four recently baptized men, and three youths who had attended a Christian school. Every other adult in those families had learned both the Prayer and the Creed and had forgotten them because they were not used as instruments of worship.

Memoriter Instruction Insufficient

Much that needs to be taught to every group of professing Christians cannot be accomplished through memoriter work. The phraseology of the creeds is not always understood. In the examination of women in the Pasrur area it was discovered that a number who were able to recite the Apostles' Creed could not answer elementary questions about the birth, life, ministry, teaching, death, or resurrection of Jesus.

Two women who knew the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and several psalms answered "Yes" to a question as to whether a Christian man, already married, ought to contract a bigamous marriage with the widow of a deceased brother.

Where group decision brings a number of families to confess faith in Christ the obligation is heavy upon the administrators of the church to emphasize the personal as well as the group aspects of religion. Group action is not a substitute for personal acceptance of Jesus Christ, but may prepare the way for it and support it. Yet an administration, not alert to the danger of neglecting the essence of religion in its enthusiasm for its forms, may allow groups to enter the church without knowledge of the necessity for an individual appropriation of the benefits of Christ's suffering and death. On the whole, our study was reassuring about personal religion in the mass movement.

We were often reminded, however, of the need for the constant heralding of the call of Christ to the individual, especially for its clear presentation to men and women about to embrace Christianity after having lived under a regime of caste control. One of the most successful ministers in the Vidyanagar area said that in the mass movements caste solidarity brings many people to the church for instruction, but that if the preacher does his work faithfully, every man and woman will be led to such a personal experience of God in Jesus Christ that his caste associates cannot take him back to Hinduism or to animism. This is an overstatement of the preacher's powers, for no preacher, however faithful, can insulate a member of his church against temptation or insure that he will not yield to it; but it expresses a commendable aspiration, of which there is happily much evidence in the ministry in each of the selected areas.

Post-Baptism Responsibility Greater Than Pre-Baptism

The chief responsibility of an ecclesiastical administration for any group of converts is encountered not before their baptism but after. The pre-baptism responsibility lasts for a short time only: no church or mission, so far as we discovered, ordinarily withholds baptism from active candi-

dates longer than a year. In the Vidyanagar area we found that enrolled inquirers who do not show sufficient interest to learn, or who do not meet the requirements for attendance at public worship and for contributing according to their means, or whose conduct is considered objectionable, are formally dropped from the rolls. Something of the same sort happens in other areas, but we mention Vidyanagar because it is the best example of a unified and centrally controlled procedure. But the post-baptism responsibility ordinarily continues through the convert's life and passes on to the lives of his children and his children's children.

The mission or church that encourages a group of people to embrace Christianity accepts a definite and heavy responsibility. It is not in the position of the professional evangelist in Western countries who conducts a "revival" or "mission" and at its conclusion departs, feeling that his work is done. To some readers this fact may seem so obvious as to make its statement unnecessary, but examination of the record makes us feel that many ministers have very inadequately realized its truth. Not many have taken the attitude of an independent "Pentecostal" missionary who said his responsibility was to get people converted and baptized with the Holy Ghost and that he could then leave them without concern and give his time to others. But many have failed to comprehend that the amount and quality of care given to a group of converts after their baptism is a major element in determining not only what they are to become, but whether others are to be won to Christ by the demonstration of his power in them or are to be kept away from Christ by their failure.

Newly converted groups have been left without the close attention they have needed while their ministers were pushing into new territory and urging other groups to accept Christ. For example, we find a district superintendent, with a staff which he confesses to be inadequate to care for those already on the rolls, placing a third of that staff in new territory because of calls from new groups for instruction. And we learn of a pastor, with more than three hundred recent converts under his care in seventeen villages, doubling the area of his pastorate by baptizing six new groups in villages

from eight to twelve miles distant. During that year, in which he reported contributions for the church from his baptized community that averaged less than two annas per family, he received no one into full membership in the church, and all marriages of Christians within his pastorate were performed by non-Christian rites. Yet he and his missionary district superintendent wrote enthusiastic reports on the year's work, based on the number of converts baptized and the expectation of a further large increase in the near future.

When mass movements develop, baptizing new converts is easier and more attractive work than ministering to a group already baptized, helping them through their difficulties, administering discipline, and cultivating within them the characteristics of godly people. Unless the responsible administrators of the church persistently emphasize the more difficult and less spectacular work, it will be neglected. The most disturbing thought suggested by the data in several areas is that the present ministerial personnel have been so generally engaged in trying to win new converts, and has so long neglected the more exacting task of training and developing their baptized community, that they are poorly equipped for a work that is imperatively needed and has become extremely difficult.

The Immediate Task After Baptism

Probably the most critical month with most mass-movement groups is that immediately following baptism. Successful pastors and superintendents told us that they can do more to establish Christian worship and standards of conduct in that month than in any subsequent year, and that if the opportunity is not seized then, the task becomes increasingly difficult the longer it is neglected.

The immediate task after baptism includes the organization of the church, the inauguration of regular services of worship, the choice of leaders and the beginning of their training, and at least the first steps toward determining the relation of the converts to their caste associates, their other neighbors, and to many institutions and customs of the village. Critical situations develop frequently and rapidly

in the days immediately following the baptism of a new group, especially in a village where there have previously been no Christians. Some form of persecution is almost invariably experienced. The group need the help that comes from fellowship in worship and from the presence and ministry of a pastor. If, when persecution comes, they gather for worship, a good start is made toward the establishment of worship as a force in their lives. A pastor can do more to teach his people to meet persecution with courage and patience and abstain from the desire for vengeance if he is with them then, than by many efforts at other times. When the first marriage is to be celebrated in the group after their baptism the pastor, by helping them to resist the demand of unconverted relatives and caste-fellows that the old idolatrous rites and coarse revelries be used, can do more to insure the establishment of Christian marriage customs than he can later by much more effort. The first in all of these and many more cases is a very critical one.

Early in their new life as Christians most converts face demands that they participate in idolatrous rites of one kind or another. In the Telugu country the outcastes have had a distinctive part in idolatrous community rites employed in times of epidemic to appease evil spirits and keep disease away from the village. Serious disturbances have arisen when the outcastes, having been converted, have refused to perform their allotted functions in these rites. Prior to conversion these sacrificial functions carried the mark of privilege or distinction for outcastes in their village communities. Says Bishop Whitehead:

> It is something to be proud of that, when the terrible calamity of cholera or smallpox threatens the life of the village, the calamity cannot be averted without their help. If they cannot feel that they are respected, the next best thing is to feel that in times of trouble they are needed.[1]

Occasionally groups have decided that all except one family should become Christians, leaving that family to placate their Hindu neighbors when these issues shall arise. A Baptist

[1] Whitehead, Rt. Rev. Henry, Bishop of Madras. *The Village Gods of South India.* New York, London and Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1916.

pastor told us of one such family in a village he served. They attended church, sent their children to school, contributed to the pastor's support, and even wished to have their children married by Christian rites, but refused to be baptized because they had agreed to meet the demand of the Hindus that a Madiga play his traditional rôle in their occasional idolatrous community rites. The agreement of the group that this family should pursue that course compromised their position as Christians. To avert that situation, and yet prevent an outbreak of ill feeling against the converts, is a task requiring great resources of tact and firmness. Many pastors have dealt with it successfully.

The test comes to many groups or to separate families within groups in connection with sorcery. In case of illness in the convert's home it will be suggested that the sorcerer be called. Non-Christian neighbors often intervene at such times to urge compliance with this suggestion. The pressure becomes terrific. If the pastor is not present to strengthen resistance, the family, even the whole group, is likely to yield. If the group does not actually sanction the action, its members may at least be afraid to take the responsibility for advising noncompliance. The presence of a capable pastor or pastor's assistant is almost essential if sorcery is to be overcome in this situation.

Yet another kind of testing comes in the visit of the *bhagat,* the *pir,* the *sadhu,* or other non-Christian religious advisers of the group or of some one or more families in the group. One of the chief obstacles to the development of a distinctive Christian character in many of these mass-movement groups is the continued influence of these men. In one backward group of professing Christians in the Ghaziabad area we were given an estimate that these non-Christian religious professionals collect from the people in a year twice as much as is given for the support of the church. In another village in the same area one of these men came while we were conducting our survey, and succeeded in holding the heads of two families so that we could not get their attention long enough to fill out their schedules. The Christian *chowdhri* of that village told us that the pastor visits the village about once in three months, but that some one of

these non-Christian advisers comes every month. This results in a divided allegiance, a kind of dual religious life, which inhibits spiritual growth. Rarely was this situation discovered where pastors reside, and it was most common in villages distant from the pastor's residence.

Christian Marriage Rites and Problems

In another chapter we have dealt at length with the subject of marriage. It presents a complicated and challenging problem to church administration. While Christian marriage customs have been established in all areas studied, except Vikarabad and the three areas in the United Provinces, no church administration has reason to feel entirely satisfied with the existing situation. The marriage services in use do not appeal to rural Christians.

The Bishop of Dornakal tells of a group of Sudra inquirers who came to Dornakal to be baptized.[2] They were very eager to learn. They broke caste and ate food prepared by outcastes. They were prepared to abandon customs regarded as inimical to Christian life or character, but they were uneasy about the marriage service. The bishop explains their reason:

> It is so cold and much too short. Their own marriage ceremonies last about a week and are full of significant symbolism. A twenty-minute service with strange, meaningless ritual was a real stumbling-block. However, it was explained to them that this could easily be altered. A form of marriage service was hastily sketched out which would last at least two hours, and which fairly satisfied them.

Despite the law of the Government of India prohibiting child marriage this evil custom is still prevalent and many Christian children are being married by non-Christian rites. Pastors in the United Provinces and three missionaries in the Nizam's dominions assured us that this was the chief obstacle to establishing Christian marriage. They should be encouraged by the success achieved in other areas. They were afraid that marriages of children below the legal age were being performed by Christian rites in the areas report-

[2] Azariah, Rt. Rev. V. S., and Whitehead, Rt. Rev. H., *Christ in the Indian Villages.* London: Student Christian Movement. 1930.

ing general acceptance of Christian marriage. We have no reason to believe that their fears are well founded. The law fixes the minimum ages as fourteen for girls and sixteen for boys. Our household schedules, in the areas where Christian marriages are generally used, show many Christian boys and girls above those ages in village homes unmarried, and none below those ages married. On the other hand, in the United Provinces some girls as young as ten years, in homes that have been nominally Christian for a generation, are shown as married.

Where success has been achieved it has required the close and unremitting effort of administrative officers. The resident pastor and the central officers of the church and mission have united in giving attention to the problem. Loose administration of the sort prevailing in those areas where the Christian community has exceeded the strength of the ministerial staff has nowhere succeeded in solving this problem.

The Christian Rite of Burial

The disposal of the dead has always been recognized as a legitimate concern of religion. Hindus and animists have performed religious rites in connection with it. One of the continuing tasks of the pastorate is to provide a Christian service at the grave or the cremation ground and a comforting and instructional ministry to bereaved relatives and friends. Where the church has been well established a Christian service in connection with the disposal of the dead is almost invariably held. In the scattered Christian communities of the United Provinces the pastors often do not hear of deaths among their people until weeks have passed. Obviously, this service cannot be rendered, except in isolated cases, where one pastor is trying to care for groups of Christians in fifty-two villages, as in Etah, or in seventy or more villages, as in many Methodist Episcopal parishes in the United Provinces.

In the autonomous Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur (Govindpur area) a very popular memorial service is held in the cemeteries at sunrise on Easter morning. The mounds over the graves are repaired and whitewashed a few days before Easter. To see lights approaching the cemetery

in the darkness preceding daybreak, as groups come across the fields from surrounding villages, and to join in the richly symbolistic service of the Lutherans as they rejoice in the Christian hope of resurrection and immortality, is a memorable experience. The service means a great deal to the Lutherans who have come out of the great mass movement of aboriginal tribesmen in that area. The Anglicans in Ranchi have been so much impressed by the good influence of that service that they have adopted it. Pastors and laymen were unanimous in telling us that the service has helped both in fixing the custom of holding a Christian burial service and in strengthening the will to live worthily as Christians.

The Pastor's Relation to Children of Christian Families

The pastor's relation to the children of Christians presents one of his greatest privileges and a major responsibility. An analysis of Christian attainments in Chapter VIII shows that those heads of families who were born in Christian homes have, on the whole, reached higher levels than those who have been converted from Hinduism or animism. But in most areas the superiority is not so marked as one might reasonably expect. In the discharge of this responsibility also pastors in the United Provinces are severely handicapped by the wide territorial distribution of Christian families. A large majority of the children are deprived of all school privileges, including the Sunday school, and receive no definite religious instruction except as they share with the adults or some other Christian worker in the service of the pastor on his infrequent visits to their village.

Where Christian schools are maintained the situation is radically different, as the teacher gives much of his time to the children.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper

We were much impressed by the testimony of pastors and superintendents in the Vidyanagar and Govindpur areas as to the helpfulness of the frequent celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and also by the appreciation of

that sacrament shown by many humble village men and women. The apparent dearth of spiritual life in areas where Christians have never participated in the Holy Communion, and the richness of that life in areas where the Communion service is a prominent part of the church program, present a contrast which compels recognition. In the Vidyanagar Deanery the pastor celebrates the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in every village at least once a month, and we were told both by him and by simple village laymen that it often leads to penitence, confession, reconciliation, and other good results.

The Administration of Discipline

The several areas provide weighty evidence of the value of church discipline firmly and sympathetically administered. This value is proved positively by the good results that have followed the administration of discipline, and negatively by the bad results from its neglect. We found that the pastor's influence is strong only where he has regularly admonished casual offenders against the law of the church and has brought persistent offenders before church courts, that it is weak where he has condoned defiance of church laws by ignoring it. Church membership is little esteemed where it is conferred easily, is not withdrawn from evildoers, and signifies nothing as to either character or reputation; but it is highly prized where conditions of admission are enforced, where it is withdrawn from violators of church law and signifies good standing as a Christian.

Under a regime that enforces discipline we find all Christian marriages solemnized by Christian rites. Under a regime in which discipline has been allowed to decay we find an elder of the church inviting pastors and even missionaries to a double wedding in which one of his children is married by Christian rites in the church and another is married by Hindu rites at the home. The pastor and the missionaries are hurt and humiliated, but the elder is not excommunicated, nor expelled, nor even removed from his office in the church. Where discipline is enforced we find men who have been excommunicated coming in penitence to ask forgiveness and readmission to fellowship; but where it is

ignored we find pastors convinced that they are powerless to act effectively against even such offenses as a polygamous marriage by a full member of the church. In the Dornakal Diocese, in a Christian community of approximately 175,000 people, about 500 offenders are annually brought under discipline.

The importance of the first test requires emphasis. Rural India pays generous tribute to precedent. A first offense unchallenged sets a standard; a second unpunished establishes a custom. A Lutheran pastor told us that he prepared a group for baptism and impressed upon them the wrong of drunkenness. Unknown to him the professing Christian brother of one of his teachers twice got drunk in the village during the period when he was training the new converts. A few days after the baptismal service the entire group got drunk. He lectured them and urged them not to repeat the offense. Hardly a week passed before many of them got drunk again. When he threatened disciplinary action, they appeared to be surprised, and said frankly they understood that the rule would not be enforced, and that the wrong of drunkenness was not serious since he had taken no action against the brother of the teacher.

But we are told that discipline cannot be effectively enforced within a group unless it is made to appear reasonable to the group. They must not regard it as unfair. Though the pastor may initiate it the support of the group must be won or it will have little value. For this reason it has been found advisable to establish courts of discipline on the model of the *Panchayat,* an historic Indian institution composed of the recognized leaders of the group, which from ancient times has unofficially governed each village.[3] In Hinduism there are caste and village panchayats. It is thus in the Indian tradition to have a Christian panchayat whose members will generally respond to the advice of a pastor or a superintending minister if it regards him as their leader. Some of the most experienced pastors, district superintendents, supervising missionaries, etc., told us that they had never known a panchayat to make a perverse decision.

[3] Matthai, John, *Village Government in British India.* London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1915.

The panchayats do not always correspond to the officiary of the church. It has been found advisable sometimes to elect young men as church officials, because they are better qualified to discharge such duties as keeping records, collecting money and attending conferences.

The young missionary suffers peculiar disadvantages when he undertakes to administer discipline. So does the young Indian minister, especially when recruited from another area and not established in the confidence of the people he serves. Frequent changes in pastors, district superintendents, or other supervising ministers interfere with the administration of discipline.

The community sometimes desires to enforce rules which cannot be incorporated in the laws of the church. Experience shows that interference with such desires should be reduced to the minimum consistent with the well-being of the church.

Discipline is seriously complicated by interchurch competition. A Roman Catholic priest told the writer that discipline is made virtually impossible in his church by the readiness of Protestant clergymen to receive any of his people who are placed under discipline. The same charge was made against the Roman Church by Protestant ministers in five of the ten sample areas.

Supervision

Mass movements present a crystal-clear case for a strong supervising ministerial staff and a unified program. Pastors working under the conditions prevailing in the villages where their people live suffer serious loss of morale and disintegration of purpose if left to their own resources for planning their program and managing their work. Except in rare cases, the clergy recruited from the people and closely associated with them are not sufficiently educated or gifted to devise adequate programs and carry them through effectively. The Dornakal Diocese and the British Methodist Mission in the Nizam's dominions present imposing illustrations of the value of centrally planned and controlled programs in which the entire rural ministerial and teaching staffs are enlisted and ably led. While rugged individual-

ism is not encouraged by this system of regimentation, scope is provided for initiative, and personality is not impaired. These church units have been fortunate in their leadership. Perhaps under other leaders these systems might not have worked so well.

The Autonomous Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur presents another illustration of a unified program operated by a ministerial and teaching staff integrated in a common purpose, though there are indications that this unity of purpose and program, built up by the German missionaries in pre-war days, may be threatened by divisive forces now operating. Competition with the Church of India (Anglican), and a struggle over the position of the missionaries who have returned after an interval of a number of years, have weakened the integration of the staff.

In striking contrast to the effective ministry of pastors who are co-operating happily in a centrally planned, well-coordinated and supervised program are the many discouraged and inefficient pastors who have been left to develop their own programs locally, and have been unable to do so successfully.

Every church with which we came into touch in our ten areas has evolved some type of centralized administration with a supervising and directing ministry. In all nonepiscopal churches there is a strong trend toward episcopacy. While objection is made in some quarters to the use of the term, it is clear that an episcopacy, admitted or disguised, has been established in every church that came under investigation in this study. The British Methodist and London Mission groups, both nominally nonepiscopal, are represented in the well-advanced negotiations for a United Church in South India, that will be frankly episcopal, while seeking to incorporate elements of the congregational and presbyterian polities. The London Mission, while interdenominational, has, in the main, represented the Congregational Churches of Great Britain. Presbyterian bodies, already joined with other bodies in the South India United Church, are sharing in the proposed larger union that will openly accept the episcopacy. The Baptists, studied in the Cumbum area, have divided episcopal powers between the mis-

sion superintendent of the district and the pastor of a central church. Reporting to the Andhra Christian Council on the Cumbum area study, the Rev. A. R. Fishman, mission superintendent for the district, says:

> The organized church in the station (Cumbum town) supports a pastor who comes about as near to being a superintendent of district work as Baptist traditions and personal jealousies of the community will permit. The whole area is administered as one church, the churches listed as organized not having functioned as such for some time. . . . For any of the virtues of the situation (throughout the district) credit is due to the late Dr. Newcomb and Mrs. Newcomb. During their forty years of service they developed the fine spirit of personal loyalty and family-like solidarity which is one of the best fruits of the paternalistic system.

Under the paternalistic system, thus acknowledged, it is observed that very large episcopal powers have accrued to the missionary superintendent.

The types of superintendency evolved in the several areas are endowed with different powers and are operating under different restrictions, arising from regulations, traditions, and personal characteristics.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church the episcopal areas are so large and include such a variety of situations that unified programs have not been found practicable, and the bishops are unable to give close personal supervision in local situations. Episcopal powers are deputed to district superintendents, not all of whom possess the qualities of training, personality, and experience necessary to unify their associates in the construction and successful operation of an adequate ministerial and ecclesiastical program.

One of the great advantages enjoyed by the churches of the Dornakal Diocese has been that the compactness of the diocese, the similarity of the fundamental issues dealt with in all its component parts, the employment of a single vernacular, and the location of the bishop's residence have enabled him to keep in close touch with the situation at all times. So well are these advantages recognized that the Church of India has recently established a new diocese centering in Amritsar to render a comparable service to its

Punjab mass-movement areas, and efforts are being made to establish a diocese in the western districts of the United Provinces. It has been found that bishops residing in Lahore and Allahabad, burdened with a vast variety of interests, could not provide the close supervision necessary for effective administration in the complicated conditions that prevail in mass-movement churches emerging in distant parts of their dioceses.

Not least among the needs of the pastors and their assistants for supervision is attention to their own spiritual needs. The bishop or the superintending minister, by whatever title he is known, has no more necessary function than to be the preacher's pastor. A number of pastors spoke to us in very appreciative terms of the spiritual help they have received from association with their superintendents; and two pastors, while declaring their loyalty to their superintendents, did not disguise their disappointment that on tours, and in conferences with the clergy, those leaders did not devote more time to the ministry of the Word and the sacraments and less time to methods and reports. One of the pastors said: "I wish my superintendent would be less my officer and more my priest. I need a *guru* and a confessor even more than I need a superintendent and a paymaster." Thus expressed, the sentiment is at least in the Hindu tradition.

A notable development of the ministry to the clergy in several areas in recent years has been the holding of Retreats, devoted entirely to the deepening of the spiritual life through study and worship. Another development has been Refresher Courses, combining the purpose of the Retreat with that of the training school.

Several experienced superintendents have spoken of the difficulties occasioned by the practice of combining in one office the supervision of the churches and of the clergy, the ministry to the clergy and the management of finance. The ministry of the bishops has been relieved of the handling of funds, but many superintendents who discharge certain functions of the episcopacy are laboring under the handicap of personally administering financial affairs. The Kistna Church Council, of the Church Missionary Society field in the Dornakal Diocese, administers finances through a treas-

urer, who receives and disburses funds under orders from the Council and its committees.

The Religious Education of the Church

Under this head we shall mention some of the methods found in use in the selected areas, or reported in other areas, some of which were visited but less thoroughly studied. It should not be supposed that only these methods are being used, or that any of them are in use only in the areas mentioned.

In the Dornakal Diocese lessons are prescribed for each Sunday and week-day service. Suggestions for sermons are made. Pastors and teachers, who, as previously mentioned, are doing much pastoral work, read the prescribed lessons and base their sermons upon them. All adults and children above eight or ten years of age are expected to attend these services and from eighty to eighty-five per cent of them do so every evening. This results in one of the most effective programs of religious education for an entire area that we have found during the study.

The church calendar is used in the Lutheran and Church of India areas to insure the annual presentation to all congregations of such great themes as the birth of Christ, the crucifixion, the resurrection, the ascension and pentecost.

A syllabus of lessons to be taught during the year, one for each week, has been used with good results in the British Methodist Mission in the Nizam's Dominions and in the Ceylon and India General Mission in the Telugu field. The syllabus of the latter mission has included a Scripture verse each week and a new lyric each month.

Singing bands have proved valuable in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Gujerat. Young men have been organized and trained to sing many Christian lyrics and to accompany them on indigenous musical instruments. They have traveled to other villages and given programs attended by Christians and non-Christians. In the American Baptist and American Lutheran areas in the Telugu country short-term schools of Indian music have been conducted in which preachers and teachers have been trained for leadership of similar singing bands. *Kalakshepams,* in which the gospel

has been presented in song and story, have been extensively used in South India. The effect of these singing bands upon those who participate is described as even more valuable than their excellent influence upon Christian and non-Christian audiences.

In view of what has been said about the lack of traditional color and drama in the life of Indian converts from a religion which is rich in such things, it is encouraging to know that efforts are being made to invest the lives of these converts with their indigenous folk atmosphere. A happy example is found in the songs for special occasions, as for use by women in transplanting rice, by men and women in the harvest, by households at sunrise and at sunset, reported from several areas. They are prepared for use with tunes used by Hindus at these times and are said to be popular.

Action songs on parables and miracles of Jesus are extensively used in the British Methodist Church in the Nizam's Dominions. Many have been composed by Bible women and taught to the Christian women of their villages, who sing and act them at gatherings of Christians and non-Christians, especially at weekly gatherings of women. Some of these action songs have been expanded into dramas in which a dozen or more women participate.

In the Dornakal Diocese a number of dramas prepared by order of the Diocesan Council have been extensively used. Christian congregations have taken great interest in preparing them for presentation in their villages. Non-Christians have attended and been deeply moved. One of these dramas deals with the prophet Amos. The bishop found that many simple villagers in his congregations, after participating in this drama, could pass an examination on the book of Amos more creditably than most students in the ministerial training school. Another drama, *The Queen of Sheba,* has a powerful evangelistic influence, and is so popular that non-Christian landowners have paid to have it performed for their friends. One of them is quoted as saying that it made every Hindu in his village want to be a Christian. Dr. Mott Kieslar, Methodist Episcopal district superintendent at Lahore, has used a drama on the life of Christ with impressive results. Thousands have attended its

presentation. Thorough preparation, attitudes of reverence in all participants, and avoidance of the direct representation of the Christ, are mentioned by Doctor Kieslar as essential to success, and he warns us that hasty preparation, or the participation of men and women who have not entered into the enterprise in a reverent spirit, may turn the sacred venture into a burlesque.

The Sunday school is used in every area. The pastor in a well-organized and graded United Presbyterian Sunday school in the small town of Pasrur has taught a Bible class for *mohalla* men for more than ten years. Thirty-one men were in attendance when we visited the class. Most Sunday schools in the areas studied are attended by children only, and despite the availability of a number of books of lessons and the publication of notes on the British and American International Lessons, many follow no regular course and can be called schools only by courtesy. A Telugu Lutheran pastor assigns the school-teachers and their wives to teach classes of children, while he teaches a class for confirmation.

Women's societies are used effectively in a number of areas. Village women are organized into missionary societies in the United Presbyterian Mission in the Punjab. They raise thousands of rupees annually for supporting a home mission district. Activity in the society has developed the religious experience and character of many members and has led to increased interest in the local church. Through Mothers' Unions, in the Telugu Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, it is said women have been taught to pray and to teach their children to pray, and to appreciate the sanctity of Christian marriage, and the necessity of purity in life, thought, and speech. The responsibility of Christian women for presenting the call of Christ to their unconverted neighbors has been effectively combined with instruction in the care of children, sanitation, home economics, and kindred issues. Promotion of these Mothers' Unions is the chief occupation of several lady missionaries.

Boy Scouts in the British Methodist boarding school at Medak have been led into the cleaning up of villages. With the slogan: "A clean heart, a clean home, and a clean vil-

lage," these scouts have gone to villages to co-operate with pastors, evangelists, and teachers in community service. The Rev. F. Whittaker describes a visit to a village where an influential landowner had organized and long maintained a severe persecution of Christians:

> The Tiger (the landowner) gave out that we were scavengers in the pay of Government. . . . The outstanding features of the main street of the village were a series of great yawning pits between the houses and the side of the road. Into these pits was thrown all the farm-yard manure, refuse and general rubbish of the neighboring houses. At the center of each was usually a pool of stagnant slime covered with thick, green scum—the breeding place of millions of mosquitoes, not to mention other more deadly carriers of infection. The village had suffered badly in a recent epidemic of cholera.
>
> We saw one standing cesspool, banked up on one side by the kitchen wall and on the other by the masonry of the well which supplied the drinking water for a whole row of houses. There was the noisome stuff oozing its way into the well.
>
> We set to work on the main street. Every morning we dug channels on the side of the road, filled in quagmires of mud and filth, leveled up the ruts and cleaned up the village square. Then we hammered at the idea that there is a proper place for everything, even for the most offensive refuse. We pointed out that the right place for manure was not at their front doors but outside the village, beside their cattle sheds. Imagine our sense of triumph when three farmers volunteered with our help to fill in one of the most objectionable pits and move their manure.
>
> This spirit of service is like a breath of new life which blesses him that gives far more than him that takes. . . . Despite all obstruction the leading villagers backed us spendidly in all that we did. Night after night some three hundred or more gathered to witness our entertainments.

On the same tour this group participated in evangelistic and Christian worship services in various villages and helped to welcome into the church several groups of new converts. They visited one village of less than five hundred inhabitants where the entire population, high caste and low, declared their faith in Jesus Christ.

Church building has been found a most serviceable project in religious education in a number of areas. The Dornakal Diocese requires of new groups asking to be baptized and received into the Church that they provide a building to be

used as a church and a school, with either an adjoining room or a separate house for a school-teacher. This starts the group in their Christian life with a decided advantage over groups that have no fixed place for worship, and also over groups for whom a church is provided from funds contributed by others. It is sometimes found necessary to contribute from Diocesan or Church Council funds an amount sufficient to buy beams for the roof or wood for the windows and doors, while the people erect the building and meet the remaining expenses. Co-operation in the work and in contributing the whole or a share of the financial expenditures proves an excellent preparation for their new life as Christians.

The Christian Endeavor Society, the Epworth League, the Baptist Young People's Union, the Wesley Guild, and kindred societies of young people have proved helpful in some places; but, according to testimony received, have failed in others. A pastor in Travancore said that all of his best official members had been trained in the Christian Endeavor Society, and that members of that society were doing the best evangelistic work in his pastorate.

In the Bidar District of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Nizam's Dominions *jatros* have been held annually for a number of years with results that are highly appraised. These jatros are a kind of adaptation of the Hindu *mela,* or fair, and the combination therewith of features of the camp meeting prominent in America a generation ago. They are held in out-of-the-way places which provide freedom from the distractions of cities, towns, and villages. Private prayer and meditation, preaching and Bible study are emphasized.

Summer schools for seekers and for the inspiration of recent converts are prominent in the Sudra movements in the British Methodist Church around Medak in the Nizam's Dominions.

Christian pictures to replace those of Hindu gods and goddesses represent a need more than an achievement. Roman Catholics have made pictures available, and they are found on the walls of the poorest Roman Catholic homes. Although objectionable from the standpoint of all churches represented in this study, we found these pictures in some of

the homes in every one of the selected areas. They cost from two annas to eight annas each, whereas the Hindu pictures can be bought in the bazaars of almost every town for two pice each or less.

Ten or twelve years ago a series of tracts was issued by the Christian Literature Societies containing Bible stories illustrated with a picture in colors. We found these tracts on the walls of Christian homes in four areas.

CHAPTER XII

SCHOOLS

IN the original mass movements in each of our ten selected areas the missions were brought into contact with groups that were almost entirely illiterate, were excluded from any schools that existed in their villages, were socially depressed, and in dire economic distress. It is not surprising that in every area the missionaries felt that they must open schools. The correspondence and reports of early missionaries emphasize three results that they hoped to achieve from these schools. In the order of frequency of reference in the letters and reports we have examined they are:

(1) That many Christians might learn to read the Bible, and that through them their families and neighbors might become familiar with the Scriptures.

(2) That leaders might be developed from among the new converts who would help to establish them as Christians and to win others to Christian faith and life.

(3) That some abatement of social oppression and of poverty might be effected.

In each area schools have figured prominently in mission work since the beginning of the mass movements, and in several of them since before those movements began. Where mission work was started prior to the mass movements, the effect of those movements upon the schools was to change the primary emphasis from direct evangelism to the development of the Christian community.

Contrasting Courses of Their Development

Hacker, the historian of the London Mission in South Travancore, where developed the first of the mass movements, intensively studied, writes of its founder: "From the first Ringeltaube set himself to dispel the darkness of igno-

rance and his early catechists were all school-masters."[1] Ringeltaube organized seven congregations and for each built a church and opened a school. When he left his work in the hands of the first convert and catechist, Vedamanickam, whom he ordained before leaving, this erstwhile outcaste maintained the schools. After the baptism of three thousand Shanars (Nadars) in 1818-19, the new superintendent of the mission, the Rev. Charles Mead, reported thirteen congregations each with its church and school.

In certain other areas, however, the school program developed quite differently. Ringeltaube lived in the very center of the early movement in South Travancore. But in the American Baptist Telugu Mission the missionary in charge of the area where the Madiga movement began, established his residence forty miles from the center of the movement. Instead of starting a day school at the village where the first converts were baptized, this missionary began his educational program with a boarding school adjoining his residence. To this school selected village boys were brought for instruction.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United Provinces where the caste in which the first mass movement occurred was distributed widely, with only one, two, or three families in most villages, the early school program developed along three lines: (1) Central boarding schools. (2) Several part-time day schools under one teacher. (These early teachers sometimes reported as many as eight schools where they taught two or three sessions weekly.) (3) Selected boys and young men lived with the preacher-teacher, accompanying him on his tours, being taught to read and write and, as soon as possible, to assist him in teaching others and in his evangelistic work.

The Present Need for Christian Schools

In several areas the conditions prevailing to-day are not essentially different from those which confronted the missionaries at the beginning of the mass movements. The Christians are still overwhelmingly illiterate and there are

[1] Hacker, Rev. I. H., *A Hundred Years in Travancore.* London: H. R. Allenson, *1908.*

no school facilities available for them. Social oppression and poverty still afflict almost the entire body of believers. The call to the missions to found and maintain schools to fight illiteracy, oppression, and poverty has lost none of its urgency.

In other areas the situation has changed. In Travancore, after one hundred and twenty-five years of successful school work, the descendants of the early Christian converts and of converts in two or three subsequent generations have become largely literate and have acquired a position of respect and comparative comfort. The schools are on a firm foundation, and many are maintained by the churches without mission assistance but with the help of grants from the government of his Highness the Maharajah. Mission aid, especially for the newer groups of converts, is needed; but not on the scale that is necessary in areas where the work of missions was begun later and the level of achievement is lower.

In the Punjab the attitude of the public has been so far changed that many Government schools are eager to enroll pupils from the depressed classes whether or not they have become Christians.

In the Telugu country there is a marked difference between the conditions prevailing in British India and those in the Nizam's Dominions. In the former there are Government schools in many villages and Christian children of the depressed classes are at least tolerated in many of them, while a generous grant-in-aid system makes Government support available for schools conducted by Christian agencies. A certain number of one-teacher schools, not usually very efficient, have been established and are maintained by Christian teachers, with the help of Government grants-in-aid and local support, independently of missions or central church organizations. But in the Nizam's Dominions there are, except in a few places, no state schools and no official grants-in-aid for mission or privately managed schools.

In the United Provinces the situation is quite complex. Primary education has been transferred from the Provincial Governments to district boards, local boards and municipalities. Mission boarding schools with middle-school departments generally get some financial assistance from the Gov-

ernment. In a few areas grants-in-aid are secured from local governmental agencies for primary schools under mission management.

Special schools for the depressed classes have been developed by governmental agencies in some places. Other Government schools are theoretically open for children of the depressed classes, and in the cities and in a few towns and villages both Christian and non-Christian children from those classes are enrolled under varying conditions as to treatment accorded them, but numerous efforts to make use of these schools for the education of Christian children have ended unhappily. In one case, for instance, a missionary induced several Christian families to send their children to a Government school. Pressure was put by Hindu leaders upon the parents to withdraw them. When this failed the Hindu caste children were withdrawn by their parents, in a body, and the enrollment thus falling below the required minimum, the Government funds for the school were no longer available. The inspector of schools took the attitude that the Christian children had a right to attend the school, but he could neither compel the Hindus to send their children nor maintain a school, at Government expense, for the few Christian children in the village.

Mission primary village schools in these areas seldom receive Government assistance, even where the number of Christian families in the village is sufficient to produce the necessary enrollment, and the teachers' qualifications meet the requirements of the law. An overwhelming proportion of the Christian children in the rural mass-movement groups are in villages where it is not possible to collect a sufficient number to conduct a school with the required minimum enrollment.

In Chota Nagpur the missionaries of Gossner's Evangelical Lutheran Mission developed and maintained an extensive system of primary day schools attended by thousands of Christian and non-Christian children. Government grants-in-aid were on a generous scale. At the outbreak of the Great War the Mission resources were so depleted that the schools were threatened, but the Government through the

district boards came to the rescue and provided the entire cost of maintaining the schools. Since then, the Mission being unable to resume its former contribution, the district boards have taken over the schools but have maintained the Lutheran staff, and many of the teachers have continued to work in conjunction with the Church authorities.

Educational Attainments of Heads of Christian Families

Our household schedules for all areas have given us records of the educational attainments of members of more than 3,700 families. An analysis of 1,880 families shows that 24.3 per cent of the heads of these families are literate. The figures vary from 7.5 per cent in the Pasrur area to 78 per cent in the Nagercoil area.

In order to appraise the influence of Christianity upon these figures we have divided these 1,880 families into three classes. Class A is composed of those heads of families who were born in Christian homes; that is, their parents were professing the Christian religion at the time of their birth. Class B is made up of those heads of families who were converted to Christianity before they were fifteen years of age. Class C comprises those heads of families who were converted after reaching the age of fifteen years. Class A were presumably under Christian influence during the entire school age, Class B during the whole or a part of their school age, Class C during little or none of their school age. A few in each group have attended school as adults or have learned to read without attending school at all.

Of the members of Class A, 41.4 per cent are literate; of Class B, 27.4 per cent; and of Class C, 11 per cent. The figures for Class A range from 84.7 per cent in Nagercoil to 12.6 per cent in Cumbum. (Vikarabad is not counted, as only one head of a family in that area belongs in Class A.) For Class B the figures range from 88 per cent in Nagercoil to 5.7 per cent in Pasrur. For Class C they range from 52.3 per cent in Nagercoil to none in Pasrur and to 4.5 per cent in Govindpur. Table XVI gives the figures in detail for every area studied.

TABLE NO. XVI. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HEADS OF FAMILIES

Classification	No. of Cases	Literate		Literate: Schooling Including Class II	Literate: Schooling Classes III & IV	Literate: Schooling Classes V & VI	Literate: Schooling Classes VII & VIII	Literate: Schooling Beyond Class VIII
1	2	3 No.	3 %	4	5	6	7	8
				Barhan				
A	19	5	26.3	0	1	0	0	0
B	49	13	26.5	0	0	0	0	0
C	57	4	7.0	0	0	1	1	0
				Cumbum				
A	103	13	12.6	1	4	2	3	0
B	21	5	23.8	3	0	1	0	0
C	76	10	13.2	3	5	0	2	0
				Etah				
A	10	2	20.0	No Report				
B	80	23	28.0	No Report				
C	84	8	9.5	No Report				
				Ghaziabad				
A	26	13	50.0	2	4	0	0	0
B	65	17	26.2	6	3	0	0	0
C	109	20	18.3	4	4	1	0	0
				Govindpur				
A	153	56	36.6	29	13	0	4	1
B	25	5	20.0	4	1	0	0	1
C	22	1	4.5	1	0	0	0	0
				Guntur				
A	47	20	42.5	1	14	3	1	0
B	37	14	37.8	1	10	3	0	0
C	116	12	10.3	2	9	1	0	0
				Nagercoil				
A	131	111	84.7	11	52	22	15	5
B	25	22	88.0	5	8	7	1	1
C	44	23	52.3	5	15	3	0	0
				Pasrur				
A	76	12	15.8	0	4	0	2	1
B	53	3	5.7	0	0	0	0	0
C	71	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0
				Vidyanagar				
A	21	11	52.4	0	5	0	3	0
B	35	4	11.4	2	2	0	0	0
C	144	9	6.3	1	7	1	0	0
				Vikarabad				
A	1	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0
B	41	12	29.3	9	2	0	0	0
C	139	10	7.2	6	2	0	0	0
				All Areas				
A	587	243	41.4	44	97	27	28	7
B	431	118	27.4	30	26	11	1	2
C	862	95	11.	22	42	7	3	0
				Total A, B and C All Areas				
	1,880	456	24.3	96	165	45	32	9

Of 456 literate heads of families 348 reported the maximum grade or class they reached in school. Ninety-six of these, or 27 per cent, had gone to school but not beyond the second class; 165, or 47 per cent, had gone beyond the second class but not beyond the fourth; 45, or 12.9 per cent, beyond the fourth class but not beyond the sixth; 32, or 9.1 per cent, beyond the sixth but not beyond the eighth; while 9, or 2.5 per cent, had gone beyond the eighth class but not beyond high school; and only one had entered college.

Of 252 heads of families who had studied in school beyond the second class, 160, or 63.5 per cent, came from the 587 who were born in Christian homes, while only 92, or 36.5 per cent, came from the 1,293 who were born in non-Christian homes. Of 42 who had attended a high school, 36, or 86 per cent, were born in Christian homes. In other words, among the 587 heads of families born in Christian homes, who form 31.2 per cent of the 1,880 heads of families considered, we find 63.5 per cent of those who have studied in school beyond the second class and 86 per cent of those who have attended a high school.

It should be borne in mind that a very high proportion of those village Christians who have gone to high school have not returned to the villages but have settled in towns and cities and were not reached in this survey of village groups. If they were also included in these figures, the evidence would be even clearer that conversion to Christianity has started a progressive improvement in educational status and that the educational efforts of the missions and churches have been more successful than the figures of literacy for the present Christian community in the villages as a whole indicate. Where the main body of Christians has been under Christian influence from childhood the level of Christian attainment is high as compared with areas where the community is in the main composed of families converted from Hinduism or animism in this generation. That fact is most clearly demonstrated when we contrast Govindpur and Nagercoil with Vikarabad and Barhan.

Govindpur, with 76.5 per cent of its heads of families born in Christian homes, reports a literacy rate among heads of families of 31 per cent; and Nagercoil, with 65.5 per cent

born in Christian homes, has a corresponding rate of 78 per cent. But Vikarabad, with only .55 per cent of its heads of families born in Christian homes, shows a literacy rate among heads of families of only 12.2; and Barhan, with 4 per cent born in Christian homes, has a corresponding rate of 17.6 per cent. That much of the existing literacy in both Vikarabad and Barhan is undoubtedly due to Christian effort is shown by the fact that the literacy rates are much higher in groups A and B than in Group C.

Another feature of the contrasts between Govindpur and Nagercoil on the one hand and Vikarabad and Barhan on the other, is in the classes reached in school. Govindpur and Nagercoil for 400 families show 89 heads of families who studied beyond the second class but not beyond the fourth, while Vikarabad and Barhan for 299 families show only six heads of families in that category; likewise Govindpur and Nagercoil show 59 heads of families who studied beyond the fourth class, while Vikarabad and Barhan show only two heads of families who so studied.

Educational Attainment of Children of Christian Families

When we turn from the heads of Christian families to their children, we find a no less illuminating set of facts. For the 1,880 families from all areas the literacy rate for children over eight years of age is 31.4 per cent. The area range is from 82.8 per cent in Nagercoil to 4.2 per cent in Barhan. The age of eight was selected arbitrarily as the minimum age at which literacy would likely be achieved by a normal child that had been given school privileges. Some children of less than eight years of age were reported as literate, and many who are illiterate at that age will in the natural course become literate in a year or so.

These children we have divided for analysis into four classes. Class A consists of those whose parents were born in Christian homes. Of them 48.7 per cent are literate, the area range being from 90.3 per cent in Nagercoil to 5.6 per cent in Barhan. Class B includes only those whose parents were converted before reaching the age of fifteen years. Of this class 32.2 per cent are literate, the range extending from

87.5 per cent in Nagercoil to 1.7 per cent in Barhan. In Class C are those whose parents were converted between their own fifteenth year and the beginning of the school age; that is, the sixth year, of their eldest children. Of this class 23 per cent are literate. Class D is composed of those children whose parents were converted after their eldest children had reached the age of six, and its percentage is 21.3. The area ranges are from 62.3 per cent in Nagercoil to 1.3 per cent in Barhan for Class C, and from 72.2 per cent in Nagercoil to 6.7 per cent in Pasrur for Class D.

A correlation is clearly established between the length of time that the parents have been professing Christians and the achievement of literacy by their children. Generally speaking, it may be said that as the conception of themselves as Christians becomes established, the parents show an increased desire for their children to be educated.

The area figures present a number of situations that require elucidation, to which reference will be made in subsequent paragraphs. Table XVII presents the figures in detail for every sample area.

Deterrents to the Desire for School Privileges

Conversion to Christianity has been accompanied in all areas by a manifestation of interest in schools. In some areas, as, for example, Vidyanagar and Guntur, the opening of a school has become virtually a part of the ritual by which groups in new villages indicate their acceptance of Christianity. But the new-born interest in education is often weak and, unless carefully nursed, fails to survive the perils by which it is soon beset.

No understanding of the position of schools in the mass movement is possible without an awareness of the dangers that threaten the interest of new groups of converts in schools. It is necessary, for instance, to know that the employers of the depressed classes and many or all of their higher-caste neighbors not infrequently take offense at the mere suggestion that the depressed classes aspire to any kind of schooling. The opening of a school which children of converts from these classes are encouraged to attend is often the signal for an outbreak of persecution and is rarely

TABLE NO. XVII. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF CHILDREN OF CHRISTIAN PARENTS

Classification	No. of Families	Children Over 8 Years	No. in 3 Literate	Per Cent in 3 Literate	No. Children Over 20 Years	No. in 6 Reaching High School, Not College		No. in 6 Reaching College, Not Graduated		No. in 6 Graduated From College
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		8		9
				Barhan						
A	19	18	1	5.6	4	0		0		0
B	49	59	1	1.7	4	0		0		0
C	42	79	1	1.3	27	0		0		0
D	15	35	5	14.3	22	0		0		0
				Etah						
A	10	8	0	0.0	1	0		0		0
B	80	62	20	32.3	16	1		0		0
C	59	89	16	18.0	29	0		0		0
D	25	64	10	15.6	37	0		0		0
				Cumbum						
A	103	115	32	27.8	21	0		0		0
B	21	31	10	32.3	0	0		0		0
C	59	103	26	25.2	33	0		0		0
D	17	34	3	8.8	12	0		0		0
				Ghaziabad						
A	26	14	6	42.8	1	0		0		0
B	65	36	12	33.3	6	1		0		0
C	53	98	27	27.6	22	0		0		0
D	56	117	24	20.5	61	0		0		0
				Govindpur						
A	153	360	147	40.8	138	12		2		0
B	25	61	19	31.1	33	3		1		0
C	9	26	5	19.2	12	0		0		0
D	13	40	8	20.0	28	0		0		0
				Guntur						
A	47	64	47	73.4	22	7		5		0
B	37	48	24	50.0	9	2		0		0
C	77	168	60	35.7	72	4		0		0
D	39	104	37	35.6	58	4		0		0
				Nagercoil						
A	131	216	195	90.3	96	32		7		1
B	26	56	49	87.5	29	4		1		0
C	30	83	52	62.3	37	9		2		1
D	13	18	13	72.2	8	0		0		0
				Pasrur						
A	76	95	16	16.8	19	0		0		0
B	53	106	17	16.0	31	0		0		0
C	57	163	19	11.7	78	1		0		0
D	14	30	2	6.7	22	1		0		0
				Vidyanagar						
A	21	14	8	57.2	2	0		1		0
B	35	29	15	51.7	3	0		0		0
C	86	119	32	26.9	33	3		0		0
D	58	142	18	12.7	73	1		2		0
				Vikarabad						
A	1	0	0	0.0	0	0		0		0
B	41	18	5	27.8	0	0		0		0
C	98	149	30	20.1	14	0		0		0
D	41	93	25	26.9	51	1		0		0
				All Areas			%		%	
A	587	904	440	48.7	304	51	16.8	15	4.9	1
B	431	506	163	32.2	131	11	8.4	2	1.5	0
C	571	1,077	248	23.0	357	17	4.8	2	0.6	1
D	291	677	144	21.3	372	10	2.7	2	0.6	0
				Total A, B, C and D All Areas						
	1,880	3,164	995	31.4	1,164	89	7.6	21	1.8	2

allowed to pass without sarcastic references to their ambitions. Our village schedules contain notes of fourteen discussions with non-Christian fellow villagers of recently converted groups about the attitudes taken in the villages towards the opening of schools for the children of those converts. Ten of our informants said frankly that the general attitude was hostile, and only one claimed that it was sympathetic. The latter was in the Vidyanagar area, where large sections of the public have been favorably disposed towards Christianity, as is indicated by the development of the Sudra Christian movement.

It is not surprising that when confronted by opposition and ridicule, many groups of Christian converts show less interest in the schools, the opening of which seems to be in considerable measure responsible for their troubles. Moreover, their environment is not conducive to the growth of faith in schools as worth while. The families are nearly all under the pressure of debt and are experiencing difficulty in obtaining food and clothes. To keep the children in school, after, say, their eighth year, requires the sacrifice of income which they might earn by working during school hours. Often it also necessitates payment of fees or purchase of school supplies. To the children themselves school is not infrequently pure drudgery. The untrained teacher rarely, and the trained teacher by no means always, makes school interesting to the pupils. The old-type Indian teacher's educational methods are about as well-calculated to discourage child interest as any that could be devised. This type of teacher, says an authority on India's village school problem, "considers all the child's natural active impulses as devices of the devil, and proceeds at once to their repression. To him the ideal school is one in which children sit in motionless lines, their only activity the monotonous chant of the endless alphabet-combinations that adorn the blackboard."[2]

In learning the alphabets of their vernaculars Indian children have a task of real difficulty. The adoption of the Roman alphabet would reduce the stagnation in Standard I,

[2] Van Doren, Alice B., *Christian Education in the Villages of India.* Calcutta: Association Press.

but Christians in the United Provinces, after having proved the value of that alphabet as an aid to the acquirement of literacy, are abandoning its use. The reasons given are that it has tended to accentuate the division between Christians and non-Christians in matters in which religious principles are not involved. It has consequently not only limited the cultural and economic value of the literacy attained but has also been used by opponents as a weapon of attack on Christianity as a denationalizing and divisive force.

The parents' incentive to keep their children in school and the children's incentive to learn require constant renewal if they are to survive in the uncongenial environment of most mass-movement village families. It should be remembered that even in the higher castes in the villages appreciation of education is by no means general. Among the Brahmans in some areas literacy does not extend above 25 per cent of the adult male population, and there are villages in which the converted outcastes are the first to make any move toward learning to read.

A missionary in the Punjab discovered that, so long as employment for all village Christian boys who passed the sixth class was practically assured by the demand of the mission for preachers and teachers and by openings on the railways, in Government service, factories, mills, etc., there was a steady increase both in the enrollment of Christian boys and in the proportion of enrolled boys earning class promotions. When the assurance of employment disappeared, enrollment and attendance declined and the proportion of Christian boys stalled in the lower classes increased.

Christian schools have shared the handicap imposed on India's entire educational system by the popular conception of preparation for employment as the prime, major, and almost solitary function of schools. Of education in India a recent inquiry has produced this statement: "A fixed curriculum and selection of pupils by a rigid examination system are its chief characteristics, and to produce competent clerks has been said to be its chief aim."[8]

[8] Sipple, Leslie B., *India: Laymen's Foreign Missionary Inquiry*. New York: Harpers, 1933.

The Distribution of Mission Schools

In the Nagercoil, Cumbum, Guntur, and Vidyanagar areas missions are maintaining an extensive network of village primary day schools. In the Nagercoil area every Christian child in the villages studied can complete four years of school work in mission schools that are within easy walking distance of his home. A large majority can, indeed, complete six years of schooling under those conditions.

In the Cumbum, Guntur, and Vidyanagar areas schools are numerous, but many provide only two standards, and many others only three. Of twenty-nine schools examined in these areas the highest standard being taught was the second in five schools, the third in fourteen schools, the fourth in nine schools and the sixth in one school.

The most extensive development of mission primary day schools in relation to mass movements has taken place in the Telugu districts of British India within which the Cumbum, Guntur, and Vidyanagar areas lie. This has come about through the conjunction of an unusually liberal governmental policy of financial grants to schools under nonofficial management with the circumstance that the mass movement within these districts has affected two large castes, each of which is represented by groups of ten or more families in most villages. The Christian congregations are, with relatively few exceptions, large enough to make possible the enrollment in a mission school of a sufficient number of children from Christian families to qualify for the Government's grant-in-aid. The schools are also assisted by the fact that a few non-Christian families in many villages prefer to send their children to a mission school even though Government (local board) or Hindu or Moslem aided schools may be available in their villages.

Our study in the Cumbum (Baptist) area extended to seventeen villages. In each of these villages there was at least one mission school. In fifteen villages there were Baptist schools, one of which served the Baptist children of three contiguous villages. In four villages there were schools of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Anglican); in three villages there were Lutheran schools and in one a

Roman Catholic school. In fifteen villages studied in the Guntur (Lutheran) area there were sixteen Lutheran, three Baptist and five Roman Catholic schools. In the Vidyanagar (C. M. S.) area in sixteen villages studied the Church Missionary Society had fifteen schools, the Baptist one, and the Roman Catholic two.

The American United Lutheran Mission maintains 1,044 schools connected with 1,566 congregations of the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church. The Church Missionary Society maintains 780 schools connected with congregations in the Kistna and West Godavari districts in the Dornakal Diocese. The American and Canadian Baptist Missionary Societies, the London Missionary Society, the Arcot Mission, and other missionary societies also have networks of village schools in British India Telugu districts.

In other areas mission schools are found in relatively few villages. In the Pasrur (United Presbyterian) area in the Punjab we found a mission school in only five of the villages studied. In the Etah (American Presbyterian) area the only mission school encountered was in the town of Etah. In Barhan (C. M. S.) no mission school was discovered in any of the forty-two villages visited. In the Ghaziabad (Methodist Episcopal) area we visited twenty-five villages and found six mission day schools. In the Govindpur (Gossner's Evangelical Lutheran) area the mission day schools had been taken over by the government (District Board). In Vikarabad (Methodist Episcopal) the village schedules including the section on schools were not employed. There are a number of mission schools in the area but we do not have information about them.

Poor Enrollment and Attendance Records

Where missions or church schools are maintained they do not uniformly secure a high percentage of enrollment of Christian children of school-going age. In the American United Lutheran Telugu Mission 18,398 Christian children were enrolled in the 1,044 schools of the mission, an average of 17.6 per school. This is reported to be 27.7 per cent of the Christian children of the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church. In the five-year period 1925-30 the Christian chil-

dren of school age in this church increased by 25 per cent, but those attending mission schools increased during the same period by only 6.1 per cent. In the four villages of Medikondur, Kanchanapalle, Nidamarru, and Tadepalle in the Guntur area the number of Christian children enrolled in mission schools at the time of the survey equals 45 per cent of the Christian children between the ages of six and fourteen recorded in the household schedules for those villages. If, however, those Christian school children who were recorded as less than six years old are eliminated from consideration, it appears that only 40.2 per cent of the Christian children of those villages, between the ages of six and fourteen, were enrolled in mission schools.

In the United Presbyterian field about Pasrur an analysis for the villages of Basiwali, Chianwali, and Kilaswali shows 46.6 per cent of the Christian children between the ages of six and fourteen enrolled in mission schools. In the village of Tauriyanwali 50 per cent of the Christian children within those age limits are recorded as attending a government school.

It appears that in no area except Nagercoil are as many as 60 per cent of the Christian children of school-going age enrolled as pupils in the villages where mission schools are maintained.

Attendance records often bear little relation to enrollment. In nine mission schools visited during this survey, attendance on the day of our visit was recorded. The total attendance of Christian pupils was 134. The enrollment of Christians in those schools was 186. Attendance at the time of our visits was likely better than usual.

Illness reduces regularity of attendance in the villages of India much more than in Western countries. Twelve schoolteachers whose records were examined lost from their schools an average of one school day in 5.4 because of the illness of themselves or some member of their family. Children are frequently absent because of illness. When malaria is endemic, as happens in many villages yearly, it is not rare for as many as half of the pupils to be absent.

Many children are kept out of school whenever an opportunity is found for them to earn a few *pice* or a small quan-

tity of grain. At harvest seasons attendance in many schools falls to or below a quarter of the enrollment.

Poverty not only contributes to the poor enrollment and irregular attendance in many day schools in mass movement areas but also directly to the slowness of the progress made by many children. Undernourishment is responsible for much dullness of mind. A pastor's wife was so convinced that children in the school she taught were made dull by the poor quality of the food they ate at home that she gave all the children a warm meal each school day for six months. During that time the proportion of passes from the first class to the second doubled as compared with the preceding half year. It is not surprising to learn that enrollment and attendance also increased to a marked degree.

The Failure to Attain Literacy

Because of the above-mentioned handicaps and disabilities a large majority of the pupils enrolled in mission primary day schools never attain literacy. The chief characteristic of most of the schools is a general stagnation in Standard I. In this stagnation Christian children from the depressed classes suffer more than non-Christian children of the higher Hindu castes and from Moslem homes and less than non-Christian children of the depressed classes. In one school an analysis of the rolls for five years reveals the names of thirty-two Christian children. Of these only seven got beyond the first standard and only two beyond the second standard. None completed the four-year course. During these five years nineteen non-Christian pupils of the higher Hindu castes were enrolled and nine passed the fourth standard. In a school of another area there was an average annual enrollment for five years of sixteen Christian pupils in the first standard and of one pupil in the second standard. The records of two schools of a third area show a combined enrollment of forty-seven Christian children in Standard I and five in Standard II. In 1929 and again in 1930 in those schools only two pupils passed the second standard. These are extreme cases, but the records of hundreds of schools are not much better. The best records are in Nagercoil. While the schools there can and should be improved, they have already

reached a general level of attainment above the best in other areas.

Twenty-three schools in the Cumbum, Guntur, and Vidyanagar areas have the following combined enrollment of Christian children: Standard I, 540; Standard II, 153; Standard III, 96; Standard IV, 37. In 1929 only 25 Christian pupils completed Standard IV in these schools. In 1930 the number rose to 38.

Very Young Children in the First Standard

In visiting schools we were impressed, especially in the Telugu districts, by the large number of very young children in Standard I. Parents seem inclined to impose upon the schools by sending their youngest children and putting the older ones to work. The teachers are under the necessity of keeping up the enrollment or losing a part or the whole of the grants-in-aid upon which their incomes and even their jobs are dependent. If they cannot keep the older children who have been in Standard I for a year, or two, and might soon be ready for promotion, they fill their places by admitting the younger children, who are not really ready for Standard I, but should be enrolled in a separate kindergarten class. This, of course, contributes to the stagnation in the first standard.

One-Teacher Schools

In a large proportion of mission day schools connected with mass movements only one teacher is employed. The American United Lutheran Mission employs 1,513 teachers for 1,041 schools (eliminating from both figures the college, high schools, and Bible training schools). The Church Missionary Society reports for 1931 in Kistna and West Godavari districts 780 village schools with 1,076 teachers.

In the three areas in the Telugu districts of British India we found one-teacher schools in the following ratios to total schools: In Cumbum, 5 to 10; in Guntur, 11 to 15; in Vidyanagar, 6 to 12. The average enrollment of these twenty-two one-teacher schools was twenty-four.

The one-teacher school is in bad repute and rightly so.

The arguments of economy and efficiency are invoked against it. The Educational Department of the Government of Madras have intimated that their grant-in-aid policy will be revised in favor of schools that employ two or more teachers. Missions within the Madras Presidency face the necessity of revising school policies and programs, for neither can be maintained as they are without losing the grants-in-aid upon which the schools are financially dependent. In several quarters we found missionaries and Indian Christian leaders disturbed by fears that the proposed new Government policy would disrupt their schools, and through them their entire system of ministration by Mission and Church to village converts. This is an unnecessarily gloomy interpretation of the prospects. The necessary revisions can be achieved with real gain to the purpose of the missions and churches concerned.

Two Possible Courses to Meet the Emergency

Two courses for dealing with this widespread situation in the British India Telugu districts are indicated.

First, consider the closing of a number of one-teacher schools and concentrating teachers and pupils in a central school. If this should be accomplished at the cost of removing teachers from residence in the villages in which they now teach, the church would suffer heavily, for out of school hours many of the teachers are performing valuable pastoral duties. But the success of the central-school experiment would itself ordinarily demand that a teacher reside in each of the co-operating villages. His duties would include collecting the children and escorting them to school. Some decrease of attendance would inevitably result, for parents will send children to a local school within a few hundred feet of the house who will not send them outside of the village. The further the distance to the central school the greater would be the loss in enrollment and attendance. There would be a compensating escape from interruptions. One of the real difficulties of the schools as they now are is that parents frequently call children away to do some task about the house, or in the fields. Teachers in central schools, where they have the advantage of the counsel and super-

vision of trained and able head masters, nearly all do better work than when in one-teacher schools.

The alternative course is to maintain the existing schools and restrict them to Standard I, and then send children who have passed that standard to other schools. The extensive adoption of this course would make necessary the utilization of nonmission schools in many places. It is believed that the prejudice against admission of Christian children of outcaste origin into Government (local board), Hindu-aided and Moslem-aided schools is weakening, and now is directed chiefly against the undisciplined little children who bring to the school the offensive characteristics of the outcaste *mohalla,* unsoftened by school influences. While this discrimination against the children of outcaste converts by caste Hindus and by Mohammedans is unjust and calls for a change of heart, yet, when outcastes see that their children are not rejected when they approximate Christian standards of cleanliness and orderliness, they will endeavor to meet these requirements. It is observed that the issue is never raised now in colleges and high schools. The number of Christian students from the Church Missionary Society day schools in the Kistna and West Godavari districts who attend Hindu-aided high schools has increased by one hundred in the last five years. The religious education of children sent to nonmission schools could be intrusted to the teacher of the one-standard local mission school.

If relieved of responsibility for teaching all standards except the first, the teachers should be able and should be required to conduct a much larger proportion of their pupils through that standard each year than they are doing under existing circumstances. Archdeacon Tanner suggests that the norm for a single-teacher-one-standard school should be ten passes in a year. Where as many as fifteen children of a minimum age of six years can be enrolled at the beginning of the school year and fairly regular attendance can be secured, the norm suggested should certainly be possible of realization. Where that number of children have passed Standard I it might be advisable for the teacher to concentrate on Standard II for a year, thus postponing, until the children have passed Standard II, their transfer to a central

mission school or to a nonmission school. The loss from teaching Standard I on alternate years only would be much less than that which results from the present diffusion of effort.

There are villages in which the single-standard school would be impossible unless new financial support could be obtained, for the reason that the minimum enrollment necessary to secure the government grant-in-aid can be reached only by including pupils of two or more standards. In view of the waste involved in teaching so many children who never pass the first standard, and in view of the very sympathetic attitude of the Educational Department of the Government of Madras towards all aided schools, it is reasonable to expect that the department would consider representations made by any mission that would wish to experiment on the one-standard school with enrollment of first-standard pupils on alternate years.

In the conditions that prevail in these Telugu mission schools Standard I is a full-time task during school hours for the kind of teachers employed. But it is clear that they give a disproportionate share of their time to the few children in the higher standards. The rules of several missions restrict admittance to boarding schools to those children who have passed Standard III in day schools. The desire to prepare one or two children for admittance to boarding schools apparently causes many teachers to favor the few second- and third-standard pupils at the expense of the larger numbers in Standard I.

Moral Obligations in Expending Public Funds

Missions and churches need to remind themselves of the obligations to avoid the wasting of any portion of the meager resources available for education in the village. They have no moral right to obtain for schools public money that is not made to contribute as much as possible to educational advance. The Christian schools recognize a special obligation for an element in the population that has been long neglected. In attempting to serve that element they must not evade the obligations of good citizenship.

A considerable amount of educational money is being

wasted by the multiplication of small schools in many villages in the British India Telugu districts. Of fourteen villages in the Vidyanagar area, where the Church Missionary Society maintains schools, there are only four in which there is no other school. Three villages have one other school; four villages have two others; in one there are three others; in one four others, and in another village six others. In the Guntur area of fifteen villages in which Lutheran schools are located one has no other school, six have one other, three have two others, while four villages respectively have three, four, five, and seven other schools. Eight of these other schools are maintained by missions (Baptist and Roman Catholic), ten by local boards, nine by Hindu groups, four by Moslem groups, and two are private schools.

Some of the duplication is due to the demand for separate schools for girls, but most of it is traceable to some form of separatism, such as caste prejudice or religious communalism. By their practice of untouchability Hindus have made it necessary to open separate schools for the depressed classes, but Christian churches and missions must make sure that their programs do not stand in the way of devising a more economical and efficient system of education for the villages in which they are established. The proposals for solving the problem of the one-teacher schools should contribute to the unifying and improving of village schools and to a more productive use of public funds appropriated for educational purposes.

The Failure to Retain Literacy

If all those who have learned to read and write had continued able to do so, the literacy rate would be substantially higher than it is. Men who had once learned to read, and were unable to do so at the time of our survey, were inclined to hide the fact that they had ever been literate. Nevertheless, among the 1,880 heads of families whose schedules were analyzed fifty-four admitted that they had once been able to read but could no longer. These cases were most common proportionately in Cumbum, Pasrur, and Govindpur, and least common in Nagercoil and Ghaziabad.

The paucity of reading material available to village Chris-

tians of the poorest classes contributes to the lapse into illiteracy. Both the publication and the distribution of books and periodicals designed to preserve the painfully-acquired literacy of village school children are beset with many difficulties. In our survey we discovered hundreds of homes in which there was not a page of reading matter of any sort.

In the Nagercoil area, where only one of the two hundred heads of families in the schedules analyzed had lapsed from literacy, reading matter in the homes is almost universal. Pastors estimated that from 75 to 90 per cent of their families own a hymn book. In the Ghaziabad area, where only two lapses in two hundred families were indicated, the distribution of tracts and of Scripture portions has been a prominent feature of the church program since 1918. A Lutheran pastor in whose pastorate no lapse was found accounted for the fact by saying that he had for years made it a custom to distribute reading matter to every family known to contain one literate or near-literate. This enterprising pastor even resorted to Government vernacular reports, which are obtainable on request.

Of the fifty-four who admitted having lapsed from literacy one claimed to have studied for several months in Class IV, three claimed to have been in Class III before leaving school and the remainder said that they had left school while in, or having completed, Class II, or had learned to read privately.

Supervision of Day Schools

The day schools in the sample areas studied have, with very few exceptions, been quite inadequately supervised. Not one whole-time supervisor of superior qualifications was employed in connection with schools in any of the areas. Most of these schools were under the general supervision of missionaries who were heavily laden with other responsibilities, and some of whom were not professionally trained for their task. In the Kistna District (Vidyanagar area) a missionary was serving as manager of more than seven hundred day schools. In that capacity he received reports from the teachers, made to the educational authorities the reports upon which grants-in-aid are conditioned, and received the grants. Meanwhile, he was serving as treasurer of the Kistna

Church Council, and was so heavily loaded with office work that he could give little time to touring and no time to educational supervision of the schools. In the Nagercoil area a proposal was under consideration for a missionary to be appointed to supervise schools in a number of mission districts, but at the time only such supervision was being provided as overburdened church and mission administrators, not professionally equipped for the required work, could give.

In Cumbum area the principal of a newly started teacher-training school, much of whose time was given to building construction, was also serving as mission superintendent for the district, being responsible for the supervision of day schools also. In Guntur the district missionary was in charge of day schools as well as churches. In Vikarabad the district superintendent was in charge of day schools. No mission day schools were discovered in the villages visited in Etah or in Barhan. In the Pasrur area the district missionary supervises schools, assisted by the lady evangelists and a part-time Indian inspector of meager educational attainments. In Ghaziabad the district superintendent, who was also principal of a training school, was in charge of day schools. Lady missionaries with professional training in education supervised day schools around Ghaziabad for a number of years, with results that are reflected in the high standing of this area in respect to literacy.

Christian Girls in Village Schools

In the mission schools of our sample areas, we found only 540 Christian girls enrolled against 1,132 Christian boys. It is clear that a smaller proportion of the Christian girls in the villages are started in school than of the Christian boys, but part of the difference in enrollment is accounted for by girls dropping out of school sooner than boys. Of Christian children five and six years of age in 20 villages tested, boys in school are only 5 per cent more numerous than girls, but of those seven and eight years of age the number of boys exceeds that of girls by 36 per cent. In 4 villages in the Guntur area 65 per cent of the Christian boys and only 22 per cent of the Christian girls attend the local mission schools.

In the schools investigated in the Vidyanagar area girls formed 39.9 per cent of the enrollment in the first standard and only 10.9 per cent in other standards. In the Guntur schools they formed 39.6 per cent in the first standard and 23 per cent in other standards. In Nagercoil schools the figures are 38.8 per cent in the first standard and 28.9 in other standards. Of pupils completing the course of study during the years 1926-31 in the schools investigated girls formed 14.8 per cent in Vidyanagar, 13.9 per cent in Guntur, and 24 per cent in Nagercoil.

Improvements in Recent Years

As bad as some phases of the village school situation now are, they were much worse a few years ago. The stagnation in Standard I in the Telugu districts is not nearly so general as it was only five years ago. We have been given the following comparison of Church Missionary Society schools in the Kistna and West Godavari Civil districts for 1926 and 1931.

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	Pupils in All Standards	
			Christian	Non-Christian
1926.....	835	1,031	10,454	10,952
1931.....	780	1,076	11,708	10,020

	Pupils in Standards 3 to 8	
	Christian	Non-Christian
1926.....	1,231	572
1931.....	1,874	877

For twenty-nine schools, from which we have obtained records for Christian children completing the course during each year from 1926 to 1931, the following is a summary of the records:

1926.....	42
1927.....	49
1928.....	56
1929.....	58
1930.....	76

The Teaching Staff in Village Schools

The value of village schools in the Christian mass movement, as everywhere else, depends very largely upon the kind of teachers employed. The Fraser Commission on Village

Education in India observed that "the type of teacher required is difficult to determine and more difficult to produce in the number required."[4]

The missions and churches engaged in Christian mass movements agree that the teacher should be a Christian, a village man, and possessed of some measure of professional training. Mission reports in recent years have carried numerous declarations about the importance of employing trained teachers in all village schools and the necessity of producing such teachers. In every mission and church in connection with which a sample area investigation was made, the subject of teacher-training has been actively considered for at least a dozen years. All have one or more institutions providing some kind of training for village school-teachers. Several have teacher-training schools established or reorganized since the report of the Fraser Committee.

Of the teachers in the sample areas, concerning whom information was obtained, the totals and the numbers recorded as trained are as follows: Nagercoil, total, 24; trained, 10. Cumbum, total, 22; trained, 9. Guntur, total, 19; trained, 13. Vidyanagar, total, 21; trained, 12. Pasrur, total, 14; trained, 9. Several teachers recorded as trained had taken courses in the training schools, but had not passed the examinations.

Two significant facts emerge from personal data about teachers. Most of the untrained teachers are under twenty or over forty years of age. Of those between twenty and forty, over 70 per cent are trained. Those over forty and untrained are survivors from untrained teachers recruited years ago. Those under twenty include a number who are teaching temporarily while expecting to enter other work later and a number who are awaiting an opportunity to go to a training school. Teachers under forty, excluding years in training schools, had averaged 1.7 more standards of education than teachers over forty. These facts lend support to the belief that progress has been made in recruiting teachers of higher educational qualifications and in training a larger proportion of them.

[4] *Village Education in India:* The Report of a Commission of Inquiry. New York, London and Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1920.

Boarding Schools

Our sample areas included few boarding schools and our schedules did not provide for the collection of data about them; but our attention was frequently directed to the subject. One judgment, forced upon us by innumerable considerations, is that a better correlation of the boarding schools with the church of the villages is needed. Too few Christian boarding schools are located in rural surroundings. Many have such a strong urban bias that they are unfitted thereby to prepare their pupils to become leaders or valuable members of the rural church. Boys and girls cannot be sent to them with any degree of confidence that they will return to add strength to their church or community. Rather is it certain, or nearly so, that they will acquire an outlook and a pattern of life so alien to the village that they will be unable to adjust themselves to village conditions and will drift away, leaving the village church and community weaker rather than stronger because they were sent to the boarding school. This failure is more marked in North India than in South India, and is worse in the United Provinces than anywhere else.

As a natural corollary to their development of a bias detrimental to the interests of rural Christians, these boarding schools have increasingly enrolled larger proportions of their pupils from homes that are unrepresentative of the main body of village Christians, especially from the homes of mission employees and families that have already left the villages for the cities.

The wide geographical distribution and extreme fragmentation of the village Christian community of the Sweeper mass movement in the United Provinces, which make it impossible to maintain mission day schools within reach of any considerable proportion of the families concerned, and the strong prejudice in the villages against allowing Sweeper children to attend any other schools, give to boarding schools serving this movement a unique potential importance. As an instrument for the uplift of a people boarding schools are more essential in this movement than in any other encountered in the study; but they can effectively serve this

community only if they are run in a definitely rural atmosphere, with an understanding of the life from which their pupils come, and a program for the enlargement and enrichment of that life. The teachers must be village men, with village interests and a program for village betterment, and must be able to adjust their teaching material and methods to village conditions. Living conditions in the school should approach, as nearly as considerations of health and efficiency permit, to conditions in the villages.

In Chota Nagpur the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has developed a number of parish boarding schools in rural surroundings. Pupils arrive at the school from their village homes Sunday evening or Monday morning and leave on Friday afternoon to spend the week-end at home. In this way they are kept in touch with their village homes and do not undergo a painful struggle for readjustment after leaving school.

We recommend that churches and missions, in areas where Christian children cannot be gathered into day schools in their own villages, should experiment on the development of simple boarding schools in rural surroundings. The experience of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel with parish boarding schools and the work of the Rev. F. G. Williams and his Indian colleagues in the Ushagram School at Asansol will be valuable for reference in planning such an effort.

Miscellaneous Aspects

Space permits of only slight references to a number of aspects of the subject of schools. Non-Christians are not objecting to Bible instruction in village mission schools as in some high schools and colleges. The teaching of religion in village schools, although evidently improved in recent years, still leaves much to be desired. The story method has been widely adopted. The worship period is often too long. A short course in Indian music for all teachers would be helpful: its values have already been proved, especially in Guntur and Cumbum areas.

The Vidyanagar Boys' School of the Church Missionary Society in the Kistna civil district is admirably adapted to

the needs of that area. A location was obtained through the purchase of agricultural lands four miles from the nearest railway station and a half mile or farther from the nearest village. Inexpensive buildings were erected both for the staff and the students. There is no primary department. Pupils may enter after passing at least the third standard in their village schools. Most of the pupils come from Mala or Madiga Christian homes, and the historic community occupations of those castes, weaving and leather-work, are emphasized in vocational teaching. Attention is also given to agriculture and gardening. In a small way animal husbandry and poultry-raising have been introduced. The school has shown large possibilities, and should be generously supported. The leather-work department should be expanded and the possibilities the industry offers for economic uplift should be demonstrated by introducing improved flaying knives, better methods of curing skins, tanning, and the advantages of the co-operative marketing of hides. A class for making European-style shoes, for which there is a rapidly-expanding Indian market, should be added.

Whether the enrollment of non-Christian pupils in village mission schools is an advantage or a disadvantage to the Christian pupils enrolled is a question that arises from our data. In some schools it appears that teachers from the depressed classes are so pleased to have non-Christian pupils from the higher Hindu castes and from respected Moslem homes, that they give to them more attention than to the Christian pupils, who consequently suffer handicaps. In other schools, it seems that the Christian pupils are distinctly encouraged by discovering that they can compare favorably in their studies with pupils from classes that the village has accounted superior. Association of Christian children with the children of the allegedly superior classes on terms of equality is a valuable experience for them, and no less so for the non-Christian children.

The introduction of women teachers in village schools has, as yet, made little progress. We regret that our schedules do not indicate the number of women teachers employed nor the schools in which they work, so we cannot compare the results of their teaching with those of men teachers. But

a beginning has been made in employing them. Unmarried women are effectively barred from the profession except where they can work in groups or are protected by constant chaperonage. Mothers of young children are rarely able to harmonize their responsibilities at home with work in the school without the sacrifice of one or the other.

The mission of the Methodist Church of Great Britain in the Nizam's Dominions has developed at Medak a unique school for young women that apparently has large potential value for the Christian movement in the villages. Its purpose is to train girls who are to marry preachers and teachers. No girl is admitted unless she has become engaged to a man who is employed, or is in training for employment, as a preacher or a teacher. A wife trained for co-operation with her husband can be a great asset to a mission school, even though she may not be able to teach regularly because of responsibilities in the home.

Another recently developed school for young women that has important possibilities for the mass-movement church is the Lane School of Mothercraft at Bareilly. Its pupils are trained in the care of small children, gaining their practical experience with the children of the Warne Baby Fold. It is expected that many of the young women from this school will go to the villages as wives of preachers and teachers and will conduct clinics for the instruction of village mothers.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SUDRA MOVEMENT IN THE TELUGU COUNTRY

IN the preceding chapters there are several references to mass movements to Christianity that have developed in recent years in the Telugu districts of South India. But as none of our area studies was concerned primarily with groups of these people, they have not entered directly into the presentation of data from our schedules, which in the main treat of converts from the depressed classes, the aborigines, and only one Sudra caste, the Tamil-speaking Nadars of Travancore. However, our study brought us into contact with these Telugu Sudra movements in the second of our sample areas and several times later, and we found them so significant that we supplemented our schedules with a special inquiry about them.

We would remind our Western readers that the Sudras are the fourth, or lowest, in the quartet of caste divisions defined by Manu. While mass movements of Sudras to Christianity have taken place in the past, the beginning of a new movement in a Sudra caste anywhere would be highly important. But the significance of these movements is enhanced by the number of castes affected, by the unique importance of Sudras in the Telugu country, and by the fact that they are the first instance of mass movements of Sudras following such movements of the depressed classes in the same areas.

In the Telugu country the Sudras are more numerous and include more influential elements of the population than in other parts of India. The proportion of Brahmans, Kshattriyas and Vaisyas is small. *Panchamas,* or outcastes, are numerous, but are mostly concentrated in two castes. The bulk of the population is made up of Sudras. Among the latter are several castes that occupy positions analogous to the Kshatriyas in the Northern provinces, being landowners

and local officials. Other Sudra castes approach the social and economic level of the Panchamas or outcastes.

Their Extent and Strength

These Sudra movements have developed in widely separated areas of at least six missions and have affected more than forty castes. Conversions within the last five years have exceeded 15,000. During this time the rate of growth has been annually accelerated. In several districts the number of professed believers being prepared for baptism in 1932 exceeded the number baptized in the preceding five years.

A missionary of the United Lutheran Mission writing in June, 1932, says: "In this district we have baptized about 1,500 Sudras in the last five years, more than half of them within the last twelve months." An Indian pastor in the Dornakal Diocese of the Church of India reports 209 baptisms of Sudras within the last five years and 405 Sudras under instruction in preparation for baptism. Another pastor in the same diocese reports that 485 Sudras representing fourteen castes have been baptized within five years and 637 Sudras of sixteen castes are now being actively prepared for baptism. A Deanery Chairman in the diocese writes: "Hundreds whom we have not yet enrolled have told us that they want to become Christians. They accept Jesus as the Saviour and worship in his name. Every week new groups declare their Christian faith."

The superintendent of the mission of the Methodist Church of Great Britain in the Nizam's Dominions tells of a tour during which he met in a single locality 4,000 Sudras and higher-caste Hindus who professed a desire to become Christians. On the same tour, during a day spent in camp, he was besieged by delegations representing Sudras and outcastes of as many as twenty villages asking him to send preachers to teach them the Christian way of life. This occurred in an area where more than 2,000 Sudras had already been baptized.

One Indian minister writes that the first Sudra converts in his pastorate were baptized in 1928. They consisted of two brothers and the wife of one of them. In 1929 there were no

baptisms of Sudras. But in 1930 there were 13 and in 1931 38. Now, in May, 1932, there are 207 Sudra inquirers under instruction for baptism and at least 100 more asking for instruction.

The writer attended a baptismal service in the Dornakal Diocese at which 331 people, representing eight different castes, were baptized. Each adult and adolescent brought a certificate from the school-teacher or evangelist, under whose oversight he or she had been placed for several months prior to the service, saying that the candidate had successfully passed the tests for creedal knowledge, had been a regular attendant at public worship, and was recommended for baptism. At this service there were present scores of candidates for baptism who were kept waiting either because their instruction had not been completed or because, for some other reason, they had not been recommended. At least three hundred other interested Hindus attended the service to get information to help them decide whether they and their caste groups in their villages should turn from their old allegiance to Christ. Several groups at the close of the service announced their decision, and asked to be placed under instruction. About one third of the company baptized was composed of Sudras, the remainder of outcastes. Two thirds of the interested onlookers, and all who announced their decision at the close of the service, were Sudras.

Brahmans and Kshatriyas Are Being Converted

Among recent converts are included a sprinkling of Brahmans and Kshatriyas, but in the main they have come as isolated individuals or single families, rather than in groups of families. It is encouraging to note that their conversion has not driven them from their homes nor seriously disturbed their social integration, as has usually happened when individuals and single families of parallel castes elsewhere in India have embraced Christianity. Still, these conversions in castes above the Sudras have not yet assumed the proportion nor the characteristics of a mass movement. The same thing is true regarding conversions within a number of the highest Sudra castes. They have been increasing in

numbers sufficiently to suggest the likelihood of entire groups moving to Christian baptism and church membership soon.

Strongest Movements in Lower Sudra Castes

But, within a number of the lower Sudra castes, typical mass-movement conditions have developed. The largest accession is from the Erukulas. Next come the Waddaras, then the Yenadis and Gollas. These castes are moving more rapidly and on a wider front than did the outcaste Malas and Madigas for many years after the movements began among them. In the Vidyanagar area the writer asked four recently converted groups of Erukulas, and three groups that have not yet been converted, about the attitudes toward Christianity of the people of that caste in surrounding villages, and without exception all groups were unanimous in replying that the entire caste is definitely pro-Christian and will shortly embrace Christianity. The common sentiment seemed to be expressed by one young man who said:

> All are convinced that Christianity is true and offers the only salvation for Erukulas, but some have worshiped their idols so long it will require a few years to banish them from their minds. And some enjoy their sins too much to give them up all at once. But all will be Christians in five years or ten.

In one pastorate, in the Dornakal Diocese, several groups of Reddis have been baptized, and several other groups have declared themselves Christians and are awaiting baptism. The baptized number 150, those awaiting baptism 185. Six other pastorates in this diocese and nine in other mission areas report smaller groups of Reddi converts. This caste is higher in the social scale than are the Erukulas, Waddaras, and Yenadis.

Some Reasons for Conversion

These Sudra movements are directly connected with the earlier movements of Malas and Madigas. The pastors, catechists, evangelists and school-teachers under whose ministry the Sudras are being won to Christ have, with very few exceptions, been recruited from Mala and Madiga converts.

Moreover, except in one area, the villages in which the Malas and Madigas have been Christians for a number of years are the ones in which the Sudras in largest numbers are being converted, and in all areas the change they have seen in the outcaste converts is said by many of the Sudras to have convinced them of the real and unique power of Christianity. A Government official, belonging to one of the highest of the Sudra castes, the Khammas, speaking to the writer, ventured the prophecy that entire village populations would soon become Christians. Asked why, he said there were three reasons: (1) the changed lives of the outcaste converts, (2) the loss of faith in Hinduism, and (3) the influence of the schools and churches. "Hinduism," he said, "is sick. The priests and the gods and goddesses can do nothing for the people, and don't want to do anything. The Christians have started schools and churches and have shown power to help the weakest. Everybody believes in Christianity now."

Another man of the Khamma caste, a wealthy landowner, spoke in a different strain. He was opposed to Christianity, saying that it had done great harm by placing foolish ideas of improvement in the minds of people whom God had made to be servants of the better classes. He said that the movement toward Christianity on the part of respectable Sudras was a mistake and that a reaction would come soon. "The Malas and the Madigas are gaining from Christianity now," he said, "but *swaraj* will change that, and then they will go back to the life God made them for."

It seems clear that in many parts of the Telugu country Christianity has become identified in the public mind with social justice and opportunity for the oppressed, and is appealing for that reason to all who favor those ideals. In other parts of India, where Hindus have initiated or are supporting efforts for the uplift of the oppressed, and where political agitation has sought to represent Christianity as being linked with the grievances of the poor, that identification is not so general. Fortunately, also, Christianity in much of the Telugu country has been well organized: an efficient program of religious instruction and worship has been put in operation and a system of schools has been established and successfully maintained for years. These have

produced a widespread belief that Christianity has inner strength, and that its spread will insure a better social order and the general enrichment of life for the whole population. A young high-school graduate expressed something of this feeling when he remarked:

> I don't know whether your theology is right, and I don't think I want to be a Christian, but I think Christianity is going to win in this part of India, and I'm glad, for it will bring better conditions of life. It will stop child marriage and remove many disgraces from our people.

A Direct Result of the Earlier Movement of the Depressed Classes

There has been, as a direct result of the Christian mass movement of the depressed classes, a revolution in the thinking of a large part of the public about those classes and in the attitude of the public toward them. Before that mass movement took place the outcastes were thought to be almost incapable of religious feeling. They were not admitted to the temples of Hinduism. Their presence there would have been considered contaminating. They were regarded as degraded and were treated as untouchables. Now, however, Sudra converts are being baptized by ministers of outcaste origin, and Sudras who have become church members are receiving the Holy Communion from their hands. In the Methodist Mission (formerly Wesleyan) in the north of the Nizam's Dominions high-caste Sudras are taking Mala and Madiga preachers into their homes to live, and are eating with them in defiance of caste law.

In certain areas of the Canadian Baptist and British Methodist fields Sudras are being won where there had not previously been mass movements of the depressed classes. In the latter field Sudras and depressed classes are coming to Christ in a united movement. But, in all other areas, the Sudra converts are coming into churches that had been established as a result of outcaste mass movements. And even in those Canadian Baptist and British Methodist areas where the depressed classes had not first been converted, the Sudras have been influenced by the mass movements of the de-

pressed. In the latter area an old Sudra leader, recently converted, said to the writer:

> When the people of these villages see the Christian preachers and teachers and know what wise and good men they are, and then look at the degraded and ignorant outcastes of their villages, they say a religion that can take outcastes and make them like these men of God would be good for Sudras and everybody.

From twenty-one pastorates of the Dornakal Diocese, we learn that Sudras have been converted in 187 villages. In 170 of those villages the Malas, or the Madigas, or both, all or in part, had been converted before the Sudras confessed their faith. In only 17 villages have Sudras been converted before the conversion of any Malas or Madigas. In four Lutheran pastorates reporting on this subject Sudra converts followed Mala or Madiga converts in 69 out of a total of 76 villages.

Depressed Class Movements Aided by Sudra Conversions

That Sudra conversions have helped the Christian movements among the outcastes is revealed from the fact that in 41 of the 187 villages of the Dornakal Diocese, where converted Sudras live, groups of outcastes have been converted, following Sudra baptisms. One pastor emphasizes this in his report by saying:

> There were in my pastorate, three years ago, twenty villages in which Christian Malas or Christian Madigas lived, and sixteen villages where there were no Christians. Since then Sudras have been converted in nine of the former and two of the latter villages. And in six of the former and both of the latter villages new Mala or Madiga converts have been baptized since the Sudras began coming to Christ.

Another pastor writes:

> In my pastorate there are nine villages where Christians live and six where there are no Christians. We have Sudra converts in five villages; Mala converts in seven villages; Madiga converts in six villages. The Sudra converts are in the villages where our best Mala and Madiga Christians live. In one village only half of the Madigas were Christians; the others were afraid. When they saw the Sudras becoming Christians the remaining Madigas followed them to Christ. So it has been in three other

villages. We are now teaching the non-Christian Malas and Madigas, who are not afraid since Sudras also are being converted.

Adding to the Economic Strength of the Church

The conversion of the Sudras is adding to the economic strength of the Church. While the majority of Sudras are poor, comparatively few of them are as destitute as most of the Malas and Madigas, and many are moderately well-to-do. The Erukulas, first in numbers among the Sudra converts, rank as a poor caste. We have data concerning twenty-two Erukula families in three villages of the Vidyanagar area. Their annual cash incomes average about Rs. 50 higher than similar incomes for Mala and Madiga converts in the same area. We have no means of knowing whether these figures are typical for other areas. But one Lutheran missionary writes that in his district Erukulas and Yanadis are, on the whole, as poor or poorer than the average outcaste Christian. Reddis, Telegas, Kapus, Khammas, and a number of other groups are, with occasional exceptions, distinctly more prosperous. Records of four recently converted Telega families show annual cash incomes running from Rs. 520 to Rs. 2,890. Pastors and missionaries with whom we have discussed the matter agree that incomes within those ranges are common among the higher-caste Sudras.

The Sudra Converts and the Support of the Church

The day when the Church can support its entire program without a foreign subsidy is brought appreciably nearer by these movements, although the necessity for intensive work to establish the new converts requires an enlarged staff that may call for increased foreign help for a short time. A number of pastors report that Sudra converts do not give as liberally to the recurring needs of the Church as do the depressed classes. They need instruction in giving. In the beginning they assume that the Church does not need money from them for the support of preachers and teachers, since such support was being provided in some way before their conversion.

We have detailed reports of the giving of 714 converted

Sudra families in 13 pastorates in the Dornakal Diocese. Their gifts for the maintenance of the church total Rs. 811, an average of Rs. 1-2-0 per family. The gifts of Mala and Madiga families in the Vidyanagar area of this diocese average Rs. 2-2-10 per family.

An Indian minister in this diocese says that even new converts of the Mala and Madiga castes give more generously than new Sudra converts. This he explains by saying that the Malas and Madigas have long known how the Church is supported because of their close association with Christians who have been contributing to it, but that the Sudras have no such experience. The Christian idea of giving to the Church is new to them, and if they are poor and have many uses for their few rupees, they give little. When they are instructed, the truth gradually takes hold of them. But Sudra converts often suggest that new and better churches are needed or that old churches should be repaired and improved, and for these causes they are more inclined to give generously.

The fact that the old church is in the section where the Christians of the depressed classes live doubtless contributes to their desire for a new church. Yet, it is reported that no disposition at all has been manifested to have separate churches for the Sudra converts. In 25 pastorates, from which reports have been received, Sudras have been converted in 263 villages. In 27 of those villages new churches have been erected with the aid of gifts from the Sudras. Several of those churches have been built in the Mala or Madiga *palems,* to replace smaller and poorer ones. Several have been erected between the palems of the old Christians and the new ones, and yet others in Sudra palems. The older Christians often prefer that the new churches be erected in the Sudra palems as they are glad to be welcomed there on terms of equality in worship, and as they feel that it makes it easier to reach such Hindus as are still too prejudiced to go for a religious service to the residential quarters of the erstwhile outcastes. But, in more than nine tenths of the villages where Christian Sudras live, they go to the outcaste palems to attend church.

Within the churches Sudra converts of one caste ordi-

narily sit together, but they do not ask for reserved seats. In a service attended by the writer it was observed that three Telegas who were to be baptized sat apart from the Mala and Madiga Christians, but at the close of the service they mixed freely with the Malas and Madigas, and there was no evidence of any surviving idea of untouchability in their attitudes. The minister who baptized these Telegas was a Mala, and a few days later he and a Madiga pastor sat with the writer and other Christian friends in the home of one of these new Christians as honored guests. In another church a group of Erukulas entered while the service was in progress. At its conclusion they announced that they had come as seekers after God and wanted to be enrolled as Christian believers and placed under instruction. It was observed that several members of this group were apparently eager to avoid coming into contact with any of the old Christians except the preachers and teachers. The pastor was not troubled by such attitudes and remarked that, if ignored, they soon disappear.

A Lutheran missionary reports that all the churches in his district are in the palems of the Mala and Madiga Christians, and that the Sudra converts are *supposed* to worship there. Another Lutheran missionary says that in his district a number of churches have been built in neutral places, and that where that had not been done the Sudra converts prefer to arrange for services in their homes. He does not say whether the Mala and Madiga Christians are invited to worship in the homes of the Sudras. Evidently, Sudra converts in those districts are more hesitant to go to churches in the palems of the outcastes than are their fellows in other areas from which we have received information. However, a Lutheran pastor reports that in one village of his pastorate Sudra converts have erected a new church in their palem, while outside of that village all Sudra converts, two hundred and twenty in number, attend church regularly in Mala and Madiga palems.

Social Contacts

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper raises several difficult issues. Caste rules forbid the taking of food from the hands

of lower castes, also eating with people of lower castes. The effect has been to prevent intercaste dining. Sudra converts have conquered their feelings to the extent of receiving the bread and wine of the sacrament from the hands of ministers who have come from the Mala and Madiga castes. All reports on this subject are unanimous. But some difficulty has been experienced where the common cup is used in the communion. Sudra converts prefer to receive the communion before the Malas and Madigas receive it, and one pastor reports that at communion services there is a tendency for the higher-caste Sudras to partake first, followed by lower-caste Sudras and then by Malas and Madigas. *But he tells of two Sudra converts who purposely kneel at the communion rail between erstwhile outcastes as an object lesson to other Sudras.*

In the Telugu country, as in other parts of South India, there is among Christians strong objection to intercaste marriages. This interferes with the development of a unified Christian consciousness and places unfortunate limitations upon fellowship. It appears, however, that male Sudra converts are more ready to choose wives from among educated girls of the earlier Christian groups than are either Malas or Madigas from among the girls of the other community.

So far as we have learned there is little social fraternizing between converts of different castes outside the church. But well-to-do and influential Sudra converts are commended by several pastors and missionaries for their friendliness toward Christians of the depressed classes. One Kapu convert is said to have used his personal influence to stop the persecution of a group of Madiga converts in a neighboring village, and the conversion of another group of Madigas is said to have resulted from the kindness of two Christian Reddis who defended them against false charges in court. Cases of interdining are rare, except with pastors, school-teachers and other church or mission employees. Educated Christian boys or men from Mala or Madiga homes occasionally become intimate friends of some Sudra convert and are received in his home. Indeed, three cases have been mentioned of such friendship developing with unconverted Sudras and contributing to their conversion.

Sudra marriages have, with few exceptions, taken place with other Sudras of the same caste. The pastors report considerable progress but much difficulty in establishing the practice of solemnizing marriage by Christian rites. One pastor writes that 15 marriages have taken place within the last five years in the 41 families of Christian Erukulas, and that all have been solemnized by Christian rites. However, he reports no such marriages in any of the 33 families of other Sudra castes. Another pastor reports only one Christian marriage in 160 Christian Sudra families, still another reports none taking place in 84 families. It seems probable that a number of marriages have been performed by non-Christian rites and the information withheld from the pastors.

In the London Missionary Society field, around Pulivendra, no marriages of Sudra converts have been solemnized by Christian rites. This gives grave concern to our correspondent from that area. In 23 pastorates in Kistna and Guntur reporting on this issue 41 marriages of Sudra converts are said to have been performed by Christian rites. The contracting parties in 31 of these marriages were Erukulas, in 8 Yenadis and in 2 Waddaras. No marriages by Christian rites are reported from these pastorates in any of the remaining 38 castes in which converts have been won. A Lutheran missionary reports 1,500 converts from 27 Sudra castes and, while not giving details, adds that many marriages have taken place, nearly all of which were solemnized with Christian rites.

Sudra Literacy

The literacy of Sudra converts is better than that of Malas and Madigas, but it is nevertheless loss. Few Erukulas, Yenadis, or Waddaras are literate. One pastorate with a large number of Sudra converts, 485, reports 43 literate men and boys and 4 literate women and girls. This appears to be fairly typical. Of 127 Erukulas only 5 are literate. Of 150 Reddis 13 are literate. In another pastorate, of 147 Erukulas 15 are literature, of 356 Waddaras 5 are literate, of 71 Yenadis 7 literate. Kapus, Khammas, Telegas, Goldsmiths, Dhobis, and Gollas, so far as indicated in these re-

ports, contain a much higher proportion of literates. Sudra women converts are, with few exceptions, all illiterate, the exceptions being Khammas, Kapus, and a few women of other castes, who as girls attended Christian schools.

Among the higher-caste Sudra converts, who it should be remembered are as yet a small minority in these developing movements, some are not merely literate but are also studious. One correspondent says in reference to several of these: "They are well informed in the Hindu religion and to a large extent conduct their own search for truth, with only slight assistance from Christian workers." A Telega convert told the writer that his interest in Christianity began when he met a courteous, kindly, and learned Christian Mala preacher. He was at a loss to account for a personality so winsome and a mind so well stored with learning in a Mala. He bought a New Testament to see if it would explain the miracle. After six months of study he believed he understood it. He went to that preacher and asked for baptism. Since then, his family and three neighbors with their families have been baptized.

Some Problems Arising From Sudra Conversions

That these Sudra movements make necessary a number of administrative changes is suggested by several correspondents. Much of the church preaching has been geared to the mental requirements of illiterates or of those barely literate. While it is, perhaps, equal to the needs of most of the new Sudra converts, it will not suffice for the better-educated minority. The same criticism is directed at the courses of instruction for inquirers, candidates for baptism, and for confirmation or admission to the Church, and at the scant apologetic and devotional literature available for Christians. The problems of the oppressed have been emphasized in preaching and in writing. Now the oppressor must also be considered, for one of the heaviest responsibilities that the conversion of Sudras brings to the Church is the cultivation in them of right attitudes toward the oppressed. Social and economic disabilities imposed upon the outcastes by the caste hegemony, of which Sudras are members, must be removed

not merely from those who profess the Christian religion but from all.

Mala and Madiga converts have not needed instruction to oppose the *purdah* system whereby so many Indian women have been imprisoned in their homes, for that is one social affliction from which they, as a community, have escaped. But the higher Sudra castes have practised purdah, and converts from among them must be persuaded not only to give it up but to use their influence to abolish it from their communities and from India. It has not been necessary to warn Christians from the depressed classes against going to the Hindu temples, for they have never been, and would not be admitted; but the dangers of idolatrous worship and of syncretism are not remote in the case of converts from Sudra castes, and prove most menacing in the precincts of the temple.

Usury is not a practice from which the older groups of Christians in Telugu villages need to be saved, for few of them have had money to lend; but among converts from the higher Sudra castes this is a not uncommon sin.

Malas and Madigas have brought to the Church many problems of loose marital relations, of women leaving their husbands, returning to their parental homes, and being given in marriage to other men. These problems are less common among Sudras, except, perhaps, those of the Erukula and Yenadi castes; but in their place comes the problem of commercial prostitution. In almost every town, and in many of the larger villages in the Telugu districts, there are prostitutes who, for very small payments, receive men of the Sudra or higher castes. They will not accept visits from men of the outcastes, so the Church has hitherto been free from disciplinary problems arising from this social evil.

With the accession of Sudras, however, this evil thrusts itself upon the attention of the Church's courts of discipline. Polygamy is also said to be more common among Sudras. In several of the Telugu churches, notably so in the Church of India, discipline has been firmly administered. For a membership mainly composed of Malas and Madigas, and served by Mala or Madiga pastors, to take disciplinary action against influential offenders of the higher Sudra castes will not be

easy. The issue presents a delicate problem in administration that will require both firmness and skill if serious harm is to be averted.

An inquiry concerning character weaknesses among Sudra converts brings a wide variety of replies. This is to be expected, inasmuch as the converts with whom our correspondents were dealing represent such a wide range of Sudra castes. The greatest measure of agreement is on the tendency to litigation. This weakness, however, is not peculiar to the Telugu country nor to Sudras, but is exceedingly prevalent throughout India. The outcastes are less prone to it than are any others, for the obvious reason that they are always at such a disadvantage with caste opponents. Drink is mentioned by a majority of those correspondents familiar with the lower Sudra castes. Sunday labor, fear of evil spirits, cock-fighting and quarrelsomeness are each frequently mentioned. With the exception of cock-fighting, it is likely that these weaknesses appear prominent in the Sudra converts only when those converts are compared with older Christians, who have been changed through prolonged subjection to the influence of Christian teaching and worship.

Sabbath observance is fairly well established among many groups of Mala and Madiga converts, but that was not so for many years after the Christian movements began within those castes. Observers of Telugu life have generally listed not the Sudras, but the Panchamas, or outcastes, as the section of the population that suffers most from the fear of evil spirits. That fear has greatly lessened among Christian converts and, indeed, among all Malas and Madigas, for the unconverted have been influenced by the new courage that has come to their Christian relatives and caste-fellows. The pastors' amazement at the extent to which Sudra converts fear evil spirits is a striking indication of the deliverance that has come to their Mala and Madiga parishioners.

Sudra Gifts and Graces

If the Sudras bring a number of new problems and old problems in more complicated forms, they compensate for doing so by bringing an equal number of gifts and graces that will be of the greatest value to the Church. Our correspond-

ents, without exception, regard the conversion of the Sudras as an enrichment of the Church's human resources. Respect for the ministry and for the Church, and reverence and orderliness in worship, are mentioned in many of the reports. In areas where little success has been achieved in teaching Malas and Madigas to maintain order and quiet in public worship, it is gratefully acknowledged that Sudra converts have helped them by their example. When an outcaste pastor or teacher is treated with respect by a Khamma or a Kapu convert the effect upon other members of the church is very helpful, not only in increasing their respect for the preacher or the teacher, but in overcoming the sense of their own inferiority arising from the past ignominy of the caste in which they were born.

All correspondents refer to the keenness and courage of Sudra converts in witnessing to Christ before other caste people, and to their zeal to win converts from all classes. One pastor writes:

> Because the Sudras have joined a church composed of former outcastes, even yet much despised by many, they no longer have any prejudice against being in the same religion with outcastes, and they try to persuade the humblest and the worst to confess Christ and be saved. At the same time they tell the most proud men they know, even the Brahmans and the Mohammedans, that they should love Jesus and be his followers.

Another pastor says, "Some Sudras are examples to other Christians. As soon as they are converted they begin to work to get others converted. Our teachers even are made ashamed and work harder."

A few other typical comments by Indian pastors will be quoted: "When once Sudras are converted, they never go back." "There is in them a fine spirit of independence and self-reliance." "They are very patient in persecution." "Some are very gifted in singing and acting. They put gospel stories in forms to move the hearts of Hindu people." "They come to church wearing clean clothes always, and they take interest in all our festivals, more than old Christians." "Their minds work quickly and they make good leaders." "They learn the Scripture lessons and use them in discussions better than older Christians do."

The Church Triumphant

This chapter must recognize more fully the spiritual elements in these movements and include an indication of the price that many of the converts pay for their profession of allegiance to Jesus. From every area come stories of men and women whose public confession has been accompanied by or has followed an experience of profound emotion and a radical change in character.

A case in point comes from the British Methodist Mission in Hyderabad State. As the Rev. C. W. Posnett, general superintendent of the mission, tells the story, these are its chief points: An old woman was a priestess of Siva and a leader in a religious society that indulged in secret revels of drunkenness and licentiousness. Her son-in-law attended a summer school at Medak, and on his return began to talk of becoming a Christian. His wife agreed that she too would like to be a Christian. The old woman was furious and beat her daughter unmercifully. But, having done so, she was troubled. Her conscience smote her, both for beating her daughter and for the secret impure practices of which she had been the leader. She got the wife of the outcaste teacher to come to her home secretly and instruct her about Christ. At length there came a day when she underwent a mighty change. She publicly burned the holy begging bowl in which as a priestess she had collected offerings for her support, renounced her office, and declared herself a humble follower of Jesus. She became the leader of a band of thirty-three people who were baptized by Mr. Posnett. At the time of her baptism she told of her conversion when she publicly renounced her old life:

> Until then I had no peace and lived asleep in the darkness: but now my life is full of light and I am awake. I have worn out my forehead in the dust before the idols which I had always been the first to worship, and they never did me any good. but Jesus has now come and brought peace to my heart.

This old woman, her relatives, and the friends who joined her in confessing allegiance to Christ continued to bear witness. Their changed lives made a great impression. A year later the headman of the village was converted. Many

others have followed and the revival has spread to a score or more neighboring villages.

Persecution has been severe. In one village a Kapu chief and fifteen of his relatives and neighbors were converted. Their caste-fellows held a meeting and formally excommunicated them, declaring that they had become untouchables. They refused to be dismayed. Not one recanted. Their enemies made a practice of spitting upon the shadows of any of the converts whom they passed in the road. But the Christians would meet for prayer and song and would go forth joyfully praising God. Their conduct puzzled their enemies and gradually began to win them. Within a year the entire opposition collapsed and one hundred and twelve of the erstwhile enemies were converted.

How the way was prepared for a movement affecting many castes in one field in the Dornakal Diocese is told by Bishop Azariah. Venkayya, an outcaste, and a former robber, the story of whose conversion is told in Chapter II, and his fellow Christians of the same caste were cruelly persecuted by their higher-caste neighbors. They were not allowed to obtain drinking water in the village. Even caste servants of the missionary were forbidden to draw water from the only fresh-water well. A new well was dug by the Christians. Sometime afterward there was a great drought. The river and all the wells, except that of the Christians, went dry. The caste people led by the Brahmans came to the Christians for relief. "Lend us your well," they pleaded. "We will draw water for you as well as for ourselves." With true Christian spirit Venkayya and his comrades handed over the well to their persecutors. While the drought lasted there was no lack of water for caste or outcaste people. A friendly relation was thus developed which has lasted for fifty years and is now bearing fruit.

In November, 1928, there were communicant Christians at a service in that village representing nine castes, from Brahmans to outcastes. That afternoon 175 people were baptized, of whom 152 were Sudras and higher-caste Hindus. Since then several hundred other caste people have been baptized.

A sympathetic observer of the Christian movement among

the outcastes in the Telugu districts wrote in the 1901 *Census* report for the Madras Presidency:

> The remarkable growth in the numbers of native Christians proceeds from the natural and laudable discontent with their lot which possesses the lower classes of the Hindus. . . . But there is a limit to the numbers to whom the advantages of espousing Christianity appeal, and as district after district becomes supplied with missionaries, and those who come within this limit are gradually absorbed, the rate of increase among the community will slowly decline. It has fallen in almost every district during the last decade, and it is improbable that in the next it will keep at the level which it has hitherto, on the whole, maintained.

As late as 1928 many missionaries were expressing similar sentiments. The writer heard a missionary, from the areas where one of the largest of these Sudra influxes has taken place during the last two years, predict in 1929 that the growth of the Church would probably be very slow for the next twenty years. But these Sudra movements open up possibilities many times larger than those of the older movements. If they continue to develop and spread, as in the last five years, they will indicate in no uncertain terms to caste-ridden India that the Christian Church is not for outcastes alone, but is destined to include in one great brotherhood "all sorts and conditions of men."

CHAPTER XIV

MASS MOVEMENTS AND THE INDIAN CHURCH

THE contribution of mass movements to the present Indian Church cannot be determined with exactness. What share they may have had in producing the ancient Syrian Church no one knows. Of the Roman Catholics of India probably considerably more than half are, or have descended from, mass-movement converts. The large movement of Syrian Christians into the Roman Church was a mass movement. But our major concern is with the Protestant churches of India. Dr. John R. Mott, chairman of the International Missionary Council, writing in 1930, in an introduction to *Christ in the Indian Villages,* by Bishop Azariah, of Dornakal, and former Bishop Whitehead, of Madras, says, "It is claimed that of the 1,800,000 Protestant communicants in India possibly as many as 70 per cent are the product of the mass movement."

Our investigation leads us to believe that the figure of 70 per cent is definitely too low. At a conference on the mass movements of the Punjab and the United Provinces, held at Gujranwala in 1931, the Rev. H. J. Strickler reported that an examination of available data on the composition of the Protestant community of the Punjab led him to believe that at least 90, possibly 95, per cent of its members were the product of mass movements. That statement was accepted by the conference. In discussions on the contribution of mass movements to the Protestant Churches of the United Provinces at conferences in Mussoorie and Bareilly during 1931, the lowest estimate of their professing Christian constituencies derived from mass movements was 80 per cent, and the consensus favored 85 or 90 per cent.

An analysis of the 1931 *Census* reports from Bihar and Orissa, by districts and smaller areas, indicates that at least 90 per cent of indigenous Protestant Christians of that province are traceable to mass movements.

The Assam Protestant community is overwhelmingly a

mass-movement product; so is that of Burma. In the Bombay Presidency the figure cannot be less than 75 per cent. In Hyderabad and Travancore States 90 per cent would be a low estimate. For ten of the fourteen Telugu Districts of British India, the Rev. M. L. Dolbeer reported to the Andhra Christian Council in 1931 an estimate that 85 per cent of the Indian Christian community, Protestant and Roman Catholic, as of 1921, had been produced by mass movements in the two Panchama castes, the Malas, and the Madigas. Large increases in the Protestant community, since 1921, through the continuation of the Mala and Madiga movements and the development of Sudra movements, have largely increased the mass movement share in the Christian community of these districts.

For the Tamil areas of the Madras Presidency the data for an estimate are more obscure, but we are assured that 60 per cent would be low, and 70 per cent probably not too high. One correspondent, preferring to remain anonymous, says, "Accepting your definition of what constitutes a mass movement, I estimate that 80 per cent of our Protestant Christians of the Tamil districts of British India are products of mass movements, but some of my brethren, considering that mass movements connote the accession of large groups, inadequately taught, would estimate 40 per cent."

In the Kanarese area of the Madras Presidency one correspondent estimates 80 per cent, another 65 per cent.

In Bengal there have been mass movements in the Santali districts and hundreds of Christians from mass-movement areas in the United Provinces, the Punjab, South Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Orissa, and the Telugu country have come into Calcutta and its environs for work. We estimate that at least 50 per cent of Bengal's Protestant population has come out of mass movements.

In the North West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan, while conversions from the local population have been rare, thousands of Christians from mass-movement areas of the Punjab have come in as employees of the army, the railway, municipalities, etc. For these two Provinces combined a figure of 80 per cent will certainly be low.

For India as a whole we judge that an estimate of 80 per

cent of the existing Protestant Church, as the product of mass movements, cannot possibly be too high.

Unfavorable Attitudes of Some Indian Christians Towards Mass Movements

Despite the large contribution of mass movements to the membership and remaining Christian constituency of the Protestant churches of India, some sections of these churches show a widespread reluctance to support mass movements. Large numbers of educated Indian Christians are severely critical of mass movements and assume aloof or even hostile attitudes towards them. Why is this so?

Without implying that self-interest alone is responsible for these attitudes, and in no censorious spirit, we call attention to certain forces that tend to prejudice detached Indian Christians, especially educated ones, against mass movements. One of these is the reduction of the literacy rate among Indian Christians, as a result of masses of illiterates being added to their community. Educated Indian Christians have found much satisfaction in the knowledge that their community stands high in respect to literacy. They have zealously advocated education for all India, and especially for their fellow Christians, not only for the sake of the Christians but because of the increased opportunity education brings for service. When successive census reports and their own observations show a steady decline in the literacy rate, despite their own and others' efforts to maintain or raise it, they feel uneasy.

This feeling is reinforced when they see such problems as child marriage introduced into the Christian community. The writer recalls observing the distress and humiliation with which a group of Christian college students learned that in certain mass-movement areas there is a problem of child marriage among Christians. They had thought of that evil as a disgrace to India with which Christians are concerned only to the extent of shaming the Hindus into discarding it. Their first reaction was one of resentment that the problem had been imported into the Christian Church by the baptism of people who were capable of practising such an evil custom. The discovery that the *Census* reveals

hundreds of Christian child widows caused in these young men an instinctive reaction against the movements that were responsible for what they felt to be a disgrace to their community.

The disposition to withhold support from the mass movement is also strengthened by the reproach so often heard that Christianity in India draws most of its followers from the lowest classes of society. Many missionaries from abroad have hesitated to welcome the outcastes because of the fear that their conversion would identify Christianity in the public mind with the least cultured and most degraded elements of the population. Some missionaries, who became foremost friends of outcaste mass movements, have frankly admitted the period of doubt through which they passed. Thus, it is not surprising that many Indian Christians are even now troubled by the partial identification of Christianity with the outcastes as a result of the mass movements.

There are also more reprehensible aspects of the feeling against the mass movement. Not all Indian Christians successfully resist the influence of the attitude of Hindu neighbors and associates towards the depressed classes. Partly because they have succumbed to the contagion of prejudice, and partly to promote or safeguard their own standing, some Christians approximate the Hindu attitude towards the depressed classes. Not only Christians who have come from the higher Hindu castes but, perhaps even to a greater extent, those detached from outcaste groups, are subject to this pervasive influence of Hindu caste feeling. Two illustrations will suffice to show how this feeling operates.

A clerk in a Government office, living temporarily on a mission-school compound, filed an objection to the conversion of Chamars on the ground that his standing with his associates in government service and his power to influence them for good would be menaced if they knew that drinking water for his family was drawn from a well used by converted Chamars. Yet that clerk's father had been originally a Sweeper in another province. It should not be supposed from this fact that the clerk was conscious of any inconsistency or of an unchristian attitude; but he was an ambitious man and had rationalized his reactions to the extent of

identifying his standing among his Hindu associates with the interests of Christianity.

A bright-faced Chamar lad won the attention of a missionary who persuaded the parents to allow the boy to go to a boarding school, where he was converted. Eventually that boy entered Government service and rose to a responsible position in which he earned a salary sufficient to enable him, after twenty years, to buy a large share of the agricultural lands of the village in which he had lived as a child. Returning as a landowner, he held aloof from the Chamars among whom he was born, and advocated that the mission confine its efforts for conversion to the "respectable classes who are intelligent enough to understand religious teachings and will not be influenced by materialistic motives."

We found no case of Christians from the depressed classes being opposed to mass movements except among those who have cut themselves off socially both from the unconverted members of the old caste, and from Christian converts whose social and economic position still approximates that of the old caste. A Christian worker of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Telugu country writes: "In Western India I found that Christians, even church workers, not infrequently dissociate themselves from their caste of origin, not from Christian motives, but because they wish others to think that they came from higher castes. Such Christians are very much opposed to the mass movement."

This is not to say that all opposition by Indian Christians to mass movements has been inspired by such forces as the preceding. These, however, should be recognized by anyone who is interested in the attitude of Indian Christians to mass movements, and especially by educated Indian Christians who are considering their own attitudes. But there are other forces that engender aloofness and opposition, and they too should be recognized. Chief, probably, among them is the knowledge, real or supposed, of the poor results of mass movements in some areas. Where, for any reason, baptism has not been followed by an effective ministry, where worship has not been established and there is little or no evidence of moral reformation, social reconstruction or the enrichment of life and personality, the Christian observer is

disappointed; and in his disappointment he may conclude that mass movements are wrong in principle, or at least that he cannot support them until he learns of better results achieved elsewhere.

Another antipathetic force is a seeming conflict of interest between what we now call mass-movement work, and work in which the interest of an educated Indian Christian, not associated with the movements, has been enlisted. Several times during the study we encountered situations such as the following: A local church or school is inadequately supported, a Christian layman believes in the enterprise and contributes to it, but it languishes and fails to achieve what this layman believes it could achieve were it better supported. It occurs to him that the mission could meet the need if it were not spending money on what he supposes to be less important work, and he is led into an attitude of zealous antagonism to mass movements. A generous layman, of a high type, recommended to the writer that a rural circuit in a mass-movement area be closed in order to provide funds to endow a city church in which he was interested. He built up what seemed to him a convincing case against mass movements, but he did it in order to support his plea for funds for what he thought to be an urgent local need. A parallel to this attitude is seen in the opposition of some Anglo-Indians to all missionary efforts except those that are addressed to the needs of Anglo-Indians.

Lack of a Sense of Responsibility for Mass Movements

In some parts of India we found a widespread disposition among educated Indian Christians to regard mass movements as primarily a concern of foreign missionaries and churches in foreign lands. Rightly or wrongly, a good many able Indian Christians consider that within their churches foreign missionaries have assumed too much responsibility in connection with mass movements. They believe that available Indian Christians have not been enlisted in positions that enable them to share with missionaries the major responsibility for determining policies and programs. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the criticism, its effects are

to relieve the critics of a sense of responsibility for mass movements and to encourage a disposition both to enlarge upon their failures and to belittle their achievements.

It is encouraging to observe, however, that in the Dornakal Diocese, where an Indian bishop has provided effective mass-movement leadership for two decades, educated Indian Christians form a solid phalanx in support of the mass movement. The bishop has developed an able corps of workers both from within and without the movements. The Dornakal Mission, of which Bishop Azariah was superintendent before the Dornakal Diocese was created and he was chosen as its first head, has from its beginning represented the missionary interest of Indian Christians in the Tamil areas to the South. Here an indigenous missionary society did pioneer work in promoting a mass movement.

On a less extensive scale we have also discovered in other areas evidence that the exercise of major responsibility by competent Indian Christians for the determination of mass-movement policies has operated to check adverse criticism, and to produce the sense of responsibility that is so lacking in some quarters.

The Success of Indian Leadership

No work seen during this study has impressed us more favorably than that under the superintendency of Indian Christians. The Dornakal Diocese has achieved notable results by providing Indian leadership at the top, utilizing both foreign missionaries and Indian Christians imported from other areas under conditions that do not hamper their initiative or limit their usefulness, and developing ministerial and lay leadership within local groups.

Short visits to areas in the United Provinces, where Indian superintendents of high-school education or less were in charge of districts, showed progress towards the solution of the basic problems of the Church that is unsurpassed in any districts which remain under the supervision of foreign missionaries.

In Chota Nagpur, despite a lamentable shortage of educated leaders, the Lutherans rose to the emergency created by the repatriation of German missionaries during the Great

War. Ministers and laymen, who had not even obtained the advantages of a high-school education, successfully rallied the Christians, persuaded them to increase their gifts, took over the administration of property, and, with very limited assistance from outside, conserved the work of decades under missionary leadership. The church suffered from the absence of the missionaries, especially in respect to the rate of its growth, and the slowing down of educational processes, but experienced a compensating profit in discovering within itself latent resources of support and leadership.

Need for a Wider Extension of Indian Leadership

In several large mass-movement areas all superintendents are foreign missionaries. In other areas there is a preponderance of non-Indian superintendents. Representations made to us by several missionaries indicate that the theory that missionary funds from other lands should be administered by missionaries from those lands, stands in the way of appointing Indian superintendents, except where they can be supported by Indian funds. While subsidies from foreign churches for the support of an Indian superintending ministry may involve some dangers, we have discovered nothing to suggest that those dangers are greater than are involved in subsidies for a pastoral ministry.

The dangers incurred in the maintenance of an all-foreign superintendency appear to be incomparably greater. There is, in our judgment, the clearest sort of case for the granting of subsidies for a pastoral and an evangelizing ministry under conditions that encourage the development of indigenous resources for support. There is, we think, a no less clear case for making the service of experienced missionaries available for the work of superintendency where the Indian Church desires it. The risks involved in both cases can be taken with equanimity. Doubtless every opportunity for service is accompanied by some risk. We believe that the risk to the Church in mass movements would be radically reduced by bringing more Indian men of the best available qualifications of character, ability and experience into the highest superintending offices.

The division of functions between the Church and the Mis-

sion is apparently an obstacle in some places, the district missionary exercising the functions of a superintendent but doing so as a member of the mission organization, because the church, apart from the mission, has made no provision for a superintendent. While it is not our rôle to offer suggestions as to relations between churches and missions, yet we feel that the facts gleaned in this study require the preceding statement as to the need for a wider extension of major responsibility in mass-movement operations to qualified Indian leaders. Additional urgency is given to this need by nationalistic trends in India and elsewhere in Asia. If present trends continue, the India of a dozen years hence is likely to be intolerant of any religious movement, or organization, of or for Indians, in which the major directing responsibility is vested exclusively or predominantly in non-Indians.

The Support of All Indian Christians Needed

The mass movements need not merely a large measure of Indian leadership in the church into which they issue, but the active good will and co-operation of Indian Christians in other areas. The Lindsay Commission on Christian Higher Education in India strongly recommended that Christian colleges relate themselves through research and extension to the problems of the Christian mass movements.[1] The mass movements need that help. At least a score of problems, in the solution of which the Christian colleges might assist the needy communities engaged in these movements, came to our attention. There is now developing in Christian colleges in India an interest in village life. The best starting-point for a Christian college, or for one of its students or graduates, in undertaking to serve the villages of India is the Christian mass-movement group. These people often present in their own persons and homes a large share of the most acute problems of the village, and yet for many types of community service they represent the most available working force in the village.

[1] *The Christian College in India:* Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India. New York, London and Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1931.

In the Nagercoil area the mass movement has been admirably served by a group of teachers of Scott College. This group has worked in seven villages, teaching inquirers and converts, talking over their social, economic, and spiritual problems and establishing bonds of sympathy which have been helpful to the teachers and the college as well as to the villagers. Members of the survey staff reported that conditions in those seven villages were exceptionally good and the outlook very promising.

The situation calls for more general efforts to bring educated Indian Christians not now associated with mass movements into touch with them. Those efforts may be pursued not only through colleges but through high schools and other educational institutions, through extension work by city churches, through Church Councils, Presbyteries, Synods, Assemblies, Conferences, and other ecclesiastical organizations, through the Provincial and National Christian Councils and through Indian Christian Associations.

We are persuaded that direct contact with mass-movement groups and effort to help them will remove from the minds of most educated Indian Christians any doubt of their validity. In our several areas we secured the assistance of a number of men who described their attitudes before their work began as hostile, or doubtful, and after their work was finished as convinced and heartily favorable. A Christian teacher of economics after serving in the study at Ghaziabad, which cannot be considered among the most successful areas of mass-movement work, wrote as follows:

> I felt a great deal of hesitation about joining the inquiry staff. I was strongly prejudiced against mass movements, considering that the time and energy spent on this type of work was wasted. I went to Ghaziabad determined to find as many faults as I possibly could with the work. The month in the study has changed my entire outlook upon mass movements. Faults I saw, plenty of them. But I found the people very interested and responsive, and decided that in proportion to their opportunities they have become much better Christians than I had thought. . . . I think Indian Christian Associations should appoint committees to gather facts about the mass movements and to inform their members about them, also to work with these needy but promising Christians for the advancement of the community.

Denominationalism

Except in areas where two or more churches are in competition, denominationalism has hardly figured in mass movements. In Ghaziabad and Etah areas a majority of the Christians interviewed did not know the name of the church with which they are connected. Indeed, in the Etah area, it is doubtful if any of the village laymen knew the name of the United Church of North India, of which the communicants among them are members, though perhaps a quarter knew the name of the American Presbyterian Mission.

The name of the co-operating mission was much more commonly known than that of the Church in the Vidyanagar and Nagercoil areas, where the village Christians described themselves as C. M. S. Christians and L. M. S. Christians, rather than as members of the Church of India or of the United Church of South India.

In Travancore

Where two or more churches are in competition, intense denominational loyalty has been cultivated. In two of the ten areas studied denominationalism has become a divisive force and a serious peril to the well-being of the Church. In this respect the worst situation was encountered in the Nagercoil area. It can best be illustrated by taking the case of a suburb of Nagercoil city. Many years ago the London Mission opened work there and a group were won to Christian discipleship. Then the Salvation Army entered the suburb, drew away a few members of the congregation associated with the London Missionary Society and won additional converts. The Missouri Lutherans followed and organized a third church. At last the Roman Catholics came. The Sambavars have almost all become Christians, but though they had been united in their primitive animism, they are now divided in their Christian faith by issues imported from Western countries and fastened upon them. The London Mission, first in the area, though the Roman Catholics had long been in villages on the near-by coast, have urged the support of the church by the people themselves. But here a people who could maintain one strong church, and support it adequately, are divided into four congregations, three of

which worship in buildings erected largely with missionary money from abroad and are ministered to by pastors who receive foreign subsidies.

The Salvation Army has established a network of stations and halls (they do not call their places of worship churches) in this area where the London Missionary Society had been at work for almost ninety years before they came, and the Missouri Lutherans are now establishing a third network in the same area. Besides erecting barriers between Christians, this situation interferes with discipline, local church support, and other administrative programs and makes the choice of church allegiance by new groups desiring to embrace Christianity a subject of bargaining. Twelve men in three recently converted groups were asked why they became Lutherans, rather than joining the Salvation Army or the church associated with the London Mission. One replied that he liked the Lutheran missionaries and pastors best; two said they preferred the Lutheran teaching; one said he chose the Lutherans because they were stricter; but eight replied that the Lutherans were willing to do more for them than the other two groups. Among examples cited of what the Lutherans would do was the building of better churches, a more generous policy as to schools and readiness to defend them from oppression.

Fourteen recent converts in the Salvation Army were asked why they joined the Army instead of the Lutherans or the church of the London Missionary Society. Four said they preferred the Salvation Army because relatives had joined it, two said they liked the singing in the Army, one said he thought the Salvation Army people were the best Christians, two said that they knew little about the Lutherans, and that the London Missionary Society church was not for Sambavars but for Nadars, and five said that the Salvation Army would do more for them than either of the other churches.

Nine recent converts of the London Mission were asked why they joined that church instead of the Salvation Army. One replied that it was because the Salvation Army does not baptize converts, and he believed in baptism; two said that they were led to Christ by London Missionary Society Christians and so joined that church, one said it was because the

London Missionary Society Christians were more respectable, two said only that most Nadar converts join the London Missionary Society church, one that he preferred to join with people that do things for themselves without becoming dependent on foreign money, and two that they preferred the church that had done the most to establish Christianity in that region.

This divisive and bargaining spirit has spread to such an extent that during our month of study we were waited upon by two delegations who invited us to open a new mission and wanted to know what resources we could bring to their aid. One of these delegations presented a file showing correspondence with fourteen Mission Boards about opening a new mission. Among the inducements they offered were 6,000 converts and the appointment of the head missionary as bishop, provided he would bring sufficient resources to finance their program.

Independent "Pentecostal" missionaries and followers of "Pastor Russell" have invaded a few villages in the area.

In Chota Nagpur

Another distressing situation has developed in the Govindpur area, where, however, competition by Protestant churches has been more restrained and foreign missionary money administered by Protestants has not been a major complicating factor. Roman Catholic missions are aggressively seeking to win converts from Protestant Christian groups and are accused of offering financial inducements through Co-operative Society loans, employment, free or reduced tuition in schools, financing of court cases, etc.

In eight of the eleven villages intensively studied we found that groups of aboriginal tribesmen had been divided by denominational barriers. Two prime causes of ill-feeling were discovered in these groups, namely, conflicts with the landowners over rights in agricultural and forest lands, and conflicts among themselves over church allegiances.

The Roman Catholics and Anglicans (S. P. G. Mission) in these villages were all former Lutherans. So far as we could discover the occasions for leaving the Lutheran Church and joining one of the others were: (1) discipline by the church

or by the tribal brotherhood, (2) (in case of Roman Catholics only) financial assistance, (3) preference for the other church, and (4) discouragement over the Lutheran difficulties resulting from the repatriation of the missionaries during the Great War and the loss of financial subsidies.

The Anglican leaders assisted the Lutherans in the emergency created by the war and have not sought additions to their church from among the Lutherans, but have considered applications from members of that church. Leaders of both churches assured us that the Anglicans have refused many applications from Lutherans for membership, and have extended their work to new villages to receive Lutheran members only after studying the circumstances carefully and concluding that duty called them there. But they will, we think, agree with us that the introduction of denominational differences among Christians in the villages of Chota Nagpur has been very unfortunate.

In Telugu Areas

In parts of the Telugu country two or more Protestant churches have been established in the same areas, and even in the same villages. Yet those churches have not often engaged in the kind of competition that has created the distressing situations in Travancore and Chota Nagpur. The mass movement among the Madigas began under Baptist influence, and in areas where the Baptist and other churches are found in the same territory the Baptist converts are, for the most part, Madigas, and those of the other churches Malas. In the Guntur District the Lutherans are very strong. Their largest ingathering has been from among the Malas, though thousands of Madigas have also entered their fold. Nevertheless, other Madiga groups have insisted upon becoming Baptists. In the Kurnool District both Baptist and Church of India (S. P. G.) congregations are found in some villages. In this district while a few groups of Malas have become Baptists other groups have preferred not to join a predominantly Madiga church and have associated themselves instead with the S. P. G. In the Kistna District, through the work of the Church Missionary Society, both Malas and Madigas in large numbers have joined the Church

of India; but a few groups of Madigas have insisted upon becoming Baptists instead.

In several areas where only one church is at work the mass movement has advanced rapidly in one of these castes and very slowly in the other. At the Guntur Conference on the Mass Movement a senior Baptist missionary declared that while his church alone was working in the district in which he was stationed, the Malas could not be reached, but when the Lutherans came a Mala movement began which has resulted in the addition of many groups to the Baptist Church.

Non-Christian Malas and Madigas have engaged in a feud for hundreds of years. Where they have become Christians the hostile feeling between them has perceptibly lessened. Denominationalism does not in this case divide a previously united people as it has done with Sambavars around Nagercoil and Mundas around Govindpur, but, on the contrary, seems in some cases to draw groups from the two previously hostile castes together. Yet, where Malas and Madigas have joined the same church they have been drawn into a much closer fellowship.

The presence of two churches in the same village, under the circumstances described, makes it very desirable that ecclesiastical administrators and mission agents explore all possibilities for co-operative effort and that they maintain a strong curb upon the growth of denominational rivalry. This is given additional urgency by the growth of the Sudra Christian movement in these areas. The Mala-Madiga feud has been connected with a wider rift in Telugu village relations, by which the population has been divided into what are called the right-hand and left-hand castes. Unless care is taken, there is danger of that division being imported into, and perpetuated in, the Church, and defeating the mission of Christianity as a unifying and healing force. A field in which immediate co-operative effort is called for is that of primary day schools. Where Mala and Madiga converts have been united in one church they are co-operating in the local school, but so far as we discovered in our village surveys separate schools have been established wherever groups of these castes in one village have joined different churches.

In the United Provinces

In the United Provinces we found no village in which more than one Protestant church had been established. In the Etah area unity was achieved more than twenty years ago by the withdrawal of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the Ghaziabad area the Church of India (C. M. S. Mission) and the Methodist Episcopal Church are both at work, but it seems that local competition in the villages has generally been avoided. In other districts not far from Ghaziabad these two churches have found their work overlapping so much as to cause embarrassment, and negotiations are well advanced for a delimitation of territory, which may result in each church withdrawing from several areas, and the local congregations being united.

Church Union

Sentiment for the union of the churches is growing in every part of India visited in the course of the study. That sentiment is perceptibly stronger in the city churches and among church and mission leaders than among the rank and file in the mass movements. The village Christians have not become conscious of the divisions among Christians except as those divisions have been reproduced in or near their villages. Some of them are acutely conscious of local divisions. In Travancore members of the London Missionary Society congregations expressed regret and even resentment that foreign mission resources had been used to promote divisions in their villages. However, members of the Salvation Army insisted that the Nadar-controlled church founded by the London Missionary Society had shown so little concern for the conversion of Sambavars that if the Salvation Army had not entered the area the Sambavars would have remained in their animistic faith. Likewise members of the Lutheran Church in Chota Nagpur expressed sorrow and resentment that the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics had invaded their congregations.

The church that has arisen from the labors of the London Missionary Society in South Travancore has united with Presbyterian, Congregational and Reformed Churches in South India to form a United Church of South India, and is

represented in negotiations for a larger union that will comprehend in one church the present United Church, the South India Dioceses of the Church of India (Anglicans), and the South India section of the Methodist (formerly Wesleyan Methodist) Church. Even when this latter union has been achieved, the local divisions in South Travancore will remain, unless something is done to bring the Salvation Army and the Missouri Lutherans into union with them. Unfortunately, neither of the latter groups has as yet consented to join the Provincial Christian Council, or to place any curb upon their denominational freedom, and the Missouri Lutherans have persistently refused to join in common worship or in any form of co-operative effort.

In the Telugu country all of the Protestant Churches mentioned in the study are working together in amity and with growing respect for each other. The prospective union of the Church of India, the Methodist (formerly Wesleyan) Church, and the United Church of South India, has stimulated interest in other possible unions and has, we believe, strengthened the purpose of all the churches to refrain from aggressive competition and to solve the problems created by joint occupation of villages and wider areas. The problems of the churches in this area are so nearly alike, and there is so much of mutual respect among them, that the churches and missions are now co-operating effectively in the Provincial Christian Council, pooling their resources of experience and judgment.

In North India the desire for union has brought the present United Church of North India, composed of former Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Baptist Churches associated with the British Baptist Missionary Society, into a measure of union through a Joint Council of the three churches, and into negotiations for complete corporate union. The chief obstacles encountered in those negotiations are uncertainty about the attitude of the churches abroad as to the maintenance and strengthening of their missions and, in the case of the Methodist Episcopal Church, reluctance to discontinue organic union with that church in other lands.

CHAPTER XV

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FROM facts assembled in this study it would be possible to compile an encouraging record of achievements and a disturbing record of failures and near-failures in mass movements. Every area studied would contribute to both records. From the achievements discovered we conclude that mass movements possess distinctive values and are eminently worth while. From the failures and near-failures observed we conclude that mass movements are accompanied by certain dangers, that the high privilege of co-operating with them imposes special obligations upon churches and missions, and that certain weaknesses have seriously interfered with the discharge of those obligations.

Some Major Values in Mass Movements

I. *The Most Natural Way of Approach to Christ.* In view of the circumstances under which mass movements have developed it is clear that they constitute for many Indian people the most natural way of approach to Christ. The more individualistic way preferred in Western countries is not favored by people trained from early childhood to group action. To object to mass movements is to place obstacles in the path along which an overwhelming proportion of Indian Christians, including more than eighty per cent of those affiliated with Protestant churches, have come to profess faith in Christ Jesus. We see no reason to believe that any considerable proportion of mass-movement converts could have been brought to Christ along any other path. Nor do we see any reason to wish that they might have been led by any other way.

This is not to say that the mass movement is for all of India's people the best way of approach to Christ. For many who have become his disciples it was not a possible way,

because the groups in which they lived would not move with them, and they had to come alone or not come at all. But multitudes coming with their relatives and neighbors have found in Christ the same satisfying experience that those have found who came alone.

II. *Protection from Social Dislocation.* Among any people, and in group-conscious India more than in the individualistic West, social dislocation carries a grave menace to morality and religion. Mass movements by preserving the integration of the individual in his group afford invaluable protection against this peril. In India single conversion unfortunately leads usually to a complete break of the convert with his group. This involves him in economic loss and mental anguish and deprives him of valuable restraints upon wrongdoing and supports to right living. Unless he finds compensations in fellowship with other Christians he is likely to break under the strain.

In one church in North India, during a ten-year period, seventeen men from upper Hindu castes and from Islam were converted. All were separated from their groups and disowned by their relatives. Within two years of their conversion twelve of these men were known to have suffered severe moral lapses and nine renounced Christianity. In one recent year in a mission station in Bihar eight Moslems and three Hindus were converted. One, an old man, died happy in his Christian faith within a year of his conversion; one, a lad, entered a Christian boarding school, became happily adjusted to a new group-life, married a Christian girl, and is now an active Christian layman; one disappeared within a year and has not been heard of since; two drifted to other provinces and broke morally, but have remained nominal Christians (one narrowly escaped a prison sentence); and six renounced Christianity in order to return to their former groups. While many better records of single conversions can be cited, the foregoing are by no means exceptional instances where conversion has broken the social integration.

The record in mass movements presents a pleasing contrast. Social integration has not usually been broken. Even where a partial break of the group of converts with their caste associates has occurred, individuals within the group

have been protected by their understanding of each other. They have not lost the old social supports to the good life nor have they been freed from the old restraints upon wrongdoing.

III. *Reduction of the Danger of Westernization.* In India there has been a strong tendency to identify Western social patterns and customs with Christianity. Single converts, cut off from the society to which they were accustomed, have tended to abandon its patterns and customs for those of their Western confreres in religion. This tendency has been a menace to the welfare of the Church and of the nation because of influences it has exerted upon many converts and upon the attitudes of non-Christians towards Christianity. It has been observed, for instance, that many Indian Christians, whose conversion has involved a break with relatives and caste or community associates, have lost their pride in Indian nationalism. The adoption of European names, European modes of life, and European dress has sometimes been followed by the development of a contemptuous attitude towards those of their fellow countrymen who have continued honored Indian traditions.

Many individual converts who began their Christian profession with high ideals and purposes have been betrayed by their preference for Western social customs into association with people of low moral standards. Lacking the experience and judgment essential to the understanding of a strange milieu, they have easily acquired such misconceptions as that Christians must treat each other to whisky in celebration of Christmas.

Mass movements have offered effective resistance to the identification of Christianity with Westernization. Western social patterns that the Indian public regards with disfavor have not left all mass-movement converts untouched, but neither have they penetrated deeply into any such community. The church of the villages, which is predominantly the church of the mass movement, is thoroughly Indian in social patterns and customs.

IV. *Aid to the Conversion of Others.* Mass movements aid evangelism by preserving the influence of converts upon their relatives, caste associates, and neighbors. In the vil-

lages of India the caste group is the chief center of influence; an individual, apart from his group, counts for little. A convert, thus separated, is rarely able to bring anyone in his village to Christ. Indeed, in most of India it is very unusual for an individual whose social integration is broken by his conversion to remain in his village. He feels his isolation so much that he prefers to live elsewhere. If he remains, whatever his testimony, and however much his character may be improved, his break with his group is regarded as an offense and a tragedy, and his influence is severely limited. People of all castes are afraid of anything that may lead them to a break with their groups. When a group is converted and social integration is protected, observers are interested and may be deeply influenced. They want to know what induced the change of religion and what developments will follow. News of the conversion of a group travels far and fast. In thousands of villages the first word about Christ ever listened to with real interest came in the report that some group had begun to follow him. If members of the group appear to be happy in their new life as Christians, other groups begin to consider whether they would not find happiness in following Christ. To group-conscious people the action of a group is incomparably more important than the action of many isolated individuals, the corporate witness to Christ transcends in significance the personal witness and the most effective demonstration of the power of Christ is the transformation of a group of believers.

It has sometimes been assumed that mass movements are an aid to the conversion of depressed classes only and an obstacle to the conversion of higher-caste Hindus and Moslems. These assumptions are certainly not correct. Mass movements have proved as helpful to the conversion of Sudras and aboriginal tribesmen as to the conversion of the depressed classes.

Many Hindus have been prejudiced against Christianity because of the conversion of members of the depressed classes, whether in mass movements or in separate individual approaches to Christ. To cater to that prejudice would have required that churches and missions refuse not only to cooperate with mass movements of the depressed classes but

also to accept individual converts from those classes. That prejudice is diminishing, and prominent Hindu leaders and organizations are themselves undertaking work for the depressed classes.

So far from proving an obstacle to the conversion of the higher classes, mass movements of the depressed classes have actually increased the number of such converts. This conclusion is necessitated by the following data:

(1) Where there have been no mass movements of the depressed classes, missions and churches have not realized their hopes of seeing large numbers of the higher classes converted. In those areas the social dislocation suffered by the few individuals converted, and the concept of Christianity as a denationalizing force, have so prejudiced observers that conversions have been made extremely difficult and rare.

(2) In several areas where mass movements of the depressed classes have taken place large numbers of the higher classes are being converted. This is despite the fact that in these areas the ministers of the church and the mission are so occupied with the care of converts from the depressed classes that they have little time to devote to the direct presentation of their message to the higher classes.

(3) In several areas where mass movements of the depressed classes have not taken place a considerable proportion of converts from the higher castes have been favorably influenced by converts from depressed-class mass movements in other areas. Of nine recent converts in Lucknow no fewer than six had previously lived where mass movements of the depressed classes had occurred, and two others had been won to Christ by ministers that had come out of such movements.

In one district in Bihar, German missionaries and their Indian associates labored for more than fifty years to win the higher classes and reported fewer than fifty such converts. Then a mass movement of the outcaste leather-workers began and in the next twenty years more than one hundred of the higher classes were converted. The Sudra movement in the Telugu country is a direct outgrowth of earlier depressed class movements.

The conclusion is inescapable that a demonstration of

the power of Christ to transform the character of the outcaste and to enrich his life is a mighty aid to the conversion of the higher classes.

The values in mass movements are not limited to the depressed classes and the aborigines, but potentially extend to all classes accustomed to close group integration. The fact that the depressed classes and the aborigines have hitherto predominated in Christian mass movements does not mean that the higher castes are less inclined to group action. The beneficiaries of the Hindu social order respond less freely to the Christian gospel than do its victims, but the characteristics which make for group action are common to both.

Certain Dangers Attending Mass Movements

So far as we have been able to discover, no failure is common to all mass movements except such as is common to all sections of the church everywhere. Every danger that bears a distinctive relation to mass movements has been, to a large extent, overcome in one or more of the areas studied and has been combatted with at least partial success in every area. Of these dangers three require special emphasis.

I. *Neglect of Personal Religion.* The individual in the mass movement may regard his attention to the group aspects of religion as a complete, or at least a sufficient, fulfillment of his duty and privilege as a Christian. Likewise, the minister may take such satisfaction in group action that he will understate the imperative need for a cultivation of the inner life of the individual. That the danger is grave is indicated by the testimony of several pastors and superintendents that they do not expect many personal conversions in the sense of spiritual rebirth among adults who embrace Christianity in mass movements. That attitude is fortunately not common, and in every area we met many first-generation converts who, by personal testimony and transformed life and character, gave evidence that they had experienced the new birth that Jesus declared to be essential.

II. *Caste Barriers in the Church.* Mass-movement converts may import into the church the caste barriers to which they have been accustomed. Pastors and superintendents

quite generally agree that mass-movement converts show more feeling of caste exclusiveness and hold more tenaciously to undesirable caste customs than do other converts. The preservation of social integration, while retaining many valuable supports to the good life, may be allowed to hold intact prejudices and customs that are inimical to that life as it is represented in the teachings of Jesus.

In one area a group of Sudra converts went back to Hinduism because the Malas of several neighboring villages were baptized. In another area aboriginal converts have refrained from efforts to bring Hindus to Christ for fear that the conversion of the latter would raise the issue of intermarriage. In yet another area a group of outcaste converts discontinued plans for a new church building when they learned that a group of Sudras had been enrolled as inquirers, because they feared that the prospective converts would take possession of the building.

In every area we found an awareness of this danger and systematic attempts to overcome it. On the whole the danger is most acute in the South, where certain sections of the Roman Catholics have permitted such extreme caste distinctions as the segregation of outcastes in church services and the priority of higher-caste converts in receiving the sacrament of the Holy Communion.

III. *Arrest or Retardation of Movement.* Mass movements may cease to move or may move with extreme slowness after the desire to be recognized as Christians is satisfied. A mass moving downward gains momentum, but these are mass movements upward. There are innumerable obstacles in the path by which these groups, especially such as are emerging from the depressed classes, must climb to Christian levels of life. The urge to climb must be constantly renewed if these obstacles are to be surmounted.

In the United Provinces we find groups of Sweepers whose movement either ceased or slowed down to a rate hardly perceptible soon after their baptism. Out of some of these groups individuals have emerged and gone forward rapidly to surmount obstacles of illiteracy, insanitary living conditions, poverty, and social oppression, but their progress has not started a new movement in the group, and in some

cases they have strayed from the path and fallen over the precipice of selfishness to moral ruin. Moreover, the emergence of individuals has sometimes started a retrogression in the group. In contrast, however, we have seen many groups, including not a few in the United Provinces, that have moved forward steadily ever since their conversion and have been assisted by the leadership of men and women who have moved far ahead of the mass.

The problem of the church and the mission is to stimulate progress without encouraging individuals to sacrifice the benefits or repudiate the obligations of their group connections. The obligations of the church and mission are not met by efforts that assist individuals to break away from the group; they necessitate efforts to make the entire mass surmount the obstacles and move forward to levels on which the divine possibilities of life can be realized.

The relation of individuals of unusual capabilities to their groups deserves the further emphasis that the consideration of the following experiences will give to it:

(1) In a cross-country journey in North India the writer sat in a motor bus beside a young man, who introduced himself as a Christian teacher in a government school. By much inquiry, largely conducted in whispers so that other passengers might not hear, the writer learned that his companion belonged to a family that had emerged from the Sweeper caste. His father had been an evangelist. One of his brothers was a lawyer; another held a responsible post in Government service. Although the school in which this young man had been employed for two years was located within twenty miles of the village where his father was born and where he believed that an uncle and several cousins were living, he had not visited the village and declared that he would never do so, because it would hurt his social standing and the feelings of his family for him to renew any association with Sweepers. His family had adopted a name that suggested an origin from another class, and his associates either assumed that his forefathers belonged to a respected class of the population or tactfully refrained from assumptions. He preferred that the facts be not known.

(2) In a college in South India the writer was introduced

to a Christian young man of the senior class. The conversation quickly turned to this study. In the presence of two Hindu students the young man expressed pleasure that the study was being made. "Come to my village," said he. "I am a Mala and the first Mala of the village to attend any school beyond the sixth standard. I am going home for the week-end and would like you to meet my family and neighbors. Most of them are illiterate and all are very poor, but my father and several others are very good Christians." "Do you go home frequently?" we asked. "About once a month usually, but this is an extra trip, for one of the Christian girls in the village is to be married and my friends would be disappointed if I did not attend the wedding," came the reply.

The young man and his brothers in North India had broken their connection with the village group and it is very likely that the group had not only been deprived of potential leaders in a new advance, but had suffered a setback through their desertion by this capable family. But the young man in South India had retained his interest in, and loyalty to, his group, and it can hardly be doubted that his influence is extending through and aiding the entire group.

Certain Limitations and Weaknesses

The failures observed in the study have not been so much failures of mass movements as of churches and missions cooperating with them. In no area have these failures been complete. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to write of limitations upon the successes achieved than of failures.

One of the major advantages of this comparative study of the work of a number of churches and missions is the light it throws upon the weaknesses that limit success. Among those clearly revealed the following are prominent:

I. *Underestimation of Responsibilities.* In several areas examination of the reports of superintending ministers, both foreign and Indian, and a study of records reveal an extreme underestimation of the responsibilities accepted in baptizing groups of converts. In one area the reports express great joy over the conversion of sixty Chamars in one village, but

reveal that the only provision made for a ministry to them was the retention of an evangelist in a city ten miles from their village. The obligation of the Church and the Mission to that poverty-stricken, ignorant and oppressed group could not be met by an evangelist living ten miles away. At that time seven other evangelists were laboring elsewhere in the district, trying to win converts, while this large group was virtually abandoned. Within a year this entire group went back to Hinduism, but the only comment in the superintendent's report is that they had proved such a disappointment that he had to conclude they had never been really converted.

Parents are compelled by law to provide for their children, but there is no law of man by which churches and missions can be compelled to recognize and meet their obligations to those for whose birth as "babes in Christ" they are responsible.

In all areas of large success we find that new groups of converts have been provided with intensive care. The superintendents' reports in those areas have represented every new group of converts as an added responsibility. Baptism has been accounted less an end than a beginning of the work of the Church and the Mission to establish the converts in Christ.

II. *Inadequate Adaptation of Methods.* There are many examples of the weakness of inadequate adaptation. Methods that were evolved to meet very different needs elsewhere have been imported to these village groups, and maintained with little or no change. Churches have followed closely the polity and organization forms of their mother churches across the seas instead of evolving systems of government and forms of organization more suitable to their needs. In several areas much energy has been expended in resisting the demand inherent in the situation for a strong centralized leadership. In the areas of the American Presbyterian Mission and the American Baptist Telugu Mission the lack of a unified program and centralized control of policy is clearly responsible for a number of weaknesses. In the Methodist Episcopal Church a general superintendency developed primarily for the United States has been

maintained with minor modifications insufficient to provide the close episcopal administration needed in mass-movement areas.

Forms of public worship have too closely reflected those used in the West. In most areas liturgy and symbolism have been used very little despite their attractiveness and demonstrated value to Indian worshipers.

The development of trained Christian lay leadership in the village groups has received inadequate attention. Missions early began to provide training for employment as paid workers, but have been extraordinarily slow in adapting their methods to training for unpaid leadership in the village groups. In the villages of the United Presbyterian Church in the Punjab we find effective Christian lay leadership. Men, chosen by their groups, have been trained as elders and are serving efficiently although most of them are illiterate. To train illiterate men to serve as elders was a difficult task that required a radical adaptation of teaching methods and curriculum. In the area of the American Presbyterian Mission in the United Provinces we find very few village elders and no comparable system of training for them.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church, chief executive control in the congregation, or in the circuit comprising a number of congregations, is vested in an institution known as the Quarterly Conference. In mass-movement areas of this church in the United Provinces, the Quarterly Conference membership frequently consists almost entirely of paid employees, ordained ministers, local preachers, and exhorters serving as evangelists or pastors' assistants, school-teachers, and Bible women. The organization has not been adapted to serve the purpose of producing a trained officiary really representative of the groups of converts.

III. *Low Standards of Expectation and Demand.* Too low standards of expectation on the part of churches and missions as to the achievements of converts before and during church membership constitute a serious weakness. In no other respect is the contrast so conspicuous between the most successful and the least successful mass-movement work. In the Dornakal Diocese candidates for baptism are expected

to learn in a few weeks what it is believed that converts in the United Provinces must take years to learn. In the Ghaziabad area preachers working with groups of from ten to twenty-five families of Chamars are basing their expectation of results upon levels of achievement attained in work with small and scattered groups of Sweepers. In Etah, Ghaziabad, Barhan, and Vikarabad areas new groups have been baptized with no expectation that they would accept Christian rites for marriages until years had passed, while in all other sample areas new converts are expected to accept Christian rites on the first occasion of a marriage, and if they do not do so, disciplinary action is taken against them.

In the Dornakal Diocese new groups of adult converts are expected to qualify for confirmation within a year of their baptism, but in many other areas it is taken for granted that the majority of such converts will never be admitted to church membership and the Holy Communion. In one hundred and forty families in the Barhan area only two men and one woman had been confirmed, although a majority of the adults had been Christians more than twenty years, and none of these three confirmed persons had received the sacrament of the Holy Communion during the three years immediately preceding our survey. In one pastorate in the Ghaziabad area only seventeen persons in eighty-six families studied had ever communed in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the pastor admitted that during a six-year tenure he had not once invited any village Christians under his care to cummune. The primary difficulty in both these areas seems to be that the ministers have not expected their people to qualify for the sacrament or to appreciate its benefits when qualified. For themselves, and for Christians apart from the mass movement, they have esteemed the sacrament to be a valuable means of grace.

It is not only in the least successful areas that the stabilizing of low standards of expectation is apparent. In every area the wearing of charms to ward off illness and other misfortunes is regarded as a weakness from which the masses cannot be saved, though here and there preachers with higher expectations have greatly reduced, and a few have eradicated, the practice among their people. In South In-

dia the expectation that even established Christians will rarely interdine or otherwise fraternize across caste borders, except when brought together in worship or on church business, retards the merging of converts from several castes into one unified community life. Under this easy-going attitude caste distinctions naturally survive even an advanced Christian education. On the other hand, in the United Provinces and the Punjab the expectation that converts with even a modicum of Christian education will not draw caste lines against other Christians promotes the speedy attainment of a unified community life.

IV. *Inefficient Administration.* How weak administration interferes with discharging the obligation of churches and missions to new converts is exemplified in the fluctuations of policy and program in areas where superintendents change frequently and each superintendent does what is right in his own eyes without regard to what has previously been done in the area. Nowhere is a unified and steadfast policy more desirable than in dealing with mass-movement converts. Indian villagers esteem custom highly and are repelled by every appearance of instability. From superintendents, pastors, and village lay Christians we heard, during our inquiry, of confusion and discouragement due to frequent changes in policy and program. A village pastor said: "In five years I have had three superintendents, and each one has demanded from me a different kind of work." A village lay leader said: "Our first *munshi* held services each week and taught us to pray. Our second *munshi* didn't want us to pray in the services, but did all the public praying himself. This *munshi* we have now just visits when he comes to the village and usually doesn't hold a service."

Two leaders in one village complained that one pastor prepared them and a few others for church membership by a very thorough course of training, but another came and made all the remaining baptized adults church members by merely writing their names in the book without any sort of training or test. In two areas of the United Provinces, Etah and Ghaziabad, many heads of families did not know whether they were church members. The records indicated that certain men and women were members although they

and their neighbors agreed that they had never been formally admitted nor specially trained for the responsibility.

Larger Success in Mass Movements Is Possible

The large success hitherto achieved in mass movements, combined with a study of present conditions, encourages the belief that much larger success is possible. The opportunities presented by mass movements were probably never before so large as they are now. Some reasons for these beliefs are:

I. *The Increasing Strength of Indian Churches.* Indian churches were never so well prepared to take advantage of mass-movement opportunities as they are now. Despite the recent and still current depression the economic resources of Indian churches have been steadily, though slowly, increasing. Personality resources have been increasing rapidly. For every educated Indian Christian available a generation ago for carrying major responsibility in the determination of policy and program, in supervision and in administration, many are available to-day. The average of ministerial qualifications has risen considerably. A great increase in the assets of experience has been registered. Closer relations between the several churches have added to the strength of each of them. The decline of denominationalism has reduced competition which diverted energy from the legitimate tasks of the church to the propagation of divisive theological speculations and the wasteful building of rival establishments.

II. *Gains in Foreign Missions More Than Offset Losses.* While in quite recent years the finances and the number of missionaries made available by churches in other lands for assistance to mass movements in India have unfortunately been seriously reduced, these losses are more than offset by certain gains in the strength of missions. Missionaries share with the churches in India the gains from experience, from the increase of co-operation and the approach to unity. Facilities for missionary training have been increased and improved and are more generally appreciated and utilized. Missionaries are coming to India with less ambition for leadership and more for service and with a truer under-

standing and consequently a deeper respect for India's peoples and institutions. The rise of Indian leadership makes possible the utilization of missionaries to better advantage, freeing them from responsibilities for which they were ill-fitted and permitting the development of their more creative qualities. The increase of medical knowledge, the improvement of surgery, frequent health examinations, better sanitary surroundings, the screening of houses, and provision for vacations have improved health records and increased physical efficiency. The development in healthful hill stations of schools, comparable to those which their children would attend in their homelands, has made it possible for a larger proportion of experienced missionaries, especially of those from the United States and Canada, to continue in missionary work.

III. *A More Helpful Environment.* India is looking to her future more than she has done at any time since mass movements began. There is an increasing desire to assure an ampler life for the masses of her people. Mr. Gandhi's championship of the cause of the outcaste within Hinduism has aroused many Hindus to a realization of the social evil and the political stupidity of untouchability. The forces of orthodoxy within Hinduism are rallying to defend their privileged position as overlords. Nevertheless, there is, on the whole, a better attitude towards the depressed classes and the aboriginal tribesmen and an appreciation of the services that churches and missions have rendered to India in helping to remove obstacles from their path. Far-seeing Indian Christian leaders have dispelled much prejudice against Christianity by combating the spread of political communalism and supporting Indian national aspirations.

Moslems, Sikhs and the non-Christian depressed classes have demanded communal representation in the legislatures and public services, and other safeguards to their rights, as a condition of their support of measures to establish an Indian political autonomy. At the same time Hindu leaders have aggressively asserted the right of Hindus to predominate in the proposed national government because of their numerical majority. But, through the statesmanship of their leaders, Indian Christians, though numerically weak and exposed

to danger, have disavowed communal representation and subordinated selfish communalistic considerations to national welfare. Denationalizing forces retarding Christianity's progress in India have thus been successfully challenged and their extreme weakness demonstrated.

IV. *Groups Already Enlisted Can Be Better Served.* There is good reason for encouragement in the possibilities of improving the quality of work by churches and missions for those who have enlisted in mass movements. Every church and mission can learn from the achievements of other churches and missions how to improve its work. Facing the record of accomplishments revealed by this study there can be no excuse for assuming that any of the present weaknesses in mass movements need continue.

V. *New Groups Can Be Enlisted.* Contrary to opinions widely circulated, enlistments in mass movements are now proceeding rapidly, and thousands of other enlistments are prevented only by the inability of associated churches and missions, with their present resources, to accept new responsibilities. The 1931 *Census* shows an increase of 1,542,684 in India's Christian population during the preceding decade. If the normal growth through excess of births over deaths be figured at the rate of the growth of India's total population for the same decade, we have an excess of 1,385,329, which represents additions through conversion during the ten years 1921-31. Probably 90 per cent of this growth, that is, an annual average of 125,000, is due to mass movements.

There are still many hundreds of thousands of unconverted members of the castes and tribes in which major mass movements have taken place. Non-Christian Malas and Mądigas in the Telugu country far outnumber those who have been converted, and a very large proportion have friends or relatives among the Christians. There are still more than 700,000 animists in Assam, more than 350,000 non-Christian Oraons, Mundas, Kharias, and Santals in Chota Nagpur, more than 360,000 Sweepers and 5,800,000 Chamars unconverted in the United Provinces. In enlisting new groups the churches and missions can avoid mistakes that have interfered with the progress of earlier groups.

Sudra castes in the Telugu country in which incipient mass movements have begun, number more than twelve million.

In addition to all these large possibilities of further expansion of mass movements that are in progress there are numerous indications of the possibility of mass movements starting in other castes and tribes. In the Punjab occasional Moslem families are being converted without suffering the complete social dislocation that, in the past, has so disastrously affected a large majority of Moslem converts, and many Chuhra converts believe that a mass movement of village Moslems is near.

How to Achieve Larger Possibilities for Mass Movements

I. *Clarification of Aims.* Some confusion is evident about the aims of Christian workers ministering to mass-movement groups. A proportion of those workers (we shall not hazard a guess as to its size) seems to think that the improvement of social and economic conditions cannot legitimately be included among their aims. Another proportion seems to think that a direct ministry to the spirit cannot profitably be undertaken until social and economic conditions have been improved.

The aims should be clarified to make possible a ministry by the whole body of Christian workers as broad and yet as unified as was the ministry of Jesus.

(1) There should be no hesitation about ministering to temporal needs. A ministry that ignores such needs is certainly not modeled upon that of Jesus. He fed the hungry without fear of the criticism that he was inducing people to follow him for what they could get from him. When he met people who could not earn a living because of afflictions of body or mind he healed them. He even assured his disciples that they would not need to worry about food or clothing if they lived as he taught them to live.

(2) But just as clearly there should be no question about the primacy of the spiritual aim. "Seek ye *first* the kingdom of God and his righteousness," says Jesus, "and all of these things shall be added unto you."

Nothing but failure has proceeded from missionary efforts in which the order of Jesus has been reversed. In one area several highly qualified missionaries tried to lift a group of outcastes from social degradation, poverty, and illiteracy as a preliminary to ministering to their spiritual needs. Schools were opened, co-operative societies organized, and medical work inaugurated. Many became literate, economic conditions were improved, and many diseases were cured. But when the missionaries then began to preach Christ the response of those whom they had helped was: "You are experts in running schools, co-operative societies, and hospitals. What do you know about religion? For advice on religion we will go to the priests who make that their business." At length the missionaries left the area in discouragement and their beneficiaries slipped back into debt and insanitary living conditions. The only abiding result of years of work was that a number of those whom they had served were able to read.

The effort should be to minister both to spiritual and physical needs from the beginning. Neither aim should be undertaken as preliminary to the other. The data assembled in this study make it perfectly clear that these aims belong together; that either one is largely ineffective without the other.

II. *Better Provision for Christian Leadership.* (1) The Principle of Adequacy. The largest possibilities of mass movements cannot be achieved without a more adequate provision for Christian leadership. Leaders must, in the first instance, be provided from without. They must be at hand or easily accessible at all times; a visit once a month or once a fortnight is not sufficient. They must be capable men with ability to lead. They must be trained men, must know the truth their people need to know and know how to impart it. They must be in thorough sympathy with those whom they serve and willing to identify themselves with them. They must be men with a deep religious experience, men who know God and worship him in spirit and in truth. But leaders coming from outside the groups, accessible at all times and possessing all of the above qualities, cannot remain adequate very long. They must raise

up, within the groups, leaders with qualifications as good as or better than they themselves possess.

(2) Re-enforcement of Leadership in Existing Mass-Movement Areas. We cannot stress too strongly the fact that in several areas, especially in the United Provinces, the leadership now made available by the Missionary Societies, to meet responsibilities they have accepted, is entirely inadequate. In these areas a larger staff and one more closely related to the mass of converts is essential. Unless the staff is increased it will be impossible to realize the larger possibilities, and a very tragic collapse probably cannot be averted. A few men and women of the highest educational qualifications should be added for a supervising and administrative ministry, and many men and women of more modest educational qualifications should be recruited from the mass-movement groups who can live very close to the people whom they will serve.

In the Nagercoil, Govindpur, Guntur, Vidyanagar, Cumbum, and Pasrur areas the ministerial leadership is quantitatively adequate, or nearly so, to care fairly well for the present Christian community, although in several areas, notably in Pasrur, a limited increase could be used to advantage. But in Vikarabad and in the three areas of the United Provinces—Barhan, Etah, and Ghaziabad—the staff is far too small. Adequacy would require that the number of ministers, including pastors, catechists, evangelists, and school teachers now employed, be at least doubled in Vikarabad and Barhan, trebled in Etah, and quadrupled in Ghaziabad.

If an adequate leadership is to be provided in these four areas, and in many others like them not included in our sample areas, it will be necessary to face frankly the respective responsibilities of the converts and of the missionary societies and the churches which they represent. The converts in these areas have never been ministered to in the same thorough manner as have the converts of the more successful areas. They were baptized and committed to the care of preachers and teachers who were insufficient in number and many of whom had few qualifications for their work.

The theory that the withholding of funds from abroad is necessary to stimulate converts, situated like these, to support

their own preachers, rests upon false premises. These converts are nearly all desperately poor and many have neither the means nor the outlook and training necessary to enable them to support preachers. If they were concentrated so that a single pastor could minister to as many as one hundred and fifty or even one hundred families, they might very soon undertake the full support of their pastors; but scattered as they are in many sections of these areas, one man cannot possibly minister adequately to more than fifty families. If they had ever been thoroughly taught, the situation would be different. An occasional visit by a pastor might be sufficient to meet the needs of established Christian groups, but it cannot suffice for these weak, ignorant, and oppressed people. Some of these groups in the Etah and Ghaziabad areas do not see a Christian preacher or teacher more often than once in six months. Scores of groups are not ministered to in any way more frequently than once in three months. It is certainly futile to ask these groups to support preachers without assistance.

For the missionary societies and the churches that support them to make no provision for an additional staff in these areas would amount to a repudiation of obligations. These obligations are independent of and supplementary to the obligations of the scattered converts. There can be no justification for reversing the Pauline teaching that the strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak so that the weak are compelled to bear the burdens of the strong, nor for the assumption that the strong ought not to bear their own burdens lest the weak also place upon them their burdens.

The hope of establishing a church in these areas strong enough to take over from the missionary societies all responsibility for the support of preachers depends upon strengthening the present staff so that one or both of the following achievements are made possible:

(a) The present Christian groups will be securely established in faith and devotion and their economic resources increased.

(b) Other groups will be converted.

In the places where an adequate ministry has been provided both these possibilities are being realized. Certain

groups that have been better ministered to than most are making substantial contributions to the support of the church. And in Ghaziabad, and many other areas not intensively studied, groups of a second caste, the Chamars, have been converted.

(3) Provision of Adequate Leadership in New Areas. When mass movements are inaugurated in new areas, whether by extending existing movements or beginning new ones, adequate leadership should be provided from the outset for every group received into the church. It will be better not to receive a group than to receive it and fail to provide leadership adequate to avert the peril of merely nominal allegiance to Christ. In each movement external leadership should be regarded as a temporary expedient and the training of leaders from within should be immediately undertaken.

III. *A More Adequate Program.* The best results of Christian mass movements cannot be obtained without the formulation of a more adequate program. The elements of that program will be:

(1) Nurture of the Spiritual Life. We recommend that the teaching standards in all areas be lifted to the levels now obtaining in the Vidyanagar area. (See Chapter XII.) Most of the groups can learn much more rapidly than has been assumed. The content of the teaching program can be greatly enriched by making it less exclusively factual. The minds of the converts need to be stored with materials that aid devotion and inspire loyalty.

We recommend also that a larger, more commanding place in the program be accorded to worship. Every group should have a gathering place, however humble, held sacred to worship. Wherever possible a daily service of worship should be held. Where an ordained minister is not available to lead the service, laymen should be especially trained for the purpose. The mass movements should be rid of the anomalous spectacle of professing Christians being uninterested in the worship of God. We recommend that in worship a larger use be made of liturgy and symbolism, and also of Indian vocal and instrumental music.

The elimination of sorcery, of belief in charms, and of all

other inheritances from the old life that interfere with spiritual nurture should be made an object of unceasing effort.

Spiritual nurture should be promoted by a larger use of dramatics for instruction and the expression of religious feeling, by a more general public observance of Christmas, Easter, and other special days of the church calendar and by the enlistment of all converts in public service, in which evangelism is featured.

(2) Christianizing the Social Order. Release from oppression alike for converts and for others will have an important place in any adequate program. We recommend that stronger efforts be made to improve the relations of mass-movement converts with their neighbors. Much abatement of oppression has resulted from the improved morals, the increased cleanliness, and the public service of Christian converts and also from the recognition that they have become genuinely religious people. Relatively little abatement has resulted from fighting for rights. We recommend that court cases be discouraged and that efforts to free converts from oppression be centered in winning the respect of the oppressors. It is very important that the attention of the converts be turned from their grievances to their privileges and obligations as Christians. It has been demonstrated in many Telugu villages that people held in contempt before their conversion can in a very few years win such a place in the respect of their neighbors that they will be accepted as religious leaders and pioneers of a new order in their villages.

There is urgent need that Christian converts be taught to practise the principles of brotherhood towards all peoples. Decidedly more effort is needed to free them from prejudices against other groups.

(3) Increasing Economic Resources. We recommend that churches and missions give more attention to economic welfare. A substantial increase in the economic resources of many mass-movement converts has taken place, but relatively few have attained to sufficiency. Most of these converts are suffering physically, mentally, and spiritually because of the meagerness of their economic resources. The most effective relief measures have been those which have brought release from the causes of poverty.

We therefore recommend that the Church and Mission programs provide for increased effort to free converts from the inhibitions that Hinduism has fastened upon them and to release powers of initiative within them. They should be helped to think of themselves not as outcastes, condemned to eke out a miserable life doing the work that their forefathers have done, but as Christians called to a larger and richer life than their fathers lived. They should be taught to look for opportunities to improve their condition and to work faithfully to improve whatsoever opportunity they discover.

Missions should take special care to discontinue or revise all of their processes of work that have interfered with the development of initiative. The entire system of aiding pupils to attend boarding schools should be reviewed in order to end as quickly as possible the development of the spirit of dependence upon the mission that has had such disastrous effects upon the economic welfare and the character of many pupils in those schools.

On the whole, the program for improving economic conditions has in the past been too much centered in institutions. Industrial schools have made the least return for the resources invested in them. Co-operative societies have produced better results, but have in some instances done more harm than good because of poor management and the intrusion of "charity."

Churches and missions can do much for the economic welfare of mass-movement converts by cultivating the desire for better living conditions, thus stimulating eagerness to increase earnings, by agitating against extravagances, by giving instruction in the care of the health, and by providing leadership in improving sanitation, by attacking evil habits that destroy earning power and by developing self-respect.

Schools can be made to contribute more largely to economic welfare by relating instruction more closely to the life of the pupils. Arithmetic lessons can be made to teach the heavy cost of debt. School gardens can be made to show the advantages of growing vegetables in the small plots adjoining the houses. Middle schools should have vocational departments to give instruction in work peculiar to the communal life of the Christians in each village and area.

This is not to say that the work should therefore be over-specialized; instead, pains should also be taken to exploit other occupations in which openings for this group have been discovered.

There are large possibilities in cottage industries. A hundred years ago women missionaries of the London Mission in South Travancore taught a few Christian women in villages around Nagercoil to make lace. These women bought thread through the mission and made lace in their homes. The missionaries then found markets in India, Great Britain, the United States, and other countries. The industry grew steadily until a few years ago when high tariffs limited the market. Hundreds of thousands of rupees have been earned by Christian women in this way. The mission has also made large profits from the business. A Girls' High School at Nagercoil was erected with a portion of these profits.

(4) Better Co-ordination. In several areas results can be improved by achieving a better co-ordination of the several elements in the Christian program. The work of the Church and of the Mission, of the pastors and the school-teachers, of the superintendent and the women missionaries should reenforce each other more than they sometimes do. We commend the proposal advanced by Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, who visited India in 1930 for the International Missionary Council, for establishing reconstruction units in which school, hospital, and church will be united in a program of community reconstruction.

(5) Experimentation. A program to be adequate must include provision for experimentation. There should be in every mass movement area a continuous search for improved methods of work. This can be carried on without the sacrifice of stability and with a wholesome regard for all demonstrated values in methods already in use.

(6) A Larger Use of Indian Leadership. The last recommendation for a more adequate program is that a larger use be made of Indian leadership. Mass movements have suffered severely because of the limited participation of Indian men and women in formulating and administering policies and programs. Where qualified Indian leadership has not

been available, missionaries have had to lead, and they deserve immense credit for the success they have obtained. They will have to continue for the present to carry heavy responsibilities, but every effort should be made to recruit Indian men and women of the highest qualifications of personality, training, character, and religious experience to share fully in the responsibilities of leadership. We do not mean that Indian men, merely because they are educated, available for employment and profess the Christian religion, should be appointed to high administrative positions in the church or should be made counselors of the missions. An Indian Christian highly qualified in some respects may be entirely unfit for exercising any responsibility in mass movements. The selections would have to be made with utmost care, but it should be a fixed policy in every church and mission to seek diligently for fully qualified Indian men and to bring them to leadership as soon as possible.

IV. *Reallocation of Missionary Resources.* We recommend that all missionary societies reconsider the allocation of their resources in order to devote an adequate share to mass movements. It is more important to take advantage of mass-movement openings than to continue in fields where there has been little or no response to the gospel. Heavy losses have been incurred by retaining evangelists and teachers in areas where their work was comparatively unproductive, while in other areas groups that had shown a desire to follow Christ were left without the necessary assistance.

This recommendation applies especially to those societies that have accepted mass-movement responsibilities which they are not meeting. To allow groups who have professed Christian faith and placed themselves in the care of the Mission and the Church for instruction and leadership to remain uninstructed and unled, while resources that might have met their needs are expended in trying to persuade others to do what they have done, is an unsound policy. A group of converts neglected may renounce Christianity or remain purely nominal Christians; in either case they become a liability to the Christian movement throughout India. To prevent such a calamitous development is incomparably more impor-

tant than to continue the effort to establish the Church in new areas.

The purpose of reallocation should include the provision of the strongest possible teaching, pastoral and supervising ministry, the assurance of educational opportunities for the converts, and especially their children, combined with an appreciation of those opportunities, and an effort to reenforce the existing Christian group by assisting them to win their neighbors.

V. *Interchurch and Intermission Adjustments.* (1) Transfer of Work from One Society to Another. It is probable that certain societies with very heavy commitments in mass movements will be unable to meet their responsibilities even by a radical reduction of their other undertakings. We therefore recommend consideration of the possibility of transferring portions of their work to other societies. The value of the combined services of Christian missions in India could be considerably enhanced by transfers that would bring new resources to the aid of mass movements and enable societies, now laboring under the disadvantage of too wide a diffusion of effort, to concentrate.

(2) Reduction of Overlapping and Elimination of Competition. Overlapping should be more firmly restrained. It is possibly not true that there is no excuse for overlapping. But every case should be re-examined with eagerness to end it unless compelling reasons for not doing so are discovered. In any case competition for groups of converts should cease.

Missionary societies that have not entered the Christian Councils and do not recognize comity obligations constitute a very serious problem. We recommend that efforts to enlist their co-operation be continued.

(3) Co-operation in Institutions. We recommend a wide extension of interchurch and intermission co-operation in institutions. This study, being based upon an examination of sample areas rather than upon a survey of the entire field, does not provide the materials for a comprehensive plan of co-operation. But it provides an array of data that impels the recommendation that churches and missions, working on a common task in the same or contiguous territory through

the same linguistic media, co-operate in necessary institutions.

Illustrating gains possible through such co-operation we refer to three possibilities in the Telugu country, two in the United Provinces, and one in Chota Nagpur:

In parts of the Telugu country two Protestant churches are found in many villages. Frequently they maintain separate schools. Often also two villages are located close together and in each a school is maintained. Most of these schools are weak. One strong union school would have many advantages over two or more weak denominational schools.

Every church and mission in the Telugu districts needs trained teachers for village schools. In the main, the churches and missions agree as to the kind of teachers needed. They could profitably unite in training these teachers. One superior training school equipped to produce one hundred trained teachers annually would be better than five mediocre schools each equipped to graduate twenty trained teachers. A union training school, in touch through its graduates, its staff, and its managing committee, with the schools and churches of all denominations in this premier mass-movement field, would be wonderfully well placed for creative study of the village-school problems. It might attract to the enterprise resources in staff and finance unavailable for more limited denominational institutions.

There has been much talk of a Telugu Union Christian College. This study shows an urgent need for ministerial and lay leaders of the highest education and character raised up from the mass-movement group. It shows, no less clearly, the need for a permanent agency for studying the Christian movement and other aspects of Telugu life and making the results available to churches, missions, and all who desire to promote village welfare in India. The American Lutheran Missionary Society is maintaining a college at Guntur and the Church Missionary Society a college at Masulipatam. It has been proposed to unite these institutions at Bezwada, but we are informed that the Lutherans, after holding proposed developments at Guntur in abeyance for several years to permit other churches and missions to arrange for co-

operation at Bezwada, have decided to proceed to enlarge their Guntur college. While Bezwada has obvious advantages over Guntur as a location for a union Christian college, we consider that the case for such an institution at any place in the Telugu country is so strong that its consideration should not be abandoned. Development on the foundation of the college at Guntur is, therefore, a possibility that should receive sympathetic consideration.

The American Presbyterian Mission, the Church Missionary Society, and the Baptist Missionary Society of Great Britain with associated churches are co-operating in the United Theological College at Saharanpur, though the continued participation of the Baptist Society is now threatened by financial considerations. The Methodist Episcopal Church maintains a Theological Seminary at Bareilly. The major effort in both these institutions is to train ministers for work in mass-movement areas. Entrance requirements for most of the students in the two institutions are approximately the same. The data procured in the United Provinces show that these churches are dealing with the same problems and are meeting the same difficulties. There would be decided advantages in a merger of these institutions.

At Ghaziabad the Methodist Episcopal Church is developing the Ingraham Institute, consisting of four departments: a Middle School with vocational features and a distinct rural bias; a Training School for Village Teachers; a Training School for Village Pastors of lower educational qualifications than are necessary for admission to the Theological Seminary at Bareilly, and short-term courses for village laymen. The American Presbyterian Mission maintains an institution at Mainpuri with much the same functions as the latter two departments of the Ingraham Institute. If the resources of the Ingraham Institute could be supplemented through support by the Church Missionary Society, the American Presbyterian Mission, and the Baptist Missionary Society, this institution might render large service to the Christian movement through the work of each of these societies and their associated churches.

In Chota Nagpur mass-movement converts possess sub-

stantial land holdings, and own many cattle. Soil erosion is doing great damage. Diversification and rotation of crops and chemical analysis and enrichment of soil are urgent needs. Cattle are of poor quality. Nowhere in India have we observed such a compelling case for an Agricultural School under Christian management. The relation of the Christians to other elements of the population and the influence of the missions with all classes of people and with the government provide an opportunity for making a Christian agricultural school contribute to the enrichment of life in the area. We recommend that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Gossner's Evangelical Lutheran Mission, and the churches with which these missionary societies are associated, consider the establishment of a union institution to meet this need. The Agricultural Missions Foundation and the Allahabad Agricultural Institute might render invaluable assistance in such a venture.

(4) Interchange of Personnel. As in each area we have found churches and missions struggling with difficulties that in other areas have been overcome, we have repeatedly wished that plans might be devised for sending workers of the largest and most fruitful experience on loan or in exchange from one area to another. An arrangement, for example, by which one of the ablest of rural pastors or district missionaries from the United Presbyterian area around Pasrur could go into an area in the United Provinces would bring invaluable assistance against difficulties that impede the establishment of Christian marriage rites, the training of village lay leaders, and the development of local support for the ministry.

A strong Indian leader from the North might bring the churches and missions in South India badly needed assistance in conquering caste prejudices, in developing a unified social consciousness among Christians, and in the cultivation of a healthy nationalism in the church.

Where language difficulties do not interfere, theological schools would profit by selecting temporary or permanent members for their staff from areas where the chief difficulties of the constituency they serve have been mastered. Likewise, candidates for the ministry could gain largely by taking

at least a part of their training in areas where the main problems they will have to face have been solved.

VI. *Following Up This Report.* (1) The Need for Further Study. We emphasize strongly the need for further study. In each sample area, and in many conferences with Christian workers outside those areas, problems were encountered on which the results of this study throw little or no light. Inquiries on the lines followed in this study, but with improved technique, should be made in Assam, Burma, and a number of other areas.

The Christian movements among the Sudras in the Telugu country should be made the subject of a comprehensive study at a very early date, so that churches and missions, dealing with that very far-reaching development, may formulate their policies and programs on the basis of the widest and most accurate information obtainable.

The critical situation in the United Provinces needs to be continuously studied in the most objective and thorough manner.

The possibilities revealed in the Pasrur area for reaching the vast Moslem population in the villages of the Punjab, through the witness to Christ of transformed Chuhras, make advisable a wide and deeply penetrating study of the Chuhra movements. Out of such a study might come materials that would make possible the most productive modern Christian ministry to Moslems.

Our single area study of mass movements in aboriginal tribes should be supplemented by studies in other areas in order that churches and missions associated with those movements may be able to compare data on problems peculiar to the tribes.

A permanent agency working under the direction of the National Christian Council could render invaluable service in conducting studies, promoting the spirit of enquiry and advising concerning studies which others may undertake.

(2) Consideration of These Data and Recommendations. We recommend that the National Christian Council bring the data here assembled and the recommendations based thereon to the attention of churches and missions throughout India, including those which have not hitherto been

associated with mass movements, and to all missionary societies represented in India.

We recommend also that the co-operation of the Provincial Christian Councils in India, the International Missionary Council, the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the Conference of British Missionary Societies, and of other national and international missionary societies be solicited to secure for the report the widest and most careful consideration.

(3) Promotion of the Program by the National Christian Council. The National Christian Council might well concentrate a major proportion of its strength upon a program for the development of mass movements. The elimination of the weaknesses disclosed should not be left to the unaided efforts of the churches and missions in which they exist. If these weaknesses be eliminated, the entire Christian cause throughout India will be strengthened; if they remain, the Christian cause in every part of India and in every church and mission will suffer. We recommend that representatives of the National Christian Council be made available to confer with interested organizations in India on the significance of the data with reference to their work.

GLOSSARY

A

Adi Hindu—an aboriginal inhabitant of India.
Anna—one sixteenth of a rupee.

B

Bhagat—Hindu religious mendicant.
Bhajan—a lyric of the Hindu type.
Bhang—a hemp derivative.
Bhangi—a sweeper or scavenger.
Bhils—an aboriginal tribe.
Bhuinhar Brahmans—A caste of Brahmans, chiefly engaged in agriculture.
Brahmans—the highest division of Hindu castes, traditionally associated with the priesthood.

C

Chamar—a leather-worker caste of Northern India.
Charas—a hemp derivative.
Chowdri—a headman.
Chowkidar—a watchman.
Chuhra—a Panchama caste of the Punjab.
Coolie—a day laborer.

D

Devadasis—temple prostitutes.
Dhanuks—a low-caste of Hindus in North India.
Dharmasastras—Hindu sacred books, containing religious and moral instruction.
Dhobi—a washerman.
Dhoti—a cloth worn chiefly by men and to some extent by women. It is wrapped around the waist and between the legs and draped to the knees or below.
Diwali—Festival of Lights.
Doms—a low-caste of Hindus in North India.

E

Erukulas—a low Sudra caste in the Telugu areas.

F

Fakir—Moslem religious mendicant.

G

Ganesh—Hindu god.
Ghi—clarified butter used in cooking.
Gollas—a Sudra caste in the Telugu areas.
Gotra—clan, exogamous group within a caste, claiming a common ancestry.
Guru—religious master or teacher.

H

Holi—Festival of Spring.
Hos—an aboriginal tribe in Chota Nagpur and the Orissa States.

I

Izzat—honor, respect.

J

Jajman—employer or patron.
Jajmani-haqq—perquisites earned under the ancient Hindu system of occupational relationships.
Juthan—food scraps or leavings.

K

Kalakshepam—a story in song and recitation.
Kamis—shirt worn outside of the trousers.
Kapus—a Sudra caste of farmers in the Telugu areas.
Karen—an aboriginal tribe in Burma.
Karma—theory of destiny based on action in previous existence.
Khammas—a caste of Sudras in the Telugu areas.
Kharias—an aboriginal tribe in Chota Nagpur and certain adjoining areas.
Khidmat-muafi—land on which revenue payments are remitted in consideration of service to the community.
Kshatriyas—second of the four divisions of recognized Hindu castes.

L

Lumbardar—village head man.

M

Madiga—the leather-workers' caste in the Telugu country.
Mahars—an untouchable caste in the Marathi districts.
Maharajah—a title meaning "Great Rajah."
Malas—the weavers' caste in the Telugu country.
Mangs—an untouchable caste in the Marathi districts.
Manu—early codifier of Hindu laws and customs.
Mazhabi Sikhs—a caste of Sweepers in the United Provinces and the Punjab who professed the Sikh religion but were not socially recognized as Sikhs.

Mela—a fair.
Mianas—a Moslem untouchable caste.
Mlechchhas—"foreigners" or "barbarians," excluded from the Hindu social system.
Mohalla—section of town or village.
Mukia—a headman.
Mundas—an aboriginal Austric tribe in Chota Nagpur and the Orissa states.
Munshi—teacher, clerk: used in North India for an unordained preacher.
Munsiff—an Indian subordinate judge.
Murdar—flesh of animal that has died of itself, that is, unbutchered.

N

Nadars—a caste of toddy makers in the Tamil areas.

O

Oraons—an aboriginal tribe in Chota Nagpur.

P

Padri—corruption of *padre* (Portuguese), a Christian minister.
Palem—a section of a town or village in the Telugu country.
Panchama—outcaste.
Panchayat—council of elders, traditionally consisting of five men, who administer justice.
Pariah—a term used in contempt for outcastes, especially for Sambavars in the Tamil areas.
Pice—one fourth of an anna.
Pir—Moslem religious mendicant.
Puliyars—a South India untouchable caste.
Purdah—curtain used for screening women's quarters from all except the male head of the family.

R

Reddis—a caste of Sudras in the Telugu areas.
Rupee—Indian silver coin.

S

Sadhu—Hindu religious mendicant.
Sahib—a gentleman.
Sahiba—a lady.
Sainsiyas—an untouchable caste, with strong criminal tendencies, in the United Provinces.
Sambavars—an untouchable caste in the Tamil districts of Travancore.
Sanauriga Brahman—A caste of Brahmans traditionally associated with robbery.

Santals—an aboriginal tribe in Bengal and Bihar.
Sari—a cloth worn by Indian women.
Sati—sacrifice of widows on husband's funeral pyre.
Sepi—a system of employment in farm labor prevalent in the Punjab.
Shanars—*see* Nadars.
Sikhs—followers of the Sikh religion.
Siva—Hindu God of destruction and reproduction, in triad with Brahma and Yishnu.
Sudra—The fourth division of recognized Hindu castes.
Swaraj—home rule for India.
Sweepers—families whose work consists of sweeping and scavenging jobs, or who belong to castes traditionally thus employed.

T

Tamil—a language in South India.
Tarus—an aboriginal tribe so named because they inhabit the Terai or foothills of the Himalayas.
Telegas—a Telugu Sudra caste.
Telugu—a language area in South India.

V

Vaisyas—the third division of recognized Hindu castes.
Varna—color.
Velalas—an upper Sudra caste in Tamil areas.

W

Waddaras—a Telugu Sudra caste.

Y

Yanadis—a Telugu Sudra caste.
Yogi—a follower of the yoga philosophy, or one who practises the yoga rites designed to help achieve mystic union with the divine.

Z

Zamindar—hereditary landowner.

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