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Lessons to be Learnt from the History and Development of the Halle-Leipzig Mission in India

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Historical Preface

The Mission designated as the Halle-Leipzig Mission in India had its inception with the commissioning of Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Pluetschau in Copenhagen in 1705. Frederick IV, King of Denmark, determined to send missionaries to Tranquebar, a Danish colony on the East Coast of South India. Thru his court preacher, Dr. Luetkens, he got in touch with Prof. August Hermann Francke of Halle, and the latter secured the missionaries. Sailing from Copenhagen Nov. 29, 1705, they arrived at Tranquebar Jul. 9, 1706. They mastered the language under great difficulties, and in spite of many obstacles, their labors were crowned with success. Pluetschau returned to Europe in 1711, but Ziegenbalg had already in 1709 received a new helper, who was destined to offer him even greater assistance than Pluetschau. This was another German from Halle, Gruendler by name. The translation of the New Testament into Tamil had been completed by the time of Pluetschau's departure, and soon thereafter the beginning was made of a teachers' and of a preachers' seminary.

In 1719, Gruendler was left in charge by Ziegenbalg's death, but ill health prevented him from undertaking much work in behalf of the mission. In September of the same year, however, he received three new colleagues, among whom was one Schultze, of whom we shall hear later. Their arrival was fortunate, for Gruendler died the following year, and the reins were taken up by Schultze. By this time, the small mission had succeeded in spreading Christianity beyond the bounds of Tranquebar.

Schultze now continued the work in the vicinity of Tranquebar and later, in the employ of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, even started a mission in the city of Madras. In this latter field he was followed by Fabricius, whose Tamil translation of the Bible has never been surpassed.

By 1740 the Tranquebar mission had advanced its field to include Tanjore and Madura, and numbered 5600 converts.

In Jul., 1750, there arrived in Tranquebar one who must be placed among the greatest of all Indian missionaries, Christian Friedrich Schwartz. Tho "he did not lead the mission one step further in its development", it is nevertheless true that he did lead it "many steps in its extent". During his nearly fifty years of service, he not only gained many converts to Christianity, but also gained the confidence and esteem of the highest and lowest thruout South India. He died in 1798.

Two other men connected with this period of the mission should be mentioned. Jaenicke labored in the naborhood of Palamcotta from 1788 to 1800. Gericke did remarkable work in Cuddalore and Madras from 1765 to 1803.

After the death of these three men, the life of the mission rapidly dwindled. The enthusiasm of the missionaries seemed to decline, and it became increasingly difficult to secure new men, for in Europe rationalism was in full sway and the Church seemed to care little for supporting missions. By 1840, the greater part of the mission stations had been transferred to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and those that were not occupied by English missionaries in Anglican Orders seemed ready to die out. The old missionary Caemmerer com-

plains in a letter written in 1834: "And thus the formerly great, famed, flourishing, and blessed Tranquebar mission comes to an end when I close my eyes, the last German missionary."

It was at this point that a new force made its appearance on the field. The Leipzig Mission Society (started at first in Dresden) was organized in 1836. In 1840, they sent out their first missionary, Cordes, who began his work at Tranquebar, with the permission of the Danish authorities. His task was to regain the ground lost. When the Danish possessions were sold to England, the native Christians petitioned the King of Denmark not to give the mission over to the English. The king granted the request and turned over the entire mission property to the Leipzig society.

Under Missionaries Cordes, Ochs, Schwartz (J.M.N.), Appelt, and others, the old stations were put on a firm basis, and new stations were started. Then came a period when the work was halted by a dispute over the treatment of the caste question (about 1855 to 1860). Several of the missionaries withdrew from the society, but the work went on again. In 1896, four more withdrew from the society and entered the employ of the American "Missouri Synod", which had just started mission work in India.

At the outbreak of the World War, all of the German missionaries had to give up their work, most of the stations being left in the care of the Swedish mission. In 1926, Leipzig was again placed on the list of mission societies recognized in India and, after reaching a satisfactory agreement with the Swedish mission, they again entered upon the field.

Just a few words are in place in explanation of the name "Halle-Leipzig Mission", since there is in reality no mission society by that name. From the foregoing historical preface, it will be seen that in the early history of the mission which we are studying, the missionaries were sent out and supported by the Danish crown, and worked ^{largely} in Danish territory. However, the missionaries were, with very few exceptions, from the University of Halle. For this reason, the mission, as it existed prior to 1840, is often called the Danish-Halle mission. Halle, however, had the mastery over Denmark in this respect, for it continued to supply the missionaries in spite of "the wish that was expressed in many quarters that they should be Danes, or at least German subjects of the King of Denmark". Many of the early missionaries were clearly under the influence of Francke's pietistic views. The Leipzig part of the name is justified by the fact that when Cordes and his colleagues started their work in 1840[†], they took over many of the stations started by Ziegenbalg and his followers, and thus Leipzig fell heir to the Danish-Halle mission and continued its work.

We may, without doing violence to truth, speak of the unbroken continuity of the Halle-Leipzig mission from the days of Ziegenbalg down to the present time, a period of 222 years. In more than one respect, this mission has been the outstanding force in the history of missionary endeavor in India, and we may well expect to profit from an examination of its history and development.

In picking out lessons to be learned from the history and development of the Halle-Leipzig mission in India, we shall consider its failures as well as its successes, and we shall give our attention

to the biographical history it affords as well as to its development as a unified force.

Let it just be said in advance that most of our attention will be taken up with the treatment of the caste question.

PREACHING IN THE OPEN

One of the lessons which strike us most forcibly as we examine the methods of the successful missionaries among those that were sent out is this that public preaching plays a very large part in the successful missionary's life. This will be true whether the evangelistic or the pastoral side of his ministry is to predominate. We might word the lesson this way: We should learn to prepare and equip our missionaries for much public speaking. The Tranquebar missionary, Schultze, said about two hundred years ago: "Viva voce preaching, the testimony of a living man, has a great advantage over the private reading of books everywhere, but more particularly among these heathen of the East Indies. Amongst thousands there may be perhaps one that can read, and many of those who can read are so stupid that they will not take the trouble of understanding and applying to themselves what they read; which proves satisfactorily that, when God gives an opportunity, it is of the greatest importance for a missionary to go out himself amongst the heathen, and make known the Gospel to them by word of mouth. The first missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Grundler, have left us a good example in this."

Dr. Wilson, of Bombay, in more modern times advocated this method in the following terms, which may help explain its advisability: "Hesitate not to go to the 'highways and hedges', to 'compel them to come in', that God's house may be filled. For the preaching of the Gospel in places of public consourse and more private resort, you

have the example of our Lord and His apostles; and this example you will value, notwithstanding its comparative neglect in many parts of the world. There are many facilities in India for carrying it into effect, the natives of the country being generally as accessible without doors as they are inaccessible within doors, and accustomed to receive much of their own public religious instruction in temporary tabernacles or under the open canopy of heaven, and not in their dull and dark temples, which are merely shrines for the accommodation of their idols. Occasional or regular preaching in such cases...marks to the natives the earnestness of the desire which is felt for their instruction, the self-denial of the Christian teachers, and their accessibility to the whole native community."

Ziegenbalg made much use of public preaching. On his trips inland, he would meet natives who had heard him preach, and he would thus have a point of contact. He was known to them as "that young priest from Tranquebar who can preach in Tamil".

Schultze used to go out regularly, accompanied by the native school children, teachers, catechists and writers. At a cross-road they would all begin to sing, so that the people who had not seen them, might hear of their arrival. A crowd gathered around them, and he preached.

When this public preaching was neglected, the results were noticeable - also in the attitude of the missionaries. Shortly before the outbreak of the World War, Mission Director Paul visited the mission field, and reports: "One thing pained me: the lack of enthusiasm among our missionaries. One gets the impression that

they do their work faithfully and conscientiously, but with a feeling of resignation...We have very few places at the present time where Christianity is progressing victoriously...Elsewhere our brethren must be glad if they can hold their own." We believe that this^{is} explained in part at least by another section of his report: "Our missionaries are pastors rather than evangelists. This is not a normal state of affairs in a mission field where the overwhelming majority of the population are still heathen." We do not mean that evangelistic activity (here practically synonymous with preaching in public places) will result directly in many conversions. It seldom does. We have not found anything in the history of the Halle-Leipzig mission to prevent us from making such an admission. However, the preaching in public places may not be the means of direct conversions, its indirect results are nevertheless invaluable.

Missionary Kabis, who has been called "a father of the Pariahs" because of his devotion to the lowliest during his long and successful service with the Leipzig mission from 1877 to 1910, began his daily work with public preaching before the heathen whenever time and weather permitted. He saw a special opportunity in the annual bathing festival at Majaweram. At this festival, he also had Christian tracts sold in different parts of the city, or he distributed them after his address among the attentive listeners. He says in one of his reports: "One might imagine that preaching to such a moving mass of people, as they come and go, would be of no avail, since it is impossible to further nourish the seed which is sown. But whenever such a doubt crept into my own heart, the Lord showed me that such ^{nevertheless} testimony was/ not in vain. How often has it happened that later on

this or that heathen, frequently in a far distant village, has told me that he had already heard me speak on the Christian religion, and it was always at the bathing festival in Majaweram! "

SCATTERED STATIONS

A glance at ^a the map showing the field served by Leipzig reveals that the stations are scattered over the entire Tamil-speaking country. This dispersion of forces is one of Leipzig's mistakes from which we can learn a lesson. Our own mission work in India is divided into three distinct fields, comparatively far apart, but we can take care that the individual stations in these three fields are close enuf to be in constant contact with each other. Mission Director Paul must complain that the forces of the Leipzig mission come "too little into contact with one another. That weakens their power of opposition to heathendom. " The converse emphasizes this point, as is revealed further on in his report: "Where several missionaries' families and deaconesses live near each other - which is, sad to say, seldom the case - I got the impression of harmony and contentment." The same writer adds in his report: "As a postulate for the future, I might advance the following proposition: The forces which we employ for the strengthening of our Tamil mission we dare not scatter over a geographically larger territory - we must concentrate. At our stations, one seldom gains the impression that Christianity has a power to oppose to heathendom and that the individual Christians are imbued with a strong spirit of unity. Other missions with which I came into contact fare better in this respect. Thus the Basel mission in Calicut, the Hermannsburg in Naydupet, the American General Synod in Guntur, the

General Council in Rajahmundry. The four places just mentioned are in reality mission centers...And when new Missionaries or deaconesses come to the mission field, they can enjoy here, at least for a time, the quickening consciousness of Christian fellowship...How depressing, on the other hand, is the lot of our so isolated people! It is particularly disadvantageous for the newly arrived young brethren and sisters. When they are sent to a small station, as is perhaps the rule, they feel at once, in their isolation, the entire heavy burden of the surrounding heathen bulwarks. Daily they have before their eyes the huge heathen temples, beside which the small mission chapel appears like a dwarf beside a giant. They feel very soon the power of Hinduism and how its way of thinking still finds admission even in the Christian congregation. That must be depressing even to the soul that came out with enthusiasm."

We have quoted the above at length, not because we considered it an ideal policy (or even one capable of attainment) to restrict the extension of missionary operation until an intensively worked field resembled a bit of the homeland, but we quoted it at length merely to show how keenly the defects of the other extreme can be felt, the dispersion of missionary forces over as wide an area as possible and the segregation of missionaries in widely separated villages.

The time element alone makes it obviously more difficult for one missionary to serve several widely separated stations than to serve several that are close together. If the number of missionaries in the field decreases or the number of stations is increased, it is easy to see that the difficulty of serving those stations becomes greater, and the farther apart the stations the greater the difficulty

culty. Just here is where Schwartz's method of extensive endeavor, instead of intensive, failed of achieving lasting results. Robinson, who praising Schwartz as a missionary, says, "The permanent results of Schwartz's work were disappointing....the wide ~~spread~~ area over which his activities were spread, and the difficulty of sending efficient teachers to carry on the various mission centres which he created, gave to his work a superficial character which he would have been the first to deplore." Schwartz could not have foreseen the approaching diminution of men and means, perhaps, which the expanding rationalism was to effect thru its paralysis of missionary interest in Europe; but the result should teach us that, while shunning half-hearted endeavor or avoiding an alarmist retrenchment policy on the one hand, we should always keep an eye on the future and map out our campaign so as to prepare for eventualities, as well as we are humanly able.

The Rev. W. Buyers makes some enlightening remarks on this point: "Most Missionary Societies in this country have fallen into the error of scattering their agents over too extensive limits to admit of their acting on any well-arranged system of co-operation. A want of concentration has perhaps been one of the chief causes of the little success of which so many complain....Hence not one-half of them can be regarded as permanent institutions. When one labourer dies, there is generally no one to succeed him for a considerable time....Stations could be named, where, from this cause, the work has not advanced one step farther than it was twenty years ago, and if the same is continued, may be in a similar state for a hundred years to come."

Other points could be mentioned showing the inadvisability of

scattered stations, as illustrated by the development of the Leipzig mission. For instance, the travel of the individual missionary in making the circuit of the stations in his large district entails quite an expense. As it happened at one time, there was little money on hand for this item, and this fact is made the basis of a complaint in a general report. Secondly, the Leipzig mission endeavors to give the children at its stations as good an education as possible. Since attendance is not compulsory, it is found difficult, especially in the smaller villages, to get many to attend beyond the first few grades. To employ an extra teacher, or several, for just a few children seems expensive in money and wasteful of man-power. The only alternative is to deny the children the advantage of continuing their education. If several stations were closer together, the children from these several stations would be willing to attend a boarding school at one of those stations (and thus not far from their several homes).

We quote the following from Douglas because it sums up the lesson taught by the Leipzig mission on the dispersion of stations. "Opposite to that of system, is the pursuing of what are called openings, or the being caught with every change of circumstances, and drawn by chance of success into new paths of pursuit having no connection with each other, and leading to remote terminations. Every step gained in a system strengthens, every step gained without it weakens... Every new object, where there is no system, divides the already scattered forces, and success, if pursued, might dissipate them entirely, and leave but the vain pleasure of having a number of defenceless stations, each calling for assistance, and all calling in vain, while the Society only retained the empty boast of an extended line of operations."

NATIVE PASTORS

Another lesson taught by the history of the Halle-Leipzig mission, and that very plainly, is the necessity of training native helpers, especially native pastors. This lesson is taught positively and negatively.

Ziegenbalg and his colleagues were slow to start using native helpers in their ministry. This was not because they did not realize the desirability of this step, but because they found none whom they considered capable. Ziegenbalg found a way to supply this deficiency, however. He started training children for future service in the Church. He writes that they are training Tamil boys to serve a while as teachers in the school, and then to act as catechists. "For," he says, "if we do not train such people in our schools ourselves, and get them accustomed to our ways, we ~~would~~^{will} find no adults who could assist us satisfactorily; but if we train the children properly and strive to train those for such offices who are talented, one of them can accomplish more in this work than one of us missionaries, who are from Europe and haven't the same freedom in associating with the heathen in the country as those who are born and reared in this land." In 1716, a Seminary was started, with 8 Tamil boys enrolled, who were to be trained and later on ordained as pastors if they proved their worth as catechists and teachers.

However, towards the close of the century, there seems to have been no one with Ziegenbalg's farsightedness. In 1790, the six Tamil pastors who were working in the huge field, had received their training, not in a seminary, but at the hands of individual missionaries. The thoroughness of their theological knowledge was of course not nearly commensurate with their zeal, and it was not wise to give them inde-

pendent charges. Between 1811 and 1817, eight more were ordained, but they were already elderly men at the time of their ordination, ~~but~~ ^{could} boast of little schooling, and their addition meant little to the growth of the mission. We have already seen that when Schwartz carried on his extensive mission work in this period, it was found next to impossible to find efficient native teachers who could take charge of the many mission stations he founded. Gehring reports that at this time the neglect of the congregations was constantly on the increase, that there were many apostasies to heathendom and to Roman Catholicism, and that the last missionaries saw salvation only in joining the ranks of the English missions. Little wonder, then, that old Caemmerer saw the end of the mission approaching as he neared his grave. It was only the hand of God which saved the mission, thru the agency of the Leipzig society.

We shall now take a jump to the period immediately preceding the World War. We shall see a similar crisis and we shall see what a difference was made by the presence of a trained/^{native} pastorate and of trained native helpers.

At the outbreak of the war, the number of teachers and catechists in the employ of the mission was 551. Shortly before the German missionaries were expelled from the country, 14 additional Indian pastors were ordained, bringing the total of native pastors up to 39. They were trained to do independent work, instead of having continually to rely upon their European brethren for guidance in every step of their ministry. It was fortunate that they were thus able to act upon their own initiative. When the German missionaries left the country, the supervision of the field was transferred to the Swedish mission. They, however, had

barely enuf men to take care of their own field, and the Leipzig mission would have been doomed to total ruin, had they not been able to rely upon the work of the native pastors whom they had trained. These, however, acquitted themselves in noble fashion, and when Leipzig reentered upon its work in 1926, it did not have to face the almost hopeless task of building from the ground up again.

The native pastors discharged their responsibilities so creditably that Leipzig is now preparing more hopefully for the ultimate growth of an independent national Church. "Home rule" has been introduced into many of the congregations according to the usual order of congregational self-government, and, besides, a Tamil Synod meets every three years, at which, outside of the missionary provost, only three Europeans, chosen from the ranks of the missionaries, are granted the privilege of voting membership. Leipzig felt encouraged to take this step, because of the success attained by their enforced experiment with a staff of well-trained native helpers. It is interesting and instructive to note that the arrangement itself could have been developed from careful perusal of the Bible and the history of the apostolic Church, as Dr. Julius Richter points out: "A body of native pastors, conscious of their spiritual responsibility; a large staff of catechists and evangelists for service in the outlying stations and among the heathen; a well educated body of teachers for the lower and higher schools; and, as a solid and reliable foundation, a nucleus of dependable, faithful elders; - and thus we have in the mission before our eyes the Pauline picture of the body with the many members and their particular functions, Jesus Christ being the Head."

EDUCATED MISSIONARIES

Before entering upon the caste question, we wish to draw attention to one other lesson. That is the necessity for sending out educated and intelligent missionaries.

If we look at the list of missionaries who successfully carried on the work of the Halle-Leipzig mission, we shall see that they were well educated men. Ziegenbalg visited various universities and, after studying under Spener and Joachim Lange, finally settled down at Halle. When he sailed, he took along as co-worker another university man, Pluetschau. Gruendler studied at the University of Leipzig, got his M.A. degree at Wittenberg, and then taught at Halle. Schultze studied at Halle and was recommended particularly for his linguistic ability. Fabricius was a student at Gieszen and at Halle. Schwartz, Gericke, and Jaenicke were also from the University of Halle, as were most of their predecessors. When the Leipzig society took over the work, the first Mission Director, Dr. Graul, insisted that only such missionaries be sent out as had an academic training. Most of them then studied their theology at the University of Leipzig. This principle was adhered to after Graul's death.

Why was it considered necessary to send educated men as missionaries? Did their education prove such an advantage? We will just refer first of all to the case of Schultze. We stated in the historical preface that Gruendler died in 1720, leaving the entire work in the hands of three men who had arrived only the previous year. That might have spelled disaster for the work already begun and necessitated a fresh start, but Schultze had already distinguished himself for linguistic ability in his university training. In April, 1720,

(after seven months in India), he preached in Tamil, and was able to take full charge of the work. We need only mention the valuable assistance he was able to render later on in Madras, where he preached also in Telugu, translated the Bible and Arnd's "Wahres Christentum" into this language, and wrote a Telugu grammar; in addition to these two languages, he also mastered a third, Hindustani (used by the Mohammedans), and translated the Bible into this language, besides writing a Hindustani grammar and a refutation of the Koran.

Not every missionary, of course, will be called upon to do work of this nature. Its desirability, however, can scarcely be denied, especially if the quality of the translation be as high as that furnished by Fabricius. Here, too, we can add a point to this lesson from the history of the mission. The Tamil translation of the Bible by Fabricius has not been surpassed, altho it was finished almost 200 years ago. It will no doubt be conceded that quality is more desirable than quantity also in this line. Translation presents many peculiar problems, which we need not discuss in this paper. It will suffice to say that great judgment is required in rendering a translation which is faithful to the original text and at the same time intelligible to the common people. It will undoubtedly be conceded that, other things being equal, the university trained man is better equipped in this respect than the man who has not had the advantage of such an education. The linguistic training received in our Concordias should serve us in good stead, and our missionaries we should pick from among those who have profited most by this training.

It may seem exaggerated to lay so much stress upon linguistic training, since most of our missionaries will not be called upon to

to much translation. But they will be called upon to speak the language, and, tho perhaps no missionary will ever be sent back because he cannot possibly learn to speak the language, still there is a big difference between speaking the language and speaking it well. That difference will in all probability make itself noticed in the missionary's efficiency in the field. One report (not of the Leipzig mission) complains: "There is a missionary now in the field who has seen many years of arduous service, who yet retains the pronunciation learned on the voyage! And in all likelihood these blemishes will accompany him to the grave." A man who has had training in acquiring other foreign languages will be more apt to take care on this point and better able to surmount the obstacles. It is not unimportant. If we aim at the highest efficiency, then our goal in learning to speak the language must be not merely to arrive at the point of intelligibility but to go on to perfect mastery. It may happen in India as well as in America that a barbarous pronunciation or a foreign accent will irritate sensitive ears. Valuable remarks, tho perfectly understood by the natives, may be nullified by the amusement or impatience excited by bad pronunciation. On the other hand, it is pointed out that "correct pronunciation will command such respect that sometimes it will be whispered, 'He has a Brahman's mouth'." Consider then a stupid and unintelligent

There are other reasons, beyond the study of the language, which show that a good education and a keen mind will be of advantage. It is true that a good education and a keen mind will be of advantage. It is true that our work is the propagation of the Gospel; it is furthermore true that in merely making known the Word of God, we can and should hope that that Word will not return unto us void. However, we would be first-grade fanatics if we for that reason purposely refrained from anything further than merely broadcasting the contents of the Bible by

word of mouth. We should be ready to answer the honest inquiries of the heathen also by the material which is already common to them; and we should be prepared also to show them the error of their ways by meeting them on their own ground and, for instance, showing them the self-contradictions in which they involve themselves. The idea which the Pietists held concerning missionary activity precluded polemics and apologetics. They saw in heathenism merely a satanic darkness into which the inquiring mind of the missionary should not venture. All he need do is to hold up before the heathen the kingdom of light and life, the Christian message of salvation. Some of the missionaries sent out from Halle nevertheless soon saw that it was decidedly necessary to gain a thoro knowledge of the foe whom they sought to overthrow. Ziegenbalg, for instance, writes: "I take pains to learn the reason for their idolatry from their own books and thereby to refute their errors."

A Hindu may ask: "What is sin? What is virtue? They are both the same, for both are worked by God. How can He punish the one and reward the other?" How is he to be answered? You have to understand his religion and get his viewpoint in order to answer him properly. He neither understands the Bible's viewpoint nor accepts its authority.

We must not think that it is easy to meet the objections of the Hindus. It is a mistake to consider them a stupid and unintelligent people, who cannot possibly match wits with an educated European or American. "Most Christians in Europe," says Ziegenbalg, "suppose the Malabarians (he regularly uses this term in his reports for Tamils) to be a/^{very}barbarous people, but this arises from the Europeans who have been amongst them not understanding their language, so that they have not been able to read their books, but have drawn their conclusions from outward appearances. I must acknowledge that when I first came

amongst them I could not imagine that their language had proper rules, or that their life had the laws of civil order, and took up all sorts of false ideas on their actions as if they had neither a civil nor a moral law, - but as soon as I had gained a little acquaintance with their language and could talk to them on various subjects, I began to have a much better opinion of them and when at last I was able to read their own books I found that the Malabarians discussed the same philosophical subjects as the Savans of Europe, and that they had a regular written law, wherein all theological subjects were treated and demonstrated." This is Ziegenbalg, of the University of Halle, speaking. He says further, "Though they are in great error and thick darkness both with regard to their lives and teaching, yet I must declare that my conversations with them have often led me to deeper consideration of many subjects, and that both in theology and in philosophy I have learned much of which neither I nor other students had thought before. I remember that many learned people in Europe have written on the manner in which the heathen ought to be converted: but there was no difficulty in this, as there was no one but themselves to contradict them. If these men were to come here, they would find that for one reason which they brought forward, the heathen would have ten to oppose them. It requires great wisdom to converse with such people, and to bring them to a conviction that their heathenism is false and our Christianity true."

The missionary must not only possess theological knowledge, but must also have a ^{well} trained mind. One might imagine the missionary sufficiently equipped if he had mastered a well prepared list of all the common objections raised by the heathen to Christianity and the best answers to these objections. That is not the case. The mere assimila-

tion of knowledge will not constitute a man a good missionary as far as his mental equipment goes. This is made clear by the following passage in a missionary's report: "Nor are the Hindus weak antagonists. They have acquired a most skilful use of all the weapons of falsehood. Their wile is, perhaps, equalled by none. Their dexterity is serpentine. They prove an argument by figures, and happy allusions, not by reasoning. They disprove what the missionary says, by employing false illustrations; so that when he is conscious of victory, they treat him as a prestrate foe." The advice might be given to refrain from arguing a point with the Hindus, but this is easier said than done. The Rev. W. Tasker gives the following pertinent advice: "We have said, as a general rule, that controversy, argument, discussion on any subject, sacred or secular, are to be eschewed. Yet not invariably. People are prone to think that you are conscious that defeat would be your position in the end, and therefore they conclude that you are actuated by the principle, that discretion is the better part of valour. In such a case you will observe the champion that lays down the challenge looking round for his meed of applause, on the ground that he has constrained you to retreat before even you closed with him in combat. Now, the danger even here for the man's soul and those of his fellows is, that he believes this to be the true state of ~~affairs~~ matters. And so they are confirmed in their unbelief."

From the foregoing, it will be clearly seen that the better a man's education the greater will be his efficiency as a missionary. He will not only be able to present his own case more clearly, but will be better able to estimate the position of his opponent. Dr. Ihmels, Leipzig's present Mission Director, says, "If polemics is practised without an exact knowledge of Hinduism and merely from the first emo-

tion, it will do more harm than good."

It might be possible, as one of the Leipzig missionaries even advocated, to confine our work to the hill tribes and ^{to} the out-of-the-way villages, where little intelligent opposition could be expected. This would not be a wise move, for Christianity would come to be looked upon as a peasants' religion. "Christian" and "Pariah" are already synonymous in certain localities. It is true the poorest and lowliest of people formed the bulk of the early Christian Church, but the apostles did not confine their missionary efforts to them.

The heathen are not the only ones who come into consideration when we speak of missionary polemics. There are other Christian denominations at work in India with whom our missions are bound to come into contact. The Leipzig Mission Director finds not an advantage, but a distinct disadvantage, in the fact that they have very few stations where they ~~have~~ are alone in the field. The new converts especially are quite surprised and disappointed to find that even Christianity is split up into different sects and that there are "different brands of Christianity". It takes a capable man to handle the difficulties which thus often arise. Just as here in the States, contact with these other denominations need not always be antagonistic, but it often is, especially if there are suspicions of proselyting. Considerable trouble was occasioned thus in the early days of the Halle-Leipzig mission. Francke writes in 1759: "Another piece of news which I have received has struck me very much, and troubled me not a little, namely that the Moravians are trying to establish themselves in Tranquebar. Whoever knows the intrigues with which that sect is always connected, will feel sure that not only the advantages

self to the people and their good. This is essential. The report

which they will have promised to the King or the Company will consist in empty words, as experience in Silesia and other places would prove, but it is also to be feared that they will spare no pains to distract the congregations gathered, which has ever been the consequence of their making their way into a place and trying to spread their cause under cover of the Saviour's name; for they seek out the least steady and most pliable of the congregation, and take great pains to draw them over to their party, by which they are torn away from simple Christianity." Just a few years later, when Pondichery was taken by the English from the French, in 1761, eight or ten Jesuits were among those who fled to Tranquebar. The Danes forbade them to remain there, but this prohibition was not enforced. The Jesuits started a mission and caused the Halle mission much trouble. A Jesuit school master, out for a walk with his school children, met some of the children and teachers from the Lutheran mission, and started a dispute. He spoke contemptuously of Luther and also said, among other things, "You do not know the truth; none of you can be saved, only we know the way to salvation. All who do not pray to the Mother of God, but say that she was a sinner, will certainly go to hell." It takes a capable, and, as a rule, an educated missionary to cope with the Jesuits and to handle such a ~~difficult~~ situation as arose from the Roman Catholic activity in Tranquebar.

A well rounded education teaches a man that there always have been and always will be ways of thinking radically different from whatever is prevalent in his own immediate surroundings, radically different from everything to which he has been accustomed. A well rounded education will enable a missionary more readily to adapt himself to the people and their thought. This is essential. The report

of the Bombay Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G., for 1863, contains the following remark: "after 200 years spent by the English among the people, no European has yet acquired the requisite knowledge to enable us to know with certainty the prejudices that we wound, or the affections that we fail to win." John Murdoch, in his Indian Missionary Manual, refers to this same deficiency and says: "This ignorance is unquestionably one great cause why missions have not made greater progress." The more nearly perfect the missionary's power of adaptation, the greater will be his efficiency.

The supervision of the native pastorate and of the native helpers in general will require the aid of a good education, especially in view of the Young India movement, when ideas of Home Rule and other political projects are likely to find their way into the hearts, and to find utterance upon the lips, even of those in the service of the mission.

The boarding-schools, the catechists' schools, the teachers' seminaries, and the preachers' seminaries form an important part of the missionary program. If this fact is recognized, then it will be possible to understand the appeal made by Missionary Gehring at the conclusion of a lecture in Leipzig: "The development of the Indian school system demands at the present time especially able and pedagogically trained men, and if our mission is not to lose out in the competition with the English missions and in meeting the steadily increasing requirements of the school,.....then our mission cannot neglect making provisions to this end that there will not be a lack of men who bring with them not only a theological, but also a pedagogical training." More generally applicable is the following from Mission Director Paul, also in a lecture delivered at Leipzig

in 1913, and with this quotation we will conclude this section. He says, "At this opportunity, let it be pointed out that an almost morbid fondness for titles is prevalent in India. Whoever has not an M.A. or a B.A. - or, in the case of a missionary, even a doctor's degree of a German university - lacks the scholarly halo which is ^{highly} esteemed by the Hindus in public life. We will have to take this weakness of the Tamils and of the Indian official organs into account and we will have to consider the matter of utilizing the sojourn of our missionaries in England, wherever possible, to this end that they may acquire an academic degree; at least those who are to take an important part in the school work. The director of our seminary or the ~~director~~ ^{principal} of our high school in Schiali finds himself in a position that is not very pleasant, when some of his teachers have a B.A. degree, and he has not. The Indian mission needs just at this time men of considerable intellectual preeminence. In the temple cities of the Tamil country, there are Brahmans who, in their attacks upon Christianity, are not only subtle and quick-witted, but who also know how to use the weapons of modern scholarship.... That the Brahmans do not let the results of modern Bible criticism escape them is self-evident. Our missionaries must be a match for such opponents, especially those missionaries who are in the front line of battle. They should also be able to offer the young, educated manhood, who attend the public lectures, a truly fine apology of Christianity."

Other chapters could be added on lessons which are taught by the history and development of the Halle-Leipzig mission in India, as :
 The Force of Personal Example; The Need of a Contingent Fund; Employment of Heathen Teachers in the Mission Schools; Schools for Christians Only or Also for Heathen (as a Missionary Agency)?; Charity:

Probably the biggest problem with which Leipzig had to cope, was
 Subsidy vs. Pauperization; Women Workers; Attitude toward the British
 Government; etc. However, in order not to extend the length of this
 paper too far, we shall go on to the main section, Leipzig's treat-
 ment of the caste question.

Explanation of the caste system.

The Hindu population is divided into numerous classes, or castes,
 with such sharp lines of cleavage between them that it is impossible
 for a son, no matter what he may do, to belong to a different caste from the one
 to which his father belonged. This applies not only to the larger
 castes - Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras (with the Pariahs
 forming a "caste of out-castes") - but also to the many smaller castes,
 which form subdivisions of these larger caste divisions.

In general, the four ranking castes are classified thus: 1) the
 Brahmins are the priest caste; 2) the Kshatriyas are the soldier
 caste; 3) the Vaishyas are the merchant caste; and 4) the Sudras are
 the laborer caste. The system, however, is quite complicated, and the
 above classification (as given by the best encyclopedias) will not
 fit all cases.

The last-named, the Sudras, are especially subdivided into many
 smaller castes. For instance, the Wannars are all laundrymen; the An-
 padis are all barbers; the Kammali have five allied trades pertain-
 ing to the making of idols and the beautifying of the temples (car-
 penters, goldsmiths, stone-cutters, brass-founders, coppersmiths);
 the Kusavi are all potters; the Shanars are all such as take care of
 the palm trees; the Nesawukari are all weavers; etc. There is even a
 caste of thieves, the Kalli. Formerly, their chieftains were perhaps
 a sort of robber barons. The advent of the English government, however,

Probably the biggest problem with which Leipzig had to cope, and which caused the most difficulty, was the caste question. That is even today avowedly the greatest hindrance to successful mission work. In order to properly understand the issues involved and the stand that Leipzig took, it would perhaps be best to enter into a more or less extended explanation of the caste system.

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The last-named, the Sudras, are especially subdivided into many smaller castes. For instance, the Wannan are all laundrymen; the Am-patti are all barbers; the Kammali have five allied trades pertaining to the making of idols and the beautifying of the temples (carpenters, goldsmiths, stone-cutters, brass-founders, coppersmiths); the Kusawi are all potters; the Shanars are all such as take care of the palm trees; the Nesawukari are all weavers; etc. There is even a caste of thieves, the Kalli. Formerly, their chieftains were perhaps a sort of robber barons. The advent of the English government, however,

brought law and order into the land at least to an extent that had never been known there before, and the Kalli had to give up their frequent raids and content themselves with more modern and scientific methods of thievery. Most of them, however, have taken to agriculture.

Pertaining to occupation, the castes are ^{more} exclusive than the medieval guilds and have the idea of heredity added. A son earns his livelihood as his father did, because he belongs to the same caste as his father.

As little as it is possible for a dog to become a cobra, so little is it possible for a Pariah to become a Brahman, or a Wannan (laundryman) to become a Shanar, ^(palm-grower) altho the last two belong to the same larger caste, the Sudras.

A Tamil anecdote says that once a court barber came to his royal patron as the latter lay asleep. Not wishing to waken the king, the barber shaved him while he slept. After the barber had left, the king awoke, and great was his astonishment at finding that he had been so cleanly shaven without having been in the least disturbed. As a token of admiration and gratefulness, he called the barber back and promised to grant any favor that he might ask. The barber was of course a member of the lowly Sudra caste. He asked to be made a Brahman. The king ^{command} gave that in six months the barber was to be accepted into the fellowship of the Brahmans. The Brahmans were very much troubled. The execution of the king's command was impossible, and they feared his wrath. In their trouble, they went to the prime minister, and he promised to help them out of their difficulty. On the appointed day, he reminded the king that it was time to see whether the barber had become a Brahman. He then hastened to a pool in the neighborhood of the Brahman quarter. There he began to scrub a black goat

with water and sand. As the king came to the pool, he asked in astonishment what the purpose of this strange proceeding might be. "Most noble king," was the answer, "I am trying to wash this black goat white." The king began to doubt the sanity of his prime minister, but the latter said, "You think I am a fool because I am trying to wash a black goat white, yet you yourself have commanded that a barber be made a Brahman." The king went home in chagrin, and the barber remained a barber.

It is accepted as ^{an} invariable rule among the Hindus that no one, no matter how enlightened or talented or virtuous, can advance from a lower to a higher caste, and, vice versa, no one, no matter how stupid or ignorant or morally vicious, can fall from a higher to a lower caste, unless he breaks the ceremonial regulations of his caste or forfeits his rights by fellowship with one of a lower caste.

The exclusiveness is of such a degree that a high caste man dare not eat or drink anything prepared by one who belongs to a lower caste. Our Mission Director, Dr. Brand, tells of the following illustrative incident, which happened during a visit he made to our mission fields in India. While on a train in South India, he noticed that a Hindu occupying one of the seats had a jar of water at his feet. As the train stopped at one of the stations, some of the Hindus passed thru the coach to alight from the train. As one of them passed, Dr. Brand noticed a look of almost indescribable disgust pass over the face of the Hindu whom he had been watching. He saw this Hindu then take up his jar and with an indignant exclamation pour its contents out the window. Inquiring of one of his fellow-passengers as to the reason for this strange conduct, Dr. Brand was told that the man with the jar was a Sudra, and that a Pariah in

passing thru the coach had accidentally gotten so close to the seat that his skirt brushed against the Sudra's jar, thus defiling its contents for him.

We may inquire concerning the origin and purpose of the caste. It has, first of all, a historical basis. The original inhabitants of the South Indian peninsula were Dravidians, uncultured, coarse featured, and black of skin. The lighter skinned and cultured Aryans invaded the country, conquered it, and settled there. They did not wish their blood to be intermingled with that of these truly coarse natives and their race lowered by intermarriage. So they simply took the precautionary measure of calling these conquered people "unclean", "untouchable", and forbade marriage with them. To prevent time and familiarity from breaking down this barrier, they forbade association with the "untouchables" in eating, forbade allowing them to enter the temples, and so forth.

However, this ethnico-historical explanation cannot be made to answer for everything. The conquerors themselves were split into various castes with special regulations and ceremonies and with hard and fast lines dividing them. The Brahman^(i.e. Hindu) religion itself gave rise to the formation of castes. The material principle is the concept of reincarnation, thus of the transmigration of souls. The salvation of the Hindu lies in complete unity with God (Who is 'the Good'), therefore freedom from the material (which is 'the Evil'). This is possible only thru different stages of development in the metempsychosis of the soul. If one does evil, which is the transgression of certain religious-ceremonial precepts, he will likely be reincarnated, after this life of his has past^{ed}, in a lower caste, or even in the body of an animal or of a tree, and thus

will be further away from his coveted goal. If he does good, which conversely is the fulfillment of certain religious-ceremonial precepts, (and perhaps even exceeds the requirements) he may be reincarnated in a higher caste, and thus will be nearer his goal. If he is finally reincarnated as a Brahman, who are as gods to the lower castes, then he is in a fair position to reach the peak of perfection thru a special illumination called Njanam, and can submerge himself directly into the Godhead and become one essence with Deity.

We have seen that the soul's progress or retrogression is dependent upon the performance of certain religious-ceremonial precepts. Now there are a multitude of such precepts. ^{Which} What ones is the individual to observe? Those of the religion in which he is born. He is to observe that which is customary in his caste. Thus, the caste, in practice, is for the individual the highest and last ^{religious} resort. The Vedas, as the formal principle of the Hindu religion, are in the custody of the highest caste, the Brahmans (or priest caste).

In order to understand the Leipzig debate as to how far the caste system was to be permitted to exist among converts, it will be necessary to remember two things: first, all these religious observances are work righteousness, even the so-called penitential acts (Yoga) being not the expression of a deep consciousness of sin, but rather being a proud endeavor to make God subservient to self and thus to effect one's own salvation; secondly, it must be remembered that from the point of view of the heathen Hindu, caste and religion are inseparable. His conversion to Christianity is meant to change his outlook on caste. The claim is made that he then can retain caste,

merely as a social, and not as a religious arrangement. On the practical treatment of this question, the three large groups of Christian churches differ. The Roman Catholic Church allows the caste to remain as it is; the Reformed churches insist upon renunciation of caste as a *conditio sine qua non* of conversion; the Lutheran Church has always taken a stand somewhere between these two extremes.

The retention of caste as a social arrangement can be countenanced, even if it is better to discourage it. If freed from the religious liaison and disabused of the ethical evils often connected with its observance, the caste can be continued among the Indian Christians without doing violence to Christian principles. If there already exists a recognition of a social distinction and a prohibition of marriage between races, ^{by the Christian religion} no one is authorized/to insist upon a change of this condition. We shall take this up more fully later on.

Now to go into the history of the Halle-Leipzig mission as it was affected by the caste question.

It was in Feb., 1854, at the annual plenary session of the Leipzig missionaries in India, that the question of the ordination of the native candidate for the ministry, Nallatambi, was brought up for discussion and action. It was hoped that a beginning of a native pastorate would thus be made. Already in 1851, Nallatambi and Samuel had been declared candidates for the ministry. Missionary Ochs, who was later to play ~~ing~~ the leading role in the dispute over their ordination, had also subscribed to the minutes, without mentioning any scruples as to their position on the caste question. Nallatambi and Samuel were both members of the Sudra caste. Missionary Appelt, under whose direct supervision Nallatambi had worked in the past few years, bore testimony to his faithfulness in working among the poorest of the

Pariahs. It was quite unexpected, then, when Missionary Ochs demanded a test-meal, i.e. that Nallatambi was to be asked to eat with the European missionaries a meal prepared by ^aPariah cook. Nallatambi refused. There now arose among the missionaries a difference of opinion as to whether or not Nallatambi should be ordained. Two were in favor of his ordination, seven against it. However, soon after, two of the latter ~~soon~~ joined the affirmative side.

Nallatambi, tho willing and gläd to work among the Pariahs, still could not bring it upon himself to eat a meal prepared by a Pariah. We know of white people who are good Christians, but who claim they would not eat a meal if they knew it was prepared by a negro cook. It is not that they hate the negro, nor that they will not concede that he is their equal in the eyes of God, but they cannot in their minds dissociate the negro from the idea of greasiness and uncleanness. Yes, it is even conceivable that some would be so filled with the love of God and with love for the black man's soul that they would be willing to do mission work among the negroes, and still they could not bring it upon themselves to eat a meal which a negro had prepared. If we recall that the Pariahs as a class deserve the appellation "unclean", that they are appallingly filthy, if we recall that it occasionally happens today, and formerly quite frequently, that Pariahs must be warned against eating the flesh of dead animals, if we recall that generations after generations of observation have filled the higher caste men with a loathing for the Pariah almost akin to second nature, and that this feeling is impressed upon the children from earliest childhood, then we are not surprised that Nallatambi could not eat of a meal prepared by a Pariah. We are indeed tempted to express our surprise ^{that} _^ he would even work among them, and so faith-

fully at that. That the filthiness of the Pariahs is due largely to oppression and poverty, does not change the situation in the least; the fact remains. Nallatambi had also other reasons for his refusal, which were accepted as valid.

Ochs and his followers saw in the caste system a great evil. They saw clearly that it should be done away with. The others no doubt agreed with them, but it was a question of procedure. Ochs's opponents realized that caste distinction lay deeply rooted in the Hindu nature and could not be changed by force, nor suddenly. Tho it would be better to be rid of the caste system altogether, still that would be valueless unless proceeding from a change of heart and that and also of attendant circumstances. Until that came about, the caste could be tolerated as a social institution, stripped of its usual evil aspects. Ochs and his followers, on the other hand, wanted to effect an immediate reformation instead of working from the inside out. Theirs would be, like Carlstadt's, a quick and external reformation. In that they aped the Reformed (^{American} British) missions then working in India. Therefore, they insisted upon the method used by these ^{Reformed} ~~British~~ missionary societies, namely, a test-meal. Moraht, who undertakes to defend Ochs's stand, says that Ochs was of "an energetic nature" and had therefore a "tendency to sharpness". We would call that impatience, and we think that explains Ochs's stand.

The Mission Board wrote from Leipzig in Nov., 1855: "We will not arbitrarily force the issue of Nallatambi's ordination, altho he is from many reports one of the most capable of our native teachers. We will, however, make it a matter of conscience for you to thoroly re-investigate this matter in your next plenary session."

No decision was reached, however, until 1860, when the two candidates, both Nallatambi and Samuel, were ordained.

In the meantime, Missionary Ochs had gone to Germany and there spread propaganda for his cause among the people at large, giving many of them their first inkling that things were not running so smoothly as they had thought among their missionaries in India.

This indiscreet action called forth the instruction from the Board: "In order that the Adversary may not be enabled to destroy the mutual brotherly confidence among you, to hinder the blessing of our communion with you, and to dissolve the bond of peace among the mission friends here in the homeland, let it hereafter be regarded as an inviolable rule among you, that no one of you communicate his grievances or proposals concerning his office to any one here in the homeland except to us."

The preamble to the above injunction sounds evangelical enough, but it can well be imagined that the somewhat harsh and dictatorial "let it hereafter be regarded as an inviolable rule among you" could not be well received by men like Ochs. Looking entirely aside from the question of authority for such a regulation, it might be rightfully said that the Board should have proceeded in a somewhat more conciliatory manner, especially since it had to deal with men whose natural inclination to stubbornness and sharpness could have only been aggravated by long years spent in a tropical climate. It was done, however, and then the trouble really started.

A certain Gottlob Schuetze of Dresden became interested. He wrote to Ochs and as he himself says, "I let him know that I would gladly manage his affair in Saxony for him." It is hard to read the papers which Schuetze published in Ochs's cause without being convinced that

he (Schuetze) was one of those contentious souls who are never at rest unless mixed up in some sort of polemics, who make even good causes look like quixotic tilts, and who tearfully consecrate every rebuff they receive as one more prong in a martyr's crown of thorns. He compares the buffets he gets from the enemy with the persecutions Luther had to undergo while engaged in reforming the Church. His frequent and ~~often~~ ^{totally} irrelevant attempts to establish parallels between his situation and Luther's make his case seem a sort of reform mania.

As always happens when partisanship gains the upper hand, the main issue was often lost sight of. One of the missionaries has sent his children to Europe, and the care or lack of care which the Board affords them is made one of the main points in the debate.

Both sides indulge in personalities. The complaints are rightfully made: "It would be truly inconceivable how so many honored men could misunderstand the entire situation, were it not for the lamentable fact that the matter has gone over into personalities," and "the saddest part is that it seems the personal attacks in the dispute do not want to cease."

Ochs's party says, "Our opponents have not the love of Christ". The opponents then counter by calling Ochs "wicked", "thoroly wicked", "a liar". Schuetze characterizes all their remarks ^{of the other side} as "a web of lies". ^{in turn,} Dr. Graul, publicly calls Ochs "an ass".

Moraht attempted to act as mediator by sending to Mission Director Hardeland a letter he had received from Ochs, inclosing suitable explanatory remarks. Hardeland publishes an open letter in reply to Moraht, and, without authorization, publishes Ochs's letter - sufficiently garbled to further his own case. Schuetze then brings this whole matter

to the attention of those outside the Church and gives the unchristian public a chance to scoff at the wrangling, by publishing a controversial essay on the subject in the "Constitutionelle Zeitung", which periodical is characterized as "decidedly and notoriously anti-Christian".

It would take too much time to go further into the history of the dispute at this point.

Meanwhile, in India, Nallatambi and Samuel continued their faithful work as catechists, and several of the dissenting missionaries began to change their attitude. Nallatambi and Samuel were ordained in 1860, without being asked to break caste. Missionary Baierlein (who had at one time been sent over to Michigan by Loehe to work among the North American Indians) had protested, but changed his position and retracted his protest. Missionaries Ochs, Wendlandt, and Wolff could not be reconciled to the ordination and withdrew from the service of the mission. However, Wolff was soon convinced that he had acted rashly. He writes to Ochs: "After serious consideration before the Lord, I came to the conclusion that the Tranquebar Mission had not taken such a stand in the caste question that I could no longer in any wise serve the Lord and His Mission in connection with the same (the Tranquebar, i.e. the Leipzig Mission), and that I would therefore offer my services to the church council at Tranquebar and see if it would not be the Lord's will to make possible for me, and direct me to, the mission work in connection with Leipzig."

Everything seemed to run smoothly again after the storm. For a while it had looked very black. Especially was this so when in 1857 Cordes, the oldest of the missionaries, and president of the Mission-

ary Conference, left for Germany to help straighten matters out by a personal interview with his superiors. He, on his own responsibility, had turned the presidency over to the next oldest missionary, who happened to be Ochs. Under Ochs's temporary regime, legalistic measures were adopted in several congregations. In one congregation, missionary helpers were dismissed who had preserved a good reputation thru 15 to 20 years of service. Some of the congregations became rather bitter. Some were about to turn with complaints to the Danish Board, others were contemplating breaking with Leipzig without further ado. But now, in 1860, everything was running quite smoothly again.

Before going further, we might right here point out several lessons to be learned from this caste strife in the Halle-Leipzig mission. Several minor lessons probably presented themselves in the reading as self-evident and will not need mention. Several of those to be mentioned may likewise be classed as self-evident, but they nevertheless are often forgotten just when the time comes for their application. They will therefore bear repetition.

One thing which this strife should teach us is that when differences arise as to principle or practice, and no one can deny that they will arise, it is always necessary to restate the issue and always to speak and write to the point. Some passages in this Leipzig affair appear decidedly clownish, simply because they apparently have nothing at all to do with the original issue. To the persons concerned the incongruity was not so obvious. They had argued point A. Point B was brought up, which related to point A. They fought it out. Point C had a direct bearing upon B. And so they went on in

seemingly logical and relevant order. Everyone could see that point D was related closely to point C, and it was fought just as hard as point A. But when a disinterested party held up point D and point A side by side, the entire matter looked exceedingly ridiculous. What the care of Baierlein's children had to do with Nallatambi's ordination is rather hard to see. This may seem a small matter at first, but many a good cause has lost for itself loyal supporters when a seriously meant debate degenerated into wrangling to no purpose.

Another point to be learned concerns the purpose and the spirit of such a disputation. Ochs, if we make allowance for a few weak spots in his character, as we should, seems to have been filled with a love for God and for His cause, a zeal for the conversion of the heathen. He saw the evils of the caste system. He saw how it often prevented the proper brotherly love among those who continued to observe these distinctions. He wanted to break the system. The expressions of some of his opponents indicate - there is not sufficient material at hand to enable us to make a more decided statement - that they, too, would rejoice if the caste system would eventually be dissolved. They were prompted by the same motives. These two parties differed, however, on the length of time it would take for this to be accomplished and on the methods to be used. These two parties, prompted by the same motives, the love of God and the love of their fellow-man, forgot these motives in the heat of debate, and called each other asses and liars. The motive should have also been kept as the standard. Moral: If such a dispute should arise, its purpose should be the best way of bringing the love of God and of our fellow-man to proper frui-

tion, and its spirit should be in accordance.

The episode of the test-meal might serve to show how unwise it is to force any one's conscience in an adiaphoron. Ochs thought that if Nallatambi would submit and eat of the test-meal, he would thereby show that he had no superiority complex when compared with the Pariahs. Ochs would judge Nallatambi's reaction by his own, whereas the truth of the matter is that what Ochs would do in such a case would be by no means a standard by which to judge what Nallatambi would do, even if the circumstances were identical. The specific action in question is not mentioned or indicated in God's Word, and Nallatambi is to be judged by his obedience to God's institutions, and not man's. Furthermore, even if Nallatambi had submitted and eaten, it would have proved nothing, for even the heathen Hindus recognize exceptions due to coercion. Had Nallatambi wanted to act hypocritically, he could have partaken of the meal, and would thereby have proved to the satisfaction of some of his European friends that he was fit for the ministry, but to some of the Indians he would have proved only that he was a "shilling-Christian", who would not scruple to break caste in order to gain a steady income, a fact that was also pointed out. It is true, "by their fruits ye shall know them", but those fruits are not to be artificially produced by us. Observance of Nallatambi's work as a catechist disclosed his fruits and was sufficient to warrant his ordination in 1860.

We see in this caste strife in the Halle-Leipzig mission also a somewhat general lesson in connection with which we shall venture a more specific suggestion. History often repeats itself, and there may arise in our own ranks considerable difference of opinion on similar

questions. It may not be the caste question (tho we are told that there are already divergent opinions among our own missionaries as to how the caste question is to be handled), but there are also other questions in connection with the work in India which will occasion a division of opinion, especially in the field of Pastoral Theology. There never will be absolute unanimity. Even in connection with the case we are now studying, the Leipzig Mission Board must admit: "If it should devolve upon us to regulate the practical treatment of the caste question for all cases and to standardize it in advance by special rules, there could easily arise among us members of the Board different opinions, conceptions, and proposals." It is, however, to be greatly desired that differences among the missionaries be reduced to a minimum. (There is no danger that they will be minimized to the extent of paralyzing initiative and halting progress.) Many things will arise that cannot be first referred to the Board, and it is desirable that the missionaries be at one on principles of procedure. Now, it is true that they could arrive at ~~a~~ proper decisions from the general theology that they have already mastered. But there will be difference of opinion as to the choice of material (what is relevant and what not), as to its systematization, and then as to the conclusions drawn. Our pastors here at home, likewise, could assemble their pastoral theology from their dogmatics, but we don't leave them to that. We have a special course here at the Seminary in Pastoral Theology, and after graduation ^{pursue} our pastors/~~thés~~ study along a similar line, as a special field. Our foreign missionaries have some peculiar problems not touched upon in the Pastoral Theology meant for countries with Christian civil-

ization. So then, the suggestion: Why not a Pastorate for Foreign Missions, or a Pastorate for India? A special book might serve the purpose, for there would be sufficient specific material. Better still would be a Mission Institute, in which prospective foreign missionaries would receive instruction to make those who are called to foreign fields able to do more efficient work in their field, and to make those who are not called able to present our foreign mission work more intelligently to our people over here. It would perhaps forestall disagreeable disputes over there. New conditions and new problems face the foreign missionary when he enters upon his work. It will not at all be unnatural for him to take a decided and perhaps one-sided stand upon any certain question shortly after he arrives, especially if he is at all self-assertive. If there are several missionaries working out the same problem, there are likely to be several opinions. Add to this the possibility of tropical cholera, and you will likely have some bad complications. Difference of opinion may lead to heated debate and end in each one's becoming more set in his own opinion. Why invite trouble by sending them over totally unprepared? The differences, or many of them, could be settled in advance by arriving at unity in principle before they leave. There may be slight variations in practice later. A thoro instruction would mean much, as we will try to show from the following. Even here at Concordia Seminary, namely, there is more than one boy ^{who} is totally at odds with one or more doctrines as taught by our Church, and he feels that he can never become reconciled to them. Temperaments differ here at the Seminary, and so also the course of action differs. One boy will argue the point every time a particular doctrine is touched upon in class, so that

the instructor may even consider him a heckler, whereas he is merely trying to get right on a doctrine which he is thoroly convinced is all wrong; another boy will say nothing when a doctrine is discussed which happens to be his particular stumbling block, and the instructor is left with the impression that it is accepted by all. In each case it may take a whole year, it may take two years, or longer, until the teaching finally "sinks in", each one sees the particular doctrine which was troubling him in a new light, and he is at one with the Church in its acceptance. In each case, a superficial instruction would have failed, but a thoro instruction succeeded in overcoming the obstacles. In like manner, some of the questions which it can be seen in advance will be disputed points on the mission field could be fought out here under more favorable circumstances and our missionaries could be blessed with the victory of more or less perfect unity before they sail. It is not our purpose here to go more fully into the arguments for and against such a Mission Institute, its organization, and its possibilities. Let it suffice to say that the "pros" far outweigh the "cons". It is our purpose here merely to show the necessity for such an institute, as pointed out by the history of the Halle-Leipzig Mission.

If we look a little more closely at Leipzig's position on the caste question, we shall find more points that will be instructive.

Leipzig seems to be fully right in allowing the caste system to be retained among the Christians, deprived of course of its evil features. The thing they fight against is not the caste system but the evil caste spirit. In the institution itself, they "distinguish between the religious and the civil, between the heathen and the national, between the sinful and the un sinful features." They proceed from the fact that the caste system is not in itself something sinful, but is the natural

development of popular thot and is based upon difference in color and in occupation. The caste system was originally purely eivil, but, as happens in the case of ewery heathen people, native legislation and custom brought this institution into close relation with the popular religion, gave it a religious basis, and even connected with it religious ceremonies. In dealing with the caste system among converts, Leipzig declares, "Here, however, we are not dealing with the caste system of the heathen, in whose mōnd, as long as their thot is strictly Brahmanic, caste and religion are inseparable, but we are dealing rather with the remnant of caste among our Indian Christians, which is not of a heathen religious, but of a purely civil nature." Leipzig continues, " That the idea of a moral pollution thru contact with a Pariah prevails among our Sudra Christians is something which no one has yet been able to prove, and even the possible assumption that in exceptional cases - perhaps among very unenlightened Christians - a more or less conscious approach to such superstition may be found must likewise remain a mere assumption, for naturally not one of those Christians, if questioned, would admit that he harbored such a thot."

The desire to retain caste distinctions, as we have already seen, is based upon more than mere custom, and it cannot be denied that it has had its advantages. The Marawi, for instance, by not mingling with other castes, have as a class retained their characteristic bravery and endurance; the Serweikari have retained their frankness and their tirelessness as workers, which attributes cause them to stand in sharp contrast to many of their nabors; and so forth.

Altho the caste question, as such, seems not to have been the

subject of much discussion in our synodical literature, still some of the questions involved are treated, as for instance this question of whether or not a legal prohibition of mixed marriages is contrary to Biblical teaching. In the Synodical Report of the Illinois District for 1907, there is an essay by the late Dr. E.A.W.Krauss, in which he says in explanation of Num. 12: "Miriam and Aaron murmured because Moses had not married an Israelite woman but an Ethiopian. According to their vain, carnal understanding, he had thereby forfeited the right of serving as mediator between God and His chosen people. Moses, however, had not by this marriage sinned against a law of the Lord. The Israelites were indeed forbidden to marry with the Canaanites, but not with those people who had come up with them out of Egypt. If in our time civil laws of our land prohibit marriages between whites and blacks, and between whites and Mongolians - as is the case in certain states - Christians who wish to live in such a state are bound to render obedience to such laws, and not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake'. For authorities can prohibit such marriages. By doing so they do not overstep their rights." We believe that, mutatis mutandis, this same principle can be applied for recognizing the established usage of the Indians in this respect. Furthermore, we must strive to understand their social instincts, and we should not be too quick to condemn their inherent antipathies. We will add the following merely to illustrate. In the Theological Quarterly of Apr. 1903, the late Dr. A.L.Graebner says: " In Michigan, where the law expressly pronounces a marriage between a white person and one wholly or partially of African descent valid in all respects, and probably in all the states where the laws are silent on this point, such marri-

ages, however repugnant they may be to the feelings of most people, are lawful, if not illegal for some other cause. Nor is difference of race an impediment of marriage according to the moral law." Yet a member of the faculty of Concordia Seminary made the statement before his class that a marriage between a white person and a negro was so repugnant to his feelings that he could not but refuse to solemnize such a marriage. We can understand his feeling, and would not for that reason declare his stand unchristian. The social instincts of the Indians are wider in their scope, and we should seek to understand them and not to force them, while we hope that Christian influence will reshape these instincts.

If the converted Hindus wish to retain the caste system as a social order, freed of course from the evils usually associated with it, their wish should be granted. Our task is to preach the Gospel, to help them to become and remain children of God; our task is not to effect a social revolution, not to make them accept the forms and usages of Occidental civilization. We are acting outside the limits of our commission if we follow the sectarian missions and preach social equality among the Indians. We should steer clear of that course, just as our missionaries refrain from preaching "social equality" among the negroes of the South. Recently we read a magazine article by the wife of a prominent Episcopal clergyman in India. It seems that in her mind, Christian missions partake of the nature of a romantic adventure, in the popular sense of the term, and the triumph of Christianity was symbolized by an Indian woman presiding over a mixed public assembly, something entirely impossible to the mind of heathen Hinduism. It is true, the "emancipation of woman",

if properly understood, is a result of Christianity, but mere social reorganization, except inasfar as the correction of an evil is involved, is not an objective of Christianity. So with the caste question, the Christian missionary should be concerned only with the removal of the evil, and should let the rest take its natural course in the hands of his people.

This policy of not interfering with caste as a social arrangement (without compromising Christian principles) made it repeatedly possible for the earlier Halle-Leipzig missionaries to gain converts also from higher castes, whereas the Roman Catholics had also to countenance actual evils and to offer special inducements, to convert any one from a higher caste (and the few sectarian missions found it next to impossible). In fact, after the sects began to multiply their mission forces, their rigorosity was considered by the Indians as common to all Christians, and at the present time it has very perceptibly increased the difficulty of converting the high caste man. Their policy defeated its own end. It is claimed that Ziegenbalg, by pursuing a policy of toleration, accomplished more in the way of eradicating caste distinctions than any of the later sectarian missions with their legalistic methods.

Many who sought the abolition of caste distinction were motivated by a chivalrous concern for the detested Pariah. The Pariah, however, was not chafing under disadvantageous social distinction. He was content. Dr. Wilson (one time famous professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, who had spent many years in East India) says: It is a great error to think that caste is an outrage and a burden in India. This is simply a European idea, arising, like many others, from the notion that our own customs and views form an infallible standard for other peoples.

The fact of the matter is that even among the lowest castes the caste is considered a privilege and not an ignominy, and the people hold more tenaciously to their caste the lower they stand on the ladder of civic society.* So far Wilson. Since circumstances are thus, then to make it one's business to change the attitude of the people might turn out to be merely a bolshevistic attempt to stir up class consciousness. Christian evangelization of the lower castes/^{in India}would take on the same aspect as Socialist propaganda in Europe and America.

It must be said, however, that the evils of the caste system are many and that they are not easily overcome in the minds and lives of the newly converted Indians. Therefore, while allowing the caste system to remain, we should take care not to foster it. This is what Leipzig may have done in some instances in violation of their accepted theory. That would help explain the secession of Naether and Mohn, and would seem to be indicated by a statement of Baierlein: "It is true that they [the Leipzig Mission Board] fly too high with their ideas of church and churchliness, and therein lies the deepest reason for our difference in the caste question."

The caste question per se need not unduly engross the attention of our missionaries. Let them but continue to preach the positive doctrine. If the converted Hindus finally find, after thoro instruction, that caste is not entirely compatible with Christian ideas, they will drop it. Especially can this hope be entertained if Christianity has the effect upon the Pariahs that it has had upon other inferior races. It is to be hoped, namely, that Christian influence will eventually raise the Pariahs to a level where the difference between them and the other castes will not be so notice-

* I have the above quotation from Dr. Wilson's lecture only in a German translation. The form in which I give it here is merely a translation back into the English and is, therefore, not in the exact words of Dr. Wilson. It is for that reason that I refrained from using quotation marks.

able. The gulf separating the castes will be narrowed and eventually, perhaps, the differences erased. This, however, is not to be part of the missionary's program, altho it may be fruit of his labor.

Somewhat parallel is the history of slavery, which may serve here to illustrate the advisability of toleration. The institution of slavery was general and well established in the civilized world at the beginning of the Christian era. Dr. Kretzmann, in his commentary on the Epistle to Philemon, says, "There can be little doubt, as a prominent writer (Brace, Gesta Christi) has pointed out, that the spread of Christianity was the cause of the increasing sentiment among the nations against slavery." Yet how was this accomplished? There were many abuses connected with slavery. The early Church tried no doubt to correct those abuses as they occurred within the Church, on the basis of St. Paul's inspired admonitions to slaves and to their masters. But - the "institution of slavery is not intrinsically and fundamentally wrong from the Biblical standpoint", as Dr. Kretzmann also points out. For this reason the inspired teachers of the Church did not attempt to abolish the institution. They let it stand. In fact, St. Paul tells the slaves, "Servants (*δοῦλοι*), be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ." He also persuades a runaway slave, who had become a Christian, to return to his master, who is also a Christian. So, he allows slavery to continue also in the Christian Church. He strives to remove the evils commonly associated with the institution, and then devotes his time to teaching positive doctrine. The result is that the awakened Christian conscience eventually judges the spirit of slavery to be

incompatible with the spirit of Christianity, and the institution of slavery is dropped. The parallelism to the caste question is no doubt sufficiently obvious, and the policy as advocated by Leipzig should receive our endorsement, at least as to its general outline. It is quite evident that the proper treatment of the caste question is another lesson to be learned from the history of the Halle-Leipzig mission in India.