EDWARD HARRY MANSFIELD WALLER

(BISHOP OF TINNEVELLY 1915 - 1923: BISHOP OF MADRAS 1923 - 1941)

A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MISSION AND CHURCH

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ABSTRACT

When Edward Harry Mansfield Waller became Bishop of Tinnevelly in South India in 1915, he entered upon eight years intensive work of diocesan re-organisation. The diocese consisted in CMS and SPG Mission Districts and hence the seat of power was really in London. His policy of diocesanisation brought the centre of control firmly within the diocese and the Indian Church, and the two Missions were united under a system of synodical government. This transfer from Mission to Church is here fully described for the first time, and a study of the events, their reasons and their results, forms the centre of this thesis. (Part 2).

Waller spent his life working for the independence and development of the Indian Church, and his outstanding part in drafting the constitution for the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon and in the negotiations which resulted in the Church of South India, was a logical extension of his diocesanisation policy and his vision for the Indian Church. In both cases the facts have been well documented and no major treatment is attempted here, but Waller's particular contribution, and the relationship of this contribution to his diocesanisation policy is discussed. (Part 3).

No study of Waller's life has been made before, and it is fitting that a careful examination be made of the life and work of a man whom the Rt. Rev. Stephen Neill has described as "one of the most brilliant and strongest bishops of modern times". (A History of Christian Missions, p.528). A full biography cannot be attempted, but his work for an indigenous, free and united Indian Church is considered in the context of his life and times. (Part 1 and passim).

Suggestions towards an evaluation are made in Part 4 and at various points along the way. But a full assessment must be left to those qualified to make it, and the intention here is so to allow facts, people and events to speak for themselves that this may now be possible.

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PART 1

EARLY LIFE AND MISSIONARY SERVICE: 1871 - 1915

PART 1

CHAPTER 1

EARLY LIFE & CALL TO THE MISSION FIELD: 1871-1897

(Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 26 - 30)

(a) Early Years

Edward Harry Mansfield Waller was born on 8th December 1871 at Hampstead. A descendant of Edmund Waller, the seventeenth century poet, he was the fifth child of the Rev. C.H. Waller D.D., who was Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury from 1884 to 1899. In 1871 Dr. Waller was teaching part time at the college while in charge of St. John's Episcopal Chapel, Hampstead, but in 1875 he became a full-time member of staff at Highbury and it was with this theological college that Waller's childhood was closely associated. [1]

He was educated at Highgate School and from there he obtained a scholarship to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1890. He took up both sculling and rowing, and his powerful physique matched by his blend of energetic efficiency and quiet ambition gained him first place in the Colquhoun Sculls in 1892 and a place in the University boat in 1893. He graduated that year with a second class in the Classical Tripos and obtained his M.A. four years later. [2]

In the summer of 1893 a post at St. John's Hall unexpectedly fell vacant and Waller's father called on him to join his staff. The Bishop of London agreed to ordain him in the post and he was made deacon on Advent Sunday 1894, a few days before his twenty third birthday. He remained as tutor and chaplain at the college until his departure for India in 1897.

That he was destined to become a missionary with the Church Missionary Society seems to have been plain to Waller from an early age. Highgate School, St. John's Highbury and Cambridge were all centres of interest in the society and grounds for energetic recruitment. At Cambridge he became closely associated with the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, and it is not too much to say that he would really have needed a special call to stay in England. [3] Indeed so popular was missionary service with evangelical students in this period that the Rev. Dr. Handley Moule, Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, in

writing a character reference for Waller to the CMS, felt moved to add at the end of his letter:

> "I hope all scholarly young evangelicals will not leave poor old England; I fear the scarcity of just that species of man is serious just at present." (4)

The policy of the CMS at this time was one of vigorous expansion, but this was not without its attendant difficulties as will become evident. Gordon Hewitt, tracing the history of the Society between 1910 and 1942 writes:

> "The financial difficulties which oppressed the CMS during this period were in large measure due to the very rapid expansion in the number of missionaries in the last thirteen years of the nineteenth century, and the evident unreadiness of the Society's constituency in Britain to provide for the continuing support of such numbers. In 1887, at the beginning of the period of most rapid expansion, the estimates committee gave warning that candidates for missionary service were increasing faster than were the funds to support them but the general committee made it clear that it would not refuse any suitable candidate merely on financial grounds. In the next twelve years the yearly average of new missionaries sent out by the Society was 70.5 compared with 19 in the previous forty years." (5)

By the beginning of 1897 Waller was engaged to be married to Irene Juliana Louisa Doudney, a daughter of the Rector of Hatford, Faringdon in Berkshire. They had carefully discussed the matter of missionary service and were fully in agreement that they should hold themselves in readiness for evidence of God's call. That this would come they were not in doubt, but they needed guidance concerning the time and place of service. In the meanwhile they were in no hurry to press the issue as wedding plans were in hand and Waller felt that God's call to Highbury through his father had over-ridden his determination at Cambridge to proceed at once to the mission field. (6)

(b) Call to the Mission Field

A regular visitor to St John's, Highbury was the Rev. T. W. Drury, Principal of the CMS Training College at Islington.[7] Early in May 1897 he was in conversation with Waller and discovered that missionary service was at the back of his mind. Waller made it clear, however, that he was not offering himself at this time because of his engagement to be married and the vacancy which he was filling for his father at St. John's. Drury, however, was of a mind to pursue the matter further and mentioned Waller's name to the Society's Honorary Clerical Secretary, the Rev. H.E. Fox.[8] On 24th May, Fox wrote to Waller as follows:

> "A mutual friend has mentioned to me the possibility of your undertaking missionary work abroad if there seemed to you some call from God.
>
> The only right I have to approach you on the subject arises from an intense desire to promote the evangelization of the world by every means in my power, and also from the belief that you are, both by your sympathy with the principles of the CMS and the gifts bestowed on you, well fitted for such a work.
>
> If my informant is not mistaken and you are led to consider the matter, would you do me the kindness of coming to see me some day at Salisbury Square – or better still coming to stay a night with us at Norbiton."

On 26th May Waller replied:

> "... I have always wished to be a missionary. My only difficulty has been that I am in my present work of some help to my father and it did not seem quite right to leave it without some definite call to do so. I always imagined that the call would take the form of an invitation from the CMS to fill some post that was wanting a man badly. I got such a distinct call to my present work that I could not lightly give it up; but I am looking forward to mission work at some time. Educational work would probably suit my capabilities best. I am engaged to a lady who is also desirous of work in the mission field if God calls"

The meeting took place within a week and thereafter matters moved swiftly. At the meeting of the CMS Committee on Tuesday 6th July, "the Secretaries presented testimony which they had received

regarding the Rev. E.H.M. Waller, and referred to the need of an Educational Missionary at Allahabad ..." It was duly resolved "that the Rev. E.H.M. Waller be invited to go to India as an educational missionary"; Fox wrote the same day informing Waller of the official invitation and Waller accepted by return of post. At a subsequent meeting of the Committee on 20th July it was further resolved "That the Rev. E.H.M. Waller be allowed to marry before proceeding to the Mission Field." He and another candidate were then brought into the meeting, "introduced to the Committee and addressed by the Chairman. Having replied they were commended to God in prayer by the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Mauritius."[9]

As the need in Allahabad was urgent Waller and his fiancée agreed to work to a tight schedule. Waller left the next day for an SVMU boy's camp at Curbar near Sheffield at which he was to be adjutant.[10] In August he went to Scotland with his family for their annual holiday. On 17th September he and his fiancée were married. On 12th October they were dismissed at a Valedictory Meeting in the Exeter Hall in London, followed by Holy Communion the next morning at St. Bride's Church in Fleet Street. On 5th November they sailed for India in a ship called 'The Rome'. Waller was approaching his twenty sixth birthday and had been married just seven weeks. It was, in fact, only six months since Drury had made his first approach.

(c) Waller's character and personality

An outline of Waller's personality can conveniently be sketched in at this point.

His father was a highly respected figure in the Anglican evangelical constituency and indeed in the Church at large. It is recorded, for example, that Dr. Pusey once said of him that he knew the Greek text of the New Testament better than most clergy knew the English - a high tribute indeed from such a source.[11]

The whole family was deeply and carefully nurtured in the Christian faith. Two of his brothers were also ordained, and two of his sisters joined the ranks of the CMS - Emily Frances in Egypt (also from 1897) and Elizabeth Morgan in the United Provinces, India from 1905. As already mentioned, Highgate School produced its share of missionaries in this period and besides Waller, Harry Durrant, Bishop of Lahore and Norman Tubbs, Waller's successor as Bishop of Tinnevelly, were both old boys of the school.[12]

St. John's itself was a theological college for the Anglican ministry, founded by the evangelical Peache family, and belonging to the same era and Anglican tradition as Ridley Hall, Cambridge and Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. Waller himself fits well into this general tradition. First, he was an evangelical, combining a deeply personal devotional life with a strong sense of obligation to preach the gospel. The motto of St. John's is "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel" and this attitude clearly ran through the life both of the college and of its Principal and his family.

This is not to say that Waller was a natural evangelist, nor that he was ever narrowly conservative in his theological outlook in a way that has sometimes been characteristic of the evangelical tradition. But it is clear that he retained a basically evangelical viewpoint, devotion and deep-rooted love of the gospel throughout his life, although these things were not paraded for all to see.

He inherited from his father a formidable knowledge and love of the Bible. Bishop Tubbs recalls:

> "His knowledge of the scriptures was phenomenal; gifted with a long and accurate memory, he could lecture on any book of the Bible at a moment's notice. One unforgettable night I may be allowed to recall. We were on holiday together in Kashmir, and I had been teasing him about his amazing memory and persuaded him to put it to the test. We were to walk up one warm, moonlit night from Kohala, in the Jhelum valley, to the hill station Murree. It was an easy climb, but it would take all night and in the course of it he gave a resumé of every chapter in the Bible. Only in Chronicles did he falter. Otherwise he never hesitated; he might have been reading from notes, and, so far as my memory went, he never made a mistake." (13)

In character references for the CMS, the Rev. T.W. Drury spoke of him as "thoroughly on our [ie: CMS] lines" and of his "earnest and effective work" at boys' camps; and the Rev. F.E. Murphy, whom Waller assisted as Sunday Curate while he was at Highbury, wrote: "He is certainly keen on winning young men for the Master."[14]

Second, he was an Anglican. There is a clearly discernible strain running through the mainstream of evangelicalism in the Church of England which is staunchly and self-consciously Anglican. Such evangelicals belong to a different tradition from their counterparts in other denominations and the 'CMS men' of Waller's day would doubtless have looked back to William Wilberforce and the 'Clapham Sect' and such men as Charles Simeon of Holy Trinity, Cambridge. They considered themselves the true inheritors and guardians of the Elizabethan settlement, representatives of a Church both Catholic and Reformed, of which the expression (at least until recently) was to be found in the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty Nine Articles. Although their emphasis has seldom been on the doctrine of the visible Church as such, evangelicals of this tradition have been jealous of their position within the Church of England, staunch in upholding what they considered to be its true doctrines and firm in rebuking innovation.

Such an outlook was certainly an important ingredient in Waller's character. Naturally no inherited characteristics can be pressed too far, as he developed his own distinctive personality, and, for example, it is apparent that the negotiations for Church Union in South India changed all who took part in them. But, in his basic outlook, Waller stood firmly behind the foundation of the Lambeth Quadrilateral and it is clear that his diocesan organisation, and the pre-suppositions which it represented, were markedly Anglican.

Third, his theological outlook was essentially scholarly and open. This is not to say that he ever laid claim to be a scholar in the fully academic sense, but rather that his approach to all things theological and ecclesiastical was informed and intelligent, without trace of obscurantism. The atmosphere of St. John's, Highbury, in which he grew up, was undoubtedly very influential. Both here, and in his classical studies at Cambridge, he imbibed the spirit of disciplined enquiry. He was the son of a learned Doctor of Divinity who brought to his college a dignity of scholarship and generosity of outlook combined with a traditional evangelical piety and zeal. He was much more open to the findings of biblical criticism than his father, which was no doubt to be expected in his generation, but he combined this with the deep knowledge and love of the Bible which has already been noted, and the result was always fruitful and positive.

Waller was to become a Bishop almost equally at home in his dealings and correspondence with the CMS and with the SPG[15] (later in life he he wrote that most of his friends at that time were Anglo-Catholics), and there is abundant evidence that he was held in great respect by men of all shades of churchmanship, both episcopal and non-episcopal. His evangelical roots can be seen in some of his more confidential remarks in correspondence with the CMS, and those who knew him best affirm that he was undoubtedly an evangelical at heart. But he was in every way above petty controversy on points of detail either in liturgy or theology, and he was able to hold to his own principles and basic integrity without giving offence or seeming to be a 'party' man.

Fourth, he was a brilliant administrator, and in this he far outshone his father. He had a naturally clear vision of what he believed and wanted and of how this result might best be obtained. His mind would swiftly plot both a destination and a route and he rarely wavered on the subsequent journey, although he was possessed of much patience and would accept defeat with philosophical stoicism. He was gifted with an exceedingly logical mind, a flair for legal intricacies, and an essentially practical wisdom. He was also naturally talented - (some would have said too talented by half) - as a 'committee man' and his most outstanding successes lay in the field of administrative re-organisation.[16] As a Bishop he was ideally suited to the tasks of an executive manager, well-organised, energetic and efficient. Throughout his career in India letters and reports flowed from his hand in unbroken succession. He seems never to have tired of repeating himself, and if necessary he would go over the same ideas and proposals again and again until he was convinced that he had made his point. This quality proved of great advantage to him in his negotiations with the missionary societies whose headquarters were far away in London.

In his pastoral care, although people may well have found him somewhat unapproachable, no one was reasonably able to complain that his interests were not prayerfully considered and efficiently dealt with, and he could be a powerful advocate. There is also no question that he was entirely impartial in his dealings, without hint of discrimination between those of differing importance, caste or race. He was physically and constitutionally strong and seems to have thrived on constant travel, enjoying the necessity of frequent tours of his diocese by rail, motor-car, or even bullock-cart.

Fifth, he was by nature shy and withdrawn, and inherent in this there was certainly a family characteristic. One of his referees for the CMS was the Rev. Dr. W.H. Barlow, then Vicar of Islington, and he wrote of the family:

> "There are eight young people in the house in question, but I cannot say that I know any of them at all closely. They have been scrupulously and carefully brought up, but their parents have kept them, especially in the vacations (when one has a little chance of knowing the families of one's friends) largely separate from any but their own circle; so that I can hardly tell you of anyone who might be said to know them well." (17)

His Cambridge tutor, the Rev. J.T. Lang wrote of Waller in the same vein:

> "I wish I could write in a way so as really to help you. He always was an excellent character here; he was an earnest student; and it was a real help to have him taking a very prominent part in our social life at College; and his general influence was all for good. But I do not feel that I really got to know him well." (18)

Certainly he never found social mixing easy except with intimate friends. The few who knew him really well found him relaxed, free and very amusing; everyone else found him somewhat distant and even formidable. He had little or no 'small talk' and he could be especially shy with women unless he knew them very well indeed. Nevertheless he became a public figure who was held in high regard by both Indian and European communities in South India, and by Christian and non-Christian alike.

His shyness prevented him ever becoming a natural public speaker or an eloquent preacher. The Rev. F.E. Murphy wrote of his Highbury days: "As a preacher his substance is good but delivery bad - but we all saw that there was an earnestness and careful preparation in all his work." [19] In India his delivery undoubtedly improved with experience and he became a preacher of some power because he knew what he wanted to say, and had a well-trained command of language. If he did not often stir the heart he could certainly stir the mind and there was never doubt concerning the sincerity and importance of his words, even if they were better appreciated when committed to paper.

He was, indeed, thoroughly at home on paper. His letters are lucid, fluent and often humorous and lighthearted. Very occasionally there come also to the surface deeply personal expressions of faith which tell of a sensitive and rich personality and which he would have had the greatest difficulty in expressing verbally. The Rev. Dr. J.S.M. Hooper recorded an example of this. When his only daughter died, he received from Waller a most moving and personal letter, rich in comfort and Christian hope, which, he confessed, surprised him. Having met him mainly in committee and through services in the Cathedral, Hooper commented that "this was a side to Waller that I had not seen before."[20] It is instructive to compare this with Waller's own attitude following the death of his son in 1917. Much against her will, he insisted that his wife fulfil a public engagement just a few days after the news had reached them. No matter what they might be feeling privately, it must not show. In this case it involved an ordeal which his wife never forgot.[21]

His reserve did not make him a natural missionary evangelist and, as he himself foresaw, his best work was to lie in other fields. But he plunged himself into the normal round of missionary work with ardour and he does not seem to have found preaching to Indians as difficult as to his own countrymen. The Rt. Rev. S.C. Neill writes: "I was told that when he was in North India he could fall on his knees and pray fervently with an Indian evangelist in Urdu - something that he certainly could not do in English!" [22] But there is much testimony to the fact that he was always the same in his dealings with people, always kind and without trace of haughtiness or episcopal pomp.

It must also be said, however, that his temperament lent itself to a quiet ambition and a certain steely resolution. This can frequently be observed in people who are by nature shy, and it was an aspect of his character which generally served Waller well. But his difficulty was to capture the imagination of others and so carry them with him. The result was a tendency to push decisions and policies through, as it were, from behind when it would have been even better if he had found it easier to lead from in front. He himself was sufficiently trusted

and in command to carry the diocese with him in such circumstances, but it did not always make matters easy for those who came after him.

His wife was also somewhat reserved, and her consistently poor health in India no doubt tended to emphasise a rather colourless impression. She was a restrained personality who was very conscious of her public image as the Bishop's wife and there is no doubt that he tended to dominate her. But she supported him with complete loyalty, they enjoyed a long and successful marriage, and he was shattered by her death. He also discovered that the household had been run quietly and efficiently, and the servants managed, in a way that he could not emulate.

(d) The Missionary and Ecumenical Context

The rapid expansion of missionary work in the nineteenth century with its astonishing energy and pioneering zeal which thrust men and women out into virtually every corner of the globe, is too well known to require elaboration here. But three factors were of particular importance so far as Waller is concerned and it is appropriate to introduce these themes briefly at this point.

The first concerns the relationship between the missionary societies and the 'sending' Churches. At least so far as the Church of England was concerned, the upsurge of missionary concern and endeavour at the end of the eighteenth century utterly outpaced the somewhat staid and entrenched ecclesiastical establishment. The result was that missionary societies came into being almost of necessity as voluntary and autonomous bodies of evangelistically minded Christians who were, in practice, responsible to no one here on earth except themselves and their subscribers. The CMS, with which Waller was so closely associated, must go down in history as a classic example.[23]

Certainly one of its most important principles was the 'church principle', as that was understood by evangelicals at the end of the eighteenth century; undoubtedly those who founded the society were loyal members of the Church of England. But so wary were the ecclesiastical authorities of giving such an evangelical society any real support in the early days, that the founders well knew that nothing would be done at all if they did not take matters into their own hands.

The 'voluntary principle' was, of course, equally important from the beginning, and was later to find an able advocate in Henry Venn,[24] but the circumstances under which the society came into being tended to throw this latter principle into prominence. As the society grew and flourished it was inevitable that the imprecise nature of its relationship with the Church of England would have repercussions on the churches which it pioneered and nurtured overseas. The CMS greatly desired to be loyal to the Church of England but, if pressed, it admitted to keeping its options open; better an evangelical sect, perhaps, than a dead branch of the Established Church.

This attitude, eminently justifiable on those terms, no doubt, was destined to cause many problems to the young Churches. Did their first loyalty lie to the CMS or to the Church as represented by the Bishop and his Synod, if he had one? And what was the true balance between loyalty to the Church and spiritual independence?

At least in theory the SPG did not give cause for this kind of dilemma to arise because it had always seen itself as a missionary arm of the Church of England, and it placed its missionaries under the general direction of the diocesan Bishop. But in practice there was always the possibility of a clash of policy between the Bishop and the Society which would face the missionaries and the young Church with a conflict of loyalties, and the formation of the Church of South India gave rise to precisely this kind of unfortunate situation.

The second theme is related closely to this but must be distinguished from it. The purpose of a mission is to found and build a Church which will one day be indigenous and independent. This implies the devolution of power from the 'Mission' to the 'Church', a transfer of responsibility and leadership which, for a very long time, missionary societies sincerely intended and rarely performed. This was due partly to paternalism, either on the part of the Society or of the missionary, and partly to an unwillingness to hand over power; but much of this inertia could have been overcome if the societies had been able to see clearly the answers to the difficult and delicate problems which the process raised. Did the 'euthanasia' of a mission, as Venn had called it, imply the withdrawal of all the missionaries? What should happen to the property which the Society had come to own? Under what conditions should grants continue?

These are some of the central questions which will emerge in this study as Waller faced them and sought to answer them, both as missionary and as Bishop. In general terms his policy was clear and he stated it on one occasion in the form of two sharply pointed rhetorical questions: "Did the Society [ie: the CMS] set out to found a sect, or as its object to gather converts into the Church of Christ? Did it desire for ever to foster, control and pay for

the congregations it has won; or does it desire to leave them as congregations of Christ's Church, self-governing, self-extending and self-supporting, while it goes further afield to those as yet unreached?" As he went on to comment: "The questions only need stating to be answered." [25] But how could the desirable results to which he alludes be attained? His answer was a policy of 'diocesanisation' and it is the central purpose of this study to examine what this meant and how he achived it.

The third theme is also closely related to the first and equally to be distinguished from it. It concerns the relationship between the Church of England and the Church of India as a whole. The Church to which Waller belonged was little more than an exportation of the Church of England to another continent, with all the complicated and restricting legalities involved in such a quasi-establishment.[25a] Diocesanisation could only be complete when it formed an integral part of a properly ordered, self-governing Church. Beyond this lay a further problem, for the Church of England was not the only Church in India. The proliferation of missionary societies of many denominations produced an overseas replica of denominational division in the west. Indeed, the call to Christian unity in its modern expression originated in the young churches overseas which found themselves caught up in this tortuous anomaly. What account ought a diocesanisation policy to take of the presence within the diocesan boundaries of churches of other denominations? Waller came to be in no doubt as to the theological and practical answer. He was in the forefront both of the negotiations for an independent Indian Church and for the ecumenical Church of South India.

It was in the context of these three missionary themes that the major part of Waller's life was lived. He worked to build an Indian Church, to make it strong and independent, and to make it united. Diocesanisation, self-government and unity were integral parts of one logically coherent policy which was the outworking of his vision of the Church.

(e) Historical Perspective

In 1897 Waller wrote that he had always wanted to be a missionary and within six months he was sailing with his bride for India, where, with only short interludes, he was to spend the rest of his life. He was part of the last great outpouring of the Western missionary movement of the last century. But his career in India was lived out through a time of vast upheaval and fundamental change. He was born in the golden autumn of the Victorian Empire; he died in the second world war.

Throughout these eventful years he was conscious of the guiding hand and purpose of God. But clearly the decision from which all else sprang was his response to God's call to India. There is no doubt that he would have been both very valuable and very successful if he had remained in England, whether in the service of Church or State. Why was Waller so certain that he was following God's leading at this decisive moment of his life? In general terms it can be said that his conviction was the result of a threefold call, rooted in the circumstances and outlook of the late nineteenth century.

First, Waller grew up in England at the climax of a missionary age. The expansion and commercial success of the British Empire during the last century provided the background, the means and, to some extent, also the incentive for this. At what point the Empire achieved its apex and then over-reached itself has been the subject of much debate and it is probable that the decline began earlier than has generally been supposed.[26] But this was certainly not apparent at the time and the prosperity of England continued to rise swiftly, if somewhat erratically, until at least 1873.[27] It was an age of exploration, confidence and growth. Such a background was certain to encourage the missionary expansion of the Church.

It also provided the means. Dr. A.R. Vidler comments that just as the 'Pax Romana' with its comparative stability and ease of travel provided both the setting and the means for Christian expansion in

the first centuries, so the 'Pax Britannica' and the communications network of sea, road and rail both made possible the amazing Christian advance in the last century and provided the framework within which it could operate.[28] So far as incentive was concerned, the apparently unquenchable confidence, energy and success of the colonial advance provided an atmosphere and setting strongly conductive to a vigorous assault on the heathen world. And as Christians surveyed the ever-widening horizons, Vidler comments that "missionaries were beckoned as they had never been before."[29]

To so many young men a women, Christian and otherwise, the challenge and adventure to body and soul of the 'regions beyond' presented a call which was irresistible. It was the age of discovery and Western man knew that the world lay at his feet. Moreover, he felt a certain responsibility, even if tinged with paternalism, for the uncivilised and unchristianised millions who were being uncovered by the colonial movement. He well knew that his call might involve hardship, loneliness and danger, but he was not deterred.

When Waller and his bride sailed for India they can hardly have thought they were heading for a life of elegance and ease in this dazzling jewel of the Empire. The CMS Annual Report for 1896/97 records that "two great calamities will render the years 1896 and 1897 memorable in the history of India, namely, the famine which still prevails over extensive districts in the North West and Central Provinces and the plague which is devastating Bombay and Poona, Karachi and Hyperabad."[30]

Allahabad was in the North West Provinces and, whereas the plague does not seem to have reached the city on that occasion, it was hardly a propitious omen for a newly married couple, and the famine was widespread in the area. In addition we learn from the CMS Annual Report for 1897 of tribal revolt on the North West Frontier, earthquakes in Bengal, political assassinations in Bombay and riots in Calcutta! It was, indeed, at Calcutta that the Wallers landed on 8th December 1897, and they remained there a week before journeying to Allahabad, in the course of which journey they missed by just two hours a major landslip at Naini Tal in which they might well have been killed.

Allahabad itself, the 'City of God', was a Moslem stronghold, as the name suggests, but set in an area in which "Hinduism is in the fulness of its strength." [31] Apart from the obvious difficulties of evangelism in such a setting, there was always the temptation to frustration and heartbreak, and active opposition was always a factor to be reckoned with. Language study was demanding and the teaching of the Divinity School was almost entirely in Urdu. As will be seen, there was an added discouragement in that the school had been forced to close a year previously.

The climate was another source of stress and ill-health, and it was one which Mrs Waller found particularly hard to bear. Within two years she very nearly died from an illness for which Waller held the climate at least partly to blame. [32] When ill-health forced her to return to England with her child, he was left alone in India for a number of years.

Apart from these ancilliary difficulties some very hard work lay in store and we learn that "the Allahabad missionaries are supposed to be set apart for the Divinity School, but in addition they have one third of the Allahabad District (population about 516,000) and the whole of the Portabgarh District (population 910,866) containing a total of 1,426,000 persons handed over to them." [33]

In all the circumstances, the vice-principalship of a tiny Divinity School in the north of India which at the time was closed, can hardly have been a very attractive prospect for this able and ambitious young man and his wife. Probably it would not have attracted him at all had it not been for the second great element in the threefold call - his evangelical heritage.

Spiritually, the missionary movement was heir to the eighteenth century evangelical revival which kindled a new sense of man's desperate plight without God and a new awakening to the good news of the gospel, the way of salvation from God's judgment for those who have faith in Christ. Such a gospel must be preached, and

preached urgently, for without it the people perish. It has sometimes been suggested that the Victorian evangelicals seemed more concerned for the souls of natives far overseas than with the desperate need of so many of their neighbours in England. There is, in fact, much evidence to render such a suggestion false, at least in general terms [34] but, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that very many Christians, seeing the world opening up before them, saw this as God's opportunity and God's command. As Canon M.A.C. Warren remarks, for the missionary "the extension of the British Empire was part of the providential ordering of history" and there were many who, like Henry Venn, "could view the military conquest of the Punjab as a providential means of opening up a new area of India to missionary work." [35]

The missionary call for Waller and so many like him was the fruit of long and careful teaching in the evangelical tradition and of a closely disciplined devotional life, in which the disciple waited watchfully and expectantly upon his Master, and when the call came, he was not disobedient.

An important element in this evangelical heritage, which can be connected with the strong Victorian sense of duty, was that a definite need could be sufficient to constitute a call. Henry Venn, addressing the Islington Conference in 1865, said:

> "Will not the younger clergy and the students of our universities, who feel the obligation of the Church to fulfil her duty as a Missionary Church, ask themselves - why should not I go? The call of Christ to his ministers to go into all the world and to preach the gospel to every creature is a general call; but if no providential impediment can be alleged, it becomes a personal and a specific call. May the Lord make it an effective call; and thus thrust forth labourers into his vineyard." (36)

This leads directly to the third element in Waller's call - that which was specific to him; the approach by Drury and Fox, followed by the invitation to go to Allahabad where a teacher of his calibre was urgently needed. This was an invitation which Waller and his

fiancée did not feel they could refuse. It was, to them, God's specific call.

So much is certain; beyond this it is impossible (and, indeed, unnecessary) to go. Waller left nothing more specific by way of personal apologia and he was not a man who revealed his inner motivations in general correspondence. But this interplay of motives, human and divine, has been well expressed by the Rev. Dr. J.S.M. Hooper, who went out to Madras as a Methodist missionary in 1905 and who came to be very closely associated with Waller in the negotiations for Church Union in South India. His testimony can be quoted as representative of many, and there is every reason to suppose that, so far as Waller was concerned, it was not substantially wide of the mark:

> "Queen Victoria was Empress of India; it was the brightest jewel in the crown. I entered the ministry to be a missionary...and there was a vacancy in Madras which seemed providential. I had no doubt at all that, for some reason which is sufficient in the sight of God (and that is where I rest my case) I was appointed to where I was because it was God's will and I was not disobedient. As with the South India negotiations, once I was converted to a belief I went forward because I believed it was God's will. It is this basic conviction which makes me feel what otherwise I could not feel - that there is some chance for the world." (37)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Summary biographical details can conveniently be found in the CMS Register of Missionaries (1895-1904) Entry 1476.

For information concerning the association between Waller's father and St. John's, Highbury, see G.C.B. Davies: Men for the Ministry. The History of the London College of Divinity. (Hodder & Stoughton 1963), although the author is wrong in thinking Harry Waller to have been the eldest son. St. John's Highbury later became the London College of Divinity, and is now St. John's College, Nottingham.

As Edmund Waller was related, somewhat distantly, to Oliver Cromwell through the Hampden family, Waller could claim a rather tenuous link. I am indebted to Major W.R. Waller for the following summary family tree:

Edmund Waller (1606-1687)
|
Stephen Waller (5th child) = Judith Vernon
|
Edmund Waller (1696-1771) = Jane Aisalbic
|
Edmund Waller (1725-1788) = Martha Phillips
|
Rev. Harry Waller (d.1824) = Maria Dolphin
|
Stephen Waller (3rd son) (1813-1842) = Lucy Cameron (2nd wife)
|
CHARLES HENRY WALLER (1840-1910) = Annabella Stubbs

Lucy Maria	Alfred Hamilton (Rev.)	Charles Cameron (Rev.)	Elizabeth Morgan	Edward Harry Mansfield	Emily Frances	Herbert Ewan	Margaret Arabella Glescott
1866-1942	1867-1924	1869-?	1870-?	1871-1942	1872-1906	1874-?	1876-?

2. All four brothers were educated at Highgate School, Harry Waller entering in January 1883. (See the Highgate School Register 1833-1964. 6th edition 1965.)

Waller was admitted to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge on 30th September 1890.

The 1893 boat race must have been an unusually exciting event as Oxford won by just one length and four feet. It was one of a string of Oxford wins between 1890 and 1898.

3. The Church Missionary Society, hereafter referred to as the CMS, was formed in 1799 by Evangelicals associated with the 'Clapham Sect'. John Venn, Rector of Clapham was the first Chairman. It was Charles Simeon who first turned their attention to India. See E. Stock: History of the Church Missionary Society, (Vol. 1).

   The Student Volunteer Missionary Union was formed in England in 1892, following the formation of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions in the USA in 1886. Its famous watchword was "The evangelization of the world in this generation". From this movement sprang the British SCM.

   Perusal of the Centenary Volume of the CMS reveals that between 1890 and 1900 no less than 109 graduates from Cambridge Colleges went abroad with the Society (28 from Corpus Christi College). This compares with 29 students from Oxford Colleges.

   For comment on the increasing number of graduates offering for missionary service as the nineteenth century progressed, see M.A.C. Warren: Social History and Christian Mission (SCM 1967) p.55f.

4. CMS Candidates File C/AT/m 2. Handley Carr Glyn Moule, D.D. (1842-1920) was the first Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge (1880-99) and later Bishop of Durham (1901-20).

5. G. Hewitt: The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942. Vol.1. (SCM 1971) p.429.

6. Their attitude at this time can clearly be inferred from the correspondence between Waller and the CMS regarding his request to marry before proceeding to India. See the CMS Candidates File C/AT/m 2 and the CMS Letter Book G/AC 2 Vol.61. Correspondence quoted in this chapter is from these sources, except as stated below. Waller's father in law, David Alfred Doudney, was Vicar of St. Helen's, Ore, Hastings from 1880-97, becoming Rector of Faringdon, Berkshire in 1897. Waller acquired at least two brothers in law, Harold and Herbert William, both of whom were ordained following training at Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

7. Thomas Wortley Drury, D.D., was Principal of the Church Missionary Training College, 1882-99, Principal of Ridley Hall, 1899-1907, Bishop of Sodor & Man, 1907-12, Bishop of Ripon, 1912-20, Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge and Canon of Norwich Cathedral from 1920, until his death in 1926.

8. Henry Elliott Fox, M.A. (1841-1926) was ordained in 1869 and was the Honorary Clerical Secretary to the CMS from 1895 to 1910.

9. Minutes of the CMS Committee of Correspondence. Vol. 61.

10. The late Bishop N.H. Tubbs had a particularly clear memory of Waller at this camp: "Even in those early days his calm wisdom and judgment were a great steadying force to the keen members of the School Christian Union. He could curb youthful enthusiasm without damping down ardour. Another memory is this same gift

on the occasion of my first Student Christian Movement camp at Curbar..For the first and probably only time in her great story, the SCM was passing through a dangerous phase of emotional religion and was perilously near to religious hysteria. Harry Waller was adjutant and, sensing the dangerous trend of the camp, started us all singing the popular music hall songs of the day. The red-hot Gospellers were shocked, but it steadied the camp." Memorial Sermon for Waller. 17th June 1942. Text in the Indian Church Magazine for 1942. Vol.33 No.6. Tubbs gives the year as "1897 I think". Evidence from the correspondence confirms this.

11. Quoted in G.C.B. Davies: op. cit. p.48.

12. Henry Bickersteth Durrant was an exact contemporary of Waller's at Highgate School, (1883-90). He was also at Cambridge (Pembroke College) 1890-93. He was a CMS missionary in Lucknow from 1896 and Bishop of Lahore from 1912. He assisted in Waller's consecration, see chapter 5, section (c).

    Norman Henry Tubbs (1879-1965) was a younger contemporary of Waller's, entering Highgate School in January 1890 and proceeding to Caius College, Cambridge. Becoming a CMS missionary in 1905, he went, as Waller had done, to Allahabad. He was then Principal of St. John's College, Agra (1908-17), Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta (1917-23), and Waller's successor as Bishop of Tinnevelly (1923-28). He became Bishop of Rangoon (1928-34) after which he returned to England and was Dean of Chester from 1937-53. For the part he played in bringing Waller's diocesanisation plans in Tinnevelly to fruition, see chapter 8.

13. Memorial Sermon as above.

14. CMS Candidates file as above.

15. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, referred to throughout this study as the SPG, was founded in 1701 by the Rev. Thomas Bray. To begin with it was concerned exclusively with English settlers in the colonies, but its charter specifically allowed for work also among the native populations of the colonies, and it first began work in South India in 1750. The SPG merged in 1965 with the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, the two becoming the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

16. The Rt. Rev. T.S. Garrett, former CMS missionary and Bishop of Tirunelveli 1971-74, writes very strongly:

    "Waller had a reputation for being past master at steering committees in the way he wanted them to go. Before an important committee meeting he would call in influential Indian members for private conversation. When he had adroitly discussed some crucial topic and got agreement he would say: "Now you know which way to vote when the matter comes up on the agenda." Possibly he might be criticised for having been just a little too successful at this game..." (Private Letter.)

    Bishop A.M. Hollis comments: "He consulted in the imperative." (Personal interview.)

17. CMS Candidates file, as above.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Personal Interview.

21. I owe this vivid personal recollection to the late Mrs. E. Young who was an intimate friend of Mrs Waller's over many years.

22. Private Letter.

23. See eg; E. Stock: The History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. 1 Chap.6. William Wilberforce's report of his interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury is well known:

"His Grace regretted that he could not with propriety express his full concurrence and approbation of an endeavour in behalf of an object he had deeply at heart. He acquiesced in the hope ..that the Society might go forward, being assured he would look on the proceedings with candour, and that it would give him pleasure to find them such as he could approve."

24. Henry Venn, son of the Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham, was Honorary Clerical Secretary to the Society from 1841 to 1872, and was greatly influential in setting the policy and the ethos of the Society in these important years of growth. For a selection of his writings, see M.A.C. Warren: To Apply the Gospel, (Eerdmans 1971).

25. Article: "The diocesanisation of the work of the Church Missionary Society" published in the CM Review, September 1922.

25a. See M.A.C. Warren: Social History and Christian Mission, chap.1. and C.J. Grimes: Towards an Indian Church, (SPCK 1946) chap.4.

26. This has recently been argued, for example, by Correlli Barnett: The Collapse of British Power (Eyre Methuen 1972), who considers that the seeds of British decline were planted even before the Great Exhibition of 1851.

27. G. Kitson Clark writes: "In about 1873 what is called the great depression may be said to have started; there is controversy about its nature, but certainly about this time the old confident industrial predominance was challenged and the old unbounded optimism began to disappear. More serious still, after 1874 a series of devastating blows struck British agriculture..." The Making of Victorian England (Methuen 1962) p.57.

28. The Church in an Age of Revolution, (Pelican) chap.22. It needs always to be remembered, of course, that, among others, there was also a Pax Gallica and a Pax Germanica. It would be wrong to give the impression that the colonial and missionary movement was confined to Britain.

29. Ibid.

30. Statistics for the North West Provinces given in the Annual Report show 11¼ million in a state of famine with over 26 million "in distress". The Annual Report for 1897 records that the rainfall that year was 40/50% below normal, and the Minute Book of the London Corresponding Committee is studded with requests from Allahabad for additional grants for native workers and institutions such as orphanages, faced with escalating prices under famine conditions. Nearly all the requests were turned down owing to the financial difficulties which the Society was experiencing. See also E. Stock: op. cit. Vol.3 pp.754/5.

31. CMS Annual Report for 1892 refers thus to the North West Provinces. Cf: The Annual Report for 1895 which calls Allahabad itself a "Moslem stronghold".

32. See his Annual Letter for 1899.

33. CMS Annual Report for 1891. Report of the North West Provinces in the context of an appeal for a large augmentation of staff. It is not hard to see why the CMS were so reluctant to turn away recruits in this period through lack of funds.

34. The work of the 'Clapham Sect', the Salvation Army, and that of parish priests such as William Champneys, Rector of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, 1837–60, are notable examples. Kathleen Heasman has brought much evidence to light in Evangelicals in Action (Bles 1962). See also much more generally, the numerous references in G. Kitson Clark: Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832–1885 (Methuen 1973).

35. M.A.C. Warren: To Apply the Gospel (Eerdmans 1971). Introduction. This is an anthology of the writings of Henry Venn and the reference is specifically to him. Nevertheless, Venn's attitude both typified and expressed a general outlook, and also greatly influenced it.

    The missionary impulse in England is here described as it came to Waller and those like him. But this is, of course, not for a moment to deny that the missionary calling both in England and abroad was strong in sections of the Church other than evangelical.

36. M.A.C. Warren: To Apply the Gospel, p.129.

37. Personal Interview. Dr. Hooper, who died in May 1974, became secretary of the Joint Committee which negotiated the formation of the Church of South India. He emphasised that he could only speak for himself in such personal matters as guidance and the missionary call, but his association of a 'vacancy' with 'providence' calls to mind Henry Venn and can be said to be representative of a century of missionary endeavour. His statement is also representative of Waller and others like him who moved strongly forward in their convictions with an alignment of 'belief' with 'God's will' as the meeting point of human and divine motivation.

PART 1

CHAPTER 2

SIXTEEN YEARS MISSIONARY EXPERIENCE: 1897-1913

(Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 51 - 53)

(a) The Divinity School at Allahabad

Allahabad appears for the first time on the missionary map in 1858 when the seat of government for the North West Provinces moved there from Agra following the uprising in 1857. The city occupies a position which was important strategically for the British at the time, and is also of great significance to the Hindu, as it lies at the meeting-point of the great rivers Ganges and Jumna. It became also a railway junction of importance where the Calcutta to Bombay line joined that from Calcutta to Peshawar.

When the government moved, its employees moved also and among their number were some three hundred Christians, most of whom had been brought up in the CMS orphanage at Secundra, near Agra, and who were employed in the government press. They formed a flourishing little congregation under the care of an Indian pastor named David Mohun and the CMS decided to expand its work in the area, building on this foundation. The Rev.Brocklesby Davis was appointed to take charge of the work in 1859 and this is the year from which the CMS presence in Allahabad is officially dated. The population of the city rose rapidly with the coming of the government and in 1873 was stated to be in excess of 100,000. Schools were opened by the Mission, and the number of converts rose slowly but steadily.[1]

St. Paul's Divinity School opened in Allahabad on 2nd February 1882 after a preliminary year at Benares. There were seven students whose courses reveal the purpose of the school and the range of its teaching: one candidate for priests' orders, one for deacons', one for the higher grade of catechist, three for the lower, and one for the higher grade of readers. The courses were comprehensive and any idea of a simple course for natives is quickly disposed of by the description of the curriculum given by the Principal. There were full Bible and Doctrine courses; the history of the oriental and Latin Churches; in Hinduism, study of the Vedas and the philosophical system; in Islam, the life of Mohammed and the Koran; in languages,

either Sanskrit and Hindi or Arabic and Urdu. By 1893 some students were also studying Greek and Hebrew.[2] Although the course changed in many respects over the years, Waller did not exchange St. John's Highbury for a life of academic ease; he undertook a difficult and demanding task. The art was not just that of teaching, but of teaching simply and in an unfamiliar idiom.

In 1896 the school suffered a sudden crisis. The Principal became severely ill and was forced to come to England, never to return to India.[3] Within a few weeks the Vice-Principal, the Rev. J.N. Carpenter, contracted enteric fever and also had to come home urgently. As an emergency measure the Rev. J.A.F. Warren was transferred from Jabalpur to carry on the work as best he could, but, as the teaching was "done in Urdu alone and not in English...Mr. Warren was unable to undertake much of the work and eventually, no one qualified to take the position being forthcoming, the school was closed. It was an extreme measure, only resorted to under pressure of absolute necessity."[4]

This was in August 1896. Warren had held the fort for four months while Carpenter recovered in England and the Society searched for a new member of staff. It must indeed have seemed providential when there came before the CMS Committee the chaplain of St. John's, Highbury.

There was, of course, a difficulty. Waller knew even less about Urdu than Warren. But there was no one in India who was both suitable and available, and Waller had the potential to learn as quickly as anyone. Considerable misgivings were expressed in India about the wisdom of sending a man from England straight to the post, but the Society, in consultation with Carpenter, over-rode the objections and Waller agreed to go.

The Society was now in a hurry as the school had been closed for almost a year, and the plan was that Carpenter and Waller should go to Allahabad in time to re-open the school in the new year. This left Waller with very little time to make the necessary arrangements, as we have seen, but he sailed with Carpenter within four months and the school was indeed re-opened on 1st January 1898.

"The day was observed as a Quiet Day, and the Rev. J.N. Carpenter, the Principal, preached from Romans 8:14. In the evening the Vice-Principal, the Rev. E.H.M. Waller, gave by interpretation an address on preparation for the Holy Communion. The students were eight in number." (5)

In his annual letter of 1886, the Rev. W. Hooper, the first Principal, had looked back over twenty five years in North India, and reflected that the work for which he had thought himself least fitted - that "of assisting the native Church" - had been that in which he had "been permitted to reap most fruit." Waller's initiation to India was at one of the Mission's most strategic points, that of training Indian leadership for the future. Waller that day began a work to which he was to devote the rest of his life - that of "assisting the native Church." (6)

(b) Missionary Experience

Considerable energy went into re-establishing the school. In May 1898 new buildings were completed and at the beginning of the new academic year in October there were fourteen students. Waller was energetic and if, on the academic side, he was "prevented by the requirements of language from rendering much help in class work" [7] he was nevertheless able to teach a little Hebrew and Greek to the English speaking students and within a few months to take "some share in the services and occasionally in preaching." [8] He also took a full part in the annual evangelistic itinerations, making up for his language inability the first year by distributing literature. His first child, Charles Raymond, was born on 19th June 1897. [9]

When his first academic year in India ended in the summer of 1899, he was at once posted to fill a gap in the CMS ranks at Lucknow. The resources of the Society were over-stretched in India, both in money and manpower, and the result was the frequent movement of missionaries to fill each breach as it occurred through furlough, retirement, illness or death. Teachers were particularly useful for this purpose as they could be seconded to other posts during the summer vacations without interrupting their work. On this occasion Waller spent from July to October in charge of the High and Normal Schools in Lucknow and of the English congregation at Epiphany Church. The following year he spent three months with the CMS Mission to the Gonds in the Satpura hills, to the north-east of the Central Provinces. He seems to have found this wider experience useful and, on this occasion, he records his "thankfulness for having an opportunity of seeing work among the Gonds and other tribes of Central India, and such a visit cannot fail to form a stimulus to one's energy and to give a definiteness to one's prayers." [10]

In March of the following year, 1901, he was instructed to move once again. [11] The Principal of the Baring High School, Batala, in the Punjab, had fallen ill and it was resolved in London that Waller should take temporary charge of the school. This time Carpenter

protested vigorously, as his own health was not good at the time, and he felt it was unreasonable to be deprived of Waller's assistance during term. After some argument through the Corresponding Committee and no little procrastination in Allahabad, the Parent Committee sent a terse cable ordering the transfer without delay. The general at the command post will not infrequently have a different perspective from those in the front line, and it is naturally essential that orders be given by those who have knowledge of the total situation, so far as possible. But this was Waller's first experience of the kind of difficulties which can arise when the command post is far away and beyond personal contact. In this case the transfer was from one CMS Mission (North West Provinces) to another (Punjab and Sindh). There was no CMS representative in India who had knowledge of the true situation in both places.

Waller and his wife took charge of the boys' boarding school in Batala in March and remained until November, when the Principal was well enough to resume control. It was a high class boarding school of considerable prestige for "Christian boys of the upper classes... clergymen's sons and sons of others in different positions who can afford to pay the fees."[12] Doubtless these facts were carefully considered by the Parent Committee when it had to decide what to do in an emergency.

Waller found himself thoroughly at home in the environment of a boys' boarding school and enjoyed himself greatly. He admitted that the system may have been just a little too English, but he wholeheartedly approved the school's policy of full education and not merely preparation for government examinations.

> "To secure the grant from government it is necessary to take the exams, but by taking other subjects as well if possible- by social life, by athletics, by corporate school life with its monitorships, games, captaincies etc. - the individuality of the boys is preserved and the character developed... I spent many happy hours in the playing fields and was more than ever impressed with the value of this means of influence...Inspite of the heat, which was not very great this year, we managed to let no day pass without some good game of cricket, football, hockey etc. or swimming and boating when the rains broke." (13)

He was also greatly impressed by the strength of Christian influence which a boarding school could provide:

> "As the bell rang every boy knelt by his bedside, or sat quietly reading his Bible; it was a most encouraging sight. Of course it was only a piece of school discipline, but there it was; all those boys, whose fathers or grandfathers perhaps had once not known the name of Christ, were learning the habit of daily prayer in Christ's Name." (14)

Education became for Waller a lifelong concern, and he was increasingly convinced that Christian schools were among the best contributions which the Churches of the West could make to Indian society. At the end of the year he wrote: "My transfer to Batala gave me a piece of work in which I was supremely happy, and which I only relinquished with the deepest regret." (15)

In August 1902 Carpenter went on furlough, leaving Waller as acting Principal. He wrote that "the work was heavy, and, during the hot weather, which is the quiet time when the most satisfactory work can be done, the tutors were teaching five and six hours daily." The new academic year brought an encouraging number of new students, the total being "the largest number during the past six years." (16) In January of this year he also took a step which marked another stage in his life's work; he accepted the appointment of Assistant Treasurer on the North West Provinces Native Church Council. (17) For the first time he became involved in Mission and local Church organisation and administration, and he discovered that he had a flair for it.

Carpenter returned from furlough in Septemter 1903, but instead of resuming as Principal of the school, went to be superintendent at Gorakhpur in another Mission reshuffle. Waller was officially appointed Principal from this time, assisted by an Indian named Qalander[18] and a new missionary, the Rev. F.W. Hinton. This year the school was fuller than ever before and there seems ro doubt that this was due not least to Waller's influence. Carpenter had objected to his transfer to Batala partly on the grounds that he was "very attractive" to young Indian men, and was thus an

important asset to the school. Undoubtedly the better men came to know Waller, the more he commanded their trust and loyalty. Concerning this period it was said of him that "even in those early days a group of young Indian clergy gathered round him, whose trust and confidence he won."[19]

During this year, 1903-4, one of the English speaking students, S.J. Edwin, became the first to obtain a first class in the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Examination for Holy Orders.[20] But he was hardly an average product of the school (he later became its Principal) and meanwhile Waller was beginning to revise the syllabus and to form a decided antipathy to the use of this examination for Indian students. He wanted a course which would better equip pastors for a ministry in the Indian context, with the comparative study of religions rather than Hebrew and Greek. In this connection he wrote during the year: "The great need of the Indian Church is an indigenous ministry and we ought to turn our whole attention to this problem."[21]

In 1904 his wife, who was never well in North India, went back to England with their son for the third time, and she never returned to the United Provinces[22] except for a very short visit in 1915. Apart from two furloughs, Waller was parted from his family for the next seven years. He threw himself into mission work with great energy and the same year was appointed a member of the CMS Allahabad Corresponding Committee, a powerful body of which he was later to become secretary.

In August 1905, eight years after his departure from England, he returned for his first furlough. During this time Carpenter resumed control of the school, and when Waller returned to India in December 1906 it was decided that he should go to Benares as Principal of Jay Narayan's School, while Carpenter remained at his old post. This was a High School for boys founded on a trust which was administered at this time by the CMS, and the school was under the care of its missionaries. Unlike the Baring High School, it was open to boys of any religion, but it acquired a high reputation

for its Christian teaching, and the CMS Annual Report for 1908 records that "so excellent were the answers given by the Benares boys to Bible questions that a visitor who was present one day thought that the great majority of them must be Christians."[23]

(c) Commentary on the Book of Revelation

At Easter 1907, within months of assuming the principalship, Waller was assisting at a mission in Lucknow when he contracted enteric fever and was away from the school for a total of five months, convalescing in the hills after six weeks in hospital. Of this period of convalescence he wrote: "I was not wholly idle, but was able to complete a commentary on Revelation for the Bishops' series."[24] This series resulted from a resolution of the Indian Bishops meeting in Synod in 1900, and the Rev. C.F. Andrews of the Cambridge Brotherhood at Delhi became the General Editor.

Preaching at his Memorial Service many years later Bishop N.H. Tubbs said that for Waller "The book of Revelation was always a special favourite for it pictures not so much how heaven seems to us on earth, but how earth seems to those in heaven." In his preface to the commentary Waller traces this interest to his father, and in particular to a series of unpublished lectures and studies which had greatly influenced him. Recalling the commentary, Bishop Tubbs said; "I well remember helping him to correct the proofs on a Kashmir holiday. As always he avoided extremes. He had no use for fanciful methods of interpretation. His scholarship was sane and sound."[25]

The object of the series was to provide basic commentaries for the Indian Church, introducing the principles of biblical scholarship and with commentary on the text with special reference to the Indian social context. When this is borne in mind the commentary makes good reading still. Regarding authorship, Waller writes of the strong tradition linking the book with John the Apostle, goes on to speak of the great difference in language between the Apocalypse and the other Johannine writings, and concludes: "Whatever may be final solution to the question of authorship, the Church has witnessed from very early times that this is part of the Word of God delivered for her to keep, and this testimony finds a response in the heart of the Christian who reads."

Regarding date he inclines firmly to the reign of Domitian, and on the question of general interpretation he maintains that in some ways the book is a picture of the Church and the world as they are now, and in others the reference is to events still to come. These need not be mutually exclusive; the true nature of prophecy is to speak into the contemporary situation, but this does not necessarily mean that a future fulfilment is ruled out:

> "It will be found on examination that most prophecies have an application to the events of the time when they were delivered, and a further application to later events...In addition...most prophecies have also a spiritual bearing, and we find that what has been seen to be true in earthly events is also true in the spiritual world.
>
> Men are always anxious to look into the future and often ready to believe that God has mapped out every event and recorded it minutely in the pages of His revelations to men. From among those who hold this view has arisen the "Futurist" school of interpreters of the Revelation who hold that all the Revelation is still future. In opposition to them, there are those who interpret all as applying to past history only, and so rob the book of many of its lessons for our own time. Neither of these schools is wholly wrong, for the eternal principles of God know no time and they apply equally to past history or to future events. Our business must therefore be to try to discover those principles by studying their exhibition in past history, and we may then be able to apply them to our own times and to the future."

The book's great lesson for India, he maintains, is that of Union. The issue of denominational union is not yet at the forefront of his mind, although it is a natural fruit of his argument; the union of which he speaks here is that of all things summed up in Christ. India is the melting pot for a multitude of religions, sects and philosophies, cultures, opposing interests, differing races and rival political theories:

> "..the Revelation has an absorbing interest for us in India, who are confronted with the..problem of the meeting of the East and West, and who can observe in our midst every one of the conflicting elements mentioned above, and can see before our eyes the true and the false principles of unity being tried. We..who believe that India can only be united by the Christian Church are [like the first apostles] ahead of our generation and we

> are liable to be counted fools for Christ's sake; but as St. Paul and St. Peter were proved to be right in the end, so shall we too if we follow faithfully in their footsteps.
>
> One can conceive no more noble ambition and no more inspiring ideal than to unify the discordant elements in one's own motherland, and to unify them on the principle which has never failed the world yet, and which God Himself has revealed. If the Greek and Jew and Asiatic and Roman could unite in the one Christian Body in the first century, what can prevent Hindu and Musalman, philosopher and peasant, English and Indian, being united in the same force and in the same glorious Body in the twentieth century? The message of the Revelation is therefore a living message to India.."

The commentary was published in English by the Indian SPCK in Madras in 1909 and was translated into Urdu and Hindi in 1910.

(d) Administrative Posts

By the autumn of 1907 Waller was well enough to resume the principalship of Jay Nayaran's School, and early in 1908 he succeeded Carpenter as chairman of the Indian CMS Church Council. Carpenter had gone on furlough and, in his absence, Waller also assumed two other administrative posts as a temporary measure; he became acting secretary of the Allahabad Corresponding Committee and secretary of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission.[26]

One CMS worker wrote with some horror of this situation, using it to underline the pressure on missionaries due to shortage of manpower. "Mr. Waller for the next year is to be chairman of the Indian Church Council, a post involving much attention to detail in visiting the Indian congregations; secretary of the CMS (i.e. the representative of the Society in the diocese - a huge responsibility meaning at least five hours work per day); secretary of the ZBMM (i.e. in charge of all the women's work - all money business and administrative work is referred to him); Principal of Jay Narayan's School, Benares (another whole time job); it is a large and very famous school, which, if neglected, would be simply crushed out of existence by the Hindus and Mrs. Besant; all these offices are to be combined in one man, apart from the thousand and one details of work that come to us all.."[27]

Waller himself seems to have relished the challenge and his great administrative and organisational ability was allowed full scope. Regarding the Corresponding Committee he wrote: "The work of the secretary consists of organisation, advice and finance. The first of these is the most interesting."[28] Concerning the Indian Church Council: "It is a subject in which I have been interested for a long time, [and] I devoted a good deal of time to attempting to solve some of the problems concerning the development of the Church and the employment of Indian evangelistic clergy."[29] So far as the total load was concerned: "I did not

want to give up my school work, and indeed there was no one to take it, so, relying on the help of Mrs. Crump in the office, and of Mr. Thompson in the school, I ventured to undertake this additional burden. So far the result has shown that it can be done with the kind help which friends are all ready to give." [30]

Evidently the CMS both locally and in London were well satisfied with his efficiency and the following year (1909) he was appointed permanent secretary to the CMS in the United Provinces, relinquishing the principalship of the school.

(e) A Sermon

In July 1909 the CMS Review printed the text of a sermon Waller had preached in St. John's Church, Agra. It is of interest because it is virtually the only sermon of Waller's which seems to have survived intact, and in it he deals with matters which were to have considerable bearing on his future policies. The title is 'Complementary Ideals of Church Life' and the text is John 3:5 - "Jesus answered and said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven."

He begins by pointing out that there are two ideals presented to us in this text which must be kept in their proper relationship to each other, the individual and the corporate.

> "Individual holiness, the position of man in relation to God, the importance of the individual - these are easily exaggerated in some natures till they exclude the corporate idea altogether; and on the other side, the holiness of the community and the importance of the visible Church may easily be exaggerated till they so overshadow the individual duty that membership of the Church of God becomes purely mechanical. We have these two ideals in our Church put in their right perspective by Jesus Christ; and we have them in our Church history continually put out of proportion and in their wrong position by men; and so it has been from the earliest times."

Tracing the development of these two ideals through Jewish history and into the New Testament, he continues:

> "We are not to end with the individual, but we are to begin with him, in order that we may have the Kingdom of God established on its proper foundation. Man is born again in order to be a member of the Kingdom of God, and the Kingdom of God can only be established on the foundation of the individual."

He goes on to show how difficult it has been for the Church to hold these two ideals in balance. Through the long years of the Church's association with the Western Empire the corporate nature of the Church was so emphasised that individuality was often stifled. Then came the Reformation and "the history of all the unhappy feuds which have rent

the Reformed Church of England is the history of the struggle of the individual against the Church and in the Church." The visible Church on earth ought to be the true expression of the Kingdom of God, but this vision has almost been lost. Instead:

> "We have learned toleration by dividing into different camps and Churches and agreeing not to trespass; but we have paid the price at the cost of the ideal of Jesus Christ, the united Kingdom of God... We know when we try to substitute for the corporate unity of the Church of God any other link made by man, how weak and uninspiring it is. Societies are formed and dissolve or separate, but the Kingdom of God is still one and unchanging. This is the truth which we are emphasising when we say, as we often do say to Christians of some other Church, 'Our objects are essentially the same; we are one'...We yearn after unity; for man was made to have dominion in the Kingdom of God and to share with God his throne.
>
> Think it over. We are to take our place in the Kingdom of God - in a community. That means that we are not to think only of ourselves but of others, that we are not to please ourselves but Christ. There is no romance about it. It means that little annoyances are to be suffered without grumbling; that personal wishes are to be sacrificed for others; that we are to give up our own way and to take another's because that is best for the community - and here comes in the importance of keeping before us the thought of the Kingdom of God. No lesser society will do. No lesser society will supply the motive; a lesser society will perhaps become simply a vehicle of worldly ambition. When the Church aimed at being a world empire, it missed Christ and His Kingdom. If we let worldly ambition into our conceptions of the Kingdom we may gain the whole world but we shall lose Christ.
>
> Or again, we may lose sight of the glory of the Kingdom and substitute some smaller conception of the Body of Christ - some society or even some association made by man, joined at pleasure, left in the first pique, with no history and no inspiration. The result will be the loss in ourselves of that loyalty which will carry us through the trials and difficulties which always come with co-operation. I feel very strongly that our work is weakened seriously because of the want of loyalty to the common body which is so alarmingly manifest at the present time. I am speaking now of our own work here in India; and the cause is, I believe, that want of due proportion between the ideal of the individual and the community...
>
> By not teaching the doctrine of the Church, the communion of saints, we have robbed the Indian Church of its heritage and of an inspiration to share in the evangelization of India. By not practising the mutual subordination and self-denial required in any community - and not least in a community of followers of Him who pleased not Himself, we have lost opportunities of work and of example which are incalculable.

> I say it deliberately - that the road to the establishment of the Kingdom of God - the road to missionary success - is in the conquest of ourselves and in the service of the body of Christ. If we are failing it is because we are selfish, because we put our own personal wishes before the will of God, because we do not take up our cross daily and follow Christ. We all need each other; we must serve one another. That is the law of the Kingdom; that is the law of perfect liberty."

Preaching just a year before the famous missionary conference in Edinburgh (which he did not attend), Waller here lays down the principles and motives underlying Church unity which he was consistently to hold for the rest of his life, and he gives warning of the sacrifice and pain which must be endured in the attainment. The unity of the Church is inherent in the concept of the Kingdom of God; it holds together both its oneness and its diversity, the corporate and the individual; and both are essential as the witness to the world of the nature of God and the teaching of Christ.

(f) Further Events: 1910 - 1913

Bishop Clifford of Lucknow retired in 1910, and his successor, George Herbert Westcott,[31] was consecrated during the meeting of the Indian Bishops at Allahabad in November of that year. In December the new Bishop appointed Waller a Canon of Lucknow Cathedral.[32]

The following year was largely occupied, so far as Waller was concerned, with mission re-organisation and administration and in December 1911 he came home on his second furlough. He thus missed both the visit to India of the King Emperor and also the series of conferences under the chairmanship of Dr. J.R. Mott. These were held under the auspices of the Edinburgh Continuation Committee and one was convened in Allahabad in December 1912. At the concluding National Conference in Calcutta from 16th to 18th December, one of the resolutions urged that "Every facility should be offered for the spread and development of [the] desire in the Indian Christian community at large.. [for] a comprehensive Church organisation adapted to the country."[33] The conference also decided to set up provincial councils, each of which would elect two representatives to serve on the National Missionary Council.

While he was at home Waller wrote an article, published in the International Review of Missions, in July 1912, entitled "Non-Christian Masters in Mission Schools". The continued shortage of missionaries was undoubtedly making the practice of employing non-Christian staff in Mission schools more widespread, he wrote, and this was giving cause for alarm among some mission supporters. But while he agreed that the ideal was certainly that of fully Christian staffs, he wished to rebut the charge that schools which fell short of the ideal were necessarily spreading idolatry and heathenism. Good schools set a tradition, an atmosphere and an example which were more powerful than any individual teacher. In so far as this was not entirely satisfactory, the solution lay in the better training of Indian Christians who would fill the places. This was the only policy which could solve the problem in the long term.

He developed this theme a stage further when he addressed the CMS summer school, which met in Llandudno in June that year. He spoke on the National Movement in India, describing the beginnings of Indian disillusionment with Western civilisation, the revival of Hinduism, and the trend of new government policies which would mean the wider spread of secular primary education. He maintained that Christians ought not unreasonably to oppose the national movement, and that missionary societies could best allow it full scope by encouraging the growth of a truly indigenous Indian Church.[34]

After the summer school, Waller went on holiday with his wife in preparation for the birth of their second child. A son, David, was born on 6th September but, sadly, he only survived for seven days.[35] Waller returned alone to India in January 1913.

Meanwhile there was taking place in Calcutta, from 30th December to 5th January, the historic meeting of the Indian Bishops, together with clerical and lay representatives of the Church. The purpose of the conference was to deliberate upon the future government of the Church in India, and in the final three days the Bishops, sitting alone, resolved:

> "That in view of the advice received from the assessors it is desirable to take steps at once for the introduction, throughout the province, of full synodical government, alike provincial and diocesan, on the basis of consensual compact, where such government does not already exist." (Resolution 15).

Among other measures necessary to bring about this end, they further resolved:

> "That in the matter of Diocesan Synods, the synod recommends that each Bishop take steps as soon as possible for the formation of a Diocesan Synod." (Resolution 17) (36)

The implementation of resolution 15 proved to be a long and difficult task. Legal opinion was sought in England and, as C.J. Grimes describes it: "Briefly, counsel's opinion was that the proposed changes were only feasible on the lines of parliamentary disestablishment, including

directions as to endowments." The substance of counsel's opinion ended with the terse statement: "No synodical action of the nature contemplated could be introduced except under the authority of an Act of Parliament",[37] and by the time any moves could be made in that direction the first world war was absorbing England's entire attention and no action could be contemplated until it was over.

In its original terms the proposal thus lapsed for some years and was eventually to assume a much more radical shape with which Waller was to be closely connected. But it is important to note that, long before his diocesan re-organisation in Tinnevelly, the idea of a diocesan structure which would eventually take its place within a Provincial or National Synod, had become a firm conviction in his mind.

Waller's family difficulties were naturally the cause of some concern to the Parent Committee of the CMS, and when the Rev. G.B. Durrant announced his intention of retiring as Foreign Secretary to Group Two (which at that time was responsible for India, Ceylon, Mauritius and Persia), it was resolved early in March 1913 that Waller should be appointed as his successor.[38] His proven administrative ability coupled with the fact that he would be able to live with his family in England made this a particularly happy arrangement at this time. Thus Waller found himself sailing for England once more on 2nd August 1913, only six months after his return to India. He settled with his wife and son at Northwood and took up his new post in September.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. For summary details see the CMS Annual Report for 1859. It is interesting to note that this report states that "Allahabad may be regarded as an outstation of Benares until a European missionary takes up his residence in the place"; whereas the Rev. David Mohun writes in his Annual Letter: "I think I should call it a self-supporting congregation. They also subscribe a small sum monthly towards the Pastorate fund and manage to do many things independent of aid. This is the thing we want in India. As long as native Christians are dependant on missionaries, Christianity, in my humble opinion, will have very little effect on the heathen around us." From their rather different perspectives, both statements are doubtless correct. For the growth of the city and the Christian population see the CMS Annual Report for 1873, and compare those for 1867 and 1874.

2. For details see eg: CMS Annual Report for 1882 and 1893 and the Annual Letters of the Rev. W. Hooper, the first Principal. The number of students at the school rose to twenty six in 1884 and then settled at about sixteen for some years. The first climax in the school's life was reached in 1895 when "for the first time a student, John Qalander, was presented for the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary examinations for Orders... and his tutors were much encouraged by his obtaining a good place in the second class." Qalander returned to the school as a tutor in 1901 and remained under Waller's principalship. See CMS Annual Report for 1895.

3. The Rev. W. Hooper had been succeeded as Principal by the Rev. H.M.M. Hackett.

4. CMS Annual Report for 1896.

5. CMS Annual Report for 1897.

6. Waller had gone not only to a type of work which was in accordance with his lifelong principle of helping the Indian Church to help itself, but to a form of that service which was to have continuing value in its own right. In its report, the Delegation to India of 1921 wrote: "When the work is diocesanised we shall still have an important contribution to make, alike in supplying a portion of the staff of the diocesan divinity schools and in helping to provide men who shall act as diocesan Missioners for strengthening the spiritual life and the evangelistic spirit of the Indian Church." The training of men for the ministry continues to be a service which the missionary can valuably perform for the younger Churches in his role as servant.

7. CMS Annual Report for 1898. Waller studied and quite quickly became proficient in Hindi and in its Moslem version, Urdu, which uses Arabic script and a number of Arabic words.

8. Waller's Annual Letter for 1898.

9. The names and dates of his two children are recorded in the chapel at Bishopstowe, Palamcottah, which he built in their memory. See Chapter 5 (d).

10. Waller's Annual Letter for 1900, and see the CMS Annual Report for that year.

11. For a summary of these events see North West Provinces Precis. G2. 16/P 2.

12. Waller's Annual Letter for 1901.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Waller's Annual Letter for 1902. The CMS Annual Report for 1903 records that: "The English class contained two men; six read for the examination of senior catechist, two for that of junior reader, and eleven studied for the grade of senior reader."

17. Waller's Annual Letter for 1902.

18. See note 2 above.

19. Memorial sermon to Waller by Bishop N.H. Tubbs. See Chap.1 note 10.

20. Waller's Annual Letter for 1904 and CMS Annual Report for 1904.

21. Annual Letter for 1904.

22. The CMS areas were divided during this period and from 1903 this part of the North West Provinces which included Allahabad became known as the United Provinces.

23. CMS Annual Report for 1908.

24. Annual Letter for 1907.

25. Memorial sermon by Bishop Tubbs as above.

26. Now the Bible Medical and Missionary Fellowship, an undenominational society. The CMS did not accept women missionaries until 1887 and for some years after that it sent such missionaries to areas of the world where other missionary societies which employed women were not at work. In India both the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society were at work, and both societies developed close links with the CMS. The CMS came to list them in their records almost as their own missionaries.
See, eg: E.Stock: op. cit. Vol.4 p.195.

27. Quoted in the CMS Annual Report for 1908.

28. Annual Letter for 1910.

29. Annual Letter for 1908.

30. Ibid.

31. One of seven children, he was a brother of Foss Westcott, the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta from 1919 - 45. He had been an SPG missionary and in 1896 had formed the 'Cawnpore Brotherhood' of English missionaries along the same lines as the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. He had become the first Principal of Christ Church College, Cawnpore.

32. Lucknow Cathedral was in Allahabad with the result that Waller is sometimes referred to as Canon of Allahabad, and sometimes, more correctly, as Canon of Lucknow.

33. Quoted in the CMS Annual Report for 1912. Dr. Mott later wrote some of his impressions in an article for the International Review of Missions, entitled 'Present possibilities of co-operation in the mission field.' (Vol.3 No. 10 April 1914.)

34. His address is reported in the CMS Gazette for August 1912.

35. See the memorial plaque in Bishopstowe Chapel, Palamcottah. Note 9 above.

36. The proceedings are fully described and the resolutions quoted in C.J. Grimes: Towards an Indian Church (SPCK 1946) Chap.4.

37. op. cit. pp. 122/3.

38. Details from the CMS LETTER BOOK G2. 17/L 8. 1913.

PART 1

CHAPTER 3

DIOCESANISATION AND THE CMS IN LUCKNOW

(Notes to this chapter will be bound on pages 65 - 66)

(a) Introduction

It was during the years that he spent in the diocese of Lucknow that Waller began seriously to examine the problem of Church organisation in India, and personally to be involved in proposals for improving the structures. As one of the most important of his contributions to the Indian Church was to lie in this field, it is necessary to give some introduction to the subject at this point. At this stage Waller was only concerned with the CMS organisation and it is this which will be examined here.[1]

During the first fifty years of the Society's existence no attempt seems to have been made towards even the most elementary forms of independence in the native Christian communities. By the time the jubilee was celebrated in 1848-49, there were considerable bodies of Christians in Sierra Leone, Tinnevelly and New Zealand, and smaller numbers in other parts of India and in Ceylon. Eleven converts had then been ordained, all but one in India and Ceylon, and some suggestion had been made that they ought to be supported by their own people, evidently as a means of relieving CMS funds rather than as a matter of policy. But no steps were taken in this direction at the time and the Jubilee Statement, reviewing the Society's operations, made no allusion whatever to the possible organisation of native Churches. But meanwhile the Church of England's episcopal 'superintendence' overseas was gradually being built up and increased, the number of dioceses in India rose from one (Calcutta) in 1814 to three by 1835 (Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay),[2] and the problem of dual control was incipient.

In 1851 Henry Venn set out the basis of future CMS policy in a famous minute:

> "Regarding the ultimate object of a mission, viewed under its ecclesiastical aspect, to be the settlement of a native Church under native pastors upon a self-supporting system, it should be borne in mind that the progress of a mission mainly depends upon the training up and the location of native pastors, and that, as it has been happily expressed, the 'euthanasia of a mission' takes place when a missionary, surrounded by well trained native congregations under native pastors, is able to resign all pastoral work into their hands, and gradually relax his super-intendence over the pastors themselves till it

> insensibly ceases, and so the mission passes into a settled Christian community. Then the missionary agency should be transferred to the 'regions beyond.' " (3)

As Eugene Stock remarks, "This was all very well in theory; but very little came of it at the time. Other minutes and memoranda followed from time to time; but their practical effect was small. The fact was that the missionaries of the period were reluctant to change their old paternal system." [4]

However, the Society did gradually begin to experiment with bringing the better established native Churches more firmly under the superintendence of the diocese. A beginning was made by Venn in the Sierra Leone and in 1860 the Society withdrew its supervision and its funds from nine 'parishes' in the Colony, and the nine native pastors came under a Church Council constituted by the Bishop in accordance with a plan approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The transfer was not quite total, and the diocese remained, of course, firmly part of the Church of England; but it was an important step which was regarded at the time as a triumph of missionary policy, although its wisdom has since been seriously questioned. [5]

Encouraged by this beginning, the Society then obtained the consecration of the first African Bishop, Samuel Crowther, in 1864. This should have been the next logical step in the process, but the situation was quite different in that there was no Church established in that part of the 'Niger Territories' at all, and Crowther was, in fact, a pioneer missionary in episcopal orders. For various reasons which are not of direct concern here the venture was not a success and the extension of self-government in this direction virtually lapsed for half a century, so far as Africa and India were concerned.

The CMS had extensive missions in New Zealand and West Canada, and here the process of 'diocesanisation' proceeded smoothly and without great difficulty because the majority of the population was of English extraction and the Maori and Red Indian congregations could be integrated into it with comparative ease. But, as Stock remarks, "The case is quite different in the great Asiatic and African mission fields,

where the growth of the Church is mainly the result of missionary work among non-Christian peoples, and where the vast majority of the members are Asiatics or Africans who will eventually have the dominant influence."[6] To meet this case:

> "The principle laid down was that the native Church should become self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending. It should support its own ministers, manage its own local church affairs, and take its part in evangelizing the surrounding heathen. But a congregational system was to be avoided. It was not thought well that an individual congregation should pay its own pastor. The congregations of a district or province were to be united in one organisation; each having its own little church committee for purely local purposes, but paying over its contributions to a council for the whole district, which would be responsible for both the appointment and the support of pastors. When such a council was formed, the society would cease to pay the ministerial stipends and other pastoral expenses direct, but would subsidize the council by a grant to meet the local contributions, such grant to be reduced year by year until the Church became able to maintain its own work altogether. While this grant continued, the chairman of the council would be a missionary appointed by the society, who would have a veto on all proceedings; but no other missionary would have a seat. The mission would go on side by side with the church council, having its own colleges, schools, medical work and evangelistic agency quite separate. The council, as it grew in strength, would have its own evangelistic agents, and in some cases its own vernacular schools; but its work and that of the mission would be quite distinct, even if in the same area, as would be the case sometimes."(7)

In India this system evolved generally as follows. The native unit was the Pastorate, comprising usually some ten or fifteen village congregations under the superintendence of an Indian pastor. He was chairman of the pastorate committee which had a degree of responsibility for local affairs and the maintenance of buildings, and collected Church funds for payment to the District Church Council. Where the district was large, the pastorates were sometimes grouped into Circles, each of which had its own committee comprising the pastors and elected representatives of the pastorates.[8]

Above these was the District Church Council, which was the principal native administrative unit although the chairman, as Stock says, was a European missionary appointed by the Parent Committee in London. Normally all Indian ordained clergy were members, together with school-

masters and other lay representatives from the Circles, giving a total membership of perhaps sixty to eighty. This Council received funds both from the CMS allocated through the Corresponding Committee, and from the Pastorates, and was responsible for the payment of pastors, catechists and schoolmasters, and for the upkeep of Church premises. If there was more than one district in a diocese, there was generally a Central Council of which the Bishop was invited to be chairman, but this Council was mainly for consultative purposes.

Side by side with this chain of command was a separate arrangement for the European missionaries. They met as a diocesan Missionary Conference which was a powerful body controlling and paying its own native agents, its own educational institutions (it was usually responsible for all secondary education), and making its own policy decisions.

The controlling committee for both the District Church Council and the Missionary Conference was the Corresponding Committee. This met quarterly, usually with the Bishop as chairman, and it acted as the vital link between London and the Mission in all matters of finance, policy and major decision. The key figure was the secretary who was in charge of all the correspondence and the day to day business. Nearly all correspondence between individual missionaries and headquarters in London was channelled through him, and he acted as a sort of executive manager who advised on each matter as it arose and was expected to deal with all minor decisions himself. He had an important degree of pastoral oversight of the Society's missionaries and would spend much time in visiting the various stations.[9] The post was normally a full-time appointment, always made by the Parent Committee in London.

By 1909 Waller was both chairman of the District Church Council and secretary of the Allahabad Corresponding Committee. It was in this important dual capacity that he first began seriously to examine the existing structures and seek improvement.

(b) Problems created by the Structures and Plans for Improvement

To state the matter in its basic form, problems arose because there was insufficient integration of administration in three areas: first, the CMS European Missionary chain of command and consultation was almost wholly separate from that of the CMS Indian Church. Second, both these administrative structures were almost wholly separate from the diocesan structures, where, indeed, there were any at all developed. Third, none of these structures had any connection with those of other missionary societies or denominations working in the same areas, apart from comity agreements and a growing, but vague sense of general Christian fellowship.

Other societies, both episcopal and non-episcopal, naturally had lacunae of a basically similar type, although some were much less pronounced than others, and so the task of the following half century and more became that of binding together these disparate and often apparently opposing elements into one Indian Church. It cannot be said that this task is wholly completed even now, although great strides have been made.

Waller began to write about these matters as they applied locally in 1909. It proved to be an important year. It saw the union of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in the South Indian United Church. It was also the year in which the CMS drew up a Memorandum on mission structures which was subsequently printed by Commission 2 in the appendix to its report to the Edinburgh Conference. With India specifically in mind, it made the mild, but nevertheless forward looking suggestion that in each diocese a body should be formed, comprising both missionaries and delegates from the native congregations, which should begin to integrate the work. In addition the conferences of Indian Bishops of 1908 and 1910, looking back to a resolution of the 1877 conference,[10] spoke with increasing seriousness of a system of synodical government for the Province - a theme which, as we have seen, was to be taken up again in 1912.

The particular problem which faced Waller in the United Provinces at that time concerned the relationship between Mission and Church. There is no reason to doubt that the intention of the dual structure was to give the Indian Church a real measure of independence. With the exception of the European chairman of the Council, the various committees were entirely Indian and they ruled within their own terms of reference. When they became entirely self-supporting an Indian could become chairman of the Council and the missionaries, with their own chain of command, could be withdrawn leaving the Church structure intact. They would then be able to press on to 'regions beyond' leaving behind them a young Church, self-governing, self-supporting and self-extending.

In practice it never worked like that, and it came to be realized that the dual system produced unfortunate results, and that its theological basis needed rethinking. The double structure accentuated the difference in role, not to say race, between European and Indian. The result was that, for example, the Council became over-dependant on the missionary who was its chairman and through whose hands the mission money seemed to flow. Again, many of the best native agents preferred what they regarded as the greater dignity of an appointment as a 'missionary' with its more certain tenure of post and larger stipend. In practice, moreover, there appeared a separation between the pastoral and the evangelistic work, the Church limiting its interests to what Stock calls 'petty parochialities',[11] leaving the Mission to carry on the work of evangelizing the heathen. In short, there was no gainsaying the impression that the Mission was the 'boss' to which the greater dignity and pre-eminent power belonged.

Behind these practical difficulties lay a fundamental point of missionary policy. Missionaries were not shock troops whose place in the front line meant continual onward movement. This was neither feasible in practice nor desirable in theory. A reasonably extended stay was essential if a young Church was to be founded and built. If a policy of total euthanasia had been carried out it would have left a local Church quite alone, without clear connection either with its neighbours or with a branch of the Catholic Church as a whole, and without fellowship or status in a diocesan or other unit. As Dr. Basil Matthews remarks: "Self-support as an end in itself is

vicious"[12] and has little relationship with the Christian concept of the Body of the Church as inter-dependant limbs.

But if missionaries were to remain in India (as they did, recognizing the realities of the situation), what should be their relationship with the Indian Church? It gradually became clear that, with the emergence of a native Church, their status as missionaries came to mean something very different from what it had been in pioneer days. The word missionary had come to mean a superior and powerful member of the Church, whose position was secured by foreign money reinforced by Western colonial dominance. The missionary would, of course, have repudiated any such intention, but the CMS system of dual administration could only emphasise this impression. If missionaries were to remain, it was essential that they should free themselves from the connotations of that word, becoming servants of the Indian Church for Christ's sake, taking their place within the structure of the local Church and in no way standing apart from it.

It meant further a much more serious effort than the CMS had made up to this point to bind the Mission to the diocese, as the Church of England in India began to formulate a synodical organisation. On the principle behind this, Stock writes:

> [The native Church] "should not lose communion with the mother Church. Pictures have sometimes been drawn of a body of native Christians who are the fruit of Anglican missions meeting in solemn conclave, and deciding for themselves what section of Christendom - Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, etc. - they shall join. It is forgotten that these Christians already belong to one section, the Anglican Episcopal. They have not to join it or adopt it; they are a part of it already. Joining or adopting any other section would involve secession, and the loss of communion with the mother Church. Of course any such body of Christians has the power, one may even say the right, thus to secede; but I am speaking of the aims of an Anglican mission, and one of these aims would naturally be to train its converts to value their existing position within the Anglican communion." (13)

Waller described some of these difficulties as he experienced them in the United Provinces in his Annual Letter for 1910:

> [The native Church] "was organised on a parochial basis and did not provide the best machinery for evangelistic work on the part of the Churches. Evangelistic work tended to become the foreigners' job and the councils grew parochial and narrow, apt to look after their own interests and to put aside missionary work as a thing for which they were not responsible.
>
> On the other hand the Missionary Conference tended to become a close corporation, employing numbers of paid Indian agents, managing its own affairs, and inevitably exposed to more or less adverse criticism from those who, being natives of the country, saw the mistakes which unavoidably occurred, but were excluded from giving advice or sharing responsibility.
>
> The first necessity therefore was to remove this harmful and artificial distinction between pastoral and evangelistic work.
>
> The other danger was that as the Home Secretary appointed the chairman and gave the grant to the District Councils, they, in their turn, looked more to their Chairman and to Salisbury Square for guidance than to the Bishop and there was reason to fear that a CMS 'sect' would grow up in the Church."

The one place in which a serious attempt had been made to meet these difficulties was in the Punjab.[14] Here the District Church Councils were re-organised to include both Indians and missionaries, dealing with both pastoral and evangelistic work, and these Councils sent delegates to a Central Diocesan Council, presided over by the Bishop of Lahore. But, as Waller wrote:

> "...this solution was not accepted by the United Provinces District Councils. Having fair endowments and being within measurable distance of 'freedom' to appoint their own chairman and to relinquish financial help from Salisbury Square, they looked on the suggestion to introduce a number of missionaries on to the District Councils and to relinquish sole control of their finances as a backward step. Accordingly they rejected the Punjab scheme." (15)

These Indian Christians had evidently learned too well the lesson that the CMS aimed at an independent Church. Too uncritical an interpretation of Venn's policies was here beginning to reap its reward and the Indian Church was in danger of rejecting partnership altogether. Undoubtedly the Punjab scheme was the best and most logical synodical arrangement in its general principles and this was the type of system which Waller was to introduce in Tinnevelly. However, in this case there was no option but to try another arrangement:

> "A solution was tried by uniting, not the District Councils, but the Central Council with the representatives of the Missionary Conference. The Bishop and the Archdeacon represent the 'Establishment'; nine delegates from the Conference and nine from the District Councils give a strong body of Indians and missionaries; and two from the diocesan Board of Missions bring in advice and light from the other Anglican Missions in the diocese. All elements in the Church thus meet, and discuss and advise on the policy of the Church's work.
>
> The advantages which have appeared are many. The District Councils retain the management of finance, and as they are chiefly laymen, this is right and proper. But Indians, lay and clerical, advise about missionary policy and formulate needs and requests, and all elements in the diocese feel responsible for the whole work of the Church. The Conference gave up its Administrative Committee which annually reviews and reports on the whole Mission and the work is done by the Mission Council". (16)

This scheme had been accepted unanimously by the Missionary Conference in 1910, and had then been adopted by the Church Council in the autumn of that year, also unanimously, "amid a scene of great enthusiasm, the whole body finishing with three cheers."[17] Waller writes appreciatively of the quality of the Indian representatives and the level of debate, and as far as the missionaries were concerned: "We on our side are working at the only solution to the problem - the handing over of the responsibility to the local Church." [18]

The first meeting of the newly constituted body was held in November 1911 and Waller writes that it was an "unqualified success":

> "Everyone was interested; all felt their responsibility; and by good fortune there was a majority of Indians. When they found themselves presented with reports and requests from every mission station, they began to hope that the oft repeated phrase 'India must be evangelised by Indians' was not to remain a phrase only, but was being translated into fact. Many problems were touched on. The policy of staffing schools and colleges, the development of industrial work, the need of evangelistic workers and many other difficulties came up, and men were asked to solve problems from the inside instead of having to be content to criticize from the outside without adequate knowledge of the difficulties. We all felt that we had really progressed in our Church life... These steps are in the line of self-support, self-government and self-extension as laid down originally by Henry Venn." 19

Waller was not personally destined to see this scheme develop further because he left on furlough shortly after this first meeting and, in the event, only returned to Allahabad for six months in 1913 before finally leaving North India. But the major points of difficulty were now clearly in his mind, including the delicate relationship between different Anglican societies in the same diocese.

As yet the relationship between the different denominations presented a more distant problem. From its inception the National Missionary Council worked hard and long to bring about a satisfactory arrangement of comity, but Waller, with many others, was to fasten on to a higher ideal and press resolutely towards a greater goal. Eugene Stock concludes his article with these words:

> [An Anglican Mission] "should seek by all means in its power to promote fellowship with other Churches not in the same communion... [but]...let me express my own deep conviction that any kind of intercommunion can only be second-best. Nothing short of visible organic union (with the widest internal variety) is really worth longing and praying for. That, and nothing less, will make the world believe in the one King and Lord." (20)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. The best summary of CMS organisation and policy at this time is to be found in an article by Dr. Eugene Stock entitled 'The CMS and Native Church Organisation' published in the International Review of Missions (Vol.3 No.10. April 1914) and extensive reference to this article is made in this section.

2. For the legal difficulties in creating new dioceses in India see Chapter 5, note 1.

3. This is quoted in Dr. Stock's article, p.269. In his History of the Church Missionary Society (Vol.2. p.83) he quotes a more famous statement of Henry Venn of the same policy:

   "The object of the Church Missionary Society's Missions, viewed in their Eccleciastical aspect, is the development of Native Churches, with a view to their ultimate settlement upon a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending system. When this settlement has been effected, the Mission will have attained its euthanasia, and the Missionary and all Missionary agency can be transferred to the regions beyond."

4. Article, as above, p.269.

5. See, for example, S.C. Neill: A History of Christian Missions (Pelican 1964) p.260 : "..the first attempts to carry out the principles of Venn's dictum proved almost wholly disastrous. The establishment of the 'Native Pastorate' in Sierra Leone in 1860, with the complete withdrawal of the missionaries from participation in the affairs of the pastorate, inflicted on the Church a paralysis from which a whole century has not availed to deliver it."

6. op. cit. p.272.

7. Ibid.

8. Pastorates were always grouped into Circles in the south, but not always in the north, where they were sometimes widely scattered.

9. In his Annual Letter for 1909 Waller wrote that one of the first things he discovered when he took on the post was the importance of visiting all the stations. Problems could be sorted out to everyone's satisfaction in a conversation of half an hour, he said, which would have otherwise have consumed a month of correspondence and still have left misunderstandings.

10. The 1877 resolution was "That the time has come for taking steps to provide a system of synodical action, both diocesan and provincial, and that we undertake to ascertain the feelings of the clergy and laity of our several dioceses in regard to the constitution of Diocesan Synods." (Minutes of the Conference of Bishops, 1877, resolution 7. Quoted C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.106.)

11. op. cit. p.274.

12. Quoted by G. Hewitt: The Problems of Success Vol.1 p.420.

13. op. cit. p.281/2.

14. See E. Stock: History of the Church Missionary Society (Vol.4) p.201. Some five years later a similar plan was tried with success in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

15. The extracts and quotations which follow are from Waller's Annual Letters for 1910 and 1911, parts of which are quoted in the CMS Annual Report for 1911.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Article, as note 1, p.283.

PART 1

CHAPTER 4

CMS INDIA SECRETARY, LONDON: 1913-1915

(Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 92 - 94)

"In 1913 [Waller] was called home to be India Secretary of the CMS in London. Of these two years I have no personal knowledge, but his broad vision of the future of the Indian Church deeply affected the CMS policy towards the younger Churches overseas. Indeed he was the modern interpreter of the vision of Henry Venn, the famous nineteenth century CMS Secretary. Diocesanisation - that ugly word which, being interpreted, means the transfer of government from the Mission to the Church - became a live issue, and eventually part of the deliberate policy of the CMS."[1]

(a) CMS Finance and the Devolution of Power

The two years which Waller spent at Salisbury Square were a critical period in the history of the CMS. At the root of the Society's central problem was money and it has to be acknowledged that, to a considerable extent, financial considerations directed policy. No one can say how far or how fast devolution of power would have occurred if there had been no financial crises but it is certain that the process would have been slower and more hesitant.

Through the nineteenth century the society had grown and flourished, acquired enormous capital assets as it expanded its work and substantial reserves, and when it was a century old it was perhaps at the height of its power, measured in terms of wealth and influence. But in the opening decades of this century it ran into a series of deficits, and in 1913, although total income had now risen to £361,216, there was a deficit for the year of £28,316 and an accumulated deficit of £74,421.[2] The reasons for this serious situation cannot be studied in this context but note should be taken of the fact that the effects of over-expansion were now being compounded by a falling off in the number and financial strength of subscribers, associated with the waning fortunes and changing attitudes of the Anglican evangelical constituency. Inflation abroad was also making foreign currency ever more expensive in terms of sterling and this was to become a major financial burden to all missionary societies.

So far as India was concerned, there had been a kind of self-generating expansion which was an inevitable part of missionary success, and the temptation to go beyond this and seriously over-stretch resources both of men and money had been very compelling. New fields and new opportunities to preach the gospel seemed constantly to be opening up, and India's vast population presented a powerful, almost mesmeric challenge.

But the waging of the battle on so many fronts resulted in grave weaknesses at critical points.[3] Fresh expansion in one field was accompanied by retrenchment in another, and when the supply of men and money failed to keep up with this expansion, the Society preferred to sacrifice strength in depth rather than cut back on the front line. It therefore tends to give the impression of having moved from crisis to crisis through this period. It was slowly to be realized and accepted by the Society as a whole that the answer to this problem lay in an orderly devolution of power.

It may be that part of a true missionary policy is to go out beyond one's resources in faith. But when the Delegation to India went out in 1921 and publicly diognosed the problem in detail for the first time, the delegates pointed out with some emphasis in their report that when missionary effort is so diffuse that it is inefficient and of poor quality, the result is an inferior and ineffective witness to the Christian faith.

Just a few months before Waller returned to England three things happened which were of great importance in this connection. The first two were associated with a special conference, called by the Society to consider its difficulties, which took place at the Hayes, Swanwick from 27th to 31st May 1913. (4)

First, the Society looked retrenchment squarely in the eye and refused it. There had been a certain amount of cutting back, and some men and women who had offered themselves to the Society and been accepted were held back for a time. But the conference solemnly and prayerfully resolved that retrenchment was not to be a <u>policy</u>, and the members called on themselves and all supporters of the CMS to renewed effort

and sacrificial giving, the fruit of simplicity of life.

Whether this call would have brought about a substantial and lasting change it is impossible to say, although the signs were against it in the long term, but in fact the outbreak of the first world war changed the whole situation radically at home, and dashed many hopes.

At the CMS Annual Meeting at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London on 4th May 1915, Waller proposed the main resolution as follows:

> "That this meeting of the CMS desires to praise Almighty God for His continued mercy in permitting them to carry on His work in many lands even during this year of war.
>
> They thankfully recognize that, while the gifts prompted by the spirit of self-sacrifice vouchsafed at Swanwick and afterwards enabled the Society to face the financial strain of this time, the devotion of God's people has continued to support the work throughout the year. They are glad to note that while there is a deficit, there is a substantial increase in the contributions from the Associations as compared with those of two years ago. It is this fact which leads them to hope that a financial position, which would otherwise entail severe retrenchment, may be regarded as God's summons to follow up the self-sacrifice of Swanwick by increasing the permanent income through the regular giving and gathering of small gifts. They pray that thus there may be such an increased income assured that God will enable the Society to maintain that witness to the Person and work of our Lord for which it was called into existence and which the War has revealed as the supreme need of the world." (5)

This judicious piece of prose states the position exactly. The first results of the Swanwick conference had been encouraging and income from the diocesan Associations jumped by almost £ 100,000 in 1914. Without this the Society would have found itself very hard pressed indeed, but it was impossible that this effort could be sustained throughout the war, and in 1915 both income and expenditure were almost exactly what they had been two years before. The next big increase in giving was in 1920, and by that time the pressure towards devolution had become stronger than ever.

The second event of significance to arise in connection with the Swanwick conference was the setting up of a sub-committee of Group Two in 1913 which reported to the conference on 'Lines of Future Action'. Its brief was to "Review the Indian Missions in preparation for the future visit of a CMS delegation to that country."[6] Waller was not a member of this commitee as he was not yet in England, and in fact the visit of the Delegation had to be postponed until after the war, but in the course of its report, the committee stated that it would:

> "Strongly urge the desirability of handing over, wherever possible, definite districts to Indians for evangelistic and pastoral purposes. This would mean, in some cases at least, handing over Churches and other buildings, with the expectation that these would eventually become the property of the diocese. But the committee are convinced that a generous and large-hearted trust in the Indian Church is the wisest policy and most likely to secure the objects for which the Society is working, as defined in Henry Venn's well known formula, "self-support, self-extension and self-government."" (7)

Third, on 10th June 1913, Bishop A.R. Tucker, who had retired from Uganda in 1908, moved an important series of resolutions in the CMS General Committee, which are worth quoting in full:

> "1. That the primary work of the CMS is the sending forth of missionaries to the foreign field.
>
> 2. That the continued support of Churches in the foreign field by the CMS is to be deprecated, inasmuch as it tends to sap that spirit of self-sacrifice which is vital to the best interests of such Churches.
>
> 3. That the relief of funds of the CMS so urgently needed at the present time will best be found in the withdrawal of at least a portion of the large sums spent in the direct and indirect support of Native Churches, rather than in the keeping back of missionaries, the sending forth of whom (in the words of Resolution 1) is the primary work of the Society.
>
> 4. That a Sub-Committee be appointed to consider (i) how best to give effect to the foregoing resolutions with the least possible dislocation of the work, and (ii) whether the time has not come for the educational work of the Society to be placed in the hands of an Educational Auxiliary having its own fund, and organised on the lines of the Medical Missions Auxiliary." (8)

Tucker had spent many frustrating years in Uganda seeking, as Bishop, to bring about a transfer from 'Mission' to 'Church', and he had encountered the greatest reluctance on the part of the CMS, both at home and on the field, to relinquish power. He now saw the time at hand when the CMS must do through necessity what it had been so slow to do out of principle. He therefore took this opportunity to remind the Society that its primary aim was to send out missionaries, not to run Churches; and he used the financial exigencies of the situation to underline the need for the Churches, wherever possible, to administer and support themselves. In that the missionaries were a part of the Church in any case, they also ought to come under the same administration, although they would still be supported from home.[9]

Thus when Waller took up his post as India Secretary in September 1913, certain leading ideas were being carefully discussed and a general line of policy was beginning to emerge. There was not to be retrenchment, but rather a gradual transfer of financial obligation on to the growing Churches. It was both right and inevitable that this should be accompanied by a transfer of responsibility. To the debate which ensued Waller was exceptionally well qualified, both by his experience and his natural gifts, to contribute.

The Sub-Committee which Tucker had called for was duly set up and Waller, as a Group Secretary, was a member. It met nine times between October 1913 and July 1914, and Tucker took a great interest in the proceedings, supplying explanatory memoranda and attending a meeting of the Committee on 28th November when he gave a further exposition of his policy and answered questions.[10] It was during these years that Waller's own policies, which he was to implement in South India, came into clear focus and there can be no doubt that this was a most valuable time of learning from the great statesman of the African Church.

Tucker died on 15th June 1914, but he had made it clear that he was seeking no hard or fast rules, but that the spirit of his resolutions should be accepted and implementation should be in accordance with the principles he had suggested. In a memorandum dated 8th September 1914 the Sub-Committee reported that it had looked very carefully at CMS policy

regarding devolution of responsibility. The members did not advise the adoption of the resolutions exactly as they stood for various reasons, but they commended the principles embodied in them and set out their memorandum for careful study in each Group Committee.[11]

Clearly resistance to change was still a dominant factor and implementation was to be slow, but the long duration of the war helped the policy of devolution to become ever more firmly established within the CMS.

(b) The Impact of the First World War

The First World War was bound to affect the CMS in various ways over and above the shortage of money. The supply of missionary recruits dwindled dramatically, thus calling into question even the "primary work" of the Society, as Tucker had defined it. By 1915 Waller was writing that Cambridge, that traditional recruiting ground for the Society, had lost a thousand students to the war.[12] His best success in deputation work was in recruiting some young men on two year short service agreements, and arranging for some dons, who found themselves largely redundant, to take up teaching posts abroad with the Society.[13]

National feeling was not such as to encourage young Christians to take up missionary work as an alternative to serving in the forces, indeed on the contrary many missionaries felt themselves under considerable pressure to join the war effort. The CMS laid it down that any missionary who wished to join the services should be perfectly free to do so and that some financial assistance would be given. Most, however, seem to have concluded that they were making a valuable contribution where they were. In response to one enquiry, Waller wrote on 1st January 1915:

> "I think if you lived at home you would have the same sort of feeling of being able to do very little for the war. Of course there are funds to contribute to, but unless one gives up one's work and goes as a Chaplain there seems nothing almost that one can do. I think on the whole you are better off in India where the work seems more direct. I consider the maintenance of the Missions and the spiritual ideals of the Empire absolutely vital at this time. We profess to be fighting against the ideas of force and if we don't keep our spiritual work going, we may be conquered even though we win." (14)

The longer the war continued the clearer it became that the Society could not simply mark time and expect to return to old ways when it was all over. Radical thinking together with the courage to implement the new policies was needed in the face of a changing situation, if not indeed of a changing world.

Self-extension had long been in the forefront of CMS policy, but we have seen how the organisational structures tended to put the evangelistic effort into the missionary camp. These structures had to be altered because, if for no other reason, the number of missionaries was falling and the financial support available from home for the native agents through the Missionary Conference went into decline.

Self-support had also long been a cherished maxim; suddenly it was becoming an urgent necessity, and one of the Society's chief sources of authority and power (however well intended or even unintentional) was beginning to ebb away.

Self-government had also long been accepted as an ideal, but it had been desperately slow in the implementation. Of the three goals it was the one which the Society had shown, by its actions, that it trusted least. Now the convictions which had for so long undergirded the old paternalistic ways were beginning to sound unconvincing and were gradually to give place to a new outlook. Above all there was no gainsaying the fact that, if self-support was now to be thrust on the growing Churches, self-government could not be far behind.

(c) The Changing Situation in India

If Europe was in turmoil, India was undergoing a slower but no less far-reaching change. A nation with its own self-conscious identity was slowly coming to birth. The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 and, although for a number of years this was content to flex its muscles very tentatively, a beginning had been made, while beneath the surface the tide of nationalism was swelling steadily. For a time this national consciousness evolved in the context of the British Empire and the First World War gave opportunity for this to express itself. Waller wrote in 1914:

> "The enthusiasm [behind India's war effort] which has been called forth springs from different causes. India is such a vast country and its peoples are so diverse that it is extremely dangerous to generalize about them. But one may indicate some outstanding features. India, as represented by the educated classes, has passionately demanded her place in the British Empire. She feels keenly the different position in which she stands compared with the other colonies. She resents deeply the exclusion of Indians from other parts of the British Empire. And she is proportionately proud to take her place in the Empire, to send her sons to fight against our enemies, to share in the common sacrifice for the ideal of Empire which is at stake." (15)

There was high praise in Britain for India's ready response and fine contribution to the allied cause. But Waller went on to write: "But what of the future? India has taken her place in the Empire, and has been warmly welcomed as worthy of it. There can be no going back. The future can never be as the past. What it will be cannot now be determined."[16] He had already seen too much to suppose that the drive for self-identity could end at this point. The force of nationalism was beginning to gather momentum. The war consolidated patriotism behind the crown for a time but the changing climate is well reflected through the pages of the CMS Annual Reports. In 1914 the report was of the "magnificent display of loyalty on the part of the people towards the King Emperor." By 1919 there was news of "open hostility" towards the government.

It was inevitable, and to a considerable extent proper, that this drive towards self-determination should affect the outlook and position of the Church in India. Even as the educated classes were calling for partnership in the Empire and eventually for independence, Christians were beginning to call ever more insistently for partnership in the Church. This was given prophetic voice in the words of Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah at the Edinburgh Conference of 1910:

> "I do not plead for returning calls, handshakes, chairs, dinners and teas as such. I do, on the other hand, plead for all of them and more if they can be the expressions of a friendly feeling, if these or anything else can be the outward proofs of a real willingness on the part of the foreign missionary to show that he is in the midst of the people to be to them not a lord and master but a brother and friend. Through all the ages to come the Indian Church will rise up in gratitude to attest the heroism and self-denying labours of the missionary body. You have given your goods to feed the poor. You have given your bodies to be burnt. We ask also for <u>love</u>. Give us <u>friends</u>." (17)

There could, in the long run, be no escape from the implications of this cry for Christian partnership. It meant a subtle but profound change in the relationship between the missionary and the Indian Christian, and between the Missionary Society and the Indian Church.

Meanwhile the search for an Indian national identity was affecting Hinduism as well as Christianity. The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand Sarasvati in 1875, ten years before the Indian National Congress. It was the leading expression of an attempt to rediscover Hinduism in counter-attack against the aggressive spirit of the West (embodied not least in missionaries) which was prone to despise Hinduism and assume its disappearance in the greater light of western culture and religion. It was bitterly anti-Christian, one of its activities being the attempt to re-convert outcastes who had joined the Christian Church. The Hindu Tract Society of Madras, whose object was the dissemination of anti-Christian polemical books and pamphlets was started in 1887. With the death of Ramakrishna in 1882, a new prophet arose in the person of Swami Vivekananda and when he returned from four years of 'mission' to the West in 1897 he was greeted as a national hero.

The Hindu renaissance was joining hands with the nationalist movement and, in the popular estimate, the view was strengthening everywhere that to be an Indian was to be a Hindu. The cry of Gandhi, as of the Arya Samaj, was "Back to the Vedas."

For the missionaries there was no escaping the consequences of this revival. "Everywhere the rallying cry is in the defence of Hinduism... not because it is true but because it is Indian."[18] "In mass movement areas the Arya Samaj is building schools with almost feverish haste. In South India preaching bands of Hindus go forth into villages where men are being won for Christ urging them not to become Christians. In addition to this a Hindu missionary society has been active; while, most startling of all, efforts are being made to bring those who have hitherto been regarded as the untouchables within the Hindu community."[19]

Furthermore the Christian mission had reaped considerable advantage, at least in the short run, from its near identification with the colonial movement. Now the association was beginning to be an embarrassment. By 1919 one missionary was writing in horror: "The majority of villagers always say and think we are government servants sent and paid by Government. This does real harm today when respect for the Government has changed into open hostility."[20] In the same year an Indian District Judge at Nellore wrote: "Evidence accumulates that the progress of the Church in the near future promises to be difficult. What the future holds for us no one can tell, but of one thing we should be reasonably certain: that in the immediate future Christians, Christian institutions and Christian effort must be prepared for hatred, opposition and persecution."[21]

Persecution has never, in fact, taken place on a serious scale in India but the rate of expansion of the Church slowed markedly, especially as the era of the 'mass movement' came to an end.

(d) Waller and the Christian Response to Hinduism

The revival of Hinduism rather than its disappearance in the face of Western aggression led to a gradual change of attitude on the part of many missionaries. First, total antagonism was replaced by a more scholarly search for understanding. Then came the first serious attempts to relate God's final revelation in Christ to this ancient philosophy.

During 1914 Waller wrote two articles for the CMS Review which relate directly to this gradual change, and reveal something of his attitude towards it. The first was entitled "The new era in the comparative study of religions" and the second "Proselytism or evangelism?" The substance of these articles was a review of five books, to the evaluation of which he was now able to bring sixteen years of experience in India.[22]

Two of these books were of major importance and the first to which he gave attention was "The Crown of Hinduism" by J.N.Farquhar.[23]

He begins by looking at the traditional outlook of the past: "The Missionary, compelled to refute the religions with which he came into contact, had studied them and compared them with his own, much to the dissatisfaction of those who were the objects of his attack." He is willing to defend these missionaries in terms of their own time and situation, but "It is the fashion nowadays to deprecate the uncharitable character of the early controversial treatises of Hinduism and Mohammedanism." These studies "served as a stimulus to both sides, but the atmosphere of controversy has not always conduced to a scientific result...We would be the last to suggest a return to such methods of presenting the Gospel.../and/ we have no desire to renew this style of controversy. Let us recognize the service which was done to the study of religions and pass on."

Two factors, he says, have contributed to the change in attitude: one is "the breaking down of the barriers of distance and of racial isolation" and the other is "the doctrine of evolution, which has turned men's minds to the progress of thought in every sphere, and has given the great impetus

to the comparative study of religions." The result has been a much more scientific and objective study, but this has not been without its own limitations:

> "Religion was to be treated as an historical fact. There was no room for a study of revelation, no place for a psychological treatment of the subject. We must remember that the study of psychology was even later and the science had not won its place among the learned. The result was that every religion was treated as on a par. No attempt at a valuation was made. Each was submitted to a searching analysis: legends, mythologies, magical practices, ritual, and philosophies came under review and the results were duly chronicled. The expressed thought was the dominant factor. The soul of the believer could not be analysed and was left out of account. Moreover, the study, in order to be scientific, was obliged to start with no declared beliefs or premisses of its own. The result was that a great mass of valuable information, and a great mass also (it must be said) of wearisome and useless details was accumulated, and it was not at first evident what should be done with it."

In his view what was now needed was a sociological examination of the evidence which would "earth" the debate between the religions and demonstrate their qualities in terms of the kind of societies which they produced. He illustrates how an over-academic study of a religion in theory can lead to great misunderstanding and indeed to parallels being drawn with Christianity which are quite unreal in practice. It is when the fruit of a religion is seen in its practical outworking that its true worth can be estimate. In this stage of the enquiry Farquhar has given the lead:

> "The crying need in this age of racial struggles and conflicting civilisations is clear thinking on the fundamental principles of the relations of God, man and the world. The Christian student who feels he needs a message to carry to the world at home or abroad is looking not for comparative theologies, nor for scholarly analyses of dying religions, but for clear statements of those living and vitalising principles which alone can raise the lives of men and of nations. Books which give us these are what we need, and Mr. Farquhar has shown us the way. We are not saying too much when we claim that only writers who treat of the problems of life as related to religion and of religion as influencing (and solving) these problems, writers who take us down to root principles as Mr. Farquhar has done, will prove to have made a permanent contribution to the Science of Religion and, what is more important, to have contributed to the uplifting of humanity."

Waller's praise for the book is, therefore, essentially practical. As he wrote in another review: "The call is for a constructive study of religion, and it is because Mr. Farquhar has given us this in his "Crown of Hinduism" that we hail his book as marking an epoch in the study."[24] He states that the author "has set himself to examine the life and aspirations of the Hindus and to show how their longings point to Christ"[25] but he makes no comment on whether the writer has been successful in the latter endeavour.

There is no doubt that the underlying thesis of the book - that Hinduism would find its final expression as it was transformed into Christianity - is open to grave objection on a number of counts.[26] This debate cannot be pursued here in any detail but one aspect of it was important to Waller at this time. Farquhar's use of the concept of 'evolution' seemed to suggest that Hinduism would somehow transform itself into Christianity automatically. Furthermore the implication seemed inherent that aggressive evangelism would not only retard this process but would be guilty of attacking truth; from this it was but a short step to the charge of relativism. Farquhar did not intend this, as a reading of his book reveals:

> "...When Jesus says, 'Follow me,' He means to say 'Follow me in the surrender of everything; follow me, if need be, even to the cross'. This dying to all that impedes the work of God in the soul includes for the Hindu a dying to Hinduism, which is no easy or pleasant duty.
>
> In the philosophy and theistic theology of Hinduism there are many precious truths enshrined; but, as we shall see, the ancient Hindu system, within which they appeared, effectually prevents them from leavening the people. This hard, unyielding system must fall to the ground and die, before the aspirations and the dreams of Hindu thinkers and ascetics can be set free to grow in health and strength so as to bear fruit in the lives of Hindu villagers. Hinduism must die in order to live. It must die into Christianity." (27)

But others were not so dogmatic and Waller took up this line of enquiry when he came to review a second book of importance, "Our Task in India" by Bernard Lucas.[28] Here the charge of relativism can be largely substantiated, as Waller makes clear. Lucas had a horror of religious 'systems' and of the attempt to impose the whole western

Christian religion in toto on the people of India, and with this Waller was in sympathy, although he felt that the picture Lucas was drawing was a caricature. But he writes, in his opposition to the imposition of a system:

> "... Mr. Lucas goes further than ecclesiastical organization and pleads that his evangelist shall impose no creeds on his disciples, that he shall not insist on Bible teaching in schools. Dogma is no more to be taught than is organization to be imposed...
>
> But the example of Our Lord and His Apostles confronts us. It is true that the doctrines of the Gospels are no lifeless dogmas; they are living principles founded on eternal truths, but there is no lack of clearness in the teaching. And St. Paul and St Peter are emphatic in their declaration of truth. St. Paul is not afraid to condemn in the strongest language those who preach another doctrine. He recites his teaching almost in the form of a creed (1 Cor. 15) and those who deny the doctrine of the resurrection are outside the pale of the Church. We must confess that after careful study of Mr. Lucas's book we were left wondering what we were to preach."(29)

To proclaim a clear Gospel and to believe in the conversion of the individual does not necessarily imply any desire to impose a system in toto. The missionary "longs ardently for the day when Indian Christianity shall throw away its Western crutches and shall walk alone; he would be prepared even to see heresies - if they meant that Christian Indians were thinking for themselves and that Christianity had become indigenous."[30]

> "With [Mr. Lucas's] desire that every messenger of Christ should become an Indian to the Indians in order to win them we have the deepest sympathy. It is an attitude of mind to be cultivated by prayer and humility, and Mr. Lucas is right when he deplores the too frequent absence of this spirit. But we have to remember that it is emphatically an attitude of the spirit, and when ways of showing it are suggested, if they are not our own, they are no remedy.
>
> To sympathize with every truth which God has implanted in the mind of man and to make it the foundation of fresh revelations of truth is St. Paul's own method. But to abstain from attacking (say) idolatry may be sometimes unwise and wrong, and it is not necessarily an evidence of the evangelistic spirit which Mr. Lucas desires. For ourselves we cannot forget that Isaiah and the Psalmists attacked idolatry and that St. Paul's spirit was stirred when he saw a city full of idols. But let that pass." (31)

So he concludes that "While we are in the fullest sympathy with the desire underlying the book, we have felt compelled to deplore many of the suggestions which are made."

> "We feel that the ideal has eluded us, and the pictures on which the contrast of methods has been based are not true to the facts. But we may hope that those who read the book may be led to an examination of their methods and a searching criticism of their message, so as to disentangle the unessential from the essential and to present Christ clearly to the soul of India." (32)

The shift of emphasis away from evangelism became marked in the tone of much debate in the Jerusalem Conference of 1928, and even more strikingly in the American Laymen's Report, "Rethinking Missions", of 1932. But Waller's whole background braced him firmly against any tendency in this direction; nor was he, by temperament, in the least likely to take fright at the prospect that proselytism might be banned when independence was achieved, and adjust his position in advance. He followed the progress of the debate closely, but his theological principles were clear and never wavered. He had no doubt that the Spirit of God could be heard, even if dimly and distortedly, in some parts of Hindu philosophy and practice. But he was likewise in no doubt that it was only as a man turned from his past to give his total allegience to Christ that he could begin the life that truly fulfilled all other approximations. From that moment onwards, but not before, the Indian could begin the adventure of faith which would transcend any stereotyped system.

The post-Barthian position adopted by Hendrik Kraemer was, of course, totally opposed to the 'liberal' tendencies of scholars such as Farquhar and his influence was virtually extinguished.[33] But the last word in the debate has certainly not yet been spoken and certain pointers may be emerging. Undoubtedly one is that each of the world's great religions is sui generis and any comparative study of religions must not lose sight of this. As Bishop Lesslie Newbigin has well expressed it: "The other religions are not to be understood and measured by their proximity to or their remoteness from Christianity. They are not beginnings which are completed in the Gospel. They face in different directions, ask fundamentally different questions and look for other

kinds of fulfilment than that which is given in the Gospel. They turn, as Otto says, on different axes." [34] Farquhar's use, therefore, of such terms as 'evolution' and 'fulfilment' was probably unhelpful and confusing, and Kraemer was certainly right to stress the need for the Gospel to be preached as a radical challenge which cuts sharply across the allegiencies and philosophies of any other religion.

But Kraemer's reaction was so strong and influential that, for a time and against his intention, it virtually brought to an end any fruitful dialogue with other religions. This trend is now rightly being reversed, and it may well be that Waller was correct in seeing Farquhar's initiative in presenting a scholarly and sympathetic account of Hinduism in such a way that relevant and practical points of debate with Christianity are brought to light, as a landmark of considerable importance in the study of missionary theology and practice.

When he came to write a third article for the CMS Review in December 1914, Waller's theological attitude to this whole debate becomes explicit. He is blind neither to the realities of the situation nor to past achievement. He quotes with approval the words of Sir Narayan Chandarvarkar: "The ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel of Christ are slowly but surely permeating every part of Hindu society, and modifying every phase of Hindu thought." [35] The Christian Church might never be more than a small minority in Indian society, but there is real truth in the saying that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump and "those who live in the country have detected many signs of the leavening influence of Christian ideals on the mind of India" [36] - no small return for more than a century of preaching the Gospel of Christ.

The particular illustration of this to which he draws attention is that India had not taken advantage of Britain's preoccupation with the war to foment unrest and revolution, but rather had thrown herself whole-heartedly into the struggle on the side of the allies. Although it is impossible to generalize about a country so large and diverse as India, this is, he says, a clear indication that the ideal of Christian justice, based on the the doctrine that before God all men are equal, had taken hold of the Indian mind. Whether this somewhat sanguine judgment, written within four months of the outbreak of war, will

stand up in the cold light of history may perhaps be doubted, but it makes clear that Waller was certainly looking for this kind of result from the Christian presence in India.

But this does not for a moment lead him to suggest that the time for evangelism had passed, or that the Church should now be content to work in co-operation with Hinduism on the basis of a kind of 'non-aggression pact'. On the contrary, it should rather be the signal for advance: "..our present duty seems clear. There must be no slackening of the Christian message, no dimming of the Christian ideal now." [37]

(e) Waller's reaction to the Kikuyu Controversy

The Kikuyu controversy, which broke upon the Church of England in the late summer of 1913, made a deep impression on Waller. It resulted from an interdenominational conference held at Kikuyu, in the heart of what was then British East Africa, to consider plans for greater co-operation which might lead eventually to a united East African Church. Some sixty missionaries attended including representatives of the Church of England, among whom was Bishop Peel of Mombasa and Bishop Willis of Uganda who was in the chair. At the end of the conference the non-Anglicans were invited to receive Holy Communion at an Anglican service.

Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar was so seriously alarmed by reports of proposed federation and of the action of the two Bishops in admitting non-Anglicans to Holy Communion celebrated according to the Anglican rite, that he indicted them for heresy to the Archbishop of Canterbury. As G.K.A. Bell wrote: "From this indictment by the Bishop of Zanzibar, a public controversy on an astonishing scale started in the English press, and continued for a long while throughout the Churches. To some, the scheme of Kikuyu seemed a magnificent move forward to Christian reunion. To others, it appeared to be 'a certain step to the disruption of the Anglican Communion.' " [38]

The matter was clearly of crucial importance to the CMS, not only because of its deep involvement in the growing East African Church, but because judgment on the case would be certain to be of the greatest influence in determining plans for future co-operation with Churches of the Anglican Communion everywhere. In Salisbury Square Waller found himself at the heart of the debate. During the winter of 1913/14 both Bishop Willis and Bishop Weston came to London and urgent consultations were held which inevitably included the CMS. On 9th April 1914 Waller wrote to the Rev. N.H. Tubbs, later to be his successor as Bishop of Tinnevelly, revealing the extent of his involvement:

"About Kikuyu we have been doing all, and more, than you suggest

> for some time past, and are in close touch with the Archbishop so that we are providing exactly the kind of help that he needs. There is no fear of the decision going against us.
>
> ..I do not think it is telling secrets to let you know that for some months past we have had a very strong round-table conference, including several Bishops, heads of Theological Colleges etc., and are preparing a set of pamphlets to educate the public..
>
> ..We have, of course, been keeping ourselves closely informed of all that has been written on the subject, and Kikuyu has filled a very large place in our thoughts and deliberations for the last six months. The thing that has revealed itself more than anything else is how entirely the laymen of England and the secular press are with Willis and us. I do not know whether the inner workings of the controversy will ever be published, but you may be perfectly satisfied that things are being very carefully handled here." (39)

It is evident that there was widespread anxiety among CMS missionaries, and the pronouncement of the Archbishop of Canterbury was eagerly awaited. When it came, at Easter 1915, it was revealed to be a careful and moderate statement. But, among other matters, it scrupulously distinguished between temporary and occasional 'hospitality' and the inauguration of a new policy of inter-communion - "To mix the two questions is only to confuse matters." But, while granting that the former is permissible, the Archbishop continued:

> "I believe that we shall act rightly, and that the wisest and strongest Missionaries believe that we shall act rightly, in abstaining at present from such services as the closing Service held in Kikuyu, now that in a world of quick tidings and of ample talk they are shown to be open to the kind of misunderstandings which have arisen." (40)

The principles involved were abundantly clear to Waller, but, on the other hand, the lessons of the affair and the advice of the Archbishop were not lost on him. He was to spend much of his remaining life in the forefront of negotiations for a unity which would be sanctioned by the Church of England. He did not live to see the virtual collapse of this high hope so far as the Anglican Communion was concerned, although the scheme for which he laboured triumphed in South India itself. But his approach to inter-communion remained that of a statesmanlike caution. At no time did he attempt to move ahead of the negotiations; he never sanctioned inter-communion with other Churches before union; and, even

though we see him here firmly on the side of Bishop Willis, it was not until 1939, less than three years before his death, that he felt able to receive Holy Communion from Methodist hands. [41]

(f) Further Events 1913 - 15

While these major topics engaged Waller's mind throughout the time he was at Salisbury Square, it was not to the detriment of his primary task as India Secretary. In this his administration was brisk and efficient. Missionaries' annual letters were all acknowledged personally with a reference to their contents and a word of encouragement. [42] He stood between the CMS committees in London and the Missions in India, and his open, straightforward approach and his clear mind made him eminently suitable for the role.

One of his lifelong interests was education, and he had hardly taken up his appointment when he was asked to be secretary of a sub-committee set up by the CMS Education Committee "To consider the findings of [Dr. Mott's] Conferences and to report or make recommendations thereon." [43] There had been a series of these conferences in Asia during 1912 and 1913 under the auspices of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference and they resulted in the formation of the National Missionary Council in India. Not only had they been able to consider the subject of education in its national, and hence trans-denominational and secular context, [44] but they were also able to take into account the new legislation in this field which followed the visit of King George V to India in 1911. [45]

The effect of this legislation was considerably to increase the amount of government grant to colleges of higher education which were under public control. The result of this was that these colleges were able to continue and expand with minimal rises in their fees inspite of continual increases in costs. Privately run colleges, among which were those run by the missionary societies, were badly hit as a consequence and felt that the legislation was unfairly weighted against them. In very general terms this became the same kind of battle which had been fought out in England over the previous century. The Church had been the educational pioneer but gradually the State, with its vastly superior resources, was now squeezing the Church (together with its Christian teaching) out of the field. It was the beginning of a long period in which missionary societies were faced with ever more expensive schools and colleges to finance out of diminishing funds.

The sub-committee reported on 26th February 1914, and a resolution was passed by the Education Committee: "That as soon as possible a delegation of the General Committee should visit India to study especially these and kindred educational problems on the spot." [46] It is evident that Waller was acutely conscious of two facts; the first was that great changes were taking place in India, not least in the field of education, and the second was that urgent and far-reaching decisions were called for which could only effectively be made by a top-level committee which had been able to examine the situation for itself. He did everything in his power to speed the delegation on its way, but the effects of his efforts were inevitably seriously delayed by the war.

Waller had, in fact, not been at his desk three months before he was conscious of the need to return to India himself if he was to be able to assess the situation accurately. His experience had been in North India alone and he felt that this was not enough if he was to do his job properly. The days of mission secretaries who rarely strayed far beyond the boundaries of London except on conference and on holiday were giving way, through the acceleration of change and the improvement in transport facilities, to the era of the global tour secretary. Waller was at the heart of a great missionary society at a crucial time.

He accordingly began to press for permission to visit India and he persuaded his fellow secretaries to put forward a resolution to this end "with a view to gaining knowledge of the Field and of considering and discussing the questions now confronting the Missions." [47] This passed the General Committee on 14th April 1914 and his visit soon began to assume more of an ambassadorial than a personal role. In a letter to all the Indian Missions, dated 24th April 1914, the Rev. C.C. B. Bardsley wrote:

> "The Committee hope that in this journey Mr. Waller will be able to acquaint himself with the present conditions and the problems of our work in India and especially in those parts which he has not yet visited. It is hoped that his visit will bring the Home Committee into closer contact, a thing which is very desirable both in view of the many difficult and important questions which now confront us, and also in view of the fact that we hope our Society may be able to make some advance after the years of retrenchment and holding back of recruits." (48)

But the visit was not destined to take place. During the year a sub-committee of the General Committee had been at work examining the organisation of the CMS headquarters. Amongst its proposals was one for the unification of the foreign department and although the proposals were not implemented in this particular respect, much consultation was involved which affected Waller's position, and in the event Bardsley wrote again to the Missions on 10th July, announcing the cancellation of the proposed visit "owing to a re-organisation which is taking place in our work here..".[49] As it transpired the visit would have had to be cancelled in any case as by the end of the year Waller was preparing for the next stage in his career.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Bishop N.H. Tubbs in the memorial sermon for Waller. 17th June 1942.

2. See G. Hewitt: The Problems of Success, Vol. 1. The summary table, Appendix 3. For the position of the CMS as home during these years see especially Part 4 of this volume "The CMS at home 1910 - 1942." For the effect of foreign exchange rates see also M.A.C. Warren: Social History and Christian Mission p.143f. and Appendix C.

3. In 1914 Waller wrote: "I do hope there will be a move forward in our income this year, which will enable us to strengthen some of the weak places; but you will understand that after the years of deficit there are many weak places to be strengthened." G2. 12/L 16. 1914.

4. The conference is the subject of a major article in the CM Gleaner for July 1913 by the Rev. C.C.B. Bardsley, Hon. Clerical Secretary to the society.

5. CMS Annual Report for 1914.

6. G2/0. 1913. No. 4.

7. Report dated 7th March 1913. G2/0. 1913 No. 4.

8. G2/0. 1914 No. 18. Alfred Robert Tucker (1849 - 1914) became Bishop of Uganda in 1890. Returning to England in 1908 he became a canon of Durham Cathedral and resigned the bishopric in 1912.

   The Educational Auxiliary, mentioned in resolution 4, was set up by Mr. Theodore Lunt and when he became secretary of the National Laymen's Movement, Waller succeeded him as secretary. He filled this post as well as being secretary to Group Two until he became Bishop of Tinnevelly. See E. Stock: History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol. 4 p.528.

9. In his entry in the "Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission" David D. Barrett writes of Tucker: "He was one of the first missionary leaders to see that the indigenous church should be one within which missionaries could serve, in contrast to the view originating with Henry Venn, which favoured the missionaries withdrawing and leaving the church to look after itself."

10. G2/0. 1914 No.18.

11. This memorandum was printed in the CM Review 1914.

12. CMS Letter Book. G2. 12/L 16. 1911-17.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. CM Review for December 1914.

16. Ibid.

17. Quoted, for example, in Carol Graham: Azariah of Dornakal (SCM 1946) pp.38/9.

18. The Rev. W.E.S. Holland in his annual letter of 1917 to the CMS.

19. CMS Annual Report for 1919.

20. Quoted in the CMS Annual Report for 1919.

21. Rao Bahadur Venkataramiah. Ibid.

22. CM Review for January and April 1914 respectively. The books involved were: A.S. Geden: Studies in the religions of the East.
J.A. Sharrock: Hinduism ancient and modern
J.N. Farquhar: The Crown of Hinduism
G. Howells: The Soul of India. An Introduction to the study of Hinduism
B. Lucas: Our Task in India

23. Oxford University Press 1913. John Nicol Farquhar (1861 - 1929) served in India with the London Missionary Society from 1890 to 1902 and with the YMCA from 1902 until 1922 when ill health compelled him to leave India and he became Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester.

24. This review of the book, which appeared in the Student Movement, is referred to in E.J. Sharpe: Not to Destroy but to Fulfil; The Contribution of J. N. Farquhar to Protestant Missionary Thought before 1914. (Gleerup-Lund 1965). This work is a most important contribution to this theme.

25. CM Review, January 1914.

26. See eg: The survey of A.G. Hogg's criticism of Farquhar's 'fulfilment hypothesis' in E.J. Sharpe, op. cit. p.288f. Undoubtedly the person responsible for the virtual extinction of Farquhar's influence was Hendrik Kraemer, as suggested below. See The Christian Message in an Non-Christian World (1938) and Religion and the Christian Faith (1956). For a more recent survey of the debate see the review article of E.J. Sharpe's book by David Cairns in the Scottish Journal of Theology for 1966 (Vol.19); Lesslie Newbigin: The Finality of Christ (SCM 1969) Chap. 2. and S.C. Neill: The Christian Faith and Other Faiths (OUP 2nd edition 1970) Chaps. 1 & 4.

27. The Crown of Hinduism pp.50/1.

28. MacMillan 1914. The sub-title was: 'Shall we proselytise Hindus or evangelise India?'.

29. CM Review April 1914.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. See note 26 above.

34. op. cit. p.44 (See note 26 above.)

35. A Hindu, he was at that time Chancellor of the University of Bombay and a Justice of the Bombay High Court.

36. CM Review for December 1914.

37. Ibid.

38. Randall Davidson (OUP 1935) Vol.1 p.694.

39. G2. 17/L8. 1910 - 1914.

40. Quoted G.K.A. Bell: op. cit. p.708.

41. See also Waller's attitude to the resolutions of the Lambeth Conferences of 1920 and 1930; see below Chap. 12. Throughout this period the Church of England was, of course, always more ready to receive non-Anglicans to its own services of Holy Communion in special cases than it was to allow its own members to receive communion at non-episcopal services.

42. See the CMS Letter Book G2. 12/L 16. 1911 - 1917.

43. G2/0 1914. No.2.

44. The other subjects considered by the conference in addition to education were: the occupation of the Field: The Indian Church: the training of missionaries: Christian literature: Evangelization: Co-operation between Missions.

45. On this see the CMS Annual Report for 1911 p.83f.

46. G2/0. 1914 No.2.

47. Recommendation of the Secretaries' Meeting, 18th March 1914. His correspondence shows that he had, as he says, "pushed hard" for this. G2/0. 1914 No.3.

48. G2/1 L/19. 1914.

49. Ibid. and see also G. Hewitt: op. cit. p.440.

PART 2

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF TINNEVELLY DIOCESE: 1915 - 1924

PART 2

CHAPTER 5

THE NEW BISHOP AND HIS DIOCESE

(Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 105 - 106)

(a) Introduction

The diocese of Madras was formed in 1835 and included the whole of the south-east corner of India. But the growth of the Church in the Tinnevelly area under the CMS and SPG Missions was such that it was not long before it became desirable to delegate episcopal responsibility. Frederick Gell, who was Bishop of Madras from 1861 to 1899, solved the problem for a while by appointing two assistant Bishops with special responsibility for Tinnevelly, one from each of the Missions. Accordingly Edward Sargent from the CMS acted as assistant Bishop from 1877 until his death in 1889, and Robert Caldwell, from the SPG, acted in collaboration with him until he died in 1891.

It was by this time highly desirable that Tinnevelly become a diocese in its own right, not least because of the enormous areas involved and the difficulty of effective administration from so far away in Madras, but this was not legally possible. The division of British India into three dioceses (Calcutta, Bombay and Madras) had been authorised by the Government of India Act of 1833 and the Madras diocese had been established by letters patent from the Crown. No alteration could be made except by another act of Parliament and this was not destined to occur until the passing of the Indian Church Act of 1927. [1]

In setting up the new diocese of Chota Nagpur a solution to this problem had been found in an arrangement of 'consensual compact'. Under this scheme the diocesan Bishop delegated all his powers in the designated area to a Bishop of his choice (with the consent of the Metropolitan, to whom future appeal lay directly) while the clergy concerned agreed to give this Bishop their due canonical allegience. After long hesitation concerning the wisdom and legality of this procedure, Gell eventually agreed to create a new sub-diocese of Tinnevelly in this way. It was considered invidious to choose a man from one of the two Missions and Gell's own domestic chaplain, Samuel Morley, was consecrated as the first Bishop of Tinnevelly in 1896. He resigned in 1903 and was succeeded by Arthur Acheson Williams. [2]

Williams died suddenly at Coonoor on 30th June 1914 and Henry Whitehead, Bishop of Madras (1899-1922) began the search for a successor, in consultation with the Metropolitan, George Alfred Lefroy (1913-19).

(b) Waller's appointment as Bishop of Tinnevelly

During the autumn of 1914 the Metropolitan wrote to Waller inviting him to become the new Bishop of Tinnevelly. There is little doubt that this came as a surprise to him, and as he himself wrote: "I have never visited South India", indeed "/I/ have never been further down than Bangalore, and that only for three days." [3] All his experience and language study seemed to point to a post in the north but on the other hand he had good reason to doubt whether his wife's health would withstand the climate. Regarding Tinnevelly he was able to write that it "..has an exceedingly healthy climate if one does not mind heat" [4] and in the event she was not troubled by the persistent ill health which had forced her to leave Allahabad.

By Christmas Waller had accepted the post. As he wrote: "For many things I should prefer to go to North India, but this will be an interesting job, and I do not see how I could refuse it." [5] By January 1915 the news of the appointment had reached the newspapers and letters of congratulation began to come in, but the legal formalities took a very long time and on 16th April he was able to write to India: "Though the Metropolitan says it is official, I have not heard officially at this end." [6] It would seem that the matter was not finally cleared until June or July and the consecration was postponed from an October date in Madras until November in Calcutta. During the interregnum the diocese was administered by Bishop Azariah of Dornakal.

Apart from his usual month's holiday in August, Waller continued as India Secretary for the CMS until the end of September. His diary remained full and he was frequently away on deputation work. He seems to have particularly enjoyed visiting the Public Schools and Universities, speaking to groups of boys and students about the missionary call, and he was for a short time the secretary of a short service scheme for those leaving University.

But he had a particular objective he wished to attain before he left. In his positions as secretary of the Corresponding Committee and

chairman of the District Church Council in Allahabad he had seen only too clearly how limited was the position and the power of the Bishop when the CMS chain of command ran straight back through the Corresponding Committee to London. In order to obtain a real place for the Bishop in the command structure, he determined to have himself appointed President of the Tinnevelly District Church Council.

He noted, furthermore, that Tinnevelly had no Corresponding Committee of its own. Following the legal pattern of the Presidency, the CMS in Tinnevelly was cared for by the Madras Corresponding Committee, with the Bishop of Madras as chairman. The Bishop of Tinnevelly did not even have a seat on the committee [7] and he determined that this omission must be made good.

He had also a third objective. CMS missionaries were not unnaturally prone to feel that their first loyalty should be to the society rather than to the Bishop, but he had experienced enough to realize how potentially fatal this could be to a Church seeking to become indigenous. The CMS Missionary Conference was a crucial body in this respect, and if he was not able to count on full support from this quarter, his policies would have little chance of success. He determined to be chairman of the Conference.

There were, naturally, changes he wished to make in the SPG organisation also, although by its nature it gave more recognition in its structures to the position of the Bishop. But moves in this direction could wait until he was established and had won the confidence of the society. The issue of the CMS committees was much more crucial; unless he could obtain positions of real influence here he did not see how he could act as more than a figurehead of a Bishop. [8].

He was, of course, in a very favourable position to bring about change. He was trusted absolutely at CMS headquarters, something that could not have been said at that time of every Bishop or indeed of many Bishops, and it was to stand him in good stead for many years. He was also a very persuasive advocate when he had a case to argue. The following two recommendations were passed by the Group Two Committee on 15th September 1915 and confirmed by the London Committee of Correspondence on 5th October, three days after he sailed:

"1. That the Rev. E.H.M. Waller, on his consecration to the bishopric of Tinnevelly, be invited to become a member of the Madras Corresponding Committee, and also of the Tinnevelly Missionary Conference.

2. That in order to secure full co-operation between the Bishop of Tinnevelly and the Tinnevelly District Church Council, whilst preserving the present status of the chairman and his functions under the existing constitution, the Rev. E.H.M. Waller, on his consecration to the bishopric of Tinnevelly, be asked to accept the position of President of the Council, it being understood that the President has access to all the permanent committees under the Council." (9)

The importance of the foothold he thus obtained in the CMS organisation in Tinnevelly can hardly be over-emphasised. It is doubtful whether any major diocesan re-organisation would otherwise have been possible. So far as the Missionary Conference was concerned, he was always asked to take the chair when he was present.

He had one last obstacle to overcome before he sailed on 2nd October. He wrote of it in a letter to Bishop Montgomery of the SPG on his arrival in India:

"We have arrived here after a very calm and successful voyage, and I am glad to say my wife's health is, if anything, improved by the voyage though it was very hot in the Red Sea.

The doctors rather alarmed us just before we started but gave her leave, with certain precautions, to live in India - indeed expressed the hope that it would suit her." (10)

(c) Consecration and enthronement

On their arrival in India at the end of October 1915 the Wallers spent two weeks in Allahabad with friends. They then went to Calcutta to meet the Metropolitan and finalise arrangements for the consecration, after which they came south to Madras. While staying with Bishop Whitehead they arranged for the furnishing of their new home and then travelled back with him to Calcutta for the ceremony. [11]

The season of Advent held a special place in Waller's affection. His birthday was on 8th December and his ordination both to the diaconate and to the priesthood had taken place on Advent Sunday. It was, therefore, especially appropriate that he should be consecrated Bishop in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta on Advent Sunday, 28th November 1915. The Metropolitan, Dr. Lefroy, conducted the service and the sermon was preached by Bishop H.B. Durrant of Lahore, his old school contemporary. Assisting the Metropolitan in the consecration were the Bishops of Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Lucknow, Chota Nagpur, Nagpur and Assam.

On the 1st December Waller began his journey south to his new diocese, passing through Madras where he preached on Sunday 5th December in Zion Church, Chintadrepet.[12] During the next few weeks he and his wife established themselves in Bishopstowe, Palamcottah, and on 22nd December he issued his first pastoral letter: "I have no policy to announce. My first work must be to get to know you all and visit your stations...The chief duty of a Bishop is, I think, to be a centre of unity and to draw together the congregations and also the clergy in the diocese." [13] Seven hectic and eventful years of work had begun.

(d) The death of Waller's son and the building of Bishopstowe chapel

But amid all the hard work and rapid progress, Waller faced both difficulty and tragedy in his personal life. Mrs. Waller took ill within a few months of their arrival and Waller's sister, Elizabeth Morgan, was granted leave of absence by the CMS from Benares to come down and run the house.[14] It was not until May 1917 that he was able to write: "My wife is beginning to walk all about the place famously."[15]

But in September that year came the shattering news that their only surviving child had been killed in a flying accident. Described later as a brilliant boy,[16] he was at the time a member of the Royal Flying Corps, the precursor of the Royal Air Force. On 11th September, Waller added a postscript to a letter to the Rev. E.F.E. Wigram, his successor as India secretary to the CMS: "You will have heard that we lost our boy Raymond in an aeroplane accident. He was spared many horrors and we do not grudge him his joy."[17] On 17th October he wrote again to Wigram:

> "Thank you so much for the kind message from the Group Committee. This assurance of the sympathy of friends has helped us very much indeed.
>
> I think they will be glad to hear that we have had some 200 letters from Indian Christians and the strong hope and faith in all of them is a revelation of the power of Christ in this land and of how worth while it is to be here teaching of him.
>
> The diocese took the sorrow as their own personal grief and with their prayers and sympathy they have sustained us most wonderfully. We are content to leave our boy in his joy and to wait in hope till we all meet again." (18)

On his return from the Lambeth Conference in December 1920, he began work on a chapel for Bishopstowe. He built it in memory of his two sons and it came to serve not only as a domestic chapel but also for retreats and conference purposes. The SPG made a contribution towards the cost but most of the work was the gift of the diocese. It was finished in March 1921 and he was able to write:

> "Now the chapel is panelled in teak to a height of six feet all round, with the names of the districts and the large schools. The furniture - altar, reredos, chairs etc. - were all made at Nazareth [i.e. in Tinnevelly diocese] as were the cross and

candlesticks. It is really beautiful and will prove a great help for committee meetings, ordinands and other occasions as well as for the household." (19)

The memorial plaque behind the altar reads as follows:

"This reredos is a memorial to two sons, Charles Raymond Waller, second lieutenant, RFC, June 19th 1898 to August 9th 1917. David Hardress Waller, September 6th to 13th 1912."

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. The original diocese of Calcutta had included the whole of British India annexed at that time, and it was out of this territory that the three dioceses of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were formed after 1833. So far as these were concerned no more could be done without an Act of Parliament, and so the diocese of Tinnevelly remained legally part of the diocese of Madras until 1927. The same difficulty did not apply to territory acquired by the Crown subsequent to the Government of India Act, 1833, nor to territory which remained outside British India. When these areas were evangelized it was possible to create new dioceses without legal complication.

2. On the formation of Tinnevelly diocese see eg: M.E. Gibbs: A History of the Anglican Church in India 1600-1970, p.293. C.F. Pascoe: Two hundred years of the SPG 1701-1900, p.552. H.P. Thompson: Into All Lands, p.368f.

3. G2. 12/L 16. (Madras Letter Book). 1913, & 1915 No.406.

4. His description continues: "It has none of the extremes of heat and cold that are found in North India. For most of the year the thermometer indoors stands at about 84°. The variation is never more than 25°. The hills of Travancore send cool breezes all through the summer months; they keep the rain to themselves, but send down floods of water which are distributed by a great system of canals and tanks and make Tinnevelly practically secure from famine. The rainy season is in the "winter" months, but there is not, as a rule, devastating rain like the monsoon of the north." C.M. Gleaner, October 1920.

5. G2. 12/L 16. (Madras Letter Book). 1915 No.390.

6. Ibid.

7. Nor did the Bishop of Dornakal, as the CMS work of this diocese also came under Madras. Waller's action in securing for himself a place on the Corresponding Committee also served to secure a place for Bishop Azariah.

8. Indeed he subsequently made it clear to Bishop Stephen Neill that he would not have accepted the post at all had he not felt certain of obtaining these key positions. It is, however, clear from the dates of the correspondence that he accepted the post almost a year before the CMS formally agreed to his requests, and that he had actually sailed before the final decision was confirmed. Presumably he had received sufficient unofficial assurance to satisfy him.

9. CMS South India Precis. G2. Vol. 6. 1915 No.75. Resolution 1 was duly noted by the Madras Corresponding Committee on 14th December 1915. Madras Letter Book G2. 12/L 16. 1911 - 1917.
It should be noted that the position of President of the District Church Council, and the membership of the Madras Corresponding Committee and Missionary Conference are all given to Waller personally and not to the Bishop of Tinnevelly. See Chapter 6.

10. SPG D 1915 No.105. The Rt. Rev. Henry Hutchinson Montgomery, (1847-1932) was Bishop of Tasmania, 1889-1901, and then Secretary of the SPG until 1925.

11. Waller intended to pay both for his passage and expenses, and also for this necessary furnishing out of the diocesan salary which had been accumulating since the death of Bishop Williams. But in accordance with their usual procedure neither the CMS nor the SPG would release the money until after the consecretion. See: G2 12/L 16. 1915 No.420. (Madras Letter Book).

    His salary was made up as follows: The CMS and the SPG each contributed £300 p.a. and, in addition, he received on average about £450 p.a. from an endowment fund. All diocesan expenses had to be met out of this salary. See eg: SPG D 1919 No.103.

12. Details of the consecration and Waller's movements at this time are recorded, among other sources, in the CM Gleaner for March 1916. (The CMS Gazette gives the date of Waller's sermon at Zion Church as 10th December, but this must be incorrect as this was not a Sunday, as the text alleges.)

13. SPG D 1915 No.105. It was at this time that Waller accepted the invitation of the CMS to become a Vice-President of the Society.

14. G2. 12/L 16. 1916 No.498. (Madras Letter Book).

15. G2. 12/0 1917 No.49.

16. Bishop Tubbs in his memorial sermon. 17th June 1942.

17. G2. 12/0 1917 No.94.

18. Ibid. No.102.

19. SPG D 1922 No.132. See also SPG D 1921 No.107.

PART 2

CHAPTER 6

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CMS ORGANISATION

(Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 143 - 149)

(a) Introduction

Between 1877 and 1915 when Waller arrived, the CMS organisation in Tinnevelly passed through three important phases each of which made its mark both on structures and on attitudes. In the first phase, from 1877 to 1889, the CMS mission was under the direction of a specifically CMS Bishop, Edward Sargent; in the second, from 1889 to 1896, it was virtually without a Bishop at all; and from 1896 onwards it came to be part of a new diocese. The organisation reflected these changes, and in reaching an understanding of what happened and, in particular, why the mission was so slow to adapt to the third stage, the historical background is of great importance.

Under Sargent's jurisdiction the CMS area was divided into ten local Indian Church Councils. There was no central council and Sargent himself was the unifying and co-ordinating agent. This entailed a vast amount of detailed administration and financial work on his part, for which he needed not only a great deal of time but also a large staff.

When he died and there was no immediate prospect of replacement, the CMS appointed the Rev. John Barton to re-organise, as the system fell apart without its central link. Barton decided to do this in such a way that no future Bishop would have such a burden of detailed day to day administration, while at the same time much greater responsibility came to rest on Indian shoulders. He dissolved all the existing local councils, and substituted four councils (provisionally north, south, west and centre), with one central council for the entire district (the District Church Council) which was to meet quarterly in Palamcottah.

In the light of experience this structure was modified over the next six years. The local councils were reduced from four to two (north and south), while the pastorates were grouped into fifteen circles. In 1896 an additional body called the Central Church Council was constituted with Bishop Morley as President, but as, unlike Lucknow, there was, in any case, only one District Church Council, this body had no real function and no power, and was little more than a gesture in the direction of the new Bishop. Paul Appasamy, in "The Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly", writes:

> "If there had been several districts which were brought into union by a central church council, there would have been room for such an institution; but as there was only one district with its council and that had already co-ordinated the work of all the local councils, the new central church council was superfluous and remained an assembly of an adademical character with no real power or effective influence on the affairs of the church." (1)

It is of great importance to notice that this re-organisation took place during a time when there was no Bishop specifically responsible for the Tinnevelly district. An attempt was being made to place much more power in the hands of the Indian Church, while relieving the diocesan office of its administrative burden. In the event the job was done too well and by the time Morley arrived on the scene it was, as it were, too late to fit him into the system. The chain of command in the Indian Church went methodically from the pastorate, through the circles and the area councils to the District Church Council, and the Bishop was not represented at any point. Furthermore, the fatherly "oversight" had effectively passed from Bishop Sargent to the CMS superintending missionaries and the chairman of the District Church Council. Once this pattern had evolved it was not easy to change, at least until the powerful missionaries who assumed office during these years were removed from the scene.

The CMS Review for July 1909 carried an article entitled "Native Church Organisation in India" in which the writer emphatically stated that no District Church Council must ever become "an imperium in imperio" and that the place of the Bishop must be safeguarded. There is no doubt that this was indeed the intention of the CMS in general principle and that the situation which arose in Tinnevelly was not exactly the result of deliberate policy. A combination of factors acted together. The structures had to be re-organised in 1890 and this had to be done without reference to the position of a local Bishop. The organisation then passed into the hands of very capable and forthright CMS missionaries and it is only too easy to see their reluctance to let go of the reins on the eventual appointment of a Bishop who was, by deliberate choice, not a CMS man. It thus came about that, whereas Bishop Sargent had been right at the very centre of CMS affairs, Bishop Morley discovered that he stood almost entirely outside the system and that there was little or nothing he could do to remedy the situation.

So long as these powerful CMS missionaries remained in effective control it is doubtful whether even Waller, with his strong personality and impeccable CMS pedigree, would have been able to introduce major change. Such events must await the opportune moment, and it was Waller's good fortune to take command when the time for change was ripe.

When the District Church Council was first created in 1891, its chairman was Thomas Walker, the missionary made famous in Amy Wilson Carmichael's biography "Walker of Tinnevelly". A fervent evangelist and noted evangelical, he was both energetic and efficient.[2] Undoubtedly he did much to strengthen the South Indian Church during the last decade of the nineteenth century, but he would not have found it easy to adapt to the fast changing conditions of the twentieth. He died on 24th August 1912.

He was succeeded as chairman of the District Church Council by the Rev. E.S. Carr, who held the post from 1897 to 1915. He also was outstanding both as a missionary and as a personality, but inevitably he too became identified with traditional ways and outlooks and the suspicion which surrounds innovation. He came to England on furlough in 1915, but ill health caused this furlough to be extended and he eventually decided to retire in 1919, not having returned to India. Between 1915 and 1919, therefore, he was not pitched directly against Waller, but neither was he entirely out of the picture, as will be seen.

These men had great followings but, as so often, difficulties also arose because some of these were disciples of lesser stature who desired to be faithful to their masters' tradition, but lacked the necessary greatness and vision. The diocese owed a great debt to many of these missionaries but it was also destined to be seriously disturbed by those who thought they were bravely defending the faith once delivered by Walker and Carr.

Three other senior CMS missionaries should also be mentioned in this connection. Kember, who had been in South India since 1865 and was

for many years associated with the training and theological schools, died in 1911. Breed, who had been in North Tinnevelly for twenty three years, retired in 1914, and Scott-Price retired in 1918, after twenty eight years in Tinnevelly. When Waller came to South India in 1915, an era of CMS missionary work was coming to a close. Paul Appasamy was able to write in 1923:

> "Mr. Ardill, who continues at the head of the CMS Training School at Palamcottah, is the only male missionary who has been in the district for over eight years, and even his record of thirty two years in the Tinnevelly Church...is much briefer than that of many veterans." (3)

Miss M.E. Gibbs writes of the CMS missionaries who went to Tinnevelly in the 1880s: "This was the last group of missionaries to exercise a preponderant influence in the Church of Tinnevelly." [4] Changes now became possible, indeed they were necessary. Waller heralded a new era.

(b) The Introduction of Indian Members on to the CMS Missionary Conference

The first change in the CMS organisation which Waller brought to fruition was the introduction of three Indian members on to the Missionary Conference. He did not initiate this as a matter of priority as such a move was in hand when he arrived, but it fitted well into his general plan.

As was made clear in the discussion in Chapter 3, the CMS missionary command structure was really entirely separate from that of the Indian Church. There were certain prominent Indian members on the Corresponding Committee in Madras, but the Tinnevelly Missionary Conference was a powerful body, which employed and paid a large number of agents, controlled all secondary education and was an important forum for policy discussion, yet whose membership was entirely European. Eventually Waller hoped to integrate this Conference almost completely into the District Church Council, thereby creating a genuinely synodical forum, but in the meanwhile the introduction of Indian members into the Missionary Conference seemed a useful forward step.

The matter had come up for discussion in the Conference meeting of 3rd July 1915, six months before Waller's arrival, and it had been agreed that there should be full debate with a view to a firm recommendation at the next meeting. This took place on 29th January 1916, Waller's first Missionary Conference in Tinnevelly. Although technically only a member, he was, as Bishop, always invited to take the chair and he came to exercise great influence over its deliberations. The Conference passed the following recommendations:

> "(a) Conference feel that the presence of Indians upon Conference would be valuable and ask the Parent Committee to allow them to nominate three Indians to sit upon Conference.
>
> (b) They suggest that such members should be appointed for three years, and that they should retire in rotation, beginning with one at the end of the first year, and a second at the end of two years and so forth. Such retirements to be decided by lot. Retiring members to be eligible for re-nomination.
>
> (c) Conference recommend the nominations of the Rev. S.G. Madurum, BA, LT, the Rev. M. Asirratham, and J.T. Srinirasagam Pillai Esp., BABL." (5)

These are quoted in full because they gave rise to some debate and not a little confusion. The matter went for consideration by the Madras Corresponding Committee which met on 17th February 1916 under the chairmanship of Bishop Whitehead of Madras, Waller sending apologies for absence. Had he been present, the confusion would have been avoided. In the event the committee passed the following recommendation for consideration by the Parent Committee in London:

> "The Corresponding Committee recommend to the P.C. that the conference be enlarged by the addition of three Indian members, namely the vice-chairmen of the District Church Council and a lay member of the Executive Committee nominated by that body." (6)

This varied Conference's recommendations in several respects, and although the original proposals eventually won the day, it is interesting to observe some of the arguments which lay behind the debate and the kind of principles they represented.

In the first place there was a simple confusion of names and this element in the debate should be eliminated at once as it gave rise to some muddle. It is apparent that the Corresponding Committee thought that Mr. J.T. Srinivasagam Pillai was a "lay member of the Executive Committee". In fact he was not and the committee had mistaken him for another gentleman of almost identical name.[7] However, Waller did not spot this mistake for a considerable time, and this led him to argue at some length that a member of the Executive Committee would not be at all suitable:

> "...three are schoolmasters and ineligible..(we had to avoid the possibility of masters employed by Conference becoming members of their own governing body)...Three, I am told, know no English and the other, an excellent man would practically, owing to old age, never be able to come." (8)

This aside, the committee's recommendation substituted the office for the name and omitted all reference to election or retirement. Clearly the committee considered senior members of the District Church Council the most suitable people to be on the Conference and wished to tie the membership to those holding particular offices rather than run the risk of elections.

It is most instructive to observe that Waller also wanted to have control over who the representatives were, but he had a totally different way of achieving this. He was quite prepared for an election so long as he could effectively control the nominations, and he would have a much clearer field if he was not tied to the holders of particular offices. Indeed he had good reasons for preferring his method of controlled democracy, and it is evident that he had been instrumental in drawing up the recommendations in their original form:

> "At present there is reason to fear that the representation on the pastorate committees is largely confined to one class. As only members of pastorate committees can be members of circle committees and district council, it follows that we do not get a complete representation on Council. This problem I am trying to understand and if possible remedy, but it will not help us if the representation on Conference is so tied up that one section has all the members. We did indeed nominate the two vice-chairmen, but not qua vice-chairmen but as men of experience and weight. They also happen to be of different sections of the community ..." [Conference's original recommendation] "is constitutional and also gives an opportunity of adjusting the balance of representation among the various classes of the community." (9)

Thus the key to the problem was the need to ensure that the three representatives were both men of ability and men who fairly represented the different castes. To ensure this Waller wanted to be free to go outside the District Church Council membership in making his nominations:

> "I admit that if there were no divisions in the community the scheme of the Madras C.C. would be quite good, but there are, and it will be well to keep things in our own hands in the matter of nominations for a time at least." (10)

Conference met again on 1st April and passed a resolution urging "that the Parent Committee be asked to sanction the plan, for the present at any rate, in the form in which they originally proposed it." [11] But by the time this reached London the Parent Committee had already met and their case was won. A recommendation of the Group Committee endorsed by the Foreign Committee and dated 18th April 1916, confirmed the recommendations in their original form. [11a]

(c) New Constitution for the Tinnevelly District Church Council

The next phase in the re-organisation was of major proportions and involved a new constitution for the District Church Council (hereafter referred to as the DCC). In this case also Waller did not need to initiate proceedings as they were already in hand, but he was instrumental in greatly speeding up the timetable and in giving the proposed constitution a radically new shape.

The existing constitution had been drawn up in 1896 as part of Barton's re-organisation, and it had been recognised for some years that a thorough revision was called for. In February 1913 the DCC had itself set up a sub-committee to study the matter and make recommendations. That sub-committee reported to the Council in October 1914, but its proposals were referred back to another sub-committee differently constituted. This report, in turn, came before the Council in July 1915, six months before Waller's arrival. At this meeting it was decided that a copy be sent to all circle committees for debate, and that the advice of the DCC chairman, the Rev. E.S. Carr, who was on furlough, should be sought.[12]

How long the matter would have dragged inconclusively on, it is impossible to say, but the tempo changed abruptly with Waller's arrival on the scene. As the first Bishop to be president of the Tinnevelly DCC he had a base from which to act, and he quickly took matters into his own hands. He seized on the fact that new elections were due in December 1916 and determined to make that date the deadline so that the elections could be held under the new constitution.

When the DCC met in July 1916 the plan to consult the circle committees was abandoned, and it was agreed to summon a special meeting of the Council on 1st August to spend a day going right through the proposed changes so that final recommendations could be sent off immediately to the Parent Committee in London.

The recommendations from this meeting went to the Madras Corresponding

Committee whence they were dispatched to London on 12th September with a memorandum which requested "favourable consideration by the Parent Committee at the earliest opportunity", and the committee strongly recommended "that the Revision be sanctioned as presented by the Council". [13] The committee also passed a resolution postponing the elections until Easter 1917 to give a little more time for negotiation, and there the matter had to rest pending reaction from London.

This proposed constitution, which included the rules for the election of its members through the pastorate and circle committees, may be summarized as follows:

Pastorate Committee: The Pastor, appointed and licensed by the Bishop, was the clergyman delegated to be in charge of one or more congregations. There were sixty such pastorates, each containing about fifteen villages. Every male communicant member who was also an annual subscriber was entitled to vote and was eligible for election to membership of the Pastorate Committee. The pastor was chairman and the members were elected for three years. The communicant basis was new. Waller wrote:

> "The communicant basis for minimum representation is intended to be a recognition of the fact that the Church is governed by its own members. It would be a standing disgrace if a small congregation of poor Christians were excluded because they were too small to raise a certain sum." (14)

In England there was considerable debate at this time concerning the proposed Enabling Act, [15] and an interesting side-light is thrown on this in a letter from Wigram, the India Secretary, to Waller, dated 7th November 1917 concerning the final stages of revision:

> "Absolutely the only point that was challenged was the franchise basis for electing to Pastorate Committees. Now that this is such a burning question here in England it was not unnatural that someone should raise the question whether the communicant basis should be adopted. It was old Sydney Gedge who raised it and of course fought vehemently for it in his own characteristic way. When at length he actually moved an amendment to omit this qualification he could not secure a seconder at all." (16)

The limitation of the franchise to male members was, of course, traditional, but by the time Waller left Tinnevelly in 1923 it was being seriously questioned whether he was not over-conservative in this particular matter.[17]

The functions of the Pastorate Committee included collection of Church funds; some degree of management; responsibility for repairs to certain buildings; maintenance of school work; assistance of the pastor; poor relief; promotion of self-support and responsibility for the spiritual life of the community and for evangelism. A clause concerning power to discipline Church members was later deleted. The Pastorate Committee elected members to the Circle Committee:

Circle Committee: This represented a group of several contiguous pastorates, and in practice there were fifteen circles. Each had a committee, the chairman being a pastor appointed annually by the Madras Corresponding Committee in consultation with the chairman of the DCC.[18]

Membership included all clergy in the Circle, European and Indian, headmasters and inspecting schoolmasters of the Circle, and the elected lay delegates from the pastorates. Duties concerned collection of funds for and payment on behalf of the DCC; preparation of a budget; erection and repair of certain buildings; the fixing of salaries of all agents employed in the circle, in accordance with a DCC scale (apart from those agents paid directly by the DCC). There was also a clause giving power to appoint agents, but in London Carr objected strongly on the grounds that circles must be protected from engaging undesirable men who, without their knowledge, had been dismissed from other circles. The clause was modified to the appointment and transfer of agents subject to rules laid down by the DCC and subject to confirmation by the DCC in the case of new appointments.

Further duties concerned the protection of property, the promotion of self-support, spiritual life and evangelism, and the election of delegates to the DCC.

District Church Council: The proposed membership was as follows:

(a) Bishop of the diocese, ex officio.
(b) Chairman and vice-chairman, appointed by the Parent Committee.
(c) All male European missionaries who are managers of schools and educational institutions in the District.
(d) Chairmen and secretaries of all circle committees.
(e) Headmasters of all CMS High Schools, Colleges, Training and Theological institutions.
(f) All Inspecting schoolmasters.
(g) Elected clerical and lay delegates from the Circle Committees.
(h) 12 other clergymen elected from among themselves by all the clergy working under the CMS in the District.

In addition, "Scope has been left as before for making good any omissions on the part of the elctors by providing for a certain number of nominations". [19]

The Bishop was President and had the right to preside at all meetings. The DCC was served by three Standing Committees; Executive, Evangelistic and Financial. All elections were triennial. Duties included receipt and allocation of funds; allocation of grants and salaries; preparation of a budget; recommendations to the Bishop regarding candidates for Holy Orders and the work and transfer of pastors; appointment and transfer of agents; recommendations regarding the formation of pastorates; arrangements for the management and inspection of schools; management and control of all buildings and landed properties (subject to the Madras Corresponding Committee); self-support and evangelism.

There was also provision for the DCC to determine the boundaries of the pastorates, while the Bishop settled the boundaries of the circles, but this was altered following comments from the Bishops both of Madras and Dornakal. The latter wrote:

> "The circles are pure CMS administrative districts, whereas the pastorate is the sphere to which the Bishop licenses and appoints his clergy. The Bishop perhaps did not look at it from that point of view. I feel the pastorate boundaries ought to be determined by the Bishop on the recommendation of the DCC and the circle boundaries by the DCC without any reference to the Bishop." (20)

Two main features of this proposed membership of the new DCC clearly

call for comment at this point: the first is the new position of the Bishop, and the second is the introduction of European missionaries on to the council.

First, Waller gained a most important position for the Bishop within the constitution which was altogether new. He had successfully arranged to have himself appointed as president; but now the DCC was being reconstituted in such a way that it looked much more definitely in the direction of the Bishop, and rather less definitely in the direction of the Madras Corresponding Committee and London. The Bishop of Dornakal commented:

> "As far as I can gather it is a great step in the right direction and I rejoice that the Bishop of Tinnevelly has secured all this from both the missionaries and the Indians. The communicant basis of the electorate, the devolving of more power on the pastorate and circle committees, the position given to the Bishop of the Diocese, the limiting of the power of the Madras Corresponding Committee have all my fullest approval." (21)

Waller himself wrote of the Bishop's new position:

> "At present I am President not as Bishop but personally. That the Bishop should preside, if he wishes, and at any rate that he should have an official position on the Council is almost a sine qua non of our having any diocesan organisation worthy of the name.
>
> At the same time he is given no such ex-officio powers that there is any danger of "prelacy". The position is exactly similar to that of the Bishop on Central Council which has not been found to work badly in other provinces. (22) Moreover the proposed introduction of European missionaries to the Council is a safeguard to the Society if they fear undue influence on the Indian members.
>
> The Bishop does not take any of the powers of the chairman from him, eg: nominations are made on the recommendation of the chairman, matters are placed on the agenda by leave of the chairman. The only difference from the present procedure is that the Bishop is chairman of the Executive Committee. (23) In practice I open the meetings sometimes and then resign the chair, or I ask the chairman to preside throughout. A permanent chairman and a president is an arrangement practised by the CMS at home." (24)

In the event the place of the Bishop was not challenged and when the constitution was finally sanctioned in London in November 1917, Wigram

was able to write to Waller: "I am glad to say there was not a single word of question regarding the new position of the Bishop in the organisation." [25]

The introduction of European missionaries into the Council was the second major innovation, indeed it altered the whole nature of the Council. No longer was this to be simply a debating chamber for Indian affairs, it was to be the major synod of the Church in the CMS part of the diocese. Furthermore it was constructed with the clear intention that it should in due course be an integral part of a diocesan synodical scheme. The balance of power was also significantly shifted from the Missionary Conference to the DCC with its three sub-committees, and a very definite attempt was being made to bring together the 'native' and 'missionary' sections of the Church. Waller wrote:

> "The introduction of European missionaries, which was suggested by the Indian members,(26) is a forward step of the highest promise. We were drifting into a really dangerous state of cleavage. I was more shocked by the disunion between the mission and the Council than by anything I have seen in India. The bringing of Indians into Conference, now successfully accomplished, on the one hand, and this invitation to have Europeans on the Council on the other, should do much to heal the breach which I considered little short of a scandal. There is no fear of undue influence by the missionary on Council. Look rather to the Punjab scheme for the parallel. (27)
>
> Moreover, if we are ever to have a synod, the presence of a small body of missionaries, declaredly in no touch with the church organisation, presents a problem the solution of which I have pondered in vain...The election of their own representatives by the clergy is a small step towards a synodical system." (28)

The details of some of the proposals, however, ran into criticism both from the Bishop of Madras and the Bishop of Dornakal on the grounds that the DCC would now be seriously overweighted with CMS clergy and paid CMS agents, while independent laymen (although numerically the same) would be in a serious minority. It had to be remembered, they pointed out, that at any given meeting there was always a much higher attendance of clergy and paid workers than of anyone else. In the revision, the number of elected clergy was reduced from twelve to four.

In Salisbury Square it was becoming clear that a quick decision would be very unwise. A new constitution could be used as a precedent in other parts of India, and they were already receiving criticism of the proposals from the Indian Bishops and from Carr in England. On 11th January 1917, Wigram wrote:

> "I may mention that I do not think there is the slightest chance of its being passed without further correspondence; and we are suggesting that the option be given by the Committee here for the present Council to continue in office till the revision is finally sanctioned or that a fresh Council be elected for a similar period." (29)

Waller's attempt to hold the Parent Committee to a deadline was failing. It will be seen that he tried this procedure on several occasions and that it invariably did fail. He was by this time keenly feeling the lack of personal access to the Parent Committee and he was quite clearly nervous of Carr's influence. He determined to come to England personally, but by February he had been forced to abandon the attempt because of war conditions. [30] In the meanwhile, on 16th January, the Parent Committee set up a sub-committee to examine the new constitution, the membership being as follows: Bishop Morley, Dr. Eugene Stock, the Rev. H.V. Weitbrecht, the Rev.G.B. Durrant, the Rev. J.E. Padfield and R. Maconachie Esq., with power to invite assessors, one of whom was Carr. [30a]

Some attempt had already been made to modify Carr's possible influence. Waller had written on 25th August 1916:

> "No doubt the Parent Committee will hear Carr's views on the whole subject. Unfortunately his opinions on the suggested constitution did not reach us here; but I ought to say that the chief changes were introduced by Indians at the first meeting and surprised us all by their liberality to minorities(..'minorities' is a decent word to cover the ugly word 'caste differences'..) and to the missionaries which in view of one or two recent controversies I had expected in neither case." (31)

Similarly the Rev. E. Langdale-Smith, acting as secretary of the Madras Corresponding Committee in the absence of Canon E. Sell on furlough during 1916, had written to Wigram in September:

> "We hope that Mr. Carr's approval of the modifications will be forthcoming. Possibly he may take a conservative view on such points as the position of the Bishop and the devolution of more power on the Pastorate and Circle Committees. It is most desirable that the revision should be accepted as it stands presented by Council if possible." (32)

Wigram informed Canon Sell in a letter dated 2nd May 1917 that "We had the advantage of Carr's presence with us when the detail work was done by the sub-committee and in not a few instances he detected Shanar influence in the changes which had been proposed." And when Waller wrote to Wigram on 11th September, he commented wryly: "Personally I think the obsession of caste fell on the Group Committee."[33] However it would not appear that the constitution was subjected to any major set-back and it may well be that Wigram was right when he spoke of the need to listen not only to Waller "with his generous desire to develop Indian initiative and self-government" but also to Carr "with his unique inner knowledge of the cross-stream of Church life in Tinnevelly during the last quarter of a century." [34] Certainly it was more necessary that the constitution should be right than that it should be pushed through in a hurry.

A large number of amendments were made in London during the spring of 1917, but none altered the thrust of the constitution in any important way.[35] Negotiations continued through the summer and the printed regulations were ready in September.[36] The constitution was finally sanctioned on 6th November 1917.(37) The election could now proceed after a total postponement of a year.

In summary, the constitution was designed to secure several delicate balances. First, there was the balance between Indian and European, native Christian and missionary; second, there was the balance between clergy and laity; third, between differing castes, areas and interests; fourth, between council agents, non-council agents (ie: those employed by the Missionary Conference or the CEZMS [38]) and ordinary congregational members.

As a body it was both more powerful itself and it delegated more power downwards; it was rather more democratic. At the same time its responsibility and reference upwards lay more in the direction of the Bishop, the diocese, and the (as yet unformed) Diocesan Council, and less in the direction of the Madras Corresponding Committee and London. It was Waller's first major step on the road to 'diocesanisation'.

(d) CMS College and High School, Tinnevelly

A further move towards the 'diocesanisation' of the CMS work occurred unexpectedly during 1917.

In 1880 the CMS opened a College in Tinnevelly with an attached High School. The Rev. A. Schaffter was appointed Principal and he was to retain the post for over forty years. In 1915 the College had a hundred students and the High School seven hundred boys. But the University Commission severely criticised the inadequacy of the buildings for this number and also the shortage of teachers.[39]

The Parent Committee decided that it was not in a position either to meet the large capital outlay to expand and improve the buildings or to increase the staff because of the shortage of men and money due to the war. The decision was therefore made to close the College while retaining the High School.

Waller fought the decision during the latter part of 1916, and urgently asked for more time while an attempt was made to raise money locally. He also intended to raise the matter as an important issue while he was in England in 1917. But when he was forced to abandon the journey, the Parent Committee acted. The necessary recommendation ordering the closure was made by the Group Committee and confirmed by the Foreign Committee on 20th March. Wigram wrote to Waller the next day saying that he was "sorry on your behalf that we have not seen our way here to postpone the closing of the Tinnevelly College.../ but he did not / think there was any difference of opinion as to this being the right course to pursue in view of all the circumstances" much as it was to be regretted.[40]

When the news was broken to the DCC the result was unexpected, as Waller related in a triumphant letter to Wigram on 25th May 1917:

> "The news that the College was to be closed caused a howl of indignation among the Christians and the howl took the practical form of guaranteeing Rs 6000 a year for two years to keep it open.
>
> I am going to hold a meeting next week and if we can make a

practicable scheme for the Indian Church running it and doing what is needed in extensions we shall submit it to you. Meanwhile they will keep it open tentatively. This is a very good example of doing what your circular bids us do - hand over things to the Indians, and ought to make you all rejoice, as it has Sell and me." (41)

On 6th June he wrote again, outlining the plans which were beginning to materialise:

"The Indians prize this, the only CMS College (or Church of England College) in the diocese, very much and inspite of the arrangements I made re. scholarships, maintain that its closing would cut off numbers from higher education...the money is forthcoming. We have made certain suggestions and the form of guarantee is being fixed.

The position is this. Give us (i) what the school without the college would have cost. (ii) Shaffter who would have worked the school. (iii) The management of school and college. (iv) the use of the buildings and lands, and let us have a shot at running the first Indian controlled High School and College.

The scheme has caught on; the centenary celebrations have received an impetus and a very untoward incident which would have excited bitter animosity has now become 'providential'. (42)

This action of the Parent Committee has been taken up as a challenge to the Indian Church to take the burden. They are willing and anxious to do so. Are we acquitted of insubordination in that we have not closed but relieved the Parent Committee of the expense of the College?" (43)

Failure to carry out an order of the Parent Committee by a CMS missionary was not a course of action to be undertaken lightly, as Canon Sell recognised in a letter to Wigram of 5th June. Indeed no organisation could function in this way. But in the circumstances the Committee were both thankful and delighted to sanction the experiment when they met in July.[44] The financial and managerial arrangements were finally settled in October, and the board was to include the Bishop as chairman, the chairman of the DCC ex officio, three members appointed annually by the DCC, one member elected annually by the Missionary Conference, and the Principal of the College.[45]

The money was found from an old endowment called the Tuckerammalpuram Fund, and the CMS continued to give support by means of diminishing

grants for the existing staff and High School until the whole institution was financed by the Indian Church. The CMS Annual Report for 1917 referred to this venture as a "forward movement ...without parallel in the history of missions in India."[46]

There followed a further step with the formation of a CMS Education Committee which included all managers, headmasters and certain elected representatives of the DCC, and the division of the educational budget was entrusted to this body. Waller referred to this as a further needful "democratising" of the CMS Missionary Conference.[47] This committee, in its turn, gave way to the Diocesan Educational Committee under the new diocesan constitution in 1924.

(e) The transfer of CMS property to the diocese

The history of the CMS in Tinnevelly is dated from the arrival of Rhenius on 7th July 1820, and the centenary was drawing near. Waller determined to make the most of it and to use it, if possible, as another deadline in urging forward self-government for the diocese. As he wrote to Wigram on 7th February 1917:

> "We are beginning our plans for the Tinnevelly Centenary in 1920. I want the CMS to celebrate it by some real step in self-government. If we cannot do it in Tinnevelly which has nothing to do with the establishment (48) and has a practically self-supporting Church (entirely so as regards pastoral work), well we may as well give up talking about self-government as our third great aim. I am gradually combing out my ideas and shall have something to put before you in time." (49)

He went on to outline a diocesan synodical scheme which was to come to fruition in due course. But a more immediate target came into his mind in the following months which was little short of an inspiration. If the diocese was to be truly self-governing it ought to own its own ecclesiastical property. With the exception of various small properties and pieces of land which had been rather loosely vested in the chairman of the DCC as trustee, all the CMS property, including churches, parsonages and schools, belonged firmly to the society and was vested in the Church Missionary Trust Association. Why not ask the CMS to hand over this property to the diocese as a centenary gift? Waller brought to bear on this idea all his enthusiastic dedication and managerial skill.

The first reaction from London to this suggestion well illustrates both the support on which he could count, and also the necessary hesitation which could lead to such frustrating delays. Wigram wrote on 27th November:

> "This is quite informal but your suggestion as to the Centenary present for Tinnevelly from the CMS is great, and I propose to have a preliminary skirmish over it at the December Group Committee, preparatory to something more serious early next year. There is plenty of time and things like this cannot be rushed.
>
> What immediately strikes me in regard to this is that if we do this

> for Tinnevelly, ought we not also to do it in respect of the Travancore centenary of last year and the Ceylon centenary of next year? I should imagine that the circumstances are not greatly dissimilar in any of the three Missions. At any rate the Committee here will have a look at it from the wider standpoint as anything they propose with regard to Tinnevelly must of necessity have a far reaching effect in other Missions also when they reach a like maturity." (50)

On 14th December Wigram was able to report favourably on his first skirmish:

> "I was quite satisfied with the outcome of it and particularly at the warm way in which it was recognised that any action of this kind ought to be quite spontaneous on the part of the Committee and not to await a request from the Church Council. Now I want you to let me know how soon you think I had better bring forward the matter in full earnest." (51)

The spontaneity referred to illustrates one of Waller's great advantages in all negotiations with the CMS, namely that he was never wholly identified in people's minds with one side. At one moment he would energetically take up the cause of the diocese against the society; at the next he would speak of the CMS and its committees in terms of what "we" might do. His strength in these particular negotiations lay in the fact that he seemed to be on the side of the CMS Committee, indicating to them how they might make a really imaginative and progressive gesture, rather than on the side of the diocese asking for something which might give rise to suspicion.

On receipt of Wigram's letter in the new year Waller pressed forward. He wrote to Wigram on 7th February 1918 and the letter is well worth quoting at length. It is hand-written, almost scribbled, in the midst of a very busy conference at Calcutta. It is a fine example of his administrative ability and clear thinking. When this is taken together with one further long letter of 1st April 1919, it is truly remarkable how little the final legal document differed from his first drafts, inspite of long and intricate legal negotiation which ensued.

"I must snatch a few minutes in the middle of the Episcopal Synod to reply to yours...and I am delighted at the warm way the Group has taken up the question...My plan is as follows:

1. Form a Diocesan Trust Association under the India Companies Act of 1913, liability limited to Rs 30/- or Rs 20/-...I have a form drawn up for the Provincial Council of which I will enclose a copy if I get it in time. Several changes will be needed in wording, and the procedure in the event of the Company being wound up will have to be carefully drawn. I don't anticipate it, but every loophole for a 'Wee Free' now must if possible be stopped. (52) This draft I have sent to Sell to get legal advice on in Madras. I am getting some help on it in Madras also. We shall also carefully compare CMTA [ie: Church Missionary Trust Association] articles of association. (53)

2. I suggest that in one deed, which Sell tells me is inexpensive as it is only a transference of a Trust not a conveyance or sale, the CMTA should hand over all the property in question to this Diocesan Trust Association.

3. The Trust Deed of the CMTA to this body would be one of many trusts they might hold eg: SPG property etc. (54)

4. The Trust Deed of the CMTA would hand over the property with the following safeguards.

No disposal of property or any action could be taken except on the vote of the DCC which I wish to be an Archdeaconry Council in the ultimate diocesan scheme. It would also have to contain a proviso enabling the sections of the 'Archdeaconry' to deal with property in their own areas in the same way by resolution should it ever be divided either by the division of the diocese...or by the re-arrangement of the archdeaconaries.

This resolution would not be enough for the Trust Association to act on without two additional certificates:

(i) From the chairman (or Archdeacon if he becomes one) to the effect that no trust under which the property is held is contravened by the proposed action.

(ii) From the Bishop to the effect that the proposed action is not contrary to the general purpose of the Church.

My object here is to prevent a schism collaring the property, but the form would have to be so drawn that the Bishop could not simply over-ride the Council for private or personal reasons or ecclesiastical prejudice. It is simply to prevent (if possible) schisms carrying off the property.

The CMS might be working on this Trust now. The schedule of the property I will get prepared here...I emphatically do not want the CMS Council [ie: the DCC] to be incorporated. I can conceive nothing more likely to interfere with diocesan development or to

make chaos in the Indian Church, as the CMS and SPG (while clearly defined as to area) are so interlaced that a separation of dioceses on that basis would be an impossibility...If the Group Committee felt able, a general resolution declaring their intention and containing instructions to prepare a schedule would be an early step in the negotiations." (55)

Although Wigram was a little nervous of how things would go during March, because some of the "old guard are in rather a jumpy frame of mind.." [56] he was able to write on 18th April that:

"The centenary gift scheme went right through the Committee without any sort of opposition or criticism. I am sending you a formal letter on the subject together with the Minute passed by the Committee...

Lankester[57] seems to think that it may take two or three years before everything is fixed up, but I hope that the delays of the law may not be quite so large as this." (58)

At this point it is worth quoting from a letter from Carr, written from Northwood on 9th May 1918. Wigram had asked his opinion and it had come to light that Carr himself had been looking at the question of property transfer some years previously. But he wanted the property handed from the CMTA to the (CMS) DCC where it would have continued to be under some measure of CMS control. It is instructive to ponder not only the conservative point of view expressed but also the question mark placed against Anglican diocesanisation as the only possible way forward:

"I cannot say that I am attracted by the Bishop's proposals. To hand the property over to the Council's /ie: DCC's/ representatives properly constituted leaves the CMS with some control through its representatives, but handing them over to a diocesan or purely ecclesiastical body leaves none at all. The Bishop wishes to provide against "schisms carrying off the property" and says that the incorporation of the Council would be likely seriously to interfere with diocesan development and he emphatically does not wish it.

So far as I have known and understand the position of the CMS in the past - and I know Waller would entirely agree with me - this is a distinct reversal of the old policy.

We always understood that the reason why the CMS churches were dedicated and not consecrated was that for the latter it was necessary that they should belong to the diocese which the CMS did not approve.

> I have always kept in view an Indian Church - not necessarily episcopal, though I sincerely hope it will choose a modified form of episcopacy and believe it will as that is according to the genius of the Indian mind (they have a "head-man" in everything). BUT - if Indians choose a non-episcopal form of Church government, I should prefer that to a perpetual C. of E. in India which kept aloof from such an Indian Church when it arose. If the property is handed over to the diocese, the joining of the Church in Tinnevelly with such an Indian Church would be largely dependant on the position adopted by the then Bishop, and who knows what kind of a man he might be?
>
> I do not think that Bishop Waller keeps sufficiently in view the fact that his successors are not likely to be men of the understanding type he represents...
>
> You know I am "old fashioned" but I can't help it!" (59)

It is apparent that Waller and Carr were looking at different contemporary situations when they issued their cautions. Waller looked at the schism in Scotland at the beginning of the century, from the standpoint of one already committed to the ideal of Church unity in India, and was afraid of schism. Carr looked at the current rise of Anglo-Catholicism in the Church of England and the debates over episcopacy and liturgical reform, and was afraid for the liberty of the Church and for the evangelical gospel. Both were surely correct so far as they went. Indeed the debate between episcopacy and the independence of the Church (insofar as these either were or were thought to be in conflict) was a main ingredient in the Church union negotiations over the next quarter of a century. As an evangelical, Waller always defended the liberty of the individual Christian, but there was never any doubt about which side of the debate he represented.

Concerning protection against unevangelical teaching, and Bishops and all their potential enormities, Waller had some very important remarks to make:

> "I have abstained from suggesting any provision [in the Trust Deed] for continued evangelical use of the property. Experience shows that such provisions do not protect and only become a nuisance. If the people themselves are not evangelical, no trust will make them. And if the evangelical teaching of a hundred years cannot now stand it must be (shall we say) weak. Personally I am

not afraid of the truth being quenched and have no faith whatever in bolstering it up with money and close appointments and corporations etc. But I will cease or I shall talk too long..." (60)

Waller's desire for a separate Diocesan Trust Association found acceptance with the CMS in the event, and the plan was announced to the Tinnevelly Church during the summer of 1918. On 21st August he was able to write:

"The gift is immensely appreciated and we are working at the schedule. I have got the papers for the Diocesan Trust Association practically ready and I shall inaugurate it early next year...

The Council did not say very much but they immensely appreciated the gift and it will do a very great deal to steady feeling and to consolidate the Church. There is a very marked diminution in the number of factious petitions and troubles of various kinds this year and I attribute it to the steady progress in responsibility which we have been making both in CMS and SPG.

The number of applications for ordination in both societies is also very striking. We have sent three to Bishop's College. CMS have had to decline to consider more applications this year because we have as many as we can afford at this time and SPG have about ten in training now in our new school at Nazareth. Certainly when you get a decent amount of self-government the cry that Indians will not come forward for ordination ceases. Three B.A.s (one of them an M.A.) is not bad in one year..." (61)

By the following Spring lawyers had been fully consulted in India and a draft deed of gift was almost ready to be sent to London for examination. The scheme was now quite clear in Waller's mind, as the following letter of 1st April 1919 reveals, and very little amendment took place in London.

"1. Trust Association: this is progressing. The Government have not thrown it out on the ground that the Companies Act does not mention "religious" as a legitimate object for a Company and apparently we shall get through. (62) At present we have put our Articles and Memorandum into the form Government desires and challenged objectors to object before April 30th, in Gazettes and newspapers. If they object, which is unlikely, we go under the 1860 Act.

The Trust Association consists of the 50 members of the Diocesan Standing Committee, (63) with a managing committee of seven. It takes all the powers necessary for its work...

2. The Centenary Gift is, of course, a separate document which is now practically in shape. Its provisions are:

(i) The property is given to the Trust Association practically as bare trustees.

(ii) It is managed by the DCC of CMS which will survive as an archdeaconry in the final organisation of the Diocese.

(iii) The DCC has only power to lease up to three years. If it wants to give a long lease, mortgage or sell or give away, it has to apply to the Trust Association.

(iv) Its application is as follows. It passes a resolution.(64) This resolution is certified by the chairman (future Archdeacon?) to be not contrary to any Trust affecting that particular property as far as he knows. It is certified by the Bishop not to be contrary to the interests of the Church of England (the usual succession of phrases indicating the Church of the future in India).

If all these certificates are given the T.A. has to act in accordance with the resolution. If the chairman witholds his certificate he does so on some point of law which can be examined. If the Bishop, he does so either (i) because there is a schism trying to bag the property and he is put in to prevent it or (ii) because he is pig-headed.

If it is the latter, the DCC are to introduce their resolution again and pass it by a two-thirds majority, and get the chairman's (65) certificate and send it to the Diocesan Executive (the same members as the Trust Association but in a different capacity) and if they pass it by a two-thirds majority they give a certificate and the Bishop's certificate is not required.

There is thus an appeal against any autocratic action of the Bishop which can be sustained if two-thirds of his Diocesan Executive are against him. This was the only way I could think of and I think it will work. You must preserve the property from being walked away with by a schism and you must preserve it from being, as it were, the Bishop's perquisite and lever to get his own way. The delay would probably result in negotiations and I do not suppose the second process would ever really be carried through to the bitter end.

(v) The Council (DCC) has a great majority of lay members, and the Diocesan [Executive] Committee has thirty one laymen out of fifty members, so the laymen have their appropriate voice in business matters.

...As the transaction is the transfer of a trust, as soon as a list can be prepared of the property, the whole can be tranferred by the secretary in Madras [of the Corresponding Committee] under a power of attorney at no great cost. We ask for this power of attorney and also for authority to transfer whatever property is loosely held in the name of the chairman of the Church Council out here. That is most necessary as the ownership is shadowy." (66)

The centenary was due in July 1920 and the legal formalities would not have been complete by then. But the celebrations were postponed in any case. As Waller wrote:

> "The centenary has been postponed because of Lambeth and the impossibility of getting bishops we want, including your humble servant, in July 1920. The idea now is to have it in 1921." (67)

The matter which seemed to take the longest of all was the schedule of property. In the first place, every piece of property had to be accurately surveyed and described. Carr had employed a man several years before to begin the work but it took a very long time indeed. Then agreement was necessary as to exactly what was to be included in the gift. Waller still expressed himself as dissatisfied with the schedule as late as September 1920.[68] It eventually included the following main items:

14 churches and 1 new church site
11 pastors' houses (including one rest house)
8 schools and 1 new school site
5 teachers' houses
Various agents' houses (number not stated)
4 cemeteries
2 chattrams (69)

The CMS retained the buildings and land of its institutions of higher education[70] and the missionaries' residences. When Waller was in England for the Lambeth Conference he concluded negotiations with the CMS and the scheme was finally approved by the General Committee on 10th November 1920.[71] He was back in India early in December and arrangements were finalised for the centenary celebrations to be held in February 1921. Waller had hoped to have senior staff from Salisbury Square present for the ceremony, but this proved impossible to arrange separately from the visit of the delegation, and this party did not sail for India until September.

The celebrations lasted from 21st to 25th February and at least twelve thousand people took part. The Bishop of Madras was ill, but the Metropolitan and the Bishops of Travancore and Dornakal attended and the

SPG were well represented. On 23rd some four thousand people took part in a service of Holy Communion at 5.30 am., and later after tea and a thanksgiving service attended by about eight thousand, the secretary of the Madras Corresponding Committee handed over the documents transferring the property.[72] Waller was delighted and wrote that "the whole Church in Tinnevelly was rejoicing", and to show that it was not all simply a matter of formalities, he tells us that the next day "about 350 persons were baptized in the river."[73]

(f) The CMS Delegation to India 1921

The CMS had been proposing to send a delegation to India since 1914, as we have seen, but the war frustrated all efforts while the need for a radical re-appraisal became ever more urgent as the years went by. In 1921 this important visit at last became possible. The terms of reference, dated 8th February 1921, state that "as the Indian Christian Community ought to carry far greater responsibility in the work and extension of the Church of Christ...the time has come for the Society to take any steps that may be necessary, with a view to this end being attained". The delegates were, therefore to consider and advise the society in particular upon "the relation of the Society and the Society's workers to growing Diocesan developments and to Indian congregations and workers". The delegation left England in September 1921, returning in April 1922. [74]

The two primary reasons for the visit, namely the changed circumstances of the CMS at home and the great upheavals which had been taking place in India, now loomed larger than ever. In England, the period after the first world war was one of inflation with steeply rising prices and heavy losses on exchange rates for sterling. [75] The society faced a financial crisis and in 1919 congresses in Sheffield and London raised the pertinent questions:

> "Is there too much dissipation of forces? Are we not over-slow in handing over control to native Christians? Are we persistent enough in our efforts to establish strong indigenous Churches? Are we sufficiently alive to the importance of making the social life of tribes and nations Christian in its fullness?" (76)

A further congress in Birmingham in 1920 urged the society to go forward in a spirit of faith and to expect an income for the year of £700,000. But the success of Swanwick was not repeated, the response fell short of expectations and there was no alternative to a policy of immediate cuts in expenditure and in the number of missionaries, followed by a more general devolution of power.

The India the changes were even more far-reaching and affected both

Church and State. The tide of nationalism gathered strength during the years of war and India gradually became conscious of herself as a nation which could aspire both to unity and self-government. The British government proclaimed a new constitution in 1919, but far from stemming the tide, this seems merely to have urged forward the desire for greater freedom from western dominance in politics, culture and religion. Gandhi was by this time a national figure and the scene was being set both for the long struggle for independence and the bitter conflict between Hindu and Moslem. [77]

Against this background, the India census report revealed that between 1911 and 1921 the number of Christians had increased by 22.6%, and the Indian Church began also to move towards a self-conscious identity. [78] This was manifested both in diocesanisation schemes such as that in Tinnevelly and in the first consultations towards unity in 1919 and towards independence for the Indian Church. In his Foreward to the delegation's report, Bardsley wrote:

> "The one outstanding fact which has gripped the Delegation and which in their judgment needs to be grasped by the Committee if they are to consider rightly this report, is that India today is very different from the India of a few years ago. If the Society is to fulfil its vocation now and in the coming days, its work must be carried on under the leadership of those in India and in England who are seeking to enter with sympathy and insight into the new problems which are emerging, and to give the message entrusted to the Society in such ways as are likely to lead to the most fruitful abiding results."

The resolution passed at the final conference in Allahabad in March 1922 before the delegation left for England, echoed the same theme: "The Conference feel that not only the present financial stringency, but the great changes which have taken place in the political and economic situation in India, demand a reconstruction of the whole work. [and] the gathering in of large communities into the Church of Christ in many parts of India necessitates a further devolution of management in order that the Indian Church may bring its best gifts into the Kingdom of Christ, and the Society may accomplish its euthanasia in India." [79]

The recommendations of the delegation bore on this matter of reconstruction and devolution at several important points so far as Tinnevelly was concerned. First, a reduction of £23,275 or 16½% on CMS expenditure in India for 1920 was proposed. This was to be made up of £14,700 in respect of schools and £8,575 in respect of mission work generally.

This did not bear more heavily on Tinnevelly than on any other diocese, but it is mentioned here as marking a further distinct step in the reduction of the CMS financial investment in India, and certain results were bound to follow in the long term. The CMS grant to Tinnevelly had been declining ever since Waller had been there and, in that money means power, this was an important element in the diocesanisation process. A reduction in CMS overseas investment inevitably meant a weakening of control from London. The decline in investment, moreover, was unavoidably accompanied by a reduction in missionary personnel with a similar result.

Second, it became clear to the delegation that devolution of power could never be more than a theoretical idea unless and until there was a properly constituted Church capable of taking up the reins of management.

> "Vague statements are made concerning the handing over of the work of the foreign missionary societies to the "Indian Church"; but what is the "Indian Church"? It is not possible to hand over a very definite organisation like the work of a great missionary society to a body which may be completely "in the air"; which indeed at the present moment exists far more as a spiritual conception than as an actual mundane fact. To put it simply, it is impossible to hand over men and money to a Church which largely exists only as an ideal." (80)

Tinnevelly was now in the process of becoming a Church both with a Trust Association legally capable of holding property, and with a system of synodical government equipped to deploy and manage both the men and the money. This was indeed a first and essential step. But beyond it the delegation perceived a second and larger step:

> "In order that these things may be completely brought about it

> is essential that the Anglican Church in India should be free from Western control." (81)

To this recognition of the need for disestablishment, the delegation might also have added the need for disengagement from Indian State control so far as possible, especially in respect of government chaplaincies derived from the old East India Company. But beyond this again lay a larger step still, that of an independent Church of India which would transcend denominational boundaries:

> "Some body or bodies genuinely representative of all the elements of the Indian Church must, if they do not already exist, be brought into existence in each diocese. While, so far as we are concerned, these must necessarily first be brought into existence in connection with our own branch of the Church, and must therefore be diocesan, they must be so constituted as not to endanger the successful evolution of the larger united Indian Church that is to be." (82)

The delegation also stressed, without attempting to work out the complex implications, that this Church in all aspects of its government "should be really democratic and really representative of the Christians within it, irrespective or race or sex." (83)

Third, the delegation had to grapple with the problem of maintaining the particular doctrines for which the society stood, once control had been handed over. This was an issue which was often deeply to trouble the missionary societies in this period, the SPG no less than the CMS, but as the doctrinal controversy which led to the formation of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society was reaching a crisis in CMS ranks during 1922, this was a delicate matter indeed.[84] The Report was stating no more than the sober truth when it said: "It is inherent in the situation that the supporters of the Society in the West must believe in its work if they are to continue their support. Inevitably grants must cease if their sympathy is forfeited." (85)

It is greatly to their credit, therefore, that the delegation refused to attempt any enforcement of cast-iron protections. The Report asks

only for a reasonable level of consultation, safeguards and representation, and, while stating its conviction that any weakening of the evangelical contribution would be an incalculable loss,[86] pinned its faith in a vigorous contribution to Church life by evangelical Christians, both Indian and missionary; in mutual trust and respect for traditions, and in the Holy Spirit. This section of the Report, however, ends with an important warning: "It needs also to be added that resentment was clearly shown at the suggestion that doctrine must be, or could be, any longer superimposed on the Indian Church by a Missionary Society in the West." [87]

Fourth, the delegation recognised that a Mother Church can be so fearful for the safety of her offspring that she dominates and stifles the child, preventing sturdy, independent growth and producing instead merely a pale reflection of herself. The Report therefore included two paragraphs of exceptional importance which are worth quoting in full:

> "A further and vitally important principle is that in any Church or organisation that is developed, the fullest part must be given for temperamental variation in the expression of religious truth, and in methods of worship. The fact that Christ restricted himself almost entirely to fundamental principles, and hardly even suggested either detailed methods of worship or rigid theological formularies, is pregnant with suggestion. The application and even the specific and detailed interpretation of the principles once for all laid down by the Head of the Church are for all time left for the body which is inspired by his Spirit to make in varied ways to meet varied needs. It is this possibility which is inherent in it that makes Christianity a universal religion, appealing to all countries in all ages for all time.
>
> We believe that the conscious or unconscious domination of the Western missionary or the Western bishop, with their own hard and fast Western interpretation of Christ, and with their Western methods of worship, reinforced by a religious literature which - apart from the Bible - has almost wholly been produced by Western minds, has again and again prevented the Indian Church from making its own specific contribution to the interpretation of Christ and the application of his message to India today." (88)

This is a fine passage and it must be regretted that full recognition of the vital principle it contains has been late in coming, and its application slow. It is greatly to be hoped that the formidable combination of Western dominance with innate Indian conservatism will be increasingly overcome, and that the Indian Church will yet give the world the benefit of her own distinctive insights into all the truth which is in Christ.

That part of the Report which deals with "Church and Mission" (the only part of the Report reviewed here), ends with a plea for more dioceses if the work is to be efficiently carried forward, and with a specific recommendation for full-scale diocesanisation, which was exactly what Waller required from the society in order to bring his plan for Tinnevelly to completion:

> "Recommendation: In consideration of the principles and conditions outlined in this Report, we recommend that after the conclusion of some such arrangement as has been suggested in the Report whereby the Society is still officially represented in India as a whole, the control of the Society's missions, with the exception of the N.W. Frontier Province mission, and possibly of one or two other districts, be transferred as rapidly as possible to the several dioceses, such transfer involving the replacement of the Society's administration in these missions by diocesan administration which in many cases has yet to be provided." (89)

But when all this was completed, what would be the status of the Indian Churches and the position of the European missionaries who remained? It is appropriate to conclude this review with part of the section which deals with the "Fundamental principles underlying the consideration of the problem":

> "The first principle is a re-discovery and re-emphasis of the Apostolic conception of Church and Mission. Here we are on unassailable ground. The Apostles - those first missionaries who went forth with a direct commission from the Lord himself - founded everywhere not Missions but Churches, and made them the centre of all activities. It was the Church assembled that decided ecclesiastical disputes: it was the Church of God which the Presbyters were to feed and oversee, and their direct relation was to that Church and to the Holy Spirit who appointed them, and not to the missionary. Discipline was determined and carried out by the local Church assembled together, and not by the Apostolic

founder of the Church. "All things are yours" - Paul, or Apollos or Cephas! "Missionaries belong to you; you do not belong to the missionaries," was the cry of that master builder. What was then the place of the missionaries? "Ourselves, your servants for Jesus' sake." The missionary is the servant, not the master of the Church; not lords over God's heritage, but examples; not masters over the faith of the disciples, but helpers." (90)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. The Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly. (Palamcottah Printing Press 1923). p.218

2. One of his books: Missionary Ideals (Studies in the Acts of the Apostles) was reprinted by the Inter-Varsity Fellowship as recently as 1969.

3. op. cit. p. 264. Fuller details of these notable missionaries may also be conveniently found in this work.

4. The History of the Anglican Church in South India: 1600 - 1970. p.292.

5. G2. 12/0 1916 No.16.

6. G2. 12/0 1916 No.14 (i).

7. This is apparent from the covering letter of the acting secretary, The Rev. E. Langdale-Smith to Wigram, 25th February 1916. G2. 12/0 1916 No. 15.

8. G2. 12/0 1916 No.27.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. G2. 12/0. Printed Minutes.

11a. Madras Letter Book. G2. 12/L 16. No. 451.

12. For this background see the notes by the Rev. (later Bishop) E.A.L. Moore, then acting chairman of the DCC at G2. 12/028 No.104.

13. G2. 12/0 1916 No.104. (Waller made sure that he was present at the meeting of the Madras Corresponding Committee on this occasion!)

14. Ibid.

15. The intense activity of the Life and Liberty Movement during these years resulted in the passing in 1919 of the Enabling Act (officially entitled The Church of England Assembly (Powers) Act) and the setting up of Church Assembly. This, in turn, made obligatory the formation in every parish of a Parochial Church Council (by the Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure of 1921). Whereas members of a PCC must be communicant members of the Church of England, those who elect them (the members on the electoral roll of the parish) need not be, a decision which led to considerable disagreement, and the resignation in 1919 of Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford.

16. Madras Letter Book. G2. 12/1 17. No.25.

17. Women's franchise was, of course, also being hotly contested in England during these years. A Bill giving the franchise to women passed the House of Commons in December 1917, and, after a brief delay in the Lords, became law in June 1918. Women were entitled to vote on the same occupancy basis as men, but from a higher age. As will be seen, it was not long before the CMS in London were pressing women's franchise on the rather different situation in the South Indian Church.

18. The original clause read: "On the recommendation of..", but this was modified, rightly or wrongly, because the DCC Chairman would not in the future necessarily be a European, and it was feared in London that he might be subject to caste pressure.

19. E.A.L. Moore to Wigram. G2 12/0 1916 No.104.

20. Dornakal to Langdale-Smith. 21st September 1916. G2 12/0 1916 No.104.

21. Quoted in a letter from Langdale-Smith to Wigram. G2 12/0 1916 No.105.

22. It will be recalled that in Lucknow diocese, for example, there was more than one DCC and these were linked by a Central Church Council, presided over by the Bishop.

23. Although Waller mentions the matter of the Executive Committee rather on the side here, he is now assuming the chairmanship of the most powerful and important cog in the administrative machine.

24. Waller to Langdale-Smith. 28th August 1916. G2 12/0 1916 No.104.

To the present writer Waller bore some striking similarities to Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher. Both had a fascination for constitutions and legal intricacies. Edward Carpenter says of Fisher "Constitution making was for him a congenial occupation and he did it well." (Cantuar. Cassell 1971). Both seem to have thrived on committee meetings and administration. Compare this letter of Waller's with Fisher enthusing over the introduction of a Standing Committee to Church Assembly:

"This was a grand step forward; it gave a new feeling to the Church Assembly to have this amount of central direction. It might have been the beginning of a curia around the Archbishop but, I think very wisely, after my time the Archbishop of York was made chairman of the Standing Committee, this relieving the Archbishop of Canterbury and giving the Standing Committee a valuable sense of independence. Matters of great importance came up, and if there had not been a Standing Committee to review them and keep them together in a single survey I don't know where we would have got; and the fact that there were bishops, clergy and laity on the Standing Committee was a protection against it becoming a curia." Quoted W. Purcell: Fisher of Lambeth (Hodder & Stoughton), pp.203/4.

Waller's love of the boys at Batala indicates that he would have made an admirable headmaster, and he would have been a not inconsiderable Archbishop!

25. Madras Letter Book G2 12/L 17. No.25. 7th November 1917.

26. It will noted that Waller always seized the opportunity wherever he could truthfully do so of indicating that a line of action had been suggested by the Indian Christians rather than by himself; It is perhaps not unreasonable to presume that on occasions their minds were suitably jogged in the right direction!

27. See Chap. 3 (b).

28. G2. 12/0 1916 No. 104.

29. Wigram to Canon E. Sell, secretary of the Madras Corresponding Committee. Madras Letter Book. G2 12/L 16 1917 No. 494.

30. Shipping was being diverted around the Cape of Good Hope, and he discovered that, out of a trip of six months he would spend three months in travelling. When he also realized the difficulties of travel in England at this time, he gave up the idea of a personal visit, but not without some frustration as, to add to the procrastination, as he considered it, of the Parent Committee, mail was taking much longer than usual. G2. 12/0 1917 No.20.

30[a] Madras Letter Book G2/ 12/L 16. 1917. No. 494. Recommendation of the Group Committee of 10th January confirmed by the Foreign Committee 16th January 1917.

31. G2 12/0 1916. No.104.

32. G2 12/0 1916. No.105.

33. Madras Letter Book. G2. 12/L 16. No.514. and G2 12/0 1917 No.94.

34. Madras Letter Book. G2 12/L 16. 17th January 1917.

35. A good illustration of Waller's style when he is in high good humour comes in his letter to Wigram of 25th May 1917, following a holiday:

"When are you going to give us back our Church Council scheme? You have blown trumpets over the Calcutta diocesan scheme but our little ewe lamb hangs fire (what a treasury of metaphors for your next speech;). Seriously, hand it back to us soon, as we have prolonged the life of this District Church Council till it rivals the present parliament and we need our General Election badly." G2 12/0 1917 No.49.

36. A copy is to be found at G2 12/0 1917 No.12.

37. Madras Letter Book. G2 12/L 17. No.24.

38. The Church Of England Zenana Missionary Society. See Chap. 2 Note 26.

39. See the CMS Annual Report for 1917.

40. Madras Letter Book. G2. 12/L 1917 No.510.

41. G2. 12/0. 1917 No.49.

42. The centenary of CMS work in Tinnevelly fell in 1920 and preparations were already well in hand, see section (e) below. 'Providential' had become something of a CMS motto since Henry Venn.

43. G2. 12/0 1917 No.52.

44. G2. 12/0 1917 No.54. & Madras Letter Book G2. 12/L 17. No.10.

45. South India Precis. 1918. Nos. 124 & 125.

46. p.82. It should be pointed out that the DCC made its bid for the College before the new constitution came into effect, and this explains the delighted nature of the comment in this Report that the decision was taken "quite spontaneously, for no European missionary was on the spot at the time."

47. Waller's final chapter in P. Appasamy: The Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly. p.302.

48. ie: no government chaplaincies or churches. These were controlled by Act of Parliament and could greatly complicate attempts at self-government legislation. Waller was to have personal experience of this in his work for the constitution of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon.

49. G2.12/0 1917 No.20.

50. Madras Letter Book. G2 12/L 17. No.26.

51. Ibid. No. 30.

52. The "Wee Frees" were 'the minority group of the Free Church of Scotland which refused to countenance the action of the rest of their number in uniting in 1900 with the United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church.' (Definition from the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1971 edition.)

53. No Tinnevelly diocesan body existed which was legally capable of holding property, as the diocese had no separate existence in law at this time.

54. He had in mind, of course, the vesting of all Church property in this Trust Association. But in the case of property the SPG were far more intractable than the CMS. See Chap. 7.

55. G2.12/0 1918 No.20.

56. Madras Letter Book. G2 12/L 17. 1918 No.58.

57. H. Lankester was Lay Secretary of the Finance Department, and also a Director of the Church Missionary Trust Association.

58. Madras Letter Book. G2. 12/L 17. 1918 No.63.

59. G2. 12/O 1918 No.40. The CMS parent Committee drew up a memorandum in 1900 on the subject of the relationship of the Indian Church to episcopacy. They concluded that the question whether the Indian Church should be presided over by Bishops, and if so, Bishops of what character and with what powers, must be left eventually to the good sense and decision of Indian Christians themselves. (Quoted P. Appasamy: op. cit. p.260)

60. Waller to Wigram. 1st April 1919. G2. 12/O No.63.

61. G2. 12/O 1918. No. 115.

62. Carr had been advised some years before that two separate Trusts would be required, one for "charitable" property and one for "religious". This would naturally have complicated the whole procedure greatly (eg: where a compound contained both a church and a school). In a letter of 1st April 1922 Waller explained to Wigram how he got over the difficulty:

"I got over it by putting in a perfectly legal qualification that [the trustees]... must be members of the Diocesan Executive Committee and they lose their membership if they leave India, go mad, or cease to be members of the Diocesan Executive Committee. All the Christian communicant qualifications attach to the Diocesan Executive, not to the Company. I have sent copies to all sorts of bodies, two lots of Baptists, Presbyterians, S.I.U.C. etc. and they are all trying it ..."

In his reply Wigram congratulated him on "outlawyering the lawyers and setting a precedent for other dioceses to follow along the path which you have blazed for them." G2. 12/O 1922 No.96 & Madras Letter Book G2. 12/L 17 1922 No.311. 28th September 1922.

63. This was the Executive or Standing Committee of the newly formed Diocesan Council.

64. Later amended to require a two-thirds majority for the resolution.

65. Later amended to require a three-quarters majority, and a six months delay before the resolution could be re-introduced into the DCC.

66. G2. 12/O 1919. No.63.

67. Ibid. No.169.

68. G2. 12/O 1920. No.142.

69. Ibid. No.140.

70. The CMS College at Palamcottah was handed over to the diocese in 1927 and renamed St. John's College.

71. Madras Letter Book. G2. 12/L 17 No. 197.

72. A copy of the transfer document has not come to light in the CMS archives, but a copy can be found at: SPG Letters Received, D Series. 1921. No.128.

73. Waller's full account of the celebrations was published in the CM Gleaner, 1st June 1921. The substance is reproduced in the CMS Annual Report for 1920.

74. The members of the delegation were as follows: The Rev. Dr. C.C.B. Bardsley (Hon. Clerical Secretary from 1910), the Rev. E.F.E. Wigram (India Secretary), The Rev. Dr. G.H. Williams (Education Secretary), Mr. J.G. Barclay, Miss E. Baring-Gould, Miss D.R. Williams. They were joined in India by three notable Indian Christians, Bishop Azariah of Dornakal, Dr. Keroith Bose, and Behari Lal Rallia Ram, a leading Punjabi layman.

    In addition to the question of diocesanisation, there were three other areas for special consideration: the co-ordination of secondary educational work; work in Mass Movement areas and the report of the commission on village education; the status and training of Indian workers, both men and women. This section deals only with the section on diocesanisation.

    The Report of the Delegation was published by the CMS (CMS Library 275.4). See also the CMS Annual Report for 1921, General Review of the year, and, for the terms of reference, Appendix 1. Also M.E. Gibbs: The Anglican Church in India, 1600 - 1970, p.361f.

75. For this, see especially G. Hewitt: The Problems of Success, p.429f.

76. Quoted G. Hewitt: op. cit. p.431.

77. The southern tip of India seems to have been largely unaffected at this time. In his report for 1921 Waller wrote: "Tinnevelly is profoundly at peace...Gandhi visited Tinnevelly, and was, so it is said, profoundly grieved at the apathy of the people." SPG D 1922. No.132.

78. CMS Annual Report for 1924. General Review of the Year.

79. This resolution was published with the Report of the delegation. For the recommended reductions in expenditure which follow, see pp.126/7.

80. Report p.27.

81. Ibid. p.28.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. See G. Hewitt: op. cit. pp.461f.

85. Report p.27.

86. Ibid.p.18.

87. Ibid. pp.27/8.

88. Ibid.p.22. Compare the remarks of C.J. Grimes concerning the legal domination of the Indian Church by the Church of England:

"Few things were more conspicuous...than the increasing consciousness of the need of freedom; not the desire to cut adrift from the Church of England, but the legitimate aspiration to the heritage of the ordered liberty of the Catholic Church. Leaders of the Church, Indian and European alike, had long come to realise that only by such freedom to develop and naturalise the Catholic faith in the hearts of the peoples of many races and tongues in that vast sub-continent could these peoples bring their contribution into the Church of God." Towards an Indian Church, p.171.

89. Report p.32.

90. Ibid. p.19.

PART 2

CHAPTER 7

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPG ORGANISATION

(Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 166 - 168)

(a) Introduction

It was in 1825 that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge formally agreed to hand over its work in South India to the SPG,[1] and from this time onwards this society worked side by side with the CMS in the Tinnevelly area. "The SPG left to the CMS Palamcotta and the area north of it; to the south and east boundaries were drawn between the areas worked by each Society. Those of the SPG were becoming, and were to continue, its most successful work in India."[2] As a society, the SPG saw its purpose rather differently from the CMS and developed a somewhat different ethos, although this did not prevent the two societies working "...generally in a spirit of harmonious cooperation" although with the inevitable "occasional hints of rivalry and disagreement ..."[3]

The CMS began with the unconverted individual, to whom the preaching of the Gospel was the primary aim. As individuals were converted, they were naturally grouped within the structures which the Mission set up so that they might grow in the Christian life and come to stability and maturity of faith. If all went well the Church which arose in this way would become an integral part of the Church of England in India, and would continue to grow and expand when the time came for the Mission to withdraw.

The SPG began with the Church of England overseas and its Bishops, and saw its aim primarily in terms of so aiding the Church that it might grow and expand, drawing individuals into its fellowship. As the Government in India was responsible for ministry to the British population, the society was able to concentrate its work on the growing Indian Church.[4] To state the differences in approach between the two societies in such summary form is, of course, to be guilty of over-simplification, but not, it is to be hoped, of gross distortion.

As the last century progressed, the SPG adopted a moderate Tractarian stance, although this was not without opposition at the time, and this made the society even more self-consciously the hand-maid of the Church.

Dr. E.B. Pusey, a warm supporter to the society's occasional embarrassment, wrote:

> "This Society is the accredited organ of the whole Episcopacy of our branch of the Church Catholic...It has ever gladly submitted itself to our Bishops abroad, and placed its missionaries at their disposal...It is at present the institution in this country eminently entitled to the support of those who would wish, in a wise, orderly, self-denying, lasting way, to propagate the Gospel of their God and Saviour." (5)

There were occasions when Waller felt moved to remind the society of its relation to the Bishop in somewhat similar, if less Tractarian, terms, but this at least was the theory, and in this capacity as a servant of the Church of England it has, beyond dispute, been of the greatest value and service.

During these same years of the last century the CMS, in contrast, was developing strongly under Henry Venn and championing the evangelical gospel and the voluntary principle. Ideally, of course, the themes of order, community and spiritual freedom should have complemented each other gloriously, but their development in separate societies which tended to harbour some mutual suspicion led inevitably to a degree of polarisation, particularly as the century advanced and positions hardened.

In accordance with its principle of close co-operation with the Bishop and Archdeacon, it was natural that the SPG should develop a rather different missionary structure from the CMS. In Tinnevelly the pastorate unit was the same, but the thirty pastorates, covering some four hundred villages, were grouped into districts, each under a Superintending Missionary. The District Committees had rather more power and independence than the equivilent CMS Circles. The Districts, in turn, were grouped under the SPG Central Committee, which corresponded to the CMS District Church Council. The Bishop was President with power to preside. From this body reference lay to the Diocesan Committee in Madras, of which the Bishop of Madras was President and the Archdeacon Vice-President. There were some forty Indian clergy under the Mission but only seven missionaries, the society never having maintained nearly as large an establishment in the area as the CMS. [6]

(b) Initial Re-organisation

In his first assessment of the situation Waller wrote: "The SPG is in a serious condition for want of men here...I wish you would lay the facts before the India Committee. Of course, the work has grown too much for the superintending missionary system to work." [7]

In a letter of 1st May 1916 to the SPG Secretary, Bishop Montgomery, he enlarged a little:

> "The problem which needs tackling is I think the question of superintending missionaries. They have such large districts that they are overwhelmed with office work and moreover it is not good for them to have so much authority. It puts them in a very difficult position. Nor is the system good for the Indian clergy who do not develop a sense of responsibility. But I will write when I have thought out the matter more." (8)

The more he analysed the situation, the clearer it became that the SPG structures were hardly diocesan at all, so far as Tinnevelly was concerned. He was President of the Central Church Committee, but the real power lay below and above that body. Below, the District Councils under the Superintending Missionaries exercised considerable power and autonomy especially in matters of finance. Above, the Diocesan Committee in Madras was an immensely strong body operating from outside the diocese altogether, because legally Tinnevelly was still part of Madras diocese. [9] Everyone acknowledged the position of the Lord Bishop and gave him great respect, but it did not always amount to very much in practice.

Waller's remedy was to create intermediate bodies linking the Superintending Missionaries with the Diocesan Committee. In this way he sought to centralise control in the diocese. This was, in many ways, the opposite to the CMS problem, as he recognised:

> "Comparing the two, CMS is decidedly over-centralised, while SPG requires a little more central control which we are gradually assuming though we have no intention of repeating the over-centralisation of CMS." (10)

His first action was to create an SPG Diocesan Advisory Council. He described this as he looked back on his first full year in Tinnevelly at the end of 1916 in a report to the society:

> "The Diocesan Committee met in Madras 400 miles away from the bishop's residence and it was necessary to do all business by correspondence, a course with obvious disadvantages. I therefore, with the approval of the committees concerned, instituted an Advisory Council of the Superintending Missionaries. The finance committee still continued in Madras but the draft budget was prepared in Palamcottah. We met each quarter and the opportunities afforded for common counsel and discussion of problems in the light of the experience of other parts of the Diocese were most valuable. The authority of the Council is simply the Bishop's authority and the decisions go out in his name but the mutual benefit of this common discussion has entirely justified the experiment." (11)

It can be seen how he was gently curbing the power of the Superintending Missionaries, while also detaching power from Madras. As the meetings were informal, he was able to proceed without having to seek approval from London and to capitalise a little on his position as Bishop.[12]

At the same time he was working on the same problem from another direction, altering the balance of the District and Central Council so as to introduce a greater element of democracy. Slightly more power was put into the hands of the Central Council, more laymen were included, and, in effect, the power of the Superintending Missionaries was slightly reduced. In the same report at the end of 1916 he was able to write of this:

> "The new scheme of re-organisation giving more powers to these councils came into effect during the year. The diocese is divided in both the part worked by the SPG and in that worked by the CMS into (a) Pastorates (b) groups of pastorates called Districts (or Circles) (c) a Central Council. Each of these bodies has the supervision of its own finances and control of such local institutions as are not directly under the Mission, and on each body there is a large proportion of laymen. The divisions correspond roughly to (i) Parish Councils or Vestries (ii) Ruri-decanal councils (iii) Archidiaconal Councils. The difference is that each of our bodies has some real duties and some real authority. Our first experience of these re-constituted councils gives us hope that as responsibility is delegated the burden will be taken up; and it is easy to see how completely the system lends itself to fuller Diocesan organisation when the time comes." (13)

In this case also he was able to bring about a measure of reform without recourse to lengthy consultation with London, and this is indicative of the greater flexibility in the SPG system, provided he was wise and statesmanlike enough to reach agreement locally. He ends his report to the society with a note on evangelism, which he hoped would spring more readily from a rightly organised native Church:

> "We are trying to link up evangelism with the Pastorates and Districts and to make it a normal part of their activities, more than it has perhaps been considered in the past...The Evangelistic Band continued to work thoughout the year and some baptisms resulted. But the main object is to give impetus, direction and help to local evangelisation and the results do not often appear immediately." (14)

The SPG in London were pleased at what they heard, and in the Annual Report for 1916, greatly curtailed because of the war, published an account of this, notable for its length. It concludes: "Every step is a source of satisfaction to those who work for the Indian Church of the future." (15)

(c) Formation of a Diocesan Committee

Waller's next step was to create a Diocesan Committee for Tinnevelly diocese, separate from that in Madras. This was obviously a desirable development which recognised the separate existence of the diocese at last. The SPG structure suggested in practice that headquarters was in Madras, the Bishop really an assistant only, and that the Archdeacon of Madras had jurisdiction over Tinnevelly, which he did not. This was therefore an important move in the direction of diocesanisation, but as it could not be done without agreement in London, the process could not be hurried.

It was, in fact, 1919 before an acceptable constitution was sent to London for final approval and by this time the body was de facto in existence, being simply the Advisory Council set up in 1916 which assumed another name and whose powers were gradually increased, becoming eventually formal instead of informal. The draft constitution proposed membership as follows:

1. The Bishop of the diocese, ex officio.
2. Superintending Missionaries.
3. Indian clergy, elected by the SPG Central Council, in number equal to the number of Suuperintending missionaries.
4. Indian laymen, elected by the SPG Central Council, in number equal to the number of Superintending missionaries.
5. Other members appointed by the Bishop in consultation with the Diocesan Committee. (16)

Months passed without reply and eventually Waller wrote on 9th February 1920, complaining of the delay. This produced the requisite action and he was able to write again on 4th April acknowledging general approval. While he was in England for the Lambeth Conference he negotiated over several proposed revisions without substantial alteration being required and the constitution was finally approved by the end of that year. It was during this year that the Secretary of the SPG Madras Diocesan Committee, Canon G.H. Smith, retired after forty two years, and this proved a suitable moment at which to divide the functions of the committees in Madras and Tinnevelly. The Rev.W.E. Evans became the Secretary of the new committee in Tinnevelly and he was of the greatest assistance to Waller in the years that followed, as will be seen. An SPG diocesan office was opened in the diocese. [17]

The full complement of this Diocesan Committee was some fifty members, of whom only about six were Europeans, and it came to function as an Executive Committee of the Central SPG Council, having responsibility also to London.[18] Regarding this double role, Waller wrote:

> "At present [this] Committee...is subordinate to the Central Church Council. It will retain that character as far as the business entrusted to it by the...Central Church Council is concerned. But it will assume also the character of the representative of the Home Society and as such it will have its own powers. There is no prospect of confusion of the two spheres and it is the best possible arrangement that could be devised, not a temporary makeshift but a right and natural evolution in Church life." (19)

It is clear that, from the point of view of the diocese, it was highly desirable that missionary and diocesan functions should be dealt with by one body and not separated out between two. In this respect Waller was able to achieve a better structure with the SPG than with the CMS. It is hardly conceivable that the CMS would at that time have agreed to the functions of the Madras Corresponding Committee being assumed by the Executive Committee of the District Church Council.

Earlier in his long report of 18th July 1919, commenting on these arrangements, Waller had explained the position regarding English speaking congregations, as this was of particular concern to the SPG:

> "The advance which is proposed is to make the SPG Diocesan Committee more truly representative of the Church and not simply of subscribers to the SPG. Unless we are to continue the system of the governing body being nominally the Finance Committee in Madras 400 miles away, we are obliged to do something of this sort for there are only 4 scattered European congregations in the Tinnevelly diocese, while there are about 36,000 Indian Christians under the Mission. The number of potential European subscribers is therefore negligible.
>
> In the Tinnevelly diocese there are over 100,000 Christians, [while]...the 4 English congregations do not number above 500 members. They are ministered to by missionaries and certain allowances accrue from the establishment for their ministrations." (20)

He went on in the report to elaborate on the functions of the various committees, filling in some interesting and important detail:

> "[The] districts are watched over by a superintending missionary who controls the finance, appoints the "agents" and generally fosters the Church life of the District and teaches the District Council how to manage its finances. The Central Council...does not directly deal with finance but settles scales of pay, receives and decides on recommendations for orders and other matters of general interest to the Church. This Central Council has a strong Executive Committee to which it has committed such matters as are impossible to discuss in a Council of 80 members. Thus it [deals with]..recommendations for training and for ordination, advice about location of clergy and upon the allotments of the Society's grants among the districts and institutions. It has thus been trained for two years in the work which it is proposed that it should now take over [as the Diocesan Committee]." (21)

As the constitution was not yet approved when he wrote, he concluded with a plea, seizing on the parallel with the provisions of the Enabling Act in England:

> "I believe [the Diocesan Committee] is the only one which is thoroughly representative of a diocese, being composed of clergy and laymen elected by the Central Church Council, as representatives of groups of districts, so that every part of the diocese has its representatives. The members, of course, had to learn details about the working of financial and mission institutions, but they did learn and the Committee has done excellent work during the year. It will find its permanent place in the Diocesan system of the future and its formation is a real piece of Church building." (22)

This report was published in the SPG Annual Report for 1920 which commented: "[This] Diocese is probably the most forward in its established Church government in the whole of India."

(d) The Attempt to transfer SPG Property to the Diocese

It was natural, and fully in accord with the diocesanisation plan, that when Waller set up the Diocesan Trust Association in 1920, he should try and persuade the SPG to transfer its property to this Association in the same way as the CMS had done. In this he was not successful and negotiations went on spasmodically for many years, but it is convenient to assemble the relevant material at this point.

It seems that Waller first raised the matter with the SPG in London when he was there for the Lambeth Conference in 1920. When nothing seemed to be coming of that, he instructed the Rev. W.E. Evans to take up the matter when he went on furlough in 1921. When the matter had still not progressed a year later, Evans wrote of his experience on that furlough in some frustration: "I saw Pascoe several times, I have seen you [i.e. The Rev. A.H. Dolphin, SPG Foreign Secretary] several times. I have seen the Solicitors, and Stapley also spent a great deal of time over this matter and interviewed you on the subject." [23] Meanwhile Waller issued a gentle reminder in his report for 1921. This is a good example of the way in which he does not chide but patiently states the matter all over again:

> "There is a great deal of property held in each district. The charter of the SPG makes all such property automatically belong to the Home Society. In other Societies which do not possess a charter the local Church holds a good deal of property and it is bought and sold as occasion offers without the trouble of getting authority from home and to the great profit of the Church... The Trust Association is a registered Company and its accounts have to be inspected by Government and properly audited. It is safer than the Society tenure because the missionary is their only agent and he cannot be on the look-out in every little village which is nominally in his care.. It will be best to follow the example set by CMS who have in this matter led the way in establishing a really self-governing Church. If the Committee is inclined to do this I can send a form of gift with all conditions etc." (24)

The Home Society sought the advice of its solicitors, and on 5th October 1922 Dolphin wrote to Evans that they were advised not to transfer the property as they would be divesting themselves of the legal ownership

of it and also of control over it. Evans tersely replied that of course this was perfectly true: "If it were not so there would be no need to spend so much time on the matter." (25)

In his report for 1922 Waller's tone became slightly reproachful:

> "It is greatly to be desired that the SPG should follow the example of CMS and put their property (under conditions) in the name of the Diocesan Trust Association. Things will be greatly simplified if they can make up their mind to that. The request has been before them for two years now!" (26)

Evans also began to increase pressure and his patience was wearing much more visibly thin than Waller's:

> "You have got to realise that great changes are taking place out here. First of all there is the scheme by which in the very near future Tinnevelly will become in truth a Diocese with a system of councils well organised and able to manage its own affairs.
>
> In addition to this you are probably aware that a measure is about to be introduced in the National Assembly by which the C. of E. will give up its right to control its daughter in India: when the measure becomes an Act the Church of the Province of India, Burma and Ceylon will be formed with its own Provincial Council.
>
> Some years ago Bishop Montgomery, in a lecture to the summer school, stated: "In a very real sense there is no such thing as a SPG clergyman abroad. They are entirely diocesan. We are the servants of the diocese, but standing outside it. It is the same in regard to trusteeship. In hundreds of places we are, as it were, diocesan trustees till such dioceses are fully organised and can hold property of themselves. Then we hand over endowments and trusts if desired to do so.."
>
> For myself I cannot see where the difficulty lies and why there should be this delay." (27)

The SPG then sought the opinion of the Metropolitan, and asked for comments both from Waller and from their missionaries in the diocese. Waller sent a long memorandum from Madras, taking up the objections raised one by one, and the Rev.W. Penny, as SPG missionary from Sawyerpuram, wrote at length opposing any transfer.[28]

Total silence then ensued, and with Waller's translation to Madras,

the matter went into abeyance until 1930 when Bishop Western took it up again when he was in London for the Lambeth Conference. He set out his plan in a letter dated 3rd July 1930, [29] following verbal negotiations, and he apparently almost succeeded because on 3rd November he acknowledged a resolution of the Standing Committee which seemed to agree to property being transferred. But silence again descended until 1934 when Western is found putting forward a rather different scheme and deadlock continued.

Why was the SPG so reluctant to follow in the steps of the CMS in this matter? As such a property transfer would seem to be so clearly in line with SPG principles, it seems very strange indeed. In attempting to throw some light on this, it should be noted in the first place that negotiations for a fully diocesan constitution were proceeding simultaneously between 1920 and 1923 and clearly the SPG could not consider one without the other. [30] The Society may have felt obliged to take account of the fact that property transferred to a Diocesan Trust Association would be administered by a committee elected from a diocese in which the CMS was in a majority of two to one. The Diocesan Constitution came into effect in 1924 and it would appear that the SPG moved with circumspection before that date and ceased to negotiate at all after it, at least until the Church in India gained self-government in 1930. It would be wrong, however, to read too much into these dates, as the diocese itself allowed the matter to drop when Waller departed. Perhaps if Waller had remained, he might eventually have pushed the matter through. But as early as 1921 he himself had foreseen the rock-strewn road that negotiations were taking. Regarding property in the scheme of diocesanisation, he wrote, "the form of request that will probably come before the SPG is that instead of a committee elected by the SPG section of the diocese, a really Diocesan Committee should manage all funds." Then, sensing no doubt the possible reaction, he added immediately: "The Society cannot by its principles refuse this." [31]

The fact that the society did refuse would seem to indicate that it was indeed concerned about the theological direction in which the diocese seemed to be heading. Factors such as the CMS background of

the Bishop and the strong evangelical CMS majority in the diocese which had helped the CMS to a forward move regarding property, may well have had the opposite effect on the SPG. Certainly this would help to explain the SPG's extraordinary argument that they could not transfer property because they would lose a measure of control over it. As the whole purpose of the exercise was to ease control from them in favour of the Church, this defence is ingenuous to say the least unless they feared that services and ceremonies in the churches they had sponsored and indeed paid for, might be arbitarily changed once they had been persuaded to part with them. [32]

In a memorandum of 19th January 1923, Waller attacked this position. The particular point he wished to meet was that the SPG could not part with its property because, it was asserted, the society held it as a sacred trust.

> "Stripped of its trappings this is the old argument, surely new to SPG, that one preserves one's particular tenets by controlling property and finance. I cannot see any other strength in it. As between Society and Church surely the Society holds for the Church; if the Church is strong enough to hold it for itself what reason can the Society have for keeping hold except that it wishes to enforce its views? I cannot believe that the Society really means this." (33)

It cannot be said that he entirely meets the objection that money or land entrusted to the society cannot be given away without moral and legal qualms. There was a real point here which needed legal investigation and it is not quite clear just how far it was legally true that the society held for the Church, except in terms of general principle. [34] However, if it was true that objections or fears which concerned churchmanship or theology, reasonably embraced within the wide bosom of the Church of England, were the real cause of concern, Waller here goes straight to the point and his reply is trenchant. He insists that it cannot be right to seek to control such matters by money, and in saying that he is asserting a principle of which the implications are very far reaching indeed.

He made the same point even more sharply later in the same year in a rather different context. The staff of the school in Trichinopoly

were appointed by the Principal but paid for by the SPG out of their block grant, and the society felt that this gave them the right to intervene if they thought an appointment unsuitable. Such a view, wrote Waller

> "...emphasises a wrong principle of which we are trying to shake ourselves free - viz. that the fundamental policy of a Missionary Society is that "he who pays the piper calls the tune". I have for the last 26 years been fighting against that principle as interpreted in mission politics." (35)

If control of property could be used to safeguard certain practices and teaching for which a society might stand, it could also be used to guard against the encroachment on SPG property of unwelcome Church union, and it is by no means too early to see the effects of these negotiations in South India on SPG attitudes. Waller certainly saw it in SPG reactions, or lack of them, and commented on it in a memorandum of 19th January 1923.

> "If the Society cannot trust the Bishops and the Church we are in a bad way. I do not believe that the Church in India will go off on any lines which are not catholic and apostolic, nor even if they did that the SPG would maintain priests on their own property who were not in communion with those Bishops... I have not observed any disposition in India to break away from the Catholic system but rather a steady drift towards it. In Union negotiations our need is to satisfy the foreign missionaries and cull whatever of good we can from what they stand for; the Indians tend to the catholic position and episcopacy. But the Union negotiations have not yet been completed or reviewed by the Churches."(36)

He ends with a challenge: "You have the proposed documents, and the terms safeguarding the property in CMS are equally applicable to SPG and should be sufficient. Is the SPG going to arrest the development of the Church by refusing?"[37]

In fact they did refuse, as we have seen and if nervousness concerning the unity negotiations was a primary reason, which seems likely, this would explain the continuing procrastination. When Western took up the matter again in 1930, Anglo-Catholic opposition to the scheme was

intense and the SPG may very well have hesitated at such a time to donate to a potentially schismatic diocese property, representing, at least in part, the gifts of its subscribers. The balance between loyalty to the constituency and the oft-repeated trust in the Bishops must have sometimes been difficult to draw.

There were two further arguments in favour of handing over the property to the diocese. Waller argued that it would be more secure and better administered under the Diocesan Trust Association:

> "There are many instances of property being lost and encroached on both in SPG and in other Societies, because no definite person was responsible in the country. Missionaries have not all the same aptitude for managing property and the necessary legal proceedings are held up by the necessity of getting authority from England for arrangements concerning it. The present system is cumbersome to a degree. Cases not infrequently occur when it is greatly to the advantage of the Society eg: to exchange one piece of land for another or to adjust a boundary, and this cannot be done without a reference home and a special power of attorney, which incidentally costs about five times as much in England as it does in India.
>
> Further the present arrangement puts the missionary in a very invidious position. If an encroachment takes place he has to put the Christians who make it into court, and you have all the race and anti-missionary feeling which may exist at once ranged against you.
>
> I have had instances quoted to me of places where no such trouble occurs. (38) My long experience leads me to believe that such cases generally mean that the missionary, rather than incur the odium of a law suit with his own flock, acquiesces in encroachments. If the property is vested in the local Church (Diocese) there is much more feeling against encroachment; there is a public opinion against the encroacher and the proceedings are the proceedings of a community against the offender, not of a missionary and a foreigner." (39)

Finally there was the powerful argument that the diocese had a moral if not a legal right to much property, churches especially, because a large proportion of the money needed to build or acquire land had been raised by the local congregations. It was not felt right that a comparatively small grant could entitle the society to rights in perpetuity. The Rev. W.E. Evans illustrates this argument:

"At the present moment a Church is being built at Nazareth which will cost Rs.75000/- and towards this sum the Marriott Bequest will be asked to give a grant. But with that exception the whole of the amount necessary will be raised by the people and no part of the SPG grant will be spent in its erection as Nazareth for some years has not received a grant from the Society.

Are we to say that for all time, even though the diocese is properly organised under a Provincial Council with no connection with the Church in England except that of communion, that the diocese is not fit to hold property for which so much money has been willingly given by the people?" (40)

That neither of these important arguments weighed decisively with the Home Society is evidence of the extreme caution with which it proceeded on other, never clearly expressed, grounds.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. See, eg: H.P. Thompson: Into All Lands p.179. The relevant minute is dated 7th June 1825.

2. H.P. Thompson: op. cit. p188 and see the map. p.204.

3. S.C. Neill: A history of Christian Missions p.273.

4. H.P. Thompson: op. cit. p.720.

5. Quoted C.F. Pascoe: Two Hundred Years of the SPG (SPG 1901) p.xvi.

6. See, eg: H.P. Thompson: op. cit. p.375: "In 1900 there were but four / European missionaries / in the whole SPG area, and through sickness and furlough only one, Margöschis, was at work, and he a martyr to asthma."

7. Waller to Higgens (an SPG committee member) 8th February 1916. SPG D 1916 No.95.

8. SPG D 1916 No.101. For a note on Bishop Montgomery, see Chapter 5, note 10.

9. Waller was not the first to suffer from the power and distance of this Diocesan Committee in Madras. Compare Caldwell's remarks when he administered the SPG part of the Tinnevelly diocese:

   "What I have felt not only as a burden but as a galling yoke, is my subjection to the Madras Committee SPG, a committee consisting partly of laymen and partly of chaplains who happen to reside in Madras, and who show as little regard for my feelings and wishes as if I were a Native Catechist." Wyatt: Reminiscences. p.165, quoted H.P. Thompson: op. cit. p.369.

10. 18th July 1919. SPG D 1919 No.102.

11. SPG E 1916 No.40.

12. The functions of the Advisory Council were taken over by the Executive Committee of the Diocesan Council in 1918.

13. SPG E 1916 No.40.

14. Ibid.

15. A Survey of the SPG Field - India. p.16.

16. SPG D 1919 No.102

17. For Evans' work in drafting the new diocesan constitution see Chapter 8, section (c).

18. The fifty members were made up of five office bearers, fifteen clergy and thirty laymen. SPG D 1923 No.130

19. 18th July 1919. SPG D 1919 No.102.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. 31 October 1922. SPG D 1922.

24. SPG E 1921 No.46.

25. Letter of 31 October 1922 as above.

26. SPG D 1923 No.130.

27. Letter of 31 October 1922 as above.

28. The Rev. W. Penny was something of an historian, greatly interested in the Madras area, and he seems to have held somewhat obscure views on the rights of property. He wrote a 3 volume history of Madras.

29. SPG D 1930 No.121.

30. See below, chapter 8.

31. SPG D 1922. No.132.

32. It should, of course, be said that these factors ought not to have weighed with the society, although it was natural that they did. The SPG has consistently claimed to be servant to the whole of the Church of England, not just to a part of it, and to be loyal to the Bishop whatever his complexion of churchmanship might be. Indeed the motto adopted by Tinnevelly SPG congregations at the bicentenary of the society in 1901 was "On Church lines always, on party lines never." (See eg: H.P. Thompson: Into All Lands p.375). But history constantly throws up situations in which strict allegience to a principle seems in practice to be self-destructive.

33. SPG D 1923 No.130.

34. H.P. Thompson puts the matter like this: "From the young and ardent Churches of Asia comes the plea, "Will you not trust us to administer the money you give for our help? Must we still wait for your approval of our disposal of it?" It is a plea to which the SPG, by its traditions, will be most ready to listen with sympathy; yet against it must be weighed the Society's duty towards those who entrust their gifts to it.." Into All Lands p.719/20. The issue was destined to arise in an acute form for the SPG with the inauguration of the Church of South India in 1947.

35. 1st October 1923. SPG D 1923 No.99.

36. SPG D 1923 No.130.

37. Ibid.

38. Principally by the Rev. W.E. Penny in the memorandum referred to above.

39. 19th January 1923. SPG D 1923 No.130.

40. 31st October 1922. SPG D 1922.

PART 2

CHAPTER 8

DIOCESAN RE-ORGANISATION

Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 208 - 212)

(a) Introduction

Waller was not the first to contemplate drawing the two Missions together.[1] In 1900 there had been a united conference of the clergy and councils connected with the CMS and SPG, and on 28th January 1908 Bishop Williams had convened a joint meeting in Palamcottah.[2] As a result a committee of thirty members was set up under the chairmanship of the Bishop to examine the possibilities for closer co-operation and more effective mutual support. It was also decided to have a single prayer-book in all the churches belonging to the two Missions and to encourage inter-change of pulpits.[3] But when Waller took up office in 1915 nothing further had been done, and it is certain that nothing significant would have been achieved without his strong leadership and clear vision. The consultative committee was reformed in 1916, but it would not have made much progress without his personal leadership and initiative.

A small but important first step was the publication from 1916 of a diocesan magazine in Tamil. This was circulated with the Indian Missionary Society's Intelligencer and so achieved an immediate circulation of between three and four thousand as the IMS was widely and popularly supported.[4] It undoubtedly helped to spread a sense of belonging in the diocese at grass roots level. A further important step was the standardising of pay scales for clergy in the two societies, as it would have been very difficult to feel part of a diocesan team if there had been a serious discrepancy.[5]

The next and crucial step was to bring together the two parts of the diocese into one co-ordinated system. As Waller remarked: "The result of the system was a complete separation of the two parts of the diocese. CMS knew nothing of SPG and vice versa. The Bishop was the only diocesan thing and he ruled practically two sees."[6] To achieve this successfully required not only organisational skill but the greatest tact and diplomacy.

(b) The Formation of a Diocesan Council

The first major necessity was clearly the formation of a permanent council at which CMS and SPG clergy and laymen could meet, consult and begin to make common decisions. Such a council would also form the vital link in the diocesan structures. Waller had a very good reason for forming such a council without raising any missionary suspicions and he seized it with both hands.

At the Episcopal Synod held in Calcutta in 1915 it had been decided that, although there could not yet be a legally established Indian synodical system, a voluntary system should be adopted "without legal status and with the acceptance of its resolutions depending solely upon the goodwill of the members of the Church."[7] The next meeting of the Synod was due to take place under this scheme in 1918 and if Tinnevelly was to be represented it was necessary that delegates be sent from a Diocesan Synod. The setting up of diocesan synodical structures, with or without legal status, had been urged long before under Resolution 17 of the 1912 Episcopal Synod, and many other dioceses had had such bodies for some time.

Waller urged the matter in the CMS District Church Council on 11th July 1917. The printed minutes survive and the relevant section reads as follows:

> "The Bishop then referred to another development which circumstances had forced upon the diocese at this juncture, the organisation of a Diocesan Council. This was necessitated by the proposal to hold a Provincial Council in Calcutta early next year. The Provincial Council would be attended by delegates of all the Diocesan Councils in the Province. Only properly constituted Diocesan Councils could send delegates; bodies such as the CMS and SPG Councils in Tinnevelly could not do so. Accordingly, the organisation of a Diocesan Council for the Tinnevelly Church became an

> urgent matter. For this purpose he was summoning a Diocesan Conference in the month of October, which would be attended by the clergy and by representative laity throughout the diocese, and which would consider the constitution and powers of the proposed Diocesan Council, its relation to the existing CMS and SPG bodies, and the steps to be taken in order to form it." (8)

In fact the constitution was only in draft form and it is not at all clear that its provisions for elections were quite as fierce as Waller made out (assuming the minutes are accurate).[8a] He was certainly leaning exceedingly heavily on the principles of the constitution at this point, and it would appear that he had reason to think the proposal would be resisted in some CMS quarters if it were thought to be the thin end of a diocesan wedge. He therefore had the greatest interest in getting the proposal accepted ostensibly on other grounds than diocesan organisation.

Waller worked out a preliminary constitution, and members for the Diocesan Conference/Council were duly elected by the District Church Council for the CMS and the Central Church Council for the SPG. When the Conference was convened on 11th October 1917, it resolved itself forthwith into a Diocesan Council.

Quite apart from the elections to the Provincial Synod, this Council was long overdue. As Waller wrote: "It is a serious comment on the present system that CMS men did not know SPG men and vice versa till the Diocesan Council of 1917 introduced them to each other." 9 This first meeting was evidently a success, and afterwards Waller wrote: "Not the least impressive sight was the morning communion, probably the first in the history of the diocese when all the clergy (only about three absentees) and representatives of every parish and rural deanery united in this solemn service." [10]

On 23rd October 1917 he wrote to the SPG in London informing them of what had transpired, and in the course of his letter he described the constitution.

> " [Membership] comprised all the clergy of the diocese, one lay representative of each Pastorate, and one representative of each rural deanery (circle or district) and one-sixth of the total lay membership was nominated by the Bishop. The last provision is necessary to secure that the accident of residence does not exclude leading men, as would happen in large towns.
>
> The Diocesan Council has a membership of about two hundred and fifty and it is impossible for it to meet frequently or to transact detailed business ... We have therefore an Executive Committee with practically all the powers of the Council. This will meet once a year while the Diocesan Council will only meet once in three years. (11) The membership of the committee is 15 clergy (12 elected by the clergy and 3 nominated by the Bishop) and 30 laymen (25 elected by the laymen and 5 nominated by the Bishop). There is also a provision to secure proper representation of the two "archdeaconries" [ie. Missions] that not more than eight of the elected clergy or fifteen of the elected laymen shall be from one or other side of the diocese.
>
> The figures of the first election were interesting. The clergy elected seven SPG and five CMS. The laity elected fifteen CMS and ten SPG laymen. The Bishop is thus free to put in nominees for their personal fitness and not simply on account of the Society under which they live, in this first Council, which is of course the ideal.
>
> The work of the Council will at first be largely advisory (finance belongs to the "archdeaconries") ... [but] the Diocesan Council will form a meeting ground for discussion of questions between the two sections of the diocese, a thing of which the want has long been felt. Questions of ritual or doctrine are of course excluded - these can only come before Episcopal or Provincial Synods or Councils. Such questions cannot be raised." (12)

This body elected four clergymen and four laymen from its membership to sit on the Provincial Council. Indeed one of the Council's primary functions came to be that of electing members to various committees. Most of the detailed work, as Waller indicated, was done by the Executive Committee which came to be a very important body. It met for the first time at Nazareth on 7th April 1918 and thereafter began work on the

preparation of a new diocesan constitution. Waller described its powers in his SPG report for 1918.

> "1. It recommends the transfer of clergy. This was formerly done privately by correspondence between the Bishop and the superintending missionaries.
>
> 2. It decides who shall be presented to the Bishop for ordination and who shall be trained for ordination.
>
> 3. It advises on the allotment of the Mission budget." (13)

On this third matter Waller then went on to make an important observation: "The first budget meeting was a revelation to the Indians as to the way the money was distributed and the difficulties of making ends meet. Hitherto the money has seemed to drop from England rather promiscuously (like mercy) on the place which happened to be beneath and had a missionary on it who could "wangle" a good grant.[14] "Clearly the more the Indian Church could be drawn into the process of decision making the more responsible its attitude was likely to be and the better its relationships with the European missionaries.

Various other committees came into being under the auspices of the Diocesan Council and their full flowering was to come under the new constitution. Meanwhile the work done on a diocesan basis was gradually increased. Of these committees Waller wrote in 1921:

> "The committees are numerous, but they only meet as occasion demands. Some have done good work, others have not yet had the opportunity. The Diocesan Scholarship Committee distributes annually some £1,800 to help poor boys and girls with their education: the Women's Work Committee organizes Bible schools at different centres, in which SPG and CMS parishes gladly co-operate: the Education Committee prepared a syllabus of Bible lessons for all elementary schools: the Co-operative Societies' Committee was the means of starting some forty Co-operative Societies in its first year. The reaction of all this joint effort is seen in the mutual drawing together of SPG and CMS parishes ... Diocesan Union is now the conscious aim of all thinking men in the Diocese." (15)

(c) The Formulation of a Synodical Structure and Constitution

The stage was now set for the largest and most decisive phase in the diocesanisation plan - the uniting of the two missionary organisations into one synodical structure. The result of this would be not only the unifying of the diocese, but the curbing of the power of the Home Societies almost to nothing. Waller's basic method was simple; he had used the double structure as the most obvious justification for a single Diocesan Council which bridged the two Societies. He now used the Diocesan Council as the body which should determine the rest of the structure; and it seemed clearly to call for a single chain of command leading up to it. The Executive Committee of the Diocesan Council, in whose hands all the real power of the diocese was gradually being centred was set to work to produce the plan, and the master draftsman was the Rev. W.E. Evans, Secretary of the SPG.

As time went on it became apparent that an entirely new diocesan constitution would be needed, as the merging of the structures called for at least minor changes at every point. In the end the whole diocesan machinery was taken apart and re-assembled. Everything was adjusted from the franchise at the bottom to the membership of the Diocesan Council at the top, and in the course of the re-assembly the two missionary societies found that some basic safety clauses in the event of patent abuse were about all that was left to them.

The drafting naturally took time, but by the end of 1921 Waller was ready to test the reactions of the Societies in a preliminary way. In his report to the SPG at the end of the year he wrote:

> "There is a general desire on the part of the diocese to do away with government in two departments and to manage everying with diocesan committees representative of the whole diocese. The CMS clergy are particularly keen on this as they have been encouraged by the CMS delegation to believe that the goal both Societies have is the establishment of churches managing their own affairs, not of missions more or less subordinate to committees in London."

> We are now discussing plans. Our Diocesan Council and its committees established in 1917 provide all the machinery and with very slight re-adjustments a plan can be made. We have now reached the stage of definite proposals and it is probable that in 1922 a definite request will be made to the two Societies to let all the affairs of the Church be managed by one Diocesan Council with the requisite committees.
>
> There would be three or more 'archdeaconry' councils in place of the two Society Councils we now have and our thirty rural deaneries would remain as at present. While the scheme would realise the goal at which all Missions are aiming - the establishment of an autonomous Church, - it would have many advantages. It would revive and extend the enthusiasm of a Church which would feel really Indian. It would increase Diocesan efforts, of which we now have a good many. It would prevent a certain amount of overlapping, which is inevitable when there are two parallel organisations. It would diminish my own work, I think, as I should not have to attend a double set of Councils and Committees as well as Diocesan Councils and Committees we now have." (16)

The SPG response was non-commital until full details were available, but the seed was sown. So far as the CMS were concerned, Waller did not need to write about his plans because he was able to expound them fully to the CMS Delegation which went out to India at this time.

Following his talks with the members of the delegation, it is small wonder that Waller enjoyed displaying the CMS as an example for the SPG to emulate. "The Society" says the Report" must cease to be the controller and become the servant of the Church for Christ's sake ... Grave fears have been expressed, and we share these fears, lest, if the Society in any way continues its semi-independent life and does not throw its lot completely and without reserve into the Indian Church which is now being rapidly organised, it will fail to bring into the very heart and life of that Church an element absolutely vital for the fulness of its life and growth."[17] The Delegation also proposed the setting up of a Committee of Reference in India to advise the Society on plans for diocesanisation and this was to play its part in the negotiations, as will be seen. The chairman was Kanwar Maharaj Singh CIE, and the secretary was the Rev. Canon A.W. Davies.[18]

During the following year (1922) the proposed constitution was completed and it was published early in 1923.[19] Meanwhile the various Mission bodies in Tinnevelly agreed to their own dissolution in favour of the proposed diocesan bodies. The CMS Educational Committee which Waller had set up passed the necessary resolution "in favour of the new Diocesan Education Committee" on 29th July 1922.[20] On 3rd February 1923 the SPG Central Church Council approved the scheme, and "the handing over of the duties of the Tinnevelly Diocesan Committee as regards finance to the Diocesan Executive Committee ... and of the Standing Committee of the Central Church Council as regards location of clergy etc. to the proposed Diocesan Pastoral Work Committee."[21] The CMS District Church Council likewise approved the scheme, and this was endorsed by the Madras Corresponding Committee on 26th February 1923. The CMS Secretary, the Rev. R.W. Peachey wrote to London: "We have recommended that the Parent Committee allow the CMS DCC with its Executive Committee and the CMS Educational Committee and I suppose the CMS Missionary Conference to be dissolved in favour of the new constitution."[22] Indeed the Corresponding Committee commented in its recommendation :

> "The Madras C.C. ... consider that the Constitution proposed is a thoroughly sound one in which CMS interests are adequately safeguarded. They look upon it as a coping stone of CMS Church Building, the foundation of which was laid by Henry Venn. They strongly recommend it for immediate sanction and request the Parent Committee to allow the several CMS Councils and Committees to be dissolved in favour of the Diocesan organisation." (23)

Final authorisation lay with the Home Societies before the constitution could finally be introduced and this was the last hurdle to be overcome. Waller tried various means to speed this process through, but they were not entirely successful. In the first place he sought to prevent long and complicated revisions being proposed in London. He wrote to the SPG :

> "With the detailed rules the societies have little concern. Their part will be to examine the scheme from the general point of view that the committees and councils which have exercised control more or less on their behalf are now exchanged for not less trustworthy Diocesan bodies." (24)

Similarly to the CMS:

> "We do not send this constitution to be criticised in detail. It is a Diocesan Constitution and does not come within the scope of the CMS Committee for revision, but we send it with the earnest request that they will allow the Society's organisation to be dissolved (at their own request) in favour of this Diocesan body, and we believe that we have safeguarded the CMS work and teaching to the fullest extent." (25)

Secondly, he sought to hasten approval by his favourite method of setting a deadline; once more it was unsuccessful. His appointment to Madras was announced in the press in September 1922 and he moved at the end of the year, so his last negotiations were conducted from there. His successor was to be consecrated on 25 July 1923 and he pressed hard to be in a position to inaugurate the new constitution simultaneously. It would save expense and unnecessary travelling if the Diocesan Council could meet under the new constitution and set in hand fresh elections while the diocese was gathered in Palamcottah anyway for the consecration. He calculated that it would cost Rs1000 to reconvene the Council later in the year.

As he wrote to Wigram:

> "Tubbs is to be consecrated in Palamcottah on July 25 ... and our plan is to have the final meeting of our old Diocesan Council at that time, either before or after the consecration. Farewell meetings of the old Councils would also be held in that week and Tubbs would be able to start with the new regime right away. This is what the people of Tinnevelly desire. It saves money, it saves time, and gives peculiar significance to the handing over of the diocese." (26)

He therefore requested that sanction be given by 30th June 1923.[27] As the Home Societies only received the proposed constitution at the beginning of March, this was indeed short notice.

As already mentioned, the report of the Delegation, which was published in September 1922, had recommended the setting up of a Committee of Reference precisely for the purpose of guiding through negotiations of this kind, and the CMS naturally felt compelled to refer the constitution to this body. As soon as news of this reached Tinnevelly the CMS Secretary was persuaded to cable London: "If possible deal with Tinnevelly Diocesan Scheme direct. Delay very prejudicial." [28] But it was no use, and it was probably unreasonable.

On 12th June Wigram for the CMS consulted Bishop King, the Secretary of the SPG:

> "I suppose that you as well as ourselves have received the very urgent request of the Bishop of Madras that the Societies should, before the end of this month, give their approval to the draft Constitution of the Tinnevelly diocese and the handing over of Society administration to full diocesan control.
>
> May I enquire whether you hope to be able to send approval on behalf of the SPG within the very limited time mentioned. We feel that it is rushing the matter rather seriously at a time when we greatly wish to carry the real confidence of our constituency along with us. If I knew that you also were finding it impossible to put the thing through so quickly, it would certainly decide us also to take the thing less hurriedly. To us it appears to be a rather crucial case, since it may set the precedent to other dioceses in the Indian province which are likewise feeling their way to administrative independence." (29)

In reply Bishop King sent an extract from the SPG Standing Committee minutes, dated 3rd May, which gave general approval to the scheme, but definitely reserved judgment so far as property was concerned, and referred this matter to the Metropolitan for advice. [30]

Meanwhile the Committee of Reference made every possible effort to work within the timetable. As it was impossible to call a meeting of the committee before July or August, the members agreed to consult by circular and correspondence and to give a recommendation in time for the June meeting of the Parent Committee. When comments had been received, the Chairman and Secretary prepared a memorandum, dated 21st May 1923. [31]

They stated that had they been asked to advise at a much earlier stage, they would undoubtedly have pressed for change, especially in regard to three matters; (a) women were denied the right to be elected as representatives to pastorate committees; (b) there was too much centralised diocesan control over educational colleges; there should be boards with greater independence. (c) the control which the CMS was to retain over its own missionaries was over-rigid and unsatisfactory.

However, they continued "we cannot think it would be right for them [Parent Committee] to withhold their sanction at this late stage." First, the scheme had clearly been given much thought. It was a natural corollary to the handing over of property, and the Bishop, missionaries and clergy would have reasonable cause for resentment if the scheme was held up except for very pressing reasons. Second, the SPG, at least in their local representation, had approved. They were the minority group, and if they felt secure, the CMS should also. Third, their criticism of some parts should not obscure the fact that the scheme is satisfactory in broad terms and represented a big advance. Fourth, there were sure to be modifications in the future, and the CMS was bound to retain great influence when these came to be made, because of its large financial stake. "For these reasons we consider that the Parent Committee should not withhold its assent to the new constitution, but should agree to hand over its work on the conditions laid down."

However, they advised the Parent Committee to seek three specific assurances; (a) that a revision of the constitution be made not later than 1926 and should take special note of the criticisms raised. Women's opinion in the diocese should be sought and recorded in regard to their franchise; (b) in the meanwhile, fullest use should be made of the provisions which did allow women; [32] (c) that the Parent Committee should be given much more time to see and consider the proposals when the revision was made. Finally, in view of the special circumstances, the Parent Committee should state that they did not necessarily regard this scheme as setting a precedent.

Canon Davies, who wrote this careful judgment and who was Principal of St. John's College, Agra, was an old and close friend both of Waller and of his successor, Tubbs, and he clearly went to a great deal of trouble to avoid causing disappointment. A copy of the recommendations was sent to Tinnevelly and when Peachey had consulted Waller he immediately cabled on 5th June: "Tinnevelly accepts undertakings suggested in Davies' Memo." [33]

But the Parent Committee baulked when it felt it was under too much pressure, and sanction was refused at the June meeting. On 5th July Davies wrote to Wigram: "I have to admit that I am really relieved at your decision for I do think that the Tinnevelly constitution was hurried through in Tinnevelly somewhat unduly, and that our committee itself will be much better satisfied to be able to examine it in detail again and give a considered judgment. We meet in Lucknow on 27th [July]." [34]

The vexed question of women's franchise threw an interesting sidelight on Waller's character. It is quite evident that there were some who felt that women were being all but excluded from the new constitution because he did not approve of giving them the franchise. On 19th April Davies wrote to Wigram : "I think we may expect to find that Tubbs will be more liberal in this matter than Waller." [35] But when this criticism of the constitution reached Waller, he made a strong rebuttal. Enfranchisement of women would add about 40,000 voters to the list, who were not literate in English and many were not literate at all. In addition, it was laid down that every voter must pay Church dues. The proposed constitution, he argued, was an advance on current CMS practice, and the Diocesan Council had voted against general women's franchise. The CMS should "refrain from pressing what would amount to a revolution just at the time when we need all our concentration on the problems involved in the transition."

He concluded:

> "Perhaps I may be allowed to answer an impression I have been told on good authority exists. It is that I myself am opposed to women's franchise and therefore the Council rejects it. May I state once for all that I am not in principle opposed to female franchise in the Church but that I always refuse on social questions in India to impose any view or to use any influence I may have to force a decision in any matter in which I consider the people alone have the right to decide... [The Parent Committee] will do very little service to the cause of self-government and to the cause of female franchise if the Tinnevelly Church gets the idea that they are put in the position of being forced to rescind their resolution not to give the franchise to women at present, or lose the help of CMS. There will be a great storm of indignation and women's franchise will always be associated with a piece of compulsion; and what I believe would be a quite natural development, say, in ten years will be forced now only at the price of the self-respect of the Indian Church." (36)

In this same letter, written on 9th July to Wigram when he heard that sanction had not been given, he asked for a new deadline of 1st October to be observed. First, "to elect fresh members to hold office for one or two months in 1924 will be extremely unsettling for the Church". The elections which fell due in 1922 had been postponed for twelve months so that they could be held under the new constitution. Second, "the financial year ends with December 31st and the change to the diocesan budget must take place with the beginning of a new year". Third, "the whole diocese is in a high state of expectancy at the prospect of being allowed to organise itself as the first complete diocese. The SPG have already given their consent to the merging of their councils in the diocesan council scheme. If the CMS unduly delay their consent a considerable amount of irritation and disappointment will inevitably be aroused".[37] Later a decision was made to postpone the elections again until the scheme was finally introduced.

Eventually news of the CMS sanction came through at the end of September. But the Committee of Reference had made a number of

further criticisms and called for amendments to detail at various points. Representatives of the CMS and the SPG met, and suggestions for amendment and negotiations went on almost up to the last moment. Indeed it is not clear that the SPG ever did give a final and clear-cut sanction. They sent a delegation to India during the winter and spring of 1923/4 and it had been suggested that this body might sort out final details, but by the time they reached Tinnevelly the scheme was virtually inaugurated. They paid high tribute to "the statesmanship of ... the Bishop of Madras who formulated the scheme" in their printed Report, but by this time the deed was done.[38]

(d) Inauguration and Schism

Tubbs was consecrated on 25th July 1923 as Waller's successor and it was he who took the scheme through its final stages.

Waller and Tubbs were lifelong friends. Although there was an eight year difference in age, Tubbs had found himself following a very similar trail - Highgate School, Cambridge and the North West Provinces with the CMS. In fact they were together in Allahabad between 1905 and 1908, when Tubbs went to be Principal of St. John's School, Agra. In 1918 he became Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. He married the same year, and when his first son was born in 1919 Waller became godfather.

There were many Tamil students at Bishop's College, and Waller not infrequently went up to lecture there. He greatly admired the way Tubbs ran the college, and when Bishop Whitehead retired and he was appointed to Madras in the autumn of 1922 it seemed to him that Tubbs was just the man to carry through the diocesanisation plans.

However, if the Indian Church was really to feel that they were being given self-government, and if the synodical system was to mean anything, it was necessary that the views of the diocese should be sought regarding the new appointment. Accordingly Waller asked the Executive Committee of the Diocesan Council to submit three names to the Metropolitan in order of preference.

He was not disappointed and Tubbs was, by almost unanimous consent, the first choice. Waller wrote to the SPG: "He is the man I most wanted for I feel he has all the qualifications needed and I know he will carry on on the present lines. It was this certainty that caused the overwhelming majority he obtained." [39]

It seems surprising at first sight that Waller did not jump at the opportunity to add a final and logical flourish to his diocesanisation programme by arranging for the appointment of an Indian. There can be no doubt that he considered the idea and rejected it, and that Tubbs' appointment was directly due to his initiative. Indeed on 24th October 1922 he wrote to the SPG asking for confirmation that its grant towards the Bishop's stipend would be continued, as this certainty would make it "easier to approach people, and save time. The most likely people will not be able to accept on the income from the endowment alone."[40]

It is certain that there was at least one Indian among the names considered by the Diocesan Executive Committee, and equally certain that both the committee and Waller preferred Tubbs. When the Metropolitan wrote to Tubbs on 30th November 1923, offering the post, he added: "We are all most anxious that the number of Indian Bishops should be increased, and we have carefully considered the possibility of appointing an Indian in this case, but no one has been found who would be welcomed by the Church, and none of those suggested received the support of the Standing [ie. Executive] Committee".[41] The Metropolitan was not, of course, bound by the choice of the Committee, as he made clear, and it is certain therefore that no suitable Indian candidate known either to him or to Waller was available.[42]

It seems probable that a Bishop (either Indian or European) was not chosen from the diocese itself principally for the reason Waller himself states: "[The] people are not keen on a local man at the moment because they want the amalgamation of the diocese to have a neutral Bishop."[43] But alongside this was clearly the strong desire on Waller's part to have a man whom he trusted to finish the work he had taken so far. Tubbs himself had good reason for not wanting the post, but he felt that the unmistakable call of the diocese showed him God's will in the matter. As Waller wrote: "He would hardly have come for me, for he is one of my oldest

friends, school and India". [44]

The consecration took place in Holy Trinity Church, Palamcottah. It was the first time such an event had taken place in the diocese itself and was the occasion of great rejoicing. The Bishop of Dornakal preached the sermon in Tamil to a tightly packed congregation and the mood of anticipation of the finalising of the scheme was in the air.

But almost immediately latent dissent began to come to the surface. Objections to the constitution began to descend upon the Bishop's office, almost entirely from CMS areas. Tubbs was terrified that he might be thought responsible if seven years' work came to nothing, and urgent letters passed between Tinnevelly and Madras as the date of the decisive vote by the full Diocesan Council grew near. Notice was given of blocking motions; of amendments so radical that Tubbs thought they negatived the whole scheme. [45] Waller wrote to reassure him : "Whatever rows there are were implicit before." [46] This was undoubtedly true. It was not a new opposition which was making its voice heard, but a point of view which had been there all along. Now some opponents of the scheme whose voices had gone largely unheard saw the chance to shake a new man before he could become sure of his position. These attempts proved unsuccessful with the exception of one which proved both serious and lasting in its effects.

Koilpatti was a town in the north of the diocese whose congregation had long been nurtured by the CMS. But as the cotton industry expanded the population was swelled by workers from other areas, among whom were a significant number of Christians from SPG mission areas. These Christians quickly discovered that they were not at home in a CMS church and, after some argument, proposed to build their own. Permission for this was refused and the congregations were, in effect, told to sort out their own differences and learn to live together as Christian brothers. To their credit they did hold friendly and productive discussions and

in due course they were ready with proposals. Among these was a recommendation that a cross should be placed in a recess behind the altar in the existing church. This was agreed by the CMS congregation and the matter came before Tubbs for ratification almost immediately after his consecration.

So far as Tubbs was concerned it sounded a most reasonable proposal and, as both parties had agreed, he was ready to consent. In Bishop's College he had been quite used to Christians of differing traditions reaching amicable agreement in this way for the sake of the community.

He was too new to the strong undercurrents of this particular diocesan situation to smell danger. He accordingly sought the advice of the senior clergy and lay-people who should have been able to give him wise counsel. It is apparent, however, that some were less than honest; there were those who perceived that the Bishop was inclined to agree and, accustomed to the role of 'yes-men', encouraged him; there were possibly also those of even more dubious motive who wished to swell opposition to the diocesanisation scheme. But whatever the motives, Tubbs was advised to agree to the erection of the cross, and in due course it was installed.

In Koilpatti itself all was well, but when news reached the strong CMS Circle of Alvaneri, some fifty miles away, the storm broke. Specific assurances had been given to CMS congregations that diocesanisation would involve no change in their rites and ceremonies. This assurance had apparently been broken and it appeared to some that the worst fears about diocesan integration were being fulfilled. This was but the prelude to the foisting of ritualistic practices on all CMS churches. Once the new diocesan constitution was approved and the power of the CMS Home Society nullified, the way would be open for the Bishop to assume autocratic power and impose the SPG tradition of teaching and ceremonial on the whole diocese.

Such alarmism was, of course, quite unreasonable. Quite apart from other considerations, the Bishop himself had been a CMS missionary and the CMS in the diocese were in a majority of two to one. But unreasonable though these fears were, they were real enough. They sprang from the style of much CMS teaching, particularly in the late nineteenth century. This involved a double assumption; first, that the CMS preached the only pure version of the gospel, and second, that converted Christians would immediately slip into false beliefs and practices unless they were strictly protected. The outlook and fear of the missionaries quickly communicated itself to the converts, and churches grew and flourished which maintained a sturdy independence of the diocese and a deep suspicion of the ways of the SPG and the motives which might lie behind schemes for integrating the work of the diocese. [47]

By the end of 1923 excitement in the Alvaneri Circle was intense. Allegedly at the instigation of the Circle Chairman, the Rev. Arul Manickam, four men were paid to collect signatures over a wide area. According to a report submitted to the Bishop,

> "When they were questioned as to who sent them, they said that Mr. Arul Manickam sent them for preventing the work of the Bishop, Mr. Moore [the CMS chairman of the DCC], many BAs and BDs, some learned fools, several clergymen and vakils who are upset in their brain and say that the Bible is not true and is not written by the Holy Ghost and want to errect crosses and images in churches. They quoted for instance Koilpatti church." (48)

Amongst other things the report alleges that on 2nd February 1924 : "Alvaneri pastorate committee was held at Alvaneri and [The Chairman] asked one of the members to write a petition against the Diocesan Scheme, compelled all the members to sign it and it was sent to the DCC with the recommendation of the Circle Committee."

It was exceedingly unfortunate that Carr chose this moment to make his final intervention from England.[49] It would seem that he wrote to the dissidents advising them to remain Anglican, but stoutly to resist all attempts to impose SPG ways upon them. It also seems certain that he advised them, should they fail to receive full support through CMS channels, to attach themselves to the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society which had been formed in the autumn of 1922, following disagreement within the CMS General Committee on Biblical inspiration and veracity.

The result was that they formed what they called the 'Tinnevelly Bible Christian Association', with a Marriage Registrar named John Samuel as Secretary, and drew up a form of application to the BCMS to which they collected signatures and it was submitted through Carr. This application expounds in richly expressive Indian style the alleged enormities of the CMS in Tinnevelly and of the missionaries who have almost all "become higher critics and proclaim that some portions of the Bible are not inspired by the Spirit of God, and that the Bible also contains pious frauds dexterously passed as the word of God by unknown authors and that a decline in spiritual life and purity of doctrine has resulted in our church in consequence." It then proceeds to the point at real issue :

> "[The CMS] have cunningly proposed radical alterations in the constitution of the local CMS Committees with the connivance of a few of their personal friends in the District Church Council but without consulting the general public of the CMS and SPG congregations. Their sole aim is to unite the CMS and SPG together and to give unlimited powers to the Bishop and all our material interests have been compromised for bringing about these ends. We resent the new constitution and do not at all approve of it and wish to have no connection with it.
>
> They have totally abandoned the work of preaching the gospel and have failed to watch whether the Church committed to their charge is growing in prayerfulness, Scripture reading and meditation; but they have plunged into the worldly affairs and follow the ways of the world.

> In these circumstances we are very anxious to sever our connection with the CMS and to join you.
>
> We therefore earnestly request you to be kind enough to admit us in the BCMS and thus help us to walk in the original faith, love, patience, forbearance and good conduct in which our early Missionaries led us." (50)

It is not clear exactly what happened to this application. It may be that it did not attract sufficient signatures and was not submitted; it may be that Carr refused in the end to be party to it. If it was submitted, the BCMS certainly refused to have anything to do with it, and was very careful during these early years to avoid any possible charge of "poaching" from the CMS in the field. What is, however, certain is that the idea of "severing connection" with the CMS and with the diocese was now firmly in the minds of the dissidents should events go against them. They were preparing for a schism. John Samuel issued a clear warning to the Bishop in a letter dated 1st March 1924 from the 'Tinnevelly Bible Christian Association' : "The introduction of the proposed scheme of the constitution of the Diocesan Council which is likely to be passed on 11th March, with the help of the SPG members ... will not be binding on the CMS Christians until the common consent of all the CMS congregations is obtained in full." [51]

The crucial meeting of the Diocesan Council was set for 11th March 1924. According to the report, referred to above, a demonstration was called in Palamcottah for the previous evening. "Come to Palamcottah all of you on the evening of 10th March. When they see a crowd they will be afraid. The Bishop seems to think that we are crows and will fly when a stone is thrown. If asked individually never answer, but shout out continually that you do not want the Diocesan scheme. If he does not care, we can be an independent Circle. We do not want a Bishop or a Council. We can baptize and have the Holy Communion. Let us see who will come to our Church." [52]

The Council met on the morning of 11th March in the Centenary Hall, Palamcottah. There were one hundred clergy and one

hundred and forty-seven laymen present. Tubbs gave his account of the crucial debate in a diocesan letter, dated 14th March :

> "The speeches were of a very marked ability, but were never marred by any bitterness or unfairness. The opponents of Diocesanisation made full use of their opportunity and presented their objections to the Council. They were given a most fair and courteous hearing. The debate lasted over two and a half hours and when the final vote was taken there was not the least doubt what the Council desired. The Diocesanisation scheme was accepted by an overwhelming majority, only five actually voting against it."

He was also able to report that although "there had been letters in the newspapers suggesting riot and disorder, ... these gloomy prophecies were not fulfilled." He then proceeds in his letter, which was translated into Tamil and widely circulated, to try to rally the dissidents :

> "May I say a word to the opponents of Diocesanisation. It is a recognised principle of democracy that once the will of the people has revealed itself in the popularly elected assembly, all opposition ceases. Men have every right to oppose a scheme if they have conscientious objections to it. They may fight against it up to the bitter end, but once the scheme has been adopted by the will of the people, the opponents drop all obstruction and loyally co-operate to make the new scheme a success. I ask then that all those who have opposed the new Constitution will recognise this fact. Let us forget past differences and controversies and now work together enthusiastically to maintain the unity of the Church and to go forward shoulder to shoulder in the work of the Lord".

Had Tubbs been able to do some personal and intensive 'public relations' in the following months it is not impossible that some kind of settlement might have been reached, but it so happened that a furlough of six months had been arranged, beginning in early April. [53] By the time he returned some seven thousand Christians from Alvaneri and Seval Circles

were in schism, having formed themselves into a "Suttanga Sabai" or Pure Church. Those who remained loyal in these two circles formed a separate Circle under the constitution on the condition that they could have a European missionary as chairman. They did not consent to have an Indian clergyman as chairman until 1954. The separatists were dominated until his death by one Solomon Pakianathan. He was a relative of Bishop Azariah and a probable motive seems to have been jealousy of his cousin's fame and authority. He may even have hoped that someone would consent to consecrate him a Bishop. Many attempts at reconciliation were made but with little success and the breach is not yet entirely healed.

As soon as news of the successful outcome of the Council debate reached London, the CMS General Committee cabled: "Joyfully transferring control to Diocesan Council" [54] and a minute was passed recognizing that "the time has arrived for the complete transfer of the control of their work in Tinnevelly - with the exception of certain educational institutions - to the Control of the Diocesan Council." [55] The CMS Annual Report for 1924 stated :

> "Thus the way has been opened for the approximately 80,000 Christians who are the fruit of the CMS work in Tinnevelly and the 40,000 Christians connected with the SPG Missions, to come under the one Diocesan Council - a most representative body, containing all the clergy of the diocese and a number of elected laymen. The Tinnevelly Church, by its splendid record of missionary activity in and beyond the diocese, by its proved power of administration and initiative, and by its liberality, has given abundant proof of its fitness for independence and we look forward with glad confidence to its further development and service." (56)

(e) Notes on the new Constitution

Under the provisions of the new constitution the Pastorate and Circle (or SPG District) groupings remained almost entirely the same, and with similar representation and powers. But the CMS District Church Council and the SPG Central Church Council were dissolved in favour of three new councils, which Waller often informally termed "archdeaconry" councils in his correspondence. But although this may have been useful in describing their place in the synodical structure for the benefit of English readers, it did not accurately describe their function, as there were no archdeacons and the work they were required to do was almost entirely of a spiritual and regulative nature, necessitating only one meeting a year. [57]

Waller wrote of these Church Councils : "They are homogenous, being roughly North - black cotton soil; Mid - The Tambarapanni river valley; and South - red soil. These three represent a different kind of population engaged in different industries and have in each case special problems .... their work will be mostly stimulating and co-ordinating spiritual efforts and generally advising on the finances of their Circles." [58] The North Tinnevelly Council was composed of six SPG, four CMS and one other district, Madura, which was subject to special regulations. Mid Tinnevelly Council was composed of six CMS and four SPG districts, and South Tinnevelly of four CMS and six SPG districts. [59]

Above these Church Councils was the Diocesan Council, which was a large body which only met once in two years. Indeed, as Waller wrote, "its chief functions will be in electing various sub-committees." [60] The chief of these, the

Diocesan Executive Committee, was the most powerful body in the diocese. It assumed all the powers of the Diocesan Council and effectively 'ran' the diocese between the bi-annual meetings. Grants from the CMS and the SPG were channelled through this committee and, apart from specified missionaries' salaries, particular request was made that these should not be closely earmarked so that the diocese could have the maximum flexibility in the use of the money. The proportion of CMS to SPG members of this committee was to be artificially maintained for four years, after which events would be allowed to take their course. But the CMS and the SPG were required to nominate one member each who would have special responsibility for watching over the Societies' interests. This representative had the power to veto any decision pending appeal to the Home Society and he was also required to ensure that Society missionaries were not unfairly treated or wrongly dismissed.

This Executive Committee had its own Finance Sub-Committee, which was the next most powerful body, and was concerned with the detailed budget arrangements and grant allocations. The Diocesan Council also had eight sub-committees : Education, Pastoral Work, Evangelisation, Diocesan Scholarships, Women's Work, Evangelisation, ~~Diocesan Scholarships~~, Christian literature, Co-operative ventures, and Medical work. As the Rev. R.W. Peachey, the CMS Secretary, wrote in a rather unhappy confidential memorandum to the Home Society : "The government of the new Diocesan Council is a government by committees." [61]

It must indeed be said that his concentration of responsibility into high-powered committees, on all of which the Bishop had a place, suited Waller's style of government ideally. When he was appointed to Tinnevelly he had hardly a place in the system at all. Had he remained, he would have fulfilled every ambition in this direction. Unfortunately Madras did not at all lend itself to re-organisation of this sort and he had to be content with very much less.

But should the constitution need defending in this respect, it must of course be said that every committee had its share of democratically elected members and that the Indian voice in the government of the diocese was greatly increased. It must also be said that it is apparently impossible to run a Church without a reasonable number of powerful committees and the attendant bureaucracy, as the present system of synodical government in the Church of England demonstrates. Indeed the highest praise of this constitution, or perhaps the worst criticism, depending on one's point of view, is precisely that it is so remarkably similar in its general structure to the system for which the Church of England has had to wait another forty five years.

(f) Diocesan Theological Training Seminary at Nazareth

One further step in diocesanisation for which Waller was responsible in Tinnevelly remains to be recorded : the centralisation of theological training for Indian clergy at Nazareth.

As the name suggests, Nazareth was not an original Indian village. It was a Christian settlement formed early in the last century for those converts who were driven out of their own communities, and it became an SPG centre of the greatest importance in Tinnevelly. By the end of the century, H.P. Thompson tells us : "Nazareth spread its influence over some ninety villages, served by a staff of Indian clergy and catechist teachers. There it stood at the centre, with its great Church of St. John the Evangelist filled twice daily with worshippers; with St. Luke's Hospital, busy amid a crowd of out-patients, as well as full wards; with its Primary, Middle and High Schools for boys and girls, its Arts Industrial School, and its Orphanages; the mainspring of the district, a wholly Christian village, and largely self-supporting." [62] The theological seminary was opened there in 1911 by the Rev. C.G. Stapley, and the first ordination class was started there in June 1918. [63]

For its part, the CMS opened a divinity school for training clergy and catechists on the outskirts of Tinnevelly Town in June 1916, with the Rev. G.T. Selwyn as Principal and the Rev. M.V. John as tutor. [64]

When Stapley completed the training of his first group of ordination candidates in June 1921 he went on furlough, and Waller succeeded in persuading Selwyn to bring his men from Tinnevelly to Nazareth and take over the seminary as at least a temporary measure, running a joint school. [65]

One imagines that the combination of the two schools must have posed some delicate problems over worship and teaching, and the atmosphere of a theological seminary can be highly charged; but evidently Selwyn and Stapley (who returned to take charge once more in June 1922) [66] were capable of making the venture a success because by the following year Waller was applying to the SPG for a grant to assist in paying for extra buildings on the assumption that the arrangement was as good as permanent:

> "The houses were absolutely necessary to enable us to make the school diocesan instead of purely SPG and we put them up .... It was greatly to the advantage of the school to have a larger number of students as well as a great convenience to the diocese. We confidently expect the arrangement to be permanent under the new diocesan scheme and you can easily see what a strength it will be to have our students all trained together. It widens their outlook and it promotes that personal friendship on which successful work so largely depends ... It is a real piece of Church building in the widest sense and the SPG will I am sure, be glad to have a share in something which has far wider possibilities of developing the Church than ever helping with a particular school or church can possibly have". (67)

The seminary did indeed remain a united one when the diocesan constitution came into being, and staff from both the CMS and the SPG co-operated in the teaching. In the first instance the enterprise must have been fraught with danger, and great credit is clearly due both to Waller for his timing and initiative and to Selwyn and Stapley for their wise leadership. Separate theological schools would have been bound to perpetuate the traditional barriers and rivalries and would have been a serious weakness in the united diocese.

It was, however, inevitable that fears of doctrinal 'deviation' would arise, and in answer to expressions of doubt from the CMS side Waller wrote a long memorandum on theological education in the autumn of 1923 :

"(a) Modernism is as old as Origen. India cannot escape from controversy on the subject. But the background to the present modernist controversy in England is absolutely un-Indian. The general tendency in India is to accept the Bible exactly as Moslems accept the Quran and Hindus the Vedas. They will have to fight their own battles both as regards the Bible in the Church and as regards the sacred books of those religions.

"(b) There will be in Asia a repetition of the Arian controversy but the present Western controversy will leave India cold. Therefore Western forms of this controversy should not dominate all our thinking. To the Indian it is supremely superficial.

"(c) 'High' or 'Low' Church have hardly any meaning to the Indian mind. Some prefer ritual, some simplicity; but the controversy will have nothing to do with the Western national feeling against the domination of a 'Roman' priest ....

"The Indian Church in many ways reproduces the conditions of the Early Church. It is face to face with an ancient philosphy (Hinduism), with an incipient gnosticism (Theosophy), with ecletic systems of religion (like Marcion), with a stern monotheistic Islam (like Judaism). It already contains its Montanists, its Justins and Clements (Rome) and the various other elements of a primitive church ... It has been given the teaching of about thirty different denominations of Christianity ...

"What India will do (and is doing) is to challenge doctrines already laid down as orthodox and to rethink problems which we regard as settled. The presence of numerous competing denominations makes Indians sit loose to formulas of faith and methods of worship. Formal restrictions in organisation are still less understood. There is a strong undercurrent of nationalism which makes men critical of western organisations and western doctrines. On the other hand there is intense conservatism of things done, if only for two generations, and there is the eastern impatience of organisation and dogma ...

"The schools we need are not the pale imitations of English schools we have had, but catechetical schools like that of Alexandria and teachers like Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Above all, we do not need men who simply teach the views of an English school, whether medieval or broad or protestant, but men who have a real grasp of essential truth and a personal experience of Christ which they can pass on to others." (68)

Waller also had clear ideas about the sort of course he believed was required at the Nazareth school. Drawing on his experience at Allahabad, he was highly critical of the continued use of the Universities' Preliminary Examination:

"The men come to us with no knowledge of Latin, Greek or Hebrew. It takes three years of incessant work to get ready for the exam - sheer cramming which does not leave time for the development of the pastoral and spiritual side. And even so the amount they acquire is too little to be useful ...

"Subjects that we need eg. acquaintance with religions (Hinduism, Muhammedanism, Animism, Transmigration, Karma etc.) are absolutely ignored. I require my ordination candidates to pass a simple exam in Hinduism. I have to take the exam myself. My chaplains always fight shy of it, and the results are distinctly poor. 'Principles of Worship' is a subject that is required in a new Church; but we are confined to the (useless) details of the Prayer Book and so on.

"As men have to preach in Tamil or whatever vernacular they use, it is very advisable that they should have lectures in the vernacular. You will at once realise the confusion which will ensue eg. if men have to translate all their theological terms into the vernacular for themselves." (69)

The implementation of a theological training scheme more suited to the needs of ordinands for the Indian Church cannot be further pursued here because it was on this note that Waller left the diocese for Madras. But the divinity school was to acquire some exceedingly well qualified staff, among whom were two of its future Bishops, Arthur Michael Hollis and Stephen Neill, who moved the school and settled it on a thirty acre campus at Tirumaraiyur.

(g) Conclusion

In 1922 Waller wrote a leading article for the CM Review, published in September of that year and entitled "The Diocesanisation of the Work of the Church Missionary Society". In it he seeks to demonstrate that the policy of diocesanisation is a true expression of the vision of Henry Venn, and he answers some objections. It is appropriate to allow him to sum up this central section on his diocesanisation policy in his own words.

First, he contends that "diocesanisation" and "self-support, self-government and self-extension" mean the same in principle and ought to mean the same in practice. It is not simply a matter of devolution of power and responsibility along the CMS chain of command; this would produce an independent Mission but not an independent Church. It was the clash between these two aims which caused such difficulty in the special circumstances of Uganda:

> "When the late Bishop Tucker insisted that all the clergy and teachers of the Uganda Mission should be under the diocese and supported by diocesan funds and not by the CMS he was simply carrying out [Henry Venn's]... principle. The fact that the only Mission of our Church in Uganda was the CMS hid the real meaning from the eyes of supporters."

Because the Society hesitates on the brink of full diocesanisation, the result is a system of dual control which prevents the full outworking of Henry Venn's principles. Hence the Corresponding Committee is "a nominated committee ....largely in the hands of its secretary who becomes a benevolent autocrat; and though it often administers a large part of the affairs of a diocese, even to the extent of reviewing the proceedings of church councils, its authority is founded not on the local Church but on the missionary society in London." Similarly Missionary Conferences hold "considerable executive power" and though "they may and often do admit Indian clergy and laymen ... the whole idea at the root

of their constitution is that they meet as a foreign missionary body and local congregations have no real representation on them."

Why should the Society hesitate at this unsatisfactory halfway house of dual control? Waller lists and counters five closely inter-related reasons:

"(i) There is no guarantee that the evangelical principles of the Society will be safeguarded." Such principles he insists "must be reckoned as singularly weak and probably untrue if they wilt and die the moment financial guarantees of their continuance are withdrawn or at all weakened ... What has the Society been doing for the last hundred years and more in India, but laying a strong foundation which cannot be torn up in a day?"

"(ii) There is no security that missionaries and money sent out for definite evangelical teaching will not be diverted into other channels." The remedy for this lies in sensible arrangements coupled with proper trust. "The Society will give its money, earmarked if it likes for [particular] ... work, and it cannot be diverted without consent to any other purpose. This is a question of common honesty." Devolution of power need not preclude reasonable precautions of this kind.

"(iii) Too much will depend upon the individual views of the Bishop." This is a constitutional matter which can be satisfactorily settled in a well designed synodical scheme. The Bishop will naturally have views and he will also have influence "but my experience has not been that he has the disposal of diocesan funds or the power of ordering changes in worship or organisation without consultation and the consent of his diocese."

(iv) The Society has no right to divest itself of a sacred trust. But what kind of trust is it with which the Society is commissioned – is it to found and govern a sect? Indeed not; the commission according to St. Paul is to found Churches and then commit them to the Holy Spirit under the guidance of elders.

(v) This kind of more impersonal work does not interest subscribers. This can indeed be a genuine difficulty which demands, not delay, but an imaginative link between the missionaries on the field and the subscribers so that a genuine relationship is built up and the personal touch encouraged.

The relationship between the subscribers at home and the overseas Church poses a further delicate question. An apparently inextricable element in the past was "the underlying idea that those who pay call the tune – a doctrine which is now officially disowned but has been most pernicious in its ... influence."

> "In many subtle forms the doctrine that money gives control has been the bane of missionary work – dare I add, of many home activities also. I know all the arguments about money being a sacred trust, about the fundamental message of CMS, about the necessity of guiding converts in the initial stages of their Christian life. There is much truth in many of them and yet after twenty five years experience of mission in India I am sure that ends have too often been sought in a wrong way with disastrous results, and that our belief in the guidance of the Holy Spirit has been terribly weakened by human props and safeguards."

The time has come when the Indian Church is determined to be free. "The whole system of doctrine, worship and organisation is foreign. The lines have been fixed and departure from them is hardly possible. It is not that the Indian necessarily wishes to change either doctrine or worship, but he naturally feels that in such personal matters he should be allowed to think for himself."

The financial basis of this control is "the most galling limitation of all."

> "It may be argued that this is base ingratitude: but no one can be expected to be thankful for even the most splendid gift, if it is coupled with mental slavery. It is not so that God gives ...
>
> ... Supposing the mission-controlled committees gave way to diocesan committees, they would really be representative of the Church: the Indians would really have a voice in the things that concern them so vitally. Let the transfer be a real transfer of authority and not a camouflaged society control, and they would feel that they had at least an opportunity of developing on Indian lines. They do not want to turn out the foreign missionary. Nothing is further from their thoughts, but they want to feel assured that the system implies that the Missionary shall serve the Church, and not rule it according to his own foreign ideas ...
>
> ... In every diocese the adjustment will different, and in some cases not easy, but it can be made. Indeed it must be made if the work of a century is not seriously to be marred. It is the leading of the Holy Spirit challenging us by facts which cannot be denied ... "

It was against the background of these convictions that Waller's reorganisation of Tinnevelly diocese was carried out. Looking back some years later in 1929 he was well pleased with the achievement. "Tinnevelly," he wrote "is remarkable as being the diocese which has made the greatest advance in self government and self support. The organisation is completely diocesan; there are no mission committees; all is in the hands of the diocese. The missionary societies contribute some workers (mostly educational) and support some institutions; but the bulk of the money which carries on the work is contributed by the parishes, and the amount raised is remarkable, considering the circumstances of the people." [70]



Not to scale

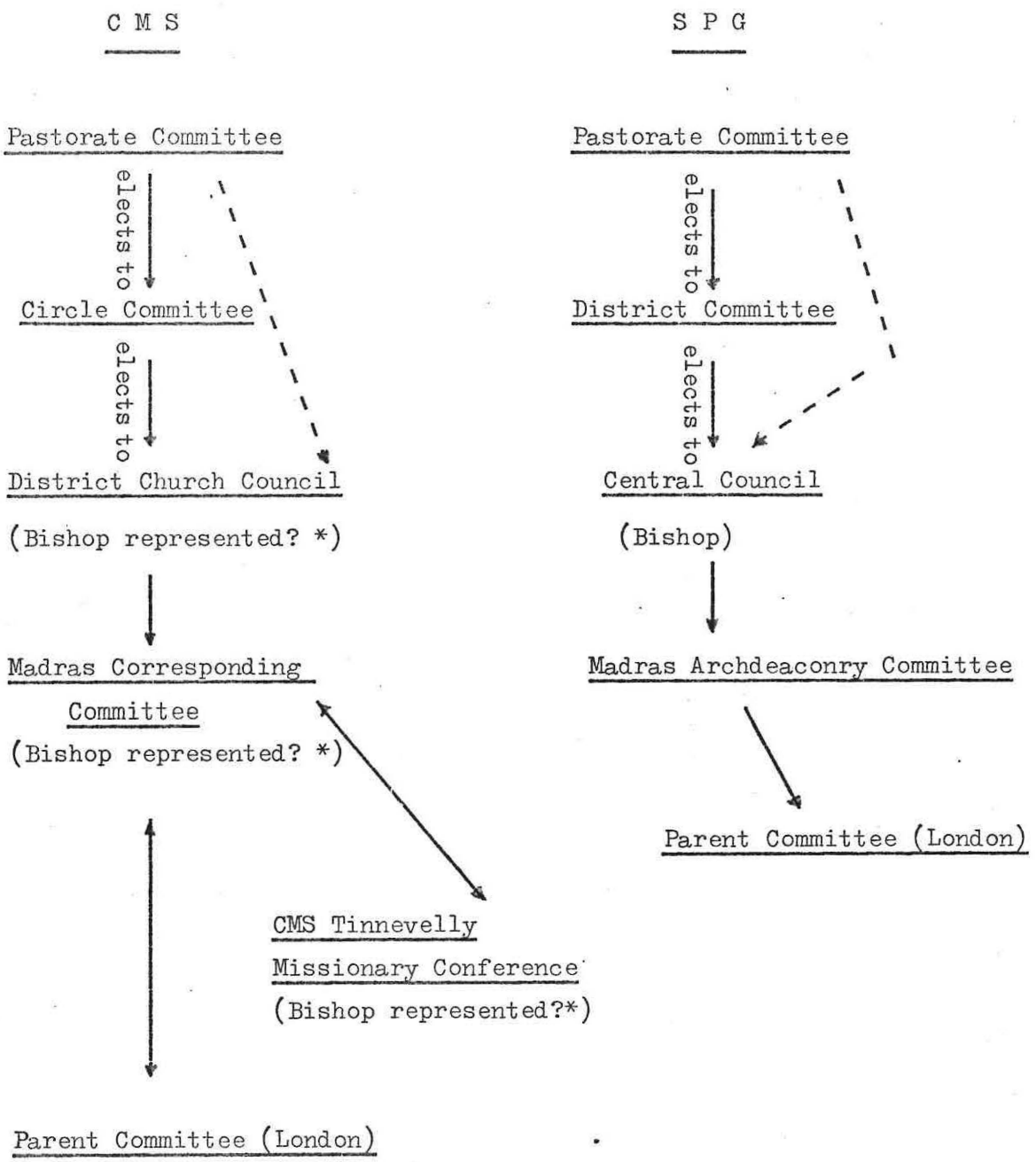
Old SPG Districts marked in red

Old CMS Circles marked in blue

This sketch map shows the 30 Circles provided for in the new diocesan constitution of 1924. Also shown are Madura, (a single Pastorate with its own constitution) and Tinnevelly, (part of Palamcottah Circle).

Spelling as in the constitution.

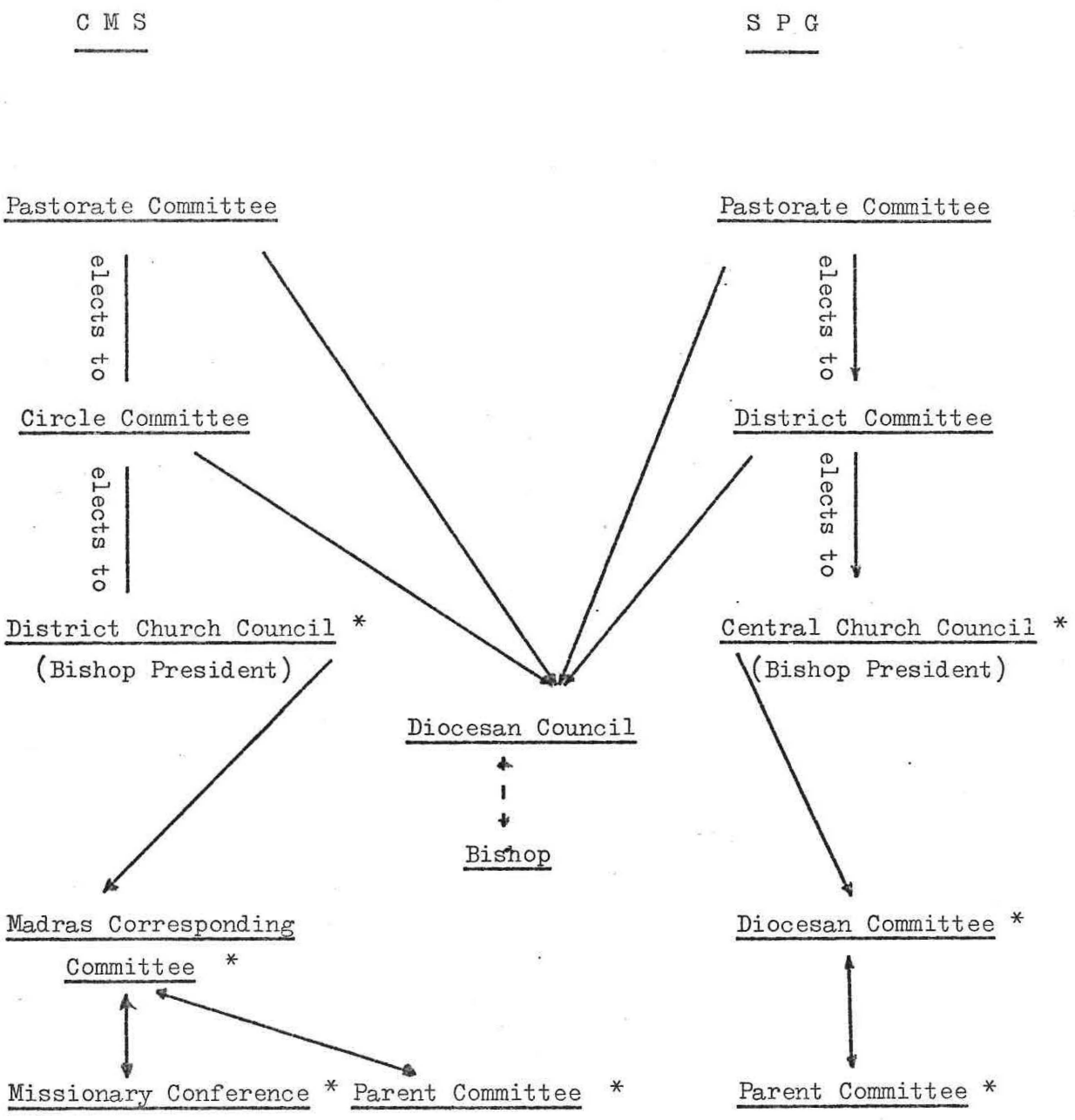
The Tinnevelly Diocesan Organisation as Waller found it in 1915



* The Bishop was not a member until Waller came.

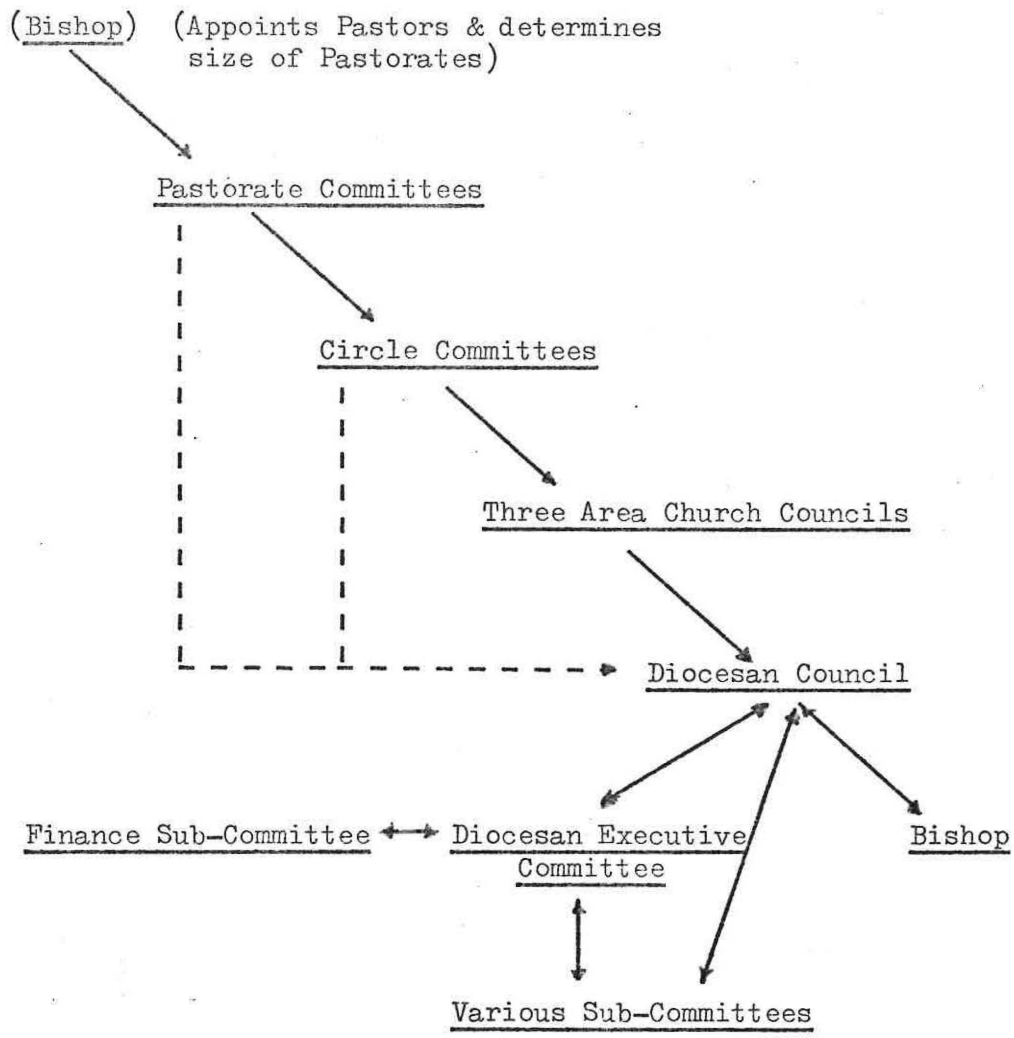
The two organisations are quite separate, and each leads directly out of the diocese and thence to London. Until Waller came, the Bishop was not represented on the CMS side at any point. On the SPG side, the Bishop was President of the Central Council, but the real power lay at District and Madras Archdeaconry levels.

The Intermediate Structure (1917)



The two sides of the diocese are at least now meeting each other, and the Church is beginning to look towards the centre. The Councils and Committees marked * are beginning to be pushed to one side.

The New Diocesan Constitution (1924)



The CMS District Church Council (and the Missionary Conference), and the SPG Central Church Council have been dissolved in favour of three Church Councils organised according to area, not to Mission. Power is now centred in the Diocesan Council and the Bishop. But as the Diocesan Council is too large to meet often, the Diocesan Executive Committee and its Finance Sub-Committee become very powerful bodies. Mission grants are channelled through the Diocesan Council, on which each Mission has a special representative.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. At first sight one might well ask why it was necessary to impose one diocesan structure across the preserves of the two societies; why not settle for two dioceses? But this would have made for very difficult administration as their work was closely interwoven at numerous points. And, even perhaps more important, the Church had long before decided in principle against "missionary dioceses" except in exceptional circumstances.

2. In a printed address on the occasion of the visit of the Metropolitan to the diocese in 1921 there is the following tribute: The two societies "have drawn together in recent years far more closely than anyone, probably, would have dared to prophesy ten years ago. We would here wish to acknowledge the great part played in this matter by the late Bishop Williams, who was ever working towards this end and, though he did not live to see the formation of a Diocesan Council, yet it was a project much in his mind." CMS G2. 12/0 1921 No.63.

3. See P. Appasamy: The Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly p.261. Muller & Abraham: The Trail of the Tirunelveli Church p.16.

4. The Indian Missionary Society was founded by Azariah, who was then one of the Secretaries of the YMCA, together with a small number of other Indian Christians in Tinnevelly, in 1903. The area chosen for work was in the north eastern corner of Nizam's Dominions, in 1912 to become part of the diocese of Dornakal. It was enthusiastically supported, and therefore regarded in the diocese with particular affection and interest. For the Diocesan Magazine, see SPG E 1916 No.40.

5. SPG E 1919 No.39. Waller wrote: "We have made a notable step by adopting a common pay scale for all clergy in the diocese. This may seem a small thing, but practically, the difference between SPG and CMS was a bar to any idea of having one staff of clergy available for the whole diocese. That bar at any rate is now removed and the clergy are assured of a living wage according to present conditions."

6. SPG D 1919 No.102.

7. C.J. Grimes: Towards an Indian Church p.123.

8. CMS G2. 12/0 1917.

8[a]. It is very unlikely that the draft rules in circulation in 1917 varied substantially from those advocated in 1912. These did not insist on a Diocesan Council as the basis of the electorate although they certainly advocated it. See Resolution 6, C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.113. On p.125 he says: "By the end of 1918 most of the Diocesan Councils had framed their constitutions on the basis of the pattern issued by the Episcopal Synod in 1912."

9. SPG D 1923. No.130.

10. SPG D 1917. No.89. When writing to England Waller often interpreted pastorates as parishes, and CMS circles or SPG districts as Rural Deaneries.

11. Later altered to once in two years. The Bishop had the right to call extra-ordinary meetings if necessary.

12. SPG D 1917. No.89.

13. SPG E 1918. No.38.

14. Ibid.

15. Waller's concluding chapter in P. Appasamy: op. cit.pp.301/2.

16. SPG D 1922. No.132.

17. Published Report. p.18.

18. Waller, however, wrote to Wigram on 6th February 1923: "You will realise that our diocesanisation scheme was in being long before the Delegation and that they gave it a very necessary piece of encouragement, but it does not stand of fall with the report of the Delegation on this matter. It arose entirely from the desire of the people themselves and the needs of Tinnevelly." CMS G2. 12/0 1923 No.22.

19. Published in the form of a small paper-back book it runs to 63 pages plus an appendix. Waller wrote: "It is a very much bigger constitution than I thought, because it gathers up all the rules of the different committees into one book and it took longer to print than I expected." Waller to Wigram, 6th February 1923. CMS G2. 12/0. 1923. No.22. A printed copy can be found at CMS G2 12/0 1923. No.29.

20. CMS G2. 12/0 1922. No.124.

21. SPG D 1923. No.99.

22. CMS G2. 12/0 1923. No.31.

23. CMS G2. 12/0 1923. No.30.

24. SPG D 1923. No.130.

25. CMS G2. 12/0 1923. No.32

26. 13th March 1923. CMS G2. 12/0 1923. No.44.

27. CMS G2. 12/0 1923. No.32.

28. 26th March 1923. CMS G2. 12/0 1923. No.52.

29. SPG D 1923. No.134.

30. CMS G2 12/0 1923 No.88.

31. CMS G2 12/0 1923 No.84.

32. All women who were managers of institutions or headmistresses of higher schools were to be ex-officio members of the committees which were to deal with their work. The women members of the Diocesan Education Committee were also to be ex-officio members of the Women's Work Committee, on which there were also to be women who were responsible for women's work in the diocese or who had a special interest in it. See the Constitution and Waller to Peachey, 6th February 1923. CMS G2 12/0 1923 No.32.

33. CMS G2 12/0 1923 Nos. 81 & 95.

34. CMS G2 12/0 1923 No.109.

35. CMS G2 12/0 1923 No.63.

36. Waller to Wigram. 9th July 1923. G2 12/0 1923 No.111. Eventually it was agreed that a local option be allowed so that pastorate committees could make their own bye-laws on this matter. Joint Committee on Diocesanisation. 10th January 1924.

37. Ibid.

38. The SPG Secretary, Bishop King, was still negotiating from London in January 1924. (Letter in the Tinnevelly File: see Note 46). In 1929 Bishop Western wrote that he could not trace any resolution of the Society giving final sanction. SPG D 1929. No.134.

39. SPG D 1923 No.130.

40. SPG D 1922 No.132. In 1919 Waller wrote: "The income of the diocese is an inclusive one, there are no diocesan funds. All my travelling, office, chaplain, subscriptions to diocesan objects, besides my personal expenses, voyages, provision for pension come out of it." SPG D 1919 No.103, and see also Chapter 5, Note 11.

41. Letter in the possession of Mrs Tubbs.

42. It is said that Bishop Azariah was approached and declined, but this cannot be substantiated. When Tubbs asked K.T. Paul of the YMCA for his advice, it seems he was told that Tinnevelly would not be ready for an Indian Bishop for another fifty years!

43. CMS G2 12/0 1922 No.131.

44. CMS G2 1923 No.24. Tubbs to Wigram, 8th February 1923. And SPG D 1923 No.99. Waller to King. 29th January 1923.

45. It should be said that not all the major amendments would have overthrown the principle of diocesanisation, and they were not all conceived purely negatively. See the file referred to in the following note.

46. A file containing many relevant letters, petitions, notices of amendments etc. was found in a cupboard in Tirunelveli by the Rt. Rev. T.S. Garrett and is now in my possession. Quotations from material in this file are referred to below simply as 'Tinnevelly File'. A further file is in the possession of the Rev. Robin McGlashan. It seems certain that these are the only written records which survive from this period in Tinnevelly.

47. Miss M.E. Gibbs writes of the "separation and ill feeling which had existed at the time of the foundation of the diocese." A History of the Anglican Church in India: 1600 - 1970. p.363. The stance adopted by Bishop Copleston in Ceylon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century greatly alarmed the CMS, particularly in London. As nearly all the Tamil coffee estate workers in Ceylon came from Tinnevelly, alarm at the high-handed attitude adopted by this Tractarian Bishop must have been quickly communicated to the CMS in Tinnevelly. The extreme ritualistic practices of Canon Arthur Margöschis over a period of thirty years at Nazareth (1877 - 1907) also caused the CMS Mission in the diocese to regard the SPG with the gravest suspicion. For the Copleston controversy, see eg: M.E. Gibbs: Op. cit. Chap. 14. For the ministry of Margöschis, see eg: H.P. Thompson: Into All Lands. pp.373/4 & 626.

48. Tinnevelly File.

49. Carr's intervention is recalled by some surviving CSI elders from the schism area, supported by evidence from the Tinnevelly file.

50. Tinnevelly File.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid. This kind of demonstration seems to have been a popular tactic. Canon Bennett recalls a later occasion when Tubbs visited a pastorate in the secession area and was met by a semi-hostile crowd of mainly illiterate Christians chanting "Bishop verndaam../ unnecessary, unwanted /..Confirmation verndaam, Cross verndaam." Alarmism was further increased when rumour spread that a ship had arrived in Tuticorin laden with crosses which were to be set up in every Church. It transpired that these were small, symbolic crosses ordered by Azariah for newly baptized or confirmed adults to hang around their necks in place of Hindu symbols.

The kind of attitude instilled into Indian Christians by some CMS missionaries is popularly illustrated by the story of the veteran CMS missionary who, whenever he had cause to journey through Nazareth, insisted on camping outside the SPG compound. In one version of the story he refused to sleep under the roof of a misguided SPG Christian (presumably Margöschis); in another his mount (rather like Balaam's ass) steadfastly refused to enter the compound or to eat SPG grass! (I owe these reminiscences largely to a private letter from Canon Bennett.)

53. E.A.L. Moore worked nobly to heal the breach during Tubbs' furlough and might indeed have succeeded, but, by a further coincidence, it was just at this time that he was appointed Bishop of Travancore, being consecrated on 24th February 1925. He immediately began work in Travancore on a diocesan constitution following the Tinnevelly model and this came into effect in 1928.

54. Quoted in Tubbs' diocesan letter.

55. Quoted in the CMS Annual Report for 1924.

56. Ibid.

57. Amendments moved at the meeting on 11th March,(but rejected,) by the Rev.D.J. Harris would have removed these three councils altogether, moving the spiritual responsibilities downwards to the Circles and Pastorates, and the executive functions, such as they were, upwards to the Diocesan Standing Committee. Waller made it clear that he would not have objected to such an arrangement. Tinnevelly File.

58. CMS G2. 12/0 1923. No.32.

59. See the Appendix to the Constitution, & SPG D 1923 No.130.

60. SPG D 1923. No.130.

61. CMS G2 12/0 1923 No.31.

62. H.P. Thompson: op.cit.p.374.

63. SPG E 1918. No.38.

64. CMS Annual Report for 1916. p.91. This states that there were twelve catechists and six ordination candidates in the first year. G.T. Selwyn was Bishop of Tinnevelly 1945 - 47, remaining after the inauguration of the Church of South India.

65. SPG D 1922 No.132. Also Waller's concluding chapter in P. Appasamy: op. cit. p.302.

66. SPG D 1923 No.130. In this report Waller states that when Stapley resumed the principalship, there were twelve candidates in training for the ministry from both societies.

67. SPG D 1923 No.99.

68. CMS Letters Received G2 12/0 1923 No.135.

69. SPG D 1918 No.76.

70. The Story of the Negotiations p.22.

PART 3

BISHOP OF MADRAS: 1923 - 1941

PART 3

CHAPTER 9

THE DIOCESE OF MADRAS

(Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 231 - 233)

(a) Waller's Translation and Enthronement

Waller's translation to Madras was officially confirmed in October 1922 and he and his wife moved into the Bishop's official residence in Sullivan's Gardens at the end of December. He assumed charge of the diocese from 1st January 1923, but continued also to have oversight of Tinnevelly until Tubbs' consecration in July. He was enthroned in St. George's Cathedral on Thursday 11th January.

A message to the diocese was printed in the diocesan magazine for February in which his priorities were clearly stated : "Two things stand out clearly as governing principles. The first is unity. The second pre-eminent thing is efficiency, and by efficiency we must mean that as a Church we stand up for what we profess to be. As Christians, we profess to believe that love, righteousness and sacrifice are the strongest and most lasting things in the universe, and we stand for love, righteousness and sacrifice in all relations of life." [1]

(b) The State of Madras Diocese in 1923

So far as efficiency and administrative reform in the diocese were concerned there lay ahead of him eighteen years of frustration during which very little progress could be made. In the first place, the diocese itself was enormous and unwieldy. In his book Church Union in South India: the Story of the Negotiations, he wrote that the diocese has some 50,000 Christians (compared with Tinnevelly 110,000, and Dornakal 150,000) "of whom not less than half are European or Anglo-Indian. They are widely scattered in isolated groups and there is no great movement towards Christianity in the area. The isolation and the variety of language partly account for this, as services have to be conducted in five different languages." [2]

In addition to the problem of sheer size [3] the various mission and church centres were not grouped in a way that made efficient administration or even close co-operation very easy. One of his first comments was: "Madras diocese is a set of islands only loosely connected, and I have not got the strategic position yet." [4] To make matters even worse he had inherited what he called a 'rump' of a diocese, because the two really progressive areas of the original diocese had been carved out, Tinnevelly becoming, for all practical purposes, an independent diocese and the whole of the mission districts of the CMS and the SPG in the Telugu area being incorporated into the diocese of Dornakal. [5]

This left him with three main areas of oversight; the old established English-speaking churches, which he found to be largely impervious to change and with little inclination towards progress; a number of important educational centres which were in a state of constant financial crisis and which had the greatest difficulty in keeping pace with educational change and development between the two world wars; and a large number of scattered Indian Churches which were for the most part poor and somewhat

dispirited, with badly maintained buildings and a critical shortage of clergy, catechists and teachers.

It seems clear that Waller's predecessor, Bishop Whitehead, had found his task difficult and unrewarding, and Waller was alarmed at what he found. For example, no Indian clergy had been ordained in the diocese for ten years,[6] while the stipends of the existing Indian clergy had been raised above the level of any other diocese in India at the expense of village schools, a large number of which had been closed.[7]

One of the most important difficulties in the situation was undoubtedly the fact that both the SPG and the CMS experienced continuous and severe financial pressures between the two world wars, a nadir being reached in the early 1930's when there was grave economic depression in the West. The result of this was that the societies were obliged to reduce their grants (and sometimes their personnel as well) at too fast a rate to allow the diocese to establish its own self-support.[8] Village Churches increased their giving only to find themselves poorer than before; educational institutions which were the pride and joy of the Indian Church gradually went into decline; and European missionaries were too rapidly replaced by Indians, few of whom had the necessary advantages or resources available to the British missionary.[9]

It is evident that Waller confidently expected to make the same kind of progress in Madras as he had in Tinnevelly, and indeed success was fully expected of him by the Home Societies. But they were at no time able to give him the straw necessary to make bricks, and the diocese itself was too conservative and too lacking in self-confidence to respond fully to his leadership.

Here the situation was different from that in Tinnevelly in one important respect. The societies had been too conservative and too protective in their dealings with Tinnevelly, and Waller's

task had been to persuade them to withdraw in order that the diocese might live. The position of the Church in Madras, on the other hand, had been allowed to run down to the point at which it badly needed a fresh injection of support and stimulus from the societies if it was to have a real chance of beginning a new life on its own. Waller wanted an initial five year plan, during which the SPG, for example, would inject an additional Rs10,000 a year. If this were done, wrote the SPG Secretary in Madras, the work "could be raised from the dead and be made a vital power." [10] But any extra money which was available to the SPG at this time was being pumped into Dornakal diocese to foster the new life there, and grants to Madras, far from being increased, were steadily reduced. [11]

In his report for 1923 to the SPG Waller wrote: "You must be prepared to spend money on Madras diocese, or plainly tell us that you acquiesce in the decease of much effort and sacrifice made during the last 150 years. The time demands action not postponement." [12]

The SPG sent a Delegation to India during the winter of 1923/24 but its confidential report did not support Waller's plan. It criticised the level of Indian clergy stipends, and in its comments on the poor state of the Society's property, it added: "We believe that a considerable source of revenue will be found to exist within the diocese when this matter is competently taken in hand." [13] Proposed plans to extend Bishop Heber College, Trichinopoly, were quashed by the delegates while still in India, pending a full report to the Home Committee. The SPG seem firmly to have decided not to invest any further money in Madras, at least until affairs were put in order. [14] Waller's forecast for the future was gloomy :

"I hate to dispel the satisfaction of the Society if it deems that the Madras diocese is approaching self-support. The plain fact is that the reductions of missionaries and of funds have gone far too quickly. And we are heading, not for self-support, but for a sort of suburban apathy, when we shall maintain the older congregations in some sort of strength, tinged with a regret for the glories of the past, and lose everything besides." [15]

As will be seen, yet another difficulty was to emerge later in that the SPG at home became suspicious of Waller because of his involvement in the Church unity negotiations and he experienced the utmost difficulty in making any changes.

(c) Pastoral and Administrative Reform in the Diocese

It is not proposed to examine here the full structure of the Madras diocese and the changes which Waller made. This lies outside the scope of this thesis, and, in any case, the CMS records for this period are not available for inspection at the time of writing. But a summary of the situation is given here, especially of the SPG structures, in order to show that Waller was not able to make the kind of changes that had been possible at an earlier date in Tinnevelly. His attention, therefore, moved fairly quickly on to other matters.

When Waller arrived in the diocese the SPG work was divided into seven 'Districts', some of which consisted of only three or four congregations. They were almost autonomous bodies loosely co-ordinated by a Central Church Council which met once a year.

His first action was to reduce the number of Districts from seven to four: Cuddalore was joined to Madras, Coimbatore to Bangalore (a somewhat awkward merger because of the difficult railway link) and Tanjore to Trichinopoly, leaving Secunderabad on its own as it was too isolated for amalgamation. Waller wrote :

> "The districts as planned were too many and not strong enough to stand alone ... There was no common interest and consequently no cohesion. No large forward movement can be attempted for the finances of such small districts present no basis for expansion ... [Now that the amalgamations are taking place] the feeling of wider responsibility and the contact with a wider area will put some heart into the small councils, and the handling of larger funds will give a little more enthusiasm to harassed treasurers. But this move is only expected to create an atmosphere in which hope may revive; it will not bring money in any appreciable quantities." (16)

He carried off this change in true 'Tinnevelly' style, as he delights to record, but there were not to be many such easy changes :

> "It is interesting to note the way in which this proposal was received. All the officials of the old councils were elected to hold office till the end of 1925 and the general passing of the resolution did not, and could not, cancel their elections. I made several alternative suggestions to them and everyone (practically by return of post) sent me his resignation so as to clear the way for a fresh election of officers for the combined councils." (17)

At the local level both Waller and the SPG delegation were appalled at the condition of Church property:

> "The property is in a dangerous condition; houses tumbling down, fields uncultivated, or being encroached upon. Everywhere there is lament that things are in a ruinous condition. It is no use the Committee sending memoranda about the care of the property. There are no missionaries to look after it and the Church Councils have no funds to spend upon it." (18)

The SPG agreed to pay for the services of a retired Indian Revenue official whom Waller employed to make a complete survey of the property, and Waller was able to do a good deal to improve the situation. Much more serious was the state of the village schools. What teachers there were, were mostly of poor quality and a great many schools were without teachers at all. The Rev. K.C. McPherson, the diocesan SPG secretary, wrote : "Our teachers are bad and badly paid. The lowest pay given by Government is Rs 20 a month. We are giving from 10 to 12. The first need is an uniform scale of pay for village teachers which shall be adequate and attractive. The second need is a training school for village teachers." [19]

The shortage of teachers was never fully remedied and continued to trouble Waller deeply. As he never ceased to stress: "village schools are the backbone of the Church in the villages" [20] and "the most potent means of evangelism is the village school and the village school master. If the school is closed for lack of funds, or an inefficient, untrained teacher has to be employed, the influence of the small group of Christians is lost, their children are untaught and the contact with non Christians through the school is also lost." [21]

As he saw it, the only way the diocese could make progress and begin to pay its way was if there was a widespread and sustained effort of evangelization. But he regarded the village school as the lynch pin of any such effort, and until these received more finance he felt that the diocese was caught up in a vicious circle.

Waller was Chairman of the Central Church Council, which was the debating chamber for decisions of major significance which affected the Districts, and a forum for general discussion and consultation. It also received the SPG grant for pastoral work from the Madras Diocesan Committee, and any endowment income there might be, and allocated this money among the Districts.[22] There was a standing committee of which the Bishop was President.[23]

The link between the SPG at home and the diocese was the Madras Diocesan Committee which met quarterly. When Waller arrived in Madras it consisted simply of the Bishop, as Chairman and Secretary, the Archdeacon and two senior laymen.[24] Waller immediately decided to reconstitute this committee on a more openly diocesan basis and from 1st January 1925 its membership was considerably enlarged.[25] In practice this expansion does not seem to have made very much difference as the SPG somewhat uncharacteristically insisted on retaining a very tight control, a fact about which Waller never ceased to complain:

> "I have had it rubbed in ... that the SPG merely assists the diocese and leaves the Bishop and his Council to manage the affairs (except that it earmarks the missionaries' salaries), and that system works ... When I came out here (31 years ago) CMS used to run the details of the Missions from home; SPG rightly gloried in leaving control to the people on the spot. CMS adopted the SPG plan and we all rejoiced. But now is SPG really going back on its system? It looks like it ... [and] honestly we are in danger of falling between two systems ... We can't go on on these terms. Either SPG must administer in detail or they must trust us to the extent that we are as anxious to do right and to keep our bargains as they are. There I have said it straight for I know you like straight talk, but honestly we can't administer if we are not to be trusted."[26]

One of the most trying aspects of this over-rigid control to Waller was that the SPG grant was divided into water-tight compartments which left no room for manoeuvre.[27] In visits to England in 1924 and 1928 he talked the matter through with the SPG in London but he never seems fully to have won his point, and he continued to find to his great irritation that whenever he found it necessary to juggle the budget between the compartments, he was promptly surcharged with the amount by London.[28]

The CMS organisation in the diocese was basically the same, the various pastorates being grouped under districts, and the DCCs grouped under a Central Church Council. Grants were managed locally by the Madras Corresponding Committee and there was also a Missionary Conference. One large district of CMS work was around Madras and another in the Nilgiri hills with a centre at Ootacamund. The CEZMS carried on women's work in Madras and Ootacamund, and the CMS of Australia and Tasmania had a mission, including high schools for boys and girls, at Haidarabad.[29] The only body which linked the CMS and the SPG work was a large Diocesan Conference which usually met once every two years.

The secretary of the Madras Corresponding Committee was the Rev. R.W. Peachey, and when the SPG secretary, the Rev. K.C. McPherson went on furlough in 1925 Waller asked Peachey to act also as secretary to the SPG Madras Diocesan Committee. As the SPG were by then maintaining very few missionaries in the diocese, this became virtually a permanent arrangement which Waller regarded as a step in the direction of diocesanisation. It did, however, cause a certain amount of controversy at one stage in 1931, and this provides another illustration of the suspicion with which the SPG in London regarded Waller and his administration of the diocese, especially when the Church union negotiations became prominent. Waller replied :

"As regards Peachey, who has been dragged into the thinking of your committee, of course if the SPG could send missionaries the case would never have arisen, but since I only have the missionaries in Trichinopoly and Bangalore and Lamb at Tanjore (who is ideally not the right man for secretary) what could be done?

Peachey is a Canon of the Cathedral, an ordinary central Churchman, not bigoted Protestant, and the most experienced man we have. He does it not because he wants to but because I asked him and I want to work up to a diocesan secretary for all the Mission work in the diocese. The amount of work which the secretary has now is very small for the bulk of it is under the Church Councils.

The SPG always makes its boast that it is the diocesan Scoiety. If this sort of objection is to weigh with the committee they will prove themselves less church minded than the CMS which is freely diocesanising all its work." (30)

When Waller went to Madras in 1923 he succeeded in having himself appointed President of the CMS Madras DCC, in line with the precedent he had set in Tinnevelly, while an elected Indian member was Chairman. But the CMS grants, like those of the SPG, were rapidly reduced over the next few years until by 1927 this Council received no grant at all and became entirely self-supporting. At this point the Council members apparently saw no good reason for the presence in their midst of either Canon Peachey or of the Bishop and they decided to try and become entirely independent. They accordingly took the opportunity, while Waller was on furlough in 1928, of a quarrel over the competence and honesty of a local incumbent, to pass a new constitution which excluded both Peachey and the Bishop! The matter was settled at the cost of time and patience.

It was the spectre of diocesanisation which lay behind this intense desire for independence on the part of this CMS Council and their determination to be rid of Waller and his henchman, and it well illustrates another reason why diocesanisation schemes made so little progress in Madras during this period.

But a much more formidable blow to Waller's diocesanisation plans (and one which effectively brought his attempts in this direction to an end) was dealt when he tried to form a joint SPG and CMS

Board of Missions for the diocese.

On 30th March 1927 a sub-committee was appointed to make proposals for re-organising the Mission. Its proposals were formulated at a meeting on 23rd April 1927 and were as follows:

1. A Diocesan Missions Committee should be formed to take over the functions both of the Madras Diocesan Committee (SPG) and the Madras Corresponding Committee (CMS).

2. The two societies would continue to appoint corresponding secretaries who would be ex-officio members of the committee. These secretaries would continue to deal with the personal affairs of missionaries and with their agreements.

3. Other administrative supervision and particularly mission finance would pass into the hands of the new Committee, whose membership would be as follows:

   (a) The Bishop and the Archdeacon.
   (b) The two Mission secretaries.
   (c) A proportionate representation of elected clergy and laity from the Central Councils (probably two clergy and two laymen from each Council.)
   (d) Four missionaries nominated by the Bishop to represent SPG, CMS and Women's work.
   (e) Four other persons (make or female) not actually engaged in mission work to be co-opted by the committee at its first meeting. These would vacate office along with the elected members.

4. The functions of the Committee would be

   (a) To prepare budgets for submission to the secretaries and to allocate grants in accordance with this budget.
   (b) To forward to the Societies requests for the missionaries and statements of need.
   (c) To exercise general supervision over the inception, continuance and expansion of missionary institutions involving financial obligations to the Societies.
   (d) To plan out and watch over the general interests of the work. (31)

This plan would clearly have been of the greatest advantage to Waller and it is not difficult to discern his characteristic hand in the drafting. It would have amalgamated the work of the two Societies at a strategic point and gained a central point of control for the diocese over the largely autonomous councils. It would, in effect, have come to act as an Executive Committee for the Diocesan Council and, as such, it would have been the most powerful body in the diocese. It would also have gained for him the greater flexibility

in the use of the Mission grants which he so greatly desired.

The proposal was duly accepted both by the Madras Corresponding Committee and by the Madras Diocesan Committee and passed to their respective headquarters in London. These, in turn, gave their approval [32] and the matter came finally for decision to the Diocesan Conference held in Madras in December 1927. But at this final hurdle it failed and the Indian members of the Conference asked for a postponement of the whole plan to a future date. Peachey wrote :

> "It was really because they were afraid of it. The Councils were afraid of having their independence limited. At present both the SPG and CMS Indian Church Councils are practically independent and self-governing. The new Diocesan Missions Committee seemed rather likely to control the Councils and they do not want that ... Nothing can be done, I believe and so the Bishop says, for another two years." (33)

In fact the matter was apparently never taken up again. As Waller found it necessary to remind the SPG in London on more than one occasion: "When you speak of the Diocese bearing this or that [expense] you are talking a language I don't understand ... There <u>is</u> no Diocese in that sense." [34]

So far as can be ascertained this was Waller's last attempt at diocesanisation. [35] It may be that he reached the conclusion that nothing more could be done in Madras in the forseeable future. Certainly his reports to the missionary societies begin to sound somewhat disheartened from this time onwards. But this is not the whole explanation. The fact is that his mind had turned to larger issues which put diocesanisation into a different perspective. He was one of the main architects of the constitution for the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon and by the end of 1927 the Indian Church Measure and Bill had become law. This was bound to change the relationship of the missionary societies to the Indian Church and a new pattern of diocesan organisation would have to be worked out on a larger canvas than had previously been possible.

But there was more in Waller's mind even than this. He was deeply committed to the plan for a United Church of South India which would transcend Anglican boundaries altogether and by 1929 he was consciously pausing in his attempt to organise his diocese on an exclusively Anglican basis :

> "In view of the negotiations for Church Union which will certainly involve a good deal of re-organisation of the pastoral work and its directing councils, and incidentally the formation of new bishoprics, we are marking time in the matter of diocesan organisation." (36)

It was at this time that he wrote his book "The Story of the Negotiations" [37] and in these years of optimism he clearly hoped for a successful outcome of the talks very soon. But over the next decade it became ever more inconceivable for him to plan a diocese which was not ecumenical.

In the nature of the case, the result was that no further organisational changes were attempted. His attention firmly shifted from intense and closely-argued negotiations with the missionary societies and local Councils, and became ever more firmly engaged with the broader issues of education, [38] and the nature of the Church in its independence and unity.

(d) Diocesanisation, Mission and Unity

Two further points require to be made if this chapter is to present a balanced account of Waller's attitude both to the missionary societies and to the diocese.

The first is that he had never regarded diocesan re-organisation as an end in itself. He wanted a well organised, efficient Church in order that it might better mirror a God of unity, order, harmony and peace; in order that it might be more true to itself. He wanted it also that it might enjoy the liberty of the children of God and grow to maturity and strength. Here were Venn's principles of self-support and self-government tempered by the vision of catholic unity and partnership in the Body of Christ. These are the themes which are prominent in this study. But it would be quite wrong if the impression was given that his vision did not also embrace Venn's third principle of self-extension. He wanted the Church to be efficient in order that it might also be effective in mission and in service.

In 1932 he wrote an article for the Christian Council Review, published in March of that year, entitled "The Christian witness in service" :

> "Christians have lately had the advice given to them to give to India all the service they are now giving, and more than they have yet been able to give, but not to preach or baptize or seek to convert. What have we to give if we do not give Jesus Christ? Are food or health or education substitutes for Him? 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of heaven.' And unless it is the Kingdom of God which is being set up in our land, our service gives nothing permanent...Humanitarianism can be no substitute for the Gospel of Christ, for love and for life...
>
> We must now turn to the complementary truth. Where the love of God is, service must follow. We are not pleading that Christians should take the easier way of merely preaching, without service and without sacrifice. The most effective witness is loving service."

He takes as an illustration an industry which does not provide properly for its workers. The answer, he says, is not for the Church to set up an organisation to cater for their needs, but to seek to change the hearts of the employers, so that the system itself is put right. Simply "to supply that amount [of money] from outside and to let the concern evade its responsibilities is to bolster up the evil principle." It is, he says, the Church's mistakes on this front "which lie behind the dictum of the Bolsheviks that the Churches are simply doping the workers and supporting the evils that they wish to destroy."

> "And so we can never listen to those who ask for service from Christians without the Gospel of Christ. It is the Gospel which inspires the service: it is Christ who alone gives power for service. And we can never be idle and render no service, like the man who hid the talent. If there is no service there is no life. Like Christ we come not to be ministered to but to minister, and to spend our lives to free men from the bondage of evil."

The second point which needs to be emphasised is that, while his mind certainly came to concentrate on the unity of the Church, this did not lead him to neglect the missionary societies or suppose for a moment that they would not be needed in a united Indian Church. Rather, he saw the financial difficulties which they were experiencing during the 1930s as Gods call to united effort and a greater partnership.

While he was in England in 1934, he attended an important CMS conference at Swanwick in Derbyshire. The financial position of the society was serious while the needs and opportunities for advance seemed as great as ever. He wrote of the situation that "To meet the needs of the work the CMS had spent all its reserve funds and the mere financing of the work from month to month with no reserves and an income chiefly coming in at the end of the year was becoming an exceedingly serious problem." [39]

When he returned to India he wrote an article for Church Union ~~Notes~~ News and ~~News~~ Views in which he drew out the lesson as he saw it:

"..One of their conclusions was that these difficulties constituted a call from God to union. It was quite wrong that a section of one Church should try to carry the burdens of a work which belongs to the whole Church. More union within the Church: more co-operation, planning and definite union with other Churches is imperative. God is calling Christians everywhere to unite to spread His Kingdom: and He calls not only by lack of blessing on disunion but by blessing work done for Him with such abundance that there is not room nor capacity to receive His blessing in separated fragments of His Church. His united Church, the ideal Church for which Christ prayed, is alone big enough to receive His full blessing and to do the work to which He has called us." (40)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. Madras Diocesan Magazine, February 1923. The text of Waller's enthronement sermon was printed separately and bound up with the year's volumes of the magazine.

2. This book, written at the request of the SPCK in London, was published in 1929. For this quotation, see p.22.

3. He seems always to have felt that the Home Societies did not really grasp the scale of the diocese. He told them that it was as large "as England and Scotland put together". (See his report to the SPG for 1929 for example.) When the SPG suggested that he might ease his educational problems by closer liaison between the schools, he was moved to reply: "If you have a school in Madras and another in Tanjore 170 miles away and another in Trichinopoly 30 miles on, and then nothing until you come to Ramnad 180 miles from Trichinopoly, or Tuticorin 150 miles from Trichinopoly, there is not much danger of over-lapping or room for clashing!" SPG E 1926 No.40.

4. SPG D 1923 No.99.

5. Dornakal diocese had been formed in 1912/13. The Telugu area was added in 1920 under a form of commission from the Bishop of Madras. See C.J. Grimes: Towards an Indian Church, Appendix XI for the text.

6. SPG D 1930 No.84.

7. See eg: SPG E 1923 No.44. SPG D 1923 No.98. And the Report of the SPG Delegation 1924.

8. According to Waller, the SPG grant to Madras diocese was reduced during the decade 1915-25 from Rs 36,000 to Rs 10,000. So far as personnel were concerned, although the number of CMS missionaries in total dropped only a little, from 1360 in 1910 to 1088 in 1942, the number serving in India and Ceylon dropped from 479 to 259. For these statistics and commentary, see G. Hewitt: The Problems of Success, p.xiv.

9. On this last point, see the Report of the CMS Delegation to India 1934/5 and the comment of Miss M.E. Gibbs: "The fact was that the missionary was not, and never had been, an average English Christian. He was a man with a special vocation which had been tested and developed by the training he had received before he reached India. He knew, too, that he had behind him a great volume of prayer and sympathy, and periodical furloughs were opportunities for spiritual as well as physical renewal. His Indian successor might find himself expected to do a missionary's work without a missionary's advantages. He would have no special training beyond his professional qualifications, and the work under his guidance might be passed over in the thoughts and prayers of the home society when there was no longer a missionary in charge of it. These difficulties

were most strongly felt by those Indian Christians who were best fitted to succeed the British missionaries." A History of the Anglican Church in India: 1600 - 1970, pp.376/7.

10. SPG D 1923 No.98.

11. Waller freely acknowledged that it was right that Dornakal should have "the lion's share", but the result was that "we have to budget to the last anna to keep our work on at starvation rate." SPG E 1923 No.44. Dornakal diocese was undoubtedly much more attractive to British subscribers than Madras, and Azariah had the gift, which Waller did not, of raising enthusiastic support in England.

12. SPG E 1923 No.44.

13. From the printed confidential report of the Delegation to the SPG Standing Committee, May 1924. There was apparently also a general idea abroad that the SPG part of the diocese was living comfortably off its endowments, a notion Waller vigorously contested. See SPG D 1925 No.99.

14. The comments on Dornakal diocese were of a very different order: "We submit that it is worthy of all the support in personnel and money that the Society can give...The present indication is that opportunities for evangelization in mass movement areas are almost unlimited, if taken advantage of in the immediate future."

15. SPG E 1923 No.44. The same situation applied so far as the CMS were concerned and it is not intended to suggest that the SPG were less responsive in this respect. Quotations are from SPG sources generally because, at the time of writing, the CMS archives are not open to inspection after 1924.

16. SPG E 1923 No.44.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid. See also the Delegation's Report, as above. "The Society's property has not been scheduled nor kept in repair in past years, and is now deteriorating and depreciating in value. Some has been lost altogether through this lack of supervision; other buildings have not been let to advantage."

19. SPG D 1923. No.98.

20. SPG E 1923 No.44.

21. SPG E 1926 No.40. A section dealing with secondary educational institutions in the diocese, which were mainly staffed by missionaries and sometimes in receipt of fixed grants from the societies, has had to be omitted through pressure on space.

22. This endowment income amounted in 1925 to Rs 6475.

23. The SPG structure differed from that which Waller had experienced in Tinnevelly, as the use of Superintending Missionaries had been superceded in 1912 by this system of Councils linking with the Bishop, as regards the diocese, and with the Madras Diocesan Committee as regards the Society.

24. One of the laymen was Mr. Paul Appasamy, who wrote the Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly . The Archdeacon was the Ven. H.C. Loasby.

25. Twelve members were added, missionaries, clergy and laymen. See SPG D 1924 No.100.

26. Waller to Canon P.S. Waddy, Secretary to the SPG 1925 - 37. SPG D 1929 No.83.

27. See his letters at SPG D 1929 No.43 and SPG E 1926 No.40.

28. See his highly indigant remarks as SPG D 1929 No.83.

29. See eg: CMS Annual Report for 1923.

30. SPG D 1931 No.54.

31. Details from the minutes of the Madras Diocesan Committee meeting of 14th July 1927. SPG D 1927 No.74.

32. In the case of the CMS it was subject only to the decision to refer the details to the Committee of Reference in India, which had been set up following the recommendation of the 1923 Delegation, "for consideration and advice." SPG D 1927 No.77.

33. SPG D 1928. No.79.

34. SPG D 1929 No.43. & SPG D 1927 No.74.

35. At the time of writing the SPG archives are closed for inspection after 1934.

36. SPG E 1929 No.44.

37. See Note 2 above, and Chapter 11.

38. Consideration of these broader issues has had to be omitted through lack of space. See Note 21 above.

39. Church Union News and Views, Vol.5 No.2.

40. Ibid.

PART 3

CHAPTER 10

WALLER AND THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE CHURCH OF INDIA BURMA AND CEYLON

(Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 255 - 257)

(a) Negotiations for Freedom

In describing Waller's career it has been necessary at various points to discuss the legal complexities of the position of the Church of England in India, and this has given some indication of the very unsatisfactory state of affairs which existed. From the legal point of view this Church was "simply an extension or exportation of the Church of England into India" [1] legally accomplished and perpetuated by the Government of India Act 1833. This gave rise in practice to so many restrictions, complications and obscurities that C.J. Grimes can ask: "For incredible muddle, complexity and anomaly has it ever had a parallel in any Church in Christendom?" [2]

The necessary task was, therefore, "first, to gain freedom from this connection with the English State and English ecclesiastical law. Secondly, to frame for the Church in India a constitution which should preserve for it the Catholic and English heritage of faith and order, and at the same time allow and assist the Church in India to develop its own life as the Indian province of the Catholic Church." [3]

The full story of how this two-fold task was achieved has been told by C.J. Grimes in his book: Towards an Indian Church, and it is neither possible nor necessary to repeat it here in other than the barest outline. But Waller made a contribution of the greatest importance to the framing of the new constitution which must receive its [illegible] deserved recognition in a study of his life and work for the Indian Church. A brief indication of the sequence of events which brought the new Church into existence will be sufficient to provide the background against which his contribution can be assessed.

Mention has already been made [4] of the historic meeting in Calcutta, at the end of 1912, of the Indian Bishops together with clerical and lay representatives of the Church. They resolved to take steps for the introduction of full synodical government throughout the Province, only to find that this was not possible without

parliamentary disestablishment. [5] As this could not be contemplated so long as the first World War lasted, a voluntary system without legal status was set up after the Episcopal Synod of 1915. Over the following years a constitution was worked out which provided, amongst other matters, for a system of Diocesan Councils which could elect representatives to a Provincial Council of Bishops, clergy and laity. Further Episcopal Synods of 1918 and 1920, which Waller attended, hammered out this constitution into a more comprehensive shape, with approval from the dioceses. [6]

Elections were held under this new constitution and the new Synod met for the first time from 25th to 30th January 1922. The constitution was then formally adopted and the assembly resolved itself into a Provincial Council. A fully representative assembly now existed which could make clear to the English Parliament both that disestablishment was the will of the Indian Church, and that a synodical system now existed capable of assuming legal responsibility for the Church.

Meanwhile wide and careful consultation had taken place in England while the Indian Bishops were attending the Lambeth Conference in 1920 and a draft Measure had been prepared for discussion. The Provincial Council was therefore able, during its meeting in 1922, to delegate to committees the tasks of examining the provisions and implications of this draft Measure, and negotiating with the Government and other authorities, conscious, as Grimes says, of the need "of securing for the future Church of India a position which would be unassailable in law, and a constitution which incorporated the full heritage of the Holy Catholic Church." [7]

For the purposes of the new constitution, a drafting committee was appointed, and its members were Bishop E.J. Palmer of Bombay, [8] Waller, Canon (later Bishop) F.J. Western [9] and Dr C.H. Turner, a Fellow of of Magdalen College, Oxford, as a consultative member. "To this committee was entrusted the drafting of a constitution, canons and rules for the Church of the Province of India, Burma and Ceylon...Now began the most critical and formidable part of

[the] great enterprise. For the next five years the labours of the Metropolitan and his colleagues were arduous and unremitting; they were years of constant planning, conference and negotiation, involving much journeying throughout the province, and several visits to England for counsel and consultation with the India Office and other authorities concerned with the scheme." [10]

The negotiations which resulted in the legal severance of the Church of India from the Church of England can be mentioned quite briefly here, as, although Waller was closely concerned at every stage, and Grimes pays high tribute to his contribution, [11] the chief honours for this particular work belonged to the Metropolitan, Bishop Westcott and Bishop Palmer. They maintained constant negotiations with the Government of India and the India Office in London, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Church Assembly, the Secretary of State, and the legal advisers of each. Their negotiating skill, persistence and patience were rewarded by the eventual passing of the necessary, complicated legislation.

By 1925 the Government of India had expressed approval, and the shape of the legislation in England was becoming clear: there would be an Indian Church Measure to be passed by Church Assembly and presented to Parliament, dissolving the legal relationship between the Church in India and the Church of England; This would be complemented by an Indian Church Bill in Parliament which would amend the Government of India Act and deal with that side of the proposals concerned with Indian Public Finance.

In 1926 the Provincial Council gave approval to all that had been done so far, and empowered the Metropolitan and Bishop Palmer to proceed to the next and final stage. The Indian Church Measure was given unanimous approval by Church Assembly on 7th July 1927 and, having passed both Houses of Parliament, was given the Royal Assent on 23rd November. When the Indian Church Bill had passed both Houses it received the Royal Assent on 22nd December and 1st January 1928 was fixed as the date of the coming into operation of the Measure and the Bill. [12] The

way was now open for the final severance of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon from the law of the Church of England. A period of two years was set to allow the various bodies which would assume responsibility to constitute themselves legally.

But all would have been in vain had there not been a new constitution ready in an agreed form to replace the laws from the which the Church in India had now freed herself. It was to the formulation of this that Waller, together with Palmer and Western, brought special skill and application. An indication will be given in the four sections which follow of the principal points which the drafting had to secure.

(b) The Constitution: (i) Continuity of faith and Communion

The first consideration of paramount importance was, as Grimes states it; to ensure that "the severance from the Church of England...be so made as to leave no doubt regarding the spiritual continuity of the Church in India, or its full communion with the Church of England after separation. It was not a new Church which was being set up, but the old Church freed from its legal ties with the Church of England." [13]

The constitution ensures this continuity in a number of ways. First there is a Prefatory Statement, adopted by the Bishops at the meeting of the General Council [14] in February 1928. This Statement is not of a legally binding nature, but it forms an important official declaration of belief and intention. It begins:

> "The Church of India, Burma and Ceylon is a part of the one holy catholic and apostolic Church, the Body of Christ, which He is building up out of all generations and races of men. We are what we are as a Church and as members of the Church by reason of what we have received from Him through and in the Holy Catholic Church."

It then adds seven paragraphs, each beginning with the words "We have received..." in which the full breadth of catholic heritage is indicated. The constitution proper then begins with a Preamble, followed by twelve General Declarations and thirteen Particular Articles "on the Constitution and Law of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon." These Declarations make clear beyond any question the intention of the Church to stand squarely in the catholic tradition, and they also state what, in particular, the Church believes to be permanent and essential within it:

> "The Church of India, Burma and Ceylon declares that it has received the principles and customs set out in the preceding Declarations from the Holy Catholic Church of the ages which are past. It believes that it was by the guidance of the Holy Spirit that those principles came to be recognised and

> those customs adopted, and it accepts them as indicating the general framework around which a regional Church may proceed to develop its institutions." (15)

These General and Particular Declarations in Part 1 of the Constitution are followed by the Canons and Rules and, naturally, great care had to be taken to ensure that these were fully consistent with catholic belief and practice. [16]

The inclusion within the constitution of statements concerning the faith was questioned by some who felt that matters of faith should be debated and pronounced upon by the Bishops and clergy alone, whereas the constitution had to be debated and accepted by the entire General Council. In a circular to all Church members in the Province, issued in 1923, the Metropolitan and the members of the drafting committee explain their rejection of this argument. First, "It is quite clear that unless the National Assembly of the Church of England and the Ecclesiastical Committee of Parliament are satisfied that the Church in India does not desire to depart from the Catholic Faith and that it has an adequate machinery for carrying on its Church life on lines which do not depart from Catholic usage, they will not be willing to pass the Measure when it is put before them." [17] Technically it would have been possible to surmount this problem by including parts of the constitution in the Measure, but the effect of this would have been to replace one set of English laws by another. It was therefore essential to build these declarations firmly into the constitution so that, although it could not formally be adopted until both the Measure and the Bill had been already passed by Parliament, no reasonable doubt might disturb the passage of the legislation.

But, second, there was also a point of principle was involved. The synodical system of government which was being established allowed debate on matters of faith and order in full assembly, subject to certain provisions, and did not reserve matters of doctrine for a 'convocation' alone.

> "The principle underlying [the objection] is entirely opposed to the lines on which the organisation of the Church has proceeded in the last few years. It has so far been provided that matters touching Faith and Order may be debated in the Provincial [or General] Council and when finally formulated by the House of Bishops in consultation with assessors, such resolutions may be accepted or rejected in that form without amendment by the Provincial Council." (18)

Continuity had to be balanced with three further factors. First, there was the need to establish the complete autonomy of the Church which "has in its measure the liberty which belongs to the Church of Christ to order its own life in continual dependence on the Spirit of God."[19] It was of the greatest importance that the Church should have sufficient freedom to live, to grow and, as necessary, to change:

> "The liberty of a regional Church has enabled, and may in any place enable, the God-given genius of great nations to find its appropriate expression in the worship and work of the Church, and so the riches of the nations have been carried into the City of God." (20)

Second, concerning freedom to change, there had to be carefully guarded the possibility of constantly responding to the Holy Spirit's wind of change. Those responsible for the constitution were fully aware of one direction at least in which the Holy Spirit would lead them, and Declaration 9 was never in doubt from the first draft in 1922:

> "It is the will of God that His Church should be one. That unity ought to be expressed, as it was in ancient days, by the unity of all the Christians of one place in one holy society. The regional Church of India, Burma and Ceylon ought thus to include all the Christians of those countries. The prayer and effort of the Church of this Province will ever be directed towards this ideal, and it will seek to enter into union with any bodies of Christians in those countries which are not now in communion with it, provided always that by such union the inheritance of truth and grace which it has received with its Catholic Faith and Order be not impaired but rather established and strengthened..."

Third, it was of the greatest importance to match the continuity

of faith with flexibility of rules and interpretations.

> "It is greatly to be desired that Articles shall not become so stereotyped that they fail ultimately to express the mind of the Church. And so provision is made for their alteration. It is also desirable that they should be deliberately adopted by each successive generation or if not so adopted be amended, so that the Church may not be saddled with an obsolete document which does not represent its mind and which has to be explained away by its adherents. These Articles, therefore, provide machinery for deliberate adoption of carefully thought-out changes in the Articles." (21)

It may, of course, be argued that the Church, which is charged to hold the faith once delivered to the saints, ought to be able so to formulate articles and rules that they never require change. But, as Grimes pertinently asks : "How far does experience warrant such a conclusion?..Again, what is the practical effect of [such laws] ?" Grimes rightly argues that the desire to make unalterable articles can well betray a lack of confidence in the ability of the Church in future to discern the truth by "free and unfettered assent" which is ultimately the best guarantee of that very truth. Furthermore, the attempt to defend the faith by legal sanctions, probably only enforceable in practice by secular courts, is indefensible in principle.[22]

Two other, similar lines of argument might be advanced. The first is that if a Synod or Council freely passes ecclesiastical legislation which is unalterable in matters of faith or order by a future Synod similarly constituted, it denies the basis on which it acts itself. The second is that such action not only betrays a lack of confidence in the Church, but also a lack of confidence in the Holy Spirit and the ability of the Spirit to continue to lead the Church into all truth. This is not, of course, to suggest that the Church is infallible, but rather that it is always fallible, not least when legislation or dogma is promulgated. The Church sees but partially; and it wanders into error, sometimes grave error. But the promise is that ultimately the gates of hell will not prevail against it, and the action of the Holy Spirit may be seen to be that,

not so much of sealing the route in advance, as of leading constantly forward into truer paths as the Church has discernment and will to follow.

Naturally the constitution is framed with certain careful safeguards against unnecessary or malicious change. It is, for example, laid down in Declaratory Article 25 that "no change shall be made in the first declaration (Of the Church's inheritance of truth and life) except by resolution in the General Council. Such resolution can only be introduced by or on behalf of the Episcopal Synod [23] and every diocesan Synod must have been consulted in advance. Even then change cannot take effect unless it be "accepted in identical terms by the General Council at two sessions separated by an interval of not less than twenty-one months." [24]

Finally it should be noted that "on the whole question of unalterable laws, the draughtsmen of the Indian Church Constitution had the great advantage of the experience of other Churches in the Anglican Communion, and in making provision to change or add to any parts of the constitution.. the Church of India has secured a freedom which many of the Colonial Churches would give much to possess." [25]

(c) The Constitution: (ii) Autonomy in relation to the State

A second major requirement of the constitution was that it should secure for the Indian Church autonomy from the State. In view of the parliamentary legislation which severed the Church from the English State, it was necessary that the position be defined with great care.

So far as the general principle was concerned, Declaration 19 (Of the relation of this Church to the Civil Government) makes the intention clear: "This Church claims as of right to be free in all spiritual matters from the direction or interposition of any civil government." To secure this end the Church had to constitute itself as a voluntary organisation, in which every member agrees to be bound by the rules and to accept discipline on the basis of a 'consensual compact'. Thus every official of the Church is required by the Canons to make a declaration of assent to the constitution, to agree to be obedient to the Canons and Rules, and to accept and submit to any sentence duly passed.

The question then arises whether it is ever possible to appeal against a decision of the Church to a secular court. As Grimes says: "Under the conditions of India, where litigation is frequenty resorted to, and where there is danger of courts and governments being subjected to anti-Christian influence, it is specially necessary that the rules of the Church be so drawn up as to provide the least possible scope for appeals to or interference by secular courts." [26] The only ground of appeal against the self-imposed rules of a voluntary society is on the grounds of an offence against 'natural justice', and great care was taken to ensure that the Canons nowhere offended against natural justice and that the procedures to be followed in every situation that might arise were strictly laid down. [27]

One other point on which appeal might lie to the State was in the event of a dispute concerning the interpretation of the constitution. This loophole was closed by the requirement that

any point of doubt concerning the meaning of the constitution must be referred to the Court of the Episcopal Synod whose decisions are "absolutely conclusive and irreviewable" [28] except on certain defined points which must be referred to a quasi-judicial committee of reference to be appointed by the General Council.

It is, however, finally worth noting under this heading that Declaration 19 also recognises the respect due to the civil government as "the ordinance of God" and, while claiming the absolute freedom of the Church in all spiritual matters, affirms its readiness to enter into arrangements with "any of the Governments of the countries to which the members belong" if they desire to make spiritual provision for the needs of their servants, and to make such provision for episcopal supervision both for government chaplains and the congregations to which they minister. [29]

(d) The Constitution: (iii) One Church for every race

The explanatory notes of the drafting committee set out both the nature of this problem and the attitude which was resolutely adopted.

> "There are not wanting those who openly advocate a National Church in India composed only of Indians, while the British-born should have chaplaincies and churches to suit their own needs but should not, except as visitors, be members of the 'Indian Church'.
>
> The Constitution is based on the entirely opposite principle of inclusion of all members of the Church in one organisation and we believe that this course is justified because -
>
> (a) St. Paul's teaching is entirely opposed to race Churches; and he surely interpreted aright the mind of Christ.
>
> (b) There are a large number of persons permanently domiciled in India who would thus be excluded from the Church of their adopted country, if race Churches were established.
>
> (c) The Church would lose incalculably by this separation. Every part has much to gain from the other." (30)

The note continues: "There is no doubt that in this fusion of diverse elements lies the greatest difficulty of the Church. Extreme patience and large charity are needed on both sides: but honest efforts have to be made to make a constitution wide enough to include all and to preserve what is vital for each part and elastic enough to admit of development."

The Bishops were conscious of widespread fear on the part of British residents that they would lose both their Churches and their customary services. This fear led inevitably to opposition to the whole scheme and great pains were taken to allay it. Provision is made in the constitution for the continued existence of maintained churches and their chaplains, and the customs of these churches safeguarded. But the Canons and Rules are also careful to ensure that the position of these

chaplains is regularised within the constitution. The services in maintained churches are to be those of the Book of Common Prayer in English, or such alternative forms as may be authorised by the Church of England or sanctioned by the Church of India, with the consent of the congregation. [31]

So far as the Indian Church was concerned, the expressed aim was to develop forms of worship congenial to the peoples of India and to give opportunities for greater liberty of experiment, while safeguarding provincial unity. [32]

(e) The Constitution: (iv) An ordered government

The aim of the constitution was to establish the maximum possible freedom for the Bishop in his diocese, within the unity of the Province. The explanatory notes of the drafting committee put the matter like this:

> "The Church in India will not now be bound by the Act of Uniformity. The first Canon therefore states the ancient principle that the right of determining the forms of and issuing instructions about the worship and service of the Church belongs to the Bishops. It is founded on the responsibility of the Bishops for the maintenance of the truth which the Church has received. This right (called the jus liturgicum) has been very much limited in the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity whereby services were fixed by Act of Parliament and the Bishop had only the right to sanction additional and occasional services and prayers.
>
> In the Church in India the Bishops will now exercise this ancient authority. But lest we exchange one tyranny for another certain principles are laid down limiting the exercise of the right." (33)

The matter is well summarized by Grimes when he says that: "Among the basic principles adopted by the Church of India in planning its constitutions were two of primary importance: (i) that "the fundamental unit of the territorial organisation of the Church is the diocese" (Declaration 8), and (ii) that the dioceses should have "the greatest possible liberty compatible with the unity of the Church." (Declaration 17)" :

> "Hence the intention was that the constitution should deal only with subjects that concerned the Church of the province as a whole, and lay down those laws which are necessary to be followed by every part of it. According to the pattern of the primitive Church, therefore, the diocese, with the Bishop elected by the whole body of the clergy and laity as the source and centre of unity, is the foundation of everything else in the structure of this constitution..." (34)

The constitution, therefore, lays down rules for the election of Bishops and carefully delineates the precise nature of his authority. The Canons and Rules, which run to forty five chapters

deal with all matters of provincial concern which Grimes summarizes under three headings:

> "1. Ecclesiastical persons - the appointment, duties and discipline of Bishops, other clergy and officials.
>
> 2. Ecclesiastical bodies - the General Council and the Episcopal Synod; Diocesan Councils and Synods; Ecclesiastical Courts; Parishes.
>
> 3. Various Subjects - Church property; marriage; religious communities." (35)

Within this legislative framework the aim was that each diocese should be free to develop its own patterns and life.

(f) The formulation and adoption of the constitution

The drafting committee was appointed, as already mentioned, by the Provincial Synod in January 1922. It is, therefore, a remarkable indication of the way in which they set about their work that the first draft, running to some 150 pages, was ready by the end of that year.

It was necessary, first, to clarify exactly what it was desired that the constitution should achieve on each important point. Then the current position had to be examined and legal opinion sought on a multitude of detailed points. The committee then set itself to examine all the available material. There were the constitutions of other Churches within the Anglican Communion, and these were of great help both in the drafting procedure and in pointing up areas where experience had shown them to be lacking. In their explanatory circular of 1923, the members of the committee state, for example that "The chapters on the discipline of the clergy are taken almost entirely from the Constitutions of other Churches of the Anglican Communion and have been submitted to lawyers, who have passed them as sound." [36] On the other hand, they drew due warning, for example, from the Church and State Report of 1916 which gave many instances of difficultes which had arisen because constitutions had not allowed for their own alteration. [37] They had also to bear in mind the instruction of the Provincial Synod that its existing constitution should be preserved, so far as possible.

In 1923, this draft constitution togther with the draft Measure were sent out for discussion to the Diocesan Councils. The Metropolitan and his colleagues travelled widely and frequently, addressing meetings, patiently explaining their scheme, encouraging support and allaying suspicion. Whereas the draft was naturally altered and improved in the light of discussion and advice, the groundwork had been so well covered that progress towards agreement was comparatively smooth and rapid. It had been

expected that the Provincial Council would have had to have met again in 1924, but this proved unnecessary, and only one more session of the whole Council was held before the Indian Church actually received its freedom. Commenting on this remarkable progress, both of the Measure and the Constitution, Grimes states: "The explanation of this is to be found, chiefly, in the skill and efficiency with which the Metropolitan's advisory board and the drafting committee carried out their responsible commission." [38]

The Provincial Council met in 1926 to debate both the Measure and the second draft of the constitution and the parliamentary legislation went into its final phase. No more progress could be made with the constitution until Parliament had passed both the Measure and the Bill. When this was safely accomplished the General Council (as it was now named) met in historic session in Calcutta in February 1928. It was now necessary, among other important matters, [39] to arrange for final settlement of the constitution. A third draft was considered and it was then resolved

> "That in view of the fact that the acceptance before the end of 1930 of a constitution for the Church is necessary under the provisions of the Indian Church Act 1927, the General Council requests that each Diocesan Council shall by a special resolution empower its representatives on the General Council to adopt on its behalf the constitution, canons and rules of the Church with or without amendment at the session of the General Council in 1930." (40)

Directions were made for dealing with any amendments which might arise, and it was also made clear that Diocesan Councils were not precluded from proposing further amendments after the constitution had been adopted. In the event, the constitution, canons and rules, by now some three hundred pages long, were unanimously adopted by the General Council on 31st January 1930, [41] and the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon began its new, constitutional life on the day of severance, 1st March in that year.

Meanwhile, as Bishop of Madras, Waller had been involved in much collateral work of a less spectacular but no less necessary kind. For example, the question of Mission property had to be resolved. That which belonged clearly to the missionary societies was not directly involved, but as Bishop, appointed by the State, he was a "corporation sole" holding a good deal of property on behalf of the Church and the societies. Between the enactment of the parliamentary legislation and the date of severance, this property had to pass into the hands of an incorporated body of trustees. On this matter he was involved in some delicate negotiation with the SPG during 1928, both by letter and when he was in London. In the event most of this property passed to the Diocesan Trust Association.[42] Another collateral matter concerned the establishment of an endowment fund to provide for the salary of future Bishops of the diocese and certain other work which had previously been financed by the State.[43]

(g) Tributes to the drafters of the constitution

In paying tribute to Waller's contribution to this important work, two remarks should be made. First, Waller's contribution was general as well as specific. When the Indian Church Measure and Bill were passed in 1927 he was aged fifty six. This means that a large amount of his time during the most mature and active years of his life were devoted to the cause of autonomy for the Indian Church. He was one of those who acted over a decade of intense activity as statesmen, tacticians, patient counsellors and sources of tireless energy.

The actual drafting of the constitution, long and complex though it was, was in many ways like the tip of the iceberg, and could never be more than an occasional activity. Even leaving aside his immense work as a Bishop of the diocese of Madras and matters such as diocesanisation which continued to be important during these years, Waller, together with the Metropolitan and Bishop Palmer, stood firmly in the centre of the ring, controlling, directing and leading the Church forward to success, both by their relentless work and their steady example and inspiration. Waller was one of those who gave to the Church of India not only his skill but himself.[44]

The second remark is that, in the actual business of drafting the constitution, no one contribution can be isolated or evaluated on its own. F.J. Western is sometimes mentioned for his particular skill in the actual drafting process, and, as he was not at this time a Bishop, he carried a major burden in this respect.[45] But research has nowhere thrown light, for example, on Waller's particular contribution as distinct from the contributions of the drafting committee as a whole. Perhaps this is as it should be, because the constitution is witness to remarkably integrated and balanced teamwork. C.J. Grimes,

as the compiler of the record of this great movement "towards an Indian Church" must have the last word. He says of Waller that "Of his services to the Church in India none was more valuable than his contribution to the cause of self-government during this final phase [1912 - 1927] of the movement." [46]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. C.J. Grimes: Towards an Indian Church, p.102.

2. op. cit. p.103. When the draft Measure and Constitution were sent out to the dioceses for discussion in 1923, the Indian Bishops wrote an accompanying Printed Circular (Diocesan Press, Madras) in which they set out the major disabilities.

   There was also a commentary on the Measure and the Constitution and, wherever possible, quotations are given from this, as it enables the drafting committee of Palmer, Western and Waller to explain their proposals in their own words.

3. Ibid. p.102.

4. See chapter 2 (f).

5. See C.J. Grimes: op. cit. pp.112 - 123.

6. There was a temporary impasse in 1920 while the question whether South India should form a separate province was considered. This was due to a sudden stand made by Bishop Whitehead of Madras. It was agreed to form one Provincial Council without pre-judging the question whether this might subsequently be divided. See C.J. Grimes: op. cit. pp.124 - 132.

7. op. cit. p.134.

8. Edwin James Palmer was Bishop of Bombay from 1908 until his resignation in 1929.

9. Frederick James Western was head of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi at this time. He became Bishop of Tinnevelly in 1929.

10. C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.135.

11. eg: op. cit. p.126.

12. Ibid. pp.143 - 155.

13. Ibid. p.136.

14. The name Provincial Council was changed to that of General Council in 1926. "The reason for the change was to provide for the possibility of the province being divided into two or more provinces in the future." C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.150 footnote 2, and see note 6 above.

15. General Declaration 11. Concerning the General Declarations see C.J.Grimes: op. cit. Appendix XIV.

16. See, eg: The rules in Chapter IX as quoted by Grimes, op. cit.p.180.

17. Published Circular (as note 2 above). p.5.

18. Ibid. p.6. For the way in which this principle is worked out in the constitution, see Grimes: op. cit. pp.181/2.

19. General Declaration 8.

20. Ibid. See also Declaration 21: "As the Church of England, receiving catholic Christianity from the undivided Church, has given a characteristically English interpretation of it, so the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon aspires to give a characteristically national interpretation of that same common faith and life."

    Likewise Declaration 22 states the purpose of the constitution as "the two-fold purpose of maintaining and using to the fullest extent all that is truly catholic and of patiently adapting it to the diversities of countries, times and men's manners."

21. Published Circular p.7. The clear allusion here to the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England is made quite explicit on p.11 in a note concerning forms of declaration for the clergy:

    "It is obvious to any thinking person that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England are not suitable as a statement of the belief and practice of the Church in India in the twentieth century, however suitable they may have been to England in the sixteenth. It is possible that they may even now in England give a general idea of the position of the Church, sufficient for practical purposes, though this is very doubtful: they certainly do not express in India the main things on which emphasis should be laid."

    Canon VIII of the Chapter 1 (Of the Declarations on the Constitution) requires that: "Upon every twentieth anniversary of the first adoption of the Constitution of this Church or not more than three years after such anniversary, a session of the General Council shall be held at which the Constitution of this Church shall by solemn resolution be confirmed, in order that it may receive the actual and considered assent of each generation. The form in which the Constitution shall on each occasion be proposed to the Council for confirmation shall be the form at the time in force in this Church."

22. op. cit. p.175.

23. The Episcopal Synod remained under the new constitution, in addition to the General Council. It comprised the House of Bishops, sitting with assessors (and was thus distinguishable also from the House of Bishops.)

24. See also Canon IV for a further safeguard and Chapter 44 which provides for change in the Canons and Rules with the possibility of a union scheme particularly in mind.

25. C.J. Grimes: op. cit. pp.175/6.

26 op. cit. p.187.

27. Ibid. pp.186/7.

28. Canon VII.

29. Declaration 19. And see C.J. Grimes: op. cit. pp.192/3.

30. Printed Circular, p.12.

31. Chapter 22.

32. Chapter 21.

33. Printed Circular, p.12. An example of the limitations on the Bishop's power: "In important matters, only the Bishops of the Province acting together, have the right of altering services: the individual Bishop is confined to minor matters." p.13.

34. C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.188.

35. Ibid.p.190.

36. Printed Circular, p.14.

37. Church and State Report 1916, Appendix IV. (Memorandum on the other Churches of the Anglican Communion). Quoted by C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.174.

38. op. cit.p.143.

39. In particular: (a) to appoint the first Indian Church Trustees and petition the King to incorporate them, and make new arrangements for vesting the property of the Church in some statutory holding body; (b) to negotiate with the Government regarding the statutory rules under the provisions of the Indian Church Act. See C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.157f.

40. Proceedings and Record of Decisions of the General Council of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon; Third Session, 1928. Decision 59 (1).

41. Proceedings and Record as above. Fourth Session, 1930. Decision 92.

42. SPG D 1928. No.77 and following.

43. C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.159, and see also, eg: SPG D 1929 No.43.

44. C.J. Grimes comments that the progress to autonomy had been "conceived, initiated and continuously inspired by the centre, the episcopate, and had gradually moved outward to the Diocesan Councils, and through them had become known...in the parishes throughout the province." op. cit. p.131.

45. See C.J. Grimes: op. cit. p.126, and eg: SPG Annual Report for 1926.

46. op. cit. p.126.

PART 3

CHAPTER 11

WALLER AND CHURCH UNION IN SOUTH INDIA

Notes to this chapter will be found on pages 284 - 287)

(a) Introduction and the beginning of negotiations

The negotiations which eventually resulted in the formation of the Church of South India can conveniently be dated from 1919, but the idea of a united Church in India was by no means new at that time, either to the Indian Church or to Waller. After some years of negotiation a number of Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches had united in 1908 to form the South India United Church. [1] Less than a year later Waller himself had preached about the need for unity in the Indian Church. [2] His estimate of the labour involved if such a vision was to be fulfilled had been sober enough and he had foreseen a measure of the patient dedication which would be required:

> "There is no romance about it. It means that little annoyances are to be suffered without grumbling; that personal wishes are to be sacrificed for others; that we have to give up our own way and take another's because that is best for the community ....If we are failing it is because we are selfish, because we put our own personal wishes before the will of God, because we do not take up our cross daily and follow Christ. We all need each other; we must serve one another. That is the law of the Kingdom; that is the law of perfect liberty." (3)

The preacher was destined to live out the full implications of his sermon during twenty years of patient and often frustrating negotiation, and he was not to see the fruit of his labours.

At the Tranquebar Conference in May 1919, convened by Bishop Azariah, Anglican and SIUC members drew up the historic manifesto. The aim was to unite for the first time since the Reformation an episcopal with a non-episcopal Church. The manifesto envisaged an united Church in which episcopal, presbyterian and congregationalist elements would all find their proper place. "Thus all three elements, no one of which is absolute or sufficient without the other, should be included in the Church of the future, for we aim not at compromise for the sake of peace, but at comprehension for the sake of truth." [4] The form of ministry was to be the historic episcopate but without insistence on any particular theory as to its character. Ministers from each Church should be accepted on a basis of spiritual equality and it was "further agreed that the terms

of union should involve no Christian community in the necessity of disowning its past and we find it no part of our duty to call into question the validity of each other's orders." [5]

As soon as the conference was over, G. Sherwood Eddy, of the National Missionary Society, and H.A. Popley of the London Missionary Society, went to Madras where Bishop Whitehead and Waller were eagerly waiting for news. They conferred on 6th May and this was for Waller the beginning of his specific involvement.

He expounded the manifesto to the Tinnevelly Diocesan Council in December and a resolution was passed recommending the proposals.[6] In February 1920, the Episcopal Synod met in Calcutta and the Bishops drew up a synodical letter in which they expressed their commitment to "the development of an Indian expression of all that the Catholic Church stands for." The fruits of the Spirit to be found in the divided Churches did not, they declared, justify the divisions of Christendom; they must strive for outward unity in order to strengthen "the inward unity of hearts". The Synod appointed a committee to confer with the representatives of the SIUC, and the machinery for negotiation was formally set up. The members of this committee were the Metropolitan, Bishop Westcott, Bishop Azariah of Dornakal, Bishop Palmer of Bombay, Bishop Whitehead of Madras, and Waller, then of Tinnevelly.[7]

The first meeting of the Joint Committee took place at Bangalore in March 1920 and was called by Azariah to clarify some of the issues before the Bishops left for the Lambeth Conference. Of Waller's contribution to this and subsequent meetings, Dr. B. Sundkler writes:

> "He refused to be a party man...He believed strongly in Apostolic Succession as a bond of union. But there could exist temporary exceptions to this rule. "When it is sought to heal divisions and restore union by a temporary suspension of the application of this principle of Apostolic Succession,

> I believe that the Church is fully justified in doing so." In his downright manner he did not leave the non-Anglicans on the Joint Committee in any doubt about his standpoint. In this group he came to be highly respected for his simplicity and sincerity. Bishop N.H. Tubbs, who knew Waller well, said of him, "his knowledge of the Scriptures was phenomenal" and this did not fail to impress the non-Anglicans. His easy command of intricate legal problems, acquired in his important work on the constitution of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, was a great asset. Impatient of all artificiality, he was not too willing to suffer fools gladly. "A man's man was Waller" - so J.S.M. Hooper recalled him." (8)

The story of the negotiations cannot be told again here, nor is that necessary when there exists such a classic account as that given by Dr. B. Sundkler in his book, Church of South India: The Movement towards Union, 1900 - 1947. [9] But there are three subjects which call for specific discussion and comment; the first is Waller's attitude towards the negotiations and the particular background against which this evolved; the second is Waller's contribution to Church union in South India; and the third, in the wider context of this study, is to place this contribution in its perspective as part of his vision of the Church, and of the transfer from 'Mission' to 'Church'.

(b) The Lambeth Conference 1920

When Waller arrived in England in the summer of 1920 he quickly discovered that the early enthusiasm for re-union in India which had been so infectious, was significantly less in the atmosphere of Lambeth.[10] But Re-union was high on the agenda, and was tackled by two committees, one examining relationships with other episcopal Churches, and the other, which attracted a much larger membership including Waller, those with non-episcopal Churches. The Chairman was Archbishop Lang of York and it was in these deliberations that the main interest of the conference came to focus. Davidson himself, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Chairman of the conference, frequently attended the meetings and among the notable members were the redoubtable Bishop Weston of Zanzibar, Bishop Brent of Western New York whose greatness was quickly recognised, the ever-lively Bishop Hensley Henson of Durham, Bishop Rhinelander of Pennsylvania, Bishop Woods of Peterborough, and Bishop Palmer of Bombay.[11]

For some days virtually no progress was made and it seemed that no proposals "short of mere platitudes" would emerge.[12] But Lang conceived a plan which broke the deadlock: "A Letter to Christian People, which might be warmer and more persuasive than any mere restatement of conditions of union."[13] Roger Lloyd well describes the change of emphasis in this approach:

> "They wanted to produce a scheme for reunion, a sketch of a united Church, a plan for definite action. But all the time they knew in their hearts that the great mass of worshippers of all Churches had even still but little realisation of the evils of disunity, and less desire to end them. It was when they faced the fact that the first thing they had to do to promote reunion was to convert their constituents to desire it that they began at last to make progress." (14)

The result was the "Appeal to all Christian People".[15] This famous letter with the resolutions appended to it was to be constantly in the background of Waller's mind in the twenty

years that followed. First there was the affirmation of the vision with which he had come: "God wills fellowship" which ought to be expressed "in an outward, visible and united society, holding one faith, having its own recognised officers, using God-given means of grace, and inspiring all its members to the world-wide service of the Kingdom of God. This is what we mean by the Catholic Church." Second, the basis on which that unity should be built was affirmed: the Scriptures, the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, and "a ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body" - that is, the Historic Episcopate.

Third, the requirement of episcopacy as a condition of unity was expanded and, to some extent, modified. Other ministries have been "manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace"; Bishops and clergy of the Anglican Communion would willingly accept "a form of commission or recognition" by other Churches, other terms having been "satisfactorily adjusted"; Ministers of non-episcopal Churches would have to accept a "commission through episcopal ordination" but this would mean neither repudiation of a past ministry nor absorption into the Anglican Church.

Fourth, guidelines were set down regarding practical questions which would arise in a period of negotiation. Resolution 12 states that while the conference "cannot approve of general schemes of inter-communion or exchange of pulpits", nevertheless "a Bishop is justified in giving occasional authorization" to exchange of pulpits, and

> "The Bishops of the Anglican Communion will not question the action of any Bishop who, in the few years between the initiation and completion of a definite scheme of union, shall countenance the irregularity of admitting to Communion the baptized but unconfirmed Communicants of the non-episcopal congregations concerned in the scheme."

> However "in accordance with the principle of Church order set forth in the Preface to the Ordinal attached to the Book of Common Prayer, it cannot approve the celebration in Anglican churches of the Holy Communion for members of the Anglican Church by ministers who have not been episcopally ordained; and...it should be regarded as the general rule of the Church that Anglican communicants should receive Holy Communion only at the hands of ministers of their own Church, or of Churches in communion therewith."

Fifth, authorization to proceed with negotiations was clearly given in Resolution 11:

> "The Conference recognises that the task of effecting union with other Christian Communions must be undertaken by the various national, regional, or provincial authorities of the Churches within the Anglican Communion, and confidently commits to them the carrying out of this task on lines that are in general harmony with the principles underlying its Appeal and Resolutions."

Finally, certain suggestions were made by the sub-committee and approved by resolution of the Conference regarding the procedure which might be adopted in the event of non-episcopally ordained ministers remaining after union within the united Church. "Ministers of both the uniting Communions should be at once recognized as of equal status in all Synods and Councils of the United Church" but there should be a restriction against them administering Holy Communion to congregations already possessing an episcopal ministry.

No sooner was the conference over than Waller wrote an enthusiastic article for the CM Review which was published in September 1920:

> ""GOD WILLS FELLOWSHIP" - He desires that we should be one. It was that truth which came to us with irresistible force and subdued party spirit over and over again...We saw this vision of the universal Church in which there shall be - not uniformity but unity, into which each Church will bring and in which it will preserve its characteristic experience of God, but no longer keep it for itself. The liberty in worship, the service of the layman, the beauty of the ordered service, the carefully preserved commission of the minister, the union and strength of synods and councils, the evangelical zeal for the individual soul, the right of every individual

> in the universal priesthood of Christ's Church - all these gifts and many more should be brought into the one Church and preserved and beautified in it...Perhaps those who read our Appeal will call it platitudes. But we, who made the Appeal, saw the vision and pledged ourselves to try to help others to see it and work for its realization."
>
> Regarding epsicopacy "We did not repeat the Lambeth Quadrilateral, too often taken to be a statement of terms on which the little Anglican Church will unite with a neighbour. We tried to see the structure of the one great Church of Christ...The history of eighteen hundred years seemed to show no other institution suitable [except episcopacy]. But it was a constitutional episcope we wanted. No papacy, no prelatical order would be the bond of union we sought. A council presided over by a Bishop, but a council in which clergy and laity had their proper voice - a council representative of the Body of Christ and endued with His Spirit - that was our vision..
>
> Not one of us would scruple to take part in receiving a fresh commission or recognition, if that were needed to reassure doubtful minds, and we pleaded that others would do the same. We felt that no one dare claim to be a minister of the whole Body unless he were called of God, commissioned by Christ, and recognized by all..."

Thus Waller returned to India full of hope and with certain clearly defined lines of procedure in his mind. Among these some were to prove of special importance. First, he did not look on the negotiations as leading simply to the amalgamation of certain other Churches with the "little Anglican Church". The point he came to stress again and again, both in India and in England, was that the result of unity in South India would be a 'new' and autonomous branch of the one Catholic Church, in full communion with the Anglican and other Free Churches if that were possible, but not merely an extension of any one of them. Although he would listen with the utmost care to pronouncements from various sources in England regarding the validity or otherwise of a scheme, he had a measure of freedom in his own mind. So long as the 'new' Church did not become schismatic by breaking away from catholic principles, he could proceed with a good conscience.

Second, his vision was that of an united Church consisting structurally in a "constitutional episcopate". He believed

in the historic episcopate as a fact of history, but what he saw in his mind was not so much a succession going backwards into history as an organisation unified in a system of councils and synods, and presided over by Bishops as the symbols of order, faith and catholicity. He did not doubt for one moment the validity of non-episcopal orders within their own terms of reference, but for him the organisation could not be complete and fully 'in order' until all was unified within the one catholic system. To achieve this he was prepared for almost any step that might commend itself to those participating. [16]

But third, the careful terms of the Lambeth resolutions never left his mind. Beyond certain limits he could not go unless he was prepared to face the possibility of loss of communion with the Anglican Church. Inter-communion on a regular basis was not a live option for him at this stage and was not to become one for many years.

Fourth and most important of all, he knew with absolute conviction that unity was God's will. Twenty years of negotiation lay ahead of him, but on this his mind never wavered. Moreover, he knew not merely that God wills unity, but that God willed unity for South India, and there were to come moments when the only factor which prevented final breakdown in negotiations was the unquenchable faith on the part of the members of the Joint Committee that one day reunion would be achieved simply because they knew it was God's will.

(c) The constitution and government of the Church

At the second meeting of the Joint Committee in December 1920, six sub-committees were set up to work on various aspects of the unity scheme in more detail. Waller was the Convenor of that on "The Governing Body" which Sundkler describes as "undoubtedly the most important of these." [17] The first meeting took place in March 1921 and "Bishop Waller lectured on the character and meaning of the Lambeth Conference, particularly stressing that, as Lambeth was an advisory and not a legislative body, each province was free to decide its affairs as determined by local conditions, a point which was especially important in view of the criticism that had been levelled against the Lambeth Appeal from South India." [18]

This sub-committee made rapid progress and was ready with detailed proposals for the third meeting of the Joint Committee in June 1921 at Madras. It was remarkably easy to reach agreement on a basic organisational structure of committees, councils and synods because the existing system in the SIUC was almost identical to that which Waller was evolving in Tinnevelly. As Sundkler remarks:

> "When Waller and his sub-committee had to define the duties of the Diocesan Council, he described them as "those at present assigned to the 'Church Councils' of the South India United Church". He could have written "the Tinnevelly Diocesan Council" instead: the effect would have been largely the same." (19)

The Wesleyan Methodists joined the negotiations in 1925, and their structures also fitted well into the plan. Waller could describe the situation thus:

> "It may be considered providential that the organisation of the three negotiating Churches has been modelled on very similar lines. Wesleyan Methodism, springing as it did from the English Church, naturally carried with it as much as could be adapted of the English system. The SIUC, with its Presbyterian element and its close proximity to large Anglican Missions, which by the genius of Henry Venn were developing a system of Church

> government by parish councils, "rural deaneries", "archdeaconries", and a diocesan or central council, deliberately adopted the main features of their organisation. So the systems were ready for amalgamation."(20)

The work, therefore, could go steadily forward in line with a memorandum which Waller, whom Sundkler calls "that trained constitution maker",[21] wrote "On the Governing Body of the Proposed United Church". There were, however, unseen rocks ahead in that the SIUC had adopted Presbyterian structures on its formation in 1908, and in the 1930s younger Congregationalist missionaries were to object that little or nothing of real Congregationalist autonomy for the local Church had been retained.

The position and powers of the Bishops in relation to the Synod were carefully debated and adjustments in this relationship continued to be made for many years. The problem was to preserve to the Bishops the real 'oversight' and power to safeguard the faith, while preventing them from becoming autocratic, and maintaining all normal powers of government in the hands of the Synod as a whole. Although there was necessarily much debate on these issues, the influence of Waller and those like him was decisive in the long run, and a middle way was successfully steered.

(d) Waller and the Joint Committee: 1920 - 1930

The Joint Committee met eight times between 1920 and 1929 and Waller attended every meeting except one.[22] The sub-committee on Church Govenrment also met separately on a number of occasions under Waller's chairmanship. In common with all members, he was also engaged in unceasing correspondence, thought and prayer, and of advocacy of the proposals within his own constituency in India, and with the Church of England. This was, of course, in addition to his heavy diocesan and episcopal responsibilities. There was also the important exercise of public relations to be performed and, for example, he addressed the General Assembly of the SIUC in September 1921.[23]

Personal relationships within the Joint Committee were clearly of the greatest importance. There can be no question that Palmer was the theologian and master-mind on the Anglican side during the first ten years, but he and Waller made an admirable partnership as they also demonstrated in the negotiations for the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. Waller and Azariah were very close friends, and when Tubbs joined the committee from 1925 - 28, two lifelong friends were brought together. When Tubbs was succeeded by Western, another well-tried partnership was brought into action again.

When the Wesleyan Methodists joined the committee in 1925, among their number was C.H. Monahan of the Madras district, and he was destined to play an important part in subsequent developments. Sundkler remarks: "His collaboration with Bishop Waller was particularly friendly."[24] J.S.M. Hooper recalled how Waller was held in high esteem by every member in the 1930s, and how he was one of those who made the idea of episcopacy acceptable to suspicious Free Churchmen.

On the SIUC side, Waller's relationship with J.J. Banninga was always good even when they disagreed. In the case of J.H. Maclean we learn that he "is a good fighter and put the case for the Free Churches very ably. Sometimes he rubbed them up the wrong way and brought a look on the face of Bishop Waller like unto

a man in a dentist's chair". [25] But Sundkler describes Maclean as "one of the noblest figures in the company of union makers. He had firm theological principles and stuck to them - but he could also learn and change...In the end Palmer and Waller and the cause they represented meant much more to him than what he regarded as irresponsible individualism." [26] So far as the general thrust of the negotiations were concerned, Sundkler can summarize: "In the 'twenties the leadership in the joint committee belonged to the Anglican Bishops: Palmer, Azariah, Waller, Western. They produced the constructive ideas and the theological blueprint." [27]

It also needs to be remembered that the successful formulation of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon greatly helped the negotiations forward, and much the same team deserves credit for this as well. Sundkler comments that with the successful outcome "one of the main hindrances to union was...removed. From now on the churches met on the same level. No longer was there a case of one State-privileged group dealing with "non-conformists". Now they were all "Free" churches." [28]

Lastly it should not pass unnoticed that Waller's book Church Union in South India: the Story of the Negotiations, published in 1929, was written at the request of the SPCK in London. Its Literature Committee "were anxious for an authoritative explanation of a scheme which to members of the Home Churches seemed full of obscurities and ambiguities." [29] It was to Waller that they turned for this explanation and his was the privilege and responsibility of presenting to the general Christian (especially the Anglican) public in England an orderly exposition of the scheme.

(e) The Lambeth Conference 1930

The scheme went for consideration to the Episcopal Synod in February 1930 and thence to the Lambeth Conference of 1930 for comment and advice. As in 1920 there were two sub-committees tackling the unity of the Church, one on relations with episcopal Churches and the other, larger body on relations with the non-episcopal Churches. The latter included in its membership Waller, Azariah and Palmer (who had now returned to England and was an assistant Bishop in the diocese of Gloucester), and the chairman was Archbishop Temple of York. [30]

Full and careful consideration was given to the scheme, although it was fully recognised that "It was not submitted for acceptance or rejection. The Lambeth Conference has no constitutional authority to accept or reject such proposals; the responsibility for action lies with the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon." [31] There was considerable disagreement initially and Archbishop Lang (now of Canterbury) "had anticipated the most serious trouble" in this debate. [32] Bishop Hensley Henson wrote in his diary of "considerable and determined opposition" to the scheme which would "not easily be defeated", although his view was that "if the proposals of the Conference of 1920 [were] not to be shown to be utterly meaningless, the scheme must be generally approved." [33]

It was in this conference that Waller emerged as the undoubted leader of the Indian Bishops on the unity proposals. When he addressed the main conference he impressed Hensley Henson as "a man of sense and ability" and later he records that "The Indian Bishops have made a good impression, especially Madras and Dornakal", a considerable compliment in view of many of his astringent comments in the same context! But perhaps Waller's outstanding contribution was in the sub-committee where he reiterated his point that the proposed united Church would be autonomous and not a province of the Anglican Church.

The matter had been discussed at the Episcopal Synod earlier in the year, and it had been desired that links should be retained with the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. But Waller had insisted that any united Church must be an entirely autonomous province of the Catholic Church, not tied to any one part of it. This was important from the point of view of the SIUC and the Methodists as it greatly helped to answer the charge that the Anglicans wanted to 'absorb' the other Churches. Now it proved to be a break-through point at the Lambeth Conference. Bishop G.K.A. Bell of Chichester took up the point and wove it into the report and "much of the opposition to the Scheme fell away [as] there are many things which the Anglican Church is not prepared to tolerate within itself, but which have proved no barrier to its relations of fellowship with other Churches." [34]

Hensley Henson records that on Friday 1st August:

> "The Archbishop of York brought forward the resolutions dealing with the South India Scheme. These passed with hardly a shadow of dissent, and when the decisive vote had been unanimously favourable, the Conference allowed itself to indulge in some complimentary speeches. The President called for silent prayer, and after an interval read some collect. Then somebody started the doxology which was sung with feeling and fervour..."
>
> Before the meeting of the Conference, the South India Scheme had been the subject of vehement controversy. A polemical literature of considerable extent had been produced, and many alarming prophecies of disruption had been made. Much credit for the successful piloting of the scheme through Conference is due to the Indian Bishops and much to the skill, good temper and resource of the Chairman of the Committee, Archbishop Temple." (35)

(f) Opposition to the scheme

The negotiators were engaged in an historic venture and were rightly the subjects of a great deal of attention from the world-wide Church. The Rt. Rev. S.C. Neill describes them as being like "performers in a ring, lighted up by powerful searchlights, and their every movement watched by a vast and unseen cloud of witnesses in every country in the world." [36] There were times, indeed, when the debate in England seemed even more important than that in India. The need to give proper expression to the unity of the Church was immensely strong between the two world wars, when the need for peace and reconciliation in the world was so plain to see, and this meant that everyone's convictions were at stake. Everyone, that is, from the strongest Anglo Catholic, insisting on the historic episcopate guaranteed and empowered through apostolic succession, to the staunchest Congregationalist, vigorously defending the freedom of the individual Christian and the autonomy of the local Church. On either side of the debate Churches, conferences, missionary societies, and individual theologians, both in England and in America, were forced to take up their positions.

So far as Waller was concerned, the fiercest attack came, not unnaturally, from the Anglo Catholics. Their cause was championed by the Church Times, which adopted an almost violently anti-union stance and hurled anathemas across the ocean at Anglican Bishops who were placing catholic truth and order in jeopardy. After Palmer returned to England in 1929, he kept up a running battle with opponents of the scheme through the correspondence columns of the Times and the Church Times, but far away in India it was much less easy to reply. Furthermore, the criticism not infrequently seemed to be particularly frustrating because the scheme was misunderstood or misrepresented. It was inevitable, moreover, that the SPG should be drawn into the conflict. The CMS seem to have backed the scheme throughout, regarding it as a constructive building

upon the principles of the Lambeth Appeal. It did not feel its position particularly exposed. But the SPG was very awkwardly caught between its generally catholic constituency and its oft repeated pledge to support the Bishop in his diocese abroad. As we have seen, Waller experienced increasing difficulty in dealing with a society caught on the horns of a most perplexing dilemma.

There is no doubt that the violence of much of the criticism hurt Waller not a little, and he was particularly incensed at the attitude adopted by the Church Times. On just one or two occasions he was stung out of his usual equanimity, and the result is a personal glimpse which the records rarely reveal elsewhere. On 25th May 1931 he wrote to Canon Waddy, secretary of the SPG, regarding a proposal for co-operation between an SPG school in Madras and a Baptist school.

> "Of course I cannot remove objections which are based on fundamental fear of the Union scheme. I have fought pan-denominationalism hard for the last thirty years because I think it is the opposite of unity, but I do not expect your friends on the committee to be convinced of that for I find the utmost untidiness of mind in both Protestants and 'Catholics' on this point...
>
> I have sufficient faith in our principles to believe they will flourish without being put in a glass case. I used to find that CMS thought that evangelical principles withered at the first whiff of incense or the first zephyr of modernism. I always thought SPG had more faith in the power of truth. I hope I shall not be mistaken.
>
> Of course I know, though you are too polite to say so, that the real snag is distrust of myself as a protagonist of union, fed by the lies which the Church Times has told about me. That I cannot get over. My chief friends among the Bishops outside India (and in it too) are the Anglo-Catholics, but of course your committee cannot know that, and having rarely seen me may imagine it is due to the beauty of my person rather than to the fact that we find any common ground of thought. I am not an A.C. in capitals but I have very clear notions of what the Church means. And I wonder what the unanimous Bishops at Lambeth were all led by? And whether

Apostolical succession ceases to function in large numbers of bishops as soon as they cease to have the confidence of Sidney Dark?

Sorry to inflict all this on you but I felt as if I was in your confessional armchair smoking a pipe with you and I just went on..." (37)

(g) Waller's contribution to the negotiations, 1930 - 40

Of the change of leadership on the Anglican side of the Joint Committee after the 1930 Lambeth Conference, Sundkler writes: "In the 'twenties Palmer had dominated the scene as far as the Anglicans were concerned. Palmer's departure gave more scope to his episcopal colleagues and other Anglican co-workers. Bishop Waller now became the most faithful interpreter of the inclusive "Great Church" vision which gave the constructive idea to the union ediface." [38] Through the next decade of weary and often frustrating negotiation, he was the Anglican leader who, together with Azariah, bore the heat and burden of the day.

The details of these difficult negotiations cannot be described here, and it must suffice to say that the scheme went through a total of seven editions, the final draft being agreed by the Joint Committee in October 1941, six months after Waller's departure from India in severe ill health. Thereafter the councils of the participating Churches largely took over responsibility and when each had agreed the scheme by the requisite majority, the Union was inaugurated in 1947.

Waller's role in these crucial years of the 1930s was both general and specific. So far as the general course of events was concerned, he continued to be a vital anchor point:

> "After such radiant hopes in 1929 and 1930, the postponement of actual union beyond an indefinitely receding horizon produced much disillusionment and loss of enthusiasm; while the constant tinkering with the details of the scheme left a sense of bewilderment in the minds even of its most patient students." (39)

Who had the necessary resources, spiritual, mental and physical to prevent breakdown? By 1940 Waller and Azariah were the only two Anglican members of the Joint Committee who had remained right from the beginning. [40] This gave them a special importance in providing continuity and acting as elder statesmen, but it

also subjected them to the temptation of weary disillusionment; ten years of high hopes and eager anticipation were followed by ten years when almost no progress seemed to be made and it required the most delicate and patient diplomacy even to keep the negotiations alive.

During most of this time the Anglican position was under constant attack from the Congregationalists of the London Missionary Society. Because of the extreme delicacy of the negotiations criticism of this attack was always muted, but it seems indisputable that the Anglicans in particular had to put up with a very great deal from missionaries who were apparently quite prepared to bring the whole scheme to an end over quite minor points, the spirit of which had been accepted virtually from the beginning. "It's just been another session of Bishop baiting", Waller remarked bitterly after one meeting.[41] But although he was greatly shaken by the death of his wife in 1933, he went steadily on with the negotiations, refusing to countenance the idea of complete breakdown, and by the time of his departure from India, the end was in sight. Among the many faithful and courageous servants of the Church of South India, Waller deserves an honourable place.

His contribution to the cause of unity during these years was also specific. For example, as part of the very necessary public relations exercise, a magazine called Church Union ~~Notes~~ News and ~~News~~ Views was founded in 1930 with Waller as head of the editorial board. The editors were Dr. Banninga (1930 - 33) and J.S.M. Hooper (1934 - 47), and it was published quarterly with important editorials and articles, and the reports of the Joint Committee and the Continuation Committee. It was an ambitious undertaking which ran into financial difficulty until its fortunes were revived by the appointment of a business manager in 1939. But its services in providing a steady stream of information and informed comment was of great importance even when its circulation was very small.

Even more important, he was a leading member of the Continuation Committee appointed by the Joint Committee.[42] Not only did this have the vital and time-consuming task of maintaining contact between the interested parties and preparing agenda, but it was also, for example, the first body to which the issue of lay celebration was referred in 1935. Lay celebration had been practised in parts of India as a pastoral necessity, especially in mass movement areas; some Congregationalists now decided to raise the issue as a matter of principle.[43] The Continuation Committee proposed a practical answer. It agreed to recommend that trusted catechists and evangelists be ordained as "assistant ministers". They would have full equality of status spiritually with other presbyters(or deacons) but would not have independent administrative charge of pastorates. But some LMS councils decided to pursue the matter as a vital congregationalist element in any union scheme, and hence this answer did not satisfy them, and eventually a special Lay Celebration sub-committee was set up. This committee rejected the request and its report was accepted by the Joint Committee. But although in this instance the matter was taken out of the hands of the Continuation Committee, it was the ceaseless work of this kind often behind the scenes which prevented the negotiations breaking down again and again.

Lastly, special mention must be made of Waller's attitude and actions in relation to the problem of inter-communion. This was, of course, only a problem so far as the Anglicans were concerned and pressure on them mounted steadily after the Lambeth Conference of 1930. Banninga led the debate on the side of the Free Churches writing to Azariah: "Let one of your bishops attend a non-Anglican Communion service as a communicant, and the whole atmosphere in South India will change. But I am afraid you will not dare to do it."[44] The following year he warned Waller that if inter-communion could not be obtained, the union scheme was likely to collapse; whereas if it could come about, the scheme was virtually assured of a successful outcome.[45]

This, indeed, placed a heavy burden of responsibility of Waller's shoulders. The Anglican delegation met after the Joint Committee meeting of November 1930 to discuss the matter and decided to refer to the Episcopal Synod for advice. The Synod met in Calcutta in February 1932, and after considerable debate, gave cautious approval under certain circumstances:

> "...though the Synod is unable formally to endorse the procedure asked for, because it is one on which the Church of this Province has not yet reached a common mind, a majority of the Synod is unwilling to limit the liberty of the delegates in this matter or to call in question the action of any who feels impelled, in view of the agreement already reached and in confident expectation that full agreement will be attained, to join in the Lord's Supper celebrated by ministers of the other uniting Churches at meetings of the Joint Committee and Retreats organised directly by it. In giving this liberty the Synod would emphasise the fact that it cannot believe that general inter-communion before union is the right way of working for unity: and further it asks the other Churches not to misunderstand the attitude of those who even on those special occasions do not feel that they can depart from their lifelong rule." (46)

The next meeting of the Joint Committee was in Madras later in February of the same year. The first service of Holy Communion was Anglican and Waller celebrated; the second was Methodist and, of the Anglican Bishops, Azariah and Western received Communion, but Waller did not attend. The same pattern was repeated at the Congregationalist celebration on the following morning.

Why did Waller feel unable to join with Azariah and Western? In the first place, the question was as pertinent then as it is now whether Communion should be seen as a means to unity or should rather be reserved to mark its accomplishment. In his book, the Story of the Negotiations, Waller wrote:

> "It is a debatable point whether communion should be the climax of union or a means of attaining it, and a good deal could be said on both sides. But as inter-communion is often held to imply also the right of inter-celebration if it is to be complete, and so to anticipate the settlement

> of a very difficult question, the more practical method seems to be to make communion the climax of a completed union." (47)

Second, Lambeth had clearly stated that when union was as good as certain, limited inter-communion could be accepted as an anticipatory measure. The Episcopal Synod had likewise made this a condition, and Archbishop Temple had stated the matter well when he wrote to Azariah: "I should be ready for such a step in my own mind as soon as [it was certain that the Scheme was going through] ..because then the spirit of schism would have been definitely driven out." [48] Clearly to Western and Azariah that stage had been reached, but the matter was not nearly so clear in Waller's mind and he adopted a much more cautious view. The inauguration of the scheme, or even its final approval still seemed several years distant [49] and he may very well have felt that the spirit of schism had not yet been banished. No supporting evidence can be produced except his very action in abstaining from Communion, but it may very well be that he simply did not feel ready for it in his mind.

Third, he did not feel that he had the backing of his diocese and this reason he made explicit. Madras diocese was strongly conservative, especially in the English speaking Churches. He told Banninga of the man who had summed up his own attitude when he said: "With nine-tenths of my mind I want to give [inter-communion] but I cannot see how to do it without giving away what we are standing for in the united church." [50] Waller did not regard himself simply as an individual, free to do as he wished or even what his liberty of conscience might prompt. He was primarily a diocesan Bishop with the responsibility both of leading and of representing his people. He had also a very strong sense of Church order in general, and the question was constantly in his mind as to what the effect would be on the Catholic Church at large. Archbishop Lang had cautiously but unmistakably expressed the hope that the Bishops would refrain from using the liberty that the

Episcopal Synod had given.[51] Anglo Catholic opinion everywhere was in a state of grave anxiety.[52] How far was it right to alienate Christians of one's own Communion either in Madras or in England for the sake of progress that still seemed very uncertain? In addition, Waller had been quite closely involved in the Kikuyu affair many years before, as we have seen, and although he had supported Willis, the lesson in terms of upheaval and potential schism had not been lost on him.

All this led him to the conclusion that the next step ought to be con-celebration at the Joint Committee meetings. It seems that he advocated this at the meeting of the Episcopal Synod, and he advocated it again strongly before the crucial meeting of 1932.[53] The Methodists supported him and Gulliford hoped up to the last minute that this would take place. But Azariah was not happy with the suggestion and was clearly both ready and determined to proceed to inter-communion, while it seems that the SIUC leaders had virtually decided to make this a test case, and determined to have separate services.[54]

Waller, with many others, watched carefully to see what reaction would follow the stand taken by Azariah and Western. In England, as had been expected, there was great agitation in some circles and much criticism, but there was not a crisis such as that which had surrounded the Kikuyu affair.

In India, the question was whether this gesture would help forward the cause of unity. So far as the next few years were concerned, the answer to that question is inconclusive. Some Free Churchmen like the Methodist Posnett became staunch supporters of the scheme as a result. On the other hand Sundkler can write:

> "It is quite possible to argue now (twenty years after the event) that as far as South India is concerned inter-communion did retard union. Inter-communion not only brought some men together, it also kept others apart. It sharpened the issues and put in train a series of events which nobody could foresee in 1932. It undoubtedly brought to the surface difficulties over the interpretation of the Pledge, the debate about which was the main theme in

> 1933 and 1934. This in turn sharpened that SIUC opposition to fundamental aspects of the Scheme which in 1935 caused a crisis in the negotiations, and because of which a new turn of events took place through the years 1936 - 41 with their particular emphases. The decision on inter-communion at the same time turned Anglo-Catholic leaders such as Bishop Carpenter-Garnier against the Scheme; it also led to the Oxford Mission to Calcutta refusing to allow any of its members to be included in the CIBC representation on the Joint Committee." (55)

Those who received Communion had considered the matter with care and doubtless felt the outcome to be worthwhile. They continued to receive Communion from non-episcopal hands at Joint Committee meetings. But meanwhile Waller watched the situation and waited. For several years the prospects of union seemed to recede and he saw no reason to change his stance. Then in 1937 the General Assembly of the SIUC decided that limited inter-communion of this kind was not enough and that the practice should be adopted on a much wider scale between the negotiating Churches.

When the matter came before the Joint Committee in February 1938, Waller must have felt that his decision to forbear had been justified. But he was ready to take a constructive part in the debate and Sundkler writes that his willingness to listen was certainly influential and the result was that the Committee replied: "The only true answer to the desire for inter-communion is the consummation of union itself, which it is now the task of the churches to hasten by all means in their power." 56

The following year (1939) the SIUC Assembly pressed still harder their demand for inter-communion, and although the reply of the Joint Committee was the same, it did add that "full advantage has not yet been taken of the permission granted in the resolution of the Episcopal Synod" and gradually moves were made to extend the number of services at which inter-communion could take place. The sixth edition of the scheme was also published in that year and it at last began to seem that the end of the tunnel was in sight. Waller was also in ill health and it may be that

he knew that his service to the cause of unity was drawing to a close, especially if the war should cause serious delay. That cannot be known for certain, but for whatever reason, this was the moment he chose to come into the full fellowship of Holy Communion with his Free Church brethren. At the meeting of the Joint Committee in Madras at the end of November 1939 he joined Azariah in receiving Communion from the hands of the Methodist celebrant. The moment was right, and his action, which everyone knew to be the result of a most carefully considered decision, gave significant encouragement and impetus to the negotiations at an important moment. Dr. Marcus Ward declares that for him, and for many others, this action on Waller's part was a turning point of great importance in the successful outcome of the scheme.[57] This was the last meeting of the Joint Committee he was to attend, and just over a year later he was forced to leave India in severe ill health. His last service to the cause of unity had been rendered, and it could hardly have been more appropriate.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. Hereafter referred to as the SIUC.

2. See Chapter 2 (e) above.

3. CM Review. July 1909.

4. Tranquebar Manifesto.

5. Ibid.

6. Minutes in the Madras Diocesan Magazine. 1920.

7. The proposal that only the four southern (Dravidian) dioceses should take part in the scheme was advocated at the second meeting of the Joint Committee in December 1920 and agreed by the Episcopal Synod in 1922. The Metropolitan ceased to be a member at this point. When Waller was translated to Madras, successive Bishops of Tinnevelly joined the committee.

8. Church of South India: The Movement towards Union. 1900 - 1947. p. 123.

9. Lutterworth Press 1954.

10. Sundkler refers to "whole churches and congregations../in India/ on tip-toe, watching in tense expectancy for any signal which might be hoisted at Lambeth." op. cit. p.132.

In England Hensley Henson records: "The Archbishop is evidently apprehensive of something like deadlock. He points out that for the first time all the subjects on the agenda are both pressing and highly controversial." Retrospect of an unimportant life, Vol. 2 p.4.(O.U.P. 1942). Bishop Gore had solemnly written to Archbishop Davidson: "I hope that Divine Providence intends the Church of England to exist over the next year or two without a schism which would separate off the Catholic section, but I dread the Lambeth Conference and its consequences." He thought the Church of England was in danger of being sacrificed "to Reunionists who yield themselves to their amiable impulses and do no clear thinking." Quoted G.K.A. Bell: Randall Davidson Vol.2. p.1004 (O.U.P. 1935)

11. G.K.A. Bell gives a vivid sketch of Bishop Palmer: "..a busy figure pressing his way through to the library, with his smoked glasses, his patent leather satchels with steel handles, sometimes stamping his feet with indignation, sometimes bursting into tumultuous stammering speech on Church Unity." op. cit. Vol. 2. p.1010.

12. So Lang thought when he wrote to his mother from the conference. J.G. Lockhart: Cosmo Gordon Lang (Hodder & Stoughton 1949). p.267.

13. G.K.A. Bell: op. cit. Vol.2. p.1011.

14. The Church of England in the Twentieth Century. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1950). Vol.2 p.254.

15. For the text see G.K.A. Bell (ed.) : Documents on Christian Unity 1920 - 1924. (OUP 1924). pp.1 - 13.

16. In his book, Church Union in South India: The story of the Negotiations (SPCK London 1929), Waller wrote: "The uniting Churches decided that the only hope of union lay in the acceptance of the historic episcopate...So for the sake of union (and for that reason alone) all agreed to accept union on /this/ basis." (p.41). In an article for the CM Review, September 1926, he strongly advocated episcopacy as the best form of government for the Church in India, because it would bind together the many diverse elements in Indian society: "..it is the principle of one Church and one ministry which will gradually efface these..differences."

    On pp.65 - 75 of his book he carefully describes the process by which agreement was reached between 1920 and 1929 on the form that ministry should take after union; the movement from a service of mutual commissioning to a recognition of ministries as they stood, but with the provision of a 'Pledge'. The idea of a mutual commissioning service had been proposed both at Tanquebar and at Lambeth, but Waller was always suspicious of adopting any form of words which might be ambiguous. "I have always recognised that it would be impossible to build a union on an arrangement which means only one thing to one party and another to the other", he wrote to C.H. Turner. Similarly: "To build a union on a basis of equivocal interpretation is obviously courting disaster." (CM Review, September 1926.)

17. op. cit. p.138. The other sub-committees dealt with Inter-communion, the Creeds, Confirmation, Freedom of marriage, and the Diaconate.

18. Ibid. pp.138/9.

19. Ibid. p.140.

20. The Story of the Negotiations. p.59.

21. op. cit. p.139.

22. 1928 at Bangalore; he was on furlough.

23. In his greeting he particularly stressed that it was no part of the proposals that the Anglican Church should absorb the SIUC. See B. Sundkler: op. cit. p.141

24. op. cit. p.189.

25. Sackett to Thompson. 1926. Quoted B. Sundkler: op. cit. p.395.

26. op. cit. pp.124/5.
27. Ibid. p. 182.

28. op. cit. p.157.

29. Explanatory note at the beginning of the book.

30. Bishop N.H. Tubbs was now Bishop of Rangoon, and was also on this sub-committee. F.J. Western, now Bishop of Tinnevelly, took part in the sub-committee dealing with relations with episcopal Churches, especially relationships within the Anglican Communion.

31. Report of the Lambeth Conference. 1930. (SPCK) p.123.

32. J.G. Lockhart: op. cit. p.347.

33. op. cit. p. 265.

34. S.C. Neill: Towards a United Church: 1913 - 1947 (ed. W.J. Noble. Edinburgh House Press, London. 1947) p.97. cf. also J.G. Lockhart, op. cit. p.347: "Over South India ...a remarkable unanimity was reached...the decisive point being the discovery that the South Indian Church was to be a province not of the Anglican Communion, but, independently, of the Universal Church." See also the Report of the Lambeth Conference (SPCK) 1930. pp.124/5.

35. op. cit. p.275.

36. op. cit. p.96.

37. SPG D 1931 No.54. Sidney Dark was editor of the Church Times.

38. op. cit. p.183.

39. S.C. Neill: op. cit. p.102.

40. Other Anglicans with long records on the Committee were A.J. Appasamy and J. Kuriyan. From the SIUC membership, long standing members included Banninga (who left India in 1942), Maclean (who retired in 1941) and Monahan (retired 1940). H. Sumitra has the record of having been present at every meeting from 1920 - 1947. Methodist representatives of many years service included S. Gnanaprakasam (a layman), P. Gurushanta (later the first Bishop of Mysore), P.S. Rangaramanuyam, E.L. Ananta Rao, and, as Sundkler says, "in a class by himself" J.S.M. Hooper. op. cit. p.302.

41. Quoted (in a private letter) by the Rt. Rev. S.C. Neill, to whom the remark was addressed.

42. The other members during most of the 1930s were Azariah and Western (Anglican), Maclean, Parker and Lucas (SIUC), Monahan and Taylor (Methodist).

43. Cf: the comment of Dr. Marcus Ward that the point of principle seemed to have arisen "not positively from Congregationalism itself, but negatively as Congregationalism faced union with a Church suspected of sacerdotal tendencies." Quoted B. Sundkler: op. cit. p.295

44. Banninga to Azariah. 1930. Quoted B. Sundkler: op. cit. pp.229/30.

45. Banninga to Waller. 28th November 1931. Quoted Ibid.

46. The resolution is quoted, B. Sundkler: op. cit. pp.237/8.

47. p.87.

48. Temple to Azariah. 1930. Quoted, B. Sundkler: op. cit. p.404.

49. See eg: Ibid. p. 405.

50. Quoted Ibid. p.232.

51. Quoted Ibid. p.239.

52. Ibid. p. 239.

53. Ibid. p. 238.

54. Ibid. p. 240.

55. Ibid. pp.242/3.

56. Ibid. p.296.

57. Personal Interview.

PART 4

EPILOGUE AND CONCLUSION

PART 4

EPILOGUE

Waller's resignation and death; Azariah's Tribute

Early in 1941 Waller suffered a sudden and severe stroke which badly affected both his mobility and power of speech. He had no family in India and he asked to be taken to Dornakal where he could have the fellowship of Azariah in his illness.[1] On 10th March the clergy of the diocese were called together and Waller gave a final blessing before leaving the diocese for the last time. He was desperately anxious to go to England but, because of war conditions, the best arrangement that could be made was for him to go to a niece and her husband in South Africa. They arranged for him to be cared for in a Nursing Home in Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

As he showed little sign of improvement, he tendered his resignation to take effect from 9th November 1941, shortly before the twenty sixth anniversary of his consecration. He died suddenly on Saturday 16th May, 1942 in his seventy first year. The funeral service took place in St. Saviour's Cathedral, Pietermaritzburg, and was conducted by the Dean, the Bishop officiating at the graveside.[2] A memorial service was held in Madras on 17th June 1942 at which the preacher was Bishop N.H. Tubbs.

In July of that year the Madras Diocesan Magazine carried a personal tribute from Bishop Azariah, his close friend and colleague for more than a quarter of a century. It dwells on Waller's personal qualities rather than on his achievements in the fields of unity and administration, and coming from a Christian of the land for which Waller gave his life in service, it makes a fitting close to this biographical section:

> "[Harry Waller] was a faithful friend, a wise counsellor, and a generous supporter of all good causes. I cannot say anything of his administration of the diocese; those more intimately connected with him in the diocese will pay tribute in that field. Mine is the duty of a friend only.
>
> He was a good friend. In home life he stripped himself of all officialdom and placed himself wholly at the disposal of his friends. It was this capacity for friendship

and sympathy that made him popular with young European businessmen, the men of the English Club, the Boat Club, members of the Toc H, Hindu and Moslem officials, and his brother Bishops. They will all testify to the readiness with which he threw himself into their situations and problems, and placed his knowledge, gifts and influence at their disposal.

"He was a wise Counsellor. I marvelled at the way he could make quick decisions from given facts. His advice never came with any imperatives. He was content for his advice to be entirely ignored, if the seeker of the advice thought otherwise. It was this quality which made him a good secretary of the Episcopal Synod and a useful member and chairman of committees. Whatever his own view was on a question, when it was his job to draft a resolution he was absolutely loyal to the opinions of others - if there was any element of truth in these.

"He was a supporter of all good causes. He gave away his money freely to the causes in which he believed. Church Union, evangelism, instruction of new converts in mass movement areas, distressed continental missions - all received his ungrudging support. Many were the individuals who benefitted by his generosity.

"His was a well disciplined life. The remarkable way in which he bore his domestic sorrow is known to all. He scarcely ever spoke of his deceased son or his wife. He restrained himself from doing many things out of deference to the opinions of those for whom he cared. He was a thorough evangelical by inheritance, training and temperament, and yet he refrained from doing many things in the diocese lest they should outrage the feelings of his fellow-workers. From his early days he never saw a cinema-picture or went to a theatre. As far as possible he dealt with each day's correspondence that day. He scrutinized and checked his personal account each day, balancing the cash and the book to the last pice.

"He was a man of God. He had an Englishman's reserve in speaking about his personal religion. But I know that his devotional life was true and deep...He often confessed that he had no gift to conduct a retreat or a special mission. And yet those who heard him would testify that they were helpful and inspiring to many because they came from an honest heart.

"Reality and genuiness characterised his relationship with all. He never hid his feelings about any person. He called a fool a fool. If he spoke in admiration of a man, that was also perfectly genuine. Never did I hear him say one thing to a man's face and another behind his back. Race and colour made no difference in his treatment of a man. To treat one with disrespect because he was an Indian, or to treat another with respect because he was an Englishman was to him unthinkable.

He took a genuine interest in Indian national aspirations, in the movements for social reform, and in all efforts for unity and co-operation in Church and Mission...We know his good wishes and prayers are still with us in India."

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Notes

1. Carol Graham writes: "Azariah was deeply touched when Waller, a desperately sick man, chose Dornakal as the one place in India where he felt he could revive his weary spirit, and finally turned for help to him to face the bitter parting from India." Azariah of Dornakal (SCM 1946) p.104.

2. Further details of Waller's illness and death, including letters from South Africa, may be found in the Madras Diocesan Magazine, from December 1941 to July 1942.

PART 4

CHAPTER 12

TOWARDS AN EVALUATION

(Notes to this chapter will be found on page 312)

Diocesanisation means simply the creation of a diocese. Two processes are necessary for this; one is legal and formal, the other is spontaneous and may be piecemeal. When the diocese of Tinnevelly was carved out of that of Madras in 1896 by the formal agreements of consenual compact, a diocese was formed recognizable in the eyes of lawyers and sufficient for a bishop to be appointed who could take possession of his see.

But in what did his see consist? The Church of England has always arranged its dioceses on a territorial basis, so that every square foot of English soil falls within a parish and a diocese. When the Church of England extended its jurisdiction abroad, setting up a quasi-establishment,[1] it seemed natural to adopt the same basis, even when this resulted in vast areas of the world's surface becoming the technical responsibility of one bishop. Even, moreover, when missionary societies of other denominations were in occupation of part of the same territory. The diocese of Tinnevelly was, therefore, first and foremost (from the legal point of view), simply a large area of south east India, roughly triangular in shape, bounded to the east and south by ocean, and to the west and north by a somewhat arbitrary and entirely invisible line drawn across country.

How did a Church come to exist in this triangle? To designate an area of land as a diocese and appoint a bishop to take charge of it is one thing; to build a Church is quite another. In this case, so far as the Church of England was concerned, it was the work of two missionary societies, the CMS and the SPG, who had both been active in the area for a long time. A Church, in the sense of congregations of Christians, had existed, therefore, long before the diocese; indeed the new diocese was formed precisely because there was a Church existing in some strength.[2]

How, then, should the existing Church and the diocese under its bishop be brought together into one united, visible expression of the Catholic Church? This is the central problem of diocesanisation

and within that question there nestle a cluster of problems.

First, there is the problem of race. When the proposals for the formation of a Church of India, Burma and Ceylon were being discussed, Waller found that certain English speaking congregations in the diocese of Madras desired to remain part of the Church of England, forming a separate Church. The result would have been two Churches in the one diocese, segregated on a racial basis. Such an arrangement was firmly rejected as incompatible with the Christian faith. This matter does not seem to have arisen in Tinnevelly at any serious level, and the matter was not complicated there by the existence of maintained Churches, although there were various English speaking congregations.

Second, in Hindu society there is the problem of caste. This posed a problem of the greatest importance to the first missionaries. Should it be regarded as a social phenomenon with which the Church, with its western prejudices and attitudes, should not meddle? Caste has been a source of security to the Hindu as well as an inhibition, although a considerable proportion of the Indian Church is composed of people who were once regarded as 'untouchable' or, at least, of low caste. But the question pressed at sensitive points; it was surely essential to the Christian faith that Christians kneel together to receive the Holy Communion from the same vessels, where that was the custom of the Church. It is probably true to say that the idea of a 'Caste Church' has been unthinkable within a Protestant diocese since the days of Bishop Daniel Wilson. This does not mean that no problem remains, but for Waller in Tinnevelly, the difficulty mainly consisted in unravelling caste feeling from other objections under which it masqueraded, and ensuring so far as possible that power structures were not unfairly weighted. One method of achieving this, open to a man who stood entirely outside the caste system, was to reserve a certain number of nominations to important committees to himself. Waller also tried to keep his eyes firmly fixed on the quality of work achieved by a congregation rather than on the status of those who achieved it. On the principle of the matter, his mind was perfectly clear: "I am convinced that the only thing to do is to swamp caste in Christ." [3]

Third, there is the problem of denomination. Diocesan boundaries are no respecters of comity arrangements, and bishops found existing within the territory allotted to them by the Church of England, Churches of other denominations which owed their allegience elsewhere. This was a difficulty of fundamental importance which had been inherent in the modern missionary movement from the beginning, and its roots lay so deep that it has often seemed impossible to remedy. But no diocesanisation policy worthy the name could fail to take some account of it. Waller gave himself utterly to the task of achieving a solution in South India, and in the end it consumed almost all his energy.

The problem was not merely that of integrating the Churches of other denominations into the diocesan structures. That would have been a convenient act of absorption but, understandably, it would not have been acceptable to the other Churches concerned. It is, in fact, of the greatest importance to observe that the eventual agreement on an episcopal diocesan basis by the Churches negotiating for unity did not mean diocesan absorption. The Church of England in India first separated itself into an independent province, under a new constitution of which Waller was one of the main architects. This constitution expressly made it possible to proceed to the next step, which was to transform the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon in the four southern dioceses, togther with the other Churches involved, into a single new Church. Waller clearly paused in his diocesanisation plan for Madras, and ceased altogether by about 1929, not least because he realized that a new united Church would mean new dioceses and a new constitution.

Fourth, diocesanisation entailed bringing the Churches established by the Missions under the jurisdiction of the bishop and the diocese. It has been this problem which has occupied the centre of this study. To unravel it is to uncover a number of issues which, so far as Tinnevelly at least was concerned, may be summarized as follows:

(a) Churchmanship and spiritual independence. Two Church of England Missionary Societies were responsible for building the Church in Tinnevelly diocese. One was the CMS with its evangelical tradition and understanding of the Gospel, and which had come to stand for spiritual independence; the other was the SPG which had adopted a generally moderate Tractarian stance in the nineteenth century and which saw its role in terms of close partnership with the Church of England abroad.

Missionaries from these two societies instructed their converts in accordance with their own convictions, and in the course of time there arose a 'CMS Church', which was strong generally in the west of the diocese, and an 'SPG Church' was occupied the eastern seaboard. If the missionaries cannot reasonably be censured for teaching according to their own lights, neither can the Indian converts be blamed for tending to assume the convictions, not to say the prejudices of their teachers. For various reasons the relationship between the two halves of the diocese tended to worsen rather than improve through the nineteenth century, and in particular CMS missionaries and converts in Tinnevelly became acutely suspicious of the SPG, which they regarded as a purveyor of false doctrine and dangerous practices, perilously close to 'Romanism'. In the course of time it was inevitable that attitudes became hardened and exaggerated, and ingrained into the fabric of the Indian Church in the diocese. 'CMS Christians' stood for the evangelical doctrines of conversion and sanctification, Biblical fundamentalism and spiritual independence, regarding bishops and the organised Church at large with suspicion. 'SPG Christians' rejoiced in their loyal adherence to the Catholic Church and its traditions, disclaimed party allegience, but shared with India the fruit of the Catholic revival in England.

Waller arrived in Tinnevelly in 1915 with the express policy of welding these two Churches together into one indigenous diocese. It was a formidable task, in the performance of which he had one great advantage - as a former missionary and group secretary, he was known and trusted by the CMS constituency. He thus became a bishop who could command the loyalty of the SPG, and a Christian leader who could reasonably count on the trust of the CMS. In

addition, (and without this, his other advantages would quickly have been nullified), he was a strong man of moderate views, little interested in matters of ritual and with a vigorous belief in the doctrine of the visible Church.

He was a man of action rather than of words, and he was not temperamentally equipped to attempt reconciliation by rhetorical advocacy and persuasion. He set about the administrative task of creating one diocesan framework, and trusted that as Christians from the two Missions actually met one another and worked together, the barriers would gradually be broken down. So long as he was in the diocese he kept a strong hand on these proceedings and he was sufficiently skilful in administration and sufficiently trusted in all his dealings to succeed in laying the sound foundation for future unity. The Indian CMS and SPG Churches did indeed find on the whole that, provided they did not feel themselves threatened or suspect that their own heritage was being undermined, they could attain a real measure of fruitful partnership.

But his mind moved quickly and his new constitution was operative within nine years of his coming to the diocese. That is not a long period in the history of the Tinnevelly Church and attitudes take time to change. If it was fortunate that a number of veteran CMS missionaries retired or died during the decade before his arrival, thus making changes of structure and attitude possible, it was singularly unfortunate that his departure from the diocese occurred just before the constitution was finally approved. There was a nervous reaction among some CMS congregations, and an unfortunate misunderstanding led to schism. Some seven thousand members of CMS congregations in the Alvaneri Circle formed their own Church under their own administration, and the breach is not entirely healed yet. It is reasonably certain that, had he still been in command, this would not have occurred, although it must also be said that he had driven the whole plan through at considerable, perhaps even perilous speed. Under the circumstances, should be have stayed in Tinnevelly longer, and refused the translation to Madras? Such a question is, of course unanswerable, and one

can only say, with the benefit of hindsight, that the transition to full diocesanisation would have been much smoother had he stayed a further two years at least.

But Alvaneri was only one part of the diocese, and in general terms the foundation he laid has proved solid. There are varieties of churchmanship just as there are within a diocese of the Church of England but there is no internecine strife, and there is a common loyalty and a degree of mutual respect which the coming of the Church of South India has done much to foster. The SPG Christian can now give his allegience to his bishop within the context of a new branch of the one Catholic Church, (although the Church of England has not yet entered into full communion with the Church of South India), and the CMS Christian can practise evangelism and contribute his insights into spirituality within the one great fellowship of the diocesan Church.

If there was ever to be a diocese, other than in name, it was essential that the two Missions be brought together into one Church. This was a difficult and delicate task which Waller tackled directly and courageously, and in the light of the long history of mutual suspicion, the Rt. Rev. Stephen Neill is surely right to describe his success as "an outstanding achievement". He goes on to comment: "..in few areas has success been so decisive and so complete." [4]

(b) The blending of the administrative structures. Depending on the Mission with which it was associated, the Indian Church in the diocese was governed either according to the CMS pattern or according to the SPG pattern. In many respects this did not matter very much. Nowhere did the two patterns seriously overlap and, in any case, they were basically similar. The chain of command led from the pastorate upwards, and the duties of the various committees were much the same in general terms. The points at which it mattered very much were those at which these chains of command led out of the diocese without ever meeting, let alone finding their point of unity in the bishop. Because the Tinnevelly diocese had been carved out of Madras, these traditional chains of command led there by a very direct route, and thence to London. The Bishop of Tinnevelly was an influential figure with almost no real power, and in this respect the SPG was no better

organised than the CMS, its loyalty to the bishop notwithstanding.

Waller set himself to create a Diocesan Council. This he achieved within two years and it met for the first time in October 1917. Although circumstances were such that it could only meet every two or three years, it enabled Christians - both European and Indian - from both sections of the diocese to meet together and at least to get to know one another. It was to play an extremely valuable part in the life of the diocese in the future.

To serve this Council, Waller set up a Standing or Executive Committee. In his administrations this was always the real seat of power and director of progress. It led to accusations of 'government by committee' but it is doubtful whether, in fact, a better way can be devised to control and organise such a diverse body as a diocese. This committee set to work to devise an entirely new constitution for the diocese, working from the Council downwards. Waller was exceedingly successful in committee, and over the next three years or so he was able to persuade each Mission committee within the diocese both to approve the plan and to phase itself out of existence in favour of the new constitution. This constitution was finally approved in its entirety and inaugurated in March 1924, fifteen months after he had left the diocese, and eight months after he finally relinquished control to the new bishop. Now the chains of command converged in the Diocesan Council and in its Executive and other committees. The Chairman both of the Council and of the key committees was, naturally, the bishop.

There can be no doubt that to steer this complex process through successfully, and in such short time, required statesmanship of the highest order. The constitution, which in itself owed much to Waller's clear and legal mind, stood the test of time well, and proved to be a secure basis on which a united diocese could advance. Indeed it needs always to be remembered that the Church of South India could not come into existence until each diocese had properly constituted bodies to consider and accept the proposals.

His success in re-modelling the CMS structures on a diocesan basis was significantly due to a decision he made before he reached Tinnevelly at all. His experience in the diocese of Lucknow as a CMS missionary and secretary had shown him only too clearly how little power a bishop had over the CMS Mission. If he himself was now to be a bishop, he determined to put this on a more satisfactory basis. He accordingly made clear to the CMS that he was unwilling to accept the bishopric unless it was agreed that he become a member of the CMS Madras Corresponding Committee, a member of the CMS Tinnevelly Missionary Conference, and President of the CMS (Indian) District Church Council. In this he was successful and he gained a vital base within the CMS organisation.

So far as the SPG was concerned, the centre of diocesan power lay at Madras, and the position of the Bishop of Tinnevelly had never been recognized in the command structures. But it proved possible to remedy this and to carry through the diocesanisation process with the exercise of reasonable determination, tact and patience.

From the day he arrived in the diocese he worked quickly, efficiently and patiently to create a united diocese which would bring together the legal structure and the Mission Churches. In this he was entirely successful, and the result was a contribution of great importance to the South Indian Church.

(c) The role of money and the hidden struggle for power. In practical terms it is not too much to say that Tinnevelly diocese was largely controlled from the London offices of the CMS and the SPG. From these offices emanated both the men and the money which formed the backbone of the Church. No bishop and no diocese could effectively stand out for long against the kind of power which this gave to the two societies. However unintentionally this situation may have arisen, and however unconsciously the power was wielded, these were the facts of the matter.

To the societies, the situation was, on the whole, clear and their duty was plain. They were responsible first and foremost to their

subscribers, who were entitled to look to them to fulfil the principles on which each society was founded. If they did not, it is certain that the matter could not for long be concealed, and subscribers would take their money elsewhere. Subscribers attended Annual Meetings, read Annual Reports with eagerness, and expected to see their particular vision of the Church overseas coming to pass. From their point of view this was entirely reasonable. 'He who pays the piper calls the tune.'

As the years had gone by each society had built up a considerable sum in capital assets in the diocese. They had built churches, schools, compounds, missionary dwellings; sometimes they had given a grant towards the building of a church, but the result was generally the same - the property came legally into the ownership, or at least under the control of the society. It could not be sold without their permission, its use could not be altered without their consent. If property fell into serious disrepair, or for some other reason it was decided to sell, the money realized could only be used for another purpose with the society's consent. But so long as property was used in the normal way, the responsibility for upkeep fell usually on the local Church. Before 1920 Tinnevelly diocese owned almost nothing.

This was an unsatisfactory state of affairs both for the societies and for the Church. For example Waller constantly complained that the Church was losing money because the decision to sell could not be made quickly. The societies could not effectively administer small properties from so far away, and the procedure involved a power of attorney and was cumbersome. Yet neither were they willing to grant to the bishop or senior missionary sufficient power to make the decision locally. They took very seriously the responsibility they felt as trustees of their subscribers' money, even when the subscribers were long since dead. All major decisions had to be made in London, and the societies were quite unwilling to relinquish power either to a bishop or to a diocesan committee. In these matters the SPG took precisely the same attitude to the bishop as the CMS, at least so far as Tinnevelly and Madras were concerned in this period.

But Waller conceived a brilliant idea. In recognition of the centenary of the work of the CMS in Tinnevelly in 1920, he persuaded the society to make a gift of virtually all its property in the diocese (except secondary schools and missionary dwellings), to a Diocesan Trust Association which he set up. This was a generous gift of a general nature which the society felt it could well justify to its constituency, especially as the principle could clearly be deduced from those of Henry Venn. This was a most important step in the diocesanisation process, which antedated the visit of the CMS delegation, and for which both Waller and the CMS can justly claim credit.

When the deed was accomplished, Waller confidently expected the SPG to follow the lead. Indeed the society expressly claimed to hold assets for the bishop, and to exist for the benefit of the diocese. But the SPG did not hand over its property either then or for many years thereafter. No convincing reason was ever given, so far as the records show; but on the other hand a reason can be inferred from the records with a fair degree of certainty. In the period between 1920 and the second world war, the society and its constituency became deeply alarmed at the trend of events in South India. A scheme of union was being proposed which they felt conscientiously bound to oppose. Waller himself fell under deep suspicion among Anglo-Catholics in England for the prominent part he was taking in the negotiations. With Anglo-Catholics making up a very important element in the SPG constituency, it would have been viewed as grossly irresponsible, (many would have called it a betrayal), had the society chosen this time to hand over its property to a diocese which might at any moment become, in their view, schismatic. In the event of the union taking place in a form which would leave the diocese outside the Anglican Communion, the society considered it its duty to hold on to its assets in such a way that they might become part of a continuing branch of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon.

This was a hard case indeed. Waller complained bitterly that the SPG did not trust him, nor did it trust the Church in India to

remain on orthodox catholic lines. When it came to the point, the society did not trust him, and in the light of events perhaps, from its own point of view, it was justified. To the society it seemed that this was the correct way to exercise stewardship of the resources entrusted to it; to the bishop and his diocese, it seemed that the society was using its resources as a lever to indicate which road the Indian Church should take - a lever, moreover, which could turn into a powerful threat should matters go against it.

The case of SPG property in Tinnevelly has been used here as an example because it is a striking and instructive illustration of the theme of this section; one indeed, which placed the society on the horns of a real and considerable dilemma. It is natural that every missionary society wishes to see its funds used in ways of which it approves; it sends men to do well specified tasks and it makes grants for projects which will embody and carry forward its principles. If it did not do so, (accompanying the actions, moreover, with good publicity), it would quickly lose support and become of no use to anyone. The key to the dilemma is knowing when to relinquish all further interest, and then having the conviction to do it. The SPG might have saved itself much heartsearching if it had handed over all its property and trust funds to the South Indian dioceses in 1920. It would not have solved the problem of the SPG personnel and their support, but would it not have been an eminently justifiable decision, if it could legally have been accomplished?

These events are the more striking, perhaps, because they are the opposite of what might have been expected. It would not have caused surprise to those who knew the Tinnevelly background, if the CMS had wished to retain a sturdy measure of independence in the face of a diocesanisation scheme. The SPG, on the other hand, ought, one feels, to have welcomed it, and rejoiced to see a fully fledged diocese in full possession of its property. Before any general conclusion is reached in this matter, therefore, it ought to be asked whether the situation in Tinnevelly diocese was not unusual. After

all, the South India unity negotiations threw up agonizing problems for everyone concerned, and easy answers were not to be found to any of them. And so far as the CMS was concerned, it ought perhaps to be noted that its generous attitude towards diocesanisation does not seem to have lasted very long. A special CMS Commission was appointed to examine the question of diocesanisation in 1932, and its report, Looking Forward, was published in 1934. Gordon Hewitt comments that: "Taken together, the proposals provide a powerful braking-system on devolution from the mission to the diocese, and seem strangely at odds" with the society's attitude as expressed in some of its instructions to missionaries during the 1920s.[5] In particular, the report advocated a much tighter control of the society's financial grants.

It was on this theme that Waller wrote some of his most biting comments. To the SPG he wrote that the "fundamental policy [that] he who pays the piper calls the tune [is one] I have for the last twenty six years been fighting against..as interpreted in mission politics...If the Society cannot trust the Bishops and the Church we are in a bad way.."[6] And on the more delicate question of the use of money to maintain doctrinal principles, he wrote to the CMS: "Personally I am not afraid of the truth being quenched and have no faith whatever in bolstering it up with money.."[7]

Because their resources were stretched to the limit in this period, both societies were very eager for the young Churches to adopt the policies of "self-support" and "self-extension". Self-government and self-determination had inevitably to follow one way or another. In Tinnevelly, the CMS was slow to start but thereafter was consistently generous; sometimes indeed its financial position was such that it became almost indecently eager to off-load its commitments. The SPG allowed and applauded much initial re-organisation, and the centralisation of the work in the diocese. But, inspite of its rapidly reducing financial stake, it attempted to hold on to its assets in the diocese until, in the end, they remained to embarrass it.

(d) The place of the missionary in the young Church. In the classic missionary policy laid down by Henry Venn, as soon as the missionary has built up a self-supporting Church and trained sufficient indigenous leadership for government and evangelism, he should withdraw and go on to other unevangelized fields in the 'regions beyond'. This was to be the expected 'euthanasia' of the Mission.

But this was open to objection at a number of points. In the first place it was not usually easy to establish a Church which was self-supporting and had trained leadership. Often the money and the leadership simply were not available and were not likely to be available in the foreseeable future. Not infrequently the attitude of the missionary (however unintentionally) was so paternalistic that he positively discouraged leadership. He was not able to decide the right moment to depart, and as there was no one there to tell him, and the young Church begged him to stay, he usually did. It is as well that policies should take account of the realities of the situation.

But was it, in any case, desirable that he should depart? If the policy were taken literally it would be a stern test for the young Church; it might grow sturdily, but too often, and however much faith was exercised, the result in practice was a disaster. Was there, perhaps, something wrong with the principle? Certainly the Acts of the Apostles is the story of a swiftly ongoing mission, but St. Paul's ideal in his epistles is that of inter-dependant limbs within the Body of Christ. A Church is to be independent certainly, but it is not to be an orphan. There would seem to be every reason, in most cases, why missionaries should stay and share their gifts and fellowship, and why the societies should continue their support. But this requires the missionary and the society to play a very demanding and delicate role. They must transform themselves from 'fathers' and 'mothers' into 'brothers', from leaders to partners, from masters to servants. As the CMS Delegation of 1921 wrote: "The Church must increase; the Society must decrease..The Society must cease to be the controller and become the servant of the Church for Christ's sake." [8] Such was the vision, years before, of Bishop A.R. Tucker of Uganda, and Waller sat at his feet at a crucial time.

The practical difficulty so far as the CMS was concerned, was that it geared its organisation to Venn's policy, but rarely carried it out. It tended, therefore, to produce the worst of both worlds. The missionaries were organised into a separate chain of command from the Indian Church, so as to allow the maximum flexibility to them and the maximum independence to the Church, but this essentially temporary structure was allowed to become permanent. The result was that the missionaries remained set over against the Church in a most unfortunate way. The Mission could never effectively become the servant of the Church (whatever it might say about it) until it threw in its lot with the Church, and put its personnel and resources under the Church's control and leadership. Waller's first priority, therefore, was to mix the dual Indian and Mission structures until they became fully integrated into a synodical system.

(e) The place of the diocese in the Church. The creation of a well organised diocese was not, of course, the end of the synodical story. A diocese must take its place within the larger body of the Church. The Church of England in India, which had begun as one bishop in Calcutta, an Archdeacon and some government chaplains, had slowly grown into a system of dioceses which required ordering into a proper relationship. From the time he became Bishop of Tinnevelly, Waller met with other Indian Bishops for consultation at regular intervals, during which time plans were discussed for the formation of a full synodical system of government for the Indian Church.

The legal difficulties were such that this could only be established on an informal basis pending the negotiation of freedom for the Indian Church from the Church of England and the British Parliament. But it was a basic part of Waller's scheme that his new constitution for Tinnevelly diocese should lead the chain of command and representation upwards from the diocese to a national or provincial Synod. Clearly the existing missionary structures could never have provided for this in a satisfactory way.

But meanwhile he was already beginning work, in partnership with Bishop Palmer of Bombay and Canon (later Bishop) Western, on the drafting of a constitution for the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. This was a long and complex task, entailing years of work and no light responsibility, and high praise has been given to those who were instrumental in bringing about a successful outcome. The Church of India, Burma and Ceylon owed its constitutional existence to the partnership of Palmer, Waller and Western.

(f) Unity and the Church of South India. The Church of England was not the end of the synodical story either. If a diocese is to take its place in the larger body of the Church of Christ, what account ought to be taken of the existence of other denominations? For twenty years Waller was one of the patient and skilful architects of a union which must sometimes have seemed never likely to succeed. But he was a man of great determination and deep theological conviction. From the time he began his episcopate in Tinnevelly he had a vision of the Church which was simple, clear and practical. He wanted the Church in South India to be well-organised and entirely united so that it might fulfil its pastoral and evangelistic role in the new India which was coming to birth, and in the new age which was dawning. Although in later years he must often have been discouraged and lonely, his vision does not seem to have dimmed and his efforts certainly did not waver. The Church of South India owes a great debt of gratitude to him, as it does to many others also.

(g) The model of diocesanisation. Was the diocesan model too Anglican? This is a question which has occurred to the writer from time to time in studying Waller's organisation. Indeed, as the comparison was so often in his mind between the pastorate and the parish and between the circle and the rural deanery, one has almost been tempted to ask - was it too English?

There can be no doubt that it was essentially Anglican in its inspiration. Waller was an Anglican through and through, and he had no experience of any other system. But when the situation in

the Church in India at that time is examined, it is very hard to see any substantial alternative. Other denominations adopted a very similar arrangement of pastorates and district councils, and Sundkler particularly remarks on the close parallel between the organisation of the South India United Church and that which Waller was evolving in Tinnevelly. [9]

It can be argued that western democracy is not the most suitable form of government for an Indian institution, but failing any obvious Indian model available at the time, it seems beyond reasonable dispute that it was as good any other system then devisable. Certainly one can claim that it was well ahead of its time in comparison with the Church of England. Waller's constitution for the diocese, followed by that for the whole Indian Church, was much more akin to the Synodical Government system introduced into the Church of England in 1967 than to Church Assembly and the provisions of the Enabling Act of 1919.

Of course, synodical government is not without its critics in the Church of England today. The Church of Tinnevelly was as likely as the Church of England is today to sink beneath a mountain of committee reports, decisions and circulars. In the course of a paper given to the Lausanne World Evangelistic Congress in 1974, Howard Snyder said: "The contemporary church should seek a charismatic model to replace the institutional model." [10] Speakers on Church unity today tend to lay emphasis on 'all in each place' rather than on a 'Great Church'. Interest is coming to centre on small groups, inter-connected certainly, but with a minimum of organisation and little hierarchical structure. This reflects many things, new biblical insights among them, and many feel that this is of the Holy Spirit. And this is not altogether anachronistic in this context if it serves to remind us that Roland Allen was, in his measure, a prophet, largely unheard in his own generation. Indeed one can go further back than Allen, and argue that the CMS, with its loosely defined relationship with the Established Church and the principles of Henry Venn, did in fact help to achieve the

actual spontaneous expansion of the Church in the nineteenth century, largely unhindered by ecclesiastical structures.

But partly through the very success and size of its operations, and partly perhaps through lack of nerve, its own organisational scaffolding gradually became a permanent building, as rigid and authoritarian as anything an established church could have produced. This made it more difficult than it would otherwise have been for the young Churches to grow and prosper, but it would in any case have been necessary for someone to follow behind the first wave of expansion, to take in hand the hard and unspectacular task of putting together the organisational nuts and bolts.

Naturally this may lead to a new and rigid authoritarian structure. Almost certainly it will in time, given the fact of human frailty and sin; but it is an essential task. All the more essential, moreover, when the growing Church is already hedged about with legal and organisational restrictions from which it needs to be released. Waller helped to achieve for the Indian Church freedom from English law, a constitution which secured maximum independence from the Indian State, freedom from the 'foreign' control of the missionary societies, and an united and organised base from which the South Indian Church might grow in its own life and make its own decisions.

Such a basis is the prerequisite for any forward move and growth at all. More than such a basis Waller never sought to impose. Time and again he emphasised that the Indian Church must develop its own life. It must formulate its doctrines, order its worship and establish its traditions in accordance with its own insights into the riches of Christ. To make this possible it was necessary above all that the Church be free from the dominance of money, and of the traditions and laws of others. He devoted his life to bring these things to pass and his labours were not in vain.[11]

This study must remain for the time being as an interim judgment on Waller, esepcially in respect of his later years, as the necessary archive material is not available for inspection and is not likely to be so for a number of years, and, more importantly, because the Indian Church must make its own assessment of Waller's achievement. But the main lines are clear enough. It is true that he was not a great missionary evangelist or a natural leader of men, and his shyness easily cut him off from the people for whom he worked and prayed over so many years. But other gifts are vital, if of lesser glamour, within the Body of the Church of Christ, and when the CMS Delegation to India of 1921 wrote in its report the following words, the writers might have been penning his motto:

> "History shows that a faulty system or organisation can be a grave hindrance to the spiritual life of the Church." [12]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. See M.A.C. Warren: Social History and Christian Mission, Chapter 1.

2. Tinnevelly had, of course, been part of the diocese of Madras since 1835, and before that, part of the diocese of Calcutta since 1814.

3. Concerning Indian representation on committees and councils, Waller wrote: "Personally the line I take is that I will not follow the 'balance of power' theory. It has landed Europe in the biggest war of history. I say to people who appeal for consideration of this caste or that - 'Go and work; if you do something for Christianity you will be recognised. But I won't bolster you up because of your family.' And the Vellalas at Palamcottah have started a Converts' House to show that they are doing something! Of course, the caste trouble is always with us, but I am convinced that the only thing to do is to swamp caste in Christ and not to give doles to one and another." G2 12/0 1917 No.94.

4. A History of Christian Missions, p.529.

5. The Problems of Success, p.424.

6. SPG D 1923 No.99.

7. CMS G2 12/0 1919 No.63.

8. p.18.

9. Church of South India: The Movement towards Union 1900-1947, pp.139/140.

10. Lausanne Congress Official Report. (Evangelical Alliance 1974).

11. For a most important discussion of the tension between ecclesiastical structures and office and the need for spiritual freedom and life, see H. Von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries, (A. & C. Black 1969).

12. p.19.

APPENDIX A. The Published Works of E.H.M. Waller.

The following is a complete list in chronological order of all the books and major articles known to have been written by Waller:

Pan-Anglican Papers: (1907)

"The relations of Mission Work to National Customs in North India." (Article)

S.P.C.K. (Madras): (1909)

"The Book of Revelation." (Indian Church Commentaries Series.) (Book).

C.M. Review: (July 1909)

"Complementary Ideals of Church Life." (Sermon).

International Review of Missions: (July 1912)

"Non-Christian Masters in Mission Schools." (Article).

C.M. Review: (January 1914)

"The New Era in the Comparative Study of Religions." (Article).

C.M. Review: (April 1914)

"Proselytism or Evangelism?" (Article).

C.M. Review: (December 1914)

"India and the War." (Article).

Church Missionary Gleaner: (September 1915) Notes on Tinnevelly.

Harvest Field (July 1918)

"Religious Self-Expression of Christian India." (Article)

C.M. Review: (September 1920)

"Lambeth and Reunion." (Article)

Church Missionary Gleaner: (October 1920) Article on Tinnevelly.

C.M. Review: (September 1922)

"The Diocesanisation of the Work of the Church Missionary Society." (Article)

Printed Memorandum: (1922 ?)

"On the Governing body of the Proposed United Church in South India."

Christian Literature Society for India: (1925)

"The Divinity of Christ." (Book)

C.M. Review: (September 1926)

"Church Union in India." (Article)

Church Overseas: (1928)

"Indian Church Measure and the Constitution of the Indian Church." (Article)

S.P.C.K. (London): (1929)

"Church Union in South India: The Story of the Negotiations." (Book)

Church Union News & Views: (September 1930) Article.

James Nisbet & Co. London: (1931)

"The Mission Field". (Eighth in the 'Lambeth Series'.)(Article)

Madras: (1932)

"A Short Summary of the Proposals for Church Union in South India." (Booklet)

National Christian Council Review: (1932)

"The Lindsay Commission and High Schools." (Article)

Ibid.

"The Christian Witness in Service." (Article)

Church Union News & Views: (March 1932) Article.

Ibid. (1934)

"Some Casual Impressions about Church Unity gathered in a Journey round the world." (Article)

National Christian Council Review: (1935)

"The Christian Home." (Article)

Church Union News & Views: (1938)

"Necessary Elements in the Life of the Church in South India." (Article)

APPENDIX B. Notes on Archive Material and Special Sources.

The substance of this thesis has been obtained by consultation of the archives contained at CMS House, 157 Waterloo Road, London SE 1, and at the headquarters of the USPG, 15 Tufton Street, London SW 1. Further invaluable original material was kindly made available by the Rt. Rev. T.S. Garrett, (Bishop in Tirunelveli at the time of writing), and by Mrs. N. Tubbs, widow of the late Rt. Rev. N.H. Tubbs. Material published in periodicals and magazines was obtained through the libraries of the CMS and USPG, the India Office Library, London, & the University Library, Cambridge.

In the CMS archives, most of the relevant incoming correspondence appears under the reference G2 (ie: Group 2)12/O. Under this series, material is grouped into years and numbered. Summaries may be found in the relevant Precis Books. Copies of outgoing correspondence are kept in Letter Books. I was not allowed to see archive material after 1924.

In the USPG archives, relevant incoming correspondence is found either in Series D (Letters Received), or Series E (Missionary Reports). The material is then grouped under the year and the diocese and numbered. Where there is no likelihood of confusion, a reference such as SPG Series D (Tinnevelly) 1923 No.40 is shown in the footnotes simply as SPG D 1923 No.40. Very little outgoing correspondence of relevance in this period seems to have survived. I was not allowed to see archive material after 1934.

Apart from the file from Tirunelveli referred to above, and one further file in the possession of the Rev. Robin MacGlashan, there would appear to be no relevant material in India remaining. I received the following replies when I made enquiries about a visit to India:

The Rev. Harold Moulton wrote from Bangalore on 23rd September 1972:

> The Archivist "has kindly done her homework and yesterday gave me the enclosed sheet. From it you will see that unfortunately we have no original material in our archives, though you are quite right that a great many church archives have been turned over to us and people are encouraged to make this college the centre for all archives of the kind. All the material on this list you will find quite easily in CMS House or elsewhere... All this means, I'm afraid, that a visit here would not be very rewarding for the money you would have to spend."

A list of published material was enclosed, all of which has been traced.

Bishop Lesslie Newbigin wrote from Madras on 21st September 1972:

> "I have consulted my friend Rajaiah D. Paul who knows very well what material is available. I am enclosing his reply. From this you will see that it is clear that there is not enough material available in Madras to justify your coming out here."

In the letter referred to, Rajaiah D. Paul wrote:

> "I do not think there is enough material here (or even in Bangalore) to justify Mr. Crossley's making a journey to South India in order to study it."

Bishop T.S. Garrett wrote from Tirunelveli on 25th September 1972:

> "There must be a few files here that still survive from that time, buried in dust, half eaten by insects, and with their contents so brittle from the dry heat here that they would break when you picked them up to read them. You might spend a month searching for something relevant and not find very much for your pains. Unfortunately 1915 - 23 is just too long ago for anything useful to emerge from oral reminiscences. A few old people could doubtless tell you they were confirmed by Waller as boys or girls; but all who held responsible positions under him must now be dead."

Original research has therefore been confined to material in this country, but more than enough material has come to light to give a fair and reasonably complete picture.

APPENDIX C Select Bibliography.

By its nature the contents of this thesis depends heavily on unpublished material. But in that every historical study has a point of view, even unconsciously, there is also naturally a heavy debt to published works. It is easy to compile a vast list of books which have been influential in this, but this (in the writer's experience) is rarely helpful, and not infrequently misleading. But the following books have been constantly consulted and must be acknowledged specifically.

Where reference is made in the Chapter Notes to books not on this list, the full title and publisher is given in the note. Where the reference is to books on this list, at least a short title is mentioned in the first reference in each chapter. Thereafter, use is made of the familiar op. cit.

R. Allen: The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church. (World Dominion Press).

R. Allen: Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours? (Ibid.)

R. Allen: Missionary Principles. (Reprinted Lutterworth 1964).

P. Appasamy: The Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevelly. (Palamcottah 1923).

A.J. Arangaden: Church Union in South India: Its Progress and Consummation. (2nd edition 1947. Basel Mission Press).

R.H.S. Boyd: India and the Latin Captivity of the Church. (C.U.P. 1974).

H. Von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power In the Church of the First Three Centuries. (A.& C. Black 1969).

E. Chatterton: History of the Church of England in India. (SPCK 1924).

L. Davison: Sender and Sent. A Study in Mission. (Epworth 1969).

R. & H. Exley: The Missionary Myth. (Lutterworth 1973).

H. Fenton: Myths about Missions. (I.V.P. 1974).

M.E. Gibbs: A History of the Anglican Church in India: 1600-1970. (Indian SPCK 1972).

C.J. Grimes: Towards an Indian Church. (SPCK 1946).

V.E.W. Hayward (ed.): The Church as Christian Community. (Lutterworth 1966).

G. Hewitt: The Problems of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society. 1910-1942. (Vol. 1) (SCM 1971).

A.M. Hollis: Paternalism and the Church. (O.U.P. 1962).

A.M. Hollis: Mission, Unity and Truth. (Lutterworth 1967).

K.S. Latourette: A History of the Expansion of Christianity: The Great Century - North Africa & Asia 1800-1914. (Paternoster edition 1971).

K.S.Latourette: Christianity in a Revolutionary Age: 20th Century Outside Europe. (Paternoster edition 1970).

P.Y. Luke & J.B. Carman: Village Christians and Hindu Culture. (Lutterworth 1968).

D.S.G. Muller & V.J. Abraham: The Trail of the Tirunelveli Church. (Palamcottah 1964).

S.C. Neill: A History of Christian Missions. (Pelican 1964).

S.C. Neill: Colonialism and Christian Missions. (Lutterworth 1966).

S.C. Neill: Christian Partnership. (SCM 1952).

S.C. Neill: The Christian Society. (Fontana edition 1964).

Neill, Anderson & Goodwin (ed.): Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission. (Lutterworth 1970).

L. Newbigin: A South India Diary. (SCM 1951).

L. Newbigin: The Finality of Christ. (SCM 1969).

W.J. Noble (ed.): Towards a United Church.1913-1947. (Edinburgh House 1947).

R.K. Orchard: Missions in a Time of Testing. (Lutterworth 1964).

D.M. Paton (ed.): The Ministry of the Spirit. Selected Writings of Roland Allen. (World Dominion Press 1960).

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