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CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA:
THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS UNION, 1900-1947

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BANTU PROPHETS IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA:

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS UNION

1900–1947

by

BENGT SUNDKLER

Professor of Missions, Uppsala University, Sweden
late Research Secretary, International Missionary Council



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PREFACE

THE PRESENT study was begun in 1947, the year of the inauguration of the Church of South India. A word of personal explanation may not be out of place. Not only do I write from outside South India but also from outside any of the churches which took part in union negotiations, being a member of the Church of Sweden. Therefore I may possibly claim to have begun this study without any conscious bias. I have tried to tell the story as fully and as fairly as I can. If the years 1941–47 appear to be more summarily treated than the earlier period, this is because their comparative nearness in perspective makes a more restricted treatment preferable.

In 1950–51 I visited India and had the opportunity of meeting Indian and missionary leaders and of knowing something of the life and of the social and economic background of the Church. I am indebted to the Humanistiska Fonden, Stockholm, Sweden, for having given a generous grant towards my visit to India, and I thank my Indian and Western hosts in different parts of South India who gave the inquisitive visitor of their time.

My thanks are due to my friend, the Rev. Douglas Webster, now Education Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, who on my invitation in January–February 1953 spent seven weeks in Uppsala in order to assist with the English of my manuscript. But he did more than that: he identified himself with the study and we established an uninhibited intellectual collaboration, the experience of which I shall always treasure. I also have to thank him for seeing the book through the press and preparing the index.

My co-worker in the Swedish Institute for Missionary Research, Uppsala, Dr. Åke Holmberg, has read the manuscript and given valuable suggestions. I thank the following who have helped me with the preparation of the manuscript,

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May 1953

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INTRODUCTION

THE day when a church becomes a sending church, a missionary church, is among the most fateful in its history. When it moves across the seas to be transplanted in other soil, it does of necessity change, either by conscious and willing adaptation or else through its very resistance to change. The factors of growth and change are set out in sharper relief by the situation in a mission field than by the situation within the older churches of Europe and America. Transplantation is mutation.

The character of a church is conditioned by the interrelation of doctrine, order, liturgy and ethos. A strengthening or weakening of the influence exercised by one or any of these four factors reacts on the rest and on the whole structure of the church. The history of the younger churches reveals, however, that besides these factors there are other elements which may influence the growth of a Christian community. There is the soil: the church is coloured by ethnological and cultural factors in other lands. There are also the new ecclesiastical conditions and combinations of the mission field.

The effect of the "soil" can be seen in the change which whole religions undergo when moving from one culture to another. Buddhism changed radically when it was brought from India to Tibet and China and Japan. When the narrow limits of the primitive church in Palestine had been broken through, Christianity was deeply influenced by Greek thought. The shift from a gravitation centre in Jerusalem to the Roman Metropolis implied a change in the whole structure of the church.

In the situation of to-day the younger churches are also affected by the new inter-ecclesiastical relations and conditions which obtain in the mission field. This applies, in varying degrees, to the churches which eventually took part in the South India union negotiations. There was an approximation

in worship, piety and church government which preceded union. Admittedly this development had one of its roots in the evangelical movement of the nineteenth century, the influence of which we shall consider presently. But the common striving of the whole front of Christian missions to grasp and use the evangelistic opportunities presented by the millions of people in the Indian mass movements afforded another factor of change in inter-denominational relations which was to influence the very character of the church.

The relation of a particular sending church to society and to other churches in the West is often very different from the relation which emerges between a particular resulting younger church and other churches in the mission field. A church may in the West, e.g. England, have been an established church, enjoying privileges and a social rating which the non-conformists never had. Transplanted to the East, e.g. India, this church will by conscious effort strive for disestablishment and thereby financially and socially be put on a par with other Christian communities. The Anglican bishop in India is no longer the rich, proud feudal prince of the church which his English predecessors centuries ago were supposed to be. In his worn white cassock and worn sandals he rather represents the evangelical ideal of poverty and simplicity to an extent which some leaders of other churches may not do. A church, which in the home country has led an existence of opposition against the dominant official State Church, may in the course of time undergo a considerable change in its own sphere in the mission field. No longer placed in a role of antagonism and opposition, and given a large share of dominating influence in the new setting, this church may take on characteristics which in the home country were regarded as belonging to the authoritarian body which it had there opposed. Thus while any church which becomes engaged in mission work will inevitably be conditioned by geographical and ethnological influences which make for change, this latter type of church is especially subject also to ecclesiastical transformation which may in turn imply an important change in its very structure.

Newman Smyth, an American Congregationalist, whose ideas played a certain role also in South India, has suggested

the existence of a law of church development for which he uses a biological term—"anticipatory substitution".[1] Biologically this means that "a temporary use is made of an organ until another, better fitted for the services needed, shall have been found". So, Newman Smyth argues, it is also with the life of the churches. "A gift or office may be utilized beyond its original intent, and thereby become the means of transition to a more specific authority. Pastors have become missionary superintendents, presbyters have become bishops, and the bishop of a single congregation has had in time a diocese added unto him." This law of anticipatory substitution applies to the conditions in the home churches, although here the constraining forces of tradition allow only a very slow mutation. In the mission field this law can operate with fuller sway and set in motion a deep-going structural change in the old traditional forms. When, therefore, two churches, one of which in the home country played a dominant, the other a subordinate, role, find each other in the same mission field, they meet on quite different terms than in the country where once their antagonisms arose. It is not always clear, however, to the representatives of either church that in the home church these terms are different from the mission field. The past and its traditions follow the missionary like the shadow in sunny India. *1662 and To-day* is the title of a pamphlet resulting from "conversations" between Anglicans and Free Churchmen in England in the 'thirties.[2] But in India also "1662" and arguments for and against Archbishop William Laud are issues which still play their part.

Is not the deepest problem of church union this: How to find redemption for the wrongs of history without renouncing history?

We should also consider what happens when two different variations of the same denomination meet in the mission field. To mention one example: Congregationalism in England and Congregationalism in New England have, generally speaking, the same doctrine, order, liturgy and ethos. But their history and their relations to the social and religious home *milieu* are different. In the one case there has been a long tradition of opposition against a dominant Established Church. In the other case we find a Congregational church, which in certain

periods of its history was "the State Church in almost all of New England".[3] Place these two different kinds of Congregationalism in South India, as they have in actual fact been placed side by side there: their past and their different traditions follow them to India and influence their reactions to other churches.

Transplantation affects not only the institutions but also the individuals. The most fascinating feature in the sometimes dramatic story of union negotiations in South India—that which makes this story a drama—is its modifying influence on the men engaged in the struggle for union. One of the presuppositions of this book is the conviction, nurtured by observation, that history only comes to life—or at least only conveys the illusion of life—when presented as an interaction and interplay of living people. History is not made only of ideas floating in mid-air, but of people, with their prejudices and fears, their ambitions and hopes and ideals. At least, this is the case with the movement towards union in South India. And this history is made by men with different backgrounds and traditions who were *changed* as a result of being in South India and of working towards union with other churches.

Bishops with a Tractarian, and later Anglo-Catholic, background, when placed in the South Indian situation change and sometimes tend towards an Evangelical standpoint. On the other side, Congregationalists when placed in the same situation discover the need for a "Catholic" position, a discovery prepared for by ecumenical theologians of their own denomination in the West.

There somehow seems to be a universalizing tendency in the missionary situation itself: church history is no longer staged on the narrow scene which was represented by Western Europe in the period 1500–1914. On the wider scene which was provided by the modern transplantation to the East, the church discovers its calling to be, in a non-Christian world, the local representation of the Universal Church. Here of course is implied a very serious problem for the future relationship between the younger church in the East and the denominations and missionary societies in the West; a problem of mutual understanding and mutual re-education.

In this record of union negotiations in India the whole of

church history, vertically and horizontally, is present and is modified. Vertically: from the early church to the church of the present day. The problem often is how to make the early church, or some other period of church history, a model for the church to build to-day in India. Horizontally: the churches of Britain, America and the Continent of Europe have found in India a new meeting place where the whole of their history implicitly present creates new problems and sometimes surprising reactions.

A study of the confluence of church history in the Church of South India must somehow aim at being a contribution to a *Universal* Church History. It is a big word. The writer is painfully aware how far this study falls short of such an ideal. But he has at least glimpsed the ideal and has come to believe that the ideal has a claim upon those who in the future are to write the history of the expansion of the church overseas.

Here again a serious limitation on the part of the writer should be pointed out. He spent only four months in India, three of them in South India in 1950–51.[4] Throughout he has been acutely conscious of the lack of material, printed and unprinted, showing the hopes and aspirations of *Indian* Christians expressing the urge towards union. He can claim to have made a conscious effort to present such Indian views as were obtained in conversations with Indian church leaders or set out in letters, books and papers, but he feels that he has only scraped the surface. It probably cannot be helped that the "Western" emphasis in the available material itself is reflected in the picture drawn in this book. In so far as this is the case it is an indication of how much more we ought to know if we are to write a really "Universal" Church History.

This is not a "definitive", much less "*the* definitive" history of church union negotiations in South India. The claim to definitiveness in historical understandings is in *any* circumstances absurd, for we see only in parts. In our case such a claim would immediately defeat itself, for we have to deal with at least four different ecclesiastical traditions, which in the new situation in India are being modified and changed and brought to co-operate. Faithfully to understand and present this history

is more difficult than is perhaps at first realized. The problem of bias is a very real one: it affects not only the final presentation with its valuations and emphases, but it goes deeper. It concerns the selective sieve through which the vast amount of material has been passed. The writer realizes that if this same material had been treated by, say, a Baptist, or an Anglo-Catholic, or even a Hindu Mahasabha nationalist, the final result would most probably have been very different from the picture which has been drawn here. A case in point is L. A. Haselmayer's sketch *The Church of South India*, with its sub-title, *Its Relationship to the Anglican Communion*. The author is an American Anglo-Catholic and discusses the development from that point of view. Naturally the non-Episcopalians' efforts do not show up very favourably in that perspective. The studies by Bishop Stephen Neill and Bishop A. E. J. Rawlinson are mainly concerned with the Anglican reaction.

We believe that it is in the very nature of our theme that the development be understood in its *complexity*. Union of different churches is in any case a complex affair, and history must at least attempt to take this into account. Admittedly the historian's problem may in such circumstances be that of the famous chameleon which was placed on a piece of Scottish kilt. For better or for worse the present writer has tried to place himself at the confluence of ecclesiastical traditions in order to understand the different emphases and viewpoints.

Whether he admits it or not, any historian is himself an important tool of research. His own prejudices and predilections make up the bias which he consciously has to combat but which on a deeper level probably influence his research. To deny the possibility of such influence is either conceit or intolerable naïveté. Even selecting the theme of study reflects personal interests. To counteract any effects of possible bias, the following should be said about the writer: in addition to being a Westerner and a member of the Church of Sweden, he has been a missionary, although not in India. The effects of the fissiparous tendency in Protestantism which he observed rather closely in Africa, more particularly South Africa, made him feel that the unity of Christians and the union of churches is important and urgent and that efforts to this end are worthy. This

research into union in South India has necessarily meant a personal challenge to him, for he has come to see that the missionary task is essentially to transmit the Catholic Church. He would like to believe that this conclusion is in harmony with the Lord's prayer for unity, "that they all may be one".

Chapter I

NINETEENTH-CENTURY BACKGROUND

The Evangelical Revival

THE evangelistic and missionary zeal of John Wesley and the hymns of Charles Wesley created a new spiritual climate in Britain which made it possible for churches to come together in closer fellowship than before. It has been said of this movement in the eighteenth century that it "changed the face of England". Because of England's role in modern church history this same Evangelical Revival also changed the climate and the conditions of church life in other parts of the world, as for instance in South India. The denominational missionary societies, formed in Britain, on the Continent of Europe and in the U.S.A. before and after 1800, had their own distinctive features which were apparent enough. That was the case with the (Congregationalist) London Missionary Society (1795), in spite of its Fundamental Principle "not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, or any other form of Church Order and Government—but the Glorious Gospel of the Blessed God to the Heathen".[1] Charles Simeon, the great Anglican Evangelical leader, who played a leading role in the formation of the Church Missionary Society, was sure that he could not join the London Missionary Society. He became known as "more of a *Church-man* than a *Gospel-man*" and he was against ecclesiastical irregularity.[1a] But there were among these sending churches, whether Congregational, Presbyterian, Reformed or Anglican, certain common features which presented the possibilities of common action. And here the Evangelical Revival has undoubtedly been of great importance. Subsequent movements such as the Evangelical Alliance, the Keswick Convention, the Y.M.C.A./Y.W.C.A., and the Student Volunteer Movement

had during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century a similar influence.

The Evangelical Revival had a strong influence within the non-conformist churches. Rigid Calvinism in older Congregationalist theology receded through contact with evangelistic fervour and the pietistic outlook. The Methodist appeal led to a modification of Calvinistic doctrines. "'Moderate Calvinism' was Calvinism in decay. The old Calvinistic phrases, the old Calvinistic definitions were still on the lips of the Independents when George III died, but in spirit and tendency of their theology they were Calvinists no longer".[2]

Moody's sermons and Sankey's *Sacred Songs and Solos* assailed even the strongholds of Scottish Presbyterianism. These were Evangelical forces which in an effective way prepared the churches in Scotland—and Scottish churches beyond the seas —for co-operation and union. The fixed forms of orthodoxy were modified by this influence. It was a milestone on the way to union, influenced by the warming effects of Evangelical Revival, when in 1898 Scottish churches found a "Unity in Praise" by accepting a common Church Hymnary.[3] The National Council of Evangelical Free Churches in Britain, formed in 1895, had been inspired by a Methodist, H. P. Hughes. Interchange of preachers became a novel but increasingly popular way of bringing Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians—and occasionally Anglicans—into closer contact.

In the United States of America revivals from the times of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield to Charles Finney had led to the formation of new churches and strong missionary societies. Upon the tumultuous times of revival there followed a period of sober reaction about 1850 when denominational consciousness was strengthened. A symptom of this tendency can be seen in the earliest relation between the two American missionary societies which are of greatest interest to us here, namely the Congregational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions with its headquarters in Boston, and the (Dutch) Reformed Church in America. The former began work in Calcutta in 1812 and in Madura in 1833. Dr. John Scudder of the American Board worked for two decades (1836–57) with this society. Later his own Reformed Church, because

of strengthened denominational consciousness, wished to take up work of its own in South India. A special field, Arcot, was handed over to this more strictly Reformed mission, and Scudder joined it.

While in America denominational ties were strengthened about 1850 with consequent stress on the traditions and uniqueness of particular churches, the complex character of some missionary societies made a meeting-point with other churches possible. The American Board, which was largely Congregationalist, had also assimilated Presbyterian influences from a period when, under the influence of the eighteenth-century revival, Congregationalism and Presbyterianism were brought together. In this encounter the Presbyterian element became dominant.[4] We shall see later that New England Congregationalism at the beginning of the twentieth century went one long step further: there was to be a *rapprochement* between them and the Protestant-Episcopal Church, based on the Lambeth Quadrilateral. These plans and tendencies were of fundamental importance for British and American missionary leaders who in South India attempted to bring about church union.

The Anglican Communion

The development of Anglicanism in modern times was influenced not only by an Evangelical line from Wesley and Simeon but also by a Catholic line from Newman and Pusey. The Evangelicals in the Church of England and in other churches stood for personal religious loyalty to Jesus Christ as God and Saviour and to His Word in Holy Scripture. The Catholics took their stand on "the foundation, upon which our authority rests, the Apostolic Succession",[5] as Newman put it in Tract I.

Tract I was, however, eventually followed by Tract XC. One of the factors which forced Newman out of the Church of England was the controversy over the Anglo-Prussian bishopric in Jerusalem, the famous endeavour by King Frederick William IV and Lord Shaftesbury to combine Anglicanism and Prussian unionism by means of an untheological, hybrid episcopacy. The problem of Apostolic Succession

as applied to a church in Asia was discussed with acerbity. At the same time it was forgotten, or remained largely unnoticed, that in South India Lutheran missionaries, not episcopally ordained, had for a long time served the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. They had indeed founded and nurtured the Tinnevelly Church and the Church of the S.P.G. at Tanjore.

Both the Evangelicals and the Catholics were ecumenical in intention. Newman in the 1830's regarded the Church of England as the *via media* between Rome and the Protestant Churches; a view in which of course he was in accord with the seventeenth-century Anglican divines. Jeremy Taylor and John Bramhall had laid the foundations of a theology which stressed the "comprehensive" and "bridge-church" character of Anglicanism. The bridge-building by the inheritors of the Oxford Movement was concerned with the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. These endeavours were not very encouraging. The bull *Apostolicae Curae* of Leo XIII in 1896 was a hard blow and undoubtedly was one factor in causing that "disproportionate sensitiveness in regard to the validity of Anglican Orders" which Canon J. A. Douglas has found among his fellow Anglo-Catholics.[6] In the younger churches, to which the Anglo-Catholic movement made contributions of great value and significance, the problem of Order was increasingly felt, particularly in relation to church union schemes which emerged in the twentieth century.

Evangelical bridge-building turned chiefly in the direction of non-episcopal "dissenters". In Britain the Mildmay Conference and the Keswick Convention became platforms where Anglicans played a central role. The Church Missionary Society mediated the Evangelical influence to the mission fields, not least to South India, which generally speaking was Evangelical.[7]

The two main schools of thought in Anglicanism had to work and live together in a spirit of comprehensiveness. On the diocesan level the bishops had to balance and reconcile the two traditions—if it was not a case of a "monochrome" diocese.[7a] In the twentieth century the process of "diocesanization" transferred the organization of church work from the mission-

ary societies to the diocese. On a wider level Evangelical and Catholic bishops were brought together by the Lambeth Conferences. These Conferences were the most obvious indication of the world-wide outreach of the Anglican Communion. The initiative that led to them was taken by a bishop in the "colonies", Bishop Fulford of Montreal, a firm Evangelical. He had in mind a re-alignment of Protestant forces over against a Roman Church which was at that time proclaiming the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.[8] The most fruitful approach to this re-alignment was the "Lambeth Quadrilateral" of 1888. It was originated by the Protestant Episcopal Church in its General Convention of 1886 in Chicago. The four corner-stones of a united church according to this plan were Holy Scriptures; the Nicene Creed; the two Sacraments; and "the Historic Episcopate" locally adapted. In subsequent Lambeth Conferences the reunion issue became one of importance to such an extent that the theological character and temper of each conference can be gauged by its pronouncements on this question.[9]

Missionary Co-operation

Missionaries in different parts of India found about 1850 that they needed to meet together in conferences in the interest of their common work. Local or Provincial Conferences were held, for Bengal in Calcutta 1855, for North-West India in Benares 1857, for South India in the hill resort Ootacamund in 1858, for the Punjab in Lahore 1862. These local efforts were followed by the first General Missionary Conference for the whole of India, held in Allahabad in 1872, where 136 missionaries took counsel together.

It was significant that the most important paper at the Allahabad Conference was read by a C.M.S. missionary from Madras, the Rev. J. Barton, on "The Indian Church of the Future".[10] It was significant because already at this time the Church Missionary Society held a key position in the relationships between various missions. With its Evangelical outlook this Society provided an important rallying point for the missionary forces, and the implementation of Henry Venn's ideas in regard to church government was already yielding

great results in the Anglican Church in South India, which Barton represented. Barton showed that a certain approximation between the policies of all leading missions was taking place. "Look for example at our Congregationalist Missionary Brethren in S. Travancore; I should like to know what they are if not Bishops (*Episcopi*). And what are our Native Church Councils in Tinnevelly (C.M.S.) but Presbyteries. Even our Congregationalist friends cannot get on without a Union."[11]

This was a viewpoint which was gradually realized by missionaries of different schools. The differences which once had loomed so large, in England or America, appeared in another light against the background of Hinduism. And, as Barton pointed out, in the new *milieu* in India a particular church necessarily developed in another direction than in the home country. Episcopalians adopted a system which engaged the co-operation of the lay forces of the church, and Congregationalists had by sheer practical necessity to adopt forms of church government which had seemed unacceptable in Europe. What they all had in common seemed to be much more important than the differences.[12]

There appeared from time to time suggestions that all missions in India should join forces and pool their forms of church government and of worship. This appealed particularly to the educated Indians. A Presbyterian Indian minister from Bengal, the Rev. Lal Behari Day, suggested in 1870 a scheme for an ecclesiastical union to include the essential principles of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism and Congregationalism.[13] But it was pointed out by missionaries that Day's scheme was essentially Presbyterian and "his 'bishop' [was] merely an ornamental one—he would be simply a chairman or 'moderator' of an assembly".[14]

The missionary forces were not to be easily led to believe in any hasty schemes of ecclesiastical union. It was admitted by a leading missionary periodical such as the *Indian Evangelical Review*, in 1876, that "the love of ecclesiastical dignity among Episcopalians, of legal order among Presbyterians, and of liberty among Congregationalists" were all in themselves commendable. But it would be impossible to find any real ecclesiastical basis upon which these three could be united. "An Indian

Church, established on any compromise of these conflicting principles, would soon be rent in pieces."[15] But on the other hand there were many who thought that some sort of federation would be of great value.

"Family reunions" and Federation were also the remedy which South India's missionaries, meeting in Madras in 1879, recommended.[16] Dr. Jacob Chamberlain, a leading missionary in the Arcot Mission, connected with the Reformed Church in America, had been strongly impressed by missionary co-operation in Japan. He appealed to his brethren in South India to organize a "Church of Christ in India".[17] He envisaged that the different Presbyterian groups would come together into one church, the Episcopalians into another, the various Methodists churches into a third, etc., and that these family churches would constitute themselves into a federation so that "it might be possible in the premillennial future to have one self-supporting, self-governing 'Church of Christ in India'". Such a church, Chamberlain claimed, would be "not American, not English, not German, not Danish, but *of India and suited to India*".[18] That was also the view of a Scottish Congregationalist, J. Duthie, who found that "the Native Church is happily free to approach the question of church government without bias, and ought to be encouraged to formulate New Testament principles on this matter for themselves" and choose their own church government. The Indian Christians all felt, he thought, that they were essentially one.[19]

The Conference in Madras in 1879 also seemed to reveal much of that essential oneness, as far as the missionaries themselves were concerned. There was a common basis of Evangelicalism in piety, forms of worship and zeal and methods of evangelism, upon which they could meet. The role of the Church Missionary Society in these respects was of particular value at this conference. It was, of course, a point of view which was also shared by the authorities of the C.M.S. in England at the time. The Secretary of the C.M.S., the Rev. C. C. Fenn, in a paper on Missionary Comity at the Centenary Missionary Conference in London, 1888, visualized a federated church of the future in India, where "great varieties of church government will coexist in the Indian Church, some congregations

being under Episcopal rule, others under Presbyterian, while others again will be more independent, but that all these will recognize each other as belonging to the same outward visible Church".[20] The Henry Venn system of church councils in Tinnevelly attracted the admiration of missionaries from other societies. W. Stevenson of the Free Church of Scotland, Madras, found that Tinnevelly "is the most advanced native church we have".[21]

Advances in the organization of the churches were needed. The first signs of the emergence of an Indian Nationalism began to be seen, and within the Christian Church some of the educated Indians clamoured for more scope for Indian leadership. It was a leading Bengali Christian who at the Second Decennial Conference, held at Calcutta in 1882, asked that "the Native Church be safely left alone, to a certain extent at least".[22] Indian Nationalism was born in Bengal. The Indian National Congress, formed in 1885, received its strongest support from Calcutta.

The enthusiasm it engendered soon spread to other parts of India, especially South India. One of the most remarkable symptoms of the influence of emerging nationalism upon the young Christian Church in South India was the movement originated by Dr. S. Pulney Andy. It was important, not because of its consequences, but as a sign of the times and as expressing aspirations of a certain section of Indian Christian leaders. Andy had served in the Subordinate Medical Department in Madras and stayed in England in 1859–62. Baptized by a Basel missionary in 1863, he attempted to find Indian expressions of Christian piety.[23] The rise of the National Congress gave a new impetus to his endeavours. In 1885 Andy founded the National Church of India. It was non-sectarian in principle and members could be enlisted from other churches without thereby severing their connexion with their "former place of worship". Their divisions were due "to the accident of having been baptized in one of these Sectarian Churches".[24] The new organization was, from Andy's point of view, an attempt to overcome the ecclesiastical divisions by accepting a

national programme. Local Saints were to be introduced "such as St. Schwatz (*sic*), St. Rhenius, etc.".[25] One of the strongest supporters of the movement, T. M. Scott of Madura, expressed its ideals succinctly: "The National Church of India will, it is hoped, be the Church of the future in this land, and the elimination of all the foreign denominational distinctions which unfortunately disfigure the Christianity of the age in the eyes of the liberal-minded Christians as well as Hindoos and Mahomedans."[26] A few missionaries expressed their sympathy with the movement, and leading Indian Christians such as J. P Cotelingam and Professor S. Sattianadhan became actively engaged in it.[27]

These were symptoms which the missions found wise to take into account. Some missions in South India were about this time re-examining their policy. The most spectacular case of self-examination was that of the Wesleyans, arising out of the criticism offered by a young missionary doctor, Henry Lunn. The Wesleyans analysed in India and England what they called their "comparative failure" in mission work.[28] If there was failure, the new century brought them an unprecedented harvest.

Whatever the internal problems of particular missions may have been, they realized the need for coming together with other missions, although the expectations indeed seldom went beyond the formation of loose federations. When "comity" between missions was discussed it was emphasized that this did not imply organic union, which was thought to be altogether out of the question. An American missionary leader, the Rev. Wallace Radcliffe, Washington, D.C., expressed the view of the overwhelming majority of missionaries on this point: "By comity we do not mean, and personally I am free to say, we do not expect, organic unity of the visible Church. The Church of Christ tried that sort of thing once on the banks of the Tiber, and it didn't work very well."[29]

But on the banks of Godavari, Kistna and Coleroon the situation was, of course, somewhat different. In 1900 the South Indian Missionary Conference in Madras brought together some one hundred and fifty missionaries representing some forty-five different missionary organizations and a Christian community of 350,000.[30] Ten of these organizations were, as yet,

only very small; their membership was in each case less than 1,000. Others again represented numerically impressive attainments. There were the two Anglican missions with, together, close to 150,000, thus representing nearly one half of the total (C.M.S. with 95,000 and S.P.G. with 51,000). Of the other British missions, the L.M.S. had as many as the S.P.G. and the Wesleyans had gathered a community of some 12,000. The biggest mission from the United States was the American Baptist Mission with over 50,000. Their work in the Ongole Mass Movement district had already begun to show rich results. The American Board had its centre in Madura and showed a Christian community of 11,000, while the (Dutch) Reformed Mission in the Arcot area had gathered 6,000. The American Lutherans had well over 20,000, the Continental Lutherans (Leipzig) showed close to the same figure (about 18,000) and the Evangelical Mission of Basel on the West Coast of South India was somewhat smaller (14,000).

The large community of the Roman Catholics were, as a matter of course, not represented at the Conference, neither were the Uniat Syrians (500,000). The non-Roman Syrians were divided into two sections, of which the Jacobites numbered about 300,000 and the Reformed Mar Thoma section some 125,000. The latter had been brought into contact with the Church Missionary Society. They were, however, not represented at the Madras Conference.

The mere enumeration of these facts and figures forcibly reminds us that the Christianity presented to India was divided. Locally the overlapping of some missions was a problem. G. E. Phillips, one of the L.M.S. Congregationalists who had worked consistently for a united church in South India, relates an experience from this time: "I have lived in a station where the Christian Church was represented by a feeble handful, despised by the great mass of surrounding Hindus in a sacred city of Saivism, and that feeble handful broken into three portions, Lutheran, Anglican and South Indian United Church, over the communion question. You can scarcely imagine how insane seem our ecclesiastical divisions in those circumstances." That was a feeling shared by many missionaries and by most Indians and the more so when they lived in

migratory areas or cities. Only in certain rural areas dominated by the influence of one single church was this problem felt less acutely. But we should not forget that the very coming together for this Madras Conference was a symptom of a will to co-operation. There were strong forces in the missions and in the South India community which worked in a unifying direction.

An accident of geography has been of first importance for missionary co-operation in South India. In May every year the Europeans leave the hot plains and spend some weeks on the Hill stations, Kodaikanal, Coonoor and Ootacamund. Here they can meet and exchange views about their experience and work. Out of these Hill gatherings many of the co-operative efforts mentioned here have emerged. The South Indian Missionary Association, formed in 1897, had been one of the most important results of these Hill Conferences and the main task of the Association was in fact the organizing of two Hill Conferences per year.[31] This Association also organized the South India Missionary Conference in 1900. While earlier conferences had been of an unofficial character, the Madras meeting in 1900 was more official and consisted of delegates of mission organizations. The Madras Conference regarded itself as competent to lay down a certain policy, particularly on comity, to be followed by the missions represented.

The missionaries in the main political centres of South India, such as Madras and Bangalore, organized themselves into Missionary Conferences. Organizations such as the Christian Literature Society, the Christian Endeavour Convention and particularly the Y.M.C.A. were of great importance in bringing together European and Indian church leaders of different denominations.

The role of the Madras Christian College in bringing about a climate of co-operation should be stressed. Organized at first by the Free Church of Scotland in 1867, the college was reorganized in 1910 on a co-operative basis with the two Scottish Missions, the Wesleyans and Church Missionary Society as supporting bodies. Most of the Indian leaders in the unity movement, for example Azariah and K. T. Paul, had received their academic training at this college. The influence of professors such as Wm. Miller, Wm. Skinner, A. G. Hogg (United

Free Church of Scotland) was considerable. Out of the Kodaikanal meetings which preceded the formation of the South India United Church* grew the plans, in 1906, of a United Theological College. J. H. Wyckoff and J. Duthie were the chief promoters of this scheme, which in 1910 resulted in the formation of the United Theological College, Bangalore. This college was founded by the co-operation of the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodists, the United Free Church of Scotland, the Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church in America and the American Board, Madura. From 1910 to 1924 a prominent Scandinavian Lutheran missionary, Dr. L. P. Larsen, belonged to the staff of this union experiment in the theological field.

Unifying Forces among the Indians

While these were some of the main organizations which tended to bring the European missionaries in South India together, one might well ask what were the general reasons why the Indian Christians themselves should begin to consider union. Singled out here are two of these reasons, one socio-economic, the other political.

As long as the Indian peasant stayed in his village, as his parents and ancestors had done before him, he was not perplexed by any denominational problem. The Anglican Nadar in Tinnevelly, or the Baptist Madiga in Ongole, or the Wesleyan Mela in Medak were all, in their province, convinced that *their* church was the best of all churches. Emigration, generally speaking, did not shake this basic conviction, but it did bring people from Medak and Ongole and Tinnevelly together in a way which had been unknown hitherto, giving them a new sense of belonging to a Dravidian unity. Economic pressure caused by famine (especially the great famines of 1876–78) made people move and created in certain sections of the community, especially the enterprising Nadar of Tinnevelly, an "emigration habit" which brought them to Ceylon, Madras, the north of India, and to the other side of the sea.[32]

The Tinnevelly Christians, mainly belonging to the Nadar

* See p. 41.

community, were to play a central role in the whole of the union movement with which we are concerned in this book. Converted to Christianity about 1800, they showed a deep interest in Western education. Many of them were attracted to the institution founded by Scottish Presbyterians in 1837, later to be called the Madras Christian College. Through this influence some Tinnevelly Anglicans were assimilated with Presbyterian mission work and became Presbyterians. They went to Madura where they became Congregationalists or to Trichinopoly and there became Methodists or Lutherans. They went south to Travancore and there they joined London Missionary Society groups. V. S. Azariah is an example of a Tinnevelly Christian, born in Mengnanapuram, who went north as a missionary to Dornakal, where he built an Anglican community. In Madras these men were referred to as "Tinnevelly Christians". Although they joined new Christian communities, they showed great loyalty to their mother church. Social and family ties bound them effectively to Tinnevelly and the Tinnevelly Church. The Rev. Samuel Joseph, who himself was born in Tinnevelly and became a leading Congregationalist in the Madura district, estimates that fifty per cent of the leaders in the South Indian Church Union movement had this origin.[33] This may be an overstatement, but through interviews with a number of leading Indian Christians the author has formed the opinion that the influence of this community has been outstanding. Indian church leaders in their union debate often referred to pastors and leaders in other churches by the expression: "We are all cousins." This was not only figurative speech. Something more real than that was meant.

Family ties connected individuals belonging to many different churches. At the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order 1937, a South Indian layman, C. J. Lucas, recounted his personal experience. Quoting his story makes us anticipate later developments:

> My father was a convert to Christianity and he is still a Lutheran. My mother was a convert too, but she was a Congregationalist and then became a Lutheran. My mother was a woman of prayer, and at her knees I first learned how to pray to and worship God. I was initiated into the mysteries of Luther's Smaller

Catechism by my father and, later, of the Augsburg Confession just before my confirmation. Our family worship was ever inspiring. At seventeen I was sent to a Puritan College, where I came under the influence of Calvinistic Puritanism. Later I went to a college staffed mainly by professors belonging to the United Free Church of Scotland. These two contacts made me like and appreciate the Presbyterian service and form of worship, and paved the way for me to be easily reconciled to the form of worship in the Reformed Church. The Puritan form of worship first appeared to me very dry and unattractive as compared with the Lutheran, but I gradually became used to it. As a boy and youth I immensely liked the services and worship conducted in connexion with the Sunday School, Christian Endeavour Society and, later, Young Men's Christian Association. These were intelligible to me, whereas the services in the church, and particularly the sermons, were sometimes far above my head. In the city, while as a university student and later as a teacher in the college, I had great partiality for a Methodist Church service. Its rich hymnology and effective pulpits were my chief attractions.

My wife belonged to the Anglican communion. Her parents were converts also, and they and some of her relatives are Anglo-Catholics; a few of her relatives are Roman Catholics. A brother-in-law of mine is a Methodist. Thus through marriage and geographical accident, I am connected with Christian people belonging to different persuasions and beliefs. But for all that, neither my friendly relationship nor worship with them was ever hindered. My relations and myself never debated about Apostolic Succession, nor consubstantiation, nor the doctrine of grace. We have partaken of the Holy Communion with my parents according to Lutheran rites, and with my wife's people according to the Anglican celebration; at present we are administered the same in the South India United Church. One of my children was baptized by a Lutheran minister, others were baptized by Free Church ministers. One of my sons has been admitted into full membership of the Church by a minister of the South India United Church. Another son was confirmed by an Anglican bishop. We never questioned the validity of regularly ordained ministries, but we believe in the efficacy of sacraments as a means of grace when administered by competent ministers.

I have been privileged to worship with God's people in many churches of various denominations—Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, etc.—not merely as a

passive listener, but even as a preacher. Some of my happy experiences in worship were during the time of discussions in the joint committee of church union in South India when we spent a few moments in joint devotion, forgetting that we were Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists. In my student days it was not my college chapel, which was a very plain structure, that attracted me for my daily private devotions, but it was a Roman Catholic cathedral that was a furlong away. Even now, as I enter into any Roman Catholic church, my first impulse is to kneel down and pray.[34]

Of the one hundred and fifty who met at the South Indian Missionary Conference in Madras in 1900 only twenty-four were Indians. Their number was small and they did not take a prominent part in the discussions. This was characteristic of the situation in Mission and Church, as of the relative role of the Indian in the affairs of his own country. But this position was not to last long. The period 1900 to 1910 witnessed the first great tide of the National Congress (formed in 1885). As the Congress mainly looked after the interests of the Hindus, there arose a sharp dissension between Hindus and Muslims, resulting in the formation of the All-India Moslem League in 1906. A leading part in the Congress was taken by a prominent Christian, Babu Kali Charan Banerji, and the Christian community all over India was stirred by new aspirations. "Awake, Indian Christians. Swadeshism is in the air. Is it without lessons for us?" asked a fervent Indian minister in Bombay.[35] The lesson to be learned was above all the need for the Indianization of Christianity.

Indian Nationalism resulted in social reform movements which caught the imagination particularly of the educated youth of the country. Arya Samaj (formed in 1875), the Ramakrishna Mission (from 1897) and the Servants of India Society (from 1905) were symptoms of the extent to which rising nationalism challenged the social conscience of educated Hindus.

Although thoroughly "Western" in its approach, the Young Men's Christian Association (first organized in Madras in 1890) became of considerable importance for Christian Nationalist leaders who were to take part in the union movements. G. S. Eddy's evangelistic ministry to the World Church—"second

only to that of Dr. Mott"—began in Madras in 1896 when the Student Volunteer Movement of India and Ceylon was formed, in close co-operation with the Y.M.C.A., with Eddy as Travelling Secretary.[36] Under his leadership this Volunteer Movement succeeded in enlisting the activities of prominent young Indian Christian leaders, such as K. T. Paul, V. S. Azariah and V. Santiago, all eager to follow the watchword which one of them, Azariah, would have "written large on the walls of our Y.M.C.A.s: 'Evangelization of India in this generation'".[37] The rising tide of nationalism swept away the Volunteer Movement, now felt to be too Western, and in its place there was formed the National Missionary Society.

The Home Missionary Society Movement was a predecessor of the National Missionary Society.[38] In 1853 there had been formed a Native Evangelistic Society by the American Madura Mission, which aimed at energizing the missionary urge of the young Indian Church itself. Under the influence of G. S. Eddy this Society was reorganized in 1904 into the Madura Home Missionary Society under the leadership of Eddy's friend and co-worker, V. Santiago. Eddy could point his Madura friends to the encouraging example of the Jaffna College, North Ceylon, where he had been instrumental in inspiring the students from the Student Foreign Missionary Society. When in 1902 Eddy visited Jaffna together with Azariah, the latter became inspired by the Jaffna example and together with young Indians in his own Anglican Diocese started the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly, 1903.[39] In the following year the society sent their first Tamil missionary to Khammamett, a step which helped to promote in those taking part "a sense of true Christian patriotism".[40] But Azariah did more than that. In 1909, after having been ordained deacon and priest by his friend, Bishop Whitehead, he went as a Tamil missionary in the service of their own society to a place in the Telugu country called Dornakal.

Out of the impulses given by (*a*) the Student Volunteer Movement and Y.M.C.A., (*b*) The Home Missionary Society Movement, and (*c*) the quickening tempo of the rise of nationalism, grew the National Missionary Society, formed at Serampore in December 1904. There were delegates from all over

India: those from Madras were G. S. Eddy, K. T. Paul and V. S. Azariah. In its appeal to Indian Christians the Society could affix the signatures of two outstanding leaders, Christians and Nationalists: Babu Kali Charan Banerji of Calcutta and Professor S. Sattianadhan, Professor at Madras University, son of one of the outstanding Indian clergymen in the diocese of Madras in the last century.

On the advice of John R. Mott the new movement was as much as possible linked up with the churches rather than with the Y.M.C.A.[41] The first Indian missionaries were sent to different parts of India. In South India the National Missionary Society took over from the L.M.S. work among the Sudras in a part of the Salem area. Through the efforts of Eddy and a young Anglican priest, H. Pakenham-Walsh, the Society inspired the Mar Thoma Syrian Church to start mission work in the North Kanara area.[42] The Indian character of the Society was apparent in its emphasis on indigenous expressions of worship. In the columns of the *Christian Patriot*, first published in Madras in 1906, these viewpoints were broadcast to the educated classes in the Christian churches. By the work done by the National Missionary Society this section of Christians began to realize their essential unity in spite of the denominations imported from the West.

The Westerners may have had their ecclesiastical struggles and squabbles: nationalism was drawing the Indian community together as a unity over against the foreigners. It also influenced Indian Christians to come together.

Chapter II

THE RISE OF THE SOUTH INDIA UNITED CHURCH

Presbyterian Union

In the history of the Presbyterian churches the nineteenth century is the period of schisms and the twentieth century the era of unions. The younger churches in the mission fields had their full share of the difficulties caused by the many secessions in Britain and America, and these difficulties seemed the more frustrating as the causes for schisms which had existed in, say, Scotland were not altogether apparent to the Chinese, African or Indian convert. A leading Presbyterian missionary in North India, J. M. Macphail, editor of the Presbyterian periodical *Conference,* said in 1904: "The future historian of the Christian Church in India will find many things to puzzle him—that Christians in Gujerat called themselves Irish, that others in the Central Provinces were Scottish Original Seceders, although they had never been in Scotland, were in no sense original and knew nothing about secession."[1]

But the era of Presbyterian union was dawning. The formation of the United Free Church of Scotland in 1900 was of fundamental importance in fostering a sense of Presbyterian ecumenicity. It was this atmosphere of union which Presbyterian missionaries in different mission fields represented. In 1899 two missions of Presbyterian polity in South China (English Presbyterians and American Dutch Reformed) decided to combine forces.

The South China example led to a similar move in South India, made by missions which were closely related to or even identical with those in China, namely the (Dutch) Reformed Church in America and the Free Church of Scotland.[2] The

South Indian Missionary Conference at Madras in 1900 gave an impetus to these plans. Dr. J. H. Wyckoff, a leading missionary in the American mission in Arcot, had been made convener of the Committee on Comity and Co-operation at the Conference.[3] Wyckoff had a real admiration for the Church of England and used the Book of Common Prayer from time to time. He eventually formed the opinion that episcopacy was the best form of church government for India. He was influenced by a young Indian pastor, Meshach Peter, whose family came from Tinnevelly and who already in 1898 had begun to plead the case for episcopacy and richer liturgical life.[3a] Wyckoff brought the matter of Presbyterian union before his own mission committee, and at the end of February 1900 representatives of the Arcot Mission and the two Scottish missions (United Free Church and Church of Scotland) met. They found that co-operation and comity was not enough: they aimed at closer union of the native churches of the three missions at the earliest possible date.[4] The constitution was that of the Church of Christ in Japan.[5] The Confession of Faith was based on the "Statement of Doctrine and Questions for the Ordaining of Office-bearers in the Native Churches of India", a shortened and modified form of the Westminster Confession and prepared under the influence of the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance between 1878 and 1883.[6] Some difficulties were experienced in regard to the place of the missionaries in a church of this kind. It was decided that ordained missionaries would be Assessors in the Courts of the Church with right to speak and to vote, but not subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts.[7]

The United Church was formed at a Provisional Synod held at Vellore, October 1901, with the old champion of Christian unity, Jacob Chamberlain, as Moderator. It comprised a total membership of over 12,000 (of which the United Free Church Presbytery had some 2,000 and the Arcot Presbytery, or Classis, 10,000 at the time). The new united church was called the "South India United Church". The name itself implied a programme. The qualification "Presbyterian" was avoided for two reasons. One was due to the susceptibilities of the home authorities of the Arcot Mission: in America the name Presbyterian was, of course, associated with a definite church with

which the (Dutch) Reformed Church in America was not united. The second consideration was the hope of assimilating with the union non-Presbyterian churches. In 1903 one of the leading younger Presbyterian missionaries of South India, J. H. Maclean, in explaining the choice of the seemingly pretentious name of the church, defended it confidently: "It is the only church that has actually been formed as the result of a union and it is not beyond the limits of possibility that ere long its boundaries may be so largely extended as to make the name more appropriate."[8] In September 1902 the formal transfer of the old Presbytery of the United Free Church and the "Classis" of the Arcot Mission to the United Church was made.

This forward move of the Scots and the Americans in South India was a stimulus to the Presbyterians in other parts of India. Pan-Presbyterian union in India was not new. In 1875 the Presbyterian Alliance of India had been formed, and Conferences had regularly met. At the Council meeting at Allahabad in 1901, thirteen different church organizations of Reformed faith and Presbyterian polity came together and decided to form one single Presbyterian church for the whole of India. In December 1904 the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India was held.[9] There had been considerable debate over the name of the church. South Indian opinion was for choosing a name as comprehensive as possible. The missionaries of the American Arcot Mission, such as Dr. Chamberlain and Dr. J. H. Wyckoff, wished to call it "The Church of Christ in India, Presbyterian", implying that other churches would be invited to join with it, the denominational names (Presbyterian, Methodist, etc.) "dropping off, as does the caudal appendage of the tadpole, as it emerges into its higher stage of existence".[10] In the drafting of the Confession and Constitution the Southern group lent their influence.[11] They were already exploring the possibilities of a wider union with non-Presbyterian bodies and were therefore anxious not to emphasize the particular Presbyterian tenets too forcibly. Moreover the Southern Presbyterians, or the "South India United Church", joined the all-India organization with the reservation that they would be free to withdraw altogether from the Presbyterian Church in India if they succeeded in their negotiations "in the

interest of a more practical Union in South India".[12] Men like J. H. Maclean and J. H. Wyckoff felt that a more comprehensive union with other churches in South India would be of higher practical value than the Pan-Presbyterian ideals which brought the "Presbyterian Church in India" into being. The Home Board of the Scottish Mission believed that the union in 1904 "marked an epoch in modern Church history".[13] The Presbyterians in South India were already planning for an epoch of a different nature.

Congregationalist Union

The efforts towards Presbyterian union made a profound impression upon the L.M.S. Congregationalists, who, about the turn of the century, had become increasingly conscious of the difficulties created by the Independent Church organization programme which they had brought from England to India. As we have seen, the mission field presents the sending church with unprecedented and unexpected situations. A church which in the home country with a dominating state church had its strength and something of its *raison d'être* in a vigorous proclamation of liberty and a loosely connected church organization, may find the conditions in the mission field totally different. In the case of the L.M.S. congregations in South India there emerged a certain tension between the Independent programme and the practical demands of the Indian situation. One of the leading L.M.S. missionaries, Maurice Phillips of Madras, felt this tension particularly and wanted to ease it.[14] At the South India District Committee meeting in January 1899 he complained that "at present we have a large Christian community connected with our Committee, but it is entirely incoherent and unorganized". A very important consequence followed, according to Phillips, from this fact: "Everything is in the hands of the missionary, who considers and disposes of all questions that may arise according to his own private and individual opinion."[15] The rule of the many could, in the new situation, unconsciously and unwittingly become the rule of the one man: here was a dilemma which had to be solved. And so on the eve of the new century Phillips proclaims: "The time

has come when we should attempt to organize our rapidly growing Church Community."

Phillips became the convener of a sub-committee which had to study the question and report to the District Committee meeting the following year. One of the younger men of the mission, Bernard Lucas, who later took a keen, if critical, interest in church union questions, was also a member. They proposed that all the churches should be "associated together" in a union, the leading authority of which was to be called "the District Council of the London Mission Churches". In this way, it was hoped, they would attain to "definiteness and continuity in organization".

The South Travancore Congregationalist groups, comprising seventy-one "churches" with 12,000 Christians,[16] in 1903 came together into what was described as a church union for the establishment and control of pastorates.[17] This was felt by some of the Indian ministers to be a disturbing innovation, but the laymen were quite prepared to draw together.[18] The Travancore union was designed to establish a "full assembly" of representatives of the local churches, which would have the central authority in their hands, particularly in matters concerning the call, examination, appointment, education, discipline and dismissal of pastors. This had formerly been settled locally.

Parallel with this local centralization of Congregationalist churches under the London Missionary Society went another Congregationalist move of wider importance: the union of the London Missionary Society and Congregationalist churches of the American Board in the Madura district. The first official Joint Committee was held in Madura in 1903. The First General Assembly of the General Union of the United Churches of South India (connected with L.M.S. and the American Board) was held at Madura, July 1905, and there the organization of the United Churches was officially formed.[19] The Christian community affected by this union had a total of 133,000. J. Duthie, an L.M.S. missionary who was a member of the Church of Scotland, became President of the union, with J. S. Chandler, Congregationalist of the American Madura Mission, as secretary.[20]

The new organization adopted both a Confession of Faith and a Constitution. As Congregationalists they disavowed "any thought of imposing a creed upon the churches", but nevertheless they had formulated their own creed. Bernard Lucas, a liberal Protestant of the L.M.S., was a member of the committee which drew up this creed.[21] The attitude of the conference was that unity would be reached when "in the unity of our knowledge of the Son of God we have forgotten the differences in our theological conceptions".[22] It also placed a strong emphasis on the role of the ministry. The union with the Presbyterian-minded Madura Mission implied that the Independent groups were drawn closer together and the General Assembly of the "General Union of the United Churches" was to be an instrument for infusing the Congregationalist body with Presbyterian tendencies.

Formation of the South India United Church

The unions which South India Presbyterians and Congregationalists had formed were no end in themselves. At the very point of amalgamation it was understood that these unions reached out to something wider. At the Decennial Missionary Conference in Madras 1902 there was an informal meeting between representatives of the two churches with a view to achieving some kind of federation. J. S. Chandler formulated his view: "The Madura theory of union among Christians is that the way to unite is to unite."[23] Chandler was appointed convener of a Madras committee on comity in 1902. It was felt, however, that the time for a Presbyterian-Congregationalist union in South India had not yet come. The uniting bodies needed to be more organized themselves first. The endeavours towards such union in other parts of the world, viz. Canada and Australia, had an inspiring effect on the brethren in South India.[24] The annual gatherings at Kodaikanal brought the missionaries closer together. At a Kodaikanal meeting in June 1905 formal negotiations began. Chandler felt that the L.M.S.–Madura union should stand as an invitation for all the Indian churches to close up their ranks, while Duthie, himself a Scot, a missionary of the L.M.S. and a member of the United Free

Church of Scotland, was particularly interested in securing union with the Presbyterians. According to him all churches should realize their "essential oneness" and beware of placing undue emphasis upon denominational differences "which the Indian Church is bound, in due time, to disregard".[25] The ground of union was thus to be found in disregarding denominational characteristics and finding common ground in such doctrines of the Christian Faith as constituted this essential oneness.

The Presbyterians were eager to accept the outstretched hand but were not happy about the Congregationalist attitude to creeds.[26] There had to be concessions and adjustments on both sides. A common denominator was suggested from the Congregationalist side in what Maclean for convenience would call "the Madura Confession of Faith", and this was recommended as a general basis, without debarring churches entering the union from adding "such more detailed Confessions as they pleased".[27] This was an interesting suggestion. The Madura mission, representing American Congregationalists who a hundred years earlier had had close contacts with Presbyterians in America, was felt to represent this *via media*, upon which the two churches could go forward unitedly in South India. It was not to be the last time that "Madura" would play such a part.

The Home Boards of the respective missions were consulted about the proposed union and their replies were favourable. At the second General Assembly of the United Churches in July 1907 the proposed scheme of organic union was adopted.[28] One year later was the birthday of the South India United Church. Representatives from both groups met under their respective Moderators in the Congregationalist Church—"Davidson Street Church"—in Madras. "Then, while a hymn was sung, the two bodies of delegates filed in and mingled in the church, the two Moderators, the Rev. Dr. Wyckoff and J. P. Cotelingam, Esq., standing together on the platform."[29]

From different sides it was stressed that the new church must be an Indian, a National, church. The nationalist movement was rising among the masses of the people and it was felt that a united church would make more appeal to the heathen than divided Christianity. J. P. Cotelingam declared: "There

is undoubtedly a great future before the South India United Church, if the faint beginning of Swadeshism in it be wisely directed."[30] Because of this tendency it was regretted by some of the missionaries that the Indians themselves had had comparatively little to do with the formation of the church.[31] Thus it became more necessary for the missionaries to "consult the highest wisdom of the Indian Church itself" and establish a union "on lines that are as oriental as may be consistent with the infantile condition of the church".[32]

As a National Church it had to be a *South* Indian Church. Here lay the main problem with the Presbyterians. They had in 1904 entered a Pan-Indian Presbyterian union, but on the condition that they were free to withdraw if the plans for a definitely South Indian union materialized. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in India in December 1907 acceded "with much regret" to the request for withdrawal by the Presbyterians of South India.[33] There was some misgiving at the action of the Southerners on the part of certain leading Presbyterian missionaries in North India.[34] J. H. Maclean, who had taken a prominent part in the welding together of the South India United Church, had to defend his actions. Practical and geographical considerations of the racial and linguistic unity of the south had prevailed on him: "A union for all India would lead to the formation of a church with its centre of gravity in the south, while its geographical centre would be pretty far north."[35] This same practical point of view was put forward from the Congregational side for concentration on South India.[36]

The balance of Congregational and Presbyterian elements in the church would naturally come to be of great importance to the chances of success of the new union. Numerically the South India United Church was preponderantly Congregational. Of the total Christian community of 142,000 shown at the time of union less than one-tenth was Presbyterian or Reformed.[37] While at the beginning of Presbyterian–Congregationalist negotiations the "Madura Confession of Faith", as Maclean called it, had been regarded as a possible *via media*, the Presbyterian element made itself felt in that a "somewhat fuller" confession was accepted, in which the sacraments were

given a definite place. On the other hand Congregationalists, such as Bernard Lucas, saw to it that the creed was preceded by a preamble according to which persons assenting to it did "not commit themselves to every word or phrase".[38]

The old time-honoured names "Presbytery" and "Classis" were given up for the term used by the Congregationalists, "Church Councils".[39] If on the one hand there was to be a General Assembly as "the representative body of the church", the Congregationalists had on the other hand secured considerable modifications of its powers. The General Assembly could assume no authority over the churches; but matters brought to it with the approval of the church councils would be considered.[40]

With a church programme of this nature it would largely be a matter of resources and personalities whether the one or the other element was to prevail. We shall see in the following pages that the London Missionary Society element was represented by energetic evangelists who wielded a great influence; there were also Indian leaders such as K. T. Paul. The Presbyterian minority became of great importance. Wyckoff and Maclean were the outstanding leaders. Among the Congregationalists the Madura group also wielded influence because in their American tradition and history they had received an important transfusion of Presbyterian life and thought.

"So a real Indian Free Church Council has been started and we shall not be satisfied till other denominations have joined", was the conclusion of one of the L.M.S. missionaries in regard to the South India United Church.[41] He hastened to add that the South India organization was in fact something more than the Free Church Council in England: it would have wider powers. The views on the potentialities of the United Church differed. All were agreed that they were out somehow to form a wider union in South India. How wide? that was the question. The main responsibility for answering that question fell to a Presbyterian, J. H. Maclean, convener of the "Committee of Union".[42] Maclean was in contact with a number of churches and the reply from the Wesleyan Methodists was particularly favourable. They had passed a resolution seeking closer

co-operation through federation. Methodist missionaries such as C. H. Monahan in Madras and H. Gulliford and W. E. Tomlinson in Mysore favoured this approach. Maclean's line of approach in fact became that of federation. In its report to the S.I.U.C. General Assembly of 1909 the Committee on Union suggested the formation of a "Federation of Christian Churches in India". "The Federation shall not interfere with the existing creed of any church or society entering into its fellowship and all the churches would recognize the validity of each other's ministry, membership and discipline."[43] Here was the measure by which to determine the breadth of the Church. There were certain churches about which it could be taken for granted that they would stand outside any union. To invite "churches which considered any federation which involved mutual recognition of ministry and sacraments to be contrary to their fundamental principles was simply to court a rebuff". Thus the committee could not entertain the idea of inviting Anglicans, Lutherans or Baptists.

One of the churches mentioned by Maclean's committee, the Anglican, with its episcopal form of government, seemed especially far away from the plans evolved. The Anglicans were decidedly against federation. One of the leading Anglican bishops, E. J. Palmer of Bombay, in that same year, 1909, declared himself against the idea of a "Greatest Common Factor" as a basis of union. There was not much hope of union with them. And yet, one of the most far-seeing of Presbyterian missionaries in India at the time, Dr. Nicol Macnicol, would prove to be right when he tried to show that there were more points of contact from the Presbyterian standpoint with Palmer's attitude than was at first realized. "Perhaps all the time we have been seriously misunderstanding each other."[44]

We have already pointed out that there was hesitation on the part of some Congregationalists whether they should join the South India United Church. This hesitation was particularly felt in the North Tamil area, the leading section of the Congregationalist churches (including Coimbatore and Erode).[45] Only after a year did they come into the union and were constituted as the "Coimbatore Church Council" or the North Tamil Church Council.[46]

The strongest opposition to joining the United Church came from the congregation in Madras. The kind of problem which the new organization introduced for the Congregationalist side can be seen here. The L.M.S. missionary in Madras, G. E. Phillips, came up against difficulties with the Indian pastor as he endeavoured to bring the Pursewalkam Church within the orbit of the South India United Church. At a meeting of the South India District Committee of the L.M.S. held at Jammalamadugu in January 1910, Phillips had to report on the strained relations existing in the churches, and this referred especially to the conditions in Madras, where the Indian pastor J. N. Devadasen had persuaded his congregation not to join the S.I.U.C.

A deputation consisting of B. Lucas and Cotelingam, among others, was appointed to confer with the Madras Tamil churches about this problem. The reaction of the Indian pastor is interesting, because it shows that there was a definite body of opinion among the Indian leaders which dreaded the control and supervision which would result from the larger union with the Presbyterian Church.

The deputation, after a thorough investigation of the case on the spot, soon discovered that Devadasen's opposition move was "really a case of a pastor who has enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy endeavouring to perpetuate it by gross misrepresentation as to the nature of the South India United Church". They were therefore anxious to bring this impasse to an end.[47] Even within his own congregation Devadasen could not have it all his own way. A protest signed by some sixty members of the church was sent to London. They expressed their fears that "when the matters stand thus and if the church is left alone as what the pastor calls an independent church, it will surely lose its spiritual growth and congregational right and views, very soon nearing bad to worse".[48] They obviously appreciated the advantage of belonging to a larger union and for that reason opposed their own Indian pastor. Three years later, in 1913, the Pursewalkam Church is reported as "self-supporting and independent".[49] When in 1914 the London Missionary Society, in order to attain more concentration of its mission field, left Madras and handed the work over

to the Wesleyan Methodists, it was stated that "these churches had sunk to a low ebb".[50]

The inauguration of the South India United Church did thus lead to some uneasiness, particularly among certain sections of the Indians. Wyckoff says in 1910: "Some of the strongest opponents to the formation of the South India United Church were Indians. They had been wedded so long to the Canons of Dort and the Westminster Confession, that they heartily believed that the organization which held those symbols of orthodoxy was the only true Reformed Church. Others who had been nurtured in Congregationalism and had tasted the sweets of local autonomy could hardly be prevailed upon, for the sake of their weaker brethren and a larger union, to surrender even a little of the personal liberty they had so long been enjoying." Wyckoff's statement shows that there was initial uneasiness on the Reformed side too. Whilst not implying that the natural initial tension between the two constituent parties of the S.I.U.C. was very serious, it should be pointed out that Frank Lenwood, Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S., refers to this tension from time to time.[51]

One of the problems that engaged the mind of the South India United Church at this time was the question of Indian leadership. The India National Missionary Conference at Calcutta, organized by John R. Mott in December 1912, had stressed that: "Churches and missions should make a real and unmistakable advance by placing Indians on a footing of complete equality, in status and responsibility, with Europeans."[52] The Anglican Church had made a spectacular advance in this respect by the consecration in 1912 of V. S. Azariah, the first Indian to be made a bishop. But within the various sections of the South India United Church a certain dissatisfaction was to be found among the Indian leaders on this important point. It particularly existed among those Indians and Europeans who had been in contact with the work of the Y.M.C.A. As secretaries of the Y.M.C.A. they were unquestionably put into positions of leadership, but in the church the European missionary still played the leading role. The most vocal spokesman for this viewpoint was the leading Indian in the Y.M.C.A., K. T. Paul. In a paper read at the Calcutta Missionary Conference

on *Indian Leadership in Mission and Church,* Paul pointed out tha there existed what he described as "healthy unrest and discontent" within the church on this score. Quoting Bishop Harry Waller of Tinnevelly, who had described the aim of the mission effort as "church-centric, not mission-centric", Paul launched a vigorous complaint against the unwillingness of the missionaries to have Indian opinion represented in the church councils. This, he said, had led to lack of mutual confidence.[53] He was convinced that the "Henry Venn system" of church councils was the most statesmanlike form of church organization and "the one most certain to develop leadership". This shows that the development of the Anglican synodical experiment was not without its importance for the approximation of the churches in South India and for the union question. It was followed with keen interest by those Free Churchmen who were later to take a prominent part in the union discussions.

A leading missionary of the L.M.S., H. A. Popley, who was in close touch with Indian opinion, especially of the Y.M.C.A., came to the support of K. T. Paul on this point. In letters and memoranda to the South Indian District Committee and to the London Home Board he urged that, in view of the rising tide of nationalism in India, this negligence on the part of the mission was fraught with danger. "There is no gainsaying the fact that the L.M.S. is behind in this matter throughout India. The Mission which is supposed to be the most democratic is now the least so." And Popley gave the reason for this: "I think it is partly due to the Congregational love of individualism which makes a man in the mission field a petty raja. He is monarch of all he surveys, and the power of the purse gives him all other power besides."[54] F. Lenwood, the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, had seen enough during his own time in India to enable him to appreciate the point which Popley was making: "I agree with you that Congregationalism is very largely to blame in that each man is so completely a law unto himself." In this dilemma L.M.S. missionaries followed with very great interest the developments within the C.M.S. areas in South India. Many were willing to agree with Miss Stringfellow of Bezwada, who in a report about the Telugu Missionary Conference (of L.M.S.) stated: "We have much to

learn from our hosts [C.M.S.] and from the carefully worked out policy of devolution which has been practised throughout the field in their district."[55] The most interesting result of this approximation to the Anglican form of local government was the Constitution of the Madura Church Council. In 1909 in Sherwood Eddy's lodge at Kodaikanal representatives of this Council met the Rev. E. S. Carr of Tinnevelly, with a view to forming a new Constitution of the Council. In this work they mainly followed the Constitution of the Tinnevelly Diocesan Council.[56]

Chapter III

BISHOP WHITEHEAD AND THE ANGLICANS

Of the Anglican Indian community about four-fifths was to be found in the southern dioceses of Madras (established 1835), Travancore (1879) and Tinnevelly (1896). Whilst the S.P.G. had been at work in South India from 1825—in areas which originally had been fields of German Lutheran missionary activity—their Christian community, found mainly in Tanjore and Telugu as well as Tinnevelly, Trichinopoly and Madras, was smaller than that resulting from the efforts of the C.M.S. The fundamental fact about the work of the C.M.S., apart from which the union movements in South India cannot be understood, was its genuine *evangelical* character. Guarding against any tendencies which might seep in from northern dioceses in which there were Tractarian influences, bishops and clergy in the southern dioceses were determined to preserve the general evangelical tone of their work. Bishop F. Gell's tenure of office in Madras (1861–98) was, according to an official report of the Church Missionary Society, "distinguished for its wise, large-hearted, evangelical character".[1] Bishop Gell in 1877 resorted to the device of consecrating two assistant bishops in Tinnevelly, one for the S.P.G. section and the other for the C.M.S. section, but the ecclesiastical difference between the two bishops was not very great. The S.P.G. bishop, R. Caldwell, had begun his Indian career as an L.M.S. missionary in 1838, but on finding that Independency "was not suitable to India", he later joined the S.P.G.[1a]

Of special importance was the clearly Evangelical attitude taken by the C.M.S. Secretaries in Madras, Canon E. Sell and W. G. Peel. Madras was the leading diocese and the other two dioceses had much the same ecclesiastical colour. Travancore

had its own problems concerning its relations with the Syrian Churches and especially the Mar Thoma Syrian Church. A link between Travancore and Tinnevelly was formed in T. Walker of Tinnevelly, who by his yearly conventions for tens of thousands of Mar Thoma Christians made a great contribution to the spiritual life of that church (1894–1912).[2] Walker, the Keswick evangelist and Bible teacher, was widely known all over South India. His contribution helped to impress the fact of the evangelical character of C.M.S. work upon the other denominations and was of importance generally for the emergence of an evangelical climate in South India.

A most interesting aspect of the rapid growth of Evangelical Anglicanism in South India was the carrying out of Henry Venn's policy by introducing church councils. Bishop Gell and Canon Sell, both in Madras, were particularly interested in introducing such constitutional methods as were to be found in the church council system.[3] The system as it worked out in Tinnevelly succeeded to such an extent in engaging the co-operation of the laity in the diocese that an observer remarked in 1905: "Is this an approach to the circuit organization of Methodism?"[4]

In 1899 Henry Whitehead, Superior of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, was consecrated Bishop of Madras. The choice of this determined Tractarian for the evangelical diocese of Madras seemed likely to usher in a change of policy and to make "a great change in the ecclesiastical 'colour' of that see".[5] Walker and his group in Tinnevelly protested very forcibly to the Home Board of C.M.S. for appointing Whitehead as chairman of the Madras Committee.[6] In Calcutta Whitehead was known never to have attended a conference of missionaries of other denominations, or even to have associated with his Church Missionary Society brethren.[7] When twenty-three years later he retired from Madras, the Methodist editor of *Harvest Field*, the chief inter-denominational review in India at the time, pointed out that Whitehead had come to play a leading role in the union movement and that during his service in Madras he had swung over from a rigid Tractarian viewpoint to large-hearted ecumenicity.[8]

There had indeed been a definite change in Whitehead's

attitude in those twenty-three years. Above all it was a steady growth in the understanding of the other man's point of view, and it was caused by a practical approach to the opportunities which South India seemed to offer. Whitehead is undoubtedly the most prominent example of a rule which seems to emerge from the study of the South India union movements generally: that the situation in the mission field tends to have a broadening effect upon the individual missionary. We shall see how Congregationalists, deprived in India of their attitude of opposition to the Established Church which they had taken in Britain, develop a deeper understanding of the values of tradition and churchmanship.

It is indeed a task for the church historian to determine how this change in Whitehead was brought about. For Madras was the dominating diocese and the attitude of the Bishop of Madras to the unity problem could be of great importance for the whole of this community. In this particular case Whitehead very definitely played a first and influential part in the early development of the union movement. Personality and personal relationships do count in the formation of our attitudes. Whitehead's change towards a more evangelical conception was to a certain extent conditioned by his co-operation with Canon E. Sell, secretary of the C.M.S.[9] But the decisive factor which definitely brought Whitehead over to an attitude of co-operation and interest in union was his recognition of the immense evangelistic opportunities of South India. He had been an educationalist in Calcutta and from that personal experience he had increasingly come to doubt the value of Christian higher education.[10] "We have to face the fact that for twenty-five years not a single conversion has been traceable to the work of the College." His inspection tours, particularly in the Telugu country, made him feel that here was an opportunity of unprecedented magnitude, an "impending avalanche", as he used to say, of millions of Christians that had to be gathered into the Christian Church within the next twenty-five years.[11] The Anglican Church could not handle this stupendous task alone. To him the logical conclusion was co-operation and Christian unity.

Whitehead did not attend the South Indian Missionary Con-

ference, Madras 1900, nor did any other S.P.G. missionaries.[12] Chandler, Duthie and Scudder, together with Canon Sell, played a leading part at this conference, where comity problems were eagerly discussed. The absence of the High Church Anglicans was generally recognized as a weakness, but their attitude to comity was felt to be so different from that of the other missions that they were left out of the picture, probably without much regret.[13]

All the greater was the impression made by Whitehead's address to the Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference at Madras, December 1902. The very fact that Whitehead took part was an important step, though resented by some on the High Church side.[14] He did so because in 1900 the Indian Episcopal Synod on the basis of Anglican "comprehensiveness" had taken a definite stand for co-operation, although at the same time deprecating any tendency towards "ignoring or disguising differences".[15] That was also the approach to the problem taken by Whitehead; he believed that unity was essential, but not unity by undenominationalism.[16] To disregard or brush aside the essential points of difference between the churches would be tantamount to an admission that "our divisions [are] due to a spirit of wilful and wanton schism". Comity, in Whitehead's opinion, might be the same as the mediaeval maxim *Cujus regio ejus religio*, and Indian Christians should not be subject to such treatment. On the other hand there was an element of truth in the comity approach in that it insisted on "the necessity for abstaining from irritating and uncharitable judgments on our Christian brethren whose opinions differ from our own". Unity, then, should be reached by prayer and charitable judgments and by looking "boldly in the face the real causes and grounds of our divisions". And above all, unity was imperative in view of "the great mass movements which during the last ten years have mainly contributed to swell the numbers of the Christian community". Because of this the churches had to come together "to prepare by mutual counsel and encouragement for still more vigorous work in the years that are coming".

Whitehead's address made a profound impression.[17] To some Free Churchmen Whitehead's appeal seemed to be a signal

for reunion.[18] A Board of Arbitration, with a view to settling any matters of disputes between missions, was constituted. Whitehead and Sell represented the S.P.G. and C.M.S. respectively, while J. S. Chandler of Madura became Secretary.[19]

"Comity" was not, however, Whitehead's own approach to the unity question. To him it savoured too much of that "glossing over the principles of truth on which we differ" of which he spoke at the Madras Decennial Conference. At the Episcopal Synod in Calcutta at the beginning of 1904 he discussed this matter with the other bishops.[20] He felt that the Board of Arbitration had overstepped its mark and decided to withdraw from the Board. This was not exclusively an S.P.G. decision. Canon Sell followed the bishop in this matter and the C.M.S. also withdrew, both in 1904. It was a step which was not easily understood by other missions. Walker and his group in Tinnevelly protested vigorously to the Church Missionary Society. They felt their position as C.M.S. missionaries "seriously compromised". Whitehead's and Sell's decision was a hard blow to that "Keswick" attitude of co-operation on an undenominational basis for which some of the C.M.S. missionaries of Tinnevelly stood at this time.[21]

On the practical plane Walker and Whitehead had much in common. They were both out for one thing: the conversion of the millions of India, and that brought them into close touch with members and leaders of other churches. Whitehead on a short visit to England in 1906 found that the general attitude to the church's task was very different from his own. He felt that the conversion of the three hundred millions in India was more important than "some petty crisis with regard to ritual", and he wished England as a whole would share his views.[22] With an increasing feeling of the urgency of the situation he tried to rally his own Anglican Communion to the task of converting "ten millions in 50 years", or "four millions in 25 years".[23] In pursuance of this task he enjoyed more and more the co-operation with other churches.[24] This attitude was largely shared by his co-workers of the Church Missionary Society. Walker found much in common with G. S. Eddy, "his opposite in natural temperament and therefore his perfect

complement",[25] and they led great conventions together in different parts of South India, particularly among the Mar Thoma Syrians. Revivalist practices of a Methodist type, "gospel days", "itinerating bands", "conventions", were introduced in the three dioceses, especially Tinnevelly, and played their part in emphasizing the fact of the essential oneness between Anglicans and the others.[26] The role of the Indian Missionary Society in Tinnevelly, with V. S. Azariah as the driving power, should also be mentioned in this connexion. These young Tinnevelly Anglican Christians received much help and advice from their friend G. S. Eddy, who had a profound admiration for the work of the Church Missionary Society.[27]

While the evangelistic approach necessarily brought the different parties together, there was at the same time a distinct consciousness of a dividing line. When Whitehead declared his attitude to be "to lay hold of what is truly fundamental and then with regard to all else extend a hearty toleration for the utmost variety and freedom", the editor of *Harvest Field*, while appreciating this conciliatory spirit, remarked that he did not suppose that Whitehead "would agree with (him) in his definition of fundamentals".[28] That was just the point. What were those fundamentals upon which a united church could be erected? When one of Whitehead's own missionaries, J. A. Sharrock, in a paper read at a Kodaikanal missionary meeting, bluntly told his non-conformist listeners that if "they were only anxious to arrive at the truth, they might settle such fundamental points in a few days", and when he went on to show that Apostolic Succession and a sacramental system belonged to these fundamentals, it was small wonder that his listeners, as *Harvest Field* reports, left the speaker "practically alone in his high position" and with relief turned to another paper by L. B. Chamberlain.[29] That was why the Free Churchmen, after discussions of this kind, could only aim at federation and would return to the formula: "Unity is sometimes best exhibited amid diversity."[30] It was on lines like these that the ideal of a "National Church of Christ in India" was discussed among Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Wesleyans.[31]

Whitehead shared Sharrock's views theologically. He was

convinced that "the Free Church theory that any body of Christians is at liberty to form itself into a Church" was particularly dangerous in India. It would lead to an emphasis on caste, separate churches for separate castes. Against this danger there was in his view only one safeguard: that of the historic episcopate. It was in the interests of unity that Indian Christians should seriously consider the claims of the historic episcopate as a safeguard of unity and a safeguard against caste.[32] Whitehead was strengthened in his argument by the news he had heard at the Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908, in London, where the Bishop of Baltimore had referred to the new book by the Congregationalist minister, Newman Smyth, *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism.* This book had a message to which Whitehead was to return often.[33]

But the missionary situation modified these views. India was not England. That was a simple enough thing to say, but very few, on either side of the ecclesiastical fence, realized its implications. Whitehead was prepared to face that fact about the fundamentals of the Indian Church. As Bishop of Madras he wrote in a Pastoral Letter in June 1909: "We are founding and building up a Christian Church in a new country; we cannot simply accept the traditional ideas and institutions of an old-established church like the Church of England and ask no questions. In the process of transplanting forms of worship, methods of government and statements of doctrine, from West to East, we are necessarily obliged to ask what can be changed and what cannot, what is essential and what is not, what is purely Anglican and what is Catholic."

The years 1910 to 1920 are one of the great creative periods in the history of the Anglican Church in India because of the institution of synodical and constitutional government and the efforts made to secure disestablishment. The retirement in 1913 of Bishop Copleston, Metropolitan from 1902, marked the end of an era. Copleston had, in his way, been urging the fundamental need of freedom for the Church and had organized the Episcopal Synod.[34] His successor, G. A. Lefroy, earlier of Lahore (Metropolitan 1913–19) greatly furthered the work for a constitutional and free church.[35] The most outstanding man on the Episcopal bench, however, was the new Bishop of

Bombay, Edwin James Palmer (1908–29). To a great extent he is the architect of the synodical and diocesan organization that was initiated in this period. For our particular purpose, that of church union, his contribution was fundamental, and we shall return later in more detail to a study of his ideas and actions in regard to church union. Here we must, however briefly, point out his role and that of his brother bishops in bringing about a more democratic form of church government.

A definite move to draw the lay element into the affairs of the Indian Church was taken in 1910 at the Episcopal Synod, which invited as "assessors" both clerical and lay representatives from the whole "province".[36] At the Synod of 1912–13 there were present twenty-two clerical and seventeen lay representatives chosen by the various dioceses. This particular synod took another step forward. A Provincial Synod was organized with sixty clerical and sixty lay representatives. The minimum number for each diocese should be two representatives from each "order" (clergy and laity). The three groups, bishops, clergy and laity, were regarded as three distinct "houses", the provision being that the three houses should ordinarily sit together.[37]

Palmer, as early as 1912, four years after taking office, urged his diocese to develop a diocesan spirit, which would overcome the danger of "the Indians developing into three churches instead of one, C.M.S. Christians, S.P.G. Christians and St. John Mission Christians".[38] At the Bombay Diocesan Conference in February 1912 Canon Heywood, Secretary of the C.M.S in Western India, obviously in full agreement with the bishop of the diocese, stressed that the synodical machinery had to be built firmly and strengthened in order to make it possible to have a thoroughly constitutional episcopate: "Paradoxical as it may sound, our bishops need both more and less power. Our bishops need and ought to have duly constituted parliaments of the church, with whom to consult and frame enactments."[39] It was because of this democratic representative tendency that a prominent Presbyterian missionary, Nicol Macnicol of Poona, said: "The Bishop of Bombay is credited with the conviction that India is a suitable soil on which to try experiments such

as are not possible perhaps within the ancient walls of Anglicanism in its ancestral home. If he proceeds to form a Synod, as it is said he intends to do, with real powers of guidance and control by the side of the Bishop, he will be approaching a position in which such a union as has been imagined above may be possible."[40] Bishop Whitehead appreciated Palmer's contribution to the synodical organization.[41]

The recommendations of the Episcopal Synod of 1912–13 were accepted by the South Indian dioceses. It is of course a very important fact that the church council system in Madras and Tinnevelly had already, as from the beginning of the century and even earlier, played a dominant role in the affairs of the Anglican dioceses in the South. For them the Synod of 1912–13 had a particular significance: the first Indian bishop of the Anglican Communion was consecrated on this occasion and thereby in a definite way it was shown that the Anglican Church was prepared to give full scope to Indian leadership. While some Anglicans opposed Azariah's consecration because he had been in priest's orders only two years, some Free Churchmen opposed it because Azariah was not a Missionary Bishop but an Assistant Bishop to the Bishop of Madras. One of the leading Congregationalist missionaries in South India, Bernard Lucas, saw in this a proof of some Anglican design to extend the influence of Church Establishment in India.[42]

We have seen that the efforts from the Anglican side to establish a constitutional relation between bishop and laity through a synodical organization and to give scope to Indian leadership were followed with great interest by the South India United Church. On the arrival of Bishop Azariah in Dornakal there was soon established a Central Church Council for the Telugu Mission of the C.M.S. which gave a strong position to the lay element on the Council.[43] It gave representation to as many lay-workers as there were pastorates and to independent laymen, these latter not to exceed twelve in number. After a brief period of trying out this constitution Bishop Azariah found that it did not go far enough. During the decisive months preceding the Tranquebar Union Conference in 1919 he was wrestling with the church organization problem within his own diocese, and in 1919 he was prepared to present another

scheme.[44] Starting with Committees for Pastorates, Circles and Districts, which gave representation to various local interests, he brought all these together in a church council, the president of which was to be the bishop of the diocese. The lay representation on the church council was an important feature of the scheme, as the duties of the church council were *inter alia* "to select candidates for Holy Orders, to recommend them for ordination to the bishop", a task which earlier had been regarded as the exclusive prerogative of the bishop himself. At the same time Azariah attempted to make this scheme as Indian as possible, an attempt that extended even to the terminology employed in the constitution.[45]

The classical example of Indian self-government within the Anglican Church was the diocese of Tinnevelly. Various bishops had there attempted to increase the responsibility given to the Indian leaders.[46] Bishop H. Waller (later to become one of the leaders of the Union Movement) attempted to make the representation in the church council of his diocese as democratic as possible, above all by giving a strong representation to the laity.[47] Waller seems to have been particularly interested in defining the powers of the bishop. While he insisted that the bishop should *ex officio* preside at the council meetings, he was definitely against "any danger of 'prelacy'".[48] At the end of his tenure of office in Tinnevelly, Bishop Waller could say with full confidence: "My whole policy in Tinnevelly, where we have a very old and strong Christian community, is to develop self-government on constitutional lines in every direction."[49] We shall see that this synodical organization in the diocese was to be of importance for the union movement and its discussions about a constitutional episcopate. On the plane of church organization there had been going on unwittingly an approximation between the two sides which must be taken into account when one tries to understand how union came about. A leading Methodist, E. W. Thompson, has also observed this process: "It is not sufficiently realized in Free Church circles how the Enabling Act of 1919 and the subsequent legislation setting up, in the Church of England, the Assembly, the Provincial Conferences and the Parochial Church Councils, have supplied defects in the organization of the English Church and

assimilated its polity to that which obtains in the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches."[50] His remarks refer to the period after 1919. But they could be applied in India to the time preceding 1919, the year of the Tranquebar Conference.

Chapter IV

FAITH AND ORDER DISCUSSIONS AFTER EDINBURGH 1910

"THE great achievement of Edinburgh was to create a temper that could never again be lost. The Edinburgh Conference (1910) tacitly yet emphatically revealed the colossal absurdity of non-union."[1]

Edinburgh's Commission on "co-operation and the promotion of unity" classified the various existing co-operation movements in the mission fields into two main types: federation and union. Between these two the Commission was not prepared to choose, but left it to the workers in the field to decide which approach would be applicable to the actual situation. In general the Commission felt that a federation was more feasible, as taking the line of "least ecclesiastical resistance", than actual union, which "for the present must be confined to bodies belonging to the same ecclesiastical order".[2] On the other hand the South India United Church was singled out as an example of a widely embracing union. J. P. Jones (American Board) told the conference that the South India union "of three denominations, or three and a half denominations" was something more than simply co-operation or federation. It was a union paving the way for a great united organization.[3] India, particularly South India, was well represented at the conference and the endeavours in South India towards co-operation and unity were not lost sight of.[4] The addresses by G. S. Eddy and Azariah made a great impression on the Conference.[5] Eddy showed, as J. P. Jones had done, that the formation of the South India United Church pointed to the need for something even wider and greater: "Just as we have coveted that great strength and conservatism and power of the Presbyterian Church, so we covet to-day the blessing and power of some other great Churches."[6]

Edinburgh 1910 had left open the choice between federation and union. But the debate, the personal discussions during the Conference, the contact with men like Bishop Brent of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, who himself had been inspired by the Edinburgh Conference to further the Concordat with the Congregationalists in the United States, influenced Eddy in particular to take a definite stand for church union as contrasted with mere federation.[7] And when on the voyage back to India Eddy discussed these matters with Azariah and J. P. Jones, he formed the plan for an unofficial meeting on church union in Madras.

Madras 1910

The Madras meeting on Faith and Order has for the most part remained unknown.[8] But this bold endeavour deserves to be remembered, for it was of real significance for the future of church union in South India. There are three main influences which led to that meeting: Edinburgh 1910, the Lambeth approach as represented by Lambeth 1908, and the American Congregationalist–Episcopal Concordat negotiations. The Madras meeting was an outcome of "Edinburgh". The resolutions passed at the World Conference and, above all, the new temper created by Edinburgh dominated the meeting. "Of course, the spirit of the Edinburgh Conference was in the air especially through Eddy", writes one member of the Conference.[9]

Lambeth 1908 had proclaimed in its Encyclical Letter: "The waste of force in the mission field calls aloud for unity."[10] It was in accordance with this that the new Bishop of Bombay, E. J. Palmer, wrote in the *Bombay Diocesan Record* in July 1909: "My ideal of the basis of reunion cannot be a Greatest Common Factor. That is a position which either makes our present Church principles untenable, or is untenable itself. . . . How dare we call [our differences] unimportant? How dare we be content with a reunion which neglects them? Then, away with the Greatest Common Factor basis of reunion."[11] Whitehead, who had been an opponent of federation and comity ideas, felt increasingly the need for a fresh attempt to obtain a comprehensive

church union. The fundamental question of reunion—because, so far, he looked upon the question in the *re*-union category of the Lambeth Conferences—was the Historic Episcopate. That had been stressed by Lambeth from 1888 onwards.[12] He represented in South India the Lambeth approach: "What the Anglican Communion now asks is that, for the sake of peace and intercommunion, non-Episcopal Churches should accept *the fact* of the Historic Episcopate, without in any way committing themselves to any particular theory about it." At a period when an increasingly strong Anglo-Catholic section within the Church of England was mobilizing its forces against any recurrence of such canonical irregularities as there had been in the past, Whitehead pointed out that consecration *per saltum* of Presbyterian ministers had taken place in 1610, and he suggested that these precedents would make it possible in South India of the twentieth century for Free Churchmen to be consecrated as bishops.[13]

A similar line to that of Bishop Whitehead was taken by H. Pakenham-Walsh, the young Anglican principal of Bishop Cotton School, Bangalore.[14] He regarded the question of the Historic Episcopate as "the heart of the problem" and recommended the same Lambeth approach as Whitehead. But he was also critical of the august assembly at Lambeth for using the term "a valid ministry" rather "loosely": "I shrink again from defining what is meant by a valid ministry."[15]

The American union approach was the third influence upon the minds of the members of the Madras meeting. It was advocated about this time in South India by American missionaries of different schools. J. S. Chandler had told his colleagues in 1908, at the First General Assembly of the South India United Church, that Congregationalists in America were "prepared to go a-wooing even the most reserved of denominations, the Episcopalians", and he recommended with apparent enthusiasm the line taken by the American Congregationalist leader, Newman Smyth.[16] Dr. Wyckoff, of the American [Dutch] Reformed Church, had also been moved by Newman Smyth to change his mind; he no longer regarded "union with our Anglican brethren by any means as a hopeless dream".[17] He had been led to regret the lack of liturgical appreciation in

the Free Churches. He saw nothing harmful in a "modified episcopate"; "notwithstanding that many generations of Presbyterian blood flow in my veins", he said, he would not lift a finger to prevent the introduction of an episcopate of this kind. It seems to follow from his whole argument that it was Newman Smyth and Bishops Brewster and Brent in Connecticut, U.S., who had led him to take this view.[18] We shall see presently how Eddy himself in 1911 pointed to the Connecticut precedent as an example that should be followed. He had met Bishop Brent in Edinburgh in 1910, and the two American Mission leaders—Eddy with his experience from South India, Brent with experience from the Philippines—had found common ground. With reference to the leading ideas which made the Madras meeting possible and to its membership it is correct to describe the meeting as one of *Anglicans* and *Americans*. This should be kept in mind: it was *not* a meeting primarily of Anglicans with S.I.U.C. leaders but of Anglicans with such American S.I.U.C. leaders as had been influenced by the union plans of Newman Smyth and Bishop Brent.[19]

The Anglican members of the conference were Bishop Whitehead, host of the meeting which was held at Bishop's House in Madras, Azariah, Canon Sell and Pakenham-Walsh. The South India United Church representatives were Eddy, J. P. Jones, K. T. Paul, J. P. Cotelingam, C. S. Vaughan and J. H. Wyckoff. "The chief mover was Sherwood Eddy", says Bishop Pakenham-Walsh.[20] It was the dynamic American missionary leader who got the meeting together and he was behind the actual results of the meeting. "It was his enthusiasm which got us together and made many of us believe unity would be accomplished."[21] There was also another line of thought represented, that of the necessity of taking the rising Indian nationalism into account. This point of view was especially represented by K. T. Paul and J. P. Cotelingam.[22]

The minutes of the meeting, which lasted three days, suggest that the proposed union was intended to be a combination of the constitution of the South India United Church and the Lambeth Quadrilateral, or in the actual wording of the minutes: "That such union might be possible on the line of the existing constitution of the South India United Church

and upon the basis of the four articles of Resolution II of the Lambeth Conference of 1888."[23]

The meeting, however, was not able to accept the Lambeth Quadrilateral *in toto*. It was laid down that the Lambeth pronouncement referring to the two ancient creeds as the "sufficient statement of the Christian Faith" should be changed to read "adequate" statement. In regard to the episcopate it was stated that the adoption of the article did "not involve the acceptance of any theory of the origin of the episcopate nor any doctrinal interpretation of the fact". We have seen above that Pakenham-Walsh questioned the wisdom of the Lambeth Conference when the latter used the term "valid ministry". In order to meet the S.I.U.C. representatives it was stated that "the validity and regularity of the order of the South India United Church are not questioned"—a large-hearted and embracing statement that was to be challenged by other Anglicans.

The church to be formed was to be called "The Church of India" and a General Assembly was to become the highest authority. Full intercommunion between the churches concerned was to be practised. The memorandum on the meeting was to be submitted to the Executive Committees of the South India United Church and to the Bishops of the Church of England in India.

When it came to the actual voting on the memorandum, it was found that Wyckoff and Jones had their doubts. Jones neither signed it nor agreed to have it submitted to the ecclesiastical bodies concerned. Wyckoff, in spite of his declarations a year earlier and in spite of Eddy's persuasive efforts, felt that the ground was not yet sufficiently prepared and that it would be premature to accept the Lambeth Quadrilateral then. He did not wish, however, to hinder the churches from discussing the memorandum.

The first step had been taken. The ten men in Madras knew that it was only an unofficial meeting and that their churches were not committed by the resolutions passed at the meeting. The concessions on both sides were great and the willingness to make them even greater. But it was felt that the concessions were worth while in order to attain to the unity of the church

in South India. No immediate results followed upon the Madras meeting, but the discussions were important as a beginning of greater things to come.

Although no action was taken by either the Anglicans or the South India United Church to implement the resolutions of the round table conference in Madras, the prime mover of the conference, Eddy, saw to it that the findings of the meeting would not be overlooked by missionary opinion in India. He wrote an article in *Harvest Field*, June 1911, where he expressly stated that his paper was written "after conferences with many Indian Christian leaders, both Anglican and Free Churchmen, and it endeavours to faithfully represent their views". Eddy felt that the unity proposals in Connecticut should have tangible results also in South India. Although speaking as "a life-long Congregationalist and an independent of independents", Eddy had discovered, he said, that Congregational Church government was "not the fittest to survive in the Orient". Taking the aim of missions to be the building of a "National Church of India", he claimed that "the crux of the whole question of union is the episcopate".[24] He did not want the "hierarchy of Lord Bishops" nor a state church. It should be an episcopate formed after the simple model of the early church. Quoting an impressive line of Anglican patristic scholars—Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, Moule, Gwatkin—Eddy went on to show that the ideal form of the episcopate was to be found in the early church, "a simple, modified, constitutional episcopate on the primitive model". That kind of episcopacy was needed in India. It was in accordance with "the genius of the Orient" and it would offer a *via media* between the ancient churches in the East—Eddy must have thought of the Syrian Church, with which he was in such close contact—and "the manifold divisions of Protestantism".

As a practical aim he urged corporate union between the Church of England and the South India United Church, a union which should be inaugurated by a ceremony in which the first bishops of the united church should be consecrated by the laying on of hands by both Anglican bishops and South India United Church ministers. Recalling a celebrated quotation from Archbishop Lang, Eddy states: "We look forward to

reunion not by way of compromise, but by way of comprehension." Mutual recognition of ministries was essential, he said, for the corporate union that he wished to further. Although he foresaw objections from the Anglicans to this last practical suggestion, he hoped that it would eventually be accepted.

He did not mention that he foresaw objections to his proposals from his own side of the fence as well. There were such, however, and they were forcibly stated in a lively controversy that followed upon the publication of Eddy's article. It was mainly the Presbyterians in South and North India who took up Eddy's challenge. They were generally opposed to episcopacy and especially to Eddy's historical argument for this form of government. "History is against him", e.g. history in Scotland and elsewhere.[25] But the Wesleyans felt that Eddy's proposal was a challenge they had to consider. H. Gulliford notified his Home Board that they as a Mission had to face the reunion issue.[26]

The Mott Conferences, 1910–13

There is an important connexion between the Madras round-table conference and the so-called Mott Conferences in India, viz. the Edinburgh Continuation meetings. The deliberations and decisions by the ten men at the Madras meeting were instrumental in changing the emphasis of the Mott Conferences in Madras and Calcutta. The emphasis swung over from comity and co-operation to the more specific issue of church union.[27]

The problem of "comity" was one of the most important on the agenda at Mott's conference in Madras, November 1912.[28] This subject had had a chequered history in the missionary deliberations of South India. Ten years earlier the two Anglican societies had withdrawn from the Arbitration Board on this account. It was now found that both Bishop Whitehead and B. Lucas of the London Missionary Society were against "comity" as a form of missionary co-operation.[29]

It was felt that something more solid and theologically more satisfying was needed than undenominational comity. Once again Brent's and Newman Smyth's plan for a World Conference on Faith and Order was brought forward as a solution for

India—and characteristically by two Americans, one a Lutheran (J. Aberley) and the other a Baptist (W. L. Ferguson). Two American representatives of the two missions which traditionally were the most difficult to bring into co-operation were united in this proposal on American lines. They suggested a South India Conference on Faith and Order, "to see where we touch and where we don't".[30] This proposal was also accepted by the conference and embodied in its findings.[31] The conference was to be convened by "the Federal Missionary Conference" of South India to be appointed at a later date.

At the India National Conference held in Calcutta, in December 1912, the same problems of comity and co-operation were discussed and certain general resolutions were passed.[32] To Bishop Whitehead, who took part in the subsequent Anglican Episcopal Synod (held around New Year's time, 1913) these resolutions were not far-reaching enough. The Madras 1910 discussions on church union still engaged his mind. At an informal evening meeting, specially convened, he told his audience about what he called "the next step towards unity". The first step had been taken in Madras 1910. Bishop Whitehead was now prepared to take the second step forward towards unity.

His address was frank and outspoken. He put his proposal in concrete form, stating that what he was after was an attempt to make it possible "that any one of the ministers present here should be able to celebrate the Holy Communion in St. George's Cathedral in Madras". "Now I am fully conscious that the obstacle to that is wholly on my side. That is the fact that I have got to face."[33] Whitehead referred to the debate in Anglican theology on the origin of the Apostolic Ministry. He called Headlam and Frere as witnesses against the theory of Apostolic Succession. From the standpoint of Apostolic Succession—in the sense of transmission of an original gift of grace received from the Apostles—they would have to enter a discussion of validity of ministry and validity of sacraments. The bishop claimed that the acceptance of the historic episcopate did not presuppose a theory of Apostolic Succession. The only thing he asked for was a recognition of the circumstance that

the historic episcopate "expressed a fact in history, that ministerial authority was handed down in this way universally throughout the whole Church from the earliest time till the Reformation and is still handed down in this way in two-thirds of Christendom". The acceptance of the historic episcopate was needed "as a necessary safeguard for unity". He appealed to history. From about A.D. 150 or 200 up to the Reformation, the Church had adopted the episcopal principle in the constitution of its ministry. What had been the safeguard of unity in the years 150–1500 should form the basis of the new unity which the churches in India were trying to establish. He appealed also to the particular need of the situation in India. He saw "no safeguard against caste churches in South India other than the historic episcopate". He seemed to observe "a spirit of broadminded toleration and a fuller recognition of the fact that diversity in unity, as it is the law of Nature, is equally the law of God's Church".

With undaunted energy in search of Christian union Whitehead brought up the same matter a week later at the Episcopal Synod of 1912–13, held subsequently to the National Conference. He told the bishops of the unofficial Madras meeting of 1910 and how the resolutions of this meeting were in accord with Resolution 40 of the Lambeth Conference of 1897 and Resolution 18 of the Episcopal Synod of the Province of India of 1900. At least some of the members of the Synod listened with sympathy to this plea for union from the south. Bishop Palmer of Bombay, G. A. Lefroy of Lahore, the Metropolitan-to-be, and the aged Metropolitan Copleston were all in various ways and degrees interested in the union ideas.[34]

The decision taken by the Synod was, however, evasive. Because the Madras Conference was unofficial, the Synod did not think it desirable to pronounce any opinion upon the conditions suggested in the memorandum. But the bishops referred to the World Conference on Faith and Order proposed by Bishop Brent in America and stated that meetings of this kind would be "very valuable and should be held as freely as possible in order to elicit the views and opinions of the denominations and make known more widely the Anglican tradition".[35]

Whitehead, by his intervention at the National Conference, had managed to do just that: to make the Anglican position known—or at least *one* Anglican position! He observed at the time that, as compared with Edinburgh 1910, the position of the Anglican bishops had been very much strengthened at the Mott Conference in India. He knew the reason for this: "In Edinburgh 1910 the Anglican bishops were few in number and felt constrained to adopt an attitude of apology and self-defence. In India no apology or self-defence was needed."[36] He might have added another reason. When the emphasis in the union movement had been shifted from comity and co-operation (which was the only approach Edinburgh could take) to the more solid problem of organic union through Faith and Order, the Anglican bishops would inevitably come more into their rights and play a more decisive role.

Whitehead's observation as to the role of the Anglican Episcopate in India was a penetrating one. The prestige of the Anglican Church there was at that time enhanced by the consecration of the first Indian bishop. In the ten years which had passed since the time when Bishop Whitehead, together with the C.M.S. and the S.P.G., had withdrawn from the Board of Arbitration, a notable change had taken place and the initiative in church union questions was being taken by the Anglican leaders. Who would follow the call for "the next step towards unity"?

Bernard Lucas, one of the leading L.M.S. Congregationalists of South India, accepted the challenge. His reply was definite enough: "There is no next step, for the Anglican cannot advance and the Non-Conformist cannot retreat."[37] This conclusion he had arrived at after a study of Bishop Whitehead's thesis on the historic episcopate as a "necessary safeguard of unity". Whitehead had appealed to history. To Lucas it was an extraordinary statement to claim that the historic episcopate had safeguarded unity. Church history showed Lucas an altogether different picture: neither theological creed nor ecclesiastical organization had ever been able to secure unity. For the non-conformist to accept the historic episcopate for this or any other reason was "absolutely impossible". Lucas also showed that the term "unity" in Whitehead's article was

a misnomer for reunion, for a return to the Anglican Communion by those who had left it or been expelled from it. His conclusion left no room for doubt as to his position: "The Anglican Communion stands for a type of ecclesiastical organization which is eminently satisfactory to many minds, and equally unsatisfactory to others."

Lucas's rejoinder was the sharpest attack on Whitehead's position from the Free Church side, but it was not the only one. The appeal to history did not convince the Free Churchmen. Gulliford said editorially in *Harvest Field* that while "the spirit of the address is admirable", the bishop's position could not be maintained, because "history is against the Bishop of Madras's position".[38] A young Congregationalist, Gordon Mathews, showed that Whitehead's argument was derived from the sub-apostolic age. What interested him as a good Protestant was obviously not the time between A.D. 150 and 1500, but the time prior to 150 and after 1500.[39]

Whitehead had taken the "comprehensive", "bridge-church" position between the extremes. From the Anglo-Catholic side his overture to the non-conformists was frowned upon. The *Church Times* regretted his attitude, which according to them savoured of the wrong low-church teaching on the ministry held by such bodies as the Swedish Church.[40] He had lowered Catholic standards by his attempts to deprive the historic episcopate of its essence of Apostolic Succession. The conclusion was obvious: "He is just a tutiorist—Episcopacy is safer. Surely a precarious outlook to hold against the serried hosts of undenominationalism, ever advancing to capture the citadel."[41]

The argument concerned the Church in India—that almost seemed to be forgotten. The Indians themselves thought of another citadel than the one referred to by the editor of the *Church Times*. They thought of stark Hindu heathenism as a citadel. In *this* perspective the Western arguments seemed somewhat far-fetched. A leading Indian Presbyterian, A. C. Mukerji, entered the discussion evoked by Whitehead's "next step". Mukerji thought that "the National Church of India will include men belonging to several schools, all united in spirit in one communion". His problem was epitomized in the

question: "Is it impossible to have unity in the midst of diversity?"[42] To the Indian *guru* the answer to that question seemed easier than to the European defenders of the citadel.

After Kikuyu, 1913–18

While missionaries of different schools in India were thus struggling with the unity problem, perplexing news reached them from the other side of the Indian Ocean. In the summer of 1913 a conference was held in Kenya on missionary co-operation, comity and federation. This unity conference in the African tropics started a tornado of violent church conflict, and Dr. Charles Gore, Bishop of Oxford at the time, exclaimed: "I doubt if the cohesion of the Church of England was ever more seriously threatened than it is now."[43]

The facts about the conference should be recorded here, however briefly, because they did influence the church union discussions in South India. It was a local conference of missionaries from the Church Missionary Society (dioceses of Mombasa and Uganda), Church of Scotland, the United Methodists and the (interdenominational) Africa Inland Mission. An agreement was reached which may be described as "the Lambeth Quadrilateral minus episcopacy". When no agreement could be reached on the episcopacy question, the missions decided to form, not an organic union, but a federation, and they agreed to respect the missionary spheres of one another. At the close of the conference a united communion service was held in the Church of Scotland church at Kikuyu and the Bishop of Mombasa, Dr. Peel—who had once been a C.M.S. secretary in Madras—celebrated, while all the members of the conference were invited to attend.

The bishop of the Anglican diocese adjoining that of Mombasa, Dr. Frank Weston of Zanzibar, was a staunch Anglo-Catholic and a man of strong convictions. He protested strongly against the proposed federation and indicted the bishops of Mombasa and Uganda "with the grievous faults of propagating heresy and committing schism".[44] One of the fundamental points in his charge against his brother bishops was their failure

to insist on episcopacy as the basis of the church. "There is no revealed basis of reunion other than the episcopate", he said.[45]

Bishop Weston referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who called the Central Consultative Body to study the problem and report to him. One of the members of this body was Bishop R. S. Copleston, who had just resigned from his Metropolitan See of Calcutta, and who no doubt could refer to his Indian experience in the negotiations. The Consultative Body deprecated the term "federation" as used by the Kikuyu Conference, as implying a closer measure of association than really existed. The matter should have been referred to the Lambeth Conference.[46] The Consultative Body had no objection to the suggestion that non-episcopal ministers be invited to speak, on condition of authorization by the bishop of the diocese. Archbishop Davidson's task was no easy one.[47] The Archbishop's final pronouncement called *Kikuyu*, and published at Easter 1915, showed sympathy with the denominational situation in a mission field, and did call Kikuyu "a thoughtful and painstaking endeavour on the part of experienced Missionary Leaders, who in existing conditions set themselves, experimentally and without the aid of precedent, to meet difficulties which are large and urgent". But the cautious ecclesiastic thought it wisest "to abstain at present from such Services as the closing Service held at Kikuyu".[48]

One might, with a sideglance at South India, sum up the importance of Kikuyu thus: The importance of any endeavour towards church union in a mission field tends, as a counter-effect, to reveal latent tensions and hidden rifts within particular churches and between them. The Kikuyu case considerably strengthened the Anglo-Catholic cause, and for this party within the Church of England Kikuyu became a sign of warning against similar endeavours in other parts of the world.

The negotiations in Kenya and in London about the Kikuyu Conference were followed with great interest in Madras.[49] Obviously the standpoint taken by the evangelical bishops appealed to the Anglican leaders in South India. But not altogether! Whitehead and Azariah in particular, with all their interest in a "comprehensive" church union scheme, were never willing to give in over episcopacy.

After the reaction to his Calcutta appeal for a "next step towards unity", Bishop Whitehead took still another step forward in 1913, the eventful Kikuyu year. He decided to study the reunion question more thoroughly and published a pamphlet on the matter, which in a fairly small compass gives the summary of his reunion theology. Two months' study in the hills at Ootacamund gave him the opportunity for presenting the gist of his forthcoming pamphlet as sermons and also for contact and discussion with Anglican and Free Church missionaries.

Apart from the older authorities on church union to whom he often referred, Hort, Lightfoot and Moule, on this occasion he particularly mentions the essay on Authority in the symposium *Foundations*, written by the young theologian A. E. J. Rawlinson.[50] Whitehead's letters from this time reveal his wrestling with the reunion problem. He had special difficulties in theologically assimilating the theory of the Apostolic Succession with his general outlook on union. He had found "that the people who have maintained the historic episcopate have all maintained it on the theory of the Apostolic Succession".[51] He felt that there was "a good deal to be said for the theory" of Apostolic Succession, but he was not satisfied with the various attempts at formulating a theory. When in the end he had got Bishop Azariah's approval of the chapter on the Apostolic Succession, he concluded that the argument was "too shocking" and cut it out from the proofs.[52] A discussion with the Bishop of Bombay, E. J. Palmer, was instrumental in letting him define his own position better, in this as in other matters. They enjoyed discussing theological problems with each other, and, more often than not, agreed to differ. The pamphlet containing Whitehead's *Thoughts on Unity* follows the main argument of his Calcutta address rather closely, and he had the satisfaction of finding an appreciative hearing from Free Church leaders who followed his four sermons at Ootacamund.[53]

Whitehead, together with Azariah and to some extent Canon Sell, was in these years (1914–18) looked upon as leader on the Anglican side of the movement for co-operation and unity. The new Bishop of Tinnevelly (from 1915 to 1922), E. H. M. Waller, being of the evangelical school, took the lead in his

diocese towards the same goal. The development of their outlook can be studied in relation to certain definite problems of missionary co-operation with which they came into contact.

The South India United Church had found an important rallying point in the United Theological College at Bangalore. The head of the C.M.S. Divinity School in Madras, E. A. L. Moore, found that he was trying, single-handed, to teach a few theology students, while S.P.G. had a Divinity School of their own in the same city of Madras, only three-quarters of a mile away.[54] A reorganization of the theological education of the Anglican students had to be undertaken, but Moore did not recommend an amalgamation of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. Divinity Schools, nor did he think that it would be economical to send the theological students to Bishop's College, Calcutta, which was too far away for the students from South India. Moore wanted to send the Anglican students to Bangalore, where they would get first-class theological training. The majority of the C.M.S. missionaries in the diocese of Madras at the time agreed with Moore on this point. Bishop Whitehead was hesitant. He admitted that Bangalore United Theological College had "an excellent staff" and that the teaching was "exceptionally good". His admiration for L. P. Larsen and G. E. Phillips was genuine. But he was apprehensive of the liberal theology in some Congregationalist quarters in South India and feared that a change of staff at some later date at the Bangalore College might bring his future ordinands in touch with teaching which would be "undistinguishable from Unitarianism".[55] His solution therefore was to send the best students to the Bishop's College, Calcutta, and arrange a lower-grade theological instruction in the vernacular for the others.

It should be stressed in this connexion that Whitehead's "comprehensiveness" and ecumenical spirit were coupled all the time with an emphasis on churchmanship, and for this reason his affection for a body like the Y.M.C.A. was rather lukewarm.[56] In this respect, as on so many other points, he influenced Bishop Azariah. The former Y.M.C.A. Secretary, who had become a bishop in the Mass Movement area of

Dornakal, was somewhat critical of Y.M.C.A. work as being undenominational and would not encourage such work being undertaken in the villages.[57]

This hesitation on Whitehead's part about Bangalore and his criticism of the Y.M.C.A. were caused partly by his general mistrust of higher learning for the Indians; partly by his fear of "modern" theology, represented in South India by his old antagonist Bernard Lucas and others. In general he was, however, ready for co-operation. On certain occasions this led him to go against the S.P.G. In a discussion with the General Secretary of the S.P.G., Bishop Montgomery, about the co-operation at the Women's Christian College, Madras, Whitehead definitely encouraged such co-operation: "The Women's Christian College at Madras is a striking illustration of the kind of thing for which co-operation is necessary."[58] He foresaw the possibility that the principal might at some time be an ardent Baptist or Congregationalist. But this "might possibly happen once in fifty years", and then the Society could always resort to the remedy of withdrawing grants. He warned Montgomery not to be over-sensitive or "frightened by a shadow". This over-sensitiveness with regard to interdenominational questions would prevent the Society in the future "from exercising with regard to this and other co-operative schemes an influence that would be most valuable".

The warning was timely. Only a few days earlier the S.P.G. had passed a resolution about missionary co-operation which concerned the very principles of these endeavours. The decision of the Society was taken on April 16, 1915, and one may take it for granted that it was the repercussions of the Kikuyu controversy which had caused this policy. "Union between the Anglican Church and the great Protestant denominations in religious teaching and life does not make for real union. It splits the church into fragments and puts off the day of real union."[59] With regard to interdenominational institutions in the mission field, it was stated that the S.P.G. could only give grants to such undertakings if their students were housed in separate hostels, that in such hostels "full church life and teaching must be guaranteed" and the S.P.G. students be brought up in the Catholic faith.

This important declaration by the S.P.G. would have satisfied Whitehead at the beginning of his episcopate in Madras but could now no longer do so. He continued on the road of co-operation to church union. Montgomery, while realizing that his Society would not interfere with the discipline and organization of dioceses abroad, was nevertheless much too conscious of the stir caused by the Kikuyu controversy to allow Whitehead full liberty of action in this matter.[60] Montgomery took a long time over the preparation of his admonition, but when it was eventually written it was styled in unmistakable terms, warning Whitehead not to push ahead with these matters on his own or accompanied by a few people of the same conviction, like Bishop Azariah. Questions about comity and problems of a similar nature could not be decided by a particular diocese on its own. "At the very least it is a Provincial question (e.g. referring to the whole Province of India), but beyond that again it is a question for the whole Anglican Communion."[61] But Montgomery admitted in his letters to Whitehead that "at present" it was not necessary to go beyond the authority of the Province.[62] Whitehead, in his reply to Montgomery, said that he was for missionary co-operation, "because it seems to me that no principle of Church order is in any way infringed and I think that all denominations would greatly benefit" by it.[63]

The Outreach of the South India United Church

The formation of the South India United Church was a bold endeavour to bring different missions and churches together for common aims. But the new issues brought into the debate by the plans for organic union from Madras 1910 and onwards could not be solved within the framework of the South India United Church. The initiative was being taken by those who like Whitehead and Eddy had in mind an organic union on the basis of the Lambeth Quadrilateral. Because of this the plans of the South India United Church were at the same time largely bypassed and did not attract the same interest as would otherwise have been the case. We shall here briefly relate the overtures of the South India United

Church to the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Basel Mission.

The rapid rise of the Wesleyan community is one of the most spectacular in the history of the missions in South India in this century. At the conference in Madras 1900 they reported a Christian community of only 12,000 for the four Districts, Madras, Mysore, Trichinopoly and Hyderabad. In the last-named district, with Medak as a centre, a great Mass Movement to the Wesleyan Church followed in the period under consideration here. In 1907 the numbers of Wesleyan Christians in Hyderabad alone had risen to 10,000; in 1913 the number was 17,000 and in 1922 48,000.[64] About the beginning of the century this rapidly growing church was being organized according to the remarkable policy outlined by W. H. Findlay, missionary in Trichinopoly since 1882. While up to 1900 the European missionary had had an altogether dominating influence in the "District Meeting", the new policy allowed for a clear distinction between "Church" and "Mission", giving the Indian Church and its Indian leaders full scope for their activities. The "connexional" system of Methodism was introduced, and the Synod (four District Synods and one overall Provincial Synod) became the highest authority of the church. This policy consolidated the church into a well-organized body.

The connexional system, however, was regarded by the Wesleyan missionaries themselves as very different from the looser organization of the Free Church missions, and these considerations rather lessened the interest of the Wesleyans in the federal union proposals which the Congregationalist side put forth about this time. Some of their missionaries were already keenly interested in co-operative undertakings. The Wesleyan missionary in Madras, D. G. M. Leith (from 1901), had wide social interests and in his important post was brought into touch with leaders of other churches. His colleague in Madras from 1905, J. S. M. Hooper, being very loyal to Methodism and suspicious of the Anglicans, largely kept aloof from contacts with this church, although, in 1906, he preached in St. George's Cathedral on the occasion of a united Communion service.[64a] H. Gulliford (from 1878) and E. W. Thompson (from 1894), both in the Mysore District, did

yeoman service for missionary co-operation in South India through the outstanding way in which they edited *Harvest Field* and there let all points of view be heard, widely stressing the need for co-operation and union.[65] The service of the Wesleyan minister, Theophilus Subrahmanyam, a South Indian Sundar Singh, should also be remembered in this connexion. His personality and message belonged to the forces which created in South India a climate where church union could grow.[66]

From the start the South India United Church had the Wesleyan Methodist Mission in view. But it is important to notice that in South India, as in England, Wesleyan Methodism was hesitant about federation with other Free Churches. J. H. Maclean was, as usual, well informed when in November 1913 he gave as the reason for the apparent aloofness shown by the Wesleyans, that "they find it easier to unite with a strictly Presbyterian body than with one which had so little in the way of a central authority".[67]

This attitude made some of the Wesleyan missionaries prefer an approach to union on the lines of Faith and Order. This was particularly the case with the editor of the influential *Harvest Field*, H. Gulliford. When the "Mott Conference" in November 1912 proposed this method, Gulliford found the idea "fascinating".[67a]

The problem of a central church authority had been the central theme in the nineteenth-century history of Methodism. "The Decline and Fall of Jabez Bunting"—to quote Maldwyn Edwards—had not solved the problem. The Wesleyan Methodists held fast to their "connexionalism", and Primitive Methodists and Independent Methodists had formed their own groups in trying to solve the problem of balance between central power and the legitimate interests of the laity. As with other missions, so with the Wesleyans: their English church history followed them like a shadow to India.[68]

After the optimistic expectations of the first two years of the South India United Church that the Wesleyans would decide to join that church, there followed a whole series of discussions in 1914 and 1915 between the two bodies. The S.I.U.C. General Assembly gave definite instructions to their Executive

Committee to approach the Wesleyans.[69] A joint committee of the two churches met in Madras in April 1914 and managed to frame five issues to be placed before the two churches for consideration and decision.[70] On the South India United Church side the Indian leader, K. T. Paul, together with the Scottish Presbyterian, J. H. Maclean, played an important part. On the Wesleyan side, leading members of the committee were H. Gulliford, E. W. Thompson, W. H. Thorp and C. H. Monahan.[71] The most important problem discussed in this joint committee was that of the highest authority of the church and the control of the ministry. From the Wesleyan side it was pointed out that a centralizing reorganization effected in their mission twenty-five years earlier, whereby the authority to select ministers was transferred from District Synods to an overall Provincial Synod, had had the beneficial effect of creating "a sense of unity in the whole church"; and they were not prepared now to give up this principle.[72] They had the satisfaction of hearing the S.I.U.C. representatives declaring that they would agree to the principle that "authority may well be vested in a body larger than the church council", and a compromise decision of the joint committee was reached, according to which the authority would devolve on Provincial Synods and not on one single central governing body of the whole church.

The matter was referred to the two churches concerned. In the Wesleyan Provincial Synod the strongest opposition came from the Indian members. The joint committee had suggested that the Wesleyans should "disconnect themselves from the British Wesleyan Conference". It is interesting that, in a period of rising Indian nationalism, the Indian representatives on the Synod stressed the importance of retaining their connexion with the British conference and this stand decided the Synod against the scheme of union. J. S. M. Hooper on this occasion voted with the Indian leaders, as he did not want a racial issue to arise in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in South India. W. H. Thorp had the task of informing the 1915 General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. of the decision of the Wesleyan Synod; a decision, he assured the assembly, "due not to prejudice nor aloofness but to conviction". Thorp, who

himself had shown keen interest in the union proposals, expressed his belief that the obstacles would eventually be removed.[73]

So far, that was the end of this phase of union endeavours and a report has it that "the South India United Church Assembly was frankly disappointed that the prospects of union with other bodies had apparently not made the progress hoped for".[74]

To this brief account of the efforts of the South India United Church to amalgamate with the Wesleyans should be added the overtures to the Basel Mission with a view to closer union. Right from the inauguration of the South India United Church the Basel Mission had expressed its interest in the union. In 1913 very definite measures were taken by the Basel Mission and the Rev. A. Schosser was appointed to carry on the negotiations.[75] Before these could be brought to fruition the war made it temporarily impossible to do anything further.[76] When in the end the German nationals were interned, large responsibilities for the administration of the Basel Mission and other German organizations were taken over by the missionaries of the South India United Church. The contacts established in this way were not only to bring the Basel Mission into closer union with the South India United Church, but were from a wider point of view important in bringing missionaries of different societies and nationalities together in caring for the younger churches established by the German missions. G. E. Phillips, J. H. Maclean and V. Santiago should be mentioned particularly as leaders of this work. When all the missionaries of German nationality were interned, the General Local Committee of the Basel Malabar Mission met in 1918 and decided to seek affiliation with the South India United Church.[77] In March 1919, just over a month before the Tranquebar Conference, a constitution was officially adopted and the Malabar Church became an integral part of the South India United Church under its own Malabar Church Council.[78]

Chapter V

EVANGELISM AND NATIONALISM

The Evangelistic Forward Movement, 1910–18

CHRISTIAN co-operation and unity movements in South India are from one point of view the outcome of the great evangelistic opportunity afforded to the church by the demands of the Mass Movements. That was one of the main reasons why Bishop Whitehead and other Anglicans became protagonists for church union. With the Free Churchmen it was largely the same. And it was these who, mainly through the South India United Church, took the lead in the Evangelistic Forward Movement.

While the Faith and Order aspect of the church union movement at this period was influenced by the Kikuyu controversy in Africa and England and by Home Reunion discussions in England and America, the Evangelistic Movement was occasioned by a similar movement in the Church of China. Beginning in Korea, it grew to great dimensions in China under the influence of G. S. Eddy and Frank Buchman. Eddy saw that what was happening in China could also happen in South India, and through letters he kept his friends there in touch with the development of the Evangelistic Movement in China.[1] It was felt by many church leaders in South India that the vast opportunities which the Mass Movement offered could possibly be tackled by an evangelistic campaign of this kind. The "impending avalanche of some fifty or sixty millions of people" was very much the concern of these men.[2]

An appeal by Eddy in the *United Church Herald* was followed by the prompt action of the South India United Church. The executive of the church, at a meeting in August 1914, appointed a committee called the Evangelistic Forward Movement committee.[3] The leaders of this group were H. A. Popley and K. T. Paul, and the new committee met for the first time in

Paul's home, Salem, in the same month of August.[4] From then on the movement developed very rapidly, keenly fostered by the South India United Church. Eddy had sent Popley a copy of a *Handbook for Evangelistic Campaigns*, published by the movement in China, and Popley, in 1914, prepared an Indian counterpart called *Suggestions for Workers*.[5] In this handbook the programme for the movement was already planned on the characteristically American revival patterns, devised in the days of Moody. Popley, who in 1914 had been made the convener of the S.I.U.C. Committee on Evangelism, was appointed in the following year by the Madras Representative Council of Missions as whole-time secretary of the movement.[6] The work proceeded on three lines: "weeks of simultaneous evangelism", conventions, and ministers' conferences.

The weeks of simultaneous evangelism brought together unparalleled crowds of people to listen to the Gospel; the only comparable movement was T. Walker's meetings in the Syrian Churches before 1912. After careful training evangelistic workers were sent to hold meetings in various parts of South India. The numbers engaged and reached were surprisingly large.[7] The "weeks" were usually held in May. In towns and larger villages they naturally became the rallying-point of the Christians of all churches and thereby prepared the ground for a fellowship between churches on a broad foundation.

The conventions, held at various centres in South India and eventually also in other parts of India, were particularly important because of the outstanding spiritual leaders who took part. Eddy and Popley succeeded in engaging for these great meetings Indian speakers such as Bishop Azariah, Bishop Abraham (of the Mar Thoma Church), the Christian poet N. V. Tilak, Sadhu Sundar Singh, and Western Christian leaders including T. R. Glover (Baptist) and J. H. Moulton (Wesleyan Methodist), as well as missionaries, L. P. Larsen (Lutheran) and Godfrey Phillips (Congregational). Frank Buchman, who together with Eddy had campaigned in China and gained experience there, stressed the need for direct "personal work".[8] These men were also brought into contact with missionaries at the Hill stations at Kodaikanal and Ootacamund. While the conventions followed the pattern of

big revival meetings, their influence remained because they brought leaders from different churches together for a common task.[9] The result of the conventions was particularly beneficial among the Syrian Churches, where they followed largely the traditions made familiar by T. Walker.[10]

The ministers' conferences were held regularly in May every year from 1915. These also were a source of spiritual revival to the Indian church leaders concerned and a further means of bringing together ministers from different parts of the country and from different churches. In their evangelistic task the Indian ministers found common ground.[11] Popley tells of an incident from a United Ministers' meeting in 1918 in Tranquebar, the first Protestant missionary station of India, where certain Indian pastors, who in their own church had not been in contact with this kind of warm evangelistic outlook, were led to work in the spirit and with the methods suggested to them by the ministers' meeting.[12] It is important to realize that the famous Tranquebar Meeting, May 1919, was one in a series of such United Ministers' meetings.

Of the churches engaged in the evangelistic campaign the South India United Church naturally was the one most closely connected with it.[13] Popley and K. T. Paul were among the leaders from the beginning. The campaign had a unifying effect on the various sections within the S.I.U.C. and, through Popley's ecumenical spirit which could easily appreciate the good points in different churches and traditions, it became a unifying force in South Indian church life as a whole.[14]

Among Anglicans there were strong personalities who warmly welcomed the evangelistic campaign. Bishop Azariah found in it something of the same spirit which he had known in evangelical Tinnevelly. The campaign seemed to carry forward the heritage of T. Walker. Azariah appreciated the help he got from this work and testified to Popley "that it has greatly helped to raise the whole moral tone of the Christian community throughout the Telugu country", e.g. in the diocese of Dornakal.[15] Nevertheless, it was not altogether certain that the methods employed by the "weeks" and "conventions" would commend themselves to some of the European missionaries who worked in Bishop Azariah's diocese. The problem of

the relation between the campaign and the church soon arose, and Bishop Whitehead, after a visit to Telugu country, found himself in disagreement with the aims of the campaign.[15a] On the other hand Bishop Gill of Travancore appreciated the assistance given by the evangelistic campaign in his efforts to assist the Syrian Churches. The conventions and the ministers' meetings, in which priests from the Mar Thoma Church also took part, helped to draw this church closer to the other Christian bodies in South India, particularly through Bishop Abraham of the Mar Thoma Church.

Through good report and bad Popley carried on his work and thereby managed to bring together church leaders and ordinary Indian Christians to an extent up to that time unknown. Nor did he rest on his laurels. Already at the end of 1917 he was preparing an important campaign for early 1919, the main feature of which would be Dr. Eddy's visit to India. Over a year before his arrival Popley prepared the churches for it.[16]

The Nationalist Movement

R. P. Dutt has described the nationalist struggle of 1905–34 as a series of three "great waves of struggles", 1905–10, 1919–22 and 1930–34.[17] As compared with the upsurge of *Swadeshi* feeling in the years just before 1910, the nationalist movement appears to have been in a backwater in the years 1910 to 1918. It did not play the same role in general or for the Christian Church. Yet deep down the nationalist forces gathered strength for future tasks, and this also affected the church. This influence of Indian nationalism on the church during this period must not be overlooked.

The missionary forces and the church in the West began slowly to awaken to the nationalist problem in India and were prepared to make room for Indian forms of Christianity. On the occasion of Bishop Azariah's consecration even the *Church Times* wrote an editorial full of appreciation. The Indian bishop would be able to present the Christian message "in the native thought and idiom of India".[18] This was also the point of view of leaders on the S.I.U.C. side. J. P. Cotelingam of Bellary gave an address on the importance of *Swadeshi* in the Christian

Church, and J. P. Jones pleaded in 1911 for "A National Church for the Indian Christians". He looked forward to a Church in India that would be the result of a "spontaneous Indian Movement and not imposed from without".[19] The following year C. F. Andrews took part, as the only European, in the National Missionary Conference at Delhi and made a bold plea for making *ashramas* a vehicle for the evangelization of India.[20]

The *Swadeshism* of the National Missionary Society received new impetus and strength through the ideas of a radical Indian group in Madras, led by V. Chakkarai. This group, which had links with the National Missionary Society, began as a Young Liberals' League for discussions of social and religious questions common to all Indian Christians "irrespective of ecclesiastical and social distinctions".[21]

Under the influence of two important conferences of the National Missionary Society, in Bangalore 1911 and Delhi 1912, when the indigenization of Christianity was discussed in 1913 this Madras group constituted itself as a South Indian *Christo Samaj*, attempting to reconcile Christianity and Indian life.[22] From 1911 Chakkarai edited the *Christian Patriot*, a Madras paper which has been very influential for the South Indian in spreading these ideas.

One should not, of course, exaggerate the importance of this vocal group of Indian Christians. It was largely critical of organized Christianity and stood rather aloof from the aspirations which animated Indian church leaders at the time. In 1918 the *Christo Samaj* began to call leading Indians and missionaries to "Retreats" where the problems of the day were faced "through prayer and discussion".[23]

Some of the Indian church leaders were strongly influenced by the nationalist movement. In addresses and resolutions of different kinds they gave vent to their ideas. One of the most important occasions on which this happened was the first All-India Conference of Indian Christians in December 1914.[24] While the chief attention was given to social problems, the gathering was an interesting symptom of the Christians' reaction to the swirling nationalist movement. Among Indian church leaders in South India who stressed the importance of

the role of the church in the nationalist movement, K. T. Paul is probably the best known. At the conference in 1912 he advocated the *ashramas* as a most valuable indigenous method of missionary work and as one means of paving the way for Christian unity.[25] Paul's background was of course Y.M.C.A. He became its General Secretary for India in 1913. As a prominent figure in the South India United Church he interested himself in the arrangement of the lyrical form of worship in his own church and in this work he co-operated with Popley.[26]

While the World War became intensified and eventually came to an end nationalist feeling in India was infused with new vigour. The preparation and publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1917 stressed the need for "responsible government" and a gradual devolution of power in local administration. Parallel with political development went a new demand from Indian Christians for a more Indianized church and worship. A typical example of this is an article by Dr. J. Lazarus, in *Harvest Field*, pleading for a "National Church for India". The author attempts to unify Christian forces by establishing an Indian worship. "Accidental Western differences between the churches should be dropped" and in this way an Indian church union established.[27]

Lazarus's article was followed by an answer from a leading L.M.S. missionary, B. Lucas. He suggested the inauguration of a "League of Indian Christians", in order to promote "national and catholic ideas" among the Indian Christian community. He wished to meet the nationalist demands and visualized a national church for India, built on this "national and catholic" foundation. "Catholic", to Lucas, was the equivalent of "undenominational".[28] That line had been tried before in the union movement in South India; it was undenominational and nationalist, all-embracing Christian religion. It appealed to Indians of the *Christo Samaj* type. But it was not a foundation upon which to build a church. Indian nationalism had to be united with stronger and more solid material than "catholic" undenominationalism if it was to be of real and lasting value in the building of the Indian church.

Politically the years 1919 to 1922 were turbulent years.

Nehru describes them in his autiobiography: "There was a strange mixture of nationalism and politics and religion and mysticism and fanaticism. Behind all this was agrarian trouble and, in the big cities, a rising working-class movement. Nationalism and a vague but intense country-wide idealism sought to bring together all these various and sometimes mutually contradictory discontents and succeeded to a remarkable degree."[29] In 1919 Mahatma Gandhi became the recognized leader of Indian aspirations. The *Swadeshi* ideals from the beginning of the century were followed by the bolder *Swaraj* demands. Gandhi became the symbol not only of the Hindus but also of the Muslim community. There was awakened in the masses what Gandhi calls "the passion for unity".[30]

The Hindu–Muslim unity caught the imagination of the masses and challenged the Christians divided by Western denominationalism in many different sections.[31] To Gandhi there was a religious urge for this unity. From his experience in South Africa he was able to write that "it would be on the question of Hindu–Muslim unity that my *ahimsa* would be put to its severest test".[32] The era of unfulfilled and frustrated aspirations and of endless talking was over. Young India wanted action, constructive effort; and if they did not get it, they were willing to take the consequences. Gandhi and Nehru paid the price by going to prison, but from his prison Gandhi still dominated India.

During this period, more than any other, Gandhi stressed the New Testament as his source of inspiration. One of his many Christian admirers has expressed it in these terms: "There has arisen in our day and generation a man able to make so vividly attractive the ideas which he has gained from the New Testament (of which Mr. Gandhi is a regular and devout reader), that those ideas, and the man himself as their exponent, could capture the imagination and command the adoration of three hundred and twenty million human beings."[33] This was a challenge of the greatest importance to the Christian Church also, for it was a challenge to unite in order to make that New Testament message effectively felt in the masses of India.

Anticipating the development after 1919 we point out that

the nationalist tide reached unprecedented heights at the special session of the National Congress at Calcutta, September 1920. On this occasion Gandhi's resolution of non-co-operation was accepted and from then on the spinning-wheel became the symbol of nationalist India, over against the machines of the mechanical civilization of the West.[34] The genius of India was finding expression in the mystic Mahatma. *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai!* meant first of all *Swaraj*, and in 1921 Gandhi passionately declared that he was so sure of getting *Swaraj* before the end of the year that he could not conceive of himself as living beyond December 31 without having attained this goal.[35]

The Government met the passionate Indian demand for action and constructive efforts by attempting to implement the Montagu-Chelmsford report in the administrative field and the Sadler Commission report for higher education. Within two years of the publication of the Sadler Commission report five new universities were founded.[36] So the British Raj, in the face of the rising tide of nationalism, attempted to bring Western science and Indian culture together in new centres of learning.

C. F. Andrews, the missionary, joined forces with the nationalist idealism. He wrote a pamphlet in 1920 called *Independence —the Immediate Need*, described by Nehru as "nationalism pure and simple".[37] But the majority of the Europeans stood aloof from the rising Indian nationalism and, as foreigners, were bewildered by forces beyond their control. Some, perhaps most, missionaries felt their foreignness as a problem. The British among them belonged to the ruling race and did not always like the role.[38] Now they were prepared for something new. The war was over; indeed, the era of wars was over! Wilson proclaimed the message of a League of Nations. There was in India a revolutionary, even an apocalyptic, feeling. Anything might happen. The established order of things was going and gone. No established order had any right to exist, but everything must submit to fundamental change. Was that not also true of the church, the tiny Christian Church of India, challenged by the perplexing and overwhelming task of converting the hundreds of millions of India?

A small group of Indian pastors and a couple of their European friends met in a revered mission station called Tranquebar. They came from different ecclesiastical camps. They had grown weary of divisions. Together, they sought a country.

Chapter VI

TRANQUEBAR 1919

Background

THE ecclesiastical background of "Tranquebar 1919" can be summed up in three geographical names: the first, Edinburgh; the second, a mission in tropical Africa, Kikuyu; and the third, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A., where Bishop Brent called his church and the whole church to a World Conference on Faith and Order. Bishop Brent's appeal was not the result of a sudden impulse of an enthusiast but of a long development. His plan was "designed to make clear, and to bring to effective realization, the original conference proposals of [the American Bishops in] 1886".[1] Brent built on the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888. He was influenced by the Edinburgh Conference and by Congregationalist friends of reunion, especially Newman Smyth.

Robert H. Gardiner, the energetic secretary of the Faith and Order Movement, together with Newman Smyth and the Episcopalian George Zabriskie, worked on a Concordat between the Episcopal and the Congregationalist Churches, which was accepted by a Joint Committee in 1919.[2] Gardiner was also in contact with the outstanding Anglican reunion leader in South India at the time, Bishop Whitehead.[3] Two of the American leaders of the movement, Newman Smyth and Peter Ainslie, went to Britain in 1912 and established contacts with many different groups of church leaders. This led to a whole series of important meetings, the resolutions of which were eagerly studied in South India.[4] The conferences brought together Anglicans and Free Churchmen in a way not known before.

We have seen how in South India both Whitehead and Eddy regarded the acceptance of a constitutional episcopate

not only as the crucial problem but also as a necessary condition of church union. Discussion of episcopacy also loomed large in the reunion conferences in England. Starting tentatively and cautiously in 1914–16, the representatives of the two groups, Anglican and Free Church, soon felt ready for a more definite move. In the First Interim Report, February 1916, the question of the ministry was left among the issues "where there still remain differences".[5] But the Second Interim Report of March 1918, while setting aside "for the present" any "abstract discussion" on doctrinal and historical problems about episcopacy, definitely recommended a constitutional episcopate.[6] The first Cheltenham Conference of Anglican Evangelicals, September 1917, preferred federation to organic union.[7] The following Cheltenham Conferences in 1918 and June 1919 swung over to a definite stand for reunion on Lambeth Quadrilateral lines, the last largely under the influence of the important Second Mansfield Conference.[8] The Mansfield Conferences brought together younger Evangelical Anglicans and some outstanding Free Church leaders.

The Free Church Council formed by H. P. Hughes in the 'nineties[9] took on a new importance in the War years, particularly through the effective and dramatic leadership given by J. H. Shakespeare, one of the outstanding Baptists of twentieth-century England. As President of the Free Church Council in 1916, he preferred the "more ringing note of unity than the tentative and moderate proposal of federation"; but his bold appeal for organic union could not win through.[10] The time was not ripe for it. Yet he succeeded on the federal issue. In 1919 the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches was constituted.

The dramatic character of Shakespeare's appeal was apparent by the fact that, not content with Free Church Federation, he wanted organic union with the Church of England—"reunion with the mother church" as he expressed it—on the basis of a constitutional episcopate.[11] He was voicing opinions put forth by the First and Second Interim Reports of the Faith and Order Conferences between Anglicans and Free Churchmen in 1916–18.[12]

Among the other Free Church leaders who took part in the

Mansfield Conferences and in one way or another came into contact with the South India Church union question were Congregationalists such as J. Vernon Bartlet, P. T. Forsyth, A. E. Garvie and W. B. Selbie.[13] Dr. J. Scott Lidgett and J. E. Rattenbury, as leading (Wesleyan) Methodists, had a very responsible position in these discussions. Some of the leading Wesleyan Methodists were at this time inclined towards reunion with the Anglicans. Sir Henry Lunn, formerly a missionary in India and about this time a great power in the reunion movement, had many younger followers. P. Carnegie Simpson, the Presbyterian church historian, was a learned exponent of the views of his own church. Being in contact from time to time with J. H. Maclean, he showed much interest in the South India scheme.[14]

On the Anglican side there were representatives who were closely connected with the mission work in South India. C. C. B. Bardsley and C. M. Williams were secretaries of the C.M.S. G. H. Cranswick, Bishop of Gippsland (Australia) had served as a C.M.S. missionary in India. The Bishop of Uganda (Willis) was also one of the signatories of the Second Mansfield Conference resolutions; his attitude in the Kikuyu controversy had its counterpart in South India.

The First Mansfield Conference, January 1919, recognized "the place which a reformed Episcopate must hold in the ultimate constitution of the Reunited Church".[15] The second Mansfield Conference, while maintaining the acceptance of a constitutional episcopate, emphasized the equality of the ministries in both groups. This equality was recognized as "fundamental to any approach towards the realization of the Reunited Church". In order to give expression to this principle of mutual recognition, the Conference recommended interchange of pulpits and mutual admission to Holy Communion, in both cases subject to "due authority". The authorization required should not be regarded as a re-ordination or as a repudiation of the ministry in which the individuals concerned had served up to that time.[16]

Much of the work behind the scenes preparing for these reunion conferences had been done by members of the Student Christian Movement. This was particularly true of the two

Fellowships: the Free Church Fellowship, founded in 1911 by Malcolm Spencer, and the Anglican Fellowship, founded in the following year by Tissington Tatlow, which William Temple joined.[17] When Frank Lenwood, who had been a missionary in India 1909–12, returned to England in 1912, he was instrumental in linking the Free Church Fellowship with the younger missionaries in the fields, not least South India. This was an important channel for the spreading of union ideas to the mission fields.[18] In 1918 a Joint Committee, drawing the two Fellowships closer together, was chosen. It is significant that it was the Overseas Fellowship (i.e. the missionaries) who pressed for this union move.[19]

It should be noticed that the influence between home country and mission field in regard to reunion was a two-way traffic. Kikuyu and South India were conditioned by reunion endeavours in England and America. But the experience from the mission field quickened the pace of the home reunion discussion. This is of course particularly true of Lambeth 1920, where the bishops from the overseas dioceses played such an important part. But there were other symptoms of the same kind.

Some of the theologians on the Anglican and Free Church side who were taking a keen interest in home reunion had visited India and brought back with them a vision of the need for a united church. Bishop Gore visited India in 1894, and from that time when speaking on reunion would mention the problem as it appeared also to the younger churches. B. H. Streeter and T. R. Glover had both been in India, and their thinking on reunion problems was definitely influenced by this experience.[20]

The opinions expressed at these reunion meetings culminated in the Lambeth Conference, 1920. We shall later have occasion to see the role of this important Anglican gathering in its bearing upon the South India scheme. Yet, whatever the reception of its resolutions in South India, Lambeth 1920 was the high-water mark of Anglican reunion endeavours towards the "non-conformists". After Lambeth 1920 the climate became cooler and at the following Lambeth Conference, 1930, home reunion had lost something of its first attraction. Church leaders were weary of all the opposition from different sections within

their own communities. The hope of reunion in England, which had seemed so bright before 1920, faded somewhat in the 'twenties.

This must be kept in mind when we are considering "Tranquebar 1919" and what followed after 1919 in South India. History was too strong in England; the power of traditions, the idiosyncrasies of the leaders, the apathy of the masses, too entrenched. The forces of history played their part in South India, but, against the background of nascent nationalism and of the evangelistic urge, the builders of the church in South India had a unique opportunity of transforming Western church history and of shaping new things in the church of the East.

Leaders

The connexion between the Tranquebar Conference and the Evangelistic Forward Movement is no mere coincidence. It was the outcome of the Evangelistic Movement, one in a series of the ministers' meetings which Popley had organized regularly every May from 1915.

In January 1919 Popley wrote an article in *Harvest Field* called "Wanted an Army". He pleaded for bands of Christian workers of all churches who would volunteer to make the Eddy conventions a great event. Eddy arrived at Colombo and went on to Madras, where a series of meetings under the title "Personal Evangelism: the Greatest Work in the World" were started.[21] In February he held conventions on the same subject for the Mar Thoma Christians. He was convinced that if this ancient church could be stirred to new activity it would be a "mighty factor in the evangelization of India".[22]

Popley had arranged an exacting programme for Eddy in Northern India too. Centres like Lucknow and Lahore were visited, and he was joined there by Stanley Jones, another great American evangelist. Popley remarks in one of his reports that their work in Northern India, particularly Lahore, had been well prepared by the earlier meetings held there by a third well-known American evangelist, Frank Buchman. In the United Provinces there were big interdenominational meetings.

At one meeting in Saharanpur delegates from the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist Churches were present. Some of the leaders attended the Union Conference in Allahabad in April 1919. Here Congregationalists and Presbyterians from all over India agreed to draw up a "draft Basis of Union and Constitution for the United Church in India", accepting a creed and a constitution which were mainly those of the South India United Church.[23]

For Easter 1919 Eddy and his wife visited Dornakal to meet their friend and co-worker of former days, Bishop Azariah. Eddy was greatly impressed by the transformation which had come to this mass movement through the evangelistic zeal which the bishop had kindled in his diocese.[24] There was one subject which they most certainly discussed in these days of renewed friendship at Dornakal. Eddy says himself: "The matter of the division of a hundred Protestant sects was one which growingly troubled many of us, and we were burdened with the prayer that we might all be one. Azariah was an Anglican and I was a Congregationalist who had been only too eager to bury the already attenuated denominationalism, of which I was never proud, in the larger unity of the United Church of India." Why should not the South India United Church and the Anglicans come together?[25]

The subject was discussed further when Eddy, immediately after his visit to Dornakal, met Popley and Stanley Jones at a United Convention at Bezwada. Representatives from six different missions (S.P.G., C.M.S., Lutherans, S.I.U.C., American and Canadian Baptists) met together there.[26] From this meeting Popley and Eddy went via Madras to Tranquebar. The ministers' meeting in May had become a well-known institution to the Christian community in South India. Popley had arranged for the meeting of May 1919 to be held in the classical centre of Christianity in South India, Tranquebar. When approached by Bishop Azariah on the subject of an Indian ministers' conference on church union, Popley found it would be practical to combine the two conferences. It would also be more economical seeing that it would save travelling expenses, and Popley promised to meet charges for the additional conference days on church union from private funds.[27]

It was an Indian conference. The suggestion to hold it came from Indians and the convener of the conference was an Indian bishop. Azariah, in leading and inspiring the Tranquebar Conference, embodied in his own person the main streams of the development in India. Whenever occasion was given he stressed the *Indian* character of the meeting. He had himself taken a part in the National Missionary Society and was the soul of the Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly, both of which emphasized the Indian character of the evangelistic work. His reference to the dominant role of European missionaries at the Jubbulpore meeting of the National Missionary Council, at which the thought of an exclusively Indian conference was born, makes it thoroughly clear that Azariah felt, in the nationalist year of 1919, fully prepared to give much more room to the Indian viewpoint than ever before. Despite this, most leading Indians at that time, and later, thought of Azariah as being too much dependent upon the European missionaries. In the discussion in September 1919, which was to follow upon the publication of the Tranquebar Manifesto, Azariah was to speak out boldly for the claims of the Indian mind over against the Western missionaries.

Azariah, like Whitehead, had seen the pressing need of church unity when faced with the opportunities presented by the Mass Movement. Dornakal was in a Mass Movement area and he was building up a rapidly growing evangelistic work, for which he was becoming widely known to other churches also. If Azariah in his person and programme exemplified the aims, Indian and evangelistic, of some of the Indian leaders, particularly within the South India United Church, as Bishop of Dornakal he was also very definitely the convinced Anglican Churchman, bent on making this influence effectively felt. The six years of his episcopate had left their mark. There seems to be ample proof for the view that Azariah's Anglican convictions were being steadily strengthened. When Whitehead in 1913 prepared his *Thoughts on Unity*, Azariah heartily consented to a chapter on Apostolic Succession which the author himself later cut out as being "far too shocking".[28] On this point the young Indian bishop, who had begun public life as a Y.M.C.A.

secretary, seemed to move towards a position which his older friend Whitehead was then forsaking.[29]

An important but overlooked point in regard to Azariah's role should be remembered in this connexion. When consecrated in 1912, he was made an "assistant bishop" to the Bishop of Madras. Bishop Whitehead himself, from the beginning, felt this as an anomaly and tried to rectify it. At the end of April 1919, less than a week before the Tranquebar Conference, Whitehead commissioned Bishop Azariah to exercise direct episcopal authority and supervision in the Telugu area.[30] The convener of the Tranquebar Conference went to that meeting with an enhanced authority in regard to his own episcopal office. This gave him more assurance in recommending the bold steps taken at the Conference.

The two leading Indians from the South India United Church were V. Santiago and Meshach Peter. It is significant that they were both connected with American missions and not the products of British Congregationalism. Santiago is a typical representative of the Madura–Pasumalai type of Congregationalism of American origin.[31] His views on church union were formed by his lifelong contact with G. S. Eddy and Dr. J. J. Banninga, the latter a Madura missionary who was to take a leading part in church union negotiations after 1919. Preacher, evangelist and musician, with keen interest in finding Indian forms of worship, Santiago was the first Indian chosen as Moderator of the South India United Church and he also became its President.

It was Santiago who approached Azariah to act as the convener for the Tranquebar Conference.[32] Meshach Peter was the foremost Indian leader in the Arcot Mission. He had worked for the formation of the South India United Church in 1908 together with Dr. J. H. Wyckoff and in 1914 succeeded Wyckoff in the chairmanship of the Vellore Circle (or district), the first Indian to occupy such a position in his mission. M. Peter's family connexions were characteristic of the situation in South India. His father was a pastor in the Reformed Church, an uncle was an Anglican, the grandfather a Lutheran, as was his mother, and his wife came from a Congregationalist family. "And I love them all. Why should we not get together?" With

his steadily growing influence in the affairs of the S.I.U.C. and his old personal friendship with Azariah, M. Peter became a central figure in church union affairs in South India.

Meeting and Manifesto

The Tranquebar Conference actually consisted of two conferences. The first was the regular Indian ministers' meeting under the aegis of the Evangelistic Forward Movement, organized by Popley. This was held on April 29–30 and had fifty-six ministers as members, representing four different churches: Anglicans, S.I.U.C., Wesleyans and Church of Sweden, the last being hosts in this Lutheran centre. Azariah held the opening devotional session for this evangelistic meeting in "the Jerusalem Church of the Lutherans"—as Santiago describes it.[33] Eddy and Popley reported on their tour in different parts of India, emphasizing the theme which had been the watchword of all the evangelistic conventions of the year—"Personal Evangelism: the Greatest Work of the World".

The Tranquebar Conference on Church Union followed immediately on May 1–2. It was an Indian conference but there were two Europeans present, and, although deliberately unobtrusive, their influence was felt. Azariah has testified that Eddy and Popley "helped a great deal" with the drafting of the Manifesto, and the devotional address with which Eddy opened the Union Conference focused the attention of the members on the general setting in which the American leader saw this unity movement.[34] The war had come to an end and the leaders of the peoples were assembled in Versailles forming a League of Nations. This was a reminder to the church in India that to unite in one visible church was the will of God and the teaching of Scripture.[35]

Azariah, as convener of this particular part of the meeting, had already sent out questions to responsible leaders of the churches represented:

1. What do you think to be the distinctive features of the organization and the religious teaching and practice of your own church?
2. Should a united Indian church come into being, what do

you consider to be the features that ought to be your contribution to that church, and which, in fairness to your tradition, you ought not to give up, without serious loss to the full life of the church?

3. What is the attitude of your church towards union with other churches?

The procedure of the conference, as laid down beforehand by Azariah, implied that one representative for each church was to give an address on the three questions, to be followed first by supplementary remarks by the members of the same church and then by question and discussion from members of the other churches. Two Wesleyan ministers confessed to having no knowledge of the question of union, and the Lutherans present thought that organic union on any other basis than their own doctrinal position would be wrong.[36]

Meshach Peter from the S.I.U.C. and Bishop Azariah were keenly engaged in the union issue, and they suggested that the representatives of their two churches should stay on after the others had left and attempt to reach a decision and an agreement on a resolution.

The leading theme for all the discussions was the text about the unity of the church, St. John 17 : 21. Bishop Azariah dominated the discussions. He pressed the matter of episcopal ordination in a way which brought some opposition from a few S.I.U.C. representatives.[37] They maintained that St. Paul and Timothy were ordained by deacons of the churches, and that, therefore, no episcopal ordinations were needed.[38] In this situation Eddy's help was of great importance to Azariah. Eddy was regarded as belonging to the S.I.U.C., but he had for many years, particularly under the influence of Bishop Brent and Newman Smyth, stressed the importance of the episcopal element in any future national church of India. These viewpoints, together with an attempt to reconcile the three main forms of church government represented at the meeting, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregationalist, determined Eddy's contribution to the framing of the Manifesto.

Eddy was strongly conscious of the fact that the Tranquebar Conference would be of historic consequence. After having taken a photo of the whole group of members, he told the Rev. P. Sandegren, the Lutheran missionary at Tranquebar:

"This will be an historic photo! For the first time in history an episcopal church and a non-episcopal are united!"[39] It was not self-evident that the meeting of those twenty-nine Indian ministers in a far-off place would be historic. But Eddy proved to be right in his prophecy.

With the help of Eddy, Popley, Santiago and Meshach Peter, Bishop Azariah was then able to present a resolution to the conference which was accepted and afterwards became known as the Tranquebar Manifesto:[40]

> We, as individual members of the Anglican Communion and the South India United Church, having met at Tranquebar in the first ministers' conference on church union, after prayer, thought and discussion, have agreed on the following statement concerning the union of the Anglican Church with the South India United Church.
>
> We believe that the union is the will of God, even as our Lord prayed that we might all be one, that the world might believe. We believe that union is the teaching of Scripture. "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all."
>
> We believe that the challenge of the present hour in the period of reconstruction after the war, in the gathering together of the nations, and the present critical situation in India itself, call us to mourn our past divisions and turn to our Lord Jesus Christ to seek in Him the unity of the body expressed in one visible Church. We face together the titanic task of the winning of India for Christ—one-fifth of the human race. Yet, confronted by such an overwhelming responsibility, we find ourselves rendered weak and relatively impotent by our unhappy divisions—divisions for which we were not responsible, and which have been, as it were, imposed upon us from without; divisions which we did not create, and which we do not desire to perpetuate.
>
> In this Church we believe that three Scriptural elements must be conserved: (1) The *Congregational* element, representing "the whole Church", with "every member" having immediate access to God, each exercising his gift for the development of the whole body. (2) We believe it should include the delegated, organized, or *Presbyterian* element, whereby the Church could unite in a General Assembly, Synods or Councils in organized unity. (3) We believe it should include the representative, executive, or *Episcopal*

element. 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.

In seeking union, the Anglican members present stand for the one ultimate principle of *the Historic Episcopate*. They ask the "acceptance of the fact of episcopacy and not any theory as to its character". The South India United Church members believe it is "a necessary condition that the Episcopate should reassume a constitutional form" on the primitive, simple, apostolic model. While the Anglicans ask for the Historic Episcopate, the members of the South Indian United Church also make one condition of union, namely the recognition of *spiritual equality*, of the universal priesthood of all believers, and of the rights of the laity to their full expression in the Church. They ask that this principle of spiritual equality shall be maintained throughout at every step of the negotiations.

Upon this common ground of the Historic Episcopate and of the spiritual equality of all members of the two churches, we propose union on the following basis:

(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation.

(2) The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed.

(3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

(4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted.

We understand that the acceptance of the fact of the Episcopate does not involve the acceptance of any theory of the origin of episcopacy nor any doctrinal interpretation of the fact. It is 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 in question the validity of each other's orders.

Fully recognizing that we do not commit our respective bodies to any action, we individually and unofficially agree upon the following plan of union. After full deliberation, let the South India United Church, if it desires union, choose from its own members certain men who shall be consecrated as bishops. In the consecration of these first bishops it is suggested that three or more bishops of the Anglican Church shall lay their hands upon the candidates, together with an equal number of ministers as representatives of the South India United Church.

As soon as the first bishops are consecrated, the two bodies would be in intercommunion, but the further limitation of existing ministers with regard to celebrating the Communion in the churches of the other body might still remain. In accordance with the principle of spiritual equality we desire to find some means to permit ministers of either body to celebrate the Communion in the churches of the other body. As one possible solution, we would suggest that a special Service of *Commission* should be held. All ministers of both bodies desiring authority to officiate at the Communion throughout the whole Church should present themselves to receive at the hands of all the bishops of the United Churches a commission for such celebration of the Communion. Ministers of either body not desiring to officiate at the Communion in the other Church would be under no obligation to present themselves. Full liberty would be claimed for individuals on the extreme wing of each body to maintain their present views and practices.

While not committing our respective bodies, we, unofficially and individually, with the blessing of God, agree to work toward union on such a basis.

Those present were:

Anglicans

The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Dornakal, Rev. S. G. Maduram, Rev. J. B. Gnanaolivu, Rev. A. Devadas, Rev. A. Savarimuthu, Rev. A. Ezekiel, Rev. D. Koilpillai (7).

South India United Church

Rev. V. Santiago, Rev. M. S. Taylor, Rev. Thangam Gabriel, Rev. P. Asirvadam, Rev. Y. J. Taylor, Rev. G. Vendanayagam, Rev. N. Gnanasigamani, Rev. Y. D. Samuel, Rev. Meshach Peter, Rev. P. Arivanandam, Rev. M. L. Jivaratnam, Rev. Benjamin Thomas, Rev. L. I. Stephen, Rev. G. Gnanamuthu, Rev. P. Thangamuthu, Rev. E. W. Thayil, Rev. M. Simon, Rev. D. C. Hutton, Rev. S. Soans, Rev. S. Ambatt, Rev. P. Zacharias, Rev. N. Edapalan, Rev. Ch. Herman, Rev. S. Paramanandam, Rev. H. A. Popley, G. Sherwood Eddy (26).

Eddy's hand in the drafting of this "Indian Manifesto" is apparent. In its general features the Manifesto of 1919 shows much likeness to the resolutions of the unofficial Madras meeting of 1910 at which both Eddy and Azariah had been present.[41] Even more it recalls Eddy's article of June 1911 on "A National

Church for India" which reappears in a renewed form in the Manifesto of 1919. In the main the 1919 Manifesto reiterates the Lambeth Quadrilateral, as the Madras 1910 meeting had done. Phrases such as "primitive, simple apostolic model" of episcopacy and "not a compromise for the sake of peace but comprehension for the sake of truth" recall expressions in Eddy's article eight years earlier.[42] The qualification that the acceptance of the historic episcopate did not involve any particular theory about the episcopate was a thought which Eddy and Whitehead had expressed on various occasions since the Madras meeting. The references to reconstruction after the war and the critical situation in India in 1919 were new. The sorting out of the three elements, Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal, were also a new contribution to the discussion in South India, but were common in the negotiations for home reunion at Mansfield.[43]

The 1919 Manifesto was an attempt to reconcile two different claims: the Anglican emphasis on the historic episcopate and the S.I.U.C. claim to spiritual equality. This reconciliation was to be attained by a "service of commission". The claim to recognition of spiritual equality was expressed in the proposal that not only Anglican bishops but also ministers of the South India United Church should take part in the laying on of hands at the consecration of new bishops. This had been tentatively proposed by Eddy in 1911, although he admitted that "this would hardly be recognized as regular from the Anglican point of view".[44] The members of the Tranquebar Conference had not been officially appointed by their own churches and were thus unable to commit their churches to any acceptance of the Manifesto. It was therefore expressly stated that they signed it only "unofficially and individually". On the whole, the Tranquebar Manifesto had its strength, not as a detailed programme on Faith and Order—that was worked out later for South India by others—but as a challenge, a moving appeal to union which stirred the hearts of men.

While the Manifesto was not published in the *United Church Herald* until the July issue, it was made known to those most keenly interested, and the Tranquebar meeting was followed by energetic negotiations in smaller conferences. Bishop White-

head was, of course, eagerly waiting to hear the results of the meeting. Together with Bishop Waller of Tinnevelly he met Eddy and Popley on their return through Madras and conferred with them on the terms of the resolutions.[45] He recognized the scheme as being very much in line with his own proposals of the preceding decade and was also prepared to accept the "service of commission".[46] "The Bishop of Madras says he will be the first to receive the 'service of commission' to enable him to celebrate the Communion in our Churches."

Bishop Whitehead was full of hope. "May we not see, therefore, in this statement that has been issued by the pastors at Tranquebar a small cloud, no bigger it may be than a man's hand, which is destined rapidly to spread over India and descend in showers of blessing over the whole Christian Church?"[47] With this hope was coupled his oft-repeated conviction that the first step was "the immediate formation of an independent Indian Church".[48] This should be free from all official connexion with the State and, as far as possible, from all dependence on foreign churches. It should have full liberty to fashion its own life and constitution and to decide with what Christian bodies it would be in fellowship. "For Europeans and Americans to bind it down in matters of detail and determine for it the lines it is to follow would appear to me to court failure at the start. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. This ought to be our guiding principle in dealing with the whole question."[49]

Whitehead also hoped for "the broadest possible basis of doctrine", so that the united church could "include within its fold every element of belief and organization, and every form of worship and discipline that is now cherished by any of the churches of Christendom and is not inconsistent with the fundamental truths of the Gospel. In past ages the Christian Church aimed at a rigid uniformity as its ideal of unity. The result was that the Christian Church was rent into a hundred fragments in the struggle for liberty. We have now learnt that the path to unity lies not through uniformity, but through a frank recognition of the manifold variety of the work of God's Holy Spirit and a wise toleration of differences of belief and practice within the one Body of Christ. The genius of Indian thought

and character is thoroughly in harmony with this spirit of toleration and comprehensiveness."[50]

Eddy made the Tranquebar resolutions widely known. After meeting Whitehead and Waller in Madras on May 6, he proceeded to Kodaikanal, where he called thirty of the missionaries, residing on the Hill at the time, to a conference on May 15. Here he had his opportunity of interpreting to a group of Free Church missionaries the attitude of the Indian church leaders, as he had understood it.[51] He told his missionary colleagues that now, in India's momentous year of 1919, was the time to "allow our Indian brothers to form the United Church of India".[52] The Indian ministers at Tranquebar had found that "in the early church there was a measure of central authority in the hands of the Apostles, who in their turn delegated large powers to apostolic men like Timothy and Titus. They felt that the centralized power had never grown less in the church and that from the second to the sixteenth century or for 1,400 years the only type of government which prevailed in the church was the episcopal form." Therefore, they argued, the only hope of ultimate union in the mission field was "to return to the simple, constitutional primitive episcopal basis".

We recognize the arguments, which here are rightly attributed to the bulk of Indian clergy of the different churches, as being identical with the thoughts expressed by Eddy and Whitehead from the Madras 1910 meeting onwards. There was only a change in temper: the nationalist crisis precipitated the need for a bold decision. It was the *argumentum ad Indos* that carried weight in this group. Dr. J. J. Banninga of Madura, who was present at the meeting, reports that it was agreed that "episcopacy would be a good form of government for the Indian Church, if desired by Indian Christians".[53] On the other hand, even admitting this, we are left with a strong impression of the persuasive powers of the dynamic American evangelist in successfully convincing this missionary group of the value of episcopacy. When his suggestions were put to a vote, the meeting accepted them almost unanimously, only one dissenting.[54]

Eddy was optimistic. He visualized a union of South India

United Church, Anglicans and Syrians: "It would unite the Western Catholic and the Eastern Catholic together with the Protestant Free Churches into one body. It would for the first time bridge the gulf between the episcopal and non-episcopal Churches."[55] To Eddy that bridge was evangelism. But he had his theological arguments too. In an article in *Harvest Field*, July 1919, called "Church Union in India", he presents these, still the same arguments as those with which he fought B. Lucas in 1911: Episcopacy preserves unity and continuity; it had prevailed in the church from the second to the sixteenth century; it was the rule in three-quarters of Christendom, while the remainder "was divided into several hundred different divisions, no one of which had the power of uniting the others"; it should be "simple, constitutional, primitive". On this basis, the "service of commission" promised rapid results. In a letter to Banninga he stated his policy for going forward: "Let us stand clearly for our S.I.U.C. Quadrilateral. (1) The principle of spiritual equality. (2) An autonomous Indian Church, free from Lambeth, the Church of England and the State. (3) A Church free to be in intercommunion with such bodies as it may determine. (4) A constitutional episcopacy with a written constitution like that of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America."[56] Eddy could not understand the patience of the Bishop of London who in his Kingsway Hall address, February 1919, had suggested a thirty or forty years' period of transition until "the existing ministers die off" (as Eddy put the Winnington-Ingram proposal!).[57] The impetuous evangelist preferred the Tranquebar plan: "Here lies the possibility in a single hour by a 'Service of Commission' to bridge this gulf."[58] That promised results: "America, England and other lands are praying, talking, discussing and desiring such a union. India alone can act."

Chapter VII

THE IMPACT OF TRANQUEBAR

On the South India United Church

India alone can act, Eddy said. It was, of course, important to know how to act. Bernard Lucas, the staunch protagonist of Liberal Congregationalism, did not want India to act in a way which would lead it to episcopacy. Six years earlier when Bishop Whitehead proposed to take a "next step towards unity", Lucas declared that there was no next step. In 1919 he was still marking time. He saw clearly that episcopacy was not merely a matter of church government but that it involved fundamental questions about the nature of the church and of its ministry.[1] As in 1913, he emphasized that the Anglicans were not out for union but for reunion, and he had no desire for the latter. To him the Anglican and episcopal standpoint was obsolete, "gazing to the past rather than towards the future", clinging to "expressions of thought formulated centuries ago".

In contradistinction to this attitude the Confession of Faith accepted by the South India United Church was "at least an expression of faith in modern terms". The Tranquebar proposals for the consecration of the first bishops irritated him. He was not to be hoodwinked by the equality of numbers of three Anglican bishops and three South India United Church ministers taking part in the consecration: "To ensure numerical equality you count heads and find they are equal; to secure efficacy and validity you count hands and discount non-episcopal ones."

He also claimed that the "service of commission" was only camouflage: to the Free Churchmen such an act was not necessary; to the Anglicans it *was* necessary, in order to secure efficacy of the sacraments. This distinction revealed that the

two parties in the union scheme were irreconcilable: there was still no next step.

Lucas's reaction was typical of one missionary attitude within the ranks of the South India United Church. The skirmish between Eddy and Lucas and the subsequent debate revealed an interesting division of opinion within the S.I.U.C. English Congregationalists like Lucas were, to say the least, hesitant about the Tranquebar proposals.[2] The Americans and Australians among S.I.U.C. missionaries were generally for these proposals. In the last resort it goes back to a matter of church history.

Lucas, of Birmingham, England, said very rightly that one might possibly regard him as "suffering from a kind of congenital episcopophobia".[3] American Congregationalism was not born with such an heritage. In Birmingham and England Congregationalism had been persecuted and had had to fight for its life. In Boston and New England it had a dominating influence in church life and on the community; it had a strong influence also in Australia. But in Bangalore and India these different forms of Congregationalism had to find new ways of expression. That is a basic reason why, after the appearance of Lucas's article, Azariah was told by A. W. Brough, who was an Australian missionary in the L.M.S., that "he was amused because the article was singularly inappropriate to Indian conditions, though quite all right to the English public".[4] That is the reason why J. J. Banninga could approach the Tranquebar proposals with much more peace of mind than Lucas. He had to a large extent formed the co-operative Madura tradition. He was ready to accept the Tranquebar proposals: "It is not the Anglican Church that is adopted, but in its place there would be a new, independent and self-governing Indian Church, which would be in fellowship with episcopal churches throughout the world."[5] He was satisfied if only he could be assured that the new church would also be in fellowship with other non-episcopal churches, and he saw heartening signs which led him to believe strongly that not only the Wesleyans but even the Lutherans and the Baptists would be willing to follow suit.[6] Dr. L. R. Scudder represented the Reformed Church in America. His colleague, Dr. Wyckoff, had earlier

declared that in certain circumstances he could accept episcopacy. Scudder in August 1919 accepted episcopacy as suggested at Tranquebar but objected to the "service of commission", although he was prepared to accept even that for the sake of the unity of the Indian Church.[7]

When Azariah took up Lucas's challenge, he aimed at the point which seemed weakest in his argument. Azariah claimed that Lucas's article was the English Congregationalist's defence of his own case. Lucas was asking the Indian converts "to help to pay off the grudge that he and his forefathers owe the established Church in England".[8] Over against Lucas's criticism of the historic episcopate, Azariah marshals an array of Anglican theological authorities (Hort, Headlam, Streeter) who had refuted the tractarian view of Apostolic Succession but upheld episcopacy as such.[9]

Azariah's chief argument for the introduction of episcopacy in the United Church of India was that which Lucas had criticized in Whitehead six years earlier: episcopacy as a safeguard of unity. In the article by the Indian bishop this argument took on a new urgency. "In a country with so many tendencies to division and disintegration because of the numerous castes, races and languages, is it not necessary to safeguard unity by the rule in practice for nineteen centuries?" Here, he claimed, the Indian Christians were united: "At least, we Indian Christians have the right to say: WE SHALL HAVE NOTHING ELSE." Azariah reminded Lucas that in his book *Our Task in India* he had himself pleaded for the rights of the Indian Christians to self-determination. Azariah adds: "We Indians cannot enter into his spirit, and be he a narrow Anglican, an intolerant Low Churchman, or prejudiced Free Churchman, he cannot be our guide in this matter." There was indignation in that voice and, more important, here was a young church, the Indian Church, prepared to have its own say on the fundamental matters of church government. The Indian bishop uses the argument of nationalism to support his deep-rooted conviction on the central problem of church organization.

The union question had to be scrutinized by the highest authorities of the two churches concerned: the General

Assembly of the S.I.U.C., which met in Calicut, September 26–30, 1919, and the Episcopal Synod of the Church of England in India, which had decided to meet in February 1920.

"India alone can act. The South India United Church can lead the way", Eddy had written. The proceedings of the Assembly showed that *within* the S.I.U.C. it was the American Madura group which led the way. The resolution adopted by the Madura Church Council in July formed the motion put to the Assembly. Banninga himself was the secretary of the S.I.U.C. at the time, and he drafted the resolution of the Assembly. Banninga's co-worker, V. Santiago, was the president of the Assembly. He presented the case of the Tranquebar Conference and the Madura Church Council, in which he had himself taken a leading part. As chairman he sensed the direction from which the opposition would come and therefore in his presidential address, not without shrewdness, he paid homage to "the generous and broadminded attitude" which characterized the Fundamental Principle of the London Missionary Society, with its emphasis on the right of self-determination of indigenous Christians.[10] As he had expected, the union proposal was questioned from this quarter.

There is evidence that some of the most influential British members of the Assembly felt considerable doubt about certain aspects of the scheme, but they were not prepared to press their point and only asked that the matter should not be rushed through. J. H. Maclean so far was hesitant. He wanted reassurance that full intercommunion would be practised between the different sections of the United Church; he did not want to be refused communion by a High Churchman in the church to which he might come to belong.[11]

The great majority of the members approved of the scheme. Among them were Banninga, Popley and Brough, who stressed the need for union in view of the tremendous opportunities of evangelism among the masses.[12] The Indians were unanimously for union. F. Kingsbury pleaded that the S.I.U.C. should not obstruct union or hinder its smooth passage before Lambeth 1920.[13] If they delayed too long, there would be an intolerable wait for the following Lambeth Conference after another

decade. The Indian members expressed deep appreciation of the work of the Church Missionary Society in India and were led by this example to recommend joining with the Anglicans.[14] The success of the Madura proposal was thus secured. It was passed with only two dissenting voices.[15]

In the resolution the Assembly expressed "its fullest sympathy with the idea of union with the Anglican and Mar Thoma Churches". It requested the councils to consider the desirability or otherwise of adopting a constitutional episcopate (1) in which the bishops should be elected by and be responsible to the General Assembly, (2) in which there should be a mutual recognition of the absolute equality of the ministry and of the membership of the uniting churches, and (3) in which the resultant church should be an autonomous and independent entity.

Brough, who had been elected the new president, was asked to visit all the councils and impress upon them the importance and urgency of the union question.[16] Eleven additional members, besides the Executive Committee of the church, were elected to go into the question. Among these were Maclean, F. Kingsbury and K. T. Paul.

The matter was thus submitted to the local church councils. Would it be possible to sway the opinion there? Lucas persevered in his opposition and tried to avert what in his opinion was likely to cause harm to his church. He knew that he had definite support from London for his stand. Frank Lenwood, the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, followed the developments in India with anxiety. Enthusiasm for home reunion was very strong at the time. The Free Church Fellowship, to which Lenwood himself had given so much of his interest, had decided in 1918 to approach the Anglican Fellowship. And there is no mistaking Lenwood's deep desire for Christian co-operation and unity. But the Tranquebar proposals disconcerted him. They were "mechanical"; they were tantamount to "transmission of apostolic grace", and he complained to Lucas about them. Lenwood was in a dilemma, because he firmly held that Indian opinion must decide in a matter so intimately affecting its church life. The question was, of course, *which* Indian opinion? He was in touch with

the *Christian Patriot* group and believed that their influence extended far and wide in India.[17] He concluded that the Tranquebar proposals were "Western", not truly Indian. While admitting that the Indian Church should decide for itself, he was not convinced that the church was making a right decision.[18] The feelings of the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S. were shared by the India Committee of the Board of the Directors, where Free Church leaders of Dr. Garvie's standing spoke against the Tranquebar proposals.[19]

Lucas, who through Lenwood had been kept in close touch with the reaction in London to the Tranquebar proposals, could now only influence his own church council, the Kanarese. He submitted a Proposed Minute to their meeting but also had it published in *Harvest Field* and *United Church Herald*.[20] Organic union, he claimed, should be sought only with such churches as are in close affinity with the South India United Church. A more comprehensive union should only be on a federal basis. As to the form of church government, he was convinced that the form "enjoyed by the S.I.U.C. is superior to the episcopal form", in ensuring the interests of the local church and the individual member. This warning had only a slight effect. Of the eight church councils only that of North Tamil rejected episcopacy.[21] They preferred to leave it to the decision of the resultant autonomous and independent church to decide about its church government on the consummation of union. Lucas's own council, the Kanarese, was prepared for the sake of the unity of the Indian Church to accept episcopacy with two qualifications: the bishop should not have more authority than that which belonged to the President of the South India United Church: and full fellowship with Wesleyan and Episcopal Methodists should be secured; otherwise, federal union was to be preferred. The Malabar Church Council, which comprised one part of the Basel Mission work, had been formed only in March 1919 and for that reason was as yet non-committal.[22] The other councils, particularly those with Presbyterian influence, Madura and Madras with Arcot, decidedly approved of union with the Anglican and Mar Thoma Syrian Churches.[23] The required two-thirds vote had thus been cast for negotiations with the episcopal churches, and

the next move was that of the Episcopal Synod of the "Church of England in India".

The Impact of Tranquebar on the Anglicans

For the Anglican side the main responsibility naturally rested with the bishops. On the episcopal bench different sections within the Anglican Church were represented. Bishop Palmer of Bombay brought the High Church views into the discussion. The bishops of the four South India dioceses were evangelical in their approach to the reunion problems. Bishop C. H. Gill of Travancore hardly entered the debate; his concern was with the local problem of the relations with the Mar Thoma Church, and he waited until the latter would be prepared to take a definite official stand.

Bishop Azariah's views, at this particular period, were conditioned by his desire to win the South India United Church for the Tranquebar point of view. He therefore stressed the "comprehensive" character of the Church of England, a church which found "room for both Bishop Weston and Bishop Willis", as he says with reference to the Kikuyu controversy.[24] In his eagerness to interpret the Tranquebar message in the categories of the South India United Church, the Indian bishop went rather far in his concessions. Tranquebar, he said, did not come as a surprise. It was only "the natural culmination of the spirit of the age". "United colleges, rapid railway communication, interdenominational conferences of all sorts, the camps and conventions of that unifying organization, the Y.M.C.A.—these are bringing new influences to bear on the hitherto rather secluded Indian Christian." In this time of general fusion of ideas the S.I.U.C. people were willing to "call the Chairman a Bishop". From the Anglican point of view "they will thus obtain a constitutional Episcopate".[25]

The Bishop of Dornakal was prepared to go a long way in his persuasion, but Whitehead also stated his belief "that the only true road to unity lies in a general recognition of all that is good and true in other churches" as well as loyalty to one's own heritage. It was in this spirit of "general recognition" that

the Madras Diocesan Conference passed its resolution in support of the Tranquebar proposals, based on the Lambeth Quadrilateral. In the same persuasive way Bishop Waller of Tinnevelly declared that consecration of ministers as bishops of the South India United Church was "emphatically not a reception into the *Anglican* Church. It was a recognition of fellowship with a far greater company of churches." [26] Waller's views were shared by Whitehead, who visualized the formation of "an independent Indian Church".[27]

It was that broad, comprehensive evangelical spirit which made Tranquebar 1919 at all possible. It was in that spirit that the Anglican leaders in South India now proposed to enter into serious negotiations. Because of that atmosphere they welcomed the resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the South India United Church and by the various church councils of that body. Like the General Assembly of the South India United Church the Episcopal Synod declared itself ready to begin negotiations. Despite this general agreement there was nevertheless a definite difference in the resolutions.

The resolution from the South India United Church was the result of many viewpoints in a General Assembly—although, in fact, it was largely Banninga's work—and it was qualified by the subsequent resolutions of eight church councils, revealing wide differences of opinion. The Anglican document, cast in one piece, was the work of one man. It was the product of a great mind, who from now on was to be not only the preeminent Anglican spokesman on church union in India, but more than that: the main architect of the Church of South India. This is sufficient reason for turning aside to study the man and his message.

Born in 1869, Edwin James Palmer, seventh Bishop of Bombay, 1908–29, was the son of a leading tractarian, the Archdeacon of Oxford, and an evangelical mother. He was a nephew of Lord Selborne. George Ridding, Headmaster of Winchester (later Bishop of Southwell), and, above all, Jowett, Master of Balliol, influenced him greatly: "Like Charles Gore, after having heard Jowett, I could not swallow Rome. My mind had been salted with the method of thinking freely, which was that of Jowett, and of Ridding." [28] When a Fellow of Balliol

he became interested in missions and took a leading part in the work of the Junior Clergy Missionary Association of the S.P.G. Together with C. F. Andrews, who also belonged to this Association, in 1899 he attended a round-table conference with Student Movement leaders, such as Frank Lenwood, H. Hodgkin and G. H. Moule, all later to be connected with Indian missionary problems.[29] At the Pan-Anglican Congress, June 1908, Palmer became widely known through his address on "The Constitution of the Anglican Communion", with its emphasis on the nature of the church as being "both ecumenical and national".[30] Consecrated bishop that same year, he was to find out how this ideal of a church both ecumenical and national could be applied to Bombay and India as a whole.

From his arrival in Bombay he held before himself and others the "hope of the reunion of Christendom".[31] To his Presbyterian friends he mentioned that he found in India "a suitable soil on which to try experiments such as are not possible perhaps within the ancient walls of Anglicanism in its ancestral home".[32] He was critical of what he described as Keswick undenominationalism, but became gradually more inclined to contacts with other churches on the basis of definite inter-denominationalism.[33] During his first years in India he was outspoken, sometimes even scathing, in his criticism particularly of Congregationalism, but he found to his satisfaction that the most hopeful sign about Congregationalism was the extent to which the actions of Congregationalists were outrunning their theories.[34] Prior to 1920 his influence in the field of reunion was mainly confined to West India; after 1920 he gave much of his time and thought to union in South India. Palmer's contribution to the Anglican Communion in India as a whole was outstanding. What was called "The Church of England in India" was in 1927 constituted as an autonomous Province: the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. Palmer had taken the lead in framing this policy of disestablishment and self-government of the church. Together with the Metropolitan, Foss Westcott, he undertook the guidance of the skilled committee which drafted the constitution of the church.

Comparing Palmer with Henry Whitehead, one sees clearly the difference between these two men, united by a common

concern for the union of the church. Both were brought up in the Tractarian tradition. Whitehead, the bishop and the evangelist, whose "pragmatism" Palmer often assailed, remained grounded in his Anglican conviction and churchmanship but "broadened" under the influence of the practical situation in South India. He thereby took his stand on the "comprehensiveness" which Lambeth 1888–1920 had consistently advocated.[35] Palmer, the bishop and the theologian, was "Catholic" in his outlook and approach. As he left India in 1929 he could say with good conscience: "It has been my practice all through the negotiations to insist on nothing that is purely Anglican. Whatever I have urged has been Catholic in the sense that it existed before our divisions."[36]

Consistency and conviction are the marks of Palmer's church union philosophy and policy. Conviction gives a powerful personal urgency to his message. Whenever in the union negotiations anyone in a conciliatory mood said there must be concessions on all sides, Palmer would retort: "No, not concessions, but convictions on all sides."[37] The consistency in his outlook is derived from his theological and ecclesiastical principles. His was without any question the greatest theological mind applied to the South India union problem. He believed in theology: "There is perhaps no prerequisite of reunion so urgently required as this—a true, comprehensive and mediating theology".

The consistency is to be seen in the recurrence throughout the years of a few main motives. There seem to be three such motives.

First, the church union endeavour is essentially "to seek a plan which already exists in the mind of God". In this plan the churches and their convictions—"or at least a good many of them"—are to be found. "While we have been separated some of our convictions have been hypertrophied, have grown far too large and fat and important in our minds, because we have lost out of our minds the counter-balancing convictions that others have retained. We have gone further and thought our convictions and those of others to be mutually incompatible. But in the form in which they exist in God's mind they fit together like the bits of a mortise. I want to get back to that

form of my convictions that is in God's mind."[38] The plan he sometimes saw as a picture. Church union work may appear as a jig-saw puzzle. It only has a meaning when the churches are "intent on the picture, the whole picture, the Artist's picture".

Secondly, union is dying, just as Christ died, and rose again. In his *Parting Words* to the students at Oxford, October 18, 1908, the newly consecrated bishop gave his view on reunion, an issue which, he said, "in ten years' time will be imperative" (this was ten years before Tranquebar!). The unity of the church must be reached by way of "dying into the Truth". "That means death of parties in the church, . . . dying into a united body which will more nearly represent the Body of Christ."[39] Twenty-nine years later Palmer spoke in Edinburgh, at the Faith and Order Conference, 1937. The same theme recurred: "Any church that takes part in a union will die, but it will die for a resurrection. God will give it a resurrection in the new life of the United Church."[40] In India he had discovered that union was a "self-reducing process": it was going on in the churches, and in the Joint Committee.

Thirdly, the church is built on a definite rule, but there are exceptions to the rule. Both the rule and the exceptions are necessary. To stress only the one or the other is misleading. They are part of the Plan. As chairman of the Archbishop's Commission on Dispensation, Palmer later developed this line: "The purpose or ultimate object of dispensation is to counteract the inherent weakness of law which is its generality." The church "has the duty of enforcing (the laws) if necessary. Last and least comes the duty of dispensing from them in those comparatively rare cases where the enforcement of a particular law would not rightly represent the wisdom or the equity or the mercy of God."[40a] In the case of church union the rule says: the ministry of the church is the Apostolic Ministry, the function of which is to represent Christ, the High Priest, and to be custodian of the deposit of truth. The ministry is a priesthood. *But* the Bible also knows of prophets. The United Church should recognize prophets and teachers apart from the pastoral ministry of the succession.[41]

How radical Palmer could be in stating his category of *Rule*

plus Exception to the Rule was seen when in the Jubilee year 1933 he was preaching at Westminster Abbey on "The Strength and the Weakness of the Oxford Movement". His argument on this occasion is characteristic: "I will not cease to say that the church was quite right in making the rule by which the celebration of the Eucharist is confined to the priest, a very good rule of order, probably the best that could be made." *But:* "I will withstand anybody to the face who wishes to say that for this sacrament, or for the forgiveness of sins, a priest is essentially and indispensably necessary. I will not cease to say that this was not the meaning of the Lord in calling His Apostles nor is it the will of God to invest any of His creatures with such absolute indispensability."[42]

These three motives—the Plan in God's mind, Union as Dying and Resurrection, and a Rule with Exception to the Rule—imply a dynamic approach to union: union not as an addition of "heritages", but as a bold thrust into the future, into the united church. The Plan gave the solid framework. But his second and third categories made him open to argument, and prepared for reconstruction and change. In his own mind, the architect conceived his future building with assurance, for he had already received the blueprint which was made also for India: the early church, which was the undivided church.

For our present purpose we shall follow Palmer's ecumenical theology as laid down in his *Look for the Morning*, a collection of addresses and a Charge, 1919, and above all his important book *The Great Church Awakes*, 1920.[43]

The united church, according to Palmer, must be an "inclusive" church. This term he preferred to "comprehensive". Only as inclusive can she be a "Great Church". He scorned "the Anglicanism of the textbooks" which only saw the Church in its Roman, Greek Orthodox and Anglican branches. That *the* Church only comprises these three "is almost as incredible as that it is 300 churches". Christ's test of the church is its "fruits" and with that test it must be admitted that the Free Churches "are in the Body" of the Church. They are "the red corpuscles" of the Body and as such are necessary for its life. But the divisions of the Church and the consequent one-sided over-emphasis on particular denominational traits are in one

way or another abnormal, corresponding to dislocation or paralysis or the excessive concentration of some of the constituents of the body. Years later he stated that division, "this sickness of Christ's body", is most like "that morbid condition called schizophrenia".[43a]

Separation has led to "unbalanced development" and, as he says with a typically "Catholic" formula, "disproportionate truth—truth unbalanced by complementary truth—is very near falsehood". This is why unity is necessary to allow us to see truth. Only the whole church has the whole of truth. For this reason he opposes confessional churches for being one-sided, because over-emphasis on one aspect of truth is wrong, is "Little Churchism", and of such Little Churchism there are both Roman and Protestant kinds.

Palmer's ecumenical vision, although applied to India, was firmly rooted in the history of the Church. The second half of *The Great Church Awakes* is a learned study in patristics. His own position can be discerned through his criticism of the Lightfoot-Hort-Headlam tradition in Anglican patristic study. He was unable to accept the standpoint of Vernon Bartlet and he had much more sympathy for a position taken by the Congregationalist theologian P. T. Forsyth. C. H. Turner was his great contemporary authority and friend in these matters.

Palmer claimed that the current Free Church interpretation of the ministry was "a new type of ministry which can claim no authority in the history of fifteen centuries". He had no time for those theologians to whom "nothing is likely to be good unless it was invented in this century, or at least in the last". Episcopacy was invented very much earlier, and that was one reason why he wanted it. He sounded a warning against the tendency in the Indian church union debate to substitute the "constitutional episcopate" for the "historic episcopate". He could do that with good conscience. His record as Bishop of Bombay and in the Provincial Council had given proofs of his fundamental belief in a synodical system and a defined and definite place for the laity in the Indian Church. In 1915 he wrote: "Episcopacy which has become undiluted autocracy is a caricature of the institution. To a genuine presentation of episcopacy the Bishop and his council are both necessary."[43b]

The warning against the substitution of "constitutional" for "historic" episcopate was needed, as it seemed to Palmer that some writers in South India meant a more diluted form of episcopacy when using the term constitutional rather than the term used by Lambeth 1888 and onwards. K. T. Paul had urged that bishops would merely be "executive officers of councils", and that was not enough for Palmer.[44] "The life of the church depends upon persons and not on rules. [The church] has given the selected personalities an unequalled scope by the commission which the bishops receive to represent the paramount Personality."

The church should be both ecumenical and national, Palmer had stated in 1908. So far his theology seemed only to have room for the first of these. But he was also anxious to stress the practical and local implications of this teaching. He had the impression that compared with the corresponding conditions in England the movement in India was "a popular movement, not a movement of leaders, but of the great masses". And he came for some years to stress the fact that church union in South India was a "Dravidian" Christian movement, particularly suited to the conditions of race, language and religious life in the south.

Church union was an important theme at the Episcopal Synod in Calcutta, February 1920. The South Indian bishops contributed their viewpoints, and the Metropolitan, Dr. Foss Westcott, supported the proposal.[45] But the form and contents of the episcopal pronouncement were the work of Palmer.[46] He was the author of the Indian Bishops' Synodical Letter. The letter declared unequivocally that "we must never conceive of Reunion as the absorption of other communions into the Church of England". It was not a question of other bodies joining the Church of England, nor of starting "a new church, but of taking part in renewing the one Great Church". Loyalty to the Church of England should not displace the higher loyalty to the Catholic Church of which the Church of England was only a partial expression. In India they had to see to it that conditions were prepared for "the development of an Indian expression of all that the Catholic Church stands for", thus fulfilling that dual aim which both Palmer and Whitehead

had striven for through the years. The "fruits of the spirit" to be found in the divided churches did not justify the divisions of Christendom; but 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 South India United Church, including the Metropolitan, and the Bishops of Dornakal (Convener), Madras, Tinnevelly and Bombay.

The First Joint Committee 1920

The first in the long series of Joint Committee sessions of representatives from the churches was held at Bangalore, March 18–19, 1920. Tranquebar 1919 had been an unofficial meeting of interested individuals. Now at Bangalore the deliberate, official negotiations began. There were five Anglican and ten S.I.U.C. representatives. Azariah took the initiative for calling it together and explained that the Anglican bishops wanted to have a clear understanding of the issues involved before going to the Lambeth Conference.[47]

The leaders on the Anglican side were Azariah of Dornakal, Palmer of Bombay and Waller of Madras. The Bishop of Dornakal embodied in his person the Tranquebar spirit. He was a man of tireless energy and sincerity of purpose, and he came to the Bangalore meeting, as to all Joint Committee meetings, with a strength derived from his invincible belief in the necessity of union. "Neither an austere ecclesiastic, nor a dreaming mystic", he was "a great human, with a friendly smile and a voice that broke pleasantly on the ear".[48] He was above all an evangelist and church leader, but his persistent energy in keeping abreast with the theological debate in the West—particularly New Testament and patristic scholarship —is another side to his personality which should not be overlooked.

Bishop Harry Waller of Madras had served as a C.M.S. secretary in India before he became Bishop of Tinnevelly (1915–22).[49] His connexions with the C.M.S. and with Tinnevelly did not necessarily make him an Evangelical when in 1922 he was translated to Madras. He refused to be a

party-man. "What I always feel about the attitude on the part of both Catholics and Evangelicals is that they have no confidence in their own doctrine."[50] His standpoint was similar to Palmer's. 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."[51] 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.[52] 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.

In Tinnevelly Waller was succeeded as bishop by N. H. Tubbs (1923–28) and F. J. Western (1928–39). Tubbs and Waller were close friends from their boyhood. With contagious enthusiasm Tubbs represented evangelical Anglicanism and claimed that South Indian union was a definite step towards "Free Catholicism".[53] Western did not come on to the Joint Committee until 1928. He had been head of the S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission in Delhi from 1919. In South India he definitely moved in the direction of Evangelicalism. As a member and the leading draftsman of the Joint Committee, this honest and humourless ascetic was conciliatory to all parties and swift to embody into a resolution, and eventually into the Constitution, the decisions of the Committee. The definitely evangelical Walker tradition of Tinnevelly was stressed by the Rev. S. G. Maduram,[54] while the Anglo-Catholic side was represented by Father T. E. T. Shore, of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta.

On the S.I.U.C. side we have already met Meshach Peter and V. Santiago.

Dr. J. J. Banninga came of (Dutch) Reformed American

tradition. The Faith and Order movement found in him an enthusiastic supporter from the beginning.[55] As Principal of the Theological Seminary at Pasumalai, 1914–42, he effectively propagated union. He brought his students, future ministers of the S.I.U.C., into contact with Anglican theological students.[56] In the 'twenties, the radically Independent accent in statements of some of the younger British Congregationalists made him critical of this group.

To Banninga, church union was the free, hearty friendship and fellowship of the children of God. "Greater liberty" and "much broader fellowship" he wished to find through union. The effect of union, bringing men into "movement" and out of their denominational trenches, fascinated him: "The whole world is moving with reference to this question of union. The Church of England has moved far since the Lambeth Quadrilateral 1888."[57] He often referred to certain Anglican leaders who seemed to him to have "moved". But movement is an unqualified term; it is qualified only by its direction. And as the general trend or movement of theology and of ecclesiastical policy swung in another direction after 1930, the energetic American leader had to reconsider his attitude. As the dauntless secretary of the Joint Committee and as undisputed leader of the mediating Madura tradition he took a central position in church union affairs in the 'twenties.[58]

"There is a strong element of high and pure Presbyterianism in Maclean's make-up." That was the impression which a fellow committee member had of J. H. Maclean.[59] The solid Scottish missionary is 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. T. M. Lindsay, Scottish patristic scholar, was his authority, and Alexander Martin, Principal of New College, Edinburgh, was his adviser, although Maclean was definitely independent in his judgment. In the 'twenties Maclean represented the opposition against Palmer's Catholic conception of the united church. Parity of the ministries was his Presbyterian standpoint, real equality his demand, and the practice of intercommunion seemed to him to be a first necessary step. He did not gloss over difficulties. He wrote to Palmer: "It is essential that in contemplating

union we should sound the depths of our differences, even if the statement of them should be painful."[60] He felt that he represented the claims of the Reformation against the ideals of Palmer. "The real continuity is with the Reformers and not with the Pope", he said in a characteristic phrase.[61] But he fought on two fronts. In the S.I.U.C. he was the determined opponent of radical Congregationalist demands. He never tired of repeating that, in joining the S.I.U.C., the Congregationalists had given up Congregationalism as such. In the end Palmer and Waller and the cause they represented meant much more to him than what he regarded as irresponsible individualism. He felt sure that all that was best in the Presbyterian system would eventually permeate the united church. But with that assurance he was also prepared to admit that "whatever the case in other parts of the world, episcopacy in India will be a great blessing to the church".[62] The more the Congregationalist pressure increased in the 'thirties, the more Maclean, in the councils of the S.I.U.C. and on the Joint Committee, pleaded the case of episcopal authority.

Two small S.I.U.C. councils were represented by influential Indian leaders, H. Sumitra and J. V. Chelliah. As a tutor at the Bangalore United Theological College, Sumitra had a unique opportunity in shaping the future church leaders in South India, an opportunity which was not missed. He represented the Kanarese Council. Of the Indian representatives, J. V. Chelliah, layman, teacher, editor, author, preacher, had had the longest way to come—in more than one sense. He represented the small Jaffna church council in the north of Ceylon and described himself as a "rank Congregationalist" determined to see to it that the bishops were kept in their place. He later admitted that he came to the Bangalore meeting "in a hostile spirit". But he was won for the Tranquebar cause. Palmer impressed him much. After one of the meetings, going out of the Wesleyan church where the group had assembled, Bishop Palmer said: "Chelliah, you are not such a bad fellow after all." The reply was: "I reciprocate the compliment, my Lord. I thought that bishops were autocratic tyrants, but I see that I was mistaken."[63]

Palmer gave an important address to the Conference.

"Because of our separation we have lived alone and developed idiosyncrasies. We have really been led into error through this separation." He also stressed that the meeting must "all the time have in mind the idea of uniting the whole of Christendom. In order to do this a great deal of toleration is necessary." When the report of the meeting states that the test of all local schemes of union is that the church in India should "give the Indian expression of the spirit, the thought and the life of the Church Universal", it is easy to detect the hand of the author of *The Great Church Awakes*.[64]

The meeting arrived at important agreements with regard to the role of the Holy Scriptures and the creeds:

"That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain all things necessary to salvation and are the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

"That we accept the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed as containing a sufficient statement of the faith of the church for a basis of fellowship."

The discussions in the meeting mainly dealt with two themes: the principle of the historic episcopate in a constitutional form and equality of ministers and equality of membership.[65] It shows clearly that no harmonization of views had been reached: Oxford Tractarianism and Boston Congregationalism were set side by side. The "historic episcopate in a constitutional form" was accepted in general, with the important qualification that no particular interpretation of the fact of the historic episcopate be demanded. It was accepted as self-evident "that all consecrations of bishops would be performed by bishops, not less than three taking part in each consecration". The constitutional character of the episcopate was to be safeguarded by arrangements according to which the bishop was to be elected and was to have his powers defined by a constitution.

At the outset Banninga had emphasized in his own local church council in Madura the "absolute spiritual equality" of the ministry. Together with his S.I.U.C. friends he upheld this claim in the Joint Committee and laid it down as a condition of union that re-ordination of S.I.U.C. ministers should not be required. Banninga had particular reason for pressing this clause, identical as it was with the resolution of the S.I.U.C.

General Assembly, September 1919, which he, as secretary, had drafted. With keen interest Banninga followed the "concordat" negotiations between the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Congregationalists in the United States of America. In March 1919 the "Canon" of this concordat was passed, involving episcopal re-ordination of the Congregationalist ministers, without giving up or denying their membership or their ministry. This clause eventually estranged the Congregationalists.[66] Obviously Banninga did not want the same thing to happen in India, and therefore from the beginning he claimed "absolute spiritual equality". At the same time both parties found common ground in stating that in ordination "special grace [is] given to the ministry". But because of their views on ministry and sacraments the South India United Church had been in intercommunion with other evangelical churches. They were not prepared to give up that fellowship.

There was a difference in atmosphere between Tranquebar 1919 and that first Joint Committee Meeting at Bangalore. Tranquebar 1919 was part of a conference on an Evangelistic Forward Campaign. The evangelization of India was the motive for unity. In Bangalore the evangelists were still there. They made a large contribution. But Eddy's and Popley's day in the history of church union negotiations was over. The initiative was being handed over from the evangelist to the theologian.

In the meantime the evangelist decided to learn more theology—or at least church history—because the negotiations made it plain that the church union debate was largely a struggle about history. From both sides the appeal was made to history: to the early church, by all; to A.D. 150–1500, by some; to the modern mind of modern man, by a few. Banninga already in 1919 told the readers of the *United Church Herald*: "There is altogether too much ignorance of the simplest facts of church history. If India ignores church history, she will lay up trouble for the future."[67] It is therefore not surprising that while Popley's evangelistic meetings for ministers were still continued, there grew out of the church union debates a new tradition of ministers' conferences on theology at Pasumalai. The first conference of this kind was held in March 1920, and

representatives had come from the C.M.S. and S.P.G., the South India United Church, the Wesleyans and the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church of Sweden and the Basel Mission. Here leading Indian ministers spoke on the attitude of their particular churches to union, and Dr. Banninga himself gave a series of lectures on various aspects of church history related to the union problem.[68]

The Mar Thoma Church

The oldest Indian church, that of the Syrian Christians, could not be left out. Thus in the first half of June 1919, Eddy went to Travancore to negotiate with the Mar Thoma Church.[69]

According to its traditions the Syrian church was founded by the Apostle Thomas and could thus be expected to enter church union negotiations on Apostolic Succession and kindred subjects without any inferiority complex.[70] Between 1599 and 1653 it was absorbed by the Roman Catholic Church through the efforts of Jesuit missionaries, but was allowed to use the Syrian language in its liturgy. In 1653 the great majority left the Jesuits and gave allegiance to Mar Gregorius, Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch. It is stated that of about 200,000 Syrian Christians only some four hundred remained under the rule of the Jesuit Archbishop.[71]

In 1816 the Church Missionary Society began work in Travancore with a view to reviving the Syrian Church. Out of this mission there was formed an Anglican community (in 1869 they numbered over 12,000), and in 1879 a C.M.S. missionary was consecrated bishop of "Travancore and Cochin".[72] The reviving forces within the Jacobite Church had far-reaching effects. In 1889 the Mar Thoma (Reformed Syrian) Church was formed with a membership of some 80,000 and has now grown to about 200,000. The highest ecclesiastical authority rests with the archbishop, called Metropolitan (who uses the title "Mar Thoma"), and two diocesan bishops. Abraham Mar Thoma, leader of the church between 1922 and 1947, was a striking personality with many Western friends. Educated at the Madras Christian College, where he studied together with

Azariah and K. T. Paul, he went to Toronto for his theological training.[73]

The Jacobite Church underwent a serious split when, after the death of Mar Joseph Dionysius, two Metropolitans, Mar G. Dionysius and Mar Kurilos, claimed the leadership of the church about 1909. This crisis was followed by a series of litigation cases over ownership of church property, and the unhappy division between the two sections which has absorbed most of the energy of this church since 1909 is not yet settled.[74]

The Mar Thoma Church had experienced new life through the conventions led by T. Walker. In this tradition of evangelism Walker's role was taken over by the conventions led by Sherwood Eddy in conjunction with others, particularly Pakenham-Walsh.[75] Eddy, in a convention of Free Churchmen in the Mar Thoma Church, held in April 1919 before the Tranquebar Conference, was, as we have seen, impressed by the evangelistic potentialities of the Mar Thoma Church for India as a whole, "if once it is kindled with the fire of genuine missionary enthusiasm".[76]

This emphasis should be borne in mind as we follow the untiring evangelist from Massachusetts on his tour of the Syrian Church. It was not as an ecclesiastical negotiator on matters of Faith and Order but as an evangelist, Walker's successor, that Eddy approached the Mar Thoma Metropolitan. When he laid the proposals from Tranquebar before Titus II Mar Thoma, it was on the basis of evangelism, not of Faith and Order nor of Indian nationalism, that he made his appeal. And that was the reason why he succeeded, or seemed to succeed.

The Malabar Suffragan, Abraham Mar Thoma, in the remarkable statement which he published after Eddy's visit, referred to the new political conditions in India and the need for the unity of the churches "in order to meet the overwhelming demand of the hour".[77] "After centuries of the bitter experience of disunion, we, like yourselves, do not desire to perpetuate such divisions." In view of these possibilities, the bishop felt, he could not be fettered by the old shibboleth of *filioque*: "It is incomprehensible to think of perpetuating the division of the church of Christ and shattering its strength over

a contention about a word." Together with the other churches of South India they were faced with the "original obligation of winning the world". Evangelism meant more than technicalities of dogmatics and church order: "It is no part of our duty to call in question the validity of each other's orders." Thus Abraham Mar Thoma, so far unofficially, declared himself "ready to consider union".

The union proposals seemed to have made an appeal. The Metropolitan would bring the matter up before his Synod, and Bishop Abraham was hopeful that it would go through.[78]

Eddy was convinced that the Mar Thoma Church was to play a great role in the united church. But the local problems of the Syrian Christians proved too great for any immediate union to take place. It was found that their first aim must be reunion with the Jacobite or Orthodox Syrians. This was no easy proposition, as the Jacobites were—and still are—very much a house divided within itself, and it was difficult for the Mar Thoma Church to know which Jacobites to join. But they felt that union, like charity, begins at home: "A union with denominations under Western influences may close the doors against any such hope."[79] On the other hand the younger generation in the Mar Thoma Church went so far as to suggest union with the Anglicans on educational lines and with Mar Thoma leadership. And Bishop Abraham Mar Thoma showed his personal interest in the union negotiations by attending the General Assembly of the South India United Church in September 1921.[80]

Chapter VIII

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE AND EQUAL MINISTRIES

Lambeth 1920: Hopes and Disappointments

THE Bangalore meeting was convened in preparation for the Lambeth Conference, 1920.[1] India, and particularly South India, was well represented at Lambeth. Lambeth 1920 is an important landmark in the history of the Ecclesia Anglicana. The tone of "comprehensiveness" which had characterized these conferences more and more from 1888 reached its climax in 1920. The role of those overseas bishops who were great missionary leaders was an outstanding feature of the conference; Weston, Palmer, Azariah were in the forefront. Azariah's presence was interpreted as "a fitting pledge and symbol of the Catholic Church of India".[2] The Encyclical Letter of the whole conference was "largely the work of Bishop Palmer".[3] This guaranteed that the viewpoints from the Jerusalem Church in Tranquebar and the Wesleyan Chapel in Bangalore would not be forgotten at Lambeth Palace. From one point of view Frank Lenwood, critical of both Tranquebar and Lambeth, was indeed right when he wrote that "the Tranquebar proposals practically follow the lines of the Lambeth proposals, or, it would be more accurate to say, were a foreshadowing of them".[4] Out of the negotiations of the Anglican bishops, comprising a wide range of different traditions—Tractarians, Evangelicals, Anglo-Catholics—there resulted the famous "Appeal to all Christian People". The Encyclical Letter follows Palmer's ideal of attempting to use the "diversity" of the churches so that "the church can become all things to all men". Whitehead rejoiced over this appeal. It represented "the spirit of comprehensiveness which is [the] chief glory [of

the Anglican Church] and the most important contribution which it has to make to a reunited Christendom".[5]

The South India situation was not forgotten in the Appeal, although it covered in general terms the whole of the reunion problem.[6] Episcopacy was asserted to be "the best instrument for maintaining the unity and continuity of the church".[7] But this claim was not without implications for the ministry in general. The bishops were persuaded that bishops and clergy of the Anglican Communion would accept from the other churches a form of commission or recognition.[7a] At the same time they suggested that the non-episcopally ordained ministers should "accept a commission through episcopal ordination, as obtaining for them a ministry throughout the whole fellowship". This was not intended to imply any repudiation of non-episcopal ministry.[8] Non-episcopally ordained ministers would be welcome to preach, but not to administer the Holy Communion, in Anglican churches. The bishops disapproved of general schemes of intercommunion or exchange of pulpits, although for the sake of union and in the case of actual union schemes they would countenance the irregularity of admitting to Communion church members not episcopally confirmed.[9] From the Anglican point of view these were concessions through the application of "economy".[10] Whitehead felt that the ideals for which he had struggled had won the day: "The main principle that lies at the root of the appeal is that Catholicity involves comprehension."[11]

But far away in India, whole churches and congregations were on tip-toe, watching in tense expectancy for any signal which might be hoisted at Lambeth.[12] From the viewpoint of Pasumalai and Bellary and Conjeeveram the signal was not quite what they had expected. The criticism from the South India United Church of the Lambeth Appeal was concentrated chiefly on the problems of re-ordination and intercommunion. Immediately before Lambeth an important Free Church meeting had been called at Kodaikanal which was to show the way the wind was blowing. In this group of Congregationalists and Presbyterians there was a section which opposed any entanglements with Episcopalians.[13] Instead of the Tranquebar line they recommended a Pan-Indian union of Congregationalists

and Presbyterians. It made a strong impression on the missionaries present when the Indian Christian leader, K. T. Paul, who had then just returned from a visit to Europe, gave a definite warning against episcopacy. K. T. Paul was regarded as a protagonist of the Indianization of the Christian life. On episcopacy, however, he felt that "a monarchical or patriarchal form of government was so natural and instinctive for India that there was great danger in adopting it".[14] Episcopacy is in accordance with the genius of India, the Tranquebar men seemed to say, therefore let us have it. Episcopacy is too much in accordance with the genius of India, K. T. Paul warned, so let us have something more democratic instead.[15] The Kodaikanal Free Church conference mentioned the union negotiations with the Anglicans but felt that such negotiations should be carried on, not in the name of the South India United Church, but in that of the Pan-Indian Protestant forces that had met at Allahabad in 1919. Whether this was meant to secure union with the Anglicans or exclude it is difficult to say. But the general approach of the meeting was definitely critical of the Tranquebar proposals.[16]

Banninga had pinned his hope on Lambeth. Against hard opposition within the S.I.U.C. he had pushed the union proposal ahead—on one condition. It was a condition for which his Congregationalist brethren in New England had fought, and Banninga upheld this same thing in South India. Absolute equality of ministries was his *conditio sine qua non*, or else there could be no union. But the signal hoisted at Lambeth carried a different ensign. Was that the end of the Tranquebar proposals? Banninga himself testifies that "it was felt by many that it was scarcely worth while to have a second meeting of the Joint Committee".[17] During the last months of 1920 there was a revealing and frank correspondence between Banninga and Azariah. Quite clearly Banninga interpreted the Lambeth proposals as ruling right out of court the S.I.U.C. insistence on "the absolute equality of the ministry and membership of the two churches" and their desire to retain communion with the churches with which they were already in fellowship. He found it impossible to understand how Lambeth could accept non-episcopal ministries as "owned by the Holy Spirit" but

not accept their validity. With strong feeling he writes to Azariah: "I do not think you have begun to realize what our ordination means to us. I fear we shall continue to insist that our ministry is equal to that of the Church of England and that it should be recognized as such. We believe we are nearer to the Apostolic church, and though we do not look upon church government or orders as of the *esse* of the church, we do feel that there is no reason why we should be compelled to undergo a ceremony that will add nothing to our present equipment. You will pardon me when I say frankly that the only reason we can see why we should be re-ordained is that some people might be allowed to retain what we consider false doctrine." He adds that he would be no more ready to be re-ordained to oblige the Anglicans than to be re-baptized to oblige the Baptists. "Your refusal to recognize us does not place you above us but in reality places you below us in true catholicity."[18]

In his reply the Bishop of Dornakal throws the onus on the Anglican laity! "We cannot force our people even within the United Church to accept celebrations of the Holy Communion by non-episcopally ordained ministers. If we did exercise coercion they will break off from the union or will not enter the union."[19] But he adds that Anglican ministers would most certainly be willing themselves to be re-ordained "if you demand it", but "we were told that that will not be demanded" as it would be contrary to S.I.U.C. doctrine and tradition.

Utterly different is the spirit of Popley from that of Banninga. "Personally I find no difficulty whatever about all this trouble about ordination. I do not mind how many human ordinations I receive so long as I am clear about my Divine ordination. I believe there are many who feel the same. I am ready to accept anything which means the good of the Church."[20]

G. E. Phillips, who had been on furlough in England in 1920, had followed the reports of the Lambeth Conference with great interest and concern. In the L.M.S., as a Professor of the United Theological College at Bangalore, he had worked for co-operation with other missions. From 1915 in charge of the former Basel Mission in Malabar, he cautiously and wisely steered the course which led this group into closer union with the South India United Church. On the question of re-ordination he

shared Banninga's views. Any act which was supposed to give to his ministry "some special grace which we now lack" held him back. In that respect, he felt, Lambeth had "made our prospects for reunion in South India not easier, but a little more difficult", although not impossible.[21] Banninga and Phillips, of course, represented the section of the Congregationalists who were for union, generally, but their initial reaction was apprehensive.

On the question of intercommunion the same criticism was raised in different quarters of the South India United Church. Among the Congregationalists in England, such as Lenwood, this issue was felt more keenly than probably any other.[22] But this was also the point on which one of the leading Presbyterians in South India, J. H. Maclean, felt most strongly in relation to the Lambeth Appeal. After that Appeal the prospect for reunion in South India was "not very hopeful".[23] In his opinion the Lambeth Conference, while aiming at opening the door as wide as possible, had "in reality come pretty near to closing it".[24]

Re-ordination or Mutual Commission?

None of those who had taken part in the first Joint Committee meeting were prepared to leave any possible avenue untried. Bishop Azariah particularly exercised his great powers of persuasion, and "after considerable correspondence" the second Bangalore meeting was held, December 14–16, 1920. Would this meeting be "only a step toward the impassable gulf" or lead the way to organic union?[25] That was the question in the minds of all the members. Santiago relates that some came prepared to leave the same day, convinced that it would be impossible to find a way out of the impasse created by Lambeth.[26]

The bone of contention was re-ordination. To all parties within the South India United Church this presented such difficulties that they were prepared to fight it to the bitter end. Bishop Palmer and Bishop Azariah showed that what Lambeth asked for was really mutual commission and that it applied to the Anglicans as well as the others. Palmer probably related on

this occasion, as he did at other times, that at the very beginning of the reunion debate at Lambeth he himself with two other bishops said they were willing "to accept re-ordination if that came to be the last remaining obstacle to reunion".[27] They pointed out that Lambeth implied that the Anglicans were ready to receive a commission from other churches. Santiago has described how "the conference passed through cloud and sunshine, despair and hope" when discussing this problem.[28] The hope and sunshine were provided for S.I.U.C. representatives by declarations from the Anglican bishops that they were willing to accept a special commission to minister in S.I.U.C. congregations, in the same way as they asked for recognition of Anglican order in Anglican congregations. Azariah pleaded with his S.I.U.C. brethren to respect the "principle of individual and congregational freedom" for the Anglicans also; that is, freedom for an Anglican congregation, to accept Communion at the hands only of episcopally ordained ministers.[29]

The note of "comprehensiveness" was sounded once again as fundamental to the Anglican Church. Two Indian Anglican representatives—one of them was most probably S. G. Maduram—showed that there existed wide differences between S.P.G. and C.M.S. within the same church. As C.M.S. men they were never invited by their S.P.G. brethren to celebrate Communion in their church; should not the non-episcopally ordained ministers of the S.I.U.C. be able to accept union on similar conditions?[30] It was with this mutual understanding, that in the future united church there must be room for very great difference of opinion, that the conference proceeded to vote on the resolutions. According to these resolutions all ministers in the uniting churches should be ministers of the church after union; each should be free to seek additional or fresh commission from the bishops of the future church, and thus be enabled to minister in the church to which he did not belong before the union. The principle of individual and congregational freedom should be applied to both sides; each should respect the conscientious scruples of those who held different views from their own. The order of episcopacy and the conscientious scruples of the individuals or the congregation

were thus brought together in this "comprehensive" scheme of "fresh commission". Would it be possible to hold together these two elements, or would they prove to be too different? That was a question to be decided in further negotiations.

While the question about the "commission" had been the most pressing for the S.I.U.C. members of the Joint Committee, the Anglicans brought forward another matter of great importance, which had not been touched upon before; namely, confining the negotiations with the South India United Church to the southern dioceses only, *not* the Anglican Communion in India as a whole. The Anglican leaders felt that for all practical purposes it was necessary to concentrate on the southern dioceses, as in the north a large proportion of the members were European. Whitehead stressed that it was in the interests of practicability to restrict the union to the southern dioceses: "If the Reunion takes place first between bodies scattered all over the vast Continent of India, I think the problems will be insoluble."[31]

Apart from these practical considerations, Palmer especially came to stress the factor of *Dravidian* unity. He had begun his episcopate professing his belief in a church at the same time Catholic *and* national. The national and racial character of the Dravidian unity in the south was strongly appreciated by the episcopal outsider coming from Bombay. "It is because they are united by ties of race, language and locality, and often of affection and kinship, that this movement is so urgently pressed among them." Palmer accepted this as "the governing fact of the situation".[32] A note on this matter was embodied in the resolutions of the Bangalore Committee. It was declared by the Anglicans that, while the Province as a whole would decide on the general principles, the working out of these principles would be left "to the judgment of the local bishops guided by the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference".

Thus, in spite of the apprehensions with which the members of the conference had come, it helped the union along the road forward. Bishop Whitehead explains how this was possible: "Our ideal was comprehension and toleration, not narrowness and exclusiveness. In other words, we had the vision of true

catholicity." This would make it possible "for extreme Anglo-Catholics on the one side and extreme Protestants on the other to find themselves at home within the fold of one truly Catholic Church".[33] That was the ideal for which Whitehead had struggled in India since the unofficial meeting in Madras 1910.

We have already pointed out that at the first two Joint Committee meetings the English left-wing Congregationalist side was not represented. The L.M.S. missionaries were at this time engaged in solving a problem which, quickened by the political developments in India, had become increasingly urgent: the position of Indian leadership in the church. Popley and Phillips were particularly anxious to meet the demands which they felt coming from the Indian ministers.[34] The South India District Committee appointed a special sub-committee, with G. E. Phillips as secretary, to go into the whole problem. Here a new policy was laid down. The "system of dual control", according to which mission and church administered their work by separate bodies, was to give way as soon as practicable to a new system which "put everything under the control of the church councils".[35] This was a definite plan of devolution of responsibility to the Indian Church and its Indian leaders, a plan envisaged at a time when "devolution of responsibility" was a political slogan.[36]

The problem of devolution and of the relation between church councils and the highest authority of the church was debated also in one of the six *ad hoc* sub-committees of the Joint Committee. The sub-committee on "the governing Body" was undoubtedly the most important of these.[37] Bishop Waller was convener, and among the others were Banninga and, from the L.M.S., P. J. Devasahayam and A. T. Foster. Waller and Banninga, possibly also the other members of the sub-committee, met first at a ministers' meeting at Pasumalai, March 11–14, 1921.[38] Some of the salient problems of church union were discussed here, such as creeds and intercommunion, but the problem of church government was given a central place. 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. A Swedish guest, Professor K. B. Westman, pointed out the importance of the form of the historic episcopate represented in Sweden, preserving unbroken Apostolic Succession and thereby in intercommunion with the Church of England, but regarding matters of church government as of secondary importance and not fundamental for intercommunion.[39] This contact was important, particularly with reference to the later debate on participation of presbyters in consecration of bishops. The Church of Sweden, having some measure of intercommunion with the Church of England, allowed representative presbyters to participate on these occasions. Through this conference, attended by nearly a hundred Indian ministers, different aspects of church government, particularly the question of episcopacy, had been brought another step further on and the next Joint Committee meeting could benefit from its discussions.

The appointment of sub-committees after the second Bangalore meeting had the advantage of engaging hitherto unrepresented sections of the S.I.U.C. in the Joint Committee negotiations. The Madras Joint Committee meeting in 1921 derived its special character by this addition of four leading S.I.U.C. men who until then had been critical of the Tranquebar proposals. They were three missionaries, E. H. Lewis, S. Nicholson and A. T. Foster, together with K. T. Paul.[40]

K. T. Paul's views were generally known; he was hesitant about organic union and preferred some Pan-Protestant plan for the whole of India. This hesitation about organic union was rooted in his misgivings about episcopacy. He came to the Madras meeting in a definitely critical mood and was "a thorn in the side of those who wished to hurry the union movement".[41] But as he received information on his many queries his criticism subsided. "From that time on he became a convert to the movement" and this was an important conversion.[42]

The main question for the Joint Committee meeting in 1921, that of church government, had already been prepared in detail by the sub-committee under that trained constitution-maker Bishop Waller. The remarkable approximation in the

sphere of church government between the Anglican dioceses and the South India United Church in the period 1910 to 1919 had gone steadily forward and was now of particular importance. The framework of Pastorate Committees, Local Diocesan Councils and Provincial Synod (or General Assembly) was taken over from the two traditions. 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. The debate in the Joint Committee concerned the relation between the bishop and his councils. The bishop was given the power of veto on certain subjects prescribed by the constitution, but appeal could be made to the Provincial Synod, which would have the final decision.[42a]

The difficult question of equality of ministry was still outstanding and remained so. The first Bangalore meeting had laid it down that "after union all future ordinations to the presbyterate (ministry) would be performed by the laying on of hands of the bishops and presbyters (ministers)". What would happen to Wesleyan and other ministers according to this rule? It was now thought that the Anglican representatives interpreted the clause as implying re-ordination, while the S.I.U.C. members did not interpret it in this way. Particularly J. H. Maclean and the other Scottish missionaries warned against any measure that would imply re-ordination. The matter was therefore left to the future.

Of great practical importance was the discussion on freedom of worship. G. E. Phillips, who twelve years earlier had determined the policy on this same question for the South India United Church, was in 1921 convener of the sub-committee dealing with this problem. Freedom of worship was accepted as the leading principle; this meant in practice that the Anglican and S.I.U.C. usages should continue, although it was anticipated that after union these usages would inevitably approximate to each other.[43]

The tendencies that had been shown in the Madras Joint Committee meeting were also seen at the S.I.U.C. General

Assembly in September 1921. A letter came from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and visits with short greetings by Bishop Waller, Bishop Abraham Mar Thoma and Bishop E. Heuman (of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church) gave the vision of the "World-wide Union" into which the S.I.U.C. was preparing to enter.[44] Waller was particularly anxious to dispel fears that the S.I.U.C. would be absorbed by the Anglican Church.[45] It is interesting in this connexion to find that this General Assembly (or, possibly, only the secretary, Dr. Banninga, who wrote the minutes) "assumed that the new church would be in full communion with the Anglican Church throughout the world".[46] After his "conversion" at the Madras Joint Committee, K. T. Paul on this occasion also took a definite stand for union. Popley regarded this as a great victory. Paul's stand helped to form the opinion within the Assembly which recommended the South India United Church to accept constitutional episcopacy as defined in its resolution of September 1919. But the General Assembly also stressed that it treasured "its present catholicity" too highly to wish to jeopardize in any way its fellowship with Evangelical Christendom.

Advice from Mission Boards

Compared with the anxious time immediately after the publication of the Lambeth Report the Joint Committee achievements in 1921 were a real step forward. In spite of theological and ecclesiastical differences there were strong forces in Dravidian Christianity which worked for union. These forces were stronger than those in Britain. The missionaries wrote for advice to their Mission Boards. It is characteristic of the difference in temper between South India and Britain that the Board secretaries and advisers, with the notable exception of the Church Missionary Society, were as a rule reticent.

Bishop King of the S.P.G., while recognizing that according to its policy his Society would not wish to interfere with the episcopal government of the dioceses, nevertheless, in correspondence with Bishop Waller, warned the Bishop of Tinnevelly against too comprehensive an outlook on intercommunion and equal ministries.[47] This was precisely the point where Free

Church Mission Boards also warned their missionaries, but for different reasons. J. H. Maclean found at the Madras Joint Committee that "the Anglicans have gone far beyond what we expected in the way of appreciating our point of view". But he had one great objection: the Anglican views on the validity of the ministry as being derived from episcopal ordination. At Madras he had pointed out that his church in Scotland every year received applications from ministers of other churches, Congregationalists, Methodists, etc., and that those accepted for the Presbyterian ministry came under Presbyterian government but were not given Presbyterian ordination. If the atmosphere of the united church would be one which implied that "no one not episcopally ordained is validly ordained", what would then be the attitude of his own Scottish Church: would they be willing to send missionaries under such conditions?[48]

In the case of the Anglicans, the home church spoke through a bishop who was at the same time secretary of a missionary society: in the case of the Presbyterians the theological professors were the voice of the home church. They were actively engaged in debates on ordination referring to matters nearer home; the question of Scottish reunion loomed large over all theological problems in Scotland at the time.[49] A fact to which Maclean had referred in Madras, the admission to the United Free Church of Scotland of ministers from other churches, was just then under review. Archibald Henderson and W. M. Clow, both men with great influence in the Scottish United Free Church, were asked for their advice. Henderson took the line that as the deepest separation between episcopacy and presbytery concerns the position and rights of individual church members, it seemed to him that the Joint Committee resolutions gave "too much power" to the bishop. He did not think that the United Free Church of Scotland could send out and support "its own ministers to work under, or along with as subject to its Bishop, or its Provincial Synods or Diocesan Councils, so constituted". W. M. Clow approached the South India problem from the fundamental question, whether the church makes the ministry or the ministry makes the church. He feared Palmer's influence. Palmer had just written an approving preface to Winslow's *Eucharist in India*,[50] the whole

theology of which seemed to reveal a sacerdotal outlook which Clow abhorred.[51] The Foreign Missions Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland went into the matter very carefully. They were all for union, *if* it could be secured on "acceptable terms", but definitely opposed to any idea of re-ordination or sending the missionaries out as laymen to be ordained by bishops of the united church. They hoped above all that any union would increase rather than diminish the sense of equality amongst all the ministers. Parity of ministries was always a Scottish demand in church union matters.

From the British Congregationalist side the reaction was equally critical, but the emphasis was different. Frank Lenwood, in dealing with both Lambeth and the Tranquebar–Madras proposals, felt that they represented "a mechanical view of the Church, of the Sacraments and of the Spirit, which we cannot possibly accept".[52] Lenwood had special reason for opposing the Madras resolutions. It was his sympathy with what he called "the more progressive Indian opinion", which regarded the Tranquebar proposals as "too Western" and not "Indian enough". He referred to the *Christo Samaj* group and its paper, *The Christian Patriot.* Lenwood summed up their criticism of the Tranquebar line in this way: "Our original divisions were Western and bad enough but this synthesis is made on lines which are even more Western and will rivet Westernism on the Indian Church for a longer period."[53] Lenwood had met Dr. S. K. Datta at Lake Mohonk in 1921 and had been given to understand that this opinion represented "a real tendency of Indian life".[54]

The *Christian Patriot* group was becoming increasingly vocal in South India and the church union plans seemed to them to be putting the clock back for Indian Christianity. It was not popular enough: "We take it that 99·99 per cent of the Christian people have not any inkling of an idea" of the union proposals, *The Christian Patriot* wrote.[55] But, above all, union was based on wrong principles. "We entirely disapprove of the proposal for the formation of a centralized single ecclesiastical organization. It will be a national church of the Western pattern, which will for ever be a handicap to the development of Christianity on Indian lines."[56] This grievous mistake was

caused by the preponderance of Western missionary influence, which reduced the Indians to mere pawns in the game of missionary diplomacy.[57] Western Christianity, particularly in the turn which the union discussions had taken, had brought "an administrative, ecclesiastical and evangelistic machinery" which was incompatible with the genius of India.[58] It was not that the *Christo Samaj* group did not want union. At a conference at Bangalore they declared that all other churches were already united within the one Church Catholic, but they thought that organizational unity should be deferred until independent Indian opinion made a demand for it.[59] And that demand, they claimed, had not yet been made.

Although some missionaries in India showed sympathy with the *Christo Samaj* group, their attitude to the union question was instrumental in estranging them from the bulk of the missionaries who, on good grounds, were convinced that in drawing together they were serving the national interests of India.[60] Among the L.M.S. missionaries there were those who, like Popley, were passionately interested in finding Indian expressions for Christian worship, but who, nevertheless, went against the *Christo Samaj* and heartily backed the church union proposals of the conferences from Tranquebar to Madras. The *Christo Samaj* attitude appealed, however, to a highly intellectual mission leader like Lenwood, and for this and other reasons he felt hesitant about the church union.

The Theological Debate

Tranquebar had been an Indian ministers' conference. They had decided that they wished to join forces. But South India was not alone. Behind the different churches were different traditions and loyalties, and when the theological technicians stepped in to discuss matters of validity and "economy", something of the first enthusiasm, that "rushing mighty wind" which Palmer had heard in the Indian quest for unity, subsided.[61] The appeal to the home churches and constituencies became an important matter, and that appeal meant necessarily a stiffening of the relations between the parties concerned.

In January 1922 the Episcopal Synod in Calcutta had before

it a suggestion which, from the point of view of Lambeth and the world-wide Anglican Communion, might appear separatist. Should the church union scheme be handed over to the southern dioceses as suggested at the second Bangalore meeting? The Metropolitan, Foss Westcott, had his misgivings. The Dravidian unity plan might weaken the Anglican Church in India. The majority of the Synod accepted the plan, however; the united front of Whitehead, Waller, Palmer and Azariah on the episcopal bench brought this matter to a conclusion.[62] But it was felt that, as Lambeth had been of such importance for the thoughts and negotiations on unity in India, the whole question should be referred to the Lambeth Central Consultative Body, the theological and ecclesiastical experts in Britain.

A decision of the same kind was taken by the South India United Church. Banninga, as convener of the S.I.U.C. committee on union, had communicated the decisions of the Bangalore and Madras meetings to the local church councils of the South India United Church. About the time when a S.I.U.C. church union committee was meeting at Pasumalai in July 1922, he sent out a questionnaire on the salient problems discussed at the meetings. The reaction shows a change in the temperature of union enthusiasm. The main points referred to the councils were the statements on the Creeds, Episcopacy, Ministry, Church Government and Intercommunion.[63] It is remarkable that on the first point, the Creeds, a general consensus was in favour of the Joint Committee attitude. The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed were generally accepted as containing "a sufficient statement of the faith".[64] The arrangements for church government were largely agreed to, but most of the councils declared themselves as "very much dissatisfied" with the arrangements for intercommunion.[65] They felt the principle of liberty was at stake.

The greatest interest was shown in the questions of Episcopacy and the Ministry. Three councils (North Tamil, Kanarese and Telugu) declared that in principle they were against episcopacy but they would accept it for the sake of union; the other councils approved of it on the condition that it would definitely be of a constitutional character. Banninga had asked the councils whether the three consecrating bishops should all be Anglicans,

"or do you approve of the suggestion that others who are regarded by the Church of England as within the historic episcopate, e.g. a bishop of the Mar Thoma Church or a bishop of the Church of Sweden, should be included?" The second alternative was preferred. The assistance of a Mar Thoma or Swedish bishop was felt as a guarantee for that wider unity which the South India United Church had been striving for the whole time, and the arrangement suggested would preclude a preponderance of Anglican influence.[66] In July 1922 the S.I.U.C. laid down the conditions on which they would be able to accept episcopacy. They stressed their understanding that episcopacy was to be recommended not because it was essential for the church but because it helped forward the cause of church union. The following points had to be safeguarded:

(1) That reality in religion is in the spiritual sphere.

(2) That no theory of a mechanical transmission of the grace of God is involved in episcopacy.

(3) That the S.I.U.C. does not give its assent to any theory of Apostolic Succession as attached to episcopacy.

Strong opposition was voiced against any tendencies to re-ordination of Free Church ministers which might be implied in the Joint Committee reports. In general it was felt that the Bangalore and Madras meetings had gone too far and had put limitations upon their ministry. Banninga's own council in Madura favoured "a service of mutual commission", which had been suggested to him by Professor V. Bartlet, if only it was definitely understood that there was no repudiation of their previous ministry. Banninga had once for all taken his stand against re-ordination, and he would see to it that his view was accepted. This would enable the ministry of the new church to be "completely Episcopal and Presbyterian from top to bottom".[67]

Banninga had referred the question to one of the leading Congregationalist theologians in England, Professor Vernon Bartlet of Oxford. It has been said that Bartlet combined in "a very striking way a strong Congregational and Free Church loyalty with a genuine ecumenical sympathy".[68] Patristic scholarship—of the Lightfoot-Hort-Sanday tradition—was

brought to bear upon the South India problem, and this was important because the historical arguments in the debate already at this time often referred to the early church.[69] Bartlet's proposal of 1921 represented an important approach to the unification of the church in South India. The proposal was interesting also because this Congregationalist theologian from now on came to be regarded in South India as the authority of the non-Anglicans. For twenty years Bartlet's scholarship in patristics was the arsenal with which to confront E. J. Palmer's arguments. Bartlet seemed to be using Palmer's phraseology in saying that he wanted to promote the "most equitable and catholic and *inclusive* [Bartlet's italics] solution".[70] He also wanted to safeguard the condition laid down by Banninga from the first in the series of negotiations, viz. absolute equality of the ministry. In accepting episcopacy, Bartlet stressed that no particular interpretation of the fact of the historic episcopate should be demanded from either side. Bartlet's chief contribution to the debate was his suggestion "to combine in a single rite the forms hitherto distinctive of the ordination of chief pastors in the respective types of church life".[71] In the consecration of bishops, presbyters of the South India United Church should take part and so also in the ordination of presbyters (ministers). Only by applying the principle of equality to the form of episcopal ordination could that principle be preserved and adequately safeguarded.

In a characteristic phrase Bartlet suggested that "those desirous of entering the united church's ministry from outside would gladly accept the joint or twofold form of conferring ordination or ministerial commission of the new or union type —one more fully catholic and constitutional than any already existing—as that proper to the new union type of Church organization which it is the aim of the uniting Churches to inaugurate for India and ultimately for modern Christendom". He regarded his method as "the simplest and most satisfactory solution . . . since it is one that resolves the difficulties of the transition period". This general commissioning service, as suggested by Bartlet, would not imply re-ordination or repudiation of previous ordinations. Bartlett was also optimistic enough to believe that it would be generally regarded as not detracting

from, but adding to, the authority of the act, because it would combine authority from the two churches. He was sure of the results of his methods: "If bishops and presbyters (in the first instance those of the S.I.U.C.) both co-operate in ordinations alike to the episcopate and presbyterate of the united Church, then there will be such equality of treatment that there will be no room left for 'conscientious scruples' arising in any congregation *of either line of tradition* within that church, as regards the exercise of his ministry by any of the ministers, for none will be likely not to 'avail himself of the liberty' to receive 'a full commission' inclusive of the sort which hitherto he had not received." While Bartlet did not draw up a particular form of mutual commissioning, he nevertheless claimed that this method, "and it only, can be accepted without scruple by those who hold the most different views".

Referring the problem to the authorities in Britain delayed the negotiations. In 1922 and early 1923 it was felt on both sides that a go-slow policy was most expedient.[72] The prospects for the fourth meeting of the Joint Committee, held at Banninga's mission station, Pasumalai, April 1923, were not too bright.[73]

The ministry in the united church proved to be the main problem at Pasumalai. It helped greatly when the bishops who had taken part in the Lambeth Conference, 1920, reminded the other brethren that Anglican bishops had there declared themselves willing to receive a commission.[74]

The second Bangalore meeting had proposed that any minister should be able to ask the bishop for a fresh commission. There was a certain ambiguity hidden in that statement. From the Anglican point of view it might easily be interpreted as being, virtually, a re-ordination. It might also lead to a "dual ministry" in the church, of those who did receive the commission and those who were not prepared to do that.[75] These considerations weighed heavily in the Pasumalai discussions. It was here that it was decided to refer to the churches the "inclusive" commissioning service suggested by Professor Bartlet, as it would obviate any danger of a dual ministry. The service as conceived by the Joint Committee took on a somewhat more elaborate form and significance than the one

suggested by Bartlet. The ministers of both churches would take part in such a service. It would be prefaced by a statement that there was no repudiation of their former ministries, but that it was an act of love and fellowship in which authority was given for the wider ministry of the word and the sacraments. It would include the laying on of hands and a prayer for the anointing of the Holy Spirit.[76] The commissioning would be mutual in that the Anglican bishops and clergy would be commissioned by "certain representative presbyters of the South India United Church and the ministers of the South India United Church would be commissioned by an Anglican bishop and certain representative presbyters (members of the order of priesthood) of the Anglican Church". This service would be followed by a great corporate Communion service.

No less significant than this commissioning service was the declaration which was to be read by all ministers saying: "None of us dare in any way repudiate the ministry which we have received and nothing which we now say or do is to be interpreted as throwing doubt upon our previous ordination. We are here publicly and formally seeking additional recognition of a new call and a fuller authority for wider service in a United Church . . . for the healing of the divisions in His Body."

Looking upon the Pasumalai proposal now, from the distance of a generation the words ring with a romantic tone. There was an inner conflict between the great sacramental act of unity and fellowship in that commissioning service with its ordination prayer and the emphatic declaration that it was no ordination after all. But whatever can be said against it *post eventum*, it is at least a symptom of the great, nay the desperate, eagerness for unity in that group.

Palmer was not present at Pasumalai and he would certainly not have agreed to these proposals. He makes this very clear in a letter to Bishop Gore some years later: "It is enough for me that the service was camouflage and would have deceived no one, while it would have strained many consciences. I have always been for open re-ordination. If my own ordination is the only thing that prevents union, let any body of Christians (willing otherwise for union) ordain me. I know God will understand that this is an act of charity towards them and not of

doubt towards Him. But a commissioning service which has not accomplished ordination when ordination is wanted is useless to us (and I presume to you), and if it may or may not be an ordination, what is it but a pestilent muddle?"[77] He was opposed to recognizing the equality of ministries if this implied —as it usually did—equal validity. He writes: "It is clear that those who admit the full validity and regularity for all purposes of (say) the Congregationalist ministry must deny the theories of ministry held by the Episcopal Churches and by the Presbyterians alike. 'To recognize the equal validity of ministries however conferred' would similarly extinguish our position about Orders. There is the crux of the situation, and the future solution does not lie in a knock-out fight of ministerial theories and ideals. It lies in a fresh evaluation of them with a view to correlation. In the process of correlation some of the extreme and exclusive claims made in controversy would fall away."[78]

At the outset of the Pasumalai meeting Waller and Banninga read solutions from the churches they represented. They showed that at the stage then reached the attitude of the home churches was felt to be important. Both expressed their aversion to any step which might cause the breaking of union with the home churches. Waller mentions how in one of the discussions an Indian member remarked: "Is the union to be wrecked for a dozen missionaries?"[79] They may have been only a dozen, but behind them were world-wide communities, who constantly informed them—in hope or in fear—that what was done in South India would have repercussions in other parts of the world. The Anglican resolution therefore stated that the Metropolitan was to refer the matter to the General Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference, and the S.I.U.C. resolution stressed the need for retaining full communion with the churches with which they had hitherto been in intercommunion.[80]

In September 1924 the Metropolitan sent a questionnaire to scholars and leaders of the church in Britain, asking for their opinions on the proposals so far put forward for a commissioning service and the future consecration of bishops, and on their acceptability or otherwise to the Anglican Communion as a whole.

This led to a very careful and minute examination of the Pasumalai 1923 recommendations by Professor C. H. Turner of Oxford. In his detailed reply he recognized the need for making all possible concessions for the sake of unity and also that some things which could not be accepted as part of the permanent polity of the church after union might legitimately be conceded during the transitional period. He criticized "spiritual equality" as "an attractive and specious phrase, exactly of the type that is misleading and dangerous because it may convey very different contents in different contexts".[81] With regard to confirmation he would be prepared, "for the sake of unity", not to raise the matter with those already members of the S.I.U.C. and to receive them unconfirmed to Communion, but "to relegate what the Apostolic Church regarded as a necessary element in Baptism, as the special symbol and effectual sign of the Gift of the Holy Ghost, to the permanent inferiority of a rite which 'may be administered . . . in any congregation which desires it' is to do what, in my own judgment, no body claiming to be part of the Holy Catholic Church has a right to do".

Concerning the form of commission Turner thought that the actual words used might imply "that the intention is not to ordain presbyters for the Church of God but to commission men to act as presbyters in the area of the united Church. But to express a limitation in the prayer accompanying the laying on of hands is to confuse hopelessly, as I think, the distinct ideas of orders and jurisdiction." If this were suitably amended, then, "using the large and charitable construction which is in my judgment proper in discussing doubtful forms and rites, it might be accepted as conferring a true ordination: always supposing that the whole circumstances justified the belief, or at least did not negative the belief, that a real even if tacit intention was present of doing what the church intends (in the most general sense) to be done".

Professor Turner, however, deliberately and explicitly parts company from Professor Bartlet on the general principle of equality, for "if the Church of England and the Church of the Province of India does not stand for the assertion that an episcopal ministry has something which a presbyterian ministry

has not, I find it difficult to see what is the *raison d'être* of its existence at all". As therefore both sides would be compelled to interpret the form of commission in a different sense, "can it be thought consistent with the reverence due to holy things that the same prayer should be used by two parties in the same service with a different intention?" (This, as we shall see, is a recurrent problem throughout in attempting to procure the unification of ministries in a single rite.)

So Turner concluded that a joint form of commission was unsatisfactory and inadequate. "The only and obvious substitute is that of distinct services or at any rate distinct forms in which each side shall use a form sufficient from its own point of view, to convey whatever seems to it lacking in the previous commission or ordination already possessed by the other." Commenting finally on the proposal that the presbyters should join in the laying on of hands on bishops, he says that it would "overthrow the whole tradition and theory of church order so far back as we are able to trace it. It would imply that the bishop is only a sort of presbyter. It would, in my judgment, knock the bottom out of the whole position of the Church of England and the Church of India if, even for the sake of reunion with the South India United Church, we should countenance such an inroad upon the 'character' of the sacred ministry as the Catholic Church has received and understood it."

We have quoted Professor Turner at some length because of the great weight of his scholarship and of the influence his arguments were bound to have on Anglican theological opinion both in the West and in India. This was the theological background against which the Anglican members of the Joint Committee had to work and which they could not lightly ignore or discard. But there were other answers to the Metropolitan's enquiry. Bishop Headlam of Gloucester was less critical but he made an important point about the regulation that visiting ministers and missionaries should be recommissioned. "If all who should join the United Church, whether they have been ordained episcopally or non-episcopally, have to be recommissioned you have done away with the idea of a ministry recognized by all. The new United Church would have a ministry which recognizes no one else. In fact you would have

created a new class of ordination, a new type of ministry, and would have increased the difficulty of union rather than diminished it."[82]

Archbishop Lang of York urged that "a mere mutual commission is not really sufficient or indeed straightforward, for it does not seem to recognize that in our judgment the existing non-episcopal ministry has any inherent defect, particularly that they lack the authority which we believe to be given by episcopal ordination for the ministry of the Catholic Church". Simply to speak of "ministers in the larger sphere now open" does not recognize that any defect exists or has been made good.[83]

It can be seen that the basic issue at this stage was the equality of ministries. To the Free Churchmen it seemed that the Anglicans granted it with one hand and took it back with the other. They had accepted it at Tranquebar, but they were reluctant to press its implications to the utmost limit of the Free Church demands.

In Britain Professor Bartlet was asking his Anglican friends: "What is that special gift which only comes through ordination by a bishop?" He could get no satisfactory answer. In India Palmer was writing to Azariah about the necessity of some ceremony "which will express the addition to every minister of anything that the members of the other uniting church think to be lacking in his ministry. I want from the beginning that all the ministers should be recognized by all the church. For my own part I do not think that it is a real acceptance of episcopacy to claim that in all future consecrations of bishops some presbyters should take part. That appears to me to be an absurd proposal, and I doubt if it was ever made with the full consciousness of what it implies. . . . In fact the most distinguishing mark of a bishop is that he is the sole minister of Ordination. It is on this ground that I say that no one with a clear conception of what the episcopate means could both accept episcopacy and also ask that presbyters should join in consecrating bishops."[84] The debate went on.

The ninth General Assembly of the South India United Church had met in August 1923 and discussed particularly the Bartlet proposals. As the Assembly thought that the commissioning service would "probably provide a solution of the problem

of equality of the ministry within the United Church", it forwarded the proposals to the church councils to be studied by them.[85]

The Entry of the Wesleyans

The S.I.U.C. General Assembly took another decision of importance. They extended invitations to other churches in South India to join the union. Of particular interest is the reaction to this invitation of the Danish Lutherans and, above all, of the Wesleyans. The attitude of the Danish Missionary Society had through the years been more open to co-operation than that of other Lutheran bodies in South India. The influence of men like L. P. Larsen—over a number of years theological professor at Bangalore—K. Heiberg, J. Bittman and H. Bjerrum determined the policy of the Society's Indian work up to 1923.[86] In 1923 Bittman left the Danish Missionary Society and a decided swing over to a stricter Lutheran position followed.[87] One of the missionaries, C. Bindslev, and the Indian pastor V. Masillamani, were appointed in February 1924 "to watch and take part in the negotiations *re* church union" and "if necessary attend meetings".[88] Because of the circumstances these delegates did not, however, take part in any of the Joint Committee meetings, and the matter was dropped as far as the Lutherans were concerned.[89]

The disappointment which the South India United Church expressed in 1915, because their overtures to the Wesleyan Mission had not resulted in a federation or union with them, was keenly felt and this aim was never lost sight of. On the Wesleyan side influential missionaries worked towards the same goal. H. Gulliford, editor of *Harvest Field*, was always eager to have church union ideas represented in the magazine and frequently commented favourably on such articles. The Wesleyan representative in Madras, D. G. M. Leith, showed a lively interest in missionary co-operation, especially in social questions.

But when the Rev. William Goudie, a secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, made a secretarial visit to India in 1920, he found "hesitation, not to say aversion" in regard to the church union movement, not so much among the

European missionaries as among the Indian ministers of the Wesleyan Church. Goudie gathered that this reaction on the part of the Indian ministers was due to two reasons: "strong attachment to Methodism" and "the fact that as in English Methodism, so with our brethren in India, there are many whose natural leanings are rather towards the Anglican Church than towards non-conformist groups".[90] The strong emphasis on the connexional principle of church government in Wesleyan Methodism had here borne its fruit. It made some of the Wesleyan Indian ministers hesitant about union with the loosely organized church bodies of a Congregationalist type. But Methodists are nothing if not evangelists. The evangelistic opportunities of the Mass Movement Districts, where Wesleyan Methodism had such an honourable record (Hyderabad particularly), put to them, as it had to Whitehead, Azariah, Eddy, Popley, Phillips and the others, the same challenge of unifying the missionary forces of the Church. "Methodist Union is not enough", C. H. Monahan, the Chairman of the Methodist Wesleyan District, told his brethren at the Fifth Ecumenical Methodist Conference in London, 1921.[91] That was precisely the issue. Methodist Union, of Wesleyans, United Methodists, Primitive Methodists, etc., was in the making at this time.[92] Sometimes it seemed as if this "family" reunion was to absorb all interest and not give room for a wider fellowship. It was against this that Monahan issued his warning.

In the years following upon Tranquebar the Wesleyans were content to be interested observers. To Gulliford episcopacy did not present any insurmountable difficulties,[93] although he wanted to regard it as belonging only to the *bene esse*, not to the *esse* of the Church.[94] It was the S.I.U.C. General Assembly, Vaddukoddai, August 1923, which decided to extend a general invitation to "such churches as are believed to be sympathetic with this ideal".[95] This matter of procedure should be noted. The invitation was not extended by the Joint Committee of the Anglicans *and* the South India United Church, but by the latter church alone, though presumably the matter must have been unofficially discussed in Joint Committee meetings and the South India United Church were sure the Anglicans would agree to their action. In a letter signed by Maclean and

Banninga an invitation was sent out.[96] The Wesleyan Provincial Synod appointed a committee in 1924 to act for the Synod "in the direction of counsel and consultation", both by correspondence and attendance by deputation at meetings of the Joint Committee. W. E. Garman was appointed first convener of this Wesleyan committee.[97] The Methodists were cautious. It was expressly stated in the directions to the committee that the Wesleyan members "should not have the right to vote at meetings of the Joint Committee, or to commit our church in any way". This was an important qualification, and the Methodists were to stress time and again in the following deliberations that they were only there for "consultations *not* for negotiations". The latter term was the one used by the South India United Church in their letter of invitation.

After having heard from the four Wesleyan Districts, the Synod was prepared to receive in 1925 the formal invitation from the Joint Committee, signed by Azariah and Banninga (on February 2, 1925).[98] The two conveners of the Joint Committee used the term "negotiations", but the Wesleyans in accepting the invitation stuck to their more cautious formula, and in fact did so until 1928. They wished to see for themselves before they committed their church in this important matter. The fifth Joint Committee meeting in Madras, February 1925, was virtually an information meeting for the Wesleyans.[99] The Bangalore report, 1920, was discussed, paragraph by paragraph, for their benefit and approval.[100] From the Anglican side only Waller, Azariah, P. B. Emmet and H. C. Loasby were present. The South India United Church members were Banninga, Phillips, Paul, Santiago, Sumitra and M. Peter. Among the Wesleyans were W. E. Garman (their convener), C. Kingsley Williams, W. H. Thorp, W. E. Tomlinson, C. H. Monahan. Indian Wesleyans who made particular contributions to the debates were S. Gnanaprakasam and J. D. Masillamani.

Still another tradition of piety and ecclesiastical government was brought into the deliberations, and the parties concerned had to learn to speak the same language.[101] It was an uphill task, but it was part of the price to be paid for union; the Wesleyan contribution was to be of great value at the important meeting at Trichinopoly, 1926.

Chapter IX

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND MUTUAL TRUST

South India and Lausanne

THE setting in which the problem of church union was discussed in the latter part of the 'twenties was influenced by two factors, to which we must rapidly refer. The Anglicans were engaged in settling the all-important problem of the Indian Church Measure, and there was the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, 1927.

In 1927 the definite settlement of the main ecclesiastical problem of the Anglican Communion in India was reached. In the union discussions from 1919 the problem of the relations of "the Church of England in India" with the State had been a vital issue. The Free Church leaders emphasized that they could only enter into union with a disestablished church. What was not altogether generally realized was the genuine eagerness with which the Anglicans were striving towards that very end. Some of the leaders of the union movement—Palmer, Waller, Western—were at the same time the architects of the new constitution of the disestablished Anglican Province.[1] The result reached in December 1927, by which the "Church of England in India" was replaced by the "Church of India, Burma and Ceylon", was of fundamental importance for church union in South India. One of the main hindrances to union was now 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.

The Lausanne Conference in 1927, brought about by the work and enthusiasm of Bishop Brent and R. H. Gardiner, was

a great event in the history of that Faith and Order movement which so decisively influenced some of the leaders of the union movement in India. Banninga was resolved to see to it that the South India United Church should be fully represented. He himself, H. Sumitra and G. H. Parker, of Nagercoil L.M.S., represented the South India United Church.[2] Four of the most prominent Anglican leaders of the church union movement in South India were also at Lausanne: Azariah, Palmer, Tubbs and Western.

The visit to Europe gave the Indian leaders, Sumitra and Azariah, opportunities for propagating and discussing the South India schemes. Sumitra had worked in the Kanarese area for a long time and was in close touch with Bernard Lucas. He was "sufficiently imbued with Congregational principles to feel not very hopeful" about the South India proposals as put forward by the Trichinopoly meeting which he had attended.[3] In England he visited Professor Bartlet in order to discuss with him the theological aspects of the ministry.[4] Bishop Azariah, who in India became increasingly apprehensive of opposition to union from the L.M.S. Congregationalist side, discussed the problems involved with the directors of the London Missionary Society to their mutual benefit. Godfrey Phillips, now a secretary of the L.M.S., wrote to J. H. Maclean about this meeting with Azariah: "I think our directors feel that if they had only [Bishop Azariah] to deal with, union would easily be accomplished. Personality means so much in church history, which is not a matter of doctrines and ideas only. The fate of doctrines and ideas depends also on the behaviour of the people who hold them."[5]

South India played an important part at Lausanne. Tubbs is probably right in claiming that "no actual scheme of unity attracted so much attention at Lausanne, whether officially on the public platform, or privately in unofficial conversations, as the South Indian proposals".[6] Sumitra took part in the debate, and Palmer and Banninga delivered important addresses on "The Church's Ministry".[7] In Palmer's masterly paper it is the problems of South India which give the urgency to the theological argument.[8] But South India had hoped so much from Lausanne, and the hopes were not fulfilled. "It is

probably true that no missionary left Lausanne greatly encouraged or greatly inspired." Lausanne, Tubbs felt, was "a conference of old men representing the old churches of the West".[9] South India was determined to have results, not only discourses and discussions, but actual definite results in concrete union. Nobody expressed this more convincingly or movingly than Bishop Azariah. In words which must have reminded some of the listeners of the urgent ring of his address at Edinburgh 1910, the Indian bishop told the churches of the West of the necessity of Christian unity: "Unity may be theoretically a desirable ideal in Europe and America, but it is vital to the life of the church in the mission field. The divisions of Christendom may be a source of weakness in Christian countries, but in non-Christian lands they are a sin and a scandal."[10]

The Anglicans Find a Way

G. E. Phillips recalled in 1927 how on different occasions the prospects of success in the union negotiations seemed so slight that the representatives would arrive "with the determined intention to get the conferences quietly broken up with a minimum of ill-feeling"; but, by strongly felt Divine help, the final break was avoided and a new departure found.[11] The Trichinopoly meeting in February 1926 was one of these dramatic conferences and represents a crucial date in the negotiations, because it laid the foundation of what can now be regarded as the characteristically "South India" approach to union.

The fundamental problem of mutual recognition of the ministry had still to be solved. The Bangalore 1920 solution (the minister asking the bishop for a fresh commission to serve in the church to which he did not belong before union) and the Pasumalai 1923 suggestion (a mutual commissioning service) were both found to be ambiguous.

The membership of the Joint Committee showed, as compared with the Pasumalai meeting, a great change. The Wesleyan delegation brought a new contribution. H. Gulliford, the veteran worker for South India union, F. C. Sackett, W. H.

Thorp, W. E. Tomlinson, P. Gurushanta and S. Gnanapragasam presented the Wesleyan point of view. C. Kingsley Williams, another Wesleyan, had been one of the leaders in the Student Christian Movement in England and found old friends among the Anglican delegates in Trichinopoly. He described the Trichinopoly meeting as "in some respects the most remarkable gathering that I have ever attended".

The ambiguity of the proposed commissioning service caused a deadlock at the beginning of the meeting. "It seemed likely therefore", says a Wesleyan member, "that the negotiations would break down at this point."[12] It was decided, however, to hold separate sessions of the three groups. The South India United Church declared that the commissioning service proposals from the Pasumalai meeting had been approved of by their General Assembly and by the majority of their church councils: they were therefore unable to recommend any other solution.[13] To the infinite astonishment of the Free Church members of the conference, the Anglican group did produce such a new solution, and one which was going to be of fundamental importance for the subsequent negotiations.[14]

The Anglicans, represented first of all by the four bishops (of Bombay, Madras, Dornakal, Tinnevelly), were not bound by the same considerations to assembly majorities. Bishop Waller agreed with C. H. Turner in rejecting Bartlet's proposal. He felt that Turner had gone right to the heart of the difficulty. "I have always recognized 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." Palmer particularly felt that a new solution was necessary. He was struggling with the problem of the dual ministry in the church. He confided to Azariah: "I want from the beginning of the union that all the ministers should be recognized by all the church."[15] But he could not accept Bartlet's commissioning service, which was "camouflage" to him.[16] Some way out of the difficulty had to be found. He says: "In South India we really *dare not* suspend negotiations, because the Indian demand for union is so insistent. If we broke off the sessions of our Joint Committees, the Indians themselves would pursue the matter and would, I believe, settle it one way or another."[17]

In seeking a new approach, the Anglicans could build on the achievements of recent home reunion negotiations in Britain. Following upon Lambeth 1920, representatives of the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches and leading Anglican bishops and theologians met in a Joint Conference. In July 1923 Anglican leaders in Britain were prepared to issue a statement to the effect that the Free Church ministries are "real ministries of Christ's Word and Sacraments in the Universal Church".[18] Another suggestion of great importance is contained in a memorandum of 1925 by the Bishop of Truro (W. H. Frere), an Anglo-Catholic liturgiologist, and A. E. Garvie, the Congregationalist theologian. They gave a forecast of what they called the "interim period". As early as 1919 the Bishop of London, Dr. Winnington-Ingram, had suggested a transition period of thirty to forty years as a method of union. Dr. Frere and Dr. Garvie thought that such a period would be necessary "before uniting churches could be ready to attain to the ultimate goal of organic union". They evolved a method by which the bishop could offer to the ministers of his jurisdiction an opportunity of supplementing the ordination that had been previously conferred on each of them by receiving a "conditional ordination", as the way of obtaining for them a ministry accepted throughout the whole united church. The memorandum also had in view those who would not wish to receive such conditional ordination. These "would not have the right to administer the Holy Communion to Anglican congregations, nor yet to those of any other denominations unless it is decided otherwise. But they should have the full right to conduct other services, and to preach, in other churches than their own, if licensed thereto by the bishop."[19]

The statement of Anglican leaders in Trichinopoly in 1926 must be read against that background. Palmer was convinced of the necessity of union and of a new departure towards that end. The statement is prefaced with a memorandum stressing the importance of the episcopal and the ministerial offices, and that according to ancient and universal rules "the celebration of the Holy Communion was confined to bishops and priests (presbyters) and consecration of bishops and ordination of other clergy confined to bishops".[20] But Palmer was also aware

of the fact that his own church had never learned to give full scope to the "prophetic" ministry.[21] In the statement he and his brethren boldly tried to show such appreciation. They were willing to take the view that "the existing ministers of the churches uniting with us belong to ministries which were raised up to them by God in times of difficulty, when by fault of no living man those churches were unable to comply with the two ancient rules, referred to above, and were enabled by Him to do evangelistic, prophetic and pastoral work in which we humbly perceive His Hand". Because of this view the Anglican Church was willing to accept the other ministers "as ministers of the Word and Sacraments in the future united Church". Added to that was the qualification that no minister who was ordained before the union would minister temporarily in a church without the consent of the parish minister and the congregation, or would be transferred to any new congregation without the consent of congregation and bishop.

The recognition of non-episcopal ministers as "ministers of Word and Sacrament in the future united Church" did not solve the problem of non-episcopally ordained missionaries from the West who in the course of time would come to South India. Would they be accepted in a church which confessedly was to be built on an episcopal foundation?

It was on this point that the Anglicans on the initiative of Palmer took what he described as "our boldest step".[22] He was aware of Dr. Frere's proposal with regard to an interim period, and he applied it to the situation in South India. Palmer's proposal was slightly modified in the course of the Joint Committee debate, but in essence it was his idea, and that of the Anglican delegation, which was represented in the resolution adopted by the Joint Committee: "That during the fifty years succeeding the union, ministers ordained in the churches which have planted the missions now connected with the uniting churches may be received as ministers of the United Church, if they are willing to make the same declarations with regard to the Faith and Constitution of the United Church as are required from persons about to be ordained or employed for the first time in the United Church. It is the intention of those who make the union that at the close of that period no one

shall minister in the church unless he has received regular episcopal ordination."[23]

This was indeed a bold step, and, in the circumstances, a realistic approach. It recognized that union of living churches had to be a living process. The divisions of centuries could not be overcome by a single act, however dramatic. There had to be an interim period of growth, of growing together, until after fifty years the church could reasonably be expected to have settled all difficulties of unification.

The question of intercommunion was closely connected with that of the ministry. The Free Church representatives wished to guard their time-honoured prerogative of "inviting ministers of other churches occasionally to celebrate the Holy Communion". Once again it was Palmer who was the spokesman of the Anglican group.[24] He suggested the resolution which was eventually adopted: "That it will not be a condition of union that any of the uniting churches, or any ministers or member of them, shall forgo any rights of communion with other churches that it or he possessed before the union."[25]

It was for the S.I.U.C. and Wesleyan delegations to give their views on the Anglican proposal. They had had a special session in which they declared that they did not share the theological views of episcopacy propounded in the Anglican statement, but described the statement itself as "a notable advance" on the proposal made at the second meeting of the Joint Committee.[26]

The Methodists seem to have shown more understanding of Palmer's intentions than the S.I.U.C. "There is no doubt that the Anglicans have given a way and shown throughout a most magnanimous spirit", was the commentary of F. C. Sackett, a Hyderabad missionary.[27] W. H. Thorp, chairman of the Methodist district of Mysore, was rather critical at first: "The concessions which the Anglicans have made in so conciliatory a spirit are rather in the nature of an expedient to bring about union than an admission of truth of Free Church principles."[28]

More determined was the S.I.U.C. opposition. J. H. Maclean took the lead against Palmer in the Joint Committee itself, asking for full recognition of the equality of the ministries. Palmer did not go far enough; if his deal was the last stand,

then, Maclean thought, the S.I.U.C. could discover "no hope of union".[29] In fact, the S.I.U.C. church councils in 1927 unanimously rejected what now came to be called the idea of "a closed church"; the limitation to fifty years was this "closing" factor. The councils wished permanently to keep the door open for non-episcopally ordained ministers.[30]

The Episcopal Synod of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon discussed the Trichinopoly proposal very thoroughly in January 1928. Here the problem appeared in another context than that of the Joint Committee. Here the whole conception of the church was bound up with the issue of priesthood—significantly an issue which was tackled hardly at all in the South India negotiations either at this time or later. Priesthood derived from Apostolic Succession was in some measure understood to safeguard valid sacraments. Not that the episcopal bench was unanimous on this issue. The Bishops of Colombo (M. R. Carpenter-Garnier) and Assam (G. C. Hubback) represented the Anglo-Catholic view and opposed the Trichinopoly proposals.[31] Palmer vigorously defended his case against this opposition, ably seconded by Azariah of Dornakal and Tubbs of Tinnevelly.[32] Very effectively the Metropolitan (Foss Westcott) supported Palmer. According to Carpenter-Garnier it was the Metropolitan himself who drafted the resolution which was unanimously passed by the General Council of the C.I.B.C.[33]

While recognizing the ministries of the uniting churches as ministries of the Word and Sacraments in the united church, the bishops asked for "respect for the beliefs of those who have learned to connect the grace given to them in the Holy Communion with an episcopally ordained ministry". "We therefore ask that the terms of union should provide that (*a*) by the union Anglicans be not deprived of any opportunities which they have previously enjoyed of receiving the Holy Communion at the hands of an episcopally ordained minister, and (*b*) that conscientious convictions be safeguarded on the one side by a proviso that no non-episcopally ordained minister shall either temporarily or permanently be placed in charge of a congregation accustomed to an episcopally ordained ministry; and on the other side, by any corresponding provisos which the

S.I.U.C. and the Wesleyan Church may desire to formulate in order to protect the conscientious convictions of their own members."

In his persuasive way Azariah explained the Anglican resolution to Banninga: "We are fully aware that during the period of transition departures from the normal rule may occur sometimes in some places. We do not say they shall not. We are also agreed that in this matter individuals and congregations will ultimately decide their own course. As long as official authorization for such deviations is not claimed we do not propose to raise inquisitorial questions but trust to charity and common sense to prevail in the interests of unity and peace." [34]

If at Trichinopoly in 1926 the Anglicans seemed to give their position away, at the Bangalore Joint Committee meeting in 1928 they had a large share of the initiative. This is clearly seen in the resolution passed on this occasion.[35] Now the interim period of fifty years was reduced to a thirty years' period. The Committee says:[36]

> The great object of complete spiritual unity within the church will never be attained till all members are willing and wishful to receive communion equally in every church, but the attainment of this object will only be retarded if authorities or majorities in the united church make arrangements which have the effect of forcing those who have conscientious objections to receiving communion from ministers not episcopally ordained to do so or else to forgo communion. It is therefore agreed that
>
> (*a*) arrangements existing at the time of union by which Anglicans in any particular place enjoyed opportunities of receiving communion at the hands of an episcopally ordained minister will not be terminated after union against their will by the church authorities, and
>
> (*b*) any congregation accustomed to an episcopally ordained ministry will not either temporarily or permanently be placed in charge of a non-episcopally ordained minister unless all the communicant members of the congregation have been informed of the suggested appointment and no one has signified his objection to such an arrangement.
>
> It is the intention and expectation of those who enter into this union that eventually every minister exercising a permanent ministry in the church will be an episcopally ordained minister. . . .

> After this period of thirty years, the church will consider and decide the question of such exceptions to the general principle of an episcopally ordained ministry.

The S.I.U.C. representatives at this session of the Joint Committee thus largely accepted the interim period, although individual councils within that church were later to question this acceptance.

One of the objects of union negotiations was to draw up a Constitution and frame regulations for the church. The resolutions on the interim period on the other hand spoke of "respect for beliefs", and referred to "conscientious convictions" which were to be safeguarded. The interim period was to be a *process* of growing together. How far could that growth be regulated by law, and how far could conscientious convictions be safeguarded by paragraphs? The more the implications of the interim period with its possible cases of irregularity became the object of debate, the more obvious it was that the thirty years' rule as such would not solve all the difficulties. This was felt by all parties on the Joint Committee and most acutely by Congregationalists on the one side and by Anglo-Catholics on the other side. But it was, interestingly enough, the Methodists who formed the approach designed to solve this tension. The Methodist delegation at the Joint Committee meeting in 1929 drafted a resolution commenting upon the consequences of union as a process of growing together. This resolution was to become known as the *Pledge*. It was accepted by the eighth Joint Committee meeting in Madras in the following form:[37]

> They therefore pledge themselves and fully trust each other that in the united church no arrangements with regard to churches, congregations or ministers will knowingly be made, either generally or in particular cases, which would offend the conscientious convictions of any persons directly concerned, or which would hinder the development of complete unity within the church or imperil its subsequent progress towards union with other churches.

Together with the interim period, the Pledge represented the characteristically South India method of union. The Pledge was significant because it expressed the conviction laid down in the Basis of Union in the 1929 Scheme, that "unity is

fundamentally a reality in the spiritual realm". The value of regulations and the importance of rules was not denied. But it was claimed that in the spiritual realm the rules must be interpreted in a spirit of trust and confidence. Rule *and* exception to the rule was, as we have seen, an important category in the South Indian union movement. The rule of an episcopally ordained ministry had to be applied in the exceptional interim period. And the regulations for the interim period could only become manageable when modified by that flexible and pliable instrument of trust, the Pledge.

Tangible results were achieved by the Joint Committee in the meetings in Bangalore, June–July 1928, and in Madras, February–March 1929. The proposed *Scheme of Union* of 1929 was published. The Bangalore meeting appointed a Continuation Committee which was instructed to prepare a draft for a complete scheme of union. F. J. Western, then a canon of Lahore, began his work on the Committee in 1928. With his long training in the Commission which framed the Constitution of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, Western at once emerged as the expert draftsman in the Joint Committee. He and Dr. Banninga spent a week in Bangalore in September 1928, drafting the scheme, which was to become the object of committee amendments and modifications at the Madras meeting. This meeting lasted eleven full days and was the longest in the history of the negotiations. A Methodist delegate, F. C. Sackett, described the procedure of these meetings: "The method adopted was the same as in the former conferences. We first spent two days talking over the whole scheme. Points of difference and difficulty were noted and then the committee divided itself into groups to discuss these points and to bring in definite proposals which were then discussed in full committee and either passed with a few emendations or sent back to the group for further consideration, and the correct framing, of what [was] found insufficient. In this way we covered the whole ground."[38]

Palmer found the atmosphere at the beginning of the 1928 meeting "rather electric, as when thunderstorms are impending". Many non-Anglicans were suspicious of the intentions of

the bishops, particularly with regard to the ministry in the united church. The meeting itself was, however, carried by real co-operation. Gulliford jotted down in his diary: "The spirit of the meeting is beyond praise."[39] Gulliford had reason to appreciate this fact, as he himself acted as chairman of the meeting. Some of the Indian Methodists were most vocal in criticising the Scheme at this time, but the election of Gulliford as chairman—a post which he was to retain until 1936; he died in 1937—was an anticipation of the central role which the Methodist delegation was soon to take in the negotiations. Banninga was the secretary and effectively contributed to the smooth and rapid progress of the Committee's work. With reference to him, Palmer recorded that "the strength of his hope about South Indian unity and its probable effect on the whole world was one of the formative factors of the meeting".[40]

"Comprehension and not limitation has been the aim." Thus Gulliford formulated the intention of the 1929 Scheme in his Foreword.[41] It was a comprehension which combined in effective *balance* the heritages of the three churches: the balance between the great catholic unity of the Body of Christ and its local expression; between episcopacy and the "prophetic" ministry; and between the power of the bishop and that of the synod. This idea of harmonious equilibrium between the fundamental factors of the Scheme was regarded as the only equitable solution of the problem of union.

The 1929 Scheme

For our present purpose it is only necessary to pick out from the 1929 Scheme the main points, certain of which were to become subjects of prolonged controversy.

THE FAITH OF THE CHURCH

In 1929 this was not a separate section as it is in the present Basis of Union; it was dealt with under Faith and Order. The three opening paragraphs are so important that we quote them in full:

"The uniting churches hold the faith which the church has ever held in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of mankind; and in

accordance with the revelation of God which He made, being Himself God incarnate, they worship one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity.

"They accept the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation and as the ultimate standard of faith.

"They accept the Apostles' Creed and the Creed commonly called the Nicene, as witnessing to and safeguarding that faith, which is continuously confirmed in the spiritual experience of the Church of Christ, and as containing a sufficient statement thereof for a Basis of Union."

Two general and non-controversial paragraphs on the Sacraments and the Ministry follow.

THE MINISTRY OF THE UNITED CHURCH

1. "The uniting churches, recognizing that the Episcopate, the Councils of the Presbyters and the Congregation of the Faithful must all have their appropriate places in the order of life of the united church, accept in particular the historic episcopate in a constitutional form as part of their basis of union, without intending thereby to imply, or to express a judgment on, any theory concerning episcopacy."

2. "The bishops shall perform their functions in accordance with the customs of the church, those functions being named and defined in the written constitution of the united church." They are to be elected. The consecration of bishops is to be performed by bishops, not less than three taking part; the ordination of presbyters is to be performed by the laying on of hands of the bishop and presbyters.

3. At the inauguration of the united church the bishops of the four southern dioceses are to be accepted as bishops of the united church and "all the other ministers of the uniting churches in the area of union shall be acknowledged as ministers of the Word and of the Sacraments, each retaining the standing . . . which he had before union in his own church", provided, of course, he assents to the Basis and Constitution.

4. "The uniting churches agree that it is their intention and expectation that eventually every minister exercising a permanent ministry in the united church will be an episcopally

ordained minister. For the thirty years succeeding the inauguration of the union, the ministers of any church whose missions have founded the originally separate parts of the united church may be received as ministers of the united church." They too would have to assent to the Basis and Constitution. "After this period of thirty years, the united church will consider and decide the question of such exceptions to the general principle of an episcopally ordained ministry."

5. The act of union would initiate a process of growing together into a life of complete spiritual unity; a process which would last for about thirty years. During that interim period difficulties and anomalies would be bound to arise. These could not be met by detailed regulations but only by "assurances given and received in a spirit of mutual confidence and love". The uniting churches therefore "pledge themselves and fully trust each other that in the united church no arrangements with regard to churches, congregations or ministers will knowingly be made, either generally or in particular cases, which would offend the conscientious convictions of any persons directly concerned, or which would hinder the development of complete unity within the church or imperil its subsequent progress towards union with other churches".

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED CHURCH

1. "The uniting churches agree that all persons who at the time of the union are communicant members of any of the uniting churches in the area of union shall have the privileges and responsibilities of communicant members of the united church, and as such shall be at liberty to receive communion in any of its churches.

"Similarly all baptized members and catechumens belonging to any of the uniting churches shall be baptized members and catechumens respectively of the united church".

2. All the present methods of admission to communion, whether episcopal confirmation or a service for the recognition of new members (in use among the Wesleyans) or a service of admission to full membership (in use in the S.I.U.C.) should be continued "until the Synod of the church shall frame general rules with regard to full or communicant membership".

THE WORSHIP OF THE UNITED CHURCH

Here there was to be a wide freedom "either to use the historic forms or not to do so as may best conduce to edification and to the worship of God in spirit and truth." No present form would be forbidden or made compulsory, but they would look forward to "the gradual preparation of some service book or directory of worship, which would embody everything in existing forms of worship which is found to be helpful for worship in India, together with such forms of worship as Indian Christianity under the guidance of the Holy Spirit may devise in the future". More detailed rules were provided for the service of Holy Communion, including a list of the "constituent parts of every Communion Service".

RELATIONS OF THE UNITED CHURCH WITH OTHER CHURCHES

1. The united church was to be autonomous from the first and free from the control "of any church or society external to itself". At the same time because of its origin and history it would have special relations with the churches of the West and would aim at maintaining fellowship "with other branches of the Catholic Church with which the uniting churches are now in communion". Thus it was hoped that it would be in full communion with all the parent churches, that its bishops would be invited to the Lambeth Conference and that delegates would attend the World Presbyterian Conference, the World Union of Congregational Churches and the Ecumenical Methodist Conference.

2. None of the ministers or members of the united church would forgo any of the rights with regard to intercommunion and intercelebration which they had before the union, and ministers would be at liberty to exercise any ministry in a church outside the area of the united church where they were entitled to minister before union and to retain the ecclesiastical status they had before union in the church of their ordination.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED CHURCH

1. There were to be pastorate Committees under the presbyter in charge, Diocesan Councils under the bishop of the diocese, and a Synod, presided over by the Moderator. All the

bishops would be *ex officio* members of the Synod, three presbyters and three laymen would be elected by each Diocesan Council (with additional representation for dioceses with a higher proportion of communicants).

2. The Synod would be "the supreme governing and legislative body of the united church, and the final authority in all matters pertaining to the church".

3. "When any proposition . . . is brought before the Synod which directly concerns

(*a*) the faith and doctrine of the church,

(*b*) the conditions of membership of the church,

(*c*) the functions of the ordained ministers of the church, or

(*d*) the worship of the church, and any forms of worship proposed for general use in the church,

the matter shall be discussed in the Synod in the usual manner, but the proposition shall be submitted to the Synod for final voting thereon only in a form approved by the bishops sitting separately for that purpose." Such a proposition may be discussed, referred back to the bishops, referred to the Diocesan Councils, or passed by a two-thirds majority of the Synod (three-quarters for any alteration in the Governing Principles of the church). But, "if the bishops refuse to place such a proposition before the Synod for a final vote in any form whatever, or if the proposition fail to receive the support of the necessary majority, the matter shall be dropped for that meeting of the Synod, but may be brought forward again with due notice after an interval to be fixed by regulation of the Synod".

The scheme was now presented to the "uniting churches" for consideration and decision. The three churches in South India were not officially committed to any part of it. They had been able to give general approval to the basic principles involved. So far the home churches had been able to content themselves with nodding approval to the bold endeavours of the younger church. The publication of the first edition of the scheme in 1929 changed the situation fundamentally. The ideas and ideals were now brought down to earth. They were translated into paragraphs and words which might have consequences

not only for South India but, by example and precedence, for other parts of the world where church union was considered.

Commentary

1. There was a preliminary definition of the *ancient creeds* as "containing a sufficient statement of the faith of the church" in the report of the first meeting of the Joint Committee. Generally speaking, in the 'twenties the problem of Equal Ministries and of the Episcopate overshadowed the questions of Faith and Creeds, and the latter were hardly discussed in the Joint Committee. In the S.I.U.C. there were Indian pastors, as E. Savarirayan, of Vellore, who had been influenced by liberal theology and who declared with reference to the creeds as tests of faith: "'He descended into hell' is generally considered an interpolation."[42] In 1921, S.I.U.C. representatives introduced into the Joint Committee statement on the creeds a "declaration of assent", saying: "It is no business of the church to enquire curiously into the individual's state of mind on each clause [in the creeds], for no two persons say any creed with precisely the same understanding." The North Tamil church council of the S.I.U.C., with leaders such as K. T. Paul and R. Robertson, in 1923 reported that the two ancient creeds represented the belief of the people of their church, "but we think candidates for ordination should be permitted to express their faith in other forms in harmony with these creeds"—an interesting case of individualism to which this particular council was to subscribe also in the following years.[43] A request that same year from the S.I.U.C. for a revision of the statement on the creeds did not win the favour of the Joint Committee.[44] A definitely sobering effect on individualistic fancies in the field of doctrine was created by the only actual heresy case which the S.I.U.C. had in the course of its history.

The Madras church council of the S.I.U.C. in 1926 scrutinized the teaching of the Indian pastor, Francis Kingsbury. The council, and the S.I.U.C. as a whole, suspended Kingsbury from the ministry because of statements such as: "Jesus was never conscious of being more than a mere man. Everyone

that teaches that Jesus is God robs God, though unintentionally, of his glory, for there is only one God, one without a second."[45] Confronted with this kind of teaching the S.I.U.C. had to establish some measure of orthodoxy and to "make it clear that its recognized ministers must in expression and preaching represent the church whose servants they are".

The 1929 Scheme states that the faith is "the faith which the church has ever held" and that the two creeds contain "a sufficient statement of the faith". This was a characteristic contribution of E. J. Palmer and was regarded by him as essential to the very method of union which he advocated. In his book *The Great Church Awakes*, of 1920, Palmer had in his fashion explained the idea behind the formula: "There is no room for Confessional Churches in the idea of the Great Church."[46] The confessions of the Reformation, he was to explain later, were divisive and out of balance. Only the *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus* of the Vincentian Canon could establish the foundation of the church. Whether this point was sufficiently appreciated by the representatives of the non-Anglican churches at this stage is difficult to say. The debate in the 'thirties was to make them aware of its real meaning.

2. "The fact, not the theory" of the *Episcopate* was, of course, common coinage in the Faith and Order debate in the 'twenties. The idea was derived from a particular stage of patristic scholarship represented by men such as Headlam and Streeter. To the non-Anglicans this formula was a safeguard against the acceptance of "Apostolic Succession".[47] The formula appeared in the 1928 report and was introduced into the Scheme in 1929.

An interesting debate with regard to the question who was to consecrate the first bishops was carried on from time to time in the 'twenties. The problem engaged the imagination of the theological authorities in the West. Professor Bartlet thought that the participation of a Swedish bishop (of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church) and an Oriental "would be valuable in connexion with a case which may be epoch-making as a precedent for future lines of reunion".[48] Bishop Headlam on the other hand was Anglican enough to take for granted that the Metropolitan of Calcutta was to become the principal

consecrating bishop, while he hoped that a bishop of the Orthodox Church would take part in the laying on of hands.[49] Matters were complicated because of Bartlet's suggestion, made in his famous letter of 1921, that presbyters were to take part in the consecrations. Palmer regarded this as "absurd", for "no one in the Catholic Church has ever supposed that a number of priests could ordain a man as a priest without the bishop".[50] Headlam was more amenable to this proposal. The pressure from the S.I.U.C. was strongly felt on this issue.[51] In the 1929 Scheme there was no provision for this suggestion other than with regard to the inauguration. In the consecration of the new bishops there was to be laying on of hands by at least three bishops "and by presbyters of the S.I.U.C. and the Wesleyan Church".

3. The statement on *Worship* follows closely the principles laid down by the Joint Committee in 1921 on the advice of Godfrey Phillips.[52] From the Anglican point of view the clause on Worship was felt to be of particular importance. It must be underlined here that by the formula of the 1929 Scheme the Anglicans admitted that the Book of Common Prayer could not be obligatory in the church. This was the most definite indication from their side that to them church union was not equivalent to absorption into the Anglican Communion. On the other hand there were now, as earlier (cf. J. H. Wyckoff), non-Anglicans in South India who were in favour of the Prayer Book.

4. The debate in the 'twenties on *the relationship of the Church of South India to the Anglican Church of India, Burma and Ceylon* was somewhat confusing. The second Joint Committee meeting in 1920 decided to confine the negotiations to "the dioceses of the Church of England in South India", one reason being that the churches concerned were linked together by language and race and formed a natural regional church.[53] As we have seen, Palmer stressed this Dravidian unity in 1921. As a member of a sub-committee on this question Palmer in 1928 deprecated "racial divisions with an independent church for each". A Dravidian Church, he now maintained, is a "perfectly right thing, but only as a province of an Indian Church, and an Indian Church is a right thing only as a region of the Church

Universal".[54] There was a far deeper issue at stake here. In South India they were not going to found a new church, Palmer claimed. They were concerned with maintaining a "continuous life through the union". For this reason the C.I.B.C. ought to be divided into two provinces "as a prerequisite to the union". There should be a General Council as a highest authority for both provinces, and any amendments with reference to the Governing Principles of the Southern Province or the C.S.I. had to be referred to this all-India General Council.[55] "This scheme or something like it is the only way that I can at present see for avoiding the dismemberment of our Church [i.e. the C.I.B.C.] in India."...

Palmer could not convince the others on the Joint Committee.[56] In 1929 the Committee expressed the conviction that union would before long be carried through in North India also, and that those two united churches would then form "an all-India United Church". But this was a solution rather different from that advocated at the time by Bishop Palmer.

Chapter X

NEGOTIATORS AT WORK

FROM 1929 to 1947—from the publication of the first edition of the Scheme to the Inauguration of Union—is a long time. Six new editions were published.

In studying this development one invariably gets a first impression of a long-drawn-out struggle by which every paragraph was eventually radically reshaped and then changed over again. It is perhaps not altogether unjust to say that, in the case of at least one or two historians who have treated this development, the confused impression is conveyed of a great multitude of plans and counterplans signifying nothing. The impression has also been conveyed of a sequence of events, sometimes called "a decade of deterioration", which reached its nadir about 1939–40, when a new conception of church order was introduced, after having passed a series of crises.[1] I suggest that this view of a confused debate dragging on throughout the 'thirties and 'forties is a case of optical illusion, caused by the succession of seven editions of the Scheme. In fact, the development is more simple than that and can be reduced to certain broad outlines.

The edition of 1929, presented as a well-balanced equilibrium between different traditions, was in a couple of years, 1930–32, succeeded by a Scheme which on fundamental issues of Church Order represented the final form, only slightly to be modified after that year. It is this Scheme of 1932 and its conception of church order which deserves our attention. It is important to stress that this realignment was swift.

Towards the end of the decade, as from 1937, the fundamental issue of the Faith of the Church was brought into the open. This was settled in two years and the result incorporated in the decisions of the Joint Committee in 1939.

Naturally there are exceptions and modifications to this construction. We shall point out these in their proper place, but these modifications need not detract from the main emphases.

The picture should be drawn even more definitely and clearly with reference to the parts played by the different delegations on the Joint Committee. The modified Scheme obtained in 1932 was the result of criticism which the Methodists and the S.I.U.C. delivered against the provisions for church order in the edition of 1929. As from 1933–34 the Methodists aligned themselves with the Anglicans in defence of the church order as it was then set out in the Scheme, and were supported by Presbyterians, such as J. H. Maclean and Indian leaders of the Presbyterian tradition. The Congregationalist opposition raised many fundamental problems of church order in 1935 leading to the crisis of that year. Questions on the Faith of the Church were raised by the S.I.U.C. councils in 1937–39. They brought the ferment of the Reformation into a scheme which was professedly built on the broad "comprehensive" foundations of the early Church. There was a modification of the balance between bishops and Synod in 1939, but it was only slightly different from that which was already achieved in 1932.

The Appeal to History

The struggle over South India was not really fought over South India at all. Fundamentally and theologically it was concerned with building a replica of the early Church on Indian soil. The symptoms of this struggle appeared as different and changing viewpoints over technical problems such as the validity of ministries, the Pledge, etc. But underneath there were different attitudes on exegetical and patristic questions, and it was on *this* level that the really important debate was carried through.

The main contestants in this debate were not to be found in the assemblies of South India. They were sitting in their studies in Oxford and in Cheltenham. They were the same two men who in the 'twenties had put forth the fundamental ideas of the South India scheme: V. Bartlet and E. J. Palmer. Both

these men decided very deliberately that the real issues lay, not in Bangalore and Trichinopoly, but in Carthage and Antioch. Dr. Bartlet, responding in 1932 to a strong challenge from Bishop Palmer, called himself "an old fellow-worker in this most representative effort after and experiment in the field of recovering the outward unity of the one Church of Christ, on the basis of sub-apostolic principles of church order—for at least a century after the close of the apostolic age, if not for a good deal longer".[2] Nobody could agree more readily than Palmer with this view of the hidden mechanism of the South India Church union debate. Only he would not accept the sub-apostolic age as the point of reference. He chose another century. The debate between Bartlet and Palmer was really making actual, in the case of South India, the patristic issue between F. J. A. Hort and C. H. Turner.

In his Birkbeck lectures at Cambridge in 1924 Bartlet had staged the interplay of two elements in the life of the early Church: the inward, spiritual and experiential on the one hand, and the external, formal and organizational on the other.[3] When in August 1932 Palmer had sent a strong criticism of the modifications made by the Joint Committee in June 1932, and concluded that what they now had was "not the historic episcopate, but a fancy episcopate", Bartlet in defence of these modifications mobilized his patristic arguments. His attitude was similar, he said, to that taken by Headlam in his Bampton Lectures; for Headlam held "the scales evenly and inclusively" of both Hort and Gore, while Palmer tended to Gore's position. Bartlet wanted to return, not only to the old undivided Church of the fourth and fifth centuries, but still further back, to a more "constitutional" or well-balanced stage in its relations to the presbyterate and laity.[4] This stage was the Ignatian Church, the "nearest to the *ethos* of the sub-apostolic Church".[5] This was an important issue, because Bartlet claimed that "the Ignatian episcopate, viz. as the unit of normal fellowship and habitual common worship" was "the episcopate of Congregationalism".[6] Palmer welcomed this debate about the early Church. It was of course he, the Anglican, who had at the very beginning of the negotiations introduced this approach. But he differed from Bartlet over a chronological point, and this

had far-reaching consequences. This is how he wrote to Bartlet in November 1932—the correspondence between the two scholars was mimeographed by Banninga and sent to the members of the Joint Committee:

"With all deference to you I venture to say that it is impossible to take the first two centuries as the norm of the constitution that is being built. We know too little about it, and it exhibited a largely tentative and chaotic state of the Church. The process of reunion which is now before us is very similar to the process by which the Church came out of the uncertainties and confusions of the second century into the relative clearness and simplicity of the latter part of the third, fourth and fifth centuries." The struggle of the Church in those centuries against gnosticism "is precisely the situation that is upon you in India in the lifetime of many who will see the union inaugurated".

To Palmer the appeal to history was of fundamental importance for the very purposes of the South India Scheme. He felt in 1932 that the foundations which he had laid were threatened —and he told the Joint Committee this. To him the reference to Cyprian and the Vincentian Canon was part of the very method of achieving real union. We may perhaps summarize his attitude in this way: The little church views with their anxious balancing of very recent heritages, of very recent particular ecclesiastical formations, had to give way to a larger view: the church of the future could only be the Church of the Fathers. The method of placing oneself in the future, and into the future Church of India was not to compromise over a "chaotic assortment of different and often mutually inconsistent opinions", but to be contemporaneous with the undivided universal Church in its struggles against gnosticism and syncretism and in its achievements.[7]

The patristic arguments put forward by the scholars in Oxford and elsewhere were closely studied by the leaders in South India. Almost without exception they agreed with Palmer and Bartlet that the early Church was the concern of South India. Banninga naturally took his arguments from Bartlet and theologians of similar outlook. As a professor of theology at the Pasumalai Seminary, he communicated these ideas to successive generations of prospective S.I.U.C. ministers.

In the Joint Committee as well as in *Church Union News and Views* he put forth his opinion, shared by a host of missionaries: "I have developed a theory that the further the Church removed from Pentecost the more it forgot the teachings of Jesus and began to follow the example of the Old Testament and the Roman Empire. Therefore you have in Cyprian the development of the sacerdotal and imperial ideas."[8] Banninga's ideals were "Christian brotherhood" and "comprehension" in a church that must be not sacerdotal and imperial, but "spiritual" and "democratic". Cyprian, therefore, was not for India. But the power of the Palmer-Bartlet patristic debate kept Banninga's own argument and that of his colleagues within the same sphere, namely, the parallel of the early Church and the church of the future. It was a matter of choosing between the second and fourth century.

In this debate Bishop Azariah also took part. Hort's *Christian Ecclesia* and Headlam's *Bampton Lectures* were his authorities, and to these "not much new matter can be added".[9] J. A. Jacob, a Congregationalist teacher at the Bangalore United Theological College, took his stand on Streeter's *The Primitive Church.* On the other hand there were, of course, Indian church leaders who did not accept the Palmer-Bartlet appeal to history. This standpoint was succinctly represented by K. T. Paul in a statement in the last Joint Committee meeting in which he took part: "I have no use at all for history."[10]

It was A. Streckeisen who challenged this appeal to the Fathers. The Continental missionary felt somewhat out of place within a framework that had been built by an Anglican architect. Palmer had decided the field of reference: the early Church. Bartlet thought that Palmer appealed to the wrong century. Streckeisen went one step further: the appeal was made to the wrong historical period altogether. Not the fourth, nor the second, but the sixteenth century was the authority. And the sixteenth century Reformation challenged the cherished ideal to which the architects of union had adhered: the principle of comprehensiveness. Reformation and Pietism, and Karl Barth and Karl Heim, had shown Streckeisen that comprehensiveness was "no solution for questions of faith". Each reformation had led back from comprehensiveness to simplicity

and definiteness. Holy Scripture, not Vincent of Lerins, ought to be the authority.[11]

With Streckeisen's ideas in mind Banninga wrote to Palmer in February 1938: "I do not think that there is much use in ignoring the history of the Reformation and trying to base our whole union upon the history of the first few centuries." This shift of emphasis, in one of the leading men in the negotiations, was significant. It epitomized the tension which was to become the *leitmotiv* of the 'thirties: the Church of the Fathers as the model of the Church of the future, and, against this, the pressures of the Reformation.

From 1929 the Scheme of Union was before the world. With a somewhat daring mixture of metaphors Bishop Stephen Neill points to the range of vision which the Joint Committee had to keep in mind: "The little group of men and women which met year by year in South India knew that they were like performers in the ring, lighted up by powerful searchlights, their every movement watched by a vast and unseen cloud of witnesses in every country of the world."[12] Who were the performers in that ring?

Anglicans

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. These Anglicans regarded the Scheme of 1929 as establishing a just equilibrium between the various church traditions. But in the 'thirties the S.I.U.C. challenged this conclusion, and towards the end of the 'thirties they took the initiative—sometimes it had to be regarded as a negative initiative—leading to apparent deadlock. While the Methodists, as we have pointed out, held the balance in their hands, the Anglican representatives now found themselves in a position requiring certain aspects of the Scheme to be reshaped—if there was to be any church union at all. What were the personal resources of the Anglicans for meeting this challenge?

In the last resort it was not Canterbury nor the Lambeth Conference that had to decide on the participation of Anglicans

in the union. This was the responsibility of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, and the Metropolitan, Foss Westcott, was actively engaged on the side of union. The Anglican delegation was appointed by the Episcopal Synod meeting in Calcutta. Foss Westcott, who in the 'twenties had largely left the church union problem to Palmer and the South Indian bishops, took a close personal interest in the negotiations in the 'thirties. He did not himself attend the meetings but he kept up a steady correspondence with the leaders.

In 1929 Bishop Palmer left India to become assistant Bishop in the Diocese of Gloucester. This meant a serious loss to the Anglican delegation on the Joint Committee and, of course, to the Committee itself. Bishop Palmer's presence had been of decisive importance in the 'twenties. But in going to England Palmer did not sever his connexion with South India. During the 'thirties his influence on the thinking of the Committee was felt almost as strongly as before. By letters and memoranda he constantly gave constructive advice, sometimes in the form of warnings or even scathing criticism. He was opposed by Anglo-Catholic theologians, who thought him inconsistent. He applied his category of Catholic rule and Biblical exception to the set of problems which he encountered in these years. This solid but flexible approach he also used in his interpretation of South India to the English public. He did great service to the cause also in this respect, writing mainly to *The Times* and the *Church Times*.[13]

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.[14] Bishop Waller now became the most faithful interpreter of the inclusive "Great Church" vision which gave the constructive idea to the union edifice.[15, 16]

Bishop Western was the outstanding draftsman on the Joint Committee in these years. No Anglican saw more clearly than Western that the Church of South India had to be, not an Indian copy of the Church of England, but a local representation of the Catholic Church, embodying as fairly as possible *all* the traditions which entered the union. In so far as one may risk a gradation of "churchmanship" of some of the leading

Anglicans, Western in the 'thirties must be said to have left the High Church ideals of his earlier years. The evangelical climate of the Tinnevelly diocese and the Protestant theology which he met in the Joint Committee influenced him. He was more willing than some of his colleagues to meet the non-episcopal demands half-way. Western was supported and succeeded by a missionary and theological teacher from his own Tinnevelly diocese, Stephen Neill, a member of the Joint Committee from 1935 onwards. He stated the Anglican standpoint with brilliant lucidity and had a capacity to understand other traditions which was of particular value.[17]

The Anglo-Catholic view was also represented. In 1930 Father T. E. T. Shore, of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, had had enough of the Protestant atmosphere of the committee and was succeeded in 1934 by an S.P.G. missionary in Chota Nagpur, Noel Hall, from 1936 Bishop of Chota Nagpur. His patristic and liturgical scholarship was an asset in a group of church leaders in India who suddenly found that they needed exact information on the Church of the Fathers. The boisterous, generous Methodist, C. W. Posnett, would refer to Bishop Hall, calling out loudly: "And now, what does St. Cyprian say about this, Bishop?" or, "The mediaeval word, please!"[18] The contribution of Bishop Hall was the more significant as his Anglo-Catholic principles were never weakened. His contribution was the outcome of a soul-searching struggle with the problem of church union: "To be in a state of schism, and to be guilty of the sin of schism, are two quite distinct things. To be still in that state but eagerly desiring to heal the schism is a blameless condition. I fear to be one who prevents union and so be guilty of the sin of schism."[19]

Another outstanding Anglo-Catholic was the Bishop of Nasik, Philip H. Loyd, who became a member of the Joint Committee in 1930. He had been Palmer's chaplain in Bombay and later his assistant bishop. Many observers have referred to the spiritual quality of the Committee meetings. Nobody did more to make the business of negotiations transparent with the presence of God than Bishop Loyd. His position was far from easy. Theologically and by natural disposition he was an Anglo-Catholic. But he held together with this fundamental attitude

a passion for the union of the whole Church. There was a strong tension between these two attitudes, but it was resolved on the level of deep personal piety. His testimony to the value and significance of episcopacy—interpreting the bishop as a Father-in-God—did more than intricate theological arguments to overcome opposition to the Scheme, and certainly achieved more than the barbed remarks with which the Indian Anglo-Catholic priest, J. B. Gnanaolivu—member of the Joint Committee 1928–34—summed up the position of the non-episcopal churches.

It was sometimes critically said—particularly by the *Christo Samaj* group—that the Anglican delegation had too few Indians. If there was some truth in this, it was counterbalanced by the fact that Bishop Azariah of Dornakal was an Anglican—and now consciously more Anglican than ever before.

In the 'thirties Azariah was tending towards a stronger emphasis on the Catholic tradition. Sometimes in referring to the Congregationalists he expressed himself in terms which were rather less than conciliatory. In these years he was becoming a world figure. He was building his great Indian cathedral at Dornakal (begun in 1930 and consecrated in 1938). He was regarded, and indeed regarded himself, as the outstanding leader of South Indian church union. In his library at Dornakal I noticed that the Indian bishop had heavily underlined a sentence in his copy of Headlam's book on *Christian Unity*, of 1930: "It is only those who have the courage of leadership who can accomplish anything that is worth accomplishing in the world."[20] In the sphere of church union Bishop Azariah had this courage—and the ability to match it.

An article which he wrote in 1933, called "The Church in the Mind of Christ", gives his ecclesiology in a few words: "It will be our task to see if we can discover in the teachings and doings of our Lord any justification for the content that the early Christian teachers put into the word *Ecclesia*. This ground has been so fully worked out by several notable writers that originality is wellnigh impossible. Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*, Hamilton's *People of God*, Robertson's *Regnum Dei* and Headlam's *Bampton Lectures* are scholarly treatises to which not much new matter

can be added. In my presentation of the subject here I borrow freely from the writings of these authors."

After a careful study of the relevant Biblical passages Azariah concludes: "This Church thus continues the work of the Incarnate Lord—it is His new Body through which alone He can now reach the world. It is in the world and to the world as He Himself was during the period of His Incarnate life. . . . For there is one Body of Christ throughout the world, one Spirit that fills and vitalizes this entire Body, and one hope of glory towards which the whole body progresses. . . . Alas, the facts to-day are otherwise. What is most immediately present to our view is a divided Christendom. Need I say the consequence is a feeble realization of the vitalizing spirit, a dull perception of the Christian hope, a loose hold on the Lord who loved the Church and gave Himself for the Church, resulting in a loose grip on the faith in the Lord Jesus and in the proclamation of His Cross as the one hope of humanity."[21]

If because of his background and wide international contacts Azariah was regarded by his critics as somewhat estranged from a genuine Indian approach, his Anglican colleague, A. J. Appasamy—at this time on the staff of Bishop's College, Calcutta, member of the Joint Committee from 1930—represented the "Indian view". He interpreted the bishop as the Christian *guru*. There was indeed a tendency for the theological debate, in the Committee and outside it, to become rather more "Western" than "Indian", and here Appasamy's particular contribution was of value. Canon R. A. Manuel, who joined the Committee in 1935, was another outstanding Indian church leader.

Azariah and Appasamy were sons of Tinnevelly clergymen. So was Manuel, whose father had been closely associated with Bishop Caldwell, of the S.P.G. section of the Tinnevelly Church. Manuel was Anglo-Catholic by predisposition and conviction, and he had lifelong interest in the liturgy of the Church. Endowed with personal magnetism he was an ardent advocate of church union in the 'thirties; later on he became less sure that the general trend in the negotiations was the right one.[22]

Methodists

During the 'twenties the Madura group had constituted the *via media* in the negotiations between the Anglicans on the one side and the Congregationalists on the other. In the 'thirties this mediating role in the Joint Committee was taken over by the Methodists. There is an interesting dynamic of human action and reaction at work in this change of roles: for at the same time as the Methodists take over the central position from the Madura tradition, this latter group, particularly in the contribution of Dr. J. J. Banninga, attempts to represent the more radical S.I.U.C. point of view.

The British Methodists on the Joint Committee were without exception "Wesleyans". They represented largely a "high church" Methodism. The "Methodist Sacramental Fellowship", founded on the ideas expressed in the eucharistic hymns of Charles Wesley, had strong supporters among the missionaries in South India, especially in the newcomers of this period such as Marcus Ward. The Methodist delegation was appointed by the Provincial Synod and so had strong backing from an effectively centralized church body which could pursue a determined policy towards a definite goal. Gulliford, Hooper, Monahan and Tomlinson kept the Home Board in London effectively informed about every move and change in South India. The visit to India of Professor W. F. Lofthouse in 1934, and the capable advocacy of the Scheme by Indian missionaries at the Methodist Conferences in Britain each year, won this important body for the union. In 1934 the Methodist Conference declared that "the Scheme of 1934, taken as a whole, was not contrary to the principles of Methodism". This was a decision of primary importance. While towards the end of the decade Congregationalist opposition to certain features of the Scheme was sharpened and Anglo-Catholic reaction as a consequence grew more vocal, the Methodists, themselves becoming more "Catholic" and ecumenical, worked steadily towards the goal.

The Rev. M. Taylor, a Methodist missionary in South India, summed up the position in 1937 as far as the Methodists were concerned: "Conversation turns now to ways and means by

which union, the main principles of which are acceptable to us, may be achieved. For us, for all vital purposes, the day of debate is over."[23]

It was significant that the Joint Committee always met in the Methodist Synod Hall, Royapettah, Madras. The central position taken by the Methodists is shown by Gulliford's part as chairman of the Joint Committee meetings until his death in 1937. In 1938 this place was filled by another staunch Methodist, C. H. Monahan. Even more significant was the secretaryship. In 1934 Dr. Banninga left this post and was succeeded by the Methodist J. S. M. Hooper, who from this year also became the editor of *Church Union News and Views* as well as one of the leaders on the Continuation, Business and Drafting Committees. Hooper was the ideal administrator of church union negotiations. He objects himself, and rightly, to being called "the architect of union".[24] But as administrator and secretary he certainly became the pilot of union, performing his task with consummate skill.

Hooper was a convert to the cause of South Indian union. From his days as an undergraduate at Oxford he had harboured a deep-rooted suspicion of Anglicans. For twenty-seven years, 1905–32, he served as missionary in Madras, but did not take part in the Faith and Order discussions initiated by Whitehead. When in 1926 the first Methodist representatives on the Joint Committee gave their enthusiastic reports on the union negotiations, Hooper regarded the very idea of union as "utterly impracticable". In 1928 he was appointed by the Wesleyan Provincial Synod to the Joint Committee in order to guard against undue sacerdotalism. He had doubts respecting the honesty of the Anglican negotiators. It was Palmer who won Hooper for the cause. For a day and a half Hooper presented his objections to the Scheme. Palmer was not ruffled. "The patience the old man showed with me!" Hooper exclaimed more than twenty years later. Winning Hooper's support was not the least of Palmer's many achievements. In 1932 Hooper became the first General Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society in India, Burma and Ceylon and moved to Nagpur. From this central position in the Christian movement in India he served the interests of church union generally

and in South India in particular. To him the theological problem of union was not the most pressing; he opposed the tendency to make exact theological agreement a prerequisite of action, maintaining that most theological differences could be best discussed and resolved in a united church. Once the practical need and the practical possibility of union were admitted, there ought to be no hesitation. "Let us get on with the job" was his slogan.[25]

The Mysore Methodists were represented by H. Gulliford and W. E. Tomlinson, the former serious and solid, the latter a man of great charm who gave glow and sparkle to the interest in union in the Methodist Church and outside it.[26] One of the greatest Methodist leaders on the Joint Committee was C. H. Monahan of the Madras district. Three of his brothers were priests in the Anglican Church, one being Bishop of Monmouth, and Monahan as a central figure in the Joint Committee and the various sub-committees had a real understanding of the Anglican point of view. His collaboration with Bishop Waller was particularly friendly. The only personal reference in *Who's Who* he would allow was "Special interest: South Indian Church Union".[27] With inherent personal authority he furthered this special interest. Like Tomlinson he was above all an evangelist. The Pledge as a device of South Indian union has been particularly ascribed to Monahan. Whether this was actually his creation or not, in any case the method of union as expressed by the Pledge was one which he effectively advocated in the Joint Committee and elsewhere.

Like J. S. M. Hooper, C. W. Posnett had to be converted to the cause. Representing the Hyderabad Synod, Posnett at first was very hesitant about union, and so was the Synod in Hyderabad.[28] Such change in the organization of the church as would follow on union would have "disastrous effects", Indian Methodist ministers claimed. The possible effects of union were seen in a different light when from 1932 Posnett began to work for organic union with the Anglicans and the S.I.U.C. It was the Anglican decision on intercommunion in 1932 which definitely made Posnett a defender of the Scheme.

Indian Methodist leaders of great ability served on the Joint Committee. None was more eloquent and vehement than Paul

Rangaramanujam.[29] His nimble ability to defend two or more irreconcilable attitudes at the same time would on some occasions in the Joint Committee cause Bishop Waller visible pain, but once Rangaramanujam had been won for union, he worked hard to bring it about. K. Monsingh, a layman, never allowed an occasion to pass without reminding the Committee of the rights and duties of laymen in the Church of South India. On the other hand there were Indian Methodist leaders, especially in Hyderabad, who opposed union. Prominent among these was the Rev. Ananta Rao, who thought that the Scheme was more "sacerdotal" than "spiritual".[30]

The S.I.U.C.

For the Methodists "the day of debate was over". This was by no means the case with the S.I.U.C. It is not altogether unfair to state that the long delays and the many important editorial changes after the Scheme of 1929 were caused mainly by the attitude of some of the S.I.U.C. leaders. From their point of view the changes were necessary. The 1929 Scheme purported to establish a delicate equilibrium between different traditions. But in the eyes of some of the English Congregationalists and their Indian co-workers the Scheme was out of balance; it was decidedly weighted on the Anglican side. If they were to accept union at all, their condition had to be the introduction of something more definitely "Congregational". Their main dilemma was that at Tranquebar in 1919 their own representatives had to a large extent committed their church to union on an episcopal basis, and now in the 'thirties they found themselves in a position of fighting a prolonged rearguard action against this initial generous admission.

The number of S.I.U.C. church councils represented on the Joint Committee was increased to eight when in 1932 the Basel Mission—Malabar, South Kanara and South Maratha—were invited to send delegates. The quality and direction of the theological contribution given by the Basel missionary, A. Streckeisen, made this decision of particular importance.

The main cleavage in the S.I.U.C. with regard to union was the same in the 'thirties as in the 'twenties, but now even more

clear-cut. On the one side were the "L.M.S. councils"—Travancore, North Tamil and Telugu—with which the new Malabar council at this time often joined forces. On the other side were the mainly Presbyterian and Reformed councils: Madras, Madura, Jaffna and Kanara.

A fundamental difficulty experienced in the relationship between the S.I.U.C. and the Joint Committee was the method of appointing delegates. From 1920 the S.I.U.C. delegates had been elected by the General Assembly of the church. This, as it turned out, assured that some of the most effective advocates of union were sent to the Committee: Banninga, Maclean, Meshach Peter, H. Sumitra, C. J. Lucas and B. Samuel. In the 'twenties these had as a matter of course been the spokesmen of their church; such they were also in the 'thirties. But the more the union problems were discussed on the level of church councils and local councils, the more it became apparent that the S.I.U.C. delegation was not necessarily representative of the various shades of opinion within the ranks of their church. We shall later see that there was a serious crisis in church union negotiations in 1935. This was largely due to opposition from the L.M.S. church councils in Travancore, in North Tamil and Telugu. But this opposition had to make itself known through other channels than that of the Joint Committee.

One of the English leaders in the Travancore church council told Maclean in December 1935: "I am not sure whether you realize how much substance there is behind the criticism that the committee on union has been unrepresentative of the churches, at least as regards Travancore, or how impossible it is to achieve anything in the matter down here while this lasts. Take the existing position, for instance. At the last meeting the Travancore church council passed its minute requiring fundamental changes in the Scheme by a majority of more than 75 per cent. Yet (with the exception of myself) all the Travancore members on the present union committee are outstanding leaders of the minority. [This unrepresentative character of the committee] has been due to the method of election, the desire for continuity, and the fact that certain supporters of the Scheme were amongst the best known members of the Assembly."[31]

At the S.I.U.C. General Assembly in 1935 the representation was changed. Appointments were to be on "an elective basis", with the church councils themselves responsible for appointing their own Committee members. Due consideration was also given to the relative numerical strength of each council: Travancore was to appoint four members, the Madura, Madras, North Tamil and Telugu councils three members each, and the smaller Jaffna, Kanarese and Malabar church councils two members each.[32] To these twenty-two members the Executive Committee was to add three other members.

This was a significant decision. It was obviously in line with Congregational self-determination. On the other hand the new method lent itself to a certain erratic tendency: occasional local opinion could sway the balance within the S.I.U.C. representation in a way which not always made for consistency. Some who were generally known as determined opponents of the general trend of the Scheme were on occasion appointed as members: the Indian theological layman from Travancore, D. M. Devasahayam; two L.M.S. missionaries, W. T. M. Clewes and H. V. Martin; and B. Rottschaefer of the Reformed Church of America. A comparison of the Joint Committee attendance figures illustrates the problem of consistent representation, with which the S.I.U.C. was struggling. The total number of different persons attending the Joint Committee meetings from 1920 to 1947 was in the case of Anglicans 49, Methodists 51, and S.I.U.C. 71. This made the work in the Joint Committee difficult, particularly as much of the time was spent on debates between the S.I.U.C. representatives themselves: Maclean would defend the Scheme against the enthusiastic onslaught of Devasahayam on the floor of the Joint Committee, or Banninga and Meshach Peter would have to speak against other members of their own church. The S.I.U.C., being federal in character, could not lay down a definite policy beforehand but was represented by differing views of individuals. There was a danger in this. It raised the whole problem of continuity and discontinuity in church union work. In order to achieve solid results a central core of committed representatives was needed. The process of negotiation could not be dragged on for too long a time. If union was to become a reality at all, it

had to be the work of one generation, of a group of men who had seen the vision and who were determined to make it, under God, a reality.

The outstanding non-Indian leaders in the S.I.U.C. delegation were J. M. Banninga and J. H. Maclean. We have already seen the role they played in the initial stages of the negotiations. J. H. Maclean, the Scottish Presbyterian, steered his course steadily and solidly in the direction of union. If in the 'twenties he had with a somewhat dour energy stressed the parity and equality of ministries, his experience with some Congregationalist leaders in the S.I.U.C.—Indians and non-Indians—gave him increasing sympathy with the Anglican representatives on the Committee. He was impressed by the sacrifice which they had made in the interest of union, and he definitely opposed the increased Congregationalist influence which towards the end of the 'thirties pleaded for the practice of lay celebration. Some of the younger generation in the S.I.U.C., who were later to take a leading part in the union negotiations, were led by Maclean's example to a pro-union standpoint. This was the case with R. A. Dudley of Madura and Dr. H. Lefever of Travancore.

With increased Methodist leadership on the Joint Committee, Dr. Banninga saw his primary duty as trying to rally *all* the S.I.U.C. forces. In 1927 he had himself joined the Congregational Church in the United States, thereby leaving the Reformed Church of America, in which he had been educated and ordained.[33] This was one of the reasons why in the 'thirties he took more cognizance of Congregationalist views than he had done before. He felt increasingly his responsibility to understand the Congregationalist brethren in the S.I.U.C. and to give due consideration to their claims in order to procure a well-balanced scheme. If thereby his standpoint at the end of the 'thirties seemed different from that taken earlier, it was perhaps fundamentally a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter.*

Perhaps the most positive contribution of the S.I.U.C. to organic church union was the scope it gave to the initiative of Indian leaders. Two of the greatest among these had passed away in 1930: K. T. Paul and V. Santiago. Their contemporaries, such as Meshach Peter and B. Samuel and C. J. Jones,

had responsible positions and used these in furthering the cause of union; C. J. Lucas made an important contribution to the debate at Edinburgh in 1937. There was also a younger generation of well-educated leaders in particularly strategic positions. They had to advocate the cause in church councils which tended to be critical of union: M. J. Sargunam at Coimbatore (North Tamil) and J. A. Jacob of Travancore, for some time at Bangalore. Both had personal connexions with Tinnevelly and the Anglican tradition there.

It was often said at the time that the Scheme was "purely Western", that it contained nothing which was particularly "Indian". In Travancore there was, however, an opposition group which claimed to represent the Indian viewpoint and which even produced a scheme of its own, *An Evangelical Scheme of Union.*

The author of this supposedly Indian scheme was having an increasing influence in the Travancore church council and made this felt in the Joint Committee itself. His name was D. M. Devasahayam, B.A., B.D. In an interview he recounted his interesting history: "My parents were Anglicans from Donovhur and later became L.M.S. members. I was baptized in C.M.S., brought up in L.M.S., brought to light by the Salvation Army [by a sudden conversion in Nagercoil, Travancore, in 1905, in a revival which carried some 150 people with it], sent to Serampore by an S.P.G. missionary, Downes, trained there by Baptists." He was one of the first group of B.D. graduates at Serampore in 1915. For a while he went about as a Christian *sannyasi*, but about 1918 he came under the spell of "Liberal" theology through F. Kingsbury. He was a man of some means. "After B.D. I became a tea planter just as Carey became an indigo planter. So I am in the apostolic succession. I don't believe in any other succession." He could therefore spend his time furthering the cause in which he was interested. In the 'twenties he became a member of the *Christo Samaj* and was for some time an editor of the *Christian Patriot.* In Nagercoil from about 1930 he made himself the rallying point of malcontents who opposed the Scheme. Two organizations, the South Travancore Christian Young Men's Retreat and the so-called Bangalore Conference Continuation Group,

gave him the platform he needed for pushing his ideas. While Devasahayam's first pamphlets were largely a string of the usual long words—"sacerdotalism, ritualism, exclusive church; resuscitation of mediaeval forms, formulae and institutions"—his scheme of 1933 professed to be a "Basis of Union to Comprehend All Evangelical Christians".[34] Being a B.D. himself, he had produced his own creed: "I believe in and acknowledge God, the Ultimate Power and Supreme Being, who ruleth, etc." The Scriptures had their place in his faith: "I accept the Holy Scriptures and especially the New Testament as containing all things necessary for salvation." The sacraments are described as "symbolic embodiments of religious truth". The creeds of the Church are "inadequate for modern requirements of faith. It will serve no useful purpose for the church in India to lay the emphasis on any but the essentials which can make an unmistakable and compelling evangelistic appeal to those outside." The problem of the ministry, with which the Joint Committee had been wrestling for years, was settled in a neat formula: "The Church has at all times been blessed with individuals endowed with special gifts of leadership and service, and it is conducive to the welfare and well-being of the Church to give due recognition to such by granting them suitable status and opportunities for the exercise of their gifts." There would be two groups of ministers, one consisting of "paid official ministers, and another, the prophetic ministry". These latter should "be treated with all the dignity and honour that is due to their intrinsic worth". These prophets "may be celibate Sadhus, but in all cases shall be men with the self-sacrifice and devotion expected of such". The church organization was largely modelled on the Travancore Congregational system and would be a union of "fully independent churches" (i.e. local congregations).

It is from this angle—a Nagercoil combination of nineteenth-century Liberal Protestantism and loyalty to supposedly Congregational ideas with a dash of Indian romanticism—that Devasahayam viewed the efforts of the Joint Committee.[35] In August 1935 he formed an organization called the South Travancore Evangelical Association, to "counteract any acceptance or approval of the scheme in its present form by

church authorities without radical changes from the evangelical and congregational points of view". His main purpose was to contrast the Tranquebar Appeal of 1919 with the 1929 Scheme, the former being "anti-doctrinal" and therefore good, the latter being "pro-doctrinal" and therefore bad. The Lausanne 1927 conception of the ministry was good, that of Edinburgh 1937 was bad. He also claimed that "the Indian genius" was pro-Congregationalist, while the 1929 Scheme was anti-Congregationalist.[36] This meant that church union must be "democratic"—in Devasahayam's way. When Bishop Azariah in a controversy with Devasahayam referred to the attitude taken by the Kanarese Church Council giving general approval to the Scheme, Devasahayam's retort was not markedly democratic: "The Kanarese Council is the smallest of the S.I.U.C. councils with a communicant membership of 300 souls, who, I suppose, are of the general run of Indian Christian community, not endowed with extraordinary theological and ecclesiastical wisdom to enable them to understand and evaluate the subtleties of the abstruse document placed before them."[37] Devasahayam belonged to the biggest church council, which could be counted upon to understand subtleties! It was this council which in January 1935 decided to send Devasahayam together with three other colleagues to the Joint Committee in order to present their particular point of view.

A Joint Committee

One secret of South India's achievement is that the three delegations became, in spite of all, a *Joint* Committee. There were tensions, to be sure. We shall study the nature of these tensions presently. But it will not be possible to understand fully how the different schools of thought were brought together without taking into account the atmosphere of happy friendship which permeated the negotiations. This matter of *atmosphere* is so important in the case of South Indian union that it deserves particular notice.

For the Madras meeting in 1929 Bishop Waller and J. S. M. Hooper took care of the hospitality arrangements for the delegates. Everyone was accommodated in the home of someone

belonging to a church other than his own: the Anglicans coming to Madras for the meeting were the guests in Methodist or Congregationalist or Presbyterian homes, and *vice versa*. The preachers in the Sunday services were appointed according to the same plan.

The atmosphere of the meetings was characterized by humour and by prayer, by patience and eager expectancy. On one occasion someone had been insisting that the only adequate transmission of ministerial authority could be by bishops in the Apostolic Succession. The Methodist Paul Rangaramanujam broke the awkward silence that followed with the suggestion that two things were conveyed in ordination, grace and authority, and Free Churchmen might well be content to be channels of the grace, if the Anglicans wanted to be transmitters of authority.[38] On another occasion the theme of the debate was worship in the united church. Bishop Palmer pleaded for the preservation of the devotional treasures of the ancient and the mediaeval church. W. Scopes, a young Congregationalist missionary, a newcomer to India, made his maiden speech urging against Palmer that the element of spontaneity should not be forgotten. Palmer, in his own way, graciously agreed. But, he said, "Some of us would find it difficult with free prayer. I myself am not accustomed to pray extemporaneously. If—if this were required, what would you recommend I do, young man?"

"I should practise, Sir." Scopes blurted out.[39]

Whether in the Committee prayer was "free" or "read", there was prayer and union in prayer. The Joint Committee meetings were a spiritual experience, which forced men to humble supplication and praise. It was a prayer impelled by expectancy. They had the conviction that the Promised Land would very soon be reached and union achieved in three or four years' time. Towards the end of the 'thirties this expectancy was somewhat dimmed by setbacks, but the resolve of the leaders to see this thing through was as determined as ever. At least some new members were appointed to the Committee at each meeting, and this meant new queries and new problems. The patience with which leaders such as Western, Maclean and Hooper explained the Scheme to opponents and newcomers

was a real contribution to the cause. It was this atmosphere which helped the members to overcome the obvious divisions according to delegations. Personal friendships were formed. Nuclei of new and fertile combinations were established. Banninga felt this when in July 1932—significantly after the first act of intercommunion of the Joint Committee—he wrote to Bishop Azariah: "I do not look upon you and myself as two different parties interested in different sides of this matter. I am most thoroughly of the opinion that you and I want the same thing and that therefore we ought to work together in every respect to accomplish the end we have in view. I believe that you want this union. I certainly also want it."

Five years later Banninga's position had to some extent changed, but his plea to Azariah was the same: "I regard the union circle of our Joint Committee as a group of men who are in dead earnest about this question of union and whose first great purpose is to effect union rather than to be loyal to their traditions. I trust that our inner group is a group of strategists . . . [and that] we ought to pool all our interests and all our information so that we can work and pray together in this great task."[40] Azariah did not necessarily share Banninga's view as to the secondary value of loyalty to tradition, but, like other members of "the inner circle", he understood the ultimate aim of Banninga's argument. Officially they seemed to be far away from a union hidden in the distance; in faith they were already there.

The Committee's Propaganda

In 1932 Gulliford was sure that the Joint Committee had achieved the definitive form of the Scheme. But this was not enough: "Our greatest task is yet to come."[41] He referred to preparing the members of the congregations and the churches for accepting the Scheme. The question how far the concern for union reached down in the local congregations is not easy to decide. That the Joint Committee as a group of experts was moving on another level than the broad mass of church members was inevitable.[42] Very energetic measures were, however, taken by the Committee in order to make union

a living concern in the congregations and among the local leaders of the three churches.

One important method in this connexion was the organization of local retreats and conferences. At the beginning of the 'twenties Pasumalai had given the lead, and after the publication of the first Scheme the Joint Committee arranged for yearly meetings to be held in different parts of South India. The report from a Pasumalai conference in 1933 has the following summing up by A. A. Martin: "The eager participation in the discussion periods was certainly impressive evidence of the longing in the hearts of Christian leaders for a speedy coming of a more full and fruitful fellowship in the Christian life in South India. 'Why wait?' 'What hinders?' was the constant overtone of what was said."[43]

Special categories, such as pastors, teachers, etc., in the churches were called to their particular union conferences. In April 1933 the first Women's Conference on Church Union was held at Palamcottah. Sixty-four delegates came from Madura, Trichinopoly, South Travancore and Tinnevelly. The visits of prominent Indian and non-Indian leaders to meetings and conferences of churches other than their own effectively propagated union. Azariah and Meshach Peter, C. J. Lucas, Sumitra and J. A. Jacob, Maclean, Banninga and Monahan were untiring in their efforts to speak on union on such occasions.[44] The personal contacts were very helpful. One instance must suffice. Bishop Azariah often expressed a very critical view of L.M.S. Congregationalists. This did not endear him to the Travancore Congregationalists, and their leaders such as D. M. Devasahayam wrote strong protests against the Anglican bishop in pamphlets and review articles. In April 1940 Bishop Azariah lectured at a Conference in Nagercoil, Travancore. The Congregationalist reporter to the *S.I.U.C. Herald* writes about this event:

"It was thirty-eight years since Bishop Azariah visited Nagercoil before, and then he was a Y.M.C.A. secretary. In the interval he had been elevated to the bishopric. The present visit helped largely to make the Congregational Christians understand that Bishop Azariah was no proud prelate, but was as humble, genial, and homely as ever. His unassuming

demeanour and the absence of emphasis on doctrinal dogmas served to make the people understand that episcopacy was one of the many ways in which God was realizing His aims for the church in India. Bishop Azariah's thesis that evangelism was the acid test of Christianity and that we should be evangelists as individuals, as a church, and as a community, met with very good response. For the last thirty years the bishop has used the Telugu language for Christian work and he is naturally out of touch with the Tamil language as the instrument of Christian exhortation. So when he was called upon to preach in Tamil he reverted to the popular form of the language used in his boyhood, which endeared him all the more to the audience. The congregation was convinced that at least we had one Indian leader who could put the message of the Master in language which they could understand."[45]

Azariah's contribution nearer home was just as effective. The problems of comity in the Telugu area, particularly between the L.M.S. and the S.P.G., were difficult at times. The retreats he arranged did much to ease these tensions—for the time being. The Methodists in Hyderabad were critical of union until their leader Posnett was won over. From then on, Medak, the Methodist centre, and Dornakal had conventions in common and there the ministers from both churches joined in Holy Communion.[46]

The more difficult the theological complications of church union seemed to grow, the stronger the pressure became, particularly from the Indian side, for common action to overcome the difficulties. Outstanding initiative was taken by a leading Anglican layman, Rajaiah D. Paul, Commissioner of Madura. On his suggestion the three main groups in Madura —S.I.U.C., Anglican and Lutheran (the latter in connexion with the Church of Sweden Mission)—arranged united services in their several churches, attended by thousands. To these laymen actual unity was greater than theological differences. R. D. Paul made a strong appeal: "The problem before the Church is not how to defend itself against the onslaughts of the world, but how to advance. There is no question of the Church returning to the catacombs. In this advance the main result will be unity of the Church in the next generation."[47]

Another means of the Joint Committee's educational work in the interest of union was the printed word. The Scheme was published in seven editions, of 1929, 1930, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1936, [1939] and 1942. Abbreviated forms were published in the four Dravida languages, and in 1933 the Scheme as a whole was translated into those languages. Of particular importance was the creation of a quarterly, *Church Union News and Views*, from 1930. The editors were Dr. Banninga 1930–33, and J. S. M. Hooper 1934–47. It was an ambitious undertaking. Apart from the reports of the Joint Committee and the Continuation Committee it contained representative articles by leading Indians and missionaries on various aspects of union. Both Banninga and Hooper published interesting editorials of great value for the understanding of the historic development of the union negotiations. The review had to struggle with financial difficulties which became more and more acute. The number of subscribers at the end of the 'thirties was "dreadfully small". The appointment in 1939 of a business manager for *News and Views* in the person of a young, energetic Madras missionary, by the name of C. W. Ranson, helped to improve this situation.[48]

A Simplified Scheme?

In 1932 the Scheme was divided into two parts, the Basis and the Constitution. The latter repeated word for word the formulae of the Basis, and thereby tended to become bulky. For this it has been severely criticized. It has been stated that the original Scheme of 1929 contains 62 pages, including an Appendix, while that of 1942 has grown to 95 pages. This observation should, perhaps, be offset by the following considerations. The main additions to the Scheme were caused by: (*a*) The introduction in 1932 of "The Basis", with 18 pages, and the "Governing Principles" of the Constitution, 14 pages. (*b*) The introduction in 1936 of "The Marriage Law" of the church, 6½ pages. In the first Scheme, a chapter heading was provided for this law, but the actual text was only accepted in 1935. (*c*) In 1936 rather full statements on the evangelistic task of the church were also added, mainly a contribution by the Methodist delegation. Those actually engaged in the editing

of the different Schemes in the 'thirties have said that there was hardly an excrescence which did not at the time seem a necessary addition to meet some point of view or, more often, some criticism from the West. "Once something had found its way into the Scheme it proved very difficult to remove it or to alter it without raising disproportionate suspicions on the right wing or the left" (Hooper).

To the general reader in the Indian church the Scheme in any case appeared complicated. This was as much an objection raised against the first Scheme of 1929 as against the last Scheme of 1942. The Joint Committee tried to meet this criticism when in 1935 it decided to publish an English résumé of the Scheme together with translations of this résumé in the four Dravida languages: Tamil and Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. Of particular interest in this connexion is the criticism of the complicated nature of the Scheme also made by an Anglo-Catholic leader in India, Bishop G. C. Hubback, then of Assam. Hubback had been estranged from South Indian union by the practice of intercommunion at the Joint Committee meetings from 1932 onwards. He was deeply interested, however, in the cause itself. But he found the Scheme too involved to be profitably discussed in the diocesan council in Assam. In 1936 he suggested to Azariah a drastic reduction of the formal matter of the Scheme: "The foundations presumably are the Creeds, the Bible, the two sacraments of the Gospel and a unified ministry to be brought into being by linking up the existing diverse ministries with the episcopate." And he added: "If it could be stated that this latter method was being adopted because the negotiating bodies believed it to be our Lord's will that His church should have that ministry, I believe that the major opposition to the Scheme would disappear."[49]

At the Episcopal Synod of the C.I.B.C. in 1938 Bishop Hubback attempted to bring the matter to a decision from the Anglican side. He proposed that C.I.B.C. should set forth only what they considered the irreducible minimum on which they could face union and that this should be sent to the diocesan councils, who needed something simple on which to base their vote. He went on: "The need for union is so tremendous that we have yet to do our very best to . . . reduce our requirements

to the very lowest point that is consistent with our conscientious convictions and leave to the negotiating bodies a very large measure of freedom." This irreducible minimum he formulated in three brief resolutions, the most important being: "[The negotiating churches] agree that the ministry of the united body shall be based on the episcopate."[50] Armed with this proposal, Bishop Hubback did not wish to abandon the Scheme. "If any diocesan bishop can explain every word of this book, let him do it. My own diocesan council has quite definitely refused to give a judgment on the Scheme because they cannot understand it." Hubback's intervention created an atmosphere of great expectation in the Episcopal Synod, and his proposal was regarded by many of the speakers as a most important contribution. He was strongly supported by Bishop Waller, who felt that there was a danger of the Scheme becoming "a magnificent case of casuistry". Something more simple and direct on the lines suggested by Bishop Hubback would solve their difficulties. This optimistic hope was refuted by Bishop Wood of Nagpur and by Father Shore. They could not disregard the great theological difficulties that existed "and take [their] refuge behind a diminished Lambeth Quadrilateral". In the Episcopal Synod Bishop Hubback's proposal was lost by two votes in the House of Bishops.[51] But it had an effect in so far as the Synod decided to give an instruction to their delegates to the Joint Committee expressing regret at the tendency to an "over-elaboration" of the Scheme and asking for greater simplicity in the final Scheme.

Fundamentally Hubback's reaction to the form of the Scheme was concerned with what we here refer to as the "method of union": whether union was to be an addition of uniting "heritages" or whether the Church of South India itself would be trusted to work out the more detailed constitutional clauses. Once episcopacy in its full meaning was accepted Hubback felt that the church should be left free to decide for itself.

The Anglican suggestion forced the Joint Committee to tackle an important problem which up to that time had not been adequately discussed. How far was it necessary that the churches in the West and in India should give assent to the

details of the Scheme? Hubback's proposal seemed too radical. But on the other hand it was recognized that there were real difficulties in asking the churches to go into all the details of the Scheme. The committee at its meeting in 1938 defined its position in the following terms:

"The Joint Committee is of opinion that the exact form in which assent is given to the Scheme by each church is a matter which is within the competence of each church to decide for itself. It is of opinion that nothing less than the Basis of Union should be presented to any voting body as that on which its vote is asked. In the case of churches or parts of churches outside the area of the union (that is, the Methodist Conference in England and ten dioceses of the C.I.B.C.), a general assent to the Basis of Union, interpreted by the Governing Principles in Part II, chapter II of the Scheme of Union, is quite sufficient as permission for the union to be consummated, and no assent need be asked or given to the remainder of the Scheme or to the details of the constitution of the United Church." But the negotiating bodies as such, the S.I.U.C., the Methodist Church in South India and the four Anglican dioceses in South India, would have to give their assent not only to the Basis, but also to the Constitution.

South India and Indian Opinion

The purpose of church union was defined in the Scheme as manifesting "the Indian expression of the spirit, the thought and the life of the Church Universal". This programme includes a tension between the universal claim and the local, or national, adaptation. While the debate in the Joint Committee was largely concerned with the Faith and Order problems of "the Church Universal", there was also a strong and growing Indian opinion which for "Indian" reasons was striving for union.

It is necessary first to stress that there was one vocal section of Indian Christian opinion which fought against the union Scheme. The 1920's in Indian politics were marked by a rising tide of nationalist opposition. Under Gandhi Congress became a "quasi-revolutionary body" (Coupland) determined to obtain independence.[52] The Simon Report of 1930 and the Round

Table Conferences 1930–32, at which K. T. Paul and S. K. Datta were Christian delegates, led to the Act of 1935, whereby a large measure of provincial self-government was conceded by the British Raj—although Jawaharlal Nehru rejected the Act as "a new charter of slavery".[53] In this dramatic political development the church union Scheme seemed to some of the Indian Christian leaders to be a purely Western contrivance. The syncretistic *Christo Samaj* group wielded considerable influence among the intellectuals through their review *The Guardian*. D. M. Devasahayam joined forces with this group. In 1938 this group found wider scope for their opposition to the Scheme through publishing *Re-thinking Christianity in India*, a large section of which dealt rather fiercely with the South India *rapprochement*. V. Chakkarai stated that India was not "a fit scene where to fight out the battle of Western ecclesiasticism. This ought to be transferred to Rome, Canterbury, or Geneva which is their native habitat." Chakkarai expressed himself elsewhere in similar geographical terms: "The South India Scheme", he said, "had no Indian origin. It was an importation from Lambeth." P. Chenchiah had discovered only "mystifying doctrines or musty historical antecedents" in the union Scheme. He made himself the spokesman of the Christian laymen: "Fortunately [the layman] has no knowledge of church history. He does not know doctrines—at least in India."[54] A scheme as full of church history and doctrines as that proposed for South India was therefore not made for India.

From largely the same theological, or rather ideological, starting point other Indian Christians arrived at a much more favourable attitude towards union. A. J. Appasamy published in 1930 *Church Union, An Indian View*. He found that the *Christo Samaj* had called the attention of Christians "away from the externals to the inner core of religion". But the genius of India was tolerance, and tolerance was a strong note in the spirit of unity which had made the Scheme of Union possible. Appasamy's influence was widened when his *Manifesto on Church Union* of 1930 was signed by nearly two hundred Indian Christian leaders.[55] Here the "Indian" viewpoint was defined as indifference towards the theological dogmas of the West. "The Indian has always stressed *Bhakti* and feels that through

faith in God his highest feelings can best be expressed rather than through dogma." This was, of course, a formula to which Chenchiah and Chakkarai would also subscribe. But Appasamy came to a different conclusion from theirs: "A united church, free from the bonds of the present separated denominations, will provide a congenial atmosphere for the Indian expression of Christianity."

The more the theological arguments were pitted against each other, the less the Indian Christian experienced of this congenial atmosphere. We should not forget that the patient, painstaking theological debate in the Joint Committee, which threatened to come to a deadlock from time to time, was carried forward by a growing Indian impatience which would accept no other solution than union.[56] "The Christians of India might have to secede if the foreigners place many insurmountable obstacles before them", was M. J. Sargunam's threat in 1931.[57] The crisis in 1935, when it seemed quite uncertain whether the negotiations would be carried on any further, became a challenge to these Indian forces. A new Indian Manifesto was published in April 1936. A large proportion of the signatories to the manifesto of 1930 had been Tinnevelly Christians or descendants of such. The manifesto of 1936 refers in general terms to the same specific fact: "Indian Christian family relationships cross all boundaries of Churches and Missions. Ecclesiastical regulations separate us, while family, social and national sympathies powerfully unite us. Union is a question of life and death with us." They referred to the new political development in India in 1935 and to the fact that from about this time Indian Christians were beginning to exercise a more decisive influence in church councils than before. There was a new note in the Indian manifesto, a sense of pressure which would not be overlooked: "We wish to know in all sincerity what we may do without offending our fellow-Christians in the West."[58] It was this note which was sounded by the Congregationalist layman Sargunam, in the debates in the North Tamil church council, often against the missionaries in the same council. While S.I.U.C. decisions on church union 1935–39 were calculated to cause further delays on the road to union, it was the determined standpoint of the Indian leaders in favour of union,

in spite of all, which paved the way for the final outcome. Among such Indian leaders, who in their respective councils had to take this stand, were Meshach Peter, C. J. Lucas, M. J. Sargunam and J. A. Jacob. This note was sounded by C. J. Lucas, a layman of the Madras Council of the S.I.U.C., in concluding his celebrated address at the Edinburgh Faith and Order Conference in 1937 with the plea: "Pardon me for my ecumenicity."[59] And it was heard in the appeal by Canon R. A. Manuel to the Episcopal Synod of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon in 1938: "The Indian Church are sick of the whole thing. We in South India consist of 99 per cent of Dravidians. We have in our subconscious mind group-consciousness. We are going to give you something Indian and Catholic. Don't curtail our freedom now. Trust us."[60]

In 1937 the editor of *The Guardian*, A. N. Sudarisanam, suggested that a church union conference of Indians alone should be called together.[61] Then, he thought, tangible results would follow. This suggestion no doubt appealed to a section of Indian opinion, as it promised to bring about a quick solution, while the slow theological debate of the Joint Committee seemed to lead into a blind alley. But responsible Indian church leaders realized that the union they sought had to be an Indian expression of the *Church Universal*. In 1942, looking back upon these considerations and negotiations, H. Sumitra said: "Left to themselves, Indians would have united long ago. But . . . this long delay has meant valuable education to us. I think that both the missionaries and Indians now feel that the need for opposition and controversy no longer exists. The time is drawing nigh for a supreme exercise of faith."[62]

South India and the West

The little group of Indians and Westerners on the Joint Committee represented more than merely their local churches in South India. If the task had only been to reconcile and combine the South Indian churches, the solution would probably have come much earlier than it eventually did. A potent factor in the negotiations was the pressure from the West. The Scheme of 1929 purported to represent an equilibrium between

the traditions to be "comprehended" in the united church. But voices from the West, from Britain, the United States and Switzerland, were not sure that the equilibrium was as well-balanced as the architects of union had thought. We shall see later how this pressure was brought to bear upon specific theological questions in the Scheme. Here we shall briefly consider the machinery whereby, and the extent to which, this pressure from the West was allowed to influence the negotiations.

It has to be borne in mind that, of the three negotiating churches, only the Methodists were officially obliged to refer the matter to the home church. The Methodist Provincial Synod in South India had to submit its decisions to the final judgment of the Methodist Conference in Great Britain. The S.I.U.C. and the C.I.B.C. were both independent and could, theoretically, act without any reference to authorities outside India. Paradoxically it was these two who became subject to this "pressure from the West".

The S.I.U.C. contact with the West was particularly important. The church councils referred the Scheme to the various Home Boards with which they were connected: Madura and Jaffna to the American Board, the "L.M.S. councils" (Travancore, North Tamil and Telugu) to the Society in London, the Malabar council to Basel, and the Madras church council to the boards of the Church of Scotland and of the Reformed Church in America. The machinery for dealing with the problem varied. The Congregationalists in Britain appointed a Joint Commission of some fifteen members representing the L.M.S., the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the Congregational Union of Scotland and the Union of Welsh Independents. The Commission published two reports, the first in 1931, the second in 1936. Three of the Commission had special knowledge of South Indian conditions: F. Lenwood, Dr. Sydney Cave and, above all, Godfrey E. Phillips.

The Scots' interest in South Indian union was conditioned by their own long period of church union negotiations. The Scottish Committee was very impressive. It consisted of thirty-six members, twelve representing the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, a similar number representing the "Committee on Relations with other Churches", and

the remaining twelve appointed *ad hoc* by the General Assembly. The leader of the group was Principal Alexander Martin, the most famous Scottish Church leader of his day, and a personal friend of J. H. Maclean. The Committee reported three times to the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in 1930, in 1932 and in 1936, and gave a special report in September 1933.[63] The reports were painstaking and challenging. They could not but be influential in the deliberations in South India. In the debate over the equality of ministries Banninga wrote to Azariah stating that S.I.U.C. had been "practically driven" to their standpoint by the intervention of the Scottish Assembly.

The American authorities connected with the S.I.U.C. represented two different approaches. The American Board in their letter to the Madura Church Council of 1931 stressed that as far as they were concerned "the decision of these matters must rest with the church in India", and they stuck to this attitude.[64] It was reiterated by Dr. F. F. Goodsell during his visit to South India in December 1938. The same attitude was represented by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church of America. On this Board the Secretary, Dr. Wm. I. Chamberlain, represented a family tradition strongly in favour of church union in India. The official pronouncement of the General Synod of the church in May 1934 recommended a favourable attitude to the Scheme of Union. The remarks about the "genuine evangelical character" of the Anglican leaders in South India had a generous personal touch: "For nearly a century and a half [Anglican leaders] have walked humbly before God and boldly before men. The soil that they have cultivated has been enriched."[65] The decision in the General Synod was not unanimous. There was strong adverse agitation in some local groups of the church. "The fear of papacy stalked about", particularly in the West Sioux Classis, where "a most vigorous and solemn protest" was registered against the Scheme in March 1935. At the same time this Classis urged the particular Synods of Iowa and of Chicago to endorse their protest against seemingly dangerous developments in South India, developments which, it was said, would *inter alia* "affect the financial interest of our churches toward the mission work". This was interpreted as definite pressure

similar to that exercised by the London Missionary Society in 1934 when it drew attention to "a consideration which may pass unnoticed in India: If the Scheme were not acceptable to the supporters of L.M.S. work, they must fear that the financial support would not be forthcoming".[66] The warning from West Sioux was not without effect. In April 1936 the group of missionaries in Arcot decided to reassure the West Sioux Classis that "as a mission" they were not prepared to give assent to the Scheme. For the Board it remained only to state that missions, as missions, had no authority to give or withhold such assent. The S.I.U.C. had to decide for itself.[67]

The British Methodists had a special responsibility with regard to South India. The spectacular successes of their mission work in the 'twenties, particularly in Hyderabad, had made South India a focal point of their interest in the church overseas. The great contribution of their missionaries towards union made an impression upon the Methodist Conference. The fact that C. W. Posnett, formerly critical, was won for the cause in 1932 also influenced the home base. But the Conference in 1933 was not unanimously in favour of Indian union. Professor W. F. Lofthouse warned them against "sacerdotalism", and the Methodist conference was undoubtedly put on its guard by the huge Anglo-Catholic celebrations of the Oxford Movement centenary that year. Posnett suggested that the Society should send a representative to India to study the nature and implications of the Scheme. He put forward the name of J. Scott Lidgett, the "high church" Wesleyan, whose sympathies with South India were well known. Very wisely Professor Lofthouse, a critic of the union, was appointed. His visit to India in the early part of 1934 and his report to the Methodist Conference were of great importance for the decision taken on July 26, 1934, when the Conference declared that "the Scheme of 1934, taken as a whole, was *not contrary to the principles of Methodism*". This was a far-reaching decision. From this day onwards the Methodist missionaries in South India and the majority of their Indian colleagues were unwavering supporters of the Scheme, always pressing towards the final goal. The decision by the Methodist Provincial Synod in 1941 that in view of "the grave dangers of delay" they should accept

union "at the earliest possible date" was a natural consequence of the stand taken in 1934.

On the Anglican side, the General Committee of the Church Missionary Society soon after the publication of the first Scheme welcomed "the desire of the Anglican Church in South India to unite with other reformed churches"—using a phrase which was a renewed declaration of loyalty to the Evangelical ideals for which that Society had always stood.[68] The General Secretary of the Society, Dr. Wilson Cash, took a determined stand for South Indian union during the 'thirties.

To the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel South India presented a greater problem. This Society was naturally more susceptible to the strong Anglo-Catholic opposition to the Scheme, which in the first years of the 'thirties reached considerable dimensions, particularly in view of the practice of intercommunion from 1932. Would the Society legally be in a position to give financial assistance to the Church of South India? The meaning of the charters of the Society was decisive in this connexion. In 1933 its two legal advisers, H. B. Vaisey, K.C., and K. M. Macmorran, K.C., expressed "the opinion that in point of law the S.P.G. was, upon the true consideration of the charters, fully entitled to give out of its General Fund cash support to the South Indian Church, if and when it came into being on the lines contemplated by the Lambeth Report". In concurrence with this advice, on November 2, 1933, the Standing Committee of the S.P.G. recorded its opinion that "the Society is legally competent to assist the Church of South India if and when such a church is constituted as the Lambeth Report envisages".[69] On different occasions in the 'thirties the Society stressed that, as a Society, it was not qualified to decide doctrinal matters involved in the Scheme. These were for the ecclesiastical authorities to settle. But in the deliberations of its Standing Committee there was at this time an obvious concern to make the South Indian dioceses financially self-supporting "for the essentials of their church life".[70] In assessing the formation and influence of Anglican opinion one must not overlook the voluminous correspondence in *The Times* and *The Church Times* or the books and pamphlets written by leading Anglo-Catholic scholars, such

as Charles Gore, N. P. Williams, W. J. Sparrow Simpson, and Frederic Hood.[71]

In these circumstances the decision of the Lambeth authorities became of special importance. Generally speaking, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York scrupulously avoided interfering in the domain of the Metropolitan of Calcutta. The decision of the Lambeth 1930 Conference with regard to the Scheme was generally interpreted as generous and favourable. The new editions of the Scheme after 1930 were thought by the Anglo-Catholic section to represent "material alterations" of the first scheme. The Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference considered this problem in 1938. The ruling then given referred especially to the complex problems of the Church and the Ministry, to which we shall revert presently. Except in regard to the position assigned to the bishops in the C.S.I. Synod on questions of Faith and Order, this body did not find that any of the changes made in the Scheme were such as to cause the Lambeth Conference to reconsider its general approval given in 1930.[72]

The personal relationships of South Indian leaders with theologians in the West were of considerable importance for decisions in the Joint Committee. Here Bishop Palmer and Dr. Bartlet were the most eminent; but they were not alone. Without giving a complete list one could mention a certain number of Western theologians who were in regular correspondence with representatives of their own churches in South India. Bishop Azariah took his advice particularly from Headlam and William Temple; Bishop Western from Dr. Quick and his books; Fr. T. E. T. Shore from Dr. B. J. Kidd; Bishop N. Hall from Dr. H. L. Goudge; Banninga from Bartlet and Headlam; J. H. Maclean from Principal Alexander Martin, Edinburgh; Gulliford, Hooper and their Methodist colleagues from Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, Dr. Newton Flew, and, to a lesser extent, from Professor W. F. Lofthouse; Streckeisen, of the Basel Mission in Malabar, from Dr. K. Hartenstein and Dr. K. G. Goetz, of Basel. These last two names are notable exceptions to the rule that only British, not Continental or American theologians were engaged in this debate. Apart from this regular correspondence, which stretched over a number of

years, certain crises or particularly difficult problems evoked at times a special enquiry. The intercommunion problem in 1932 led to the publication of the so-called Oxford Theologians' Note, signed by H. L. Goudge, B. J. Kidd, K. E. Kirk, W. B. O'Brien, F. W. Puller, Darwell Stone and N. P. Williams.[73] Banninga from time to time suggested that the combined wisdom of Western theologians would solve some of South India's problems such as intercommunion and lay celebration. In connexion with the problem of lay celebration Banninga sent a questionnaire to some two hundred theologians in Britain and the United States, of whom nearly one hundred sent replies. At the time this was an indication of a fundamental opinion which Banninga formed towards the end of the 'thirties, namely, that the theological problems of church union had to be settled in the West. He wrote to Palmer: "The battle should be fought in Europe rather than here."[74]

In actual fact the battle had to be fought in South India itself. And yet, taking the long view, there was a sense in which the West, or rather the theology of the West, was fighting a battle on South India's behalf. For already those deep theological and ecumenical currents were set in movement which heralded a "return to orthodoxy". In March 1932 *Church Union News and Views* published a short statement by C. H. Dodd, which foreshadowed what was to come:

He was looking forward "to the time—and no distant time —when we of the Independent tradition shall bear witness within a reunited church. The problem of reunion is admittedly difficult; it should not be insoluble if we really feel the shame of adding to the divisions of this distressed world; if we really want to stand with our fellow Christians in the time of trial through which the whole church is passing. The sectarian type of religion . . . has no longer, I believe, a future, and I for one have neither part nor lot in it."[75]

Chapter XI

THE CHURCH OF THE FATHERS—THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE

THE 1929 edition of the Scheme was before the churches. As far as the Anglicans were concerned, the judgment of the Lambeth Conference of 1930 was of particular importance. The reaction of this conference as well as the Scheme itself were discussed by the Methodists and the S.I.U.C. and the criticism expressed by the non-Anglicans coloured the 1932 edition. The changes brought about in that year demand our attention. They implied the practice of intercommunion and the modification of the powers of the bishops. In the period 1933–35 the alteration of the Scheme was brought one step further: if in 1932 interest was concentrated on a modification of episcopal authority, the emphasis was now laid on upholding the role of the non-episcopally ordained presbyter. The debate about the Pledge dealt with this problem, and the proposed participation of presbyters in consecrations of bishops emphasized the same trend. This trend was expressed in the formula according to which all ministries had "with undistinguishing regard" been recipients of God's grace. This was, however, not enough for the Congregationalist radicals, and in 1935 there was a serious crisis.

The Churches' Reaction to the 1929 Scheme

The Anglican approach to the 1929 Scheme was naturally mainly expressed in the Lambeth Conference of 1930. In preparation for Lambeth the General Council of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon at its meeting in February 1930 defined its attitude to the Scheme of 1929. In generous terms they expressed the hope that the negotiating churches in India

might be "found worthy to restore in their part of the church, at least, the broken unity of the Body of Christ"; they stressed the importance of the adoption of episcopal ordination and thought that the Pledge would provide an arrangement whereby union was to be had "without passing judgment upon any particular form of ministry or view of ministry". They also gave certain instructions to their delegates. The statements in the Scheme on Faith and Order were accepted. On the other hand they could not admit any "equally certain validity of all ministries".

A problem which naturally was particularly urgent to the General Council was the relationship between the C.I.B.C. and the Church of South India. The Council was, they said, willing "to give to the Southern Dioceses of the C.I.B.C. such autonomy as may be needed for the full development of the united church" and hoped that ultimately "the church of all India may be able to function as one". But there should be from the first a common Consultative Council representative of the northern dioceses and the South India Church, "for the discussion of common problems and the furtherance of plans for all India". This concern was stressed by an instruction to the Anglican delegates to see to it that the Scheme would not have any phrase suggesting a breaking of communion between the southern dioceses and the other dioceses of the C.I.B.C. The "catholic" viewpoint was strengthened by resolutions according to which episcopal confirmation was to be introduced. The authority of the bishops to make pronouncements on matters of Faith and Order should also be mentioned in the Scheme.

The Episcopal Synod of the C.I.B.C. had submitted the Scheme to the Lambeth Conference. The main responsibility for dealing with the problem in this conference belonged to the Committee on the Unity of the Church, consisting of seventy-three bishops under the chairmanship of Archbishop Temple. On this committee were Azariah, Waller, Tubbs, now of Rangoon, and Carpenter-Garnier of Colombo, together with Palmer.

The discussions in the Committee and in the plenary sessions were admirably handled by Dr. Temple, supported by Dr. Bell of Chichester. There was strong opposition at an early stage in

Edition	*Faith of the Church*	*Episcopate: Nature*	*Episcopate: Functions*	*Episcopate: Consecration*	*Ministry*
1929	(*a*) Is the faith which the church ever held. (*b*) Holy Scriptures: ultimate standard of faith. (*c*) Ancient Creeds "witnessing to and safeguarding the faith and containing a sufficient statement thereof for a basis of union".	Historic Episcopate in a constitutional form without implying theory.	Seven functions, such as ordaining and locating ministers. Authority to overrule Dioc. Councils on Faith and Order, etc.	By three bishops, at least.	Non-episcopal ministries acknowledged as ministries of Word and Sacraments. Ordination: bestows commission and grace. RULE of the Church: none except bishops or presbyters to celebrate Holy Communion.
1931		No theory either as qualification for the ministry or as determining relation to other churches. *Hist. Ep.* not involving denial of validity and regularity of any other form of ministry.	*Add. to 1929:* Confirmation and Teaching office. Authority to overrule Dioc. Councils can be referred to Synod.	Ditto	Duty of minister: to bring sinners to repentance and forgiveness.
1933 Decisions taken in 1932		Relations Bishop–Synod changed (see App.).	To state doctrine of Church Universal. C.I.B.C. commend Confirmation by bishops, bringing enrichment to the pastoral ministry of bishop.	Three bishops. Representative presbyters may participate. The true Consecrator is God.	RULE (of 1929) no longer mentioned, but definitely implied. After 30 years, C.S.I. to decide on non-episcopal ministries.

1934	C.S.I. competent to issue supplementary statements concerning the faith for the guidance of its teachers and the edification of the faithful.	"Historic" = persisted in history. Episcopacy *either* merely form of church government *or* of divine appointment *or* intermediate views.		Three bishops and two presbyters (facultatively).	
1939	Holy Scriptures the supreme and decisive standard of faith: *Thus they believe*.	Episcopacy "existed from early times". Thus "fitly called historic". A form of church government which at the present time is expedient for the C.S.I. Relations Bishop–Synod (see App.).		Three bishops and three presbyters.	All members direct access to God. All members share in Christ's heavenly High Priesthood. The Church is a royal priesthood. No individual can claim exclusive possession of heavenly priesthood. *But* in Church a special ministry is set apart.
1941		*Add. to 1939:* Needed for shepherding and extension of the C.S.I.			

the proceedings from the Archbishop of the West Indies, and the Archbishop of Canterbury expected the South India issue to prove one of the thorniest of the whole conference[1]. Two considerations eased the situation. First, it was recognized that responsibility for action lay with the C.I.B.C., not with the Lambeth Conference as such. Secondly—and this proved to be the decisive point—the Church of South India was to be an autonomous regional church, not a new kind of Anglican church. It was Waller who explained to the Committee that "the resulting church should be autonomous and not Anglican in the technical sense". Bishop Bell stressed this viewpoint and piloted the scheme through in drafting a clause of great importance: The southern dioceses "would go forth from the Anglican Communion in order to make their own distinctive contribution to the faith and order of the new united church. Moreover, the church will be itself a distinct province of the Universal Church, with a rule and character of its own." This implied that "the suggestion that the united church should form a new province of [the C.I.B.C.] is rejected", as this would seem to be absorption into the Anglican Church. On the other hand the united church would at once enjoy communion with the churches of the Anglican Communion in the following ways:

1. No censure should attach to any member, ordained or unordained, of a church of the Anglican Communion who may be in South India or go thither, if he communicates with the united church or takes work of any kind in it.
2. No church of the Anglican Communion should establish churches or congregations in the area of the union apart from the united church.
3. If communicant members or ordained ministers of the united church should go into any diocese of the Anglican Communion, the church of that diocese should receive them to communion whenever this can be done consistently with the regulations of each Province or extra-Provincial diocese, and episcopally ordained ministers of the united church should be qualified, at the discretion of the bishop, to officiate, subject to the rules of the diocese for its own ministers.

On four fundamental issues in the Scheme, the bishops at Lambeth gave their assent:

1. The episcopate "with the functions assigned to it in the Scheme", but without a defined theory of episcopacy.

2. Union of churches through unification of ministries with eventually all ministers being episcopally ordained. The "interim period" of thirty years was thus accepted. Exceptions after the end of this period should be avoided: the intention ought to be to reach finality in the unification of the ministry.

3. As the correlate of the interim period, the Pledge was approved. The preface to the Anglican ordinal implied that the Pledge had to be interpreted in a way according to which an episcopally ordained ministry ought to be preserved for "ex-Anglican" congregations.

4. It was agreed that the acceptance of Confirmation should not be insisted on as a prerequisite term of union. But its use was most earnestly recommended.

The Lambeth Conference also gave advice on the following specific points:

5. *Intercommunion with non-episcopal churches* was an anomaly, but, as part of a movement towards general and complete union, such an anomaly may be covered by the principle of "economy".

6. *Consecration of bishops per saltum*, while normally undesirable, was not invalid and in the circumstances of the inauguration of the united church it was justifiable.

7. *Confirmation before ordination* was the normal procedure but not absolutely necessary.

8. *Participation of presbyters in consecration of bishops* was "a legitimate symbolism" when referring to the inaugural service of Consecration but in subsequent Consecrations it would tend to confusion and should not be adopted. If adopted it should be fully explained that the presbyters did not take part as Consecrators.

On these conditions the Lambeth Conference congratulated the C.I.B.C. for the "courage and wisdom which they have shown in sanctioning the negotiations at various times", and

encouraged them to continue to seek union on the lines which their own Resolutions suggested. Although Lambeth naturally could not commit itself to the details of the Scheme, the Conference could give "general endorsement" to the Resolutions of the General Council of the C.I.B.C.

It is necessary in this connexion to define more closely the attitude of the South Indian bishops at Lambeth, particularly with regard to the decisive argument by which the Conference was won over to unanimous endorsement of the C.I.B.C. view of the Scheme.

The General Council of the C.I.B.C. in February 1930 had, as we have seen, wished to establish a common Consultative Council between the united church and the remainder of the C.I.B.C. Bishop Waller, however, seems to have been so impressed by what, in an article in *Church Union News and Views*, he called "the determination of the S.I.U. and Wesleyan Methodist Churches that the resulting church should be autonomous", that he let this plan for a common all-India Council be dropped.[2] The united church was really "to go forth from the Anglican Communion". But what did this mean? Azariah in explaining Lambeth to South India was under the impression that a method discussed in the 'twenties would be followed: "The southern dioceses were to be first separated into a Southern Province of the Church of India", and this Province was to conclude union with the S.I.U.C. and Wesleyans, thus forming one autonomous united Church of South India.[3] It is possible that in the Lambeth debate he had brought forward this view—so much so that he himself believed it had been accepted, while the resolutions of Lambeth did in fact say: "The suggestion that the united Church should form a new province [of the C.I.B.C.] is rejected."

Bishop Western, who had inserted in the South India Scheme of 1929 the clause expressing the hope that the South Indian bishops would be invited to Lambeth, apparently entertained this hope also after Lambeth 1930. Not only the Church of South India, but also the Eastern Orthodox and other episcopal churches, such as the Old Catholics and the Church of Sweden, might ten years after Lambeth 1930 have fellowship with the Anglican Communion. Lambeth would then be a conference

not of the Anglican Communion only, but of "a wider fellowship of churches"—a view which Bishop Western had formed under Palmer's influence. These questions would not arise until the next Lambeth Conference, "and one cannot foretell what may have happened then". The decisions of Lambeth were important when the Anglican delegation in South India was to discuss the union problems with representatives of the other churches. The scene was set for a debate on the church and the ministry.

The balance between episcopal and non-episcopal elements, which the Scheme of 1929 had established, largely satisfied those who had carried the burden of the negotiations in the 'twenties. Waller, Western and Tubbs confided to Banninga their conviction that no final opposition would arise on the Anglican side. This was in itself gratifying, but not altogether: "In a sense that makes it more difficult for us Congregationalists, for many of our people at home will reason that if the Anglicans can accept the Scheme, it cannot be a good scheme for Congregationalists."[4] And, as a matter of fact, it was the Congregationalists who launched the most vigorous attack on the Scheme.

The most decisive S.I.U.C. opposition came from the three L.M.S. councils, representing well over half of the total Christian community of the S.I.U.C. The younger generation of L.M.S. missionaries, who had recently arrived in India from their colleges in England, led the attack. In 1929 A. H. Legg in South Travancore and H. W. Newell and W. T. M. Clewes in the North Tamil area published three interesting reports and manifestos with the signed approval of European and Indian leaders in the L.M.S. councils.[5]

"What happens to the vital elements in Congregationalism in the Scheme?" is their concern. Legg thought that in the 1929 Scheme every normal function of the local church meeting was taken away from it and distributed amongst the bishop and his central council and the presbyters. The church would become a complex machine in which the individual congregation and the individual member were merely cogs. The S.I.U.C. ought to press for "some real element of local self-government, such as the right to nominate their own pastor". The bishops

must not be thought to constitute a superior grade of the ministry. Newell feared that the idea of Apostolic Succession would seep into the church. In order to stress that bishops are servants of the flock, Legg suggested that they ought to "be commissioned by the whole church". Newell supported Legg's claims. He felt that the Scheme was not well balanced. The Anglicans had yielded nothing. "The yielding has been on our side, and the result may be ultimately a reasserting of non-conformity apart from the united church." The Scheme did not represent a true comprehensive union. The union had been reached by one side giving up what it had hitherto stood for.[6]

This energetic opposition from the L.M.S. missionaries was influential at the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. in October 1929. In order to counterbalance the episcopal influence, it was stressed here that the historic episcopate was accepted without any particular theory and at all consecrations presbyters should take part, symbolizing the church over against the bishops. The extent to which "Catholic" influence in the C.S.I. was feared can be judged by a resolution accepted by the Assembly, to the effect that no question on which the uniting churches as such were divided or had differing practices could be brought up within thirty years from the date of union—a clause designed to influence the development of the church for a considerable time.[7]

Banninga felt the danger of these tendencies. He sympathized with his fellow Congregationalists, but India and his long experience in the S.I.U.C. had taught him an important lesson: "As fellowship increases, freedom must to a certain extent decrease."[8] He pointed out to his church that the established balance between the contracting parties must not be upset: the Anglicans could not "be expected to adopt a scheme which would reduce beyond a certain point the powers vested in the bishop, such as any S.I.U.C. attempt to break the continuity of the church".[9]

In view of the misgivings felt by S.I.U.C. missionaries it was decided to refer the matter to the various Mission Boards in the West. Their views were, of course, only in the nature of advice, but this advice proved to be of great importance for the future.

The L.M.S. councils in South India, particularly the Travancore council, reported the matter to the L.M.S. and the Congregational Unions in Britain. The Congregational *ad hoc* Commission which was formed in Britain thought the term "historic episcopate" was unfortunate. The 1929 Scheme was out of balance, it was "too heavily weighted on the episcopal side". Equal validity of ministries, symbolized by the participation of presbyters in episcopal consecrations, was the English Congregational deal for making the scheme "richer in comprehensiveness".[10] They were largely supported by the American Board in this, although the practical suggestion of the Americans was more radical. They wanted to redress the balance by asking the Anglican bishops to resign their jurisdiction: they would be recognized as bishops, but the C.S.I. was to determine their jurisdiction. In this way "all the bishops of the church would in a very real sense be the chosen agents of that church".[11]

The status of the bishop was the concern of the Scottish theologians as well. The Madras Mission Council, through J. H. Maclean, had asked the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland to consider the Scheme. The Scottish Committee under the chairmanship of Principal Alexander Martin reported on the matter to the General Assembly in Edinburgh and to Madras. Martin saw the Presbyterian role against a wide background: "We belong once for all to the reformed world, and in that world Anglicanism counts numerically for just one in eight. Presbyterianism has its own contribution to make to the problem of the unification of Christendom, whether at home or abroad, and within this area at least I cannot but think it holds the key."[12] From this resolutely Presbyterian standpoint the 1929 Scheme looked dangerous. The Scottish Committee "could not but express their regret" at finding the term "the historic episcopate" used. To introduce this term into the very foundation of the united church was unfortunate. The bishop had been given "multiplied prerogatives" as compared with the presbyters, and a definite theory of the episcopal ministry as distinct from that of the presbyters seemed to be *de facto* involved in the Scheme. Here was the crucial point, according to Martin. South India must not be

allowed to obscure the view that ordination at the hands of the presbytery was full and valid ordination; "also, no office is recognized in the Church of Christ other than that of the teaching or preaching presbyters thus ordained". From a Presbyterian point of view, the bishop is strictly *primus inter pares*, one who is responsible to the body appointing him, and whose status remains that of a teaching presbyter. The Scottish view was concerned with the "parity of ministries". This parity should be expressed in the presbyters taking part in all consecrations. On the other hand Martin did not press his view too far. He concluded the report with words of conciliation: "The truth is, the Protestant Church in all its branches is undergoing education in the high matter of the conditions and principles on which its existing divisions are to be overcome."[13]

This ecumenical re-education must keep within definite limits, it was said by another theological critic, Dr. Karl Hartenstein, Director of the Basel Mission. South India must beware of three dangerous S's: Sacerdotalism, Secularism (brought about by "untrue spiritual compromises") and Syncretism (nationalistic ideals of an indigenous organization). Hartenstein shared Martin's hesitation about the term "historic episcopate". He had an amendment: it should be called "the biblical episcopate".[14]

Dr. Hartenstein's theses of 1930 became more important than they appeared at first. They were received and adopted in India by the leading Basel missionary in Malabar, A. Streckeisen, and the fundamental criticism of the "Catholic comprehensiveness" of the Scheme, launched by the L.M.S. councils, was now strengthened by the Malabar council. The effect of this Continental criticism was not generally felt until towards the end of the 'thirties, but it can be seen much earlier. The substitution of "biblical" for "historic" threatened the delicate Catholic balance which Palmer and his fellow workers had established. "The real historic episcopate is in Rome," Streckeisen told Banninga.[15] The Malabar council in October 1931 took a vote on the Union Scheme. Three small local congregations voted against, but the other twelve congregations for union, although on the conditions suggested by Streckeisen.[16] The problem of the historic episcopate was

discussed in an interesting way in these local groups. The Rev. K. R. Karunakar found much support for his views. He had found that in the Bible "bishop" and "presbyter" were two names for the same office. It was not correct to claim that the Ignatian bishops had different pastors under them. "The episcopate of the scheme was the diocesan episcopate which developed later in the fifth and sixth centuries in France and elsewhere." They therefore needed, Karunakar insisted, an episcopate with biblical authority.[17] The L.M.S. councils, Travancore, North Tamil and Telugu, shared this view.

The Congregationalist and Presbyterian advice from the Anglo-Saxon countries was of great importance in some of the S.I.U.C. councils. Clewes and Newell wielded considerable influence in the North Tamil church council. This was shown in its resolution of 1931 to the effect that it did not accept episcopal ordination as essential to a valid ministry of the Word and the Sacraments. A scheme based upon the adoption of the historic episcopate could not be accepted. The Telugu council in 1930 came to a similar conclusion. In this area the Congregational work was being disturbed by what was described as intrusion from S.P.G. mission work, and sympathies for fellowship with Anglicans and that for which they stood were not high. The debate showed that the Scheme was not well known; a translation into Telugu was needed. But at least they had been able to gather that the episcopacy of the Scheme was not the constitutional episcopacy to which the council for the sake of union had agreed eight years earlier. The great majority of the group urged the rejection of episcopacy as a basis of union.

The situation in Travancore was more complicated. The convener of its Union Committee, A. T. Foster, believed in the Scheme and in his optimism even went so far as to publish a "Draft Reply", in which the Scheme is called "a serious, and to a large extent successful attempt".[18] But this was never in fact accepted by the church council as such. When the Draft Reply in the form of a printed pamphlet was sent to the L.M.S. it was taken for granted that the council was officially behind it. But there was strong and growing opposition to the Scheme. In 1930 D. M. Devasahayam published a pamphlet under the

threatening title: *The Scheme: Its Broken Pledges.* In a "Manifesto on Church Union", published as a result of a South Travancore Christian Young Men's Retreat in 1931, Devasahayam had already entrenched himself into the position from which he was to conduct his warfare up to 1947 and beyond. The Scheme of Union, "with its foundations of institutionalism, ritualism, sacerdotalism and the 'historic' episcopate, well and truly laid, and with the strong central government vested in the Synod and the Episcopate, would carry the churches nearer to Rome". It was "a resuscitation of mediaeval forms, formulae and institutions". Hitherto Devasahayam's influence had not been very far-reaching. But he shouted his big words with determination and perseverance, and statements that are repeated often enough are not without effect. The Indian opposition in South Travancore at this time professed a strong loyalty to the L.M.S. Accepting episcopacy, thought the Indian minister N. H. Harris, was equivalent to saying to the Mother Church in England: "We do not want you, we have accepted a step-mother." He had another reason for opposition. Accepting episcopacy and union would mean the exodus of the missionaries, the same missionaries who were in charge of a flourishing lace industry: "If there are no missionaries that source of income also will be stopped."[19] Union and new lace did not go well together—a non-theological factor that was easily understood.

While within the S.I.U.C. councils the forces against the Scheme were at work, certain other councils were definitely for union, especially Madura and Madras. It is of particular interest to note that the union protagonists on these councils had to defend the Scheme against their respective missions boards. Principal Martin of Edinburgh questioned, as we have seen, the episcopal basis of the Scheme. Maclean in an interesting correspondence showed that "whatever be the case in other parts of the world, episcopacy in India will be a great blessing to the church". In listening to the arguments of the Indian bishops he had even come to the conclusion "that in practice it would not at all be a bad thing to leave the bishop with a power of veto".[20] Dr. Martin had referred to the ecumenical education in the Protestant churches. Maclean knew what this

re-education meant and he took the consequences of this insight. Some of the Indian leaders on the Madras council, such as the Rev. Meshach Peter, were strongly for episcopal authority, and this council in 1930 recommended its acceptance by the S.I.U.C. Banninga had no difficulties with this Madura council.[21] If some of the council members were afraid of the bishops, he would tell them that it was for them "to make these bishops as democratic as possible".[22] In January 1931, the Madura council with some hundred votes against one solitary diehard recommended to the S.I.U.C. "to move forward into union on the basis of these proposals as a great adventure of faith".[23]

The Methodists had strong supporters of union such as Gulliford, Hooper and Tomlinson, but that did not mean that the District Synods were ready to accept the Scheme of 1929 without modification. Only the Mysore District, where Gulliford and Tomlinson had decisive influence, expressed "hearty approval" (with 58 votes, and 3 neutral).[24] On the other side was the Hyderabad District with a mass movement growing with dramatic speed. Hyderabad was far away from Madras, Madura and Bangalore and other centres of church union activity. Their important and sometimes autocratic leader, Posnett, was hesitant about the Scheme as a whole, and particularly with regard to the powers of the bishop. He wished to replace the term "historic episcopate" by some other expression that somehow suggested continuity with the early church.[25] Influential Indian ministers repeated the charge of "sacerdotalism". Behind much of this Hyderabad criticism of the Scheme there obviously lay the mistrust of union as such. Methodism had proved to be a great spiritual and administrative power in Medak. With union this impetus would possibly not be there. This seemed to be the chief concern of the Rev. Daniel Napoleon as he rose to speak in the Provincial Synod in unaccustomed English and ended his plea against the Scheme with the famous peroration: "If union come, Methodism go to dog, India go to dog, world to dog!" Voting on the Scheme in the Hyderabad District Synod in 1930 showed that among the Indian representatives only five were for union, eighteen against, and fifteen neutral.

The Madras and Trichinopoly Districts kept the middle road between Mysore and Hyderabad extremes. They also dictated the resolutions of the South India Methodist Provincial Synod which asked for a definite statement that Apostolic Succession should not be a doctrine of the church, that the bishop's powers should be defined and limited, and that the diocesan council should at five-year intervals decide whether its bishop was to continue in office. The validity of all ministries in the church should be recognized. Hooper felt that by their Methodist contribution they would "transform the exclusive Anglican Church into one inclusive united church", but he was ready to appreciate "the tremendous distance their Anglican brethren had come in getting near to them".[26]

We have suggested that the decisive changes on church order in the 1929 Scheme were obtained already in 1932. We shall now turn to a discussion of the more important issues involved in these changes. The decisions of the Joint Committee itself in the first two years of the 'thirties leading up to the situation in 1932 must be considered. At the committee meeting in November 1930 most of the modifications proposed were suggested by the Methodists. In June 1932 the S.I.U.C. delegation presented a long list of far-reaching proposals, mostly concerned with the delimitation of episcopal authority; there the S.I.U.C. aligned themselves with the Methodist demands of 1930.

There was another more difficult problem which was to dominate the discussion and in relation to which all other questions were judged. It was the intercommunion issue which at this time caused the deepest tension. In order to define the situation as it developed in 1932, leading to the two important Joint Committee meetings that year, we shall have to study first the intercommunion problem in some detail.

Intercommunion

The whole complexity of the problems of church order involved in the Scheme became focused on the question of

intercommunion. The other problems could possibly be treated as questions of a theoretical nature. Intercommunion sharpened all the other issues and made them tangible, personal and dangerous.

The problem, as a problem, only concerned the Anglicans. To the other parties the solution was simple and self-evident. In his debate with Bishop Waller, Banninga saw only two alternatives: If intercommunion could not be obtained, the union Scheme was likely to collapse; if it could come about, the union Scheme was practically assured of a successful consummation.[27] The refusal of intercommunion on the part of the Anglicans was incomprehensible to many S.I.U.C. representatives. Streckeisen of the Basel Mission was a newcomer to the negotiations, but he voiced an attitude which was typical of his whole church: "The refusal of the Anglican Church to have intercommunion is a real offence to me. What then is the Scheme but an absorption into that church? If we can't recognize each other even so much, is there much use in trying for union, while the necessary presuppositions are missing?"[28] And R. Robertson of the North Tamil church council, who in 1931 suggested that the three churches ought to act *as if* they were already united, stressed that intercommunion was the surest way of obtaining "unity before union".[29]

This view was shared by the Methodists. One of their leaders, Posnett of Medak, at this time definitely opposed the whole scheme because of the apparent failure of the Anglicans to partake in Holy Communion together with the non-episcopalian brethren. At their Provincial Synod in 1930 the Methodists passed a resolution to the effect that "the absence of intercommunion constitutes the most formidable obstacle to union in the minds of many of our people". Their delegation to the Joint Committee was instructed to press for a removal of this obstacle. Banninga approached Azariah on the same matter. He felt that Lambeth 1930 had "let down the bars" and the South Indian bishops should take the consequences. They ought to come forward and show greater friendliness with reference to intercommunion. He sharpened this into a challenge: "Let one of you 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."[30] Daring Azariah certainly was, but he must have felt that in this matter of ecclesiastical order other qualities were required as well. Lambeth 1930 (Resolution 42) had undertaken "not to question the action of any bishop who would use his dispensing power and sanction an exception to the general rule in special areas". This seemed to give Azariah all the authority he needed to move forward in the matter. As far as Banninga's challenge involved doing something "for mere demonstration purposes", Azariah opposed it. "If," he wrote to Banninga, "on the other hand, the next Joint Committee meeting is held at Pasumalia or Conjeeveram where the church is yours, we shall not now object to any of our bishops, clergy or laymen who may have no conscientious scruples receiving Communion at those churches. I say this deliberately because this was actually one of the instances mentioned [at Lambeth] and tacitly approved by the bishops."[31] In this matter Azariah felt he had the powerful support of Dr. William Temple.[32]

At the Joint Committee after Lambeth, November 1930, the Anglican delegation, meeting as a group to consider the demand from the other two churches for intercommunion, heard Azariah pleading for immediate advance towards intercommunion, acting on "the Lambeth general permission".[33] But in the group there were strong opponents of such an impetuous step. The Anglican delegation decided to refer the question to the Metropolitan and the Episcopal Synod. One particular incident at the Joint Committee meeting was to bring the question a stage further, and it must be mentioned here because of the psychological effect it had on the Joint Committee. It provided one of those dramatic moments in the work of the Joint Committee which seem to be vividly remembered by all those taking part. In a letter to Gulliford Hooper relates the episode: "Like a bombshell in the full committee came a long and altogether offensive speech from Gnanaolivu against the mere suggestion of intercommunion. In matter and in manner I have never heard anything more dreadful, and the other Anglicans were filled with shame and confusion of face. The speech was beyond description."[34] Gnanaolivu's point seems

to have been that the non-episcopalians in their desire for intercommunion with the Anglicans were labouring under an illusion with reference to their ministry. He seems to have suggested that the Communion services of the non-episcopalians were rather in the nature of tea-parties.[35] The speech acted as a *katharsis*. Leading Anglicans in the Joint Committee emphatically disassociated themselves from the statement. W. E. S. Holland, who for thirty years had struggled with the intercommunion problem, declared "with overwhelming feeling" that "a God who would limit himself in the sacraments in the way that Gnanaolivu had suggested was no God for him".[36]

At the same time as they referred the matter to the Metropolitan the Anglican leaders in various ways proposed a definite decision. Azariah sought the advice of the Archbishop of York. Dr. Temple endorsed Azariah's interpretation of the mind of the Lambeth Church Union Committee, but he tied this up with a viewpoint that was readily understood by the Anglican leaders in India, namely, that the union must be quite a sure thing before they could take this dramatic step: "For myself, I should be heartily in favour of suggesting an arrangement such as you propose in the way of intercommunion, if it were quite certain that the scheme was going through." In this way, he thought, it would be made clear that the churches cared "more about the spirit than about the form".[37]

Here was an attitude directly attuned to the atmosphere of South India. "The spirit rather than the form"—that was the argument which Bishop Loyd and Bishop Tubbs also used for supporting intercommunion. Bishop Loyd felt that the rigidity of the Anglicans had to be overcome by what he called "the Pentecostal element". The intercommunion issue could not be solved by the discovery of a correct formula. "The only thing that can avail is the Pentecostal Spirit."[38] Bishop Tubbs had experienced that same atmosphere in the fellowship of the Joint Committee. In writing to the Metropolitan he stressed that the progress of the union movement depended "upon the strengthening of this Pentecostal atmosphere". In the case of South India this meant "that we must gather round His Table, putting aside all that is of previous tradition and principle".[39]

In this connexion we have quoted Loyd and Tubbs. Their stress on the Pentecostal atmosphere and their expectancy of the imminent inauguration of union are indispensable for an understanding of what followed. Their views were shared by many. Even in dioceses where principles and traditions were strongly adhered to, such as the diocese of Madras, opposition to intercommunion was by no means unanimous. After a debate in the Madras Diocesan Council Waller told Banninga: "The attitude [in the Council] was well summed up afterwards to me by a man who said: 'With nine-tenths of my mind I want to give [intercommunion], but I cannot see how to do it without giving away what we are standing for in the united church.'"[40]

The scene was thus set for the important meeting of the Episcopal Synod of the C.I.B.C. in Calcutta, February 1932. The decision made by the Synod and the resulting practice of intercommunion at the Joint Committee meetings proved to be one of the fateful turning points of the negotiations. Bishop Neill, in *Towards a United Church*, sums up the discussion on intercommunion in the following manner: "When one of the bishops was asked why, in the face of the strong opposition of many Anglicans to the proposal for intercommunion, it had been felt necessary to press the matter up to a vote in the Episcopal Synod, he replied, 'It was a case of either breaking off the negotiations or of yielding to their pressure.' Here we find the root cause for the embitterment and frustration of the next few years: the negotiators were no longer a company of men, united in spirit, and desiring to find God's will for them—some at least among them were seeking to exercise pressure on others. This was a tragic declension from the high hopes and possibilities of the early days."[41]

We believe this judgment to be one-sided. In our study we try to understand the situation, not to judge it, and to understand it as it was understood by those who acted at the time. In order to arrive at an interpretation on this level we have to recognize three concepts of fundamental importance for the Union debate in the early 'thirties. We shall call them Experience, Exception and Expectation.

Experience. Spiritual experience versus ecclesiastical order

was Banninga's watchword in these matters. He applied this in an interesting way to the problem of intercommunion. In this "age of Science", he argued, metaphysical considerations and abstract historical traditions are of no value unless they can be proved by actual experience. The Free Churchman had a *wider* experience of Holy Communion than the Anglican. He could say to the Anglican priest: "I have tried both and know there is no difference. You have only tried one and therefore cannot be certain of the other."[42] Those who have taken Communion only in episcopal churches could not appreciate the blessings that are received in non-episcopal Communion services.[43] This reference to experience as an authority is, of course, natural to the theological tradition that Banninga represented. It is interesting to notice that this view was shared by the Metropolitan of Calcutta. Foss Westcott used to refer to a saying of his father's—the great Bishop of Durham—that theology was "the queen of Sciences".[44] A science had to prove itself by experiment. In his debate with the Oxford theologians in May 1932 Foss Westcott gave as one of his reasons for allowing intercommunion "the constant assertion of persons of non-episcopal churches that they are definitely conscious of receiving the same sacramental grace which we ourselves claim to receive. Must not the [Catholic] theory be brought to 'the bar of fact'? Surely we cannot rule out the experience of those who use these Sacraments."[45] A few months later he adds in a letter to Palmer: "We can neither ignore tradition nor refuse to test our theories by experiment."[46] The Metropolitan's attitude on this point is an interesting example of the victory of *Zeitgeist* over theology; possibly also an indication of the necessity for church leaders, not least in the younger churches, to study theology.

Exception. "I cannot help thinking that one cause of the distress about the statements [on intercommunion] is the opinion by some that an ecclesiastical rule admits of no exception. But that opinion has been refuted once for all by our Lord's teaching on the divine law of the Sabbath." This was Palmer's attitude to the problem of intercommunion, expressed in many letters of advice to Anglican leaders in South India. He had learned, he said, "that there can be intercommunion

between two churches without committing either to all the doctrines and practices of the other".[47]

Palmer's attitude was shared by Bishop Headlam. Headlam could be curt, even scathing, in warning Banninga against pressing for intercommunion, and there was a lively correspondence between them on this issue in the first years of the 'thirties. But once intercommunion was a fact, Headlam and Palmer defended it by reference to the allowable "exception", or dispensation, or economy. Headlam studied this problem very carefully in his conversations with the Orthodox Churches.[48] Azariah, who closely followed Headlam's theological lead, used the idea of "exception", or economy, in his arguments in the Episcopal Synod of the C.I.B.C. and in the Joint Committee. On the episcopal bench of the C.I.B.C. the reference to "exception" was made particularly by the Metropolitan himself. He in his turn had good authority for doing so. He would quote a statement from Dr. William Temple's charge, entitled *Thoughts on Some Problems of the Day*, where the author says: "To make an exception in exceptional circumstances is a way of affirming the general rule."[49] In the Joint Committee this argument about exception or economy was highly welcome. More than once Banninga in his correspondence with Azariah would say with a somewhat sweeping gesture: "Your theory of 'economy' ought to cover everything."[50]

Expectation. The time factor plays a central role in the forming of the *expectation* concept. The range of expectation, measured in units of time—in this case in years—is decisive. A decision in 1932 to have intercommunion as from that year may be judged quite differently according to whether the range of expectation is two years or fifteen years, i.e. whether the actual inauguration is expected to take place in 1934 or in 1947. We must not forget that the leaders on the Joint Committee in the years 1930–35 were carried forward in their negotiations by a definite expectation that union would come within a brief space of time, and actual intercommunion was expected to hasten still more the coming of the day. The cautious Bishop Western, in writing to the Metropolitan a few days after the first intercommunion service in 1932, sums up the result of it all: "Now everybody takes for granted that

union is absolutely certain."[51] Only some polishing of the phraseology remained necessary, he thought. Intercommunion had proved that union was already within reach. Azariah, Tubbs and Loyd were among other leading Anglicans who definitely anticipated the imminent solution of the union negotiations. It should be added, however, that Waller was more cautious. "If all are definitely determined and say so, the difficulty felt is slight. But if there could be any suggestion of a breakdown . . . "[52] This was a possibility that some of his colleagues would not entertain. S.I.U.C. and Methodist members shared the expectations of the Anglicans. The Scheme was ready; only the final details remained to be dealt with. In the last stages of negotiations intercommunion should be practised.

Expectation of imminent union; *Experiencing* the spiritual gifts in Holy Communion; and *Exception* proving the Rule—these were the three keys that opened the locked door. This was the atmosphere in which the suggestion made by the Wesleyan and S.I.U.C. delegates to the Joint Committee was forwarded to the Metropolitan. This suggestion envisaged "intercommunion between the consulting churches", and it was thought possible to obtain a general permission on a wide scale. The proposal was presented to the Anglican authorities at a propitious moment. The General Council of the C.I.B.C. had given its "general approval" to the South India Scheme as such in February 1932, and the Episcopal Synod immediately following upon the meeting of the Council could be expected to receive the request from the Joint Committee with sympathy. It was found, however, that the Episcopal Synod, which hitherto had always been able to arrive at unanimous decisions, was to be divided over intercommunion. On one point all were united: the request for general intercommunion could not be entertained. The permission must be definitely limited to what the Lambeth Conference of 1930 had called "very special circumstances". It was felt that the Joint Committee meetings constituted such very special circumstances. Even this definition was further modified. It could be applied only "when all the churches are pledged to complete the union and substantial agreement on fundamental matters has been

reached by the three negotiating churches and they are thus pledged to put an end to the continuance of separate ministries" —in the words of the actual resolution passed by the Episcopal Synod.

The Metropolitan, who with his great authority gave his support to the synodical decision, had been informed that all Anglican recommendations to the Joint Committee had been sympathetically considered. He believed that non-episcopal ministries could be regarded as "spiritually efficacious". He thought that Lambeth 1930 had admitted that sacramental grace was "conveyed" in Holy Communion administered by non-episcopal ministers, and he appealed to "the bar of fact, which means experience"—i.e. spiritual experience. On these presuppositions the Metropolitan sums up the attitude of the Synod: "We feared lest we by rigidity might be found to be fighting against God."[53]

Westcott modified the method of *anticipation* in a direction which tied up intercommunion with the Pledge. At this stage, in 1932, he took for granted an interpretation of the Pledge which later was to be disputed within the C.I.B.C. After union, he said, it would be possible for any ex-Anglican to receive Communion at the hands of a non-episcopally ordained minister, "should he have no conscientious conviction against this". This was one of those irregularities which had to be tolerated in view of the fact that episcopacy was accepted for the united church and was "in process of realization". It was this position that the resolutions of the Synod "anticipated".[54]

These were views supported by men such as Azariah, Tubbs and Western, and even by Loyd, who belonged to the Anglo-Catholic school. The opposition was represented by two Anglo-Catholic bishops with an increasing influence in the Synod, Hubback of Assam and Carpenter-Garnier of Colombo. They thought principle had been sacrificed in the interests of expediency. Bishop Hubback, who later was to take a great interest in the South India negotiations, regarded the decision as dangerous. To him the difference of opinion revealed a difference concerning "the whole sacramental system". On his return to Assam he told his diocese: "I found the meetings very difficult, not to say distressing, and came away from

them really exhausted."[55] But expectation, not exhaustion, was the prevailing attitude of those who voted. Anticipation and expectation became the operative words in the resolution which the Episcopal Synod passed—with only two dissentients.

These men knew the various reasons for intercommunion in vogue at the time: intercommunion as a method and a *means*, a *way* to union—but this did not solve their problems; intercommunion as *proof*, demanded by the other party as demonstration that one took union seriously—but this was definitely rejected; *intercommunion as an anticipation* of real unity—this was their solution. It was expressed in the very words of the resolution: When the churches are pledged to complete the union, "the results of a formally achieved union may on special occasions be enjoyed by anticipation, in view of the agreement already reached and in confident expectation that full agreement will be attained".[56] This expectation was a religious experience. The Joint Committee had experienced "the presence of God's Spirit in a very special measure". It was in this setting that their decision was formed.

The resolution was carefully guarded. It reads:

> It must be at once explained that this request raises the most difficult problem which has yet come before our church in these negotiations: if compliance would help the uniting churches, it would alienate the sympathy of many in the Anglican Communion who definitely consider the interchanging of ministries of separated churches to be wrong in any circumstances whatever.
>
> The doubt concerns the wisdom of this method of trying to further union and the question of putting stumbling blocks in the way of those whose consciences are unable to approve the interchanging of ministries of separated churches. Organically the union of churches can only be effected by the unification of their ministries: and union cannot be achieved so long as separately organized churches are determined to continue separate ministries. It is for that reason that many Anglicans are unable to use the ministries of other churches, while not denying that God is working in and through them in their churches. They believe that by doing so they would be helping to perpetuate separation.
>
> There are, however, two factors in the present situation which have weighed strongly with the Synod.
>
> There do come occasions in great spiritual movements when

the presence of God's Spirit is realized in a very special measure, and the Synod rejoices that that has been the experience of the Joint Committee. It desires greatly that nothing which it may do shall in any way blur that experience or hinder its working. And it is in that setting that it has anxiously explored every possibility.

There is a further point which the Synod has most anxiously considered. It is eager to hasten the time when intercommunion may be achieved. The majority considers that when all the churches are pledged to complete the union and substantial agreement on fundamental matters has been reached by the three negotiating churches and they are thus pledged to put an end to the continuance of separated ministries, the results of a formally achieved union may on special occasions be enjoyed by anticipation. And further, 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 organized directly by it. In giving this liberty the Synod would emphasize the fact that it cannot believe that general intercommunion 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 these special occasions do not feel that they can depart from their lifelong rule. The Synod considered another method of achieving that end; namely, that if representative ministers of all three churches joined in celebrating the communion on the occasions referred to in the last paragraph (together leading in the essential parts of the service) the desired object would be attained. The proposal was suggested by an old custom of the church that on special occasions presbyters celebrated the Communion with the bishop. This joining in the celebration would be a not inappropriate symbol of our oneness in the desire for union and in our approach to God.

A special method for intercommunion was thus suggested, by way of *concelebration*, whereby representative ministers of all the three churches joined in celebrating. It is probable that it was Bishop Waller who suggested this.

To the Anglicans this decision was of very far-reaching importance. It meant crossing the Rubicon. The negotiations of the 'twenties, the publication of the Scheme, the discussion at Lambeth—these were all in the nature of theological considerations. But intercommunion was practical, tangible, direct. An intense debate flared up, particularly in Britain.

The reverberations were not long in coming. The leading Anglo-Catholic theologians of Oxford, B. J. Kidd, H. L. Goudge, K. E. Kirk, W. B. O'Brien, F. W. Puller, Darwell Stone and N. P. Williams, in a letter formally addressed to Father T. E. T. Shore, expressed their "gravest possible anxiety". The decision was a violation of Catholic principle and went "far beyond" anything sanctioned or even suggested by Resolution 42 of Lambeth 1930. Archbishop Lang cautiously but unmistakably supported these critics and hoped that the bishops would refrain from using the liberty which the Synod had given.[57]

In South India the synodical decision was greeted by most with gratitude. "What a rebuke for my lack of faith!" Banninga wrote to Azariah.[58] The volume of the Anglo-Catholic outcry in England and India against the decision of the Episcopal Synod grew, however, very rapidly, particularly through the *Church Times*, and even so old an advocate of intercommunion as J. H. Maclean became doubtful. He wrote to Banninga: "If the exercise of liberty alienates the sympathy of the S.P.G., with the result that support of its work is diminished, can we expect it [i.e. that the Anglicans should practise intercommunion]?—And all this because about a dozen people may once in two years or so take Communion at the hands of one not episcopally ordained."[59]

The decision had been taken by the whole Episcopal Synod. But it was for those Anglicans who were representatives on the Joint Committee to take the consquences. This involved a personal decision and a consideration of their representative responsibility.

The practical details for intercommunion had to be worked out. Bishop Waller hoped that a service of concelebration would meet the case. This would also allow him to take part in the service himself. He suggested a somewhat elaborate form

of liturgy which he described as "a concelebration without the saying of the consecration together, but each doing it separately. That would at least bring together the three rites."[60]

It is important to note that Gulliford and all the Wesleyans supported Waller in this concelebration plan, not least because he made this a condition for taking part. Gulliford did, however, find the liturgical arrangement suggested by Waller somewhat complicated: "[Waller] wanted the three ministers to say successively the words that they thought essential to the service. I did not like this, and said that we Wesleyans did not care who said the prayer of Consecration, provided all three took part in the service."[61] Bishop Azariah and the S.I.U.C. would not accept the concelebration method. "Why should any of us be asked to do things in ways strange to him? Let one celebration be ours and another yours and let all be given a hearty welcome to both. This is my view."[62] Gulliford, who up to the last moment hoped that joint celebration would be followed, had the impression that the S.I.U.C. leaders wanted to make the holding of separate Communions "a test case", and their view prevailed.

Gulliford describes in the following way the services held February 15–18, 1932, in the Wesleyan Synod Hall, Madras. "We had a retreat the first day in which the Bishop of Nasik (Dr. Loyd), a very good fellow, guided our thoughts. He sat on a chair in the chapel and talked to us in a frank way and brought us to the simplicity and essential positions of our faith. Still both the Anglicans and the Wesleyans were ready to drop the separate Communion services and did not look forward to them with any pleasure. On the second morning the Bishop of Madras and E. H. Fry of Bangalore celebrated. It seems that most were present and partook. The next morning it was our turn [i.e. the Methodists'], and W. H. Spencer and S. M. Devadoss, the Chairman and Secretary of our Provincial Synod, officiated. We were wondering what would happen. Several Anglicans were present, including two bishops [Azariah and Western]. The service was reverent and helpful, and all the Anglicans present, bishops included, partook of the elements. We felt that the ice was broken, and that a beginning had been made. We felt that it was worth while to have had this service.

The next morning the S.I.U.C. appointed A. Silver of the Church of Scotland, Banninga and Meshach Peter to conduct the service. The service was the most elaborate of the three. Instead of a simple Congregational service we had the latest service of the Church of Scotland. They were all robed and sat behind the table, but the prayers were more elaborate than those of the other two services. Instead of taking the elements round, all knelt on the chancel steps, as in the case of the other two services. The Anglican bishops and others who had been present the previous day were there again and partook of the elements."[63]

"The year 1932 was the great turning point in union negotiations. Then it was that we came closer to one another, by way of intercommunion." In an interview twenty years after the event Bishop C. K. Jacob, Kottayam, indicated the importance of this step. He knew, of course, that some of the leading Anglicans did not take part. Waller felt that his diocese was against it, and therefore did not attend non-episcopal celebrations. But the Joint Communion service stood out as a decisive practical achievement on the way to union and as an anticipation of union.

The effects were manifold. On the one hand it alienated Anglo-Catholics in Britain and the United States from South India. Even Headlam, who officially defended what had happened, took Banninga to task in his characteristic manner: "I cannot but wish that there had been a little more wisdom exercised."[64] Some of the Anglican missionaries had old friendships broken because of their stand. On the other hand this was the very reason why one of the staunchest Methodist opponents of the Scheme, Posnett of Medak, became a firm supporter. The sacrifice that Anglican leaders had given was the proof he needed. This conversion was of great importance throughout the Methodist Church and particularly in Hyderabad, where Dornakal and Medak were drawn more closely together than ever before. This was undoubtedly also the general result throughout the three churches in South India.

In the Madura district the fact of intercommunion had significant practical effects even in the interior arrangements of the church buildings. In 1932 Banninga had the church at

Pasumalai modified by putting in an altar, and the communicants no longer received in their pews but knelt at newly built altar rails. Azariah could tell Dr. William Paton (May 1933) that cassocks and surplices had been introduced in some of the S.I.U.C. churches. He thought this would have psychological effects: "Anglicans of the S.P.G. colour, even, are thus losing age-long prejudices against receiving Communion from these ministers. This process I believe will go on and make the practical working of union far easier than we can envisage now."

The practical working towards union might possibly be made easier, as the ever optimistic and resourceful Bishop of Dornakal thus suggested. But there were no easy solutions to the problems of union. And even if there had been any, intercommunion was not one of them. This was shown by the complexity involved in the motives for participation and non-participation, and in the judgments upon the personal decisions in the one direction or the other. Azariah himself made it perfectly clear to Banninga that from the Anglican point of view intercommunion implied no admission of "identity of ministries".[65] Conceived in an atmosphere of what was described as "Pentecostal" expectation, the act of intercommunion did at least reveal that the churches had not yet "all things common". Bishop Waller, who laboured so courageously for union, was not a communicant at non-episcopal hands. B. Rottschaefer of the Arcot Mission informed his church in America of the contrast between this non-participation and the Indian political scene: "When Mr. Gandhi is doing his utmost to down untouchability it is a sad commentary that untouchability was practised by bishops in that they will not commune with fellow Christians."[66]

While Azariah of Dornakal thought that intercommunion would make the work for union far easier, his fellow bishop, Carpenter-Garnier of Colombo, had other forebodings about the result of the decision of the Episcopal Synod: "Their action will not help forward the cause of a true union; it will retard it." Whatever this bishop meant by "true union", it is quite possible to argue now (twenty years after the event) that as far as South India is concerned intercommunion did retard union. Intercommunion 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 its turn sharpened that S.I.U.C. 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 intercommunion 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 C.I.B.C. representation on the Joint Committee.

And yet the men on the Joint Committee had counted the cost. They knew it was worth while. Their intentions and hopes were expressed in a declaration by Palmer, in words that perhaps are the most eloquent and moving which the history of church union negotiations in South India ever produced. Prior to June 1932, Palmer himself, like Headlam, was very cautious on the subject of intercommunion. Once it was a fact and became the object of incessant criticism, Palmer was ready to defend the group of men in South India. He applied his fundamental category of Canonical Rule plus Exception from the Rule. He showed that what happened in India had consequences for the whole of the church. We quote from his letter to *The Times*, January 5, 1933:

> The scheme proposes to recognize the non-episcopal ministers of the churches which enter the union as ministers of the word and sacraments in the united church, and to allow anyone who wishes, but to compel no one, to resort to their ministrations. Those are the points which are anathema to the objecting Anglo-Catholics.
>
> The acid test of a church's life is whether it does convert pagans at home and abroad. The non-episcopal churches have (to our knowledge) done as much of this work as the episcopal. Is it credible that they would have been enabled by God to do this if He had regarded their Communion services as acts of rebellion, imposture, or self-deception, or as empty forms? No, Sir, those

who framed the scheme cannot believe that. They think that those churches, their neighbours, if not their colleagues, in the conversion of India, were regarded by God as doing their best to fulfil His Son's command, and that He, by using their ministers in this Sacrament, has Himself consecrated them to it. So long as churches are deliberately maintaining separation their members cannot with consistency or good conscience share the Sacrament of unity. But when all separation has been removed our brethren in India propose to accept these non-episcopal ministers from God's hands.

However widely or however long the opinion that the Eucharist cannot take place without an episcopally-ordained minister may have been held in the church, it appears to be devoid of support from Scripture and inconsistent with the experience of the non-episcopal post-Reformation churches.

Your readers can judge whether the Anglo-Catholics have not got in the scheme everything that it is reasonable for them to have. The Church of India, Burma and Ceylon has always wished to carry them with it in this scheme. Long years of common labour and affection bind the Anglo-Catholics in that church to her heart. But no man in the church can ask for more than free opportunity to convert it to an opinion of his which is debatable. I affirm that it must be so treated because God's action in the non-episcopal churches appears *prima facie* to be against the Anglo-Catholic view.

Your readers should also consider the scheme in its widest bearings. The division between Catholic and Protestant is the most potent reason why the church has so little influence to-day and is not bringing the modern world to Christ, who alone can save it. That division is the strongest point in the devil's plan of campaign. Some obscure persons in South India are willing to make the first attempt to end that division. They are like men asking leave to go over the top. They know that they may die in the attempt, and that their attempt will fail if they are not followed. In other words, it is possible that the United Church will go wrong itself after union. It is also possible that the churches in other lands will not follow the example and join themselves into one church. Our fellow-Christians in South India are willing to take both these risks. Who says to them, "Stop"? Those who do not wish to have to follow them. Who says to them, "Go"? Who is it who died deserted by all, to save all? Who is it who wants one body with which to complete His saving work?

The New Equilibrium of 1932

BASIS AND CONSTITUTION

The practice of intercommunion created a new climate and a new atmosphere. It was felt that under the conditions of this new climate the problems of church order could be more easily settled than before. The Scheme which resulted out of this new atmosphere has features which distinguish it rather markedly from that of 1929.

Already the form of the Scheme was modified in 1932. It was decided to distinguish between a "Basis of Union" and the Constitution itself. The former was considered as "a historical document and as such unalterable"; the latter could be changed. No sooner had Bartlet received the 1929 Scheme than he wrote to Banninga suggesting a division between the basal and therefore unalterable parts of the Scheme and the Constitution itself. "It would be unjust to all the parties entering into union and so breaking up their old order (both on the spot and in relation to the home base) to change later on—when the initial act could not be undone in effect—the basal principles of the new common order." Bartlet therefore suggested that Sections II–IV of the initial Scheme should be kept unchanged, being "a guarantee that no changes consistent [*sic*] with these will ever be made and so gravely violate consciences. This means that both 'Evangelical' and 'Catholic' theories may be held within the limits implied by the basis of comprehension agreed upon."[67] Bartlet was thinking in terms of the traditions of the uniting churches. He wished to guarantee to these traditions their fair share in the Basis in a way which could not later be undone. By this argument Bartlet was in fact suggesting an important method of union, although not the only one. Banninga stated that the Joint Committee had planned to let the Basis also be subject to subsequent changes decided by the united church. But Bartlet's authority led them into dividing the Schemes into two parts. At the important Joint Committee meeting in June 1932, where many far-reaching changes were brought about, a decision to this effect was made.[68] In the new Schemes it was, of course, stated that the Church of South India could not "remain legally bound

by the action of the uniting churches before union". But this was counterbalanced by the following addition: "It is hereby declared that in any alteration of this Constitution, and particularly of [the] Governing Principles in the Constitution, full regard should be paid to the Basis of Union as a permanent record of the intentions and desires of the churches by the union of which this church has been formed." This was a conservative guarantee, given probably with regard to the interests particularly of the western home boards who took an active interest at the time.

Bishop Palmer saw this problem in another light. He had been discussing it with one of the most powerful Anglo-Catholic critics of South India, Dr. B. J. Kidd. The latter told Palmer in a conference that "it would make a very great difference to him in his estimate of the Scheme if in the Basis of Union it was definitely stated that the uniting churches considered their action as subject to subsequent revision and correction, if the whole of Christendom came to be able to speak with one voice." This argument interested Palmer greatly. It was in direct line with the ecumenical dynamic of his "Great Church" ideal. His reply to Dr. Kidd is so revealing that we feel justified in quoting rather fully. "I assured Dr. Kidd", Palmer informed Waller and Azariah, "that I had always regarded the action of any separated church provisional in that sense, i.e. that though under compulsion of necessity it had to act alone (or do nothing) yet it has no right to think itself competent to act alone if it could consult the rest of the church."[69] Palmer therefore suggested that the following formula should be inserted into the Basis of Union:

"The united churches in framing and carrying out the terms of this union are conscious that they are acting—under stress of necessity—without the consent of the greater part of Christ's Church here on earth, and they are willing that their present actions should be reviewed and, if need be, corrected if, in God's good Providence, a general reunion of this divided church should take place and the whole Church should adopt terms of union different from those at present adopted in South India."

This was another very important and fruitful intervention

from Palmer's side. It was fruitful in so far as Azariah and Waller took the matter up in the Joint Committee in November 1932 and succeeded in carrying the point. Palmer's suggestion was redrafted by his former chaplain, Bishop Loyd of Nasik, and was brought into the statement on "The Purpose and Nature of the Union", in the Basis of Union. The Committee trusted "that the united church in South India will never so use the provisions of the Constitution . . . that they will become barriers against the fuller and richer life to be attained in a wider fellowship, but that it will always be ready to correct and amend them as God's will becomes more clearly known through the growing together of the several parts of the now divided Church". Bartlet and Palmer were the two most important theological minds working on South Indian church union in the formative years of the negotiations. They represented two different approaches to the method of union; in the case of the Constitution *both* approaches were included. In the circumstances this was probably inevitable.

In June 1932 the Joint Committee decided to draft "the final documents needed for the union". This task was the responsibility of a Drafting Committee, where Western was the only Anglican, while there were two Methodists, Gulliford and N. G. Ponnaiah, and two from the S.I.U.C., C. J. Lucas and Dr. Banninga. They did a very thoroughgoing piece of work. The new edition of the Scheme (1932) was printed in only one hundred copies and discussed at the November meeting 1932. It is of particular interest to study the contents of this edition.

BISHOP AND SYNOD

If the form of the Scheme was changed in 1932, some of the most controversial clauses were also formulated in a new way. They were the result of the concern of Methodists and the S.I.U.C. to make the historic episcopate "constitutional" or "democratic". The relationship between the bishop and his diocesan council did not present any difficulties. The Scheme of 1929 laid down that the bishop should have the right of suspending the operation of decisions or resolutions of the council which directly concerned matters of faith and doctrine

of the church. This clause was never challenged or changed and was part of the final edition of the Scheme of 1942.

It should be stressed in this connexion that the Anglicans in 1932 did at least secure one point of special importance with regard to their conception of episcopacy. They stressed the importance of Confirmation performed by bishops. This view was not accepted by the Joint Committee as such, but the Anglicans secured the mention of the matter in a footnote added to the Basis (but not to the Constitution). This arrangement was followed in all the subsequent schemes. The note on Confirmation reads:

"The Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, while it does not wish to insist on the acceptance of Confirmation in the united church as a prerequisite term of union, desires most earnestly to commend the use of it, not primarily as a service of admission to Holy Communion, but as a rite which from the time of the Apostles has been considered naturally to follow Holy Baptism, and through which this church believes that a special gift of the Holy Spirit is bestowed. This desire is further strengthened by experience of the benefits which individual members of the church have received through it and of the enrichment which it brings to the pastoral ministry of the bishop."[70]

Problematic, and indeed crucial, was the question of the balance of power between Bishop and Synod. The character of the union hinged on this relationship. The first edition of the Scheme provided that matters of the faith and doctrine of the church could be discussed in the Synod, but "the proposition shall be submitted to the Synod for final voting thereon only in a form approved by the bishops sitting separately for that purpose". It could then be referred back to the bishops. If the bishops refused to place a proposition of this nature before the Synod for a final vote in any form whatever, or if the proposition did not obtain a two-thirds majority, "the matter shall be dropped for that meeting of the Synod". After an interval of time it could be raised again at some other meeting of the Synod.

To the S.I.U.C. delegates at the Joint Committee meeting, June 1932, it seemed that the bishops hereby had been given power to stay action, a power which threatened the initiative

of the Synod. The matter was discussed but not decided by the Joint Committee. It had to be referred to the Drafting Committee. These men reshaped the whole paragraph and gave to Chapter IX: 21–22 the form which in fact was largely retained in the final form of the Scheme. This was an important change as compared with the edition of 1929. The text of 1932 was modified in 1939. For the sake of comparison the two texts are set out in parallel columns in an Appendix on pp. 421–3. In this way it is easier to study the complicated machinery of checks and counter-checks whereby the relationship between Bishop and Synod was determined.

The non-Anglicans felt this to be an important achievement, because the ultimate power of the Synod, as compared with that of the Bishop, had been markedly emphasized. It is to be conjectured that Bishop Western believed the safeguards on the episcopal side to be sufficient. In any case it is important that this far-reaching modification in the Scheme was decided already in 1932 and from that time was published in the new editions of the Scheme. Palmer, as we shall see, warned against this tendency. But Bartlet was the more satisfied. He was sure that the Scheme was now built on "the second-century type of church organization", that Cyprian's autocracy in the Scheme of 1929 had been succeeded by a really constitutional, "Ignatian" form. The phrase "the historic episcopate in a constitutional form" "surely sets aside and guards against certain developments of an autocratic tendency which began to grow up from the third century onwards, while it implies restoration of the more balanced type of episcopate which prevailed before that date, whose powers were shared and qualified by other elements in the church's ministry and responsible action, viz. the presbyterate and the faithful generally, 'kings and priests unto God'".[71]

Bartlet was sure they had now found "the more balanced type" of episcopacy. Balance between the powers of the Bishop and the constitutionally established Synod and the ministry was the aim of the 1929 edition. But Bartlet, and with him the South India Congregationalists, did not feel that real balance had then been attained. To them it seemed that the new departure in 1932 would more decisively guarantee real

equilibrium between Bishop and Church. And Bartlet's theology and theory prevailed. Some missionaries with long experience came to other conclusions. Maclean, the Presbyterian missionary, was one of those whose experience in India had brought the conclusion "that in practice it would not at all be a bad thing to leave the bishop with a veto".[72]

It was in line with this change in the power of the bishops that the S.I.U.C. introduced a particular interpretation of the episcopate in the form of a footnote in the 1932 Scheme itself:

"In accepting, for the sake of union, the 'historic' episcopate as found in the Anglican and other churches, the S.I.U.C. understands by this term that for many centuries episcopacy has been a form of government that has persisted in the church, and is in that sense entitled to be described as 'historic'."

PRESBYTERS IN EPISCOPAL CONSECRATIONS

Parity of ministries was the Presbyterian watchword. From the S.I.U.C. side this was the theological basis of the demand for participation of presbyters in all the consecrations of bishops. Bartlet had in 1929 referred to this issue as "the crucial point of the Scheme". Lambeth 1930 dissuaded South India from introducing this into the Constitution, but it was strongly pressed by the non-Anglicans. At the November meeting, 1930, this issue caused something like a crisis. The Anglicans did not wish to give in on a matter of this importance, and they had the lead of Lambeth to follow. This was one of those occasions to which the members of the Joint Committee often refer, when the working of the Spirit was felt in a very special sense. After the meeting had spent some time in silent prayer, Bishop Loyd of Nasik suggested an amendment to the non-Anglican proposal: "It shall be permissible for Presbyters to join with the Bishops in the laying on of hands at the consecration of a Bishop; provided that it always be remembered and taught that the true Consecrator is God to whom prayer is made."

The General Council of the C.I.B.C., meeting in 1932, did not accept this amendment. Their delegates on the Joint Committee were instructed to stand by the Lambeth 1930 position in regard to this matter. Bishop Loyd's move represented, however, a dent in the Anglican defence and when it came to

a final vote in the Joint Committee, June 1932, "we felt we must yield", as Western reported to the Metropolitan.[73] The only consideration the Anglicans could get was that the clause was made permissive; in a diocese such as Tinnevelly, for instance, where the participation of presbyters in consecrations would not be expected, the diocese was at least not obliged to adopt this new method.

There was, however, strong pressure from the Union Committee within the Methodist Missionary Society under the theological leadership of Dr. Newton Flew to go one decisive step further. The participation of presbyters should be not only facultative but obligatory. They must take part in all consecrations. Some Anglicans on the other hand pointed to the Lambeth resolution according to which the participation of presbyters would tend to theological confusion. This became the one great controversial issue in the Joint Committee meeting, November–December 1932.

The Methodist missionaries who were to represent the British Methodist demands on this point felt, however, that they were going too far in asking for obligatory participation of presbyters. J. H. Maclean in the Committee maintained that the Presbyterian principle was sufficiently safeguarded by the 1929 addition (presbyters to take part only at consecration in connexion with the inauguration service), and the Swedish precedent, to which much interest was directed at this time, did not fully meet the case. Gulliford reacted against the exaggerated idea of "the enormous power of the bishops" which seemed to be entertained in Methodist circles in England. In fact, Gulliford stated, the bishops "have in some respects, not so much as in others perhaps, a little more than the Chairman of a [Methodist] district in this country".[74] He felt that they must not press the Anglicans beyond the limits which had been reached in June 1932. "We must not make it harder for them." The Methodist delegation therefore withdrew their demand, particularly in view of the remarkable suggestion which the Anglican bishops put forward on this occasion for a service of commissioning the existing Anglican bishops. This implied a method whereby in a solemn way representative Methodist and S.I.U.C. presbyters should signify their recognition of the

Anglican bishops as bishops of the Church of South India, and the suggestion was enthusiastically accepted by the Joint Committee. The actual form of service for this commission was not worked out until 1947.

Another modification of the episcopal basis of the church was discussed with reference to the thirty years interim period. Would there be any exception to the rule of an episcopally ordained ministry after the thirty years or not? This was no detail. Ultimately it concerned the relationship in the future with those non-episcopal churches out of which the non-Anglican missions had sprung. On the S.I.U.C. side, members were anxious not to make the Church of South India "a closed church" at the end of the thirty years, and they suggested that the thirty years clause be removed altogether, and that exceptions to the rule should always be allowed. On this occasion R. Robertson of the North Tamil council defended what he regarded as the Congregationalist standpoint. But the Anglicans were not prepared to give up the thirty years clause.

A complete deadlock seemed to have been reached at the Committee meeting in June 1932. After long discussions Canon B. H. P. Fisher suggested that they should have silent prayer. At the end of this period the South Travancore representative, R. H. Eastaff, was able to give what at once appeared to all to be the solution. The interim period should remain, but after thirty years the C.S.I. must determine for itself whether exceptions to the rule should continue to be made or not.[75] The actual text reads:

"After this period of thirty years, the united church must determine for itself whether there should be any exceptions to the rule of an episcopally ordained ministry, and if so, of what nature, giving in their consideration full weight to the fundamental principles of the union, on the one hand that of a fully unified ministry within the church, and on the other hand that of the maintenance and extension of full communion and fellowship with those churches with which the uniting churches now severally have such fellowship. It is understood that the status of those at that time already received as ministers in the united church shall not be affected by any action which the united church may then take."

It was an interesting decision. It stressed the authority of the church of the future, which through its own Synod would have to determine this crucial matter. And, for once, as a method of union it represented a thrust into the united church itself and managed to avoid the somewhat cumbersome mechanics of the weighing against each other of the influence of the various past "heritages".

There is a definite trend in these modifications of 1932. Accumulatively they establish another equilibrium than that which gave the illusion of balance to the 1929 edition of the Scheme. This new equilibrium was above all important in that from now on the Methodists and the Presbyterians were in principle satisfied that they had been given what they had demanded, although there were still one or two matters which required their attention. From now on evangelical Anglicans together with Methodists and Presbyterians were discovering that they had a common platform. They were brought closer together, much closer than their home boards at the time understood.

BISHOP PALMER'S REACTION

On the other hand, establishing a new equilibrium was a challenge to the architect of the 1929 Scheme. Nobody followed this development with greater interest and anxiety than Bishop Palmer. He had to speak, and he spoke "as one who cares about this Scheme and cannot think of it being stopped".[76] It was the Presbyterian position against which he directed his counter-attack. He did this, not because he disliked the Presbyterians, but because, although honouring them as a Christian community, he saw great danger if their position were to be dominant in a Union Scheme. Palmer's attitude to the Presbyterians was double-edged. Presbyterians, he claimed, had a real understanding of the Church; their conception of the Church was fundamentally the same as his own, an admission which he did not make of many other groups.[77] In his debate with Principal Martin of Edinburgh he tried to establish a common platform with the Presbyterian: "May I say that the prelacy against which your forefathers revolted is as alien to our minds as to yours. The collegiality of the bishops, all of them

subordinate to their unseen Head, is very like the conception that you have of your presbyters to each other and to Christ."[78]

But there was a limit to these generous admissions. The Presbyterian teaching on the parity of ministries was definitely contrary to his views, because parity of ministers was equivalent to "entire refusal of episcopacy". It was impossible to enter a union established on episcopacy, and at the same time maintain this Presbyterian principle. In his pamphlet *The Parity of Ministers and the Historic Episcopate*, 1931, he made this clear: "We are really asking that Presbyterians should give up this principle of the parity of ministers, not merely because it is historically little else than a controversial position, but because if brought to the bar of history, it stands condemned."

Against these views Palmer wished to revaluate episcopacy by teaching, at least "as a probability", Apostolic Succession. Seen in this light not even the term "constitutional episcopate" could be taken as a modifying safety-valve. The "constitution" was not something invented by a committee of men; its powers come from "the constitution of Christ's body", and the bishop represented the universal episcopate. Ultimately the whole problem was one of the relationship between "the Apostolic Ministry" and the Church. Bartlet, the Presbyterians and the Methodists taught that Jesus had given His commissions to the whole Church. Palmer insisted that they were given "to the twelve (or the eleven)". And then Palmer adds to this exegetical statement a characteristic local application: "The whole story of our Lord and His disciples is to me an Oriental story, the age-old story of the *Guru* and his *chelas*."[79]

It is from this standpoint that the counter-attack on the 1930–32 modifications to the Scheme is made. Palmer admitted that the 'twenties in the union negotiations were not without responsibility for the development of the 'thirties, particularly because of the facile admission that the Scheme had "no theory" about episcopacy. He told Foss Westcott, the Metropolitan: "The words themselves 'the historic episcopate in a constitutional form' state a theory. This piece of confused thinking began in my time, and I should like to help to get it out."[80] In fact the modifications themselves formed a very definite theory, only "in each instance more distant than before from the historic

practice (and therefore theory) of the episcopate"—"a rather particular theory of episcopacy, indeed unexampled in history".

The most important instance of the devaluation of episcopacy was, according to Palmer, the clause of 1932 that seemed to imply that the bishop could ultimately be overruled by the Synod in matters of faith and doctrine. This was the crucial point in the modifications made after 1929. Palmer drew as usual the parallel between the early Church and the Church in India. From the first the special function of the bishops had been to maintain true doctrine. They had that responsibility when the church was threatened with the submergence of Christian truth by Gnosticism. This was also the case with regard to Indian syncretism. There was no church "in which this specialization of function was more needed than one which will largely consist of (*a*) new converts, (*b*) uneducated persons, and (*c*) persons saturated with non-Christian tradition". All the reasons why the episcopate was wanted in the second century applied, Palmer thought, to the twentieth in India.[81] This was not a question of Anglicanism. It was a question of "the conception of episcopacy which has existed from the first".

Palmer did not wish any prerogative for the bishops exclusive of the Synod. If only the specialization of function to which he referred were observed, the concurrence of the Synod with the bishops would be necessary in order to give a pronouncement the force of a law in the church. Palmer knew his Cyprian and kept close to the pattern of the third-century Church. "It belongs to the doctrine that no statement of a Council of Bishops is to be held binding till it is accepted by the mature judgment of the Church."

Palmer's advice found an echo in the Episcopal Synod of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. They feared lest the bishops be deprived of one of their most distinctive functions.[82] In order to overcome this difficulty the Synod suggested the introduction of the device so familiar to the Anglicans in England and in India, called "Voting by Houses", i.e. the votes of the laity, of the presbyters, and of the bishops to be taken separately.[83] The Anglican representatives pressed this in the Joint Committee in February 1934. The Joint Committee

went so far as to suggest that in case the method of Voting by Houses were accepted, the controversial clauses on the Bishops and the Synod (Chap. IX: 21–22) would be omitted entirely. The problem was to be referred to the churches for their opinion. The S.I.U.C. councils had once before, in 1923, rejected this method. They did not wish to accept it now. It seemed to give too much power to one section of the church, and the desire of the Synod might be frustrated through the action of "a small number of conservatively minded bishops".[84] The intricate system of balance between Synod and Bishop as laid down in Chapter IX: 21–22 seemed to guarantee a more just division of responsibility, and therefore this system was adhered to. The matter was to be reopened in the late 'thirties.

The non-Anglicans felt that the 1932 Scheme had established a real and just equilibrium: "I think we have now finished with the ecclesiastical side of the Union", was Gulliford's conclusion: only administrative details remained.[85] Banninga was just as emphatic: "The Committee has tried to face all the issues and has incorporated the results in the Scheme as now modified and I think that the Scheme so modified should be acceptable to all."[86] Professor Bartlet in Oxford concurred in this judgment—and with some reason, for it was, of course, ultimately the theology which he represented which in 1932 received a larger share in the Scheme than before. He wrote to Banninga: "We have now got pretty near a really equitable provision for conscience, alike for the present and future."[87]

Palmer's overall judgment could not be very encouraging. He summed it up in a phrase with a sting in it: If the 1932 alterations were allowed to stand, "I shall have to admit that you have not got the historic episcopate but a fancy episcopate".[88] And he knew the reason for this: South India no longer accepted his view of Church history. "A new church will have been made: not the old undivided Church given a new life in India." Most of those who took part in the negotiations thought that what they were trying to do was to build a new church in ancient India. Palmer had another view in mind: to build the ancient Church in new India. This approach provided a distinct method of union. Other approaches to union attempted to "add heritages": the sum total resulting from this addition was to

be a church. Palmer made a bold thrust into the future, suggesting that the blueprint of the future was as old as the Church itself. The Church of the future was none other than the Church of the Fathers. Thus in South India they should not make "any attempt to stereotype and fasten upon the church the beliefs and practices in which the uniting churches at present differ. I beg you not to try to bind the church in the future."[89]

Here lay the deepest issue in the debate of 1932: the alternative between a new church in ancient India and the ancient Church in new India. It was also the issue between Bartlet and Palmer. Bartlet felt that the modifications of the Scheme were in line with his ecclesiastical ideal: "a *future* type of Catholicism", built on the pre-Cyprianic "Church order of the age of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian". To Palmer the Catholicism of the "Greater Church" was not new. It was Catholic because it was Apostolic and ancient. In 1932 Bartlet and his disciples undoubtedly achieved fresh influence in the building of the Church in South India. After all, at that time patristic scholarship was largely influenced by the theology and ideology of men such as Bartlet. In pointing out this relationship between succeeding phases of theological scholarship and administrative action in the ecclesiastical realm, we have, of course, at the same time hinted that the Bartlet phase of scholarship was not to be permanent.

Parity of Ministries, 1933–35

THE PLEDGE, 1930–35

The new equilibrium between different ecclesiastical positions immediately affected the characteristically South Indian union device, the Pledge. We must retrace our steps somewhat in order to follow the development of the attitude to the Pledge.

The Pledge had been formulated as a method of church union at the very last Joint Committee meeting preparing the 1929 Scheme. It had been accepted in a spirit of elation. This method was felt to provide the "spiritual" basis for union which the churches wished to be laid. The Anglicans had been anxious to establish safeguards consonant with the Preface to their

Ordinal and were not prepared to leave the matter with the vague formula of the 1929 Pledge. The Episcopal Synod of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon pointed out in 1930 that from their point of view they wished to see the Anglican rule secured, ensuring former Anglican congregations an episcopally ordained ministry, and they interpreted the Pledge as safeguarding "the consciences of all members of the uniting churches from being forced by any future administrative acts to accept ministries contrary to the long-established traditions and beliefs of those churches".[90]

The Indian bishops brought the matter before Lambeth 1930. They were able to explain something of the atmosphere, the spirit of trust experienced at the Joint Committee meetings, and that on this basis a pledge of confidence was the proper centre of the Scheme. To the other Anglican bishops this argument was not altogether convincing. They had not shared in this unique fellowship. There was a difference in perspective and range of vision. For the Indian bishops the union had primary significance for the Indian scene. For their colleagues in the world-wide Anglican Communion, South India must be taken as a possible pattern for other unions. They therefore introduced into the Lambeth resolutions on South India a statement on their understanding of the Pledge, virtually similar to the formula which had been made by the Indian Episcopal Synod in 1928: the Anglican rule requiring "episcopally ordained ministers for the due administration of Holy Communion" must be kept for congregations of the Anglican tradition.[91]

To the S.I.U.C. councils, particularly Travancore, this came as an unpleasant surprise and seemed contrary to their whole conception of union. There was going to be a dividing line in the church itself; some ministers would be "considered to be a class of inferiors. As long as this distinction is kept up, there can be no real union".[92] But Banninga breezily defended his own interpretation of the Pledge: "If a congregation wants a S.I.U.C. man, I do not think we are going to say that they may not have him just because it may offend some Cowley Father off in Poona."[93] The Methodists, who had been primarily responsible for the original form of

the Pledge, urged in their Provincial Synod of 1931 that it would be most unadvisable to add any explanation of the meaning of the Pledge. To define the Pledge was to go against its very function as a pledge. But the Anglicans persisted. However much they seemed to give way, particularly over intercommunion as from 1932, they made it perfectly clear, and through their most conciliatory bishops, Western and Azariah, that the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon did not regard the ministries of other Christian bodies as "of equally certain validity" with churches in the Apostolic Succession.[94] At the same Joint Committee in June 1932, when the two bishops together with other Anglican committee members practised intercommunion, they and the other Anglican delegates secured the reformulation of the Pledge.[95] One can safely assume that it was their skilled draftsman, Bishop Western, who wrote it, and we quote it here in full as this became the final form never to be modified, in spite of the different interpretations of the Pledge which were to be published from different sides:

> The uniting churches therefore pledge themselves and fully trust each other that the united church will at all times be careful not to allow any overriding of conscience either by church authorities or by majorities, and that it will not in any of its administrative acts knowingly transgress the long-established traditions of any of the churches from which it has been formed. Neither forms of worship or ritual, nor a ministry, to which they have not been accustomed or to which they conscientiously object, will be imposed upon any congregation; and no arrangements with regard to these matters will knowingly be made, either generally or in particular cases, which would either offend the conscientious convictions of persons directly concerned, or which would hinder the development of complete unity within the united church or imperil its progress towards union with other churches.

Nevertheless this did not settle the matter. No sooner had the Joint Committee accepted this Pledge than the Episcopal Synod in January–February 1933 further defined their interpretation of the 1932 Pledge. The Anglicans felt that the trend of events in 1932 emphasized the non-Anglican approach.

The more necessary it seemed to secure an interpretation of the Pledge which in practice would counterbalance any harmful effects of the new decisions. In 1932 "the implicit intentions of the Pledge had been made explicit". That, as far as the Anglican Church was concerned, meant that "every honest effort should be made that to no former Anglican congregation shall a non-episcopal minister be appointed, or be sent for occasional celebrations of the Holy Communion; and that opportunities for securing the ministrations of episcopally ordained clergy will not, because of union, be withdrawn from any congregation which now enjoys such ministrations, and further that, while no coercion can be applied to individual members of the church, our clergy, who have entered the united church, shall have full liberty to continue to instruct their people in accordance with those principles, which they have received, in so far as they do not conflict with the governing principles of the united church".

The reaction was prompt. Banninga wrote to Bishop Western: "Your present statement is certainly most provocative and will raise a storm at home if not here in India."[96] The Anglican interpretation was taken to be an effort to define and limit the mutual undertakings of the churches. This interpretation and the reactions to it once again revealed two different approaches to ecclesiastical problems: the one, by way of definition of order and legislation; the other, by way of "experience of a spiritual fellowship". Banninga felt he had to fight the Anglican interpretation, for it implied the creation of an "exclusive" and "closed" church. The Pledge was primarily a spiritual thing. The acceptance of it would mean "that all the members of our churches shall have risen to that spiritual height where they will be able to take Communion from the hands of any minister who has been Spirit-filled". This meant that in the Church of South India ex-Anglicans could receive Communion from ministers of another tradition, "because they realize the full spiritual value of their ministry and have learnt to recognize that it is not a question of the validity of the ministry".[97] The Anglicans seemed to put law and legislation in the place of the Spirit.

Banninga had foretold that the Anglican interpretation

would raise a storm in the West. In London representative leaders, such as Bishop Palmer and Professor Bartlet, Dr. Newton Flew, Principal Cairns, Canon Quick, Godfrey Phillips and Dr. Oldham met to consider the question. The Methodists, through Flew and Noble, attacked the position of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon: "This is no union, if one side rules out from the start the acceptance of the ministers of the other side."[98] The Anglican provisions would make unity psychologically impossible. It meant that whereas the former members of the non-episcopal churches were to be open as much as possible to the influences of Anglican ministers and ideas, the ex-Anglicans were not to be open to the influences from the other side.[99] Bartlet in the meeting pressed Palmer with determination. The Pledge opened the way to "the more truly catholic or universal type of Catholicism".[100] Palmer pointed out to the meeting in London that a certain ambiguity underlay the wording of the Pledge from the beginning, and the decision of the Episcopal Synod was only the explanation of what, in effect, the Anglican bishops in India understood the Pledge to mean. He then went on to expound his own interpretation of the Pledge. This was later adopted by many Indian bishops as their own understanding of the case. Because of the importance of the problem and because of the authoritative nature of the statement itself we feel justified in summarizing rather fully Palmer's letter to the Metropolitan where he explained his view:

The word "sent", used in the declaration, was intended to correspond with the phrase about administrative acts, and meant "sent by the bishop". It was not meant to include the action of a congregation, procuring for itself a minister for a temporary occasion. Palmer had always taken for granted that irregularities (from the Anglican point of view) might happen, such as a minister accepted by the united church but not episcopally ordained being asked to minister to one of the out-of-the-way Anglican Indian congregations. He had in 1920 discussed such an instance with Bishop Frank Weston of Zanzibar, and the latter had concurred that attention should not be paid to such cases if the union had in view the establishment of a complete episcopal ministry.

Palmer would never accept that an individual in the united church could be forbidden by any document or order of that church to resort to the ministrations of any minister who was reckoned by the united church as one of its ministers. In the same way, where there was actual unanimity in a congregation, one could not stipulate beforehand that the congregation should never employ, even temporarily, a non-episcopally ordained minister if he was a minister of the united church. The Pledge only intended to stipulate against overriding of minorities. It belonged to the very Scheme of the South Indian union that because the non-Anglicans would "cease from all schismatical action" and were determined after union not to act as ordainers of others, the Anglicans were willing to accept them as *de facto* ministers of the Eucharist in one and the same church with them. They did this because "God for His own reasons has so accepted them in the past". Palmer concluded by saying that the Pledge did not and could not make it impossible for an ex-Anglican congregation to invite a non-episcopal minister included in their union to minister to it occasionally if it wished to. An arrangement of this nature should on the other hand not be permanent.

Waller shared Palmer's view. He said about the Synod's interpretation: "I should not have voted for it, if it was to bar out occasional ministrations made locally."[101] Bishop Hubback of Assam said: "I cannot see that it would be right or reasonable for such ministrations to be prohibited when the congregations were unanimous in requesting them."[102] And the Metropolitan, Bishop Foss Westcott, concurred with these views. He stressed that the resolutions of the Episcopal Synod "had no reference whatever to any invitation which might be extended by the congregation itself to a non-episcopally ordained minister to celebrate Communion for them on some special occasion".[103]

In effect the Anglican advance had to be followed by a retreat. At the important Joint Committee meeting in February 1934 "some of the bishops frankly stated that the Episcopal Synod had gone beyond its powers in interpreting [the Pledge] as they did".[104] Other Anglicans on the committee were adamant.[105] The Methodists particularly stressed a point which

was accepted by the entire Committee, namely, that "the purpose of the Pledge will be entirely defeated if detailed interpretations of it, and precise statements of its application to particular future and hypothetical cases, are demanded". It was of importance to the Methodists that the Committee could unite on one declaration: "The Committee does not understand the Pledge to imply that the fact that a minister [i.e. of the United Church] has previously been a minister of either an episcopal or a non-episcopal church will in itself debar him from appointment to or working in any congregation of the united church where that congregation desires it."[106] This declaration paved the way for the important decision taken by the Methodist Conference of Great Britain in 1934. In 1935 the Joint Committee added the following rider to the 1934 declaration: "It is undesirable to alter the Pledge itself in any way. It is not necessary to reprint that statement in the proceedings of the present session or as an appendix to the Scheme; it remains on record as the statement put forth by the Joint committee in 1934."

Thus far the issue over the Pledge was taken to be settled. It was to reappear later on, however, and for this reason it is important to add in this connexion that the Anglicans did not let the matter rest altogether. The fact that the interpretation of 1934 did not appear in the Schemes subsequent to 1934 was on the Anglican side taken as an indication that the Lambeth interpretation of 1930 was still the valid one. The Episcopal Synod of 1936 stated on this point: "Noting that in the 1935 edition of the Scheme of Union the Pledge is printed without further interpretation or explanation, in the form in which it was presented to and accepted by the Lambeth Conference of 1930, we are satisfied that under the Pledge the traditions of the Anglican Church and the consciences of its members are adequately safeguarded and protected."[107]

The weight of this resolution was still further stressed when in 1938 the Lambeth Consultative Body referred to this resolution and drew the following conclusion from the non-appearance of the interpretation in the Scheme: "The Consultative Body understands that [the interpretation of 1934] is not now part of the scheme."[108]

BISHOPS AND PRESBYTERS

The Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries made another criticism of the Scheme after 1932. They were not altogether satisfied that the principle of the parity of ministries had been sufficiently maintained. There was the pressure from the Home Boards and the theology of their British faculties of which they had to take notice. The problem was once again centred in the participation of presbyters in consecrations symbolizing this parity of ministries.

Principal Martin and his Scottish Committee on South India were very interested in this problem. Dr. Martin had an opportunity of discussing this thoroughly with Bishop Western in July 1933, when at Dr. William Paton's suggestion Western visited Edinburgh. Here the issue over the participation of presbyters grew to large dimensions. Western even feared that the whole Scheme might collapse because of it. The Scottish case was clear-cut: to deny the presbyters a right in the consecration was to deny the Presbyterian system.[109] And it was taken for granted by both Martin and by Western that one of the aims of union was to preserve the Presbyterian system. Western learned this from the Scottish theologians: "If bishops in the united church are to be consecrated by bishops only, this means that at a cardinal point our Scheme is not one of comprehension of different attitudes and beliefs, but falling definitely on one side." This obviously went clean against Lambeth 1930 and Catholic custom. The new method would help them to establish what Bartlet called "a new Catholicism". Western confessed to the Scots that he felt he needed such "further commission and authorization" as the participation of non-Anglican presbyters would give, and his Scottish lesson in comprehension made him want to drop the term "consecration".[110] "Ordination of bishops" would be more comprehensive. The visit of the conciliatory Bishop Western to Edinburgh in 1933 obviously paved the way for the decision eventually taken by the Joint Committee.

The English Methodists were equally keen about this, and for the same reason as the Scots. Their spokesman was Professor Lofthouse. Presbyters participating in consecrations

would signify that there was only one order of ministers. Lofthouse told the English Methodist Conference in 1933 that everything hinged on this issue; it was the defence against sacerdotalism. Radical Wesleyans, such as Dr. Ryder Smith, followed Lofthouse on this point. It is, however, of great interest to note that "Classical Wesleyanism", represented in England by Dr. Scott Lidgett and in South India by the whole of the missionary group, took another stand. Both Gulliford and M. Taylor asked themselves whether by continually stressing the difference between bishops *and* presbyters participating in consecrations "we are not in danger of continuing to emphasize this difference and perpetuate it".[111] Posnett, who once he was himself won over for union was impatient with the others who moved more slowly, took a matter-of-fact view of the question: "After all, we have swallowed episcopacy; [participation of presbyters] is making a fuss over something which is not vital."

Professor Lofthouse visited India in 1934 and attended the Joint Committee meeting that February. To his satisfaction the meeting agreed that, as a rule, two presbyters should join together with the bishops in consecrations, but the diocesan council concerned could alternatively decide that the bishops should lay on hands alone. This arrangement was interpreted as being in line with that followed by another episcopal church, the Church of Sweden, which had a bishop in South India. The Swedish interpretation implied that the participating presbyters were drawn from the diocese to which the bishop was being appointed. They did not consecrate a bishop, but represented the acceptance by the diocese of their chief pastor. Palmer, who had always opposed the participation of presbyters in this connexion, found some consolation in the Swedish precedent.[112] Lofthouse felt that the Church of South India would hereby possess "a new kind of episcopacy": the bishop would be "little more than *primus inter pares*".[113] The theory of parity was safeguarded in an episcopal church. Lofthouse's conclusion was of great importance for his own constituency. A year earlier he had warned against union and its "sacerdotal" dangers. His visit to South India showed him that these dangers did not exist. This strongly influenced the Methodist

Conference in England when in 1934 they declared as their opinion that the Scheme was "not contrary to the principles of Methodism".

THE 1935 CRISIS

Equality of the churches to be obtained by recognition of equality of ministries had been the S.I.U.C. demand in the 'twenties. In the 'thirties this was mainly stressed by the L.M.S. councils of the S.I.U.C. The L.M.S. missionaries had been supported on this point by their home board. The opposition to the Scheme in the L.M.S. councils in the 'thirties was led by two sections which may have differed in other matters but were united by certain common theological conceptions: the L.M.S. missionaries in the three councils—Travancore, North Tamil and Telugu—and the Devasahayam group in South Travancore.

In the Telugu area J. H. Maclean had met missionaries who took their stand, as he said, "on an abstract Congregationalism which is hardly found in any other part of the world".[114] The most vocal among these missionaries were A. Rumpus and H. V. Martin. For them the concessions made by the Anglicans in the 'thirties did not go far enough. The historic episcopate as an "exclusive basis" of the church could not be accepted, as it seemed to imply the denial of the validity of non-episcopal ministries. Their conclusion was definite enough: "We, ministers and members of the Telugu church council, do not wish to come into this union on sufferance. As far as the validity of the ministry is concerned we come in as equals with the equally certain validity of our ministry expressly accepted, or not at all." Upon these conditions they were unable to accept the Scheme. To continue negotiations on the basis of the Scheme, they said in June 1933, would be futile.[115]

To these theological reasons were added other circumstances which made church union unpopular in this council. There was at this time a certain tension between the Congregationalist groups and the Anglican communities in this area. Azariah regarded the former as "a Council which is frankly in the Quaker position".[116] The scattered Congregationalist groups in the Telugu area furthermore pressed for lay celebration of the

Holy Communion. Without this, it was claimed, the congregations could not be properly looked after. In June 1933 this group was even prepared to venture upon a new approach to the whole method of union, an approach which would have been disturbing if it had been taken at all seriously by the S.I.U.C.—which, however, was not the case. They wished for "one indispensable provision: the election by the non-historic episcopal parties to the union, by themselves and from among themselves, of men who shall be consecrated by them as bishops, and who shall there function equally and together with the bishops of the historic episcopal section in the consecration of bishops at the inauguration of the Union and thereafter".[117] If it had not been for the strong Indian support of the Scheme at the S.I.U.C. General Assembly in 1933 the missionary group in Telugu might have caused a deadlock in the negotiations. In the North Tamil council missionaries such as W. T. M. Clewes were thoroughly opposed to the Scheme. "Equal spiritual validity" was a battle-cry also in this council, and the failure of the Anglicans to admit this damped the enthusiasm of those who were working for union.[118]

The situation in the influential Travancore council was more complex. In 1929 A. H. Legg had criticized the scheme, and he was supported by some of his colleagues but not by all. A. T. Foster, convener of the South Travancore Church Union Committee, was a believer in the cause of union. Although the Scheme had few friends in this council, Foster attempted to avert direct opposition by tactics of delay. He was supported by missionaries such as R. H. Eastaff and Indian pastors such as J. A. Jacob, the latter being convinced that Travancore ought not to isolate itself but to join "with the Christians beyond the Ghauts". On the other side was the Devasahayam party in Travancore, representing a strong current of Indian opinion. At the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. in 1933 Banninga suggested that the church should give "general approval" to the Scheme, but he could not carry the Assembly with him on this.[119]

In preparation for the Joint Committee in February 1934 Banninga and the moderates in the S.I.U.C. rallied the forces suggesting a solution of the problem of equal validity. Union,

Banninga stressed, was not so much a question of Faith and "orderliness" as a question of spiritual experience. The validity of orders therefore was not a canonical but a "spiritual" problem. He thought he had authorities such as Headlam, Streeter and, above all, C. A. Briggs (*Church Unity*, 1909) on his side.[120] It was in fact this point of view which carried the day at the Joint Committee meeting in 1934. The Methodist scholar, Professor Lofthouse, was present at the meeting. While the radical wing of the S.I.U.C. pressed for "spiritual equality and validity", the Methodists and Banninga's conciliatory group within the S.I.U.C. delegation found a common platform in the stress on "the spiritual efficacy" of the ministries, a platform which Anglicans such as Foss Westcott would also readily accept: "The uniting churches gratefully acknowledge the Grace of God abundantly manifested in each other's ministries and the spiritual efficacy of those ministries in the work of the Kingdom of God."

Combined with this "spiritual" compromise over the ministry was the new clause accepted in 1934 on the historic episcopate. The S.I.U.C. footnote of 1932, defining their view of the episcopate, did not help to commend the Scheme to any except the L.M.S. groups. The Joint Committee in 1934 therefore lifted this note into a more comprehensive clause which attempted to redress the balance in a descriptive overall statement: "Some regard episcopacy merely as a form of church government; others believe that episcopacy is of divine appointment; some again hold various views intermediate between these two", and the united church was not committed to any particular interpretation of episcopacy.

The Joint Committee at the beginning of 1935 had to face the challenge from Devasahayam. One day and a half were spent in debating with this radical Independent from Nagercoil. The real achievement of the meeting was found in the new formula for the old issue of "equality" and "validity". The "spiritual efficacy" formula of 1934 was not satisfactory. The "equality" problem could only be solved by a recognition that "in the present divided state of Christendom all ministries are in this respect imperfect". As the members of the Joint Committee pondered over this recognition, one of the Methodist

delegates made a reference to the words in a hymn of Charles Wesley—"with undistinguishing regard". S. C. Neill, the young Anglican delegate, broke in: "That's your formula for the Scheme", and into the Scheme it went. "The uniting churches recognize that Christ has bestowed His grace with undistinguishing regard on all their ministries and has used them all greatly to His glory. All are therefore real ministries of the Word and the Sacraments in Christ's Church, nor can any church say that the Sacraments and other ministrations or ministries which He has blessed are invalid." The sweeping generosity in Charles Wesley's hymn was quoted in order to reconcile differing views. It was also taken to be a factual statement of the relationship between the ministries. Gulliford glowed over this important Methodist contribution: "I think this will satisfy the ministers out here."[121] The leading Scottish Presbyterian in South India, J. H. Maclean, defended the modifications of 1934 and 1935. The Madras council, where Maclean had a decisive influence, gave its general approval to the Scheme. Against the opposition of the L.M.S. councils, Maclean in a pointed memorandum to the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. asked the councils "to bear in mind that there are limits to what may be reasonably asked". He showed how the Anglicans had yielded on important issues and that they could not be expected to adopt a scheme which would reduce the powers of the bishop "beyond a certain point".[122]

As convener of the S.I.U.C. Church Union Committee Maclean visited the Telugu church council meeting in 1935 in order to try to stem the tide of opposition led by H. V. Martin and A. Rumpus. His intervention was not successful. The council were not appeased by the modifications of the Scheme and decided that they had "come to the point of having to reject the Scheme finally," although action was to be postponed pending further advice from "our Mission Board and Mother Church in England".[123]

The North Tamil council took the same line, with certain interesting variations. The clause on validity was not yet satisfactory. The Scheme confined the right to celebrate Holy Communion to bishops and presbyters. This must be altered so that the diocesan council could authorize "elders or pastoral

assistants" to administer this sacrament—a suggestion which in the following years was going to be of critical importance.

In the local groups in Travancore the Scheme was energetically discussed in 1934 and 1935, and here Devasahayam's influence became decisive. The church council, convened in September 1935, found that the Scheme had not yet given effect to the principle of the absolute equality of ministries which they had pressed for. This was specified in an interesting list: "The parts of the Scheme which deny the equality are such as the following: the entire ministry will after thirty years be episcopally ordained; a bishop is to take part in every ordination; opportunity is given for the exclusion of presbyters from taking part in the consecration of a bishop."[124] The result of these considerations was that the council was unable to approve the 1935 Scheme.

The S.I.U.C. General Assembly in September 1935 met under the cloud of these local decisions against union. The Madura and, more tentatively, Madras and Kanarese councils were clearly in favour of the Scheme.[125] Jaffna and Malabar had not expressed their view. The L.M.S. wing in the Assembly pressed for abandoning union negotiations altogether. Once again it was the Madura tradition that saved the situation. The Madura delegation was lacking the leadership of Dr. Banninga who was in America at the time, but others were ready to fight for the cause of union in its hour of crisis. From this council Indian ministers such as J. S. Masillamony—who had attended J. C. meetings at the beginning of the 'twenties—and missionaries such as A. A. Martin and R. A. Dudley spoke for continuing negotiations. Dudley, as a young American Congregationalist, had opposed union at first, but he was won for the cause by J. H. Maclean.[126] In trying to bridge the differences within the S.I.U.C. by suggesting federal union instead of organic union, he found himself opposed by Maclean who, as always, fought the federation formula as meaningless. Dudley's main resolution was, however, accepted by the Assembly: "It seems *necessary to allow some years more for the discussion* within the councils and churches of the S.I.U.C. with a view to arriving at such a degree of unanimity as will make union possible." In the meantime the S.I.U.C. would endeavour to encourage

unity and mutual understanding through contacts of "fellowship and service".

Expectations for union had been bright in 1932 and in 1933. In 1934 the Methodist Conference in Great Britain had taken a decided stand for South Indian union on the merits of the 1934 Scheme. But there were strong counter-currents, and the 1935 crisis focused in this decision by the S.I.U.C. presented a serious challenge to the pro-union forces in South India and in the West.

The decision in the Malabar council in 1935 did not ease the situation for the Joint Committee. This stress on "equality" was particularly applied to developments *after* the Interim Period and to safeguarding contacts with non-Anglican churches in the West. But the Malabar criticism was more fundamental than that. Streckeisen, in an article in *Church Union News and Views* in 1934, had challenged the whole method of South Indian church union by asserting that it dealt with "Order rather than Faith".[127] This was the chief objection of the Malabar council, where Streckeisen had a powerful influence. There was in the Scheme "some uncertainty" about the doctrinal position of the church; there was a "danger that whatever is being or will be taught and practised somewhere in the united church will, *ipso facto*, be allowed. This is comprehensiveness at the cost of definiteness and reality." The particular point was the place of Holy Scriptures as the standard of faith. The Scheme defined this as the "*ultimate*" standard. Streckeisen understood this objective as implying the acceptance of "certain other preliminary standards". The *sola Scriptura* of the Lutheran Reform was now introduced as a ferment into the South India negotiations. The relevant clause in the Scheme, according to Streckeisen, Arangaden and the Malabar council should read: The uniting churches accept the "Holy Scriptures as the only standard of faith and life and will tolerate only such teaching as is in conformity with them".

Whether much notice was taken of this statement at the time is not known, but in fact this constituted a more fundamental criticism than those of the other S.I.U.C. councils. The others had their tug-of-war over the various degrees of "equality" of orders. The shift of emphasis from Order to the Word was of

radical significance. The chief architect of union, Palmer, recognized its importance. It was to play a central role in the years immediately following upon the 1935 crisis.

CO-OPERATION IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Parallel with the church union debate there had been negotiations in another field which were to be of somewhat negative significance for the union endeavours. The Lindsay Commission on Christian Higher Education, which visited India in 1930, recommended the setting up of a union college in South India for training men for the diploma of Licentiate in Theology, and they suggested that this should be located at Pasumalai.[128] Dr. Banninga took a leading part in making this suggestion a reality. The Tamil church councils and mission councils of the S.I.U.C. and the Tinnevelly Diocese were particularly interested. A representative committee was formed, with S. C. Neill of the Nazareth Theological Seminary as convener. Plans were made. The staffs of the Anglican Nazareth and the S.I.U.C. Pasumalai were to be combined. Banninga graciously suggested himself becoming second-in-command with S. C. Neill, the distinguished young Anglican, as Principal at Pasumalai. Two Indian lecturers were to join the faculty. A syllabus was drawn up for the college. At the meeting of the American Madura Mission in January 1932 Banninga expressed the hope that the college would begin its work in 1933 or 1934.

This seemed to be the kind of union in which all partners could join. As far as the Diocese of Tinnevelly was concerned, Bishop Western wrote to the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in order to be assured of their support. C.M.S. replied in the affirmative. S.P.G. referred the matter to the Episcopal Synod of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. The Anglican bishops at their meeting in January 1935 stressed the importance of safeguarding for their theological candidates Anglican principles of doctrine and worship, particularly with regard to Holy Communion, but they were sure that arrangements with an Anglican hostel at Pasumalai would mitigate any difficulties in this respect. They recommended that the plan be tried for a period of three years. On this recommendation the Standing Committee

dealing with these matters in the Diocese of Tinnevelly decided to go into a union enterprise which promised to be of great importance. At this union theological college the future generations of ministers were to be trained, and that would strengthen the cause of union generally. At an important meeting in May 1935 at Kodaikanal Bishop Western could inform the other churches that the matter was settled as far as the Anglicans were concerned.

He was too optimistic. The negative decisions of the London Missionary Society councils over church union in 1935 caused an unfavourable reaction in Tinnevelly. The Executive Committee of the Diocese of Tinnevelly, which as a rule confirmed the decisions taken by their own Standing Committee, was influenced by these developments in the S.I.U.C. and by the strong local patriotism of Tinnevelly, which did not easily wish to give up its own theological college in order to strengthen Pasumalai. The Executive Committee reversed the decision of Standing Committee and voted against co-operation in the planned Pasumalai college. The S.P.G. in London found that the Pasumalai plans were merely "isolated experiments of a local character" and should therefore be avoided. The matter could, according to them, only be settled in connexion with "larger issues affecting India as a whole", a decision which went to prove that the wider the range of vision, the more difficult union tended to become.[129]

The failure of the union seminary plans was only a detail, but it was a significant detail. It taught the S.I.U.C. two things, one of which they thought they knew before, the other being a surprise. They were surprised to find how limited the power of an Anglican bishop after all could be. Bishop Western was overruled by his own Executive Committee on an issue which was very dear to him. The high-sounding phrases about "ecclesiastical autocracy" were not as true to fact as had been imagined.[130] The Pasumalai project on the other hand seemed to confirm the suspicion which opponents of church union had long harboured: when it came down to brass tacks, the Anglicans had a "superiority complex".[131] There are reasons to believe that one or two of those who most earnestly had struggled for union up to that date were deeply disappointed by

the upshot of the seminary debate. Most of us are human, and little things and big things go together to form our decisions.

The sweet times of hope and expectation were over. Differences were stressed and emphasized by both parties. Western felt that the London Missionary Society councils asked that the problem of divergent views on church and ministry "should be solved by the Anglicans giving up theirs". This way would mean the end of negotiations. He had to maintain that the Anglicans could not give in over the claim to "'validity' in the sense of what is fully authorized and has a full guarantee". But with the coming of the 1935 impasse, he felt the only course for the Joint Committee was "to make a fresh start and be more of the nature of a Lausanne Conference" than a body for promoting organic union.[132]

And yet there was another way, and Western knew it. He recognized it when he read a memorandum written by the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, Godfrey Phillips. Phillips had been secretary of the British Congregational Commission of 1930 which had encouraged certain radical modifications of the Scheme. The question that Phillips now asked was one of fundamental importance. Are there not in the tradition of the church certain Catholic elements "without which we cannot give to India a full-orbed Christianity and something which possibly is better fitted to Indian conditions than certain features of our twentieth-century Free Church Christianity"?[133] That question was significant, and the road traversed towards asking it was even more significant. Just as Henry Whitehead at the beginning of the century had moved from Tractarianism to a moderate Evangelicalism under the urge to unite the Church in India, so this same urge had led the Congregationalist missionary leader to a quest for Catholicity that was to bring him near to Whitehead's original position. And Phillips' development was symbolic of a deeper trend. In those years when the union movement of South India seemed to have lost much of its impetus, these other and deeper currents were at work.[134]

Chapter XII

PRESSURES OF THE REFORMATION

ACCORDING to Bartlet and Palmer, the real alternatives before the Church of South India were either Ignatius or Cyprian. The debate in the first half of the 'thirties was, as we have seen, concerned with the usual problems of church order, dealing with definitions of the relationship between bishop and ministry, and the balance of power between bishop and synod. After 1936 the tone of the negotiations changed. The main problem was no longer order but the Faith of the Church. Even the sometimes baffling Lay Celebration issue was ultimately solved on the level of "faith", rather than on that of order. Problems emerging out of the churches of the Continental Reform now came to the fore. Church history was after all not confined to Ignatius and Cyprian. Luther and Karl Barth had made certain discoveries which were not irrelevant to the Church in India. The pressures of the Reformation were brought to bear upon the central parts of the Scheme.

As a consequence of these fundamental considerations, attention was once again directed to the spiritual responsibility of the whole Church including the laity.

The Faith ever held and the Word ever reforming

The General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. met at Trivandrum in South Travancore in October 1937. The India Act of 1935 had given new scope to Indian political self-determination. In the church councils of the South India United Church the Indians increasingly took the leadership. The Indian church leaders' Manifesto of 1936 inspired a new resolve to work towards union. Banninga felt that at Trivandrum his church was making good progress. A few suggestions were made in the

meeting which obviously would cause tension, particularly Lay Celebration. One proposal referred to the Faith of the Church, an issue which had been taken for granted until that time. Dr. Banninga wrote to his friend Bishop Waller: "There probably will be a little more difficulty for those who dislike verbal changes",[1] but the bishop replied two days later that he was not worried. There were others who worried, however, and they thought they had reasons for their anxiety. It was a small matter of lifting out a sub-clause of twelve short words from Section 3 of the Basis of Union, to the effect that the two ancient creeds were accepted as witnesses to the faith "and as containing *a sufficient statement thereof* for a basis of union". To abbreviate the bulky Scheme by these few words seemed harmless enough. But Palmer did not think so. He thought that this deletion was one of "the two main faults of the Scheme after 1929" [interview].

The creed had, of course, been a matter of contention in the S.I.U.C. from the beginning of the 'thirties. In 1931 a radical like R. R. Keithan, whose sympathies were with the Quakers, found the Nicene Creed "inadequate for our age", and his colleague Edward P. Rice in a pamphlet in 1935 described it as "out of date", while Popley thought it had "no relation to realities in the present day" (1935).[2] The North Tamil church council had had difficulties about the ancient creeds. In 1931 they suggested—with a formula that is probably unique—that the Nicene Creed should be accepted "as containing a sufficient, but not necessary, statement" of the Faith of the Church, and in 1935 they wanted to make the credal clause optional by adding an alternative to the Nicene Creed: "or any other confession of faith formerly used in any of the uniting churches".[3] There were some leading Indians such as C. J. Lucas who confessed to intellectual difficulties about the ancient creeds. At the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order in 1937 Lucas suggested that the Conference should modify the creed: "If one council was able to frame a creed, why should not we be able to change it?"[4]

There was another dilemma about the debate in the Indian church over the acceptability of the Nicene Creed. H. Sumitra pointed out that in his Kanarese church council the debate

was not very lively, "because besides the missionaries and two or three Indian ministers no one had ever seen the creed".[5]

The objections to the ancient creeds were mostly claimed to be put forward in the interest of the "Indian church", the "Indian genius", etc. The problem became important through the way it was put by Streckeisen and the Malabar church council. Streckeisen questioned the expression: "the faith which the Church ever held". Did the Church ever hold the faith it now had? How did the challenge of the Reformation square with this conception of comprehensiveness? This implied a criticism of the very method of union. Hitherto, the Malabar council said in 1937, the method of union in South India had consisted in comparing and harmonizing differences in doctrine and practice between the churches. But the right method was to let all doctrines and practices be tested by the truth of Christ as contained in Scripture. The South India standard of union had hitherto been double: "Scripture and experience". Malabar wanted to do away with this dual standard in favour of Scripture only.

Streckeisen of Malabar *seemed* to be on the same side as the Liberal Protestants in the North Tamil and other councils on this issue. In reality there was an abyss between the two positions taken in the Church Union Committee of the S.I.U.C. Streckeisen, who knew his theology, must have felt awkward when some of his western and Indian friends agreed with him. They agreed that he was right, but they did so for the wrong reasons. Liberal Protestantism and Barthian Biblical theology were worlds apart. There was a danger of the ancient creeds becoming "semi-divine statements". Creeds, Streckeisen maintained, were "human instruments" and must be subordinate to Scripture. Being human they could be "formulated afresh in view of the changing questions and problems that confront the Church".[6] The Palmer–Bartlet appeal to the early Church as the model of the Church of the future was gravely defective. Streckeisen's argument convinced Banninga about this. He wrote directly to Palmer in the matter: "The Reformation was largely caused by the very differences that are now being discussed, and consequently I do not think that there is much use in our ignoring the history of the Reformation and trying to

base our whole union upon the history of the first four centuries. There must be in our present church union agreements some safeguards that will prevent the condition into which the Church fell between the ninth and thirteenth centuries."[7]

It was considerations like these that made the S.I.U.C. suggest that the clause on the creed should be abbreviated by a few words. It was only when this proposal was made that the original meaning of these words once formulated by Palmer became known. Creeds may lie dormant and seem dull and harmless, but when challenged they are revived. Palmer reacted at once. Malabar had challenged Chalcedon. "The word 'sufficient' is very important", Palmer exclaimed. "The Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, forbids anyone to write or compose or hold or teach to others any different creeds from the Nicene." All departures from Chalcedon had led to schism, Palmer said: *Filioque* of 1054, *Conceptio Immaculata* of 1854, and the Papal Infallibility of 1870. But the argument was brought nearer home: "When the Reformation Churches adopted long confessions of faith as against the Roman Church and against other Protestant Churches, the tendency to schism was strengthened and this made reunion difficult." The only ecumenical basis, the only approach by which union could be assured, was by stating that the ancient creeds were "sufficient".[8]

The Joint Committee at its session in February 1938 had to discuss this fundamental point. They took a remarkably moderate, even cautious, line, deprecating any alteration in the wording of the declaration about the historic creeds, since such modifications would give rise to misunderstandings and to a suspicion that the church after union "would be in some degree weakening its adherence to the historic Faith of the Church". But this was only a skirmish. On the next occasion when the matter was brought up in the Joint Committee, definite results were obtained, and of a kind which Streckeisen had striven for. The S.I.U.C. forces took the initiative, and it is important to recall that these forces were double-pronged. At the meeting of the Church Union Committee of the S.I.U.C. the liberals on this committee had the lead. Streckeisen, who was a member for Malabar, was unable to attend.[9] The Committee suggested that a typically Liberal Protestant footnote

be added to the Scheme, defining the way in which the S.I.U.C. would be able to accept the retention of the ancient creeds in the Scheme: "As the creeds are human instruments, it is understood that persons assenting to them do not commit themselves to every word or phrase, but accept them as a basis of union, and as embodying substantially the vital truths held in common by the uniting churches." This was also accepted by the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. meeting a week later at Madura.[10]

To Streckeisen this was an altogether unsatisfactory solution. He knew that the negatively anti-credal attitude of liberalism was no foundation on which to build a church. His theological authorities were Barth and Brunner and Karl Heim, and above all that great missionary leader and theologian, Dr. Karl Hartenstein, *Missionsdirektor* in Basel. Hartenstein had visited Malabar at the beginning of 1939—he was a delegate to Tambaram 1938—and he discussed these matters with Streckeisen. After his return to Basel the Mission Board sent their "parental advice" to Malabar, stressing that they ought to "hold fast the full, clear and true Gospel in this union guarding against all dangers of compromise".[11] Hartenstein does not mention the Nicene Creed, but he claims that the Apostles' Creed should be taught in a relevant way and that a clear line of demarcation be drawn against syncretism.[12]

This was also Streckeisen's main concern in modifying the statement on the Faith of the Church. He had two aims in view: first, the Scripture principle of the Reformation, and second, to guard the Indian church against syncretism. But as a protection against syncretism the comprehensive "Catholicity" of the 1929 Scheme seemed to this Barthian missionary to be curiously elastic; it left loopholes for strange and heretical teaching. Hindus of the modern theosophical school could adopt this formula about the Redeemer of the world, but there was a danger that this Redeemer was accepted as only *one* of many Redeemers, an *avatara* in the Indian pantheon. The all-embracing comprehensiveness of the 1929 Scheme was powerless against the all-permeating syncretism of India. The message of the church must therefore be defined, sharpened, pointed: *Sola Scriptura* and *Solus Christus*, with the Trinitarian formula.

The Vincentian Canon and Chalcedon had to go; the faith "*ever held*" and the ancient creeds as a "*sufficient* statement" were left out. Holy Scriptures must no longer be described as merely "the *ultimate* standard of faith", as was the case in the Scheme from 1929 onwards. Holy Scriptures were "the *supreme* and decisive standard of faith". The Barthian recognition of *continuous* reformation, of the Church's duty "always to be ready to correct and reform itself", was introduced. Concentration on the Redeemer alone could be misunderstood in India. The fullness of the Trinitarian revelation had to be set out as the faith of this young church: "*Thus they believe*" . . . followed by an explanation of the Trinitarian belief, centred in Jesus Christ "in whom *alone* we are saved by grace".

> The uniting churches accept the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as containing all things necessary to salvation and as the supreme and decisive standard of faith; and acknowledge that the Church must always be ready to correct and reform itself in accordance with the teaching of those Scriptures as the Holy Spirit shall reveal it.
>
> They also accept the Apostles' Creed and the Creed commonly called the Nicene, as witnessing to and safeguarding that faith; and they thankfully acknowledge that same faith to be continuously confirmed by the Holy Spirit in the experience of the Church of Christ.
>
> Thus they believe in God, the Father, the Creator of all things, by whose love we are preserved;
>
> They believe in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God and Redeemer of the world, in whom alone we are saved by grace, being justified from our sins by faith in Him;
>
> They believe in the Holy Spirit, by whom we are sanctified and built up in Christ and in the fellowship of His Body;
>
> And in this faith they worship the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, one God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity.
>
> *Notes:* (i) The uniting churches accept the fundamental truths embodied in the Creeds named above as providing a sufficient basis of union; but do not intend thereby to demand the assent of individuals to every word and phrase in them, or to exclude reasonable liberty of interpretation, or to assert that those Creeds are a complete expression of the Christian faith.

Streckeisen has since referred to similar expressions in the

Report of the Commission on Doctrine in the Church of England, where "detailed assent to every phrase or proposition" is not asked for.[13] To the definiteness of the Trinitarian Creed was linked the vagueness of a footnote intended to give Protestant individualism its due. It was probably at the time a necessary concession for Congregationalist demands. The important point to note is that Streckeisen's modification of the clause on the faith was directed theologically against that liberalism which had played a certain role in the debates and the decisions of two or three of the church councils in the S.I.U.C. In these councils the main reaction was to assert the right of the individual to dissent from the ancient creeds of the Church, sometimes also to add a reference to more modern confessions of faith with a view to maintaining the peculiarity of the Congregationalist party in the union Scheme. Streckeisen's concern was radically different: it was to assert, not the rights of the individual, but the role of Holy Scripture.[14]

In so doing Streckeisen challenged the "catholic" ideal of comprehensiveness. Palmer could not but object to this modification. To him it seemed to weaken the Scheme. "I think the alterations introduced in 1939 are alterations for the worse", he said later, although against critics of the Scheme as a whole he would point out that the modifications "were not intended to alter the substance".[15] To him, "the faith which the Church has ever held in Jesus Christ" was the broad foundation upon which the whole union Scheme should be erected. The moment Holy Scriptures were put in as this foundation, there were possibilities of different interpretations and dissent. This worked against his very idea of the unity of the Church. Streckeisen had his way, however, and the Joint Committee at its important meeting in November 1939 accepted this change in the declaration of the Faith of the Church. Thus modified this paragraph went into the final Scheme.

And yet it was the church itself which was to interpret its own constitution. And here the theology of the church was to be of fundamental importance for the future development. While different opinions were wrestling with each other in the Joint Committee, changes in the theological climate were taking place which promised a fertile approach. This new

watchword came from the smallest of the S.I.U.C. councils, from Kanara. We refer to C. B. Firth of the L.M.S. and his series of articles in the *S.I.U.C. Herald*, "The House of God". We do not suggest that Firth's position was representative of the majority in the S.I.U.C. at this time. On the contrary, he was the spokesman of a minority. But he propagated his ideas within the church councils and potentially his standpoint was of great importance.

C. B. Firth's theological background was—to use his own words—a Cambridge theological training with its "compound of Ritschl and modernism", although Brunner's *The Mediator* deeply shook his liberal presuppositions. During a furlough in England in 1937 he picked up a copy of W. E. Orchard's *Divine Service*. This was the starting point for a development in a definitely "catholic" direction. Evelyn Underhill and W. D. Maxwell, Quick and Temple, Herbert and Aulén were other authors who from now on were to have a decisive influence on his thought, linking theology, church and liturgy together. In Bellary, where Firth taught theology, he and his Congregationalist colleague, F. H. Brown, were invited from time to time by Archdeacon P. B. Emmet, of Nandyal (also a member of the Joint Committee), to take evensong in the English church. These influences changed his outlook, and he moved as Godfrey Phillips had moved a few years earlier, in "catholic" direction.

Firth had a very definite message to give to his church. This S.I.U.C. missionary was now saying in meetings in Kanara, Telugu and elsewhere: "Theologically the chief mark of our age is a return to orthodoxy." This meant a fundamental criticism of liberalism and individualism in certain churches, "where instead of one Pope, who is at least a duly authorized and representative personage, you would have as many popes as there were persons, each one of them speaking from his own *cathedra* and acknowledging no authority but himself".[16] Individualistic Protestantism claimed that their diverse interpretations of the Bible were the ultimate authority. Firth disagreed. "Not the Bible by itself but the Bible in the Church is our ultimate standard." The Christian had to base his convictions "not on the letter of Scripture, but on the Church's

tradition illuminated by Scripture". Firth pressed his point with the enthusiasm of the convert. The discovery he had made, in the context and atmosphere of church union negotiations, brought a new dynamic into the whole situation in South India: "I do not believe because the Bible tells me so", he said, "I believe because the Church tells me so." The simple, or not so simple, acceptance of *sola Scriptura* was replaced by tradition and development—the "catholic" approach. Decades of controversy over the origin of the Apostolic Ministry were now seen in a new light and perspective: "The mere fact that a particular form of [church] order is not found [in the New Testament] is not decisive against it. The bare fact that, let us say, monarchical episcopacy and a written form of service are not found in the New Testament is no argument against their being found in the later Church. Now does it follow that a practice which is found in the New Testament, let us say, speaking with tongues or the *Agape*, should therefore become permanent? The New Testament itself shows us development taking place. What we have in the New Testament is an order which is in process of formation and not one which is already complete and incapable of further development. Basing ourselves not on the letter of Scripture but on the Church's tradition illuminated by Scripture, we must always allow for development, though we test it."

The difficulty with Streckeisen's bold position was that it might become divisive, for it did not sufficiently take into account the "catholic" aspect of the Church. Firth, while recognizing the value of Streckeisen's theology, was at the same time able to place "the Word ever reforming" where it had once emerged: within the framework of the Apostolic Church. Thereby Firth and his school came close to the position which Palmer, the architect of union, had persistently taken.

The Priesthood of All Believers

The chief controversial issue at the end of the 'thirties arose out of a request by the S.I.U.C. General Assembly in 1937 for the granting of licences to laymen of proved Christian character for celebrating Holy Communion. In the end this was rejected

by the Joint Committee in 1940. But in spite of this rejection it is well worth while to study the discussion of the problem and the influence which the debate had on the development of church union negotiations. The historical function of the controversy was in fact more important than the controversy itself. For the Lay Celebration debate is a useful gauge of the temper and atmosphere of the negotiations at this juncture.

Two reasons were put forward for licensing laymen, one practical and the other a matter of principle. The practical problem already existed before union negotiations; the matter of principle was raised because of them. The practical problem grew out of the evangelistic situation in South India. The mass movement with its unprecedented results, with tens of thousands of Christians being added to the Church each year, created a vast pastoral problem. The number of ministers was far too small. The Kanarese area of the S.I.U.C. very early in the history of the new church licensed a few of its leading laymen to administer Holy Communion. But when at the S.I.U.C. General Assembly of 1915 the constitutional rules of the Kanarese council were discussed and it was discovered that laymen were used for this purpose, the Assembly wanted to reject the practice, and it was only given a few years of grace because of the special plea of the missionary in that area, R. A. Hickling. He did not defend the case on the ground of principle but of pastoral necessity.[17] Was this practice to be continued in the united church? In September 1931 the North Tamil group of the S.I.U.C. took up the problem and asked for the practice to be allowed in emergency cases "where otherwise the Sacrament might have to be omitted for long periods together". At this time Streckeisen of Malabar wrote to Banninga enquiring whether under special conditions the bishop might not authorize laymen to celebrate.[18] The Hyderabad Methodists found the practical pastoral problems in the mass movement areas so urgent that they raised the matter in the Joint Committee meeting in 1935. For some years in the Hyderabad Methodist area it had been customary for the Provincial Synod to issue licences to approved evangelists to celebrate Holy Communion, these being renewable annually. The Joint Committee, strictly keeping to the principle laid

down in the Scheme that the celebration of Holy Communion "should be reserved to presbyters and bishops", asked its Continuation Committee to devise means by which to meet the problem. This Committee consisted of Azariah, Waller and Western from the Anglican Church, Maclean, George Parker and C. J. Lucas from the S.I.U.C., C. H. Monahan and M. B. Taylor from the Methodist Church. In June 1935 they considered the matter. Azariah knew the problem intimately from the Dornakal mass movement area, and Monahan presented the Methodist case. The method agreed upon was to recommend that trusted catechists and evangelists be ordained as "assistant ministers" (whether presbyters or deacons). They would have full equality of spiritual status and authority with other presbyters (and deacons) but would not have independent administrative charge of pastorates.[19] This plan was acceptable to the Joint Committee and in the following Schemes an additional clause was introduced (Chapter VII:1) according to which "other ministers" might be appointed to assist the presbyters in charge.

This issue was part of the 1935 crisis in union negotiations. W. T. M. Clewes raised the matter in the North Tamil area. It seemed to him that the sacerdotal character (as he described it) of the Scheme was dangerous and the S.I.U.C. must guard against "even a temporary suspension of the inalienable right of every true priest of the priesthood".[20] What had been until then a practical problem in cases of emergency had now in the North Tamil area become a matter of principles, and the church council tried to press the matter in the S.I.U.C. General Assembly in 1935. It was Clewes who took it up once again after the 1935 crisis.[21] This time spokesmen from the Telugu, Travancore and Madras councils supported him, and the Assembly at its meeting in October 1937 decided to urge "that provision be made in the Scheme to permit a Diocesan Council, if it so desires, to frame rules with due safeguards for the granting of licences to laymen of proved Christian character and experience for conducting the celebration of the Lord's Supper in particular places and for definite periods of time". This brought the matter into the open. The struggle began. It raised a great deal of dust.

The main line of attack taken by Clewes in the Assembly was to show that "the whole form of the Scheme is Anglican", which in his view was the equivalent of "sacerdotal". Lay Celebration now became the focal point for S.I.U.C. apprehensions against sacerdotalism. The Scheme had nothing which was particularly Congregationalist. Lay Celebration provided this element. Streckeisen of Malabar, who generally felt it was his duty to maintain the Reformation against patristic arguments, came to Clewes' help, armed with a patristic discovery. According to him Ignatius of Antioch appeared to allow Lay Celebration.[22] Streckeisen was now convinced that this was practised "quite often in the early Church". Banninga wrote to Bartlet about this discovery and Streckeisen himself asked the advice of the Basel Church historian, Dr. K. G. Goetz. The latter added Tertullian and Epiphanius to the list of witnesses, while Bartlet, who always maintained the "Ignatian" Church as the model of South Indian church union, agreed with the exegesis of the Malabar missionary.[23] The case seemed clear enough.

While somewhat hesitant at first, Banninga soon became a firm supporter of Lay Celebration. He could hardly be unaware of the resistance this demand would meet from the Anglicans and the Methodists. His stand in this latest controversy shows an interesting development. In the 'twenties, and well into the 'thirties, Banninga with the Madura council had represented the *via media* in the South India negotiations. But in the Methodists a new mediating factor had appeared and Banninga could now take a more definitely Congregationalist line. Lay Celebration, he felt in 1937 and 1938, would act as a unifying factor within the S.I.U.C. With one voice they could now impress upon the Anglican leaders the necessity for being more cordial, for showing in practice that fellowship which was necessary to make union a reality, and for allowing a wider scope within the Scheme for Congregationalist practices. He would no longer march far ahead of his church council and his own church. He felt the need of being identified with what he believed were their aspirations. "I have ceased to be an individual and am becoming more of a representative", he wrote to Bishop Azariah.[24] At the same time he took on a

role which until then he had hardly cherished; he began to represent the Congregationalist criticism of the Anglicans in church union negotiations. He felt that his range of vision had widened: "I am not particularly interested in a local union in South India that will not reach beyond British territory. It must be more ecumenical than that." The wider the range of vision, the more difficult union becomes. Banninga's range of vision was, as he put it, widened to the world-wide Congregationalist cause. In December 1937 he sent a circular to no less than two hundred "prominent men the world over", theologians and church leaders, asking for their opinion on Lay Celebration. The deepest problems involved, he recognized, were theological and should be fought out in the West.[25] At the same time he had the opportunity of discussing it with the Anglican leaders in South India. Here he could make clear the fundamental issue behind the demand for Lay Celebration. Union must combine the two principles of "history and tradition" and "the Spirit's guidance to-day". They needed to verify the value of Lay Celebration through experience. Those who had experienced it had testified that this Communion brought them "just as great a blessing as the celebration of other ministers, priests or bishops"—the same experiential argument which he employed seven years earlier over intercommunion.[26] In order to assert the "Free Church" view on this point Banninga was ready to postpone union for some years. On the other hand he was anxious that the Anglicans should grant his request. They could do it, as he cheerfully wrote to Bishop Waller, "by the principle of 'economy', if nothing else".[27]

The Anglicans were naturally not very forthcoming. The perfect innocence of Waller's reply shows that he did not regard the question as serious: "Supposing licences included ordination, which is what we have asked for, I do not see any very great difficulty."[28] Palmer took the problem much more seriously. He it was who in Westminster Abbey, on June 29, 1933, preaching on "The Strength and the Weakness of the Oxford Movement", had exclaimed: "I will withstand anybody to the face who wishes to say that for this Sacrament, or for the forgiveness of sins, a priest is essentially and indispensably necessary."[29] The rule of the church was "a very good

rule of order, but not an essential condition of the existence of the Sacrament". This was his argument in the South India controversy also. The rule was after all only a rule of order, but as such it should not be transgressed. They must think in terms not of the conditions of the ministry but of the united church. They would then find that union itself would do away with any demand for Lay Celebration on practical grounds, because then there would be a sufficient number of ministers for the church.[30] Banninga had written to Headlam and a few other Anglican scholars in Britain and the United States. Generally speaking they took the same line and were sure that Lay Celebration "would wreck the Scheme".[31]

The next official step was with the S.I.U.C. The General Assembly in September 1939 expressed the demand for Lay Celebration in rather moderate terms, repeating what had been asked by the S.I.U.C. in 1937. There were reasons for moderation. While some S.I.U.C. leaders were pressing the Congregationalist principles underlying Lay Celebration, the Methodist delegates in the Joint Committee became increasingly critical of the S.I.U.C. attitude to this issue, although the Hyderabad Methodists were involved in the practical aspects of the problem. The S.I.U.C. would not practise Lay Celebration but wanted it permitted as a matter of principle. The Methodists practised Lay Celebration, in Hyderabad to some extent, but did not want it as a principle.

It seemed to some of the Methodist and Anglican leaders that the S.I.U.C. principle was going to postpone union for a very considerable time. The obvious way out of this dilemma was for the interested parties to join forces and let the S.I.U.C. come in if and when they were prepared to do so. Bishop Azariah approached the Methodists with this in view at the end of 1937, but the proposal did not attract any attention then.[32] Two years later the ground was much better prepared. Bishop Azariah was particularly active on these lines and negotiated with Hooper and Monahan, who were not uninterested.[33]

But the situation became more complicated when some of the S.I.U.C. councils began to consider joining with the Anglicans and Methodists. It was felt that the L.M.S. councils had overplayed their role. At the General Assembly in September

1939 an Australian missionary, Brough, of the Madras church council suggested permitting those councils that so wished to leave the S.I.U.C. and enter union on the merits of the Scheme.[34] The impression was created that the Madura and Kanarese councils were ready to take this same road. When in September 1939 the Travancore council voted decidedly against the Scheme, some of its Indian leaders were almost in despair and felt that union would have to come without the contribution of the Travancore forces. In the North Tamil council a young missionary, Rupert Bliss, an Anglican working with the L.M.S., was just as emphatic as the Indian leaders. "There is a growing section in the S.I.U. Church which is determined to consummate a larger and wider union, come what may. It seems likely that if certain S.I.U. church councils persist in holding back from union, a split will occur within the S.I.U. Church itself."[34a]

Much more serious for the S.I.U.C. was the united Indian front over Lay Celebration. One of the most interesting by-products of the controversy was the spontaneous Indian reaction in the ranks of the S.I.U.C. itself. C. J. Lucas, the prominent layman who was the S.I.U.C. President in 1927 and a strong Joint Committee delegate, regarded the role of the laymen in the work and witness of his church as one of its greatest achievements. Yet he was disturbed by the Congregationalist missionary policy in favour of Lay Celebration. It should be recalled here that C. J. Lucas—as was the case with most Indian S.I.U.C. leaders—had strong personal connexions with Lutheran and Anglican traditions. To the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order in 1937 he had interpreted the Indian genius for reverent worship in moving words.[35] He felt that "the general trend of events in the Church in India" and the sentiment of Indian Christianity "went against Lay Celebration."[36] Other leading Indian laymen supported him. Against the argument that Lay Celebration was the logical consequence of the Priesthood of All Believers, R. D. Paul of Madura said that "it would be ridiculous for anyone, merely on the strength of this phrase, to make a claim of right to perform any priestly functions".[37] The Rev. Paul Raj Thomas of the Madura council, who in 1939 was elected President of

the S.I.U.C., shared R. D. Paul's view and opposed the L.M.S. missionaries on this issue.[38]

The important point is that in the church council debates the question of Lay Celebration underlined the differences between the English missionary and the Indian church leader. This difference was clearly to be seen in the L.M.S. councils. In Travancore, where it was argued that the Indian stand against Lay Celebration was "disloyal to the L.M.S.", the influential Indian leader J. A. Jacob replied: "You are thinking in terms of a western missionary society. We must now think in terms of the Indian Church. We want Union." The prominent layman M. J. Sargunam of Coimbatore took the same line against the British missionaries in his own North Tamil council. He was supported by J. O. Manasseh of the same council.

It was from this Indian angle that Bishop Azariah saw the problem. He could use it with advantage in arguing with the Indian leaders in the S.I.U.C. and the Methodist Church. The foreignness and western-ness of the Congregationalist missionaries showed up very clearly in all this. "It is, to my Indian temperament, a most sacrilegious thing to make provision for the performance of a sacramental rite by any person not solemnly set apart to perform the rite." But this Indian argument was corroborated by the change in the theological and ecumenical climate of the age. The churches "everywhere are moving towards greater respect for sacraments", the Indian bishop said. "The divine movement in the churches throughout the world is in the direction of emphasis on reverent worship and the role of worship."[39]

In the meeting of the Joint Committee in November 1939 this Indian opinion was strongly influential. Without accepting the one or the other of the doctrinal views expressed in the controversy, the Joint Committee maintained the rule of the Basis of Union that none except bishops and presbyters were to have the right to celebrate the Holy Communion, although in the event of union exceptional arrangements would have to continue until permanent arrangements could be made by the united church itself. The problem of Lay Celebration was to be studied by a committee of nine members, three from each of

the churches. They were an interesting and highly competent group of men. The Methodists were represented by Hooper and two younger members, Marcus Ward and P. Ramaseshan; the Anglicans by Bishop Azariah, Bishop Loyd and Canon Manuel; the S.I.U.C. by Banninga, A. Gunamani from Travancore and H. Sumitra. The work of the Committee brought forth three separate studies. Azariah wrote a brief memorandum stating the Anglican case, strongly urging the S.I.U.C. to withdraw the demand for Lay Celebration, "in the interests of orthodoxy, order and wellbeing of the Indian Church". He also took up the argument that Lay Celebration was the logical consequence of the Priesthood of All Believers. Azariah showed that the whole body of Christians constitutes a holy priesthood. This, however, did not preclude differentiation of function in the Church.

Banninga asked two younger missionaries to present a report from the S.I.U.C. side, using the material produced by his enquiry from western theologians, of whom about a hundred replied. Those selected for this responsible task were Dr. H. Lefever and the Rev. C. B. Firth.

Lefever was born an Anglican but in his youth had joined a Congregationalist group and become an L.M.S. missionary. For this reason his reactions to a "Protestant" problem like Lay Celebration were more radical than those of Firth, who was born a Congregationalist but had felt dissatisfied with the theological views in Congregationalist circles. Both Lefever and Firth had in different ways been influenced by the liturgical outlook of W. E. Orchard, the Congregationalist who went "from faith to faith", from English Congregationalism to Roman Catholicism.[40] Lefever in the end signed the report alone, presenting it as "A Congregationalist Point of View" on Lay Celebration. Firth had begun to make what he described as "the return to orthodoxy"; we have already seen his standpoint in regard to the Faith of the Church. He could not follow Lefever's argument, and we shall hear his reasons.

Lefever put the Congregationalist case learnedly, moderately and fairly. He linked Lay Celebration with the conception of the Priesthood of All Believers. The problem was not merely one of order but of faith, and of Protestant faith. He was

anxious to counter the idea that the administration of the sacrament was given to ordained men as a privilege. Once this idea of right and privilege was abandoned there was reason for rejoicing "when we see the blessings of the Holy Communion being made available to those who would be denied them were it not for special provision having been made". On the other hand he insisted that village catechists doing a full-time pastoral work in the congregations should be ordained, and it was only in extraordinary cases that laymen should be authorized for a single occasion. Fundamentally Lefever's argument for Lay Celebration was directed against the Apostolic Succession theory of episcopacy.[41] That meant that Congregationalists in the united church would have to claim the right of Lay Celebration. "We cannot give up our separate existence unless we can continue to exercise our vocation in the united church. We believe that the inclusion of provision for Lay Celebration, with all due safeguards, will be one of the greatest contributions we can make to the Ecumenical Church."

Firth would not agree. He directed his criticism against the the title of Lefever's pamphlet: *A Congregationalist Point of View.* The role which J. H. Maclean had played so persistently since 1908 was now taken on by Firth (among others), in pointing out that the S.I.U.C. was *not* Congregationalist. "Having swallowed the camel of government by church council instead of by local congregations, we can hardly, it seems to me, strain at the gnat by insisting on Lay Celebrations."[42] The S.I.U.C. had to reconsider the fundamental questions about the church and the priesthood and the ministry. He recognized that the decision of the Methodists in Hyderabad to give licences to laymen, in order to maintain the high academic standards for the few who were ordained as ministers, was due to an academic rather than a theological attitude. And if the church licensed a person to celebrate without ordaining him, "what becomes of ordination? Has it any meaning left?" Firth supported the suggestion that in mass movement areas village catechists could be ordained as auxiliary ministers after special training; the attitude taken by the Continuation Committee in 1935. He was not impressed by the connexion between Lay Celebration and the Priesthood of All Believers. "The Priesthood of All

Believers is a principle dear to our Protestant hearts: have we remembered that the first function of priesthood is worship?"[43] In India he had seen people who were "much more eager to secularize the ministry than to sanctify the laity". But in the church—and here he agreed with Azariah—there was a differentiation of function: "One member is set apart for the ministry, another to sweep the church, and both are priests."[44] And worship implied a new stress on what Firth called "the sacramental principle". "I believe that we have neglected [sacramental teaching] to a dangerous extent, and that as part of the new positive emphasis in theology we should reassert the importance of sacraments and give heed to what to teach about them."[45]

This was the main argument also in Marcus Ward's presentation of the Methodist view.[46] He quoted an effectual retort of Dr. Newton Flew: "If the doctrine of the Priesthood of All Believers can only be represented by Lay Administration, this is magical sacerdotalism all over again." Again, Dom Gregory Dix had taught Ward that the Eucharist is a sacrifice by the Church in its corporate unity and that the celebrant represents the *Laos*, the whole people of God. "The 'Priesthood of the Laity' is the priesthood of the whole body derived from the sole High Priesthood of Christ."

The theological experts in South India had now had a chance of presenting their views to the public. The final debate of the sub-committee was held in Marcus Ward's study in Bangalore in September 1940.[47] Lefever and Bishop Stephen Neill of Tinnevelly were invited. In laying the emphasis on the Priesthood of All Believers, the Anglican and Methodist members, as well as Dr. J. H. Maclean, who was also present, showed that in the history of the Church that doctrine had been effectively maintained for centuries without Lay Celebration. They suggested that the Constitution should be strengthened by a full statement on the royal priesthood of all Christians as "sharing in the heavenly High Priesthood of the risen and ascended Christ". The statement of the Committee was drafted by Bishop Neill together with the Rev. Marcus Ward. In particular, Maclean's argument about the Priesthood of All Believers convinced Dr. Lefever.[48] He accepted the suggestion

from the Committee, and so did the other official delegates of the S.I.U.C., Banninga and Sumitra. A brief report with five chapters on Priesthood in the Church, the Holy Communion, Ministers at the Holy Communion, Continuation of present Ministries, and the Sacraments in the Church was published.[49]

Lefever's standpoint, and that of Banninga and Maclean, did not commend itself to the majority of the Church Union Committee in the S.I.U.C. Radical English Congregationalists, such as Clewes of North Tamil and Rumpus of Telugu, spoke strongly in favour of Lay Celebration and against the Committee's report. The S.I.U.C. Committee was fairly evenly divided, eleven being for Lay Celebration, with a strong minority of seven against.[50] The S.I.U.C. councils also showed their traditional diversity on this crucial point. The three L.M.S. councils, North Tamil, Telugu and Travancore, insisted on this matter being pursued, while the other councils asked that it be dropped.[51]

It was now for the Joint Committee to decide, and it decided against the request by the L.M.S. councils. It accepted the report of the Lay Celebration Sub-Committee and largely incorporated it in the Scheme. It was not Clewes and H. V. Martin, the Independents, but Bishop Neill and the Methodist theologian A. M. Ward who prepared the statement which was now added to the Scheme: "God is the God of order; it has been His good pleasure to use the visible church and its regularly constituted ministries as the normal means of the operation of His Spirit." When this was stated, the *Deus non alligatur* could be conceded: "But it is not open to any to limit the operation of the grace of God to any particular channel. . . . "

The important contribution of the Lay Celebration Sub-Committee was the emphasis it had laid on the Priesthood of All Believers and the way in which the controversy was surmounted by lifting its positive contents into the wider and overarching principle on which the churches could unite. The very words of the sub-committee were quoted in the Scheme: "All share in the heavenly High Priesthood of the risen and ascended Christ, from which alone the Church derives its character as a royal priesthood. No individual and no order in the Church can claim exclusive possession of this heavenly priesthood." And

then, when this had been stated, the rule of the Church was again applied: "But in the Church there has at all times been a special ministry", and this office could be exercised "only in and for the Church, through the power of Christ the one High Priest".

There were important lessons to be learned from this controversy. Marcus Ward was right when he stated that the question of principle involved seemed to have risen "not positively with Congregationalism itself, but negatively as Congregationalism faced union with a church suspected of sacerdotal tendencies".[52] It is the dilemma of the Faith and Order movement. As the churches come nearer to one another in union negotiations they discover their supposed fundamental principles and assert them. This in turn at the very moment of imminent union works against union, and a tension is created that can only be overcome by the resolve of faith.

Intercommunion (1937–41)

In the judgment of many, the decisive turning point in the negotiations at the beginning of the 'thirties had been the practice of intercommunion in connexion with the Joint Committee meetings and other union conferences from 1932. It was felt, however, in some S.I.U.C. councils that this practice did not go far enough. What was needed was to adopt this practice on a much wider scale between the three negotiating churches. It was particularly the Telugu council which pressed for making this a rule before union. A resolution to this effect was adopted by the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. in 1937 and the Assembly expressed its conviction that if this request were accepted, "one of the chief obstacles to union would be removed".[53]

The debate on this wider intercommunion was concurrent with that on Lay Celebration, and we shall not repeat the arguments all over again. Banninga felt that by this suggested arrangement the churches would find "a solution that is going to make us all happy in the resultant church which is to be the spiritual home for each one of us".[54] It would also neutralize any Anglican claims of validity. Had not the Faith and Order

Conference, Edinburgh, 1937, stressed that the churches needed to repent for their divisions? This could be done by demonstrating unity through intercommunion.[55] Waller thought that the difficulty about the whole problem was the age-long connexion between church discipline and communicant membership. His willingness to listen and to rectify an issue "where the Church had gone wrong for a very long time (hundreds of years)" was certainly influential in the debate of the Joint Committee in February 1938. The Joint Committee replied: "The only true answer to the desire for intercommunion is the consummation of union itself, which it is now the task of the churches to hasten by all means in their power."[56]

When the S.I.U.C. Assembly of 1939 pressed still further their demand for intercommunion, the Joint Committee of that year repeated its former decision but yielded so far as to admit that "full advantage has not yet been taken of the permission granted in the resolution of the Episcopal Synod". Within the framework of Anglican admissions once given they should now attempt to widen the practice of intercommunion. In the S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1941, the North Tamil church council was still under the influence of Clewes on this point, and the council pressed for general intercommunion being permitted before union. The Madras church council had a more conciliatory suggestion: general permission should be given when all the three churches had voted in favour of union. This was also the solution which united the different interests in the Joint Committee meeting in 1941. At the same time the Joint Committee was now prepared to extend the permission about intercommunion. This decision was taken when the Methodists decided to proceed to the consummation of the union and the attitude of five S.I.U.C. councils was favourable to union. Permission was now extended to include certain other services not organized by the Joint Committee, such as (*a*) united services arranged in various localities where members of two or more of the uniting churches might worship together, and (*b*) conferences arranged under the auspices of the Madras Regional Christian Council and other Provincial Councils, and of the Student Christian Movement.

The Synod

It is a measure of the "Protestant" temper of the negotiations in the late 'thirties that while *before* 1935 the balance of power in the church was taken to be that between *bishop and presbyters* and the influence of the latter was underlined in giving them a right to participate in consecrations, *after* 1935 the balance of power was taken to be that between *bishop and laymen.* The Scheme of 1929 had given an important role to the laity and attempted to define the rights and duties of "The Membership of the Church". In respect of the membership of the Synod, the 1929 Scheme foresaw an equal representation between presbyters and laymen with three of each from every diocesan council. In 1932 this was modified so that no fewer than two of each section should go to the Synod from each diocesan council, the number being regulated according to the size of the diocese, up to a maximum number of six presbyters and six laymen from any diocese.

In 1937 the S.I.U.C. made a discovery which was both arithmetical and theological. The minimum number of ministerial delegates from a diocese was not two but three, for the bishop was also one of the "ministerial delegates." This injustice had to be redressed. In 1937 the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. therefore made a suggestion: "In order that the number of lay delegates in the Synod of the Church may be equal in number to its ministerial delegates" each diocese would be allowed to send *two* presbyters and *three* laymen, up to a maximum of *six* presbyters and *seven* laymen. The theology of these arithmetical modifications was obvious. It implied: (1) the parity of ministries, (2) suspicion of the "autocracy" of bishops and priests, (3) desire to make the church what was described as "democratic". All this was subsumed in the claim thereby to assert the principles of the Reformation.

The same theology was to be found in another arithmetical device. Until this time the number of presbyters to take part in consecrations was laid down as two. In 1937 the S.I.U.C. wanted this number raised to three.

This issue did not attract much interest. The controversy about making the church more Protestant and "democratic"

was confined to the Lay Celebration and intercommunion problems. No wonder that the theology of this modification of numbers was overlooked. When resistance against the pressures of Protestant interests was so strong on other points, some generosity could be shown with regard to this. The Joint Committee in 1939 gave the S.I.U.C. more than they had even asked for. The diocesan representation in the Synod was raised to a minimum of two presbyters and four laymen and a maximum for bigger dioceses of six presbyters and eight laymen. Whether this modification raised any opposition in Anglican circles in India at the time I have not been able to ascertain. There were possibly some who agreed with the terse remark which Palmer wrote in pencil in the margin of his copy of the resolution: "This is very bad." But from the point of view of negotiation tactics it was perhaps not so bad. The S.I.U.C. in 1941 declared that they were satisfied with this decision, and this same judgment they could apply to another related issue, which they had raised in 1937, namely, the relative powers of the Bishop and the Synod.

The definite change in the balance of power between Bishop and Synod had, as we have pointed out earlier, taken place already in 1932. The principle then laid down was never materially altered. The General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. in 1937 suggested a certain modification in this arrangment reading as follows: When any proposition concerning faith and order is brought forward, "the matter shall be discussed in the Synod in the usual manner, and amendments thereto may be passed, but the proposition as approved shall be referred to the diocesan bishops sitting separately for that purpose. The bishops shall retransmit the resolution to the Synod with their approval, or they may, by a majority of two-thirds, modify the resolution, or may refuse to submit it in any form, but in the latter case they must make a special report to the Synod stating the reasons for which they hold it is not advisable that a decision should be taken on the matter."

Waller was not worried. Personally he hoped that the method of Voting by Houses would be accepted. But this was not to be. In the circumstances Waller did not object to the S.I.U.C. suggestions: "I think that the suggestions made sufficiently

protect the Faith and Order of the Church, and for that purpose I personally should not grumble with [the proposal]. The whole object in my mind is to prevent a sudden resolution by the less instructed section of our community which might radically alter the Faith and Order of the Church." As we have seen, this was also the concern which Palmer had expressed in 1932. Palmer had for this reason objected to the change then made in the balance of power between Bishop and Synod. To Waller's mind, the machinery whereby checks and counter-checks had been established seemed to be satisfactory.[57]

The balance of power between Bishop and Synod was in the last resort not merely an administrative question. This was shown when the S.I.U.C. Assembly in 1939 took the matter up once again. This time the definition of the historic episcopate was screwed down to its nadir. They declared that they would accept "a form of episcopacy that has existed for a long time in the Christian Church and in this sense may be said to be historic. Any additional interpretations though held by individuals are not binding on the United Church."[58]

The Joint Committee meeting in November 1939 followed this line and defined episcopacy as "a form of church government which at the present time is expedient for the church in South India". This was, however, too much for the Anglican delegation. Bishop Hall found that in this way episcopacy was reduced to "the most shadowy dimension".[59] The Church of India, Burma and Ceylon took up the matter and pressed for a change. At the Joint Committee meeting in October 1941 the forces of the Methodists and the Anglicans were combined with Maclean and others in rejecting the S.I.U.C. amendment. They now managed to achieve a formula which eventually came into the final Scheme and thus into the Basis and Constitution of the Church of South India. It reads:

"All the uniting churches are agreed that, as episcopacy has been accepted in the Church from early times, it may in this sense fitly be called historic, and that it is needed for the shepherding and extension of the Church in South India."

In carrying the issue over on to the pastoral and evangelistic plane, the different forces on the Joint Committee were thus able to find a common formula. This should be taken together

with Chapter IV:3 in the Constitution, where it is laid down that the bishop has the responsibility of "publicly stating as need may from time to time arise, the doctrine of the Church Universal as understood by the Church of South India, and its application to the problems of the age and the country".

The Anglicans had hoped that the device called Voting by Houses would solve the problem of the balance of power. But the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. in 1939 voted against this method, and at the Joint Committee meeting in November 1939 the Anglican delegation yielded on this issue. It was felt that the arrangement of mutual control between the episcopal and synodical authorities was acceptable to all parties. The formula now accepted by the Joint Committee was introduced into the final Scheme. The intricate machinery initiated in 1932 was now modified. (The Appendix has the 1932 and the 1939 forms in parallel columns.)

In fact the difference between the 1939 formula and the corresponding clause in the 1932 edition was infinitesimal. There were opponents who insisted that there were risks in this modification. If risks they were, union always involves a risk. Whether the risk of union is greater than that of permanent division of the Church is of course another matter.

Chapter XIII

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

The Joint Committee

THE nearer the goal, the harder the go. This belongs to the logic of the process and machinery by which alone union could be reached. In the 'twenties and 'thirties the Joint Committee was the centre of activity. In the 'forties the initiative had to be taken, and the responsibility carried, by those churches which had to decide for or against union. When the final Scheme had been decided upon by the Joint Committee in 1941 the churches through their responsible councils took over. From the point of view of the Joint Committee this change seemed to bring about a certain centrifugal tendency, shown in the claims of Congregationalists and Anglo-Catholics.

The lessened role of the Joint Committee is indicated in that after October 1941 it did not meet until November 1944. This latter meeting had to consider certain proposals on the Pledge, on Supplemental Ordination, etc., but in each case it decided to let the 1942 Scheme stand. This meeting and the following, in December 1946, had mainly to receive resolutions from the three churches, and to prepare for the inauguration.

Another important fact about the Joint Committee was the large turnover in membership. The Anglican delegation was greatly affected by this. Bishop Western left India in 1938, Waller in 1941 (he died in South Africa in 1942), Neill in 1944; the Metropolitan, Dr. Foss Westcott, died in 1944 and Bishop Azariah died on January 1, 1945. The death of Azariah meant that in the Anglican delegation there was a break in the continuity of knowledge of Joint Committee policy, e.g. with regard to the Pledge. In the S.I.U.C., Dr. Banninga left in

1942, Maclean retired from his work as a missionary in 1941, Monahan retired in 1940.

While there was an important turnover in the delegations, a few members who had begun on the Committee in the 'twenties carried on until the last two Joint Committee meetings in 1946–7. Among them there were remarkably many Methodists: S. Gnanaprakasam, P. Gurushanta (from 1947 Bishop in Mysore; he died in 1950), P. S. Rangaramanujam, E. L. Ananta Rao and, in a class by himself, J. S. M. Hooper. In the last two or three years of the negotiations these Methodists ensured continuity of knowledge in union affairs. Of the Anglicans, only A. J. Appasamy and John Kuriyan belonged to this group. The S.I.U.C. representative, H. Sumitra (Bishop in Cuddapah and Chittoor since 1947), has the record of having been present at every meeting from 1920 to 1947. As a member for the Kanarese church council, together with C. B. Firth, Sumitra increasingly represented a strong co-operative tendency within the S.I.U.C. The other S.I.U.C. members in this category were B. Samuel, C. J. Lucas, A. H. Legg (Bishop in S. Travancore from 1947) and, possibly, R. Robertson.

During the 'forties there was an interesting and highly competent group of new men in the delegations. They gave a fresh impetus particularly to the theological debate. Among the S.I.U.C. representatives J. E. L. Newbigin was outstanding. With a background of solid Scottish theology and experience as a Student Christian Movement secretary, he became in India an expert Tamil linguist and evangelist. An exceptionally happy blend of youth, mature judgment and spiritual authority made his contribution unique. C. B. Firth, of the Kanarese church council, represented, as we have already shown, a significant trend, a "return to orthodoxy" which from an ecumenical point of view was to be most hopeful and fruitful for the development of the Church of South India. H. Lefever belonged to the same group. So did A. M. Ward among the Methodists, his ecclesiastical background being a Methodism which found its source of inspiration in the Eucharistic hymns of Charles Wesley and the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship. At Bangalore he taught new generations of future C.S.I. presbyters a theology largely influenced by Newton Flew and

Sir Edwyn Hoskyns.[1] Conveners of the Methodist delegation in these years were the eloquent Brahmin convert P. Ramaseshan and after him the educationalist T. R. Foulger.

The convener of the Anglican delegation for the last two Joint Committee meetings after Bishop Azariah's death was Waller's successor as Bishop of Madras, A. M. Hollis. He had begun as an S.P.G. missionary and an Anglo-Catholic, teaching theology at Tirumaraiyur, Tinnevelly. "The fundamental Protestantism of the Tinnevelly Church"—of which he came to speak very understandingly—influenced him greatly. The contact with Hinduism and other experiences showed him "what idolatry really is: ritual without conversion is the devil".[2] An Anglican with strong convictions, he was prepared for God's "new acts". In 1943 he told his Anglican diocese: "Loyalty to our past can be disloyalty to God's will now."[3] In the very last Joint Committee meeting other Anglicans who were to become C.S.I. Bishops, C. K. Jacob, G. T. Selwyn and A. B. Elliott, made significant contributions.

In this younger generation of Joint Committee members which increasingly took over the leadership, there was, both on the episcopal and the non-episcopal side, an important process at work on the personal level and in theological outlook. It was a process of approximation and of deeper appreciation of each other's convictions. This was much needed in order to check the extremist parties which sent up mighty fireworks in these years.

As a result of the hard and sometimes painful Joint Committee work in the 'thirties, the seventh edition (which became the final Scheme) had been agreed upon in 1941. It was published in 1942. When this decision was reached it was felt that the churches were ready to advance more definitely than before. At the Joint Committee meeting in October 1941 an *Appeal for Decision* was issued to the churches by a unanimous committee:

"We give thanks to God for the many signs that our churches are nearer to union than they have ever been before. We believe that the time has come to decide whether on the basis of the Scheme as it now stands (Parts I and II), these churches will enter into corporate union with one another. We therefore earnestly request that the three churches will agree that the

time for negotiation by way of criticism and amendment of the Scheme is now past, and that they will proceed at the earliest possible opportunity to decide, through the responsible church bodies, whether they are prepared to unite on the Basis of the Scheme. . . . In view of the grievous and urgent need of the world for reconciliation, we affectionately suggest that, where necessary, power be sought to convene extraordinary meetings of councils and synods with a view to their reaching a definite decision by the spring of 1944." This Appeal was eventually followed by definite decisions on the part of the churches. In order to understand the issues involved we shall here discuss first Supplemental Ordination and the Pledge, and then the response of the churches in the light of these particular problems.

The Appeal was issued to the churches in one of the most troublous periods in India's history. Gandhi launched his "Quit India" campaign and in 1942 wrote those bitter words in *Harijan*: "Leave India in God's hands, or in modern parlance to anarchy." The process of liberation from the British Raj had come near its climax. The war hastened the speed of this process. On April 6, 1942, the first Japanese bombs fell on the seaboard of Madras. The American Consul ordered all American citizens to leave India. Missionaries also had to comply with this order. In all the churches the urge for Indian self-determination was voiced. In 1943 the National Christian Council of India published an important statement on the relationship between missionaries and the Indian Church. The Bishop of Dornakal, dealing with "Post-War Problems of Churches and Missions in India", wrote: "Missionaries should consider it a pride to work as servants of the Church of the country and not as agents of a foreign country."[4]

Dual Ministry or United?

It was a Congregationalist theologian who said: "If a church wishes to show its self-respect, it will go out of its way to be respectful to its ministry. The church will be what its ministry makes it. That stands to reason."[5] In the 'forties a younger S.I.U.C. generation belonging to the P. T. Forsyth

tradition rediscovered what Forsyth had stated. But it was particularly the Anglicans who at this time showed a renewed interest in the nature of the ministry, an interest which in England was focused both on the training of the clergy and on the meaning of the Apostolic Ministry.

In these circumstances the nature of the ministry in the Church of South India was bound to attract renewed attention. If there was to remain in the church for a generation a system of two ministries, one episcopally ordained, the other ordained by presbyters, how far was the episcopal basis of the church really episcopal? How far was it necessary to allow irregularities and anomalies in the ministerial structure of the church? These were some of the fundamental problems which lay at the root of the technical questions debated in the 'forties: the "Pledge" and "Supplemental Ordination".

(*a*) *Supplemental Ordination*

That which constituted the specific South India method of church union—the Interim Period with the Pledge—was at the same time its main dilemma. The nearer one seemed to come towards actual union, the more acutely the problem of the unification of the ministries was felt. In 1942 the Bishop of Colombo, C. D. Horsley, told his diocesan council quite bluntly what the South India scheme was "in essence": "It is to equate the Catholic Priesthood with the Non-Episcopal Ministry and to say there is no essential difference."[6]

The South Indian method was scrutinized and discussed on a world-wide scale. In Australia and the United States plans were formed, similar to that of South India in many respects, but breaking new ground on the fundamental problem of the unification of the ministry. An unofficial group of Anglicans, Methodists and Congregationalists in Australia published certain proposals in 1940. They sought to achieve intercommunion by a method which was referred to as mutual "Supplemental Ordination".[7]

Wider attention was given to the American plan. The Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. from 1937 took tentative steps towards unity. In

1939 a *Proposed Concordat* was published, and this was followed in June 1942 by a document entitled *Basic Principles proposed for the Union of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.*[8] Dr. C. C. Richardson, one of the Anglican leaders in these negotiations, has stressed that this proposal represented "a real advance in thinking on church unity", in that it suggested a ceremony of "extending ordination" as a significant sacrament of reunion for the ecumenical Church.[9] The rite in question was expressly stated not to be an ordination *de novo*, but giving "further grace and authority for the wider exercise of the ministry". The American plan was received with great interest. There was, of course, also opposition. A revised edition of the *Basic Principles* published in 1943 omitted the rite of Supplemental Ordination. It was felt that these plans had to be more fully developed.[10]

A similar solution had been suggested in 1927 in Iran for the proposed union of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches of that country. The Iran proposal did not, however, contemplate "Supplemental Ordination" but referred to the rite of unification as an "extension of ministerial authority which is conferred on all concerned by the fact of union".[11]

These proposals were discussed with great interest in India, particularly by the Anglicans. Bishop Azariah confessed to dissatisfaction with the South Indian method which might lead to what he described as a "dual ministry" or "two ministries side by side".[12] He also felt the difficulties about the Pledge and in a controversy with C. H. Monahan over this question expressed his hope that the Iran scheme would help South India "to wipe off the Pledge".[13]

In August 1943—the same month in which the Americans omitted "Supplemental Ordination" from the new edition of *Basic Principles*—Azariah felt the time had come to show "a way out" of the impasse experienced in South India.[14] He published his suggestion in *Church Union News and Views*, stressing that it was not a plea for re-ordination. Upon the consecration of bishops at the inauguration service there should follow in the dioceses a rite of mutual commissioning of all presbyters and priests already ordained before union. The commission would convey to each already ordained presbyter authority "for the wider

exercise of his ministry" under the new conditions established by union. In the case of non-Anglican ministers the commission was to be given by the bishop of the diocese concerned together with presbyters of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. In the case of Anglican ministers, it was to be conveyed by the bishop together with representative presbyters of the other churches in the diocese. In order to establish full unity the formula to be used was to be identically the same in all cases.

It was significant that this Supplemental Ordination proposal in South India was made by an Anglican bishop. The initiative over this issue was taken by the Anglicans. Azariah's plea was heard by many. The *S.I.U.C. Herald* published his proposal in its September issue, 1943. In November 1943 Azariah brought the matter before the Continuation Committee. Here the question could be discussed only in a preparatory way. Supplemental Ordination seemed to be too radical a step, but some kind of "commissioning for wider service" should be aimed at. The group resolved to recommend to the Joint Committee that the following change be made in the Scheme: "All the initial presbyterate of the united church should be commissioned by the united church, without the laying on of hands, for the exercise of the ministry of the word and sacraments throughout the united church." A sub-committee, consisting of Bishop Azariah, the Rev. J. E. L. Newbigin, the Rev. J. S. M. Hooper and the Rev. Paul Ramaseshan, was formed to deal with the problem.

Palmer and Western greeted Azariah's suggestion with keen interest. In 1942 they had dealt with the Iran plan in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Overseas Advisory Committee and there expressed decided preference for the American proposal to that from Iran. The latter seemed to them to be ambiguous and confusing. To state with the churches in Iran that the commission did not in any sense imply re-ordination "would make it impossible for any bishop to use its formula with the intention of conferring orders". They insisted that the essence of the problem was to find a way by which Catholic orders could be given to the non-episcopal ministers while yet recognizing them as true ministers of Christ's Word and Sacraments; and Anglicans should receive "something more than an

extension of jurisdiction"—for such jurisdiction could be given simply by constitutional enactment without any prayer or laying on of hands. The two bishops had revised the American and Australian formulas of Supplemental Ordination, and on the basis of this suggested the following:

"Receive the Holy Ghost for the work of a presbyter in the Church of God, both for the continuance of that work which thou has done hitherto, and for the performance of that work which is now committed unto thee by the laying on of our hands. Take thou authority to preach and teach the word; to fulfil the ministry of reconciliation and to minister Christ's sacraments in the congregation, whereunto thou shalt be further called or lawfully appointed. . . . "[15]

One practical consequence of Supplemental Ordination which particularly interested the churches of the West had not been mentioned in Azariah's plan. He did not raise the problem of the western missionaries who after union would come to serve in the Church of South India. Palmer and Western felt that this was an important point. They insisted that all such missionaries would have to receive the Supplemental Ordination from bishops and presbyters in the Church of South India. If this were done "practically all the difficulties of the 'interim period' would be done away with".

The Anglican proposals for Supplemental Ordination were transposed into a higher key by the deliberations of the Episcopal Synod and the General Council of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, held at Nagpur in February 1944. This was due to the contribution of the Bishop of Assam, Dr. Hubback. We have seen how in the 'thirties he pleaded for a drastic simplification of the South India Scheme. This was his starting point also in 1943–44: "A simple statement of our common faith plus a simple statement about the ministry and the sacraments as accepted by all the uniting groups should suffice."[16] But in order to arrive there the churches must be united in *penitence*. And on the road of penitence the episcopal churches must begin. "If those who have the episcopate could be prepared to realize how the failures of us bishops in the past have tended to disruption . . . , then I believe that union is not only possible but obligatory."

As the practical method of unification Hubback suggested Supplemental Ordination: "Ministers, including bishops, of all groups should receive a commission in the united church, so that at once there would be a ministry accepted without question in all parishes. I should be perfectly prepared to receive such commissioning myself with the laying on of hands, whether those hands were those of a Roman Catholic bishop or a presbytery, provided we had faced up honestly to our differences and were determined by God's grace to overcome them."[17] The way in which Hubback presented this case at Nagpur was felt to be prophetic. Azariah recognized it as "a heavenly breeze".[18] Bishop Hollis felt that this address heralded "a new act of creative power".[19] The C.I.B.C. statement was accepted in an atmosphere of expectation. The sense of frustration had given way to "new vision" and "new hope", the bishops said. Penitence had given them a new point of departure and, indeed, an understanding of "Supplemental Ordination" which distinguished this method of union from the "mutual commissioning" which they had discarded in the 'twenties. "Mutual commissioning" had assumed "equality of ministries" to start with; Supplemental Ordination started elsewhere. "The ministries of all separated communions are by the fact of separation imperfect and limited in authority", the bishops stated. The division of the Church had made all ministries defective.[20] Therefore they should be united by "a solemn act of humility and rededication, in which through mutual laying on of hands with prayer they seek from God the enrichment of all those ministrations".[21]

While this result was obtained in India, Dr. Gerald Broomfield, a leading Anglo-Catholic churchman closely connected with the work of the younger churches, issued his *Anglican and Free Church Ministries* (1944), where he stated the case for Supplemental Ordination. This was done in a generous spirit which could not fail to impress: "For my part," he said, "I should love to become a Free Church minister."[22] It was of particular importance that the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation associated itself with this method. In a letter to the Metropolitan of Calcutta, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Temple, stated as his opinion that this method "would

no doubt make acceptance of the scheme easier for Anglicans".[23]

These facts together with the glowing reports from Nagpur convinced the different diocesan councils in India which gave their consent to a South India union by way of Supplemental Ordination.[24] A very carefully reasoned argument in support of this approach was given by Bishop Hollis of Madras in a statement to his diocesan council in 1944. To him Supplemental Ordination would help to establish "an enriched, more fully recognized and authorized ministry which all can accept". On the other hand he was anxious to point out what the rite was not: "This is not a proposal for Re-ordination. There can be no such thing."[25]

The judgment of the Methodists and the Presbyterians on Supplemental Ordination was awaited by the Anglicans with keen interest. J. S. M. Hooper was *a priori* against the proposal as far as it included the laying on of hands—he thought this would be regarded by many as equivalent to re-ordination. He sought the advice of the home church, particularly that of Dr. Newton Flew, the Cambridge theologian, who was chairman of the Faith and Order Committee of the Methodist Conference. He had reason to believe that his apprehensions would be understood by Dr. Flew. We cannot here review the energetic discussion by which Methodist leaders in England prepared a statement to be sent to India. While there were Methodists who opposed Supplemental Ordination on the ground suggested by Hooper and who confessed to being perplexed by the sudden appearance of a seemingly radical and new proposal put forward after twenty-five years of negotiations, there were others wielding no less influence in Methodist circles who defended Supplemental Ordination. Among the latter we could mention W. F. Lofthouse, Scott Lidgett, John Foster, Harold Roberts and E. W. Thompson. Thompson took a strong line: "The cardinal principle of Free Churchmanship is that the Church is a living organism of the Holy Spirit; and as such, is free under His guidance to choose whatever means will do the will of God." South India presented the churches with "a great new venture", and Supplemental Ordination was the method of achieving complete unity and

removing all the difficulties which the Interim Period would entail. Thompson therefore suggested a draft resolution to be placed before the Methodist Conference, in which Supplemental Ordination was declared to be "in accord with the letter and the spirit of the teaching of the Methodist Church".

Dr. Flew was less enthusiastic about the proposal. He was relieved by Bishop Hollis's statement to the effect that re-ordination was not in view. He therefore thought that the rite ought to be given a less offensive name, such as "An Extended Commission with the laying on of hands". Provided that the rite was not to be retrospective but prospective, and that it would be for all the ministers of all the uniting churches, Dr. Flew and his committee were ready to recommend this method. It was stressed, however, that the introduction of Supplemental Ordination was to affect both the Basis and the Constitution, that the Pledge would have to be revised, and that on this assumption the whole scheme would again have to be submitted to the judgment of the Methodist Conference in Britain.[26]

The reply from the Church of Scotland was even more favourable than that from the Methodist Committee. Dr. Alexander Martin would possibly have repudiated the proposal on the ground that it did not take the parity of ministries as the point of departure. Dr. J. Hutchison Cockburn and Dr. Wm. Manson, as convener and vice-convener of the Inter-Church Relations Committee of the Church of Scotland, took another view. They felt that Supplemental Ordination would remove the Interim Period and the Pledge from the Scheme. This seemed to them to be an advantage. They felt that the issue had to be approached "in the spirit of such willingness for change—not involving that of essential principle —as all living churches may be expected to show for the sake of unity in face of the world of to-day". They would have preferred a general declaration which accepted the complete unification of the ministry *simpliciter*. But in the circumstances they felt that Supplemental Ordination was not unacceptable to Presbyterians: "We welcome the spirit of mutual recognition inspiring the proposal."[27]

The attitude of the S.I.U.C. to Supplemental Ordination was, as always, divided. An interesting reaction was the proposal put forward in 1943 by Dr. H. V. Martin of the Telugu church council. He had been one of the most persistent critics of the Scheme, and the opposition from the Telugu council was mainly due to his influence. The Iran proposals for a united ministry impressed him, and when Bishop Azariah, his Anglican neighbour in the Andhra country, suggested a way out of the impasse created by Interim Period and Pledge, Martin made this proposal his own as part of his Scheme of Church Union of 1943. Being ordained as a Congregationalist minister, he argued, his ordination was limited in sphere. In order to extend the ordination to a wider sphere, each of the uniting churches should "commission the ministers [this meant both bishops and presbyters] of the other two uniting churches". The form of the commissioning was to be by way of laying on of hands, "unless the minister concerned prefers otherwise".[28]

Martin's view was interpreted as an acceptance of Supplemental Ordination. In actual fact he was concerned with establishing a wider sphere of *jurisdiction* in ordination. The root problem, to which Bishop Hubback and the Episcopal Synod in Nagpur had pointed, was seemingly not within his range of vision. Nevertheless the aspect put forward by these Anglicans was stressed by C. B. Firth. In a S.I.U.C. symposium volume, *The Church and Union*, 1944, written by leaders who generally speaking were against the Anglican proposal, Firth implied that Supplemental Ordination meant something more than extension of jurisdiction to "a wider sphere". In direct contradiction to Martin's argument he maintained that ordination was not to the ministry of a particular denomination, such as the S.I.U.C. merely, but to a ministry in the Universal Church. But the Church was divided; it lacked to that extent an element of validity. Each church therefore ought "not to defend the full and perfect validity of its own ministry in separation, but to admit that each is defective in so far as it lacks universal recognition, and to seek from the others such additional recognition or validity as they can give, remembering that even then perfect validity will not have been attained".[29]

He ended his argument with a plea that showed a deep understanding of the necessity of union: "It is better, while not denying what we have, to be willing to receive more than to insist stubbornly that we already have everything and are in need of nothing."[30]

J. E. L. Newbigin, convener of the S.I.U.C. Church Union Committee, felt that the approach by which the S.I.U.C. had tried to assure "equal validity" was sterile. He agreed that all ministries had "a defect of order and power" because of division.[31] His objections to Supplemental Ordination were two. He stated them in *The Reunion of the Church*: If Supplemental Ordination implied that theory of the historic continuity of the ministry which Ronald Knox defined as "lineal descent" from the Apostles, then re-ordination was required and the Anglican proposal was in reality a proposal for re-ordination. If this theory of lineal descent was not essential, then the South India Scheme had already shown the proper method of reunion. There also emerged the problem of what would happen if other churches were to join the Church of South India: did Supplemental Ordination mean that on every such future occasion the entire ministry would have to undergo the rite over again? To Newbigin the main difficulty about Supplemental Ordination was its implication of ordination. On that point he was, of course, more pessimistic than his own home board in Scotland. He held that those in the S.I.U.C. who were for it in fact only wanted authorization, and that they were not able to maintain the distinction between ordination and authorization.[32]

The different arguments led to a somewhat confused debate in the local councils of the S.I.U.C. in 1944. D. M. Devasahayam followed the issue with great interest. Naturally he was against the Anglican proposal. But he was chary of the Interim Period, which seemed to cause all the difficulties about the interpretation of the Pledge. The Travancore council in September 1944 voted for removing the Interim Period clause from the Scheme altogether. The Telugu council on the other hand followed H. V. Martin's lead. At the S.I.U.C. General Assembly meeting in September 1944 opposition to the Anglican proposal was voiced. D. M. Devasahayam, R. Robertson

and A. Streckeisen maintained that Supplemental Ordination was only another word for re-ordination. The Assembly voted against the proposal for Supplemental Ordination. They expressed the hope, however, that the Joint Committee would be able to work out "a form of inauguration without laying on of hands".[33] To the majority "equality" of the ministry was still the main problem, and a recognition of this equality could symbolically be demonstrated by "a commissioning of all ministers" rather than by Supplemental Ordination. It is a measure of the temper of the Assembly—at which Bishop Azariah was present as a guest—that a Travancore proposal for the omission of the thirty years clause fared better. The Assembly decided to recommend to the Joint Committee that the reference to the Interim Period be dropped from the Scheme. Visiting ministers from other churches should thus, according to this recommendation, *at any time* be eligible for admission to the permanent ministry of the Church of South India, provided that two-thirds of the diocesan councils desired that the matter be taken up.[34]

The final debate on Supplemental Ordination in the Joint Committee, November 1944, was dramatic. The Anglican delegation had put the proposal and supported it strongly, and in England Bishop Palmer advocated it.[35] The Anglican diocesan councils were for it. The S.I.U.C. was divided on the issue, but the official result of a majority vote went against the proposal, and there was vehement opposition to it in these circles. The Methodists had the blessing of most leaders in England in voting for the proposal. Marcus Ward felt strongly encouraged by the reply from Britain. He shared the hesitation felt in his church in view of the name "Supplemental Ordination", but he maintained that the fundamental conception behind this formula was of primary importance for the unity of the Church of South India.[36] This attitude proved also to be that of the large majority of the Methodist delegation as they met for a private session the day before the Joint Committee.[37] They went to the Joint Committee prepared to vote for it. The dramatic element at this Joint Committee meeting was provided by the presence of Bishop Hubback who arrived by plane—an *episcopus ex machina*—in time for the meet-

ing. The glow and enthusiasm which his plea for Supplemental Ordination had created at the Anglican meeting in Nagpur earlier the same year was treasured by his colleagues. His presentation of the case to the Joint Committee did not produce the same glow. A long debate lasting a day and a half took place in the Committee. Hubback was opposed by Devasahayam, R. Robertson and Streckeisen. They put their case in the form of an ultimatum: Supplemental Ordination would break church union. Under this pressure the Joint Committee could not go further. The laconic statement of the minutes contains the meagre result of an important debate: "As the Committee, after full discussion, has not been able to reach a common mind on the subject, it is not able at this stage of the negotiations to recommend the proposal to the churches."[38]

This in fact was the last word on the proposal. Marcus Ward and other Methodists were disappointed, and so of course were the Anglicans.[39] It was perhaps not altogether easy for them to refrain from comparing the abrupt way by which the proposal for Supplemental Ordination was brushed aside with the careful attention which a few years earlier had been given to the S.I.U.C. plea for Lay Celebration.

(*b*) *The Pledge*

"The Development of Full Unity in Ministry and Life within the United Church" was the heading of the paragraph in the Scheme embodying the Interim Period and the Pledge. How far the Pledge could serve as an instrument for attaining that full unity was felt as a problem in the first half of the 'thirties. The 1934 interpretation of the Pledge, as amended in 1935, was regarded as an important achievement, particularly by the Methodists who decided in favour of the Scheme on the merits of this interpretation. In order to understand the Anglican reaction to the problem of the Pledge in the 'forties, a small editorial point should be recalled: the 1934 interpretation of the Pledge was never made part of the Scheme itself. It was printed in the minutes of the Joint Committee, February 1934, and appended to the 1934 edition of the Scheme, but was never reprinted. The problem of the Pledge was raised as a matter

of importance and some urgency by two Anglican bishops in Central India, R. Dyke-Acland of Bombay and A. O. Hardy of Nagpur. In a series of articles in their respective diocesan magazines in 1942 they maintained that the 1934 interpretation, not having been incorporated in the Scheme, was not authoritative, and that for them the Lambeth 1930 interpretation was decisive.[39a]

The leading Methodist spokesman on the Joint Committee, Hooper, hastened to state the Methodist case. His main concern was more than the defence of a constitutional device. The Pledge as interpreted in 1934 assured a development of the Church of South India in the direction of "full unity of all members and ministers". The Lambeth interpretation—and the Metropolitan, Dr. Foss Westcott, endorsed Hooper's opinion here—seemed to him to "perpetuate in each group that to which it had been accustomed. It would prevent the possibility of a healthy growing together and thus stultify the purpose of the union itself."[40] Both parties realized that important principles were involved. Hooper felt that the attitude of the bishops was "likely to kill the South India Scheme".[41] Bishop Dyke-Acland on the other hand stated: "If I and Lambeth have misunderstood the matter, I can no longer defend the Scheme."[42]

All the Anglican bishops in India who had taken any interest in church union now engaged in the debate.[43] Bishop Azariah's contribution was characteristic of his method of dealing with vexatious union problems of this kind. He attempted to solve it by stating that the two contestants were answering "two different questions". The Anglican bishop was looking at the problem from a constitutional point of view, the Methodist minister was concerned with pastoral necessity in the case of "a small ex-Anglican congregation in an outstation".[44]

This debate in India in 1942 was the main cause for grave disquiet in England over South India. It took the form of a very lively controversy in the press. Strong Anglo-Catholic pressure was brought to bear upon the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the end of January 1943 he received an Anglo-Catholic deputation, under the leadership of Lord Quickswood, who maintained that the Scheme would introduce schism into the

Anglican Communion.[45] In his Presidential Address on "Christian Unity and Church Reunion", delivered to the Convocation of Canterbury in May 1943, Dr. Temple gave his judgment on some of the fundamental problems involved in the Scheme, particularly the Pledge. We quote here his main conclusion on the Interim Period and the Pledge:

"We cannot in practice recognize what we must regard as irregular ministries, however effective within their own spheres, until there is an operative decision to unite in a way that ends that irregularity. But when it is present, ought we not to be ready to recognize during a period of transition what God has blessed and owned until the new rule is generally established and all ministries have been episcopally ordained?" The Pledge was to be resorted to only in cases of "pastoral urgency". Dr. Temple had no hesitation in stating that Lambeth 1930 interpreted the Pledge "as meaning that a non-episcopally ordained minister would not be appointed to the charge of a previously Anglican church except in the rarest circumstances which would be such as to afford a manifest ground for exceptional action". As an illustration he mentioned the possibility of a congregation of very simple converts being left without a minister, perhaps through the death of their own pastor, and no Anglican minister being available. "In such a case the pastoral urgency might well be regarded as overriding any irregularity involved." Dr. Temple, of course, did not refer to the 1934 interpretation of the Pledge. A few weeks after Convocation the Lambeth Consultative Body stated that "no note which does not appear within the Scheme can be held to have authority equal to what is set forth in the Scheme".[46]

In India Dr. Temple's words were received as weighty support for the interpretation of the Anglican bishops against that of J. S. M. Hooper, in that they emphasized the authority of Lambeth 1930. Their reference to the "irregularity" of non-episcopal ministries proved to be a major irritant to the non-Anglicans in South India. "The Archbishop has thrown a bombshell into the works", was the comment of one of the younger leaders in South India.[47] The Methodists were particularly concerned. C. H. Monahan felt, just as Hooper, that the standpoint now represented by Dr. Temple would

perpetuate the duality of the ministry in the church: union on such terms as the Archbishop had suggested would be merely "an exasperating juxtaposition and not real union at all". Methodists had accepted the Scheme on the understanding that it meant "complete equality of all ministers of the united church".[48] Bishop Azariah, defending the Anglican case, did not show much sympathy with Monahan's complaints: "The dual ministry in juxtaposition and the pledge in regard to locations of ministers" constituted the South India solution. He could state this somewhat lightheartedly, since he had a plan "to wipe off the pledge" altogether, by way of Supplemental Ordination. And as to juxtaposition of ministers, the C.M.S. and the S.P.G. sections of his own diocese, Dornakal, had had such for nearly a hundred years. He also referred to the same thing in Tinnevelly.[49]

The omission of the 1934 interpretation of the Pledge from the Scheme proved to be critical. The operative word of the 1934 decision ("that a ministry to which the congregation has not been accustomed or to which it conscientiously objects shall not be *imposed* upon it") had been overlooked. The Continuation Committee, the secretary of which was J. S. M. Hooper, therefore drew attention to the 1934 formula.[50] The following year the S.I.U.C. and the Methodist Provincial Synod urged that this text be embodied in the Scheme.[51] On this editorial point the roles were changed. In 1934 the Methodists had maintained that it was of the very nature of the Pledge that detailed interpretations thereof should not be demanded and therefore not embodied in the Scheme. Now it was Bishop Azariah who represented what one would like to call common sense by reminding the other churches of a very simple fact which was overlooked in the heat of the argument, although it was implicit in the 1929 Pledge and explicitly stated in the 1934 interpretation: "The Pledge is meant to be a pledge. The 'gentlemen's agreement' must be understood to be a gentlemen's agreement."[52] But he pleaded in vain.

In December 1944 the Joint Committee resolved to make the 1934 formula part of the Basis of Union only—it was added as a note to Part I in the final edition of the Scheme, but not to the Constitution. The unexpected complication which

followed upon this decision was mainly caused by the change of leaders on the Anglican episcopal bench, and the consequent break in continuity. Bishop Azariah's death on January 1, 1945, was of particular importance in this connexion.

In January 1945 the General Council of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon finally adopted the Scheme (seventh edition in the revised form). Azariah would have known that the 1934 interpretation had never officially been brought to the notice of the Anglican authorities in India. Bishop Hollis, upon whom had suddenly fallen the responsibility of presenting the Scheme to the General Council, learned only after the General Council of the C.I.B.C. in January 1945 that the 1934 decision had never been either accepted or rejected by the C.I.B.C. In connexion with an extra Episcopal Synod in June 1945—called in order to elect the new Metropolitan after Foss Westcott—the bishops somewhat stubbornly stated that when in January that year they had consented to union for the four South Indian dioceses, the Scheme they accepted did not contain any reference to the 1934 interpretation. They underlined that their general acceptance of South India union did not commit the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon to the doctrine of the equality of all ministries. Their decisions therefore had been taken in adherence to the Lambeth 1930 interpretation. They added the following rider: "The House of Bishops is not concerned to assert that a minister in the United Church is debarred from being placed in charge of an ex-Anglican congregation during the Interim Period by the sole fact that he has not received episcopal ordination. It is concerned to assert that, except in cases of extreme pastoral urgency, an ex-Anglican congregation is, under the Pledge, prevented by long-established tradition from being placed in the charge of a non-episcopally ordained minister."

The effect of this statement was interesting. J. E. L. Newbigin said that the resolution produced astonishment and dismay; if this were the last word on the subject, it would seem to mean the abrupt end of the Scheme of Union in South India. Hooper felt "deep distress and bewilderment".[53] Bishop Neill—in England at the time—thought that the bishops' pronouncement "would be comparable in its effects to the atomic bomb".[54]

Bishop Dyke-Acland of Bombay was not so sure about this. He told the new Metropolitan: "Our June resolutions, referred to as an atom bomb totally destroying the Scheme, were really just the opposite—some necessary blasting to get the foundations secure."[55]

Newbigin's concern was the fundamental unity of the church, established on the fundamental unity of ministry. If non-Anglican ministers could serve an ex-Anglican congregation only in cases of "*extreme* pastoral urgency" then this would show that "a non-episcopal ministry is not a valid ministry".[56] The Anglican proposal for union of the ministry by way of Supplemental Ordination having been rejected, no constitutional means of overcoming the dilemma seemed to present itself. Once again the hope of union seemed to vanish. Hooper went to England in 1946 depressed and convinced that another five years of struggle would be needed in order to undo the harm that had been caused and so achieve union.

In December 1945 the Continuation Committee decided to press the Anglicans to a decision. The other two churches had accepted the 1934 interpretation as authoritative. The bishops of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon were now challenged to present "a clear statement" as to whether they also accepted it. The solution was not easy, but it recalled that note which was struck in the Basis of the 1929 Scheme and which had persistently sounded even in the arguments later on: "The unity of His Church is fundamentally a reality of the spiritual realm."

It is significant that the initiative now taken did not refer to safeguards of past heritages and traditions but represented a thrust into the future, a bold anticipation of the life of the Church of South India. In another connexion Bishop Hollis expressed this in the following way: "Real union . . . will not reach anything like adequacy until the second or third generation. You cannot just add Methodism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and Anglicanism together like a series of counters."[57] It was taken in the teeth of *very* determined opposition from the Anglo-Catholic side. Bishop Hollis of Madras asked his brother bishops in South India, Selwyn of Tinnevelly, C. K. Jacob of Travancore, A. B. Elliott of

Dornakal, and Y. Mutyalu (Assistant Bishop of Dornakal) to sign with him a statement. This was published in September 1946. They here agreed that "After the inauguration of Union we, as Bishops of the Church of South India, shall be ready ourselves to receive communion at the hands of any Bishop or Presbyter of the United Church", that "All who have the status of Presbyters in the United Church are capable of performing all the functions assigned to Presbyters in the United Church by the Constitution of that Church in every congregation in the United Church; that no Presbyter of the United Church will exercise his ministry in a congregation where members conscientiously object to his ministrations, and that no member of the United Church can 'conscientiously object' (in the sense in which these words are used in the Constitution of the United Church) to the ministrations of any Presbyter ordained within the United Church. The suitability of a Presbyter for a particular congregation is another question and will have to be considered in all cases by the appointing authority."[58]

The effect of this statement was astounding. It represents the last decisive heave which made union a reality. It cleared the sky which until then had seemed so dark. It is also an interesting indication of the influence which South India had had on an Anglican leader such as A. M. Hollis. His service in the 'thirties in the diocese of Tinnevelly had brought him into contact with a church the foundations of which had been laid by missionaries in non-episcopal Lutheran orders. Hollis drew a conclusion from this: "We in South India would deny our own history if we assented to the claim that episcopal ordination is essential to the existence of a true ministry and to the celebration of the Eucharist."[59] It was of the *bene esse* of the Church, not of the *esse* of the Church.

At the General Council of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon in January 1947 it was Bishop Hollis who moved the final resolution on the Pledge. Suggestions were made that the Council should decline to accept any interpretation of the Pledge, or defer reply until advice of the Lambeth Conference in 1948 had been obtained. These amendments when put to the vote were lost. The resolution moved by Bishop Hollis

obtained a sufficient majority. It read: "The Council, having taken note of Resolution IV (2), § (4) of the Joint Committee 1946, now accepts the Interpretation issued by the Joint Committee in 1934 and amended in 1935, regarding it as wholly in accordance with the Basis of Union which was adopted by the General Council in 1945."[60] The voting was by houses. It is significant that the resolution was accepted with an overwhelming majority by the House of Laity (33–1), while in the House of Clergy (30–22) and still more among the Bishops (7–6) the majority was only very slight.

Thus, at last, this difficult problem found a solution. Difficult the problem was bound to be, for it dealt with the nature of the ministry, and in the last resort was a device to overcome the tension in the church between the letter of the Constitution and the freedom of the children of God. Achieving complete unity of disunited churches was a high and noble ambition. In this kind of world, unity had to be found in a synthesis of order and freedom. After all, this is the message of the Bible.

The Churches accept the Scheme

THE S.I.U.C.

In the 'thirties the position of the S.I.U.C. councils was not such as to be reduced easily to a formula. The Kanarese council eventually swung over in 1939 from hesitancy to definite acceptance of the Scheme under the influence of H. Sumitra and C. B. Firth. The course followed by the Malabar council was particularly interesting, for on some early occasions it stood with the L.M.S. councils in criticism of fundamental features of the Scheme. These councils generally represented the opposition. In the 'forties there was a clear division between two groups: the L.M.S. councils (Travancore, Telugu and North Tamil) over against the other five councils; this was apparent at the General Assembly in 1941. The Malabar council expressed its satisfaction that the Joint Committee had substantially incorporated Streckeisen's proposals into the Scheme; in an earlier chapter we have seen that these proposals dominated the debate in 1937–41. They were now ready to enter the Scheme without further amendments. The Madura,

Madras, Kanara and Jaffna councils were likewise ready to enter union. Telugu and North Tamil decided against. The forces in Travancore in the same year managed to push through a constitutional device which made a favourable decision for the Scheme difficult. It was agreed that a 75 per cent majority in the council would be necessary in order to accept union. At the Travancore council meeting in 1941 only 63 per cent of the votes (58–35) were cast for union, so the motion was lost. All three L.M.S. councils thus seemed to be against union, and they represented two-thirds of the whole S.I.U.C. membership.

The main problem for the S.I.U.C. from now on was that of a threatening split between the two camps. Were those councils which favoured union to go ahead on their own, leaving the others behind? This problem became more urgent as the situation in 1941 within the S.I.U.C. revealed a definite turning point in the negotiations. We have pointed out that the Lay Celebration problem and its solution led to a definite, conscious resolve, particularly among the Indian leaders, to achieve union against the advice of the missionaries if need be.[61] And it must be stressed that among the Congregationalist missionaries there was a group of men who in a decisive way had gone through what a fellow Congregationalist, Daniel Jenkins, in 1944 called "theological repentance".[62] In an earlier chapter we have pointed to the role of C. B. Firth and, increasingly, H. Lefever in this connexion. The influence of the P. T. Forsyth renaissance in Congregationalist theology, a marked "return to orthodoxy", was already being felt in the younger generation of missionaries. It was a theological reorientation the effects of which served the cause of organic church union on a "Catholic" basis.[63]

From 1941 onwards the protagonists of union in the L.M.S. councils received valuable moral support from the L.M.S. itself. The Indian Secretary of the Society, Dr. Norman Goodall, undertook this delicate task with conviction and diplomatic care.[64] In December 1942 the Board of Directors of the L.M.S. decided to send a statement which in unmistakable terms encouraged the councils to go into union, particularly as the seventh edition of the Scheme was "in many respects a radically new document, with a conception of a United Church far

richer than was envisaged when discussions began in 1919".[65]

The war was another factor influencing the change of attitudes toward union in the councils. Devolution, placing Indians in positions formerly held by missionaries, was forcibly hastened, particularly in 1942, when Madras was threatened with Japanese invasion. For various reasons this particularly affected the Arcot classis within the Madras church council. Strengthened Indian leadership in these S.I.U.C. councils meant strengthening the urge for union.

In 1942 Dr. Banninga left India and returned to the United States. The important position as convener of the S.I.U.C. Church Union Committee which he had held with great distinction for so long had to be filled. R. A. Dudley of the American Board served for one year in this capacity. In 1943 he was succeeded by a young Scottish colleague, the successor of J. H. Maclean at Conjeeveram, J. E. L. Newbigin. His task was by no means easy, but it was handled with eminent skill. In 1946, when the decisive vote for union was taken, the Rev. A. H. Legg was the convener of the S.I.U.C. Church Union Committee. He was an outstanding example of one who had begun as a radical Congregationalist opponent of the Scheme but eventually had become a convinced supporter.[66]

An interesting development in the L.M.S. councils was the publication of ambitious proposals for new schemes of union. D. M. Devasahayam had ten years earlier produced a scheme of his own. In 1942 he made a new attempt to revive his South Travancore Evangelical Association, now under the more inclusive name of South Indian Evangelical Association. The first aim of this group was to prevent the acceptance by church authorities of the Proposed Scheme and to promote the union of "Protestant evangelical churches".[67] This was the more necessary as the enterprising Mr. Devasahayam allowed himself in 1943 to be made President of a group, referred to as the Travancore Bible Faith Mission, distinct from the S.I.U.C.[68] In spite of this new allegiance Devasahayam was a member, and a very vocal member, for Travancore on the S.I.U.C. Church Union Committee until 1947.

In 1943 Dr. H. V. Martin of the Telugu church council published his own *Scheme of Church Union*: "The United Church

[the name he suggested for the organization was "The United Church of South India and Ceylon"] is intended to be a comprehensive church, in which members agreed upon the principles of faith, and accepting certain rules of order, will be allowed wide freedom of opinion in all other matters, and wide freedom of action consistent with the general framework of the United Church as one body." Martin was impressed by the Iran Scheme of Union, and the most interesting feature of his proposal was its clause of mutual commissioning. This, as we shall see, was taken by himself and by others to be akin to the proposal for Supplemental Ordination.[69]

In this connexion it should be mentioned that Dr. Stanley Jones's propaganda for "Church Federal Union" found a supporter in the Rev. R. Robertson, who led the opposition in the North Tamil church council to the South India Scheme. In 1943 Robertson found that it had become increasingly clear that church union would not be accomplished upon the lines of the present Scheme, "for the proposals look forward to a union by amalgamation of three equals in disproportionate ratios".[70] The proposal hardly evoked much interest in South India other than a rejoinder from J. H. Maclean, who was ever vigilant against "federal" ideas.[71]

We shall not follow in detail the union debate in the S.I.U.C. church councils. The group of five councils was on the whole steadily in favour of the Scheme, while the voting in the L.M.S. councils was definitely chequered. It was the fleeting changes and chances in these councils which made the ultimate fate of union seem uncertain for a long time The friends of union in different parts of the world, in India itself and in Britain and the U.S.A., followed these vacillating votings with great anxiety.

The *Telugu* council voted in the following way:

1941 *Against* the South India Scheme.
1944 *Against* the South India Scheme, *for* H. V. Martin's alternative Scheme.
1945 2/3 majority *for* the South India Scheme.
1946 Acceptance of the Scheme to be *postponed* until the C.I.B.C. attitude to the 1934 interpretation of the Pledge had been clarified.

1946, Sept. The South India Scheme *accepted*, after the declaration of the South India bishops on the Pledge.

The voting record of the *Travancore* council, where a 75 per cent majority in favour of union was necessary, was as follows:

1941 63 per cent *for* union, but not the sufficient 2/3 majority.
1942 63 per cent *against* union.
1944 76 per cent *for*.
1945 53 per cent for union. *Not sufficient* majority.
1946 75 per cent *for*.

The *North Tamil* church council voted as follows:

1941 *Against* the Scheme.
1942 *For*, 68 per cent majority.
1943 Decision on union to be *deferred* for four years (with 28 votes against 25).
1944 *Against* the Scheme.
1946 Decision on the scheme to be *postponed* until C.I.B.C. attitude to the 1934 interpretation of the Pledge had been clarified. "The Council does not approve of the S.I.U.C. Assembly taking any action which disrupts the unity of the S.I.U.C. for the sake of partial union with other churches."
1947 (2/3 majority necessary for acceptance of the Scheme.) 26 for, 25 against the Scheme. Acceptance thus *rejected*.
1950 Decision to *join the C.S.I.* (as the new Diocese of Coimbatore).[72]

In the case of the Telugu council a group of younger Indians became officers of the council in 1940. Dr. H. V. Martin's project appealed to these men, but not necessarily to the older, experienced Indian leaders or to the majority of the missionaries. In the case of Travancore the vacillations seemed to be caused by the fact that in the council there were approximately three groups, one-third being firmly for the Scheme, another determined opponents, and the rest without any conviction and easily swayed in the one direction or the other. The voting in

this church council was aggravated by political events. The *diwan* of Travancore at the time, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, pursued a repressive policy towards the Christian community. The plans for church union may have seemed, in these quarters, to represent some political move with a view to strengthening anti-government interests. This seems to have had a certain effect on those church councillors who had no particular conviction with regard to union.[73]

It was considerations such as these and the renewed wrestling with the problem of a united ministry that caused the hesitation of the L.M.S. councils. In 1944 the L.M.S. councils had sufficient influence on the S.I.U.C. to make the General Assembly request the Joint Committee "to allow a further period of two years for the S.I.U.C. to give its final vote". At the same time they requested the church councils to vote on the following proposition:

"The next meeting of the General Assembly shall be empowered to decide by a simple two-thirds vote of those present whether the S.I.U.C. shall accept the Scheme of Union or whether it shall permit such councils as desire to enter the proposed union, and such decision shall be the decision of the S.I.U.C."[74]

Further postponement seemed to be indicated by the stand which the Anglican bishops were taking over the Pledge. But J. E. L. Newbigin and A. H. Legg, as well as Indian leaders such as J. A. Jacob and M. J. Sargunam, maintained that the S.I.U.C. should not be delayed by the bishops nor by the supposed risks of disruption of the S.I.U.C. which a determined stand would incur. In the final voting in the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. in September 1946, the following resolution was passed by 103 votes in favour, with 10 votes against and 7 abstentions:

"1. The South India United Church agrees to enter into organic union with the South India Province of the Methodist Church and the Dioceses of Madras, Dornakal, Tinnevelly and Travancore and Cochin in the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon on the basis of the Proposed Scheme of Church Union contained in the latest edition of the Scheme, 1942, including the Pledge as accepted by the Joint Committee as part of the

Basis of Union and including the Joint Committee's 1934–35 interpretation thereof.

"2. The Assembly authorizes the Joint Committee, as soon as the 1934–35 interpretation of the pledge is accepted by the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon, to take all necessary steps to inaugurate the union at as early a date as possible".[75]

The diehards such as D. M. Devasahayam held out against union to the very last, but the decision of an overwhelming majority brought the S.I.U.C. into the fellowship of the Church of South India.[76]

Many representatives on these councils felt that the voting raised an important issue of church government. The problem was posed in a little book published in England at this time (1944) by the young Congregationalist theologian, Daniel Jenkins, the title of which is *Church Meeting and Democracy*. Democracy, over against autocracy, sacerdotalism, etc., was the concern of the Devasahayams, R. Robertsons and H. V. Martins. Whether the working of democracy was to be discerned in these final deliberations was a very real problem to many responsible Indian leaders. When in the end the affirmative vote had been given by Telugu and Travancore, sometimes perhaps in a sense of attrition rather than enthusiasm, it was with a resolve to accept a church order where central authority and wide, popular participation in church affairs could be harmonized and held in balance.

THE ANGLICANS

Following upon the Joint Committee Appeal for decision in 1941 the Episcopal Synod of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon in 1942 gave a full statement on the principles and possible results of South Indian Union, particularly on the future relationship between the Church of South India and the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. It was realized that union would cause certain complications for the Anglican missionary societies, though these were not specified in the statement. The Bishop of Colombo pointed out the difficulties that might arise in Ceylon with the proposed diocese of Jaffna in the midst of Anglican dioceses: they did not wish to have any "Ulster split" in the island. But over against these difficulties

the statement sets the immense advantages which would be gained as a result of union, e.g. more efficient pastoral care. Over half a million Christians would be admitted to the privileges of the full sacramental life assured by the threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons. In view of this, all ex-Anglican priests would retain their rights and privileges. The extent to which they would be able to exercise their ministry in C.I.B.C. congregations would have to be determined after union, as "it is confidently anticipated that this church will at once pass a canon establishing relations of full communion and fellowship with the United Church".[77]

The Synod summed up its judgment in the following terms: "The Synod... rejoices at the large measure of agreement which has been reached by the negotiating bodies in fundamentals of Faith and Order. While fully realizing that in any scheme . . . of union, there must of necessity be details which many would desire to see altered, it believes that the measure of unity achieved under the good hand of God justifies the step of [referring the Scheme to] the diocesan councils. On the councils rests the responsibility of deciding whether a further step may be taken towards the doing away of the scandal of disunity."[78] One can trace the influence of the Metropolitan, Dr. Foss Westcott, in the generous terms in which this statement has been worded. Naturally the South Indian bishops, together with Loyd of Nasik, greatly strengthened Foss Westcott's hand in framing these terms.

But there was opposition. Bishop C. D. Horsley of Colombo was definitely against the Scheme because of the practice of intercommunion from 1932. The developments since then had certainly not made him more conciliatory. His main complaints concerned the bishops' power in matters of Faith and Order and the 1934 interpretation of the Pledge. He took the initiative in writing to bishops in South Africa who supported his view. He approached leading Anglo-Catholic theologians in England who did likewise.[79] He stated his case with great energy, but unsuccessfully, to his own diocesan council; it voted against the bishop.[80] Together with the Bishop of Nagpur (A. O. Hardy) he requested Foss Westcott to approach all the Metropolitans of the Anglican Communion to enquire

"whether if this Scheme in its present form is adopted they will (*a*) break off communion with the C.I.B.C., and/or (*b*) refuse to be in communion with the Church of South India".

Before Foss Westcott complied with the request constitutionally made, he received the consent of the bishops to refer the matter to the Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference. The attention of the Anglican Communion to the Scheme was thus engaged on a very wide scale: the Indian diocesan councils, the Metropolitans and bishops in other Provinces, the Central Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference. The storm centre of the debate was England, where theologians and church leaders took a determined stand for or against the Scheme. It cannot be our task here to give a detailed account of the debate in the press, particularly *The Times* and the *Church Times*.[80a] Neither can we take here space in recording our analysis of the great number of pamphlets and books by Anglicans at this time. The Catholic Advisory Council in 1942 appointed a Council for the Defence of Church Principles which published a series of leaflets on the subject and which called a public meeting in London against the South India Scheme. The English Church Union and the superiors of certain religious communities set in movement a well-organized publicity campaign against "South India". They felt that "South India" represented extreme danger to the Anglican Communion. Father W. B. O'Brien and Mr. T. S. Eliot maintained that they were experiencing "the greatest crisis in the Church of England since the Reformation". Books and pamphlets presenting the Anglo-Catholic view were published in 1943–44 by O'Brien and Eliot, by Bishop A. W. F. Blunt, A. G. Hebert, T. G. Jalland, E. L. Mascall and others. On the other side the Evangelicals and those in favour of the Scheme published their opinions. Among these we mention Dr. L. Hodgson, Bishop E. J. Palmer (as an answer to the objections raised by the superiors of the religious communities), Dr. M. A. C. Warren and Bishop A. T. P. Williams (answer to T. S. Eliot).

The question had been referred to the Lambeth Consultative Body and the Archbishop of Canterbury. F. A. Iremonger says that South India was the most serious church controversy in which Archbishop Temple was engaged during his primacy.[81]

His presidential address to the Convocation of Canterbury, May 25, 1943, mainly dealt with the problem of the unification of the ministry. As chairman of the Central Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference Dr. Temple had to consider the request from the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon against the background of the lively pamphleteering and canvassing that went on. The Consultative Body had among its members bishops who were strong supporters of South India: Headlam, Bell, Palmer, J. J. Willis. They gave their judgment on the main features of the Scheme: the Faith, the Ministry, the Sacraments and the Synod. The general conclusion was that "some of the new modifications are improvements but that taken cumulatively the changes introduced might render acceptance by the Lambeth Conference harder rather than easier; the Consultative Body do not think the substance is so affected as to call for a modification of the reply given in 1938".[82]

The two questions asked by the Metropolitan of Calcutta were also referred to the Upper and Lower Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury. Here the matter was thoroughly debated between representatives of the different schools of Anglican thought. The resolution moved by the Bishop of Dorchester, Dr. G. B. Allen, was carefully scrutinized. When we say "carefully scrutinized" that is just what we mean; how carefully can be seen by an extract from the debate in the Lower House. It shows how meticulous were some of the Anglicans in formulating their judgment on the Scheme, for here not only the words but the commas were discussed and weighed.

On paragraph 2 ("We rejoice that Christians in S. India are seeking corporate union, according to the Will of God, in the work of the Gospel . . . ")

Prebendary E. D. Merritt thought that the comma after the words "corporate union" should be deleted. It had been decided in the committee, if he remembered aright, that the words "according to the Will of God" qualified the words "corporate union".

The *Rev. C. E. Douglas* said that the comma after the words "Will of God" should also be deleted.

The *Bishop of Dorchester* agreed that both commas should be omitted.

The *Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Trent* also agreed. If it were said that Christians in South India were doing something according to the Will of God, that would be expressing a conviction that what they were doing was right. The Committee carefully avoided expressing any opinion on whether the particular Scheme that was proposed was according to the Will of God or not and simply described the action of Christians in South India, which was to seek "corporate union according to the Will of God".

Paragraph 2 was adopted, with the deletion of the comma after the words "corporate union" and the comma after the words "Will of God".[83]

Dr. Temple in a letter to Foss Westcott expressed the mind of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury and of the Lower House in declaring that their administrative action with regard to South India would follow these lines:

"1. Subject to such rules and customs as are accepted in respect of all communicants in the Province, a communicant member of the united church would be admissible to Communion in the churches of the Province.

"2. An episcopally ordained minister of the united church would be qualified to receive the licence or permission of a bishop to officiate, subject, when they apply, to the provisions of the Colonial Clergy Act, and to such rules and customs as are accepted in respect of all ministers in the Province; thus, for example, if he applied for and received such licence or permission it would be on the understanding that he should not officiate in non-Anglican churches except in such ways—e.g., preaching by special invitation on particular occasions—as are permissible or customary for priests or deacons of the Church of England.

. . . . . .

"4. No censure would attach to any member, ordained or unordained, of this Province who may be in South India or go thither, if he communicates with the united church or takes work of any kind in it.

"The united church would not be a Province of the Anglican Communion, and there would not at this stage be unrestricted intercommunion between it and this Province,but there would

be such intercommunion between clergy and laity of the united church and those of this Province as I have stated."[84]

The statement was important. It was the last statement on South India signed by William Temple. For this reason alone it might be fitting to quote from the statement which he gave to the Canterbury Convocation on union in 1944. With regard to the very difficult problem of intercommunion he stated: "There is need for something intermediate between either organic union or full communion, such as the churches of the Anglican Communion enjoy with one another, and total lack of any communion *in sacris*." This possibility, which according to Temple could be derived from the Report of the 1930 Lambeth Conference, was his point of departure as he approached the subject. This also meant that the Church of South India "going out from" the Anglican Communion was not an act of schism. "I hope our reply makes it clear that we do not so regard it." The South India method might be regarded as novel. Dr. Temple, greatly daring, claimed that novelty of method was not in itself wrong: "A new method is called for, and the novelty of the South India Scheme may be regarded as one of its merits."

Of the replies from the Metropolitans of the Anglican Provinces some were against intercommunion with the united church, others, such as that of the Archbishop of Sydney, strongly in favour, all according to the ecclesiastical colour which the Province and the Archbishop individually represented. Of great interest was the attitude of the bishops and diocesan councils in India. The debate was deflected by the great interest which the Anglicans showed in Supplemental Ordination. The issue which would cause most hesitation in these councils was the problem of the relative power of Bishop and Synod in matters of Faith and Order. In November 1942 Bishop Azariah published a pamphlet which went far to show the extremely remote likelihood of the Bishops ever being overruled by the Synod.[85]

As the General Council met in February 1944, eight dioceses (out of fifteen) had voted on the Scheme, all, with the exception of Nagpur, in favour of union. The vote in Dornakal and Travancore was unanimous, in Tinnevelly the voting was

nem. con., while two members of the diocesan council abstained from voting. In dioceses where the odds were fairly even, a strong lay majority in favour of union was apparent, as in Colombo and Bombay. During 1944 three more diocesan councils voted general approval of the Scheme, making a total of ten out of the eleven—the Rangoon council could not meet on account of the war—in favour of the Scheme. With this result the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon considered itself ready in January 1945 to give its decisive vote on the Scheme. It was perhaps not a very propitious moment. In the background the tremendous pressure from Anglo-Catholic opinion in England was felt as a restraining factor. The oscillating vote of the S.I.U.C. councils made it uncertain whether that church would in the end come into union. Bishop Azariah, convener of the Anglican delegation on the Joint Committee, eloquent and enthusiastic as an interpreter of the Scheme, had just died. The Bishops of Tinnevelly, Rangoon and Bhagalpur were in England. The Bishop of Travancore and Cochin had resigned. Of the ten bishops present at the General Council, "four were known to be strongly against [the Scheme], five were believed to be favourable, one was wavering".[86] The Bishop of Assam, Dr. G. C. Hubback, who in spite of great hesitation had shown great interest in the Scheme, turned the scales in the final voting on the resolution. In order to make this resolution acceptable to as many as possible, it was framed in a purely formal way:

"That this Council, while reaffirming that the Church of this Province continues to be bound in matters of Faith and Order by the Constitution, Canons and Rules of the C.I.B.C., finally adopts the Scheme of Church Union in South India (seventh edition revised), Parts I and II, in order to permit the Dioceses of Madras, Travancore and Cochin, Tinnevelly and Dornakal to carry out their practically unanimous desire to enter into union with the Methodist and South India United Churches."

The result of the voting was: House of Bishops 6–4; House of Clergy 38–10; House of Laity 31–7. The total was thus 75–21. With this majority the motion was carried, and the C.I.B.C. had given its decisive word. The General Council at the same time reaffirmed unanimously its resolution on the

unification of ministries by Supplemental Ordination. The desire was also expressed for an amendment of the Scheme with regard to the relative powers of Bishop and Synod. With regard to the hesitation of the L.M.S. councils of the S.I.U.C., the General Council gave its permission to the four dioceses to enter into union with the Methodists alone, or with the Methodists plus such S.I.U.C. councils as would be willing to unite.[87]

This decision did not altogether settle the matter as far as the bishops were concerned. The negative vote of the S.I.U.C. with regard to Supplemental Ordination was a heavy blow to those Anglicans who, although critical of certain aspects of the Scheme, had still hoped that a unification of the ministries by the method of Supplemental Ordination would solve any outstanding problems. It was mainly because this hope seemed to be finally shattered that the Anglican bishops in June 1945 affirmed that by acceptance of the Scheme they had not committed themselves to any doctrine of the equality of all ministries, and that they adhered to the Lambeth 1930 interpretation of the Pledge. As we shall see, this declaration was unpopular in certain quarters, not least among Indian Anglican laymen, who issued a strongly worded statement on the matter.[88]

The decision of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon has also to be understood in relation to theological opinion in Britain. In 1946 the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a committee of theologians to report on the South India Basis and Constitution. The so-called Derby Report (Dr. A. E. J. Rawlinson, Bishop of Derby, was the chairman) appeared the same year. The committee was "if anything overweighted on the critical side".[89] One of the members, Fr. L. S. Thornton, C.R., regarded the latest edition of the Scheme as unacceptable. The majority of the committee thought "that the Scheme should go forward" but stated that if in the end there was to be full intercommunion with the Anglican churches, amendments of the Constitution ought to be made in some or all of the following points:

(1) The statement of the Faith of the Church should be so re-drafted as to place the adherence of the Church of South

India to the historic Faith of the Church Catholic beyond question.

(2) The statement on the Sacraments in the Church (Constitution II, 6) should be freed from misleading ambiguities.

(3) The use of the rite of Confirmation should, as soon as may be practicable, be made the general rule of the Church.

(4) There should be a modification of the rules for synodical procedure, clarifying and properly safeguarding the position of the bishops.

(5) There should be a reconsideration of the ultimate relation of the Church of South India to other churches not episcopally ordered.

(6) There should be a satisfactory clarification of the circumstances, if any, in which non-episcopally ordained ministers may continue to exercise ministry in the Church of South India at the conclusion of the interim period.[90]

Eventually the General Council of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon accepted the 1934–35 interpretation, but only after a thorough debate on the Pledge and the unification of the ministry.

THE METHODISTS

While the other two churches hesitated because of the pressure of their extreme wings, the Methodists went steadily towards the goal. Sometimes they could not but manifest "slight impatience at what was becoming their traditional role of buffer in the head-on impacts of Anglican–S.I.U.C. debate".[91] The younger generation of Methodists, for whom union was no longer a dream but a real possibility, pressed for decision. In January 1941 the South India Provincial Synod of the Methodist Church took stock of the developments. They found that after their vote in favour of union in 1934 the Scheme had been brought yet more fully into line with Methodist traditions. They were therefore ready unreservedly to approve of the Basis of Union and prepared immediately to unite on this foundation with the other negotiating churches.[92] This was a gesture which could not fail to impress the other churches. But it was more than that: it was a decision carried

by conviction about the urgency of the situation. The Rev. C. W. Ranson, the young Methodist missionary who served as Business Manager of *Church Union News and Views*, wrote: "Incomparably the greatest contribution which the churches of South India could make to the cause of Christ throughout the world and the need of an India torn by tension and conflict would be a bold and decisive act of *union now*."[93]

In January 1942 the Provincial Synod met again. The Joint Committee had settled the vexatious problem of Lay Celebration. Now the Methodists were prepared to unite not only on the Basis, but on the Basis *plus* Constitution. It was suggested that the local Circuit Quarterly Meetings should be ready with their vote by September 1942. The four District Synods were to discuss the matter so that the final vote could be taken by the Provincial Synod in January 1943. At the same time an energetic pro-union campaign in the District Synods was organized. Local class-meetings, special retreats for different categories of church workers, etc., were to be arranged by District Publicity Committees of keen and informed ministers and laymen. Libraries were to be set up in each District with literature on church union and on the traditions of the other churches, illustrated by "biographies such as those of Archbishop Davidson and Principal Rainy".[94]

After this thorough preparation, which involved a real ecumenical education of the church on the local level, the Provincial Synod met in January 1943. The reports from the four District Synods were highly encouraging. In the Mysore and Trichinopoly Synods the votes were unanimous; in Madras the vote was 64 for union, 1 against; in Hyderabad 48 for, 43 against and 3 abstentions. As the final vote was to be taken by the Provincial Synod there was one small cloud: the debate with the bishops over the Pledge in which J. S. M. Hooper was so deeply involved. Hooper was assured that this would be satisfactorily settled. The importance which was given to this issue, as well as the central role which Hooper played, can be gauged by the fact that the first resolution was a vote of thanks to Hooper "for his exposition of the meaning and intention of the Pledge . . . which commands our complete approval".

The main resolution read: "The Synod with a deep sense

of responsibility records its judgment that the Methodist Church in South India should enter into Union on the Basis (Parts 1 and 2) of the Proposed Scheme of Church Union in South India as found in the seventh edition, 1942."

Because of the debate over the Pledge another resolution stated: "In view of misleading interpretations of the Pledge to which currency has been given there should be printed as an addendum to the Pledge in the Basis of Union, for permanent record, the agreed statement on the meaning of the Pledge issued by the Joint Committee in 1934, with the clarifying addition made in 1935." These resolutions were passed, the votes being 40 for, 4 against, and 2 neutral.[95]

It is against this background that Methodist reaction to Archbishop Temple's Presidential Address, May 25, 1943, has to be understood. This address particularly tried to assuage the Anglo-Catholic anti-South India campaign in Britain and concentrated on the Pledge. Hooper's interpretation, which was that of 1934, was felt to be jeopardized by Dr. Temple's Address and with that the possibility of achieving a united ministry was kept in suspense. The Methodists now resorted to the recurrent argument which till then had been the line of Congregationalists and Anglo-Catholics: they would have to withdraw from union if Dr. Temple's interpretation was to prevail.[96] This reaction was not to last long. In July 1943 the Methodist Conference in England approved the decision of the South India Provincial Synod and reaffirmed its belief that consummation of union should take place at the earliest possible date. The stand which eventually was taken by the S.I.U.C. and particularly by the Anglican bishops in South India made it possible for the Methodists to adhere to their decision of 1943 and so effectively to pave the way for union.

Chapter XIV

THE END WHICH IS A BEGINNING

The Inauguration of Ecclesiastical Union

1947! THE year of freedom, the creation of New India. The bitter struggle for political independence ended. A new chapter began on August 15. The year 1947 was also the end of the long process of negotiations for church union. Final decisions had been taken by the churches, and on September 27 the Inauguration service for the Church of South India was held in St. George's Cathedral, Madras. The pilot of South India Union, J. S. M. Hooper, preaching the Inauguration sermon, interpreted the significance of the year 1947: "God has matched us with His hour; the Church of South India has an unparalleled opportunity. The reconciliation between our divergent elements . . . enables us with fresh conviction and force to proclaim the Gospel of reconciliation to all the clashing elements in this nation's life."

The arrangments for the Inauguration itself were in the hands of a committee appointed by the Continuation Committee back in 1943. As a matter of course, J. S. M. Hooper was the convener: he held all the threads in his strong hands in these decisive years and he had all the facts in his clear head. Bishop Noel Hall of Chota Nagpur gave valuable help as liturgical expert and drew attention to consecration prayers in the rich sources of the Catholic heritage of the Church. It was on Hall's advice that the Invocation of the Holy Spirit was taken over from the 1928 Prayer Book, thus making this part of the service more acceptable to Catholics than that contained in the Prayer Book of 1662.[1]

Other elements in the Consecration service were adapted from Greek, Anglican, Methodist and Swedish sources.[2] The Jacobite–Mar Thoma rite of fellowship expressed by the Kiss of Peace was considered by the Committee on Services. As

this was not the custom in any of the uniting churches, it was decided not to introduce it "at this stage".[3]

The fundamental conception of union as a process of growing together which underlay the 1929 Scheme also influenced the arrangements for the establishments of dioceses. In 1929 it was thought that at first there should be only a tentative delimitation of dioceses. According to this elastic and flexible conception the new bishops appointed at the Inauguration should not have constitutionally established and rigidly demarcated dioceses. The bishop in each such area would at first work in conjunction with "the existing bishop and the chairman of the synods and councils operating in that area", i.e. it was taken for granted that the former Anglican, Methodist and S.I.U.C. church government would continue to operate for some time after Inauguration. The final demarcation was to be effected not later than five years after Inauguration.[4]

In 1932 the Scheme was regarded by many as "practically complete" so far as theological principles were concerned, and the Joint Committee could give its attention to such matters as delimitation of the dioceses of the church. In June 1932 the Joint Committee agreed to the following principles:

> That there should be in the united church initially from ten to twelve dioceses, possibly with assistant bishops in some cases. Where feasible a diocese should contain congregations of not less than two out of the three uniting churches.[5]

At this time it was taken for granted that the dioceses would be demarcated from the Inauguration. A special committee was appointed to study this problem. Bishop Waller as convener of the sub-committee took a leading part in this work. With him were C. H. Monahan and W. H. Warren of the Methodist Church, and G. Parker of the S.I.U.C. The Waller sub-committee reckoned on ten dioceses. In November 1932 they were asked by the Joint Committee to consider an organization with fourteen dioceses.[6]

A Committee on Dioceses in the United Church under the chairmanship of Bishop A. M. Hollis reported in December 1946. They suggested the creating of sixteen dioceses, including Coimbatore, or North Tamil, and the organization of South

Travancore (with 140,000 membership) in two dioceses, one for the Tamil and another for the Malayalam area of Travancore. The Joint Committee recommended accordingly. In the case of South Travancore the S.I.U.C. church council of that area decided that no partition could take place. As we have seen, the North Tamil council in 1946 decided not to join the Church of South India.

A representative Central Body (with twelve members) for the Selection of Bishops, with Hooper as Secretary, had the responsible task of recommending names of prospective bishops, and their recommendations were confirmed by the Joint Committee at its twentieth session, June 1947.

The Bishops:

A. H. Legg (ex-Congregationalist)	to	South Travancore
C. K. Jacob (ex-Anglican)	in	Central Travancore
T. G. Stuart Smith (ex-Anglican)	to	North Travancore, Cochin and Malabar[a]
G. T. Selwyn (ex-Anglican)	in	Tinnevelly
J. E. L. Newbigin (ex-Presbyterian)	to	Madura and Ramnad
S. Kulandran (ex-Congregationalist)	to	Jaffna
E. B. Thorp (ex-Methodist)	to	Trichinopoly
A. M. Hollis (ex-Anglican)	in	Madras
P. Gurushanta (ex-Methodist)	to	Mysore
F. Whittaker (ex-Methodist)	to	Hyderabad (Medak)[b]
A. B. Elliott (ex-Anglican)	in	Dornakal
Y. Mutyalu (ex-Anglican)	in	Kistna and Godavari
Bunyan Joseph (ex-Anglican)	to	Kurnool and Anantapur[c]
H. Sumitra (ex-Congregationalist)	to	Cuddapah and Chittoor[c]
H. Pakenham-Walsh (ex-Anglican)		no diocese

Of the fourteen diocesan bishops, six were Indians, eight British. Seven of the bishops were ex-Anglicans, three ex-Congregationalists, three ex-Methodists, and one ex-Presbyterian. About half of these "godly and well-learned persons" had at some time or other been theological tutors: Hollis (Tirumarayur, Tinnevelly), C. K. Jacob (Bishop's College, Calcutta), Bunyan Joseph (Dornakal and Giddalur), Stuart Smith (Ridley Hall and Kottayam), Sumitra (United

(*a*) Now the diocese of North Kerala. (*b*) Now the diocese of Medak.
(*c*) Now combined in the diocese of Rayalaseema.

Theological College, Bangalore), Whittaker (Didsbury). Thorp was son of one of the foremost theological teachers that South India had had (W. H. Thorp of Bangalore). Newbigin was to become one of the leading theological thinkers in the ecumenical movement. Kulandran is regarded in South India as "one of our foremost theologians".[7] Most of them had long experience in evangelism and church administration. From 1912 Elliott and Selwyn had served as faithful missionaries in the dioceses of which they were bishops.

Three had long records as Joint Committee members, H. Sumitra from 1920, P. Gurushanta from 1925 and F. Whittaker from 1932. As we have seen, Hollis, Newbigin and Legg played a role in the very last years of the negotiations. But generally speaking, the episcopal bench was composed of new men who were to break new ground. The old generation of Azariah and Waller, Gulliford and Rangaramanujam, Maclean and Banninga and Meshach Peter was gone. The new leaders were to enter into their labours.

History comes to life when the Inauguration Service of the Church is considered. The setting was significant: St. George's Cathedral, Madras, named after the patron saint of England; built in 1815 on Indian soil but with the approval of the British Directors of the East India Company, consecrated in 1816 by Bishop Middleton; the service taking place in 1947, the year of political liberation. The Presiding Bishop was Cherakarottu Korula Jacob, Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Travancore and Cochin, himself belonging to a Syrian family which for centuries had worshipped Christ in Travancore. The church history of the West was also present: in the representatives of the uniting churches and of the missionary societies, and in the visitors from other churches.

The history of twenty-eight years of negotiations reached its climax in the dramatic moment of Inauguration. The five Anglican bishops, having publicly accepted the Basis of Union and the Constitution, were commissioned by a S.I.U.C. and a Methodist presbyter "to exercise the office of bishop in all the congregations of all Church Councils of the S.I.U.C. [the South India Province of the Methodist Church]". History was made as Bishop Jacob uttered the solemn Declaration:

Dearly beloved brethren . . . I do hereby declare that these three Churches, namely:

the Madras, Travancore and Cochin, Tinnevelly, and Dornakal Dioceses of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon;

the Madras, Madura, Malabar, Jaffna, Kannada, Telugu and Travancore Church Councils of the South India United Church; and

the Methodist Church in South India, comprising the Madras, Trichinopoly, Hyderabad and Mysore Districts;

are become one CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA, and that those Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons and Probationers who have assented to the Basis of Union and accepted the Constitution of the Church of South India, whose names are laid upon this Holy Table, are Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons of this Church: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. *Amen.*

The consecration of the new bishops also recalled the history of the negotiations. One of them had once been a definite "anti-sacerdotalist" opponent of the Scheme. In the course of the negotiations and through his experience in the Indian Church he had become one of the most effective interpreters of the meaning of Episcopacy. As he and his eight colleagues were consecrated, the form of the invocation of the Holy Spirit was that of the 1928 Prayer Book. And in the act of the laying on of hands on the bishops-elect there partook not only the Presiding Bishop with two brother bishops (Hollis and Selwyn) but also three presbyters from both the S.I.U.C. and the Methodist Church.

History was present that day, to be sure, because history had of necessity played a fundamental role in shaping the church. But at the same time the future was anticipated with its heavy responsibilities and immense opportunities. The end was a beginning—of a new chapter. "How long are we to persist in thinking and speaking of ourselves as ex-Anglican, ex-Methodist and ex-Congregationalist members of the Church of South India?" This was the question which a leading S.I.U.C. layman, Rajaiah D. Paul of Madura, put on the day of Inauguration. His reply was attuned to the spirit of those of Tranquebar 1919: "Let us gird up our loins and bend ourselves to the task of winning this land for Christ and of witnessing to His power."[8]

The Inauguration of Administrative Union.

September 27, 1947, represented the inauguration of *ecclesiastical* union. But there remained the inauguration of *administrative* union. Here again the name of J. S. M. Hooper has to be recalled. During the period leading up to the first meeting of the Synod of the Church of South India in March 1948, Hooper as Convener of the Continuation Committee had very wide powers, which he used in close co-operation with the bishops. The election of Bishop A. M. Hollis as the first Moderator of the Church of South India was important. Of great significance were the decisions by the Synod about the ecumenical and missionary outreach of the Church. The very fact of the Church of South India was a challenge to the other churches in India. In December 1947 the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India decided to give renewed attention to ecumenical problems, particularly with the Church of South India in view. The C.S.I. Synod felt that they should extend an invitation to wider union. "The same motives which have impelled us to come together in the Church of South India make us desire that all who are called by Christ's name within South India should be visibly one fellowship" (Hollis). The Lutherans and the Baptists responded to this call, and a series of exploratory discussions began. The Baptists soon withdrew, however, and the main interest in this expansion of the scope of the church lay with the response of the Lutherans.[9]

One of the most difficult administrative problems that the church had to tackle was the relationship with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and with those who after union referred to themselves as "continuing Anglicans". There was in fact not only an outreach by the church but also at least temporal withdrawal from the church.

It is not the place here to record the reaction of the S.P.G. to the Church of South India in 1947 and afterwards. Here Anglo-Catholic pressure set in with great determination and became decisive for the Society's policy, in spite of the defence of South India undertaken by leaders such as Bishop F. J.

Western. After prolonged discussion the Society decided in 1947 that the grants to the dioceses affected should cease from the end of that year; that missionaries and Indian clergy who became members of the C.S.I. should forgo their connexion with the Society from that date. Through the intervention of Dr. G. F. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, a South India Separate Account in aid of former S.P.G. missionaries and work in South India was organized.[10]

The stand of the S.P.G. affected the Nandyal area. Some twenty Anglican ministers in the Nandyal Archdeaconry of the former Diocese of Dornakal refused to enter the Church of South India. At least 25,000 out of a total of 44,000 Anglicans followed the lead of the "continuing Anglican" ministers. The situation caused difficulties in the first few years of the diocese. It attracted great attention in the religious press of Britain.[11]

From the beginning, the missionary outreach was regarded as a fundamental *raison d'être* of the church. The uniting churches had organized missionary societies of their own. This heritage was now by the first Synod brought together in the Synod Board of Missions.[12] Best known is probably the missionary legacy of the South India United Church in the Mission to Papua. The missionary outreach also included intensified evangelism in India itself.

EPILOGUE

In the lively debate to-day on South India, a debate which is not likely to subside quickly, one thing has been strangely overlooked, perhaps because it is so obvious. That is *the fact* of the Church of South India. In the twentieth century there have been many plans and proposals and schemes of reunion in the West and in the East. Statements untold have been made and unmade. Declarations have been given and shelved. The practical futility of some of these declarations and statements is a challenge to the whole of the Ecumenical Movement. Diplomatic declarations on the unity of the Church which seem to be not much more than diplomatic tend to be demoralizing in the long run. People ask whether all the talking

is perhaps merely a smoke-screen behind which the old trenches are being dug deeper still. In this setting the mere fact of the Church of South India is meaningful.

The meaning of that fact has to be read in the life of the Church itself. It can also be grasped through a study of some of the criticism launched against the Church of South India. Of all the counter-proposals to the approach chosen in South India perhaps the most interesting is that raised by the Derby Report of 1946. As the two points brought out are of wide general interest it is worth while to discuss them here.

The Committee was of the opinion that if the Scheme were still at its initial stage, or if it were possible to start afresh with a *tabula rasa*, it would have been desirable that its proposals should have been both (1) more India, and (2) more radical. The two points are defined in the following way:

"The Scheme as it now stands suggests too much an attempt to reconcile divergent Western traditions, instead of asking rather what form of faith and of Catholic order an indigenously Indian Church ought to be developing. If this latter procedure had been followed more thoroughly, it is indeed likely enough that the resulting Constitution proposed for the Church might have been much more strange, and perhaps even startling, to Christians in England than is the present Scheme even to those who dislike it most; but it might also have been a more authentic expression of truly Indian Christianity, though it must also be granted that the risk of the wrong kind of nationalism might of course be involved."

More radical the Scheme should also have been: "Instead of taking for granted the need to combine the 'contributions' of the Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Congregationalist traditions, its authors might in more radical fashion have sought to go behind and beneath all these to the form of the Church as it appears in the Bible and in the early centuries."[13]

As we have seen in this book, neither of these two points was new. The request for something "more Indian" had been raised before. The difficulty in this connexion was to say who was to decide the "Indian" character of the Scheme of Union. Obviously not a committee in the West, however well equipped. The Indians themselves were probably best judges on this point.

There was one definitely "Indian" alternative to the Scheme appearing in the years of negotiations. That was the *Christo Samaj* approach of P. Chenchiah, V. Chakkarai and D. M. Devasahayam.[14] But this did not attract wide attention from Indian Christians even in these years of the struggle for political liberation. In suggesting a "more Indian" Scheme of Union one should not forget that V. Santiago and V. S. Azariah were among those who shaped the South India Scheme. Both were endowed with vision and imagination and they found Indian forms for the worship and evangelism of the church. At the same time they were convinced that Church order could not be a matter of imagination but must of necessity spring from the tradition of the historical church. They were not charmed by the academic romanticism which thought out Indian forms in theory and *in vacuo*. In reading Indian Church history they discovered that the most "Indian" expression of church life that was ever designed, that of Robert de Nobili, the Jesuit, was all the same devised and realized within the framework of the Roman Catholic system. If Santiago and Azariah could have replied to the Derby Report, they would probably have said that their Scheme of Union was a framework based on the historical Church: within that framework Dravida Christians would find Dravida forms just because they were Indians.

With its second point the Derby Committee raised the most fundamental difficulties of all church union problems. The Scheme, they said, should have been "more radical", in that it ought to have been not simply "a kind of synthesis of the divergent post-Reformation traditions of the West" but an attempt "to submit themselves afresh, in the light of *new* knowledge, to the norm of the Church in the Bible and in the primitive period". The point is interesting, because one is given to understand by the Derby Report that this approach was one of which South India had never thought. In fact, as we have seen in this book, the early Church was almost invariably taken as the blueprint of the Church in South India. That is, of course, the theme and the thesis of our account. Palmer and Bartlet, Waller and Banninga, Azariah and C. J. Lucas and J. A. Jacob and, in his way, Streckeisen, were all, according to their

interpretation of the Bible and of the early Church, interested in building the ancient church in new India.

Undoubtedly the Derby Report is right in that the idea of addition of heritages, into an "episcopresbygational" blend, tended to become dominant. In the nature of things this method was one which most easily commended itself to the co-operative efforts of a committee and inspired the immediate confidence of the churches concerned in India and in the West. Those who looked further afield and resolutely placed themselves, long before Inauguration, into the Church-to-be, were not many. In this book we have referred to this method as a "thrust" into the Church of the Future. It must not be forgotten that this was the approach attempted also in South India, and attempted by some of the greatest leaders in the union movement.

In the last resort, the method of union and the approach to union become a matter of theology, or of theologies. Here we must consider the time-lag if we are to make a right judgment. There is a time-lag between the rapidly developing theology and the more slowly changing ecclesiastical and administrative machinery of the Church.

Tranquebar 1919 and the Lambeth Appeal to all Christian People of 1920 were the products of a particular trend in theology at that time, and the Scheme of Union which eventually took shape in South India as a matter of course reflected the theological ideas and idioms that were current. The slowly working machinery of union negotiations had of necessity to operate with the theology of 1920, which was that of Headlam, Streeter and Bartlet, *but also* that of Gore and C. H. Turner (cf. the role of Frank Weston at Lambeth 1920). In the period of negotiations (1920–47) Biblical theology in Britain, and in the West generally, was moving towards "orthodoxy" and focusing attention on the Church in the New Testament. There was a growing time-lag in these years between this new trend in Western theology and the meticulous negotiations in the Joint Committee on matters of church order and administration. Such a time-lag was inevitable. It always exists between idea and action, and it was bound to appear in an attempt to reconcile different traditions. In the case of South India one is even

struck by the fact that this time-lag was not more obvious than it actually became. That was E. J. Palmer's merit: his original cast in certain respects anticipated the theology of the 'forties. Within the framework of the Scheme, Anglican and non-episcopal theologians could find a common ground in the same "return to orthodoxy".

From this point of view of time-lag between theological idea and constitutional design another consideration is forced upon the student of church union negotiations: If such negotiations are to succeed, they must not be dragged on for too long. Union in South India has, of course, been criticized as being a rash decision of wild enthusiasts. A study of the actual historical facts is an antidote to such a judgment. If Inauguration had come fifteen years before 1947, not much harm would have been done, and the church would then have had the benefit of the active participation of some of the originators of the Scheme. Azariah died two years before the Inauguration. By faith he looked from afar into the Promised Land.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

(1) N. SMYTH & W. WALKER, *Approaches towards Church Unity*, pp. 52 ff.

(2) C. LANG & A. E. GARVIE, ed., *1662 and To-day*, 1938.

(3) A. P. STOKES, *Church and State in the United States*, I, p. 753. Cf. also the fine analysis by H. RICHARD NIEBUHR, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*: The Congregational Church in New England "by no means became a church of the frontier" (p. 152). It "has remained a church of established cities and towns. There it has found that type of educated middle class, . . . which feels at home in its atmosphere of highly respectable learning, doctrine, piety and ethics" (p. 154).

(4) This included six weeks in Madras and thereafter visits to Arcot, Vellore, Dornakal, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly, Nagercoil, Trivandrum, Kottayam, Coimbatore, Tirupputtur and Bangalore.

CHAPTER I

(1) R. LOVETT, *History of the London Missionary Society*, I, p. 21.

(1*a*) C. SMYTH, *Simeon and Church Order*, pp. 284, 290 and 294. Cf. also Y. BRILIOTH, *Three Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement*.

(2) R. W. DALE, *History of English Congregationalism*, p. 588.

(3) J. E. FLEMING, *A History of the Church in Scotland, 1875–1929*, p. 39. Cf. A. MARTIN, *Why We Are Presbyterians*.

(4) Cf. N. SMYTH, *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism*, and *idem*, *A Story of Church Unity*, and *Approaches towards Church Unity*.

(5) J. H. NEWMAN, *Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission*, 1833 (Tract I).

(6) J. A. DOUGLAS, in BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes*, pp. XI–XII.

(7) E. STOCK, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, III and IV; L. E. BINNS, *The Evangelical Movement in the English Church*.

(7*a*) There were "monochrome" Christian communities, areas where one denomination alone represented the Christian Church. The Anglican diocese of Tinnevelly and the Methodist district of Hyderabad were outstanding examples of this type of region. But there were many "polychrome" areas: in and around the cities which were gravitation points of a constant population movement—Madras, Trichinopoly, Madura, Coimbatore. This polychrome character also prevailed in certain rural areas. One example was the Mala community in Telugu, where during a hundred years the

L.M.S. and the S.P.G. had worked alongside each other in the Cuddapah, Kurnool, Gooty and Anantapur districts. This was the case also in other mass movement areas such as Coimbatore, where Methodist, L.M.S. and Lutheran converts from Dharapuram, Erode and Palladam respectively were brought together by family ties. Intermarriage between the two Christian groups within the same Mala community was frequent. In the Telugu area S.P.G. and L.M.S. teachers and catechists joined together in annual meetings, e.g. on the occasion of *Tirunala* (Harvest Festival). On the other hand, geographical proximity did not necessarily produce ecclesiastical co-operation. It could result in friction, irritation and estrangement.

(8) Y. BRILIOTH, *Anglican Revival*; J. MCLEOD CAMPBELL, *Christian History in the Making*; J. W. C. WAND (ed.), *The Anglican Communion, A Survey*; E. R. MORGAN & R. LLOYD, *The Mission of the Anglican Communion*; H. P. THOMPSON, *Into All Lands*; H. J. CNATTINGIUS, *Bishops and Societies*; G. J. SLOSSER, *Christian Unity*.

(9) R. DAVIDSON (ed.), *The Six Lambeth Conferences*; L. A. HASELMAYER, *Lambeth and Unity*.

(10) *Report of the General Missionary Conference, held at Allahabad, 1872–73*, pp. 300 ff.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 305.

(12) SIR BARTLE FRERE, *Indian Missions*, London, 1874: "Many a man whose existence has been embittered by the internal discords of Christendom may learn in mission work how all-important are the points in which all Christians are agreed; how comparatively trifling are the questions which often, in this country, divide us from each other."

(13) L. B. DAY, *Desirableness and Practicality of Organizing a National Church in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1870.

(14) [ANONYMOUS], "Christian Unity in Mission Work", *The Indian Evangelical Review*, Jan. 1876, No. 11, p. 365.

(15) *Ibid.*, pp. 353 and 369. Church divisions, according to this writer, were healthy signs of "that mental awakening and activity which is inseparable from vital religion".

(16) See [*Report of*] *The Missionary Conference: South India and Ceylon, 1879*, I–II.

(17) *Ibid.*, I. J. CHAMBERLAIN, "Relation of Foreign Societies to Native Churches", p. 326.

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 324.

(19) *Ibid.*, J. DUTHIE's paper "Present Condition of the Native Church in South India, and Indians of Progress", pp. 270 ff.

(20) *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World*, London, 1888, p. 476. Cf. E. STOCK in *The Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion, 1894*, [*Report of*], p. 178, who says in regard to other churches: "Do they not read the same Scriptures, sing the same hymns, and use practically the same language in their prayers? Let our theories be what

they may. Let us face facts." Other books of the same character are S. W. O'NEILL, *Christian Unity*, 1879, and R. BRUCE, *Apostolic Order and Unity*, Edinburgh, 1903 (see p. VII). Bruce was a C.M.S. missionary in Punjab 1858–93.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 400. Bishop E. Sargent and Rev. A. H. Arden (C.M.S., Madras) explained the church council system with its planned gradual devolution to the Indian church (*ibid.*, p. 399). Dr. L. R. Scudder, of the American Arcot Mission, warned that the missionary withdrawal might be too rapid.

(22) *Report of the 2nd Decennial Missionary Conference held at Calcutta*, p. 256.

(23) *A Collection of Papers Connected with the Movement of the National Church of India (Madras)*, 1893.

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 144.

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 110.

(26) *Ibid.*, p. 191.

(27) See *ibid.*, pp. 37, 49 and 55.

(28) Cf. *The Missionary Controversy: Discussion, Evidence and Report*, 1890, p. 82. See H. Lunn's own version of the crisis, in his *Chapters From My Life*, pp. 88 ff. Cf. also *The Life of Hugh Price Hughes*, pp. 300 ff.

(29) [*Report of the*] *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York, 1900*, Vol. I., p. 251.

(30) The figures represent the statistical returns for 1898 (*Report of the South Indian Missionary Conference, 1900*, pp. 99 ff.).

(31) Cf. *Report of the Edinburgh Conference, 1910*, VIII, pp. 32 ff., and the Rules of the S.I.M.A. (*ibid.*, pp. 155 ff.).

(32) Cf. N. C. SARGANT, *The Dispersion of the Tamil Church*, pp. 79 ff.; ed. J. S. PONNIAH, *The Christian Community of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly*, pp. 63 ff.; and M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM, *A Study of Emigration in Relation to the Life of the Tinnevelly Church*.

(33) Interview with Rev. Samuel Joseph, Feb. 1951.

(34) *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order, held at Edinburgh, 1937*, pp. 101–03.

(35) D. L. JOSHI, "A Call to Indian Christians", *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, March 1906, p. 195.

(36) C. P. SHEDD, *Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements*, p. 365; D. F. EBRIGHT, *The National Missionary Society of India*, p. 57.

(37) *The Young Men of India*, March 1904, and EBRIGHT, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Azariah became Secretary of the S.V.M. in 1895.

(38) EBRIGHT, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff., has analysed the transition from the one movement to the other, under the influence of the 1905 wave of Nationalism. He also points out that "the N.M.S. office was in the Madras Y.M.C.A. building; and so were the S.V.M. headquarters. The N.M.S. officers were likewise the officers of the S.V.M." For these two movements I follow the account in Ebright.

(39) Azariah has related the beginnings of this endeavour in his article "The Indian Missionary Society of Tinnevelly", *Harvest Field*, Jan. 1905, pp. 117 ff. He mentions there that the idea of an indigenous society had been with the Tinnevelly Christians since 1897. He attributes the response given to the appeal, to the "great change" which had come to "the C.M.S. Church in Tinnevelly", by revivalist methods for the deepening of the spiritual life.

(40) Thus AZARIAH, *ibid.*, p. 26.

(41) EBRIGHT, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

(42) *Ibid.*, pp. 126 ff.

CHAPTER II

(1) *Conference*, May 1904, p. 22.

(2) J. H. MACLEAN, "The South India United Church", *ibid.*, Feb. 1903, p. 12.

(3) *Report of the South India Missionary Conference held at Madras, Jan. 2–5, 1900*, p. 70.

(3*a*) Interviews in 1950 with Rev. Meshach Peter and Miss Charlotte Wyckoff, Madras.

(4) Cf. *Proceedings of Joint Committee of the Church of Scotland, Free Church of Scotland and American Arcot Mission regarding . . . Union of Native Congregations*, 1900, pp. 5 ff. See also Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee, Free Church of Scotland Minutes, 8.5.1900, and *Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church held at Edinburgh, May 1900*, p. 255. See also U.F.C.S. Foreign Mission Committee Minutes, 20.11.1900. The matter has been described by J. H. MACLEAN, *loc. cit.*, and J. MORRISON, "Presbyterian Union in India", *Indian Evangelical Review*, Jan. 1902, pp. 344–45.

(5) *Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, 1910*, VIII, pp. 88 ff.

(6) See K. L. PARKER, *The Development of the United Church of Northern India*, p. 152.

(7) The clause was introduced on the insistence of the U.F.C.S. Foreign Mission Committee, Minutes 25.6.1901.

(8) J. H. MACLEAN, *Conference*, Feb. 1903, p. 14. J. H. Maclean (1868–1944): arrived in India 1895; retired in 1939. See article in *Other Lands*, Jan. 1945, pp. 25 ff.

(9) K. L. PARKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff. and 150 ff.

(10) J. CHAMBERLAIN, in his *The Kingdom in India*, p. 271. Cf. J. H. WYCKOFF, "Presbyterian Union in India", *Harvest Field*, Jan. 1902.

(11) K. L. PARKER, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff., has elaborately shown the influence of the South India Presbyterian group in framing the Confession of Faith. Cf. J. A. Graham's report in *Alliance of the Reformed Churches, Eighth General Council, Liverpool, 1904, Report*, pp. 195 ff.

(12) *Presbyterian Alliance in India, Proceedings*, Dec. 1904, pp. 20 ff. A

leading part in the Presbyterian union movement was taken by members of the Scudder family, who had played such a big part in the building up of the (American Dutch Reformed) Arcot Mission. Cf. M. P. JEFFERY, *Dr. Ida: India, the Life Story of Ida Scudder*, pp. 30 ff.

(13) *U.F.C.S. Fifth Report on Foreign Missions* (printed 1904), submitted to the General Assembly, May 1905, p. 13. Frank Ashcroft in Rajputana, later Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee, was critical of the insistence on Presbyterianism in India: "It seems to me a mistake to insist too strongly upon Presbyterian ways among a people who lack altogether Scotch character" (*Conference*, Dec. 1901, pp. 23 ff.). J. M. Macphail, editor of *Conference*, felt that the union in India would be of value to Scotland: "*Ex oriente lux*. Has not the reunion of Scottish Presbyterianism begun in India?"

(14) Maurice Phillips (1838–1911), of South Wales arrived in South India 1862, did mission work at Salem, Coimbatore, and from 1884 in Madras. For many years connected with the Christian Literature Society and the Tract Society in Madras, Delegate to the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York, 1900 (cf. *Report* Vol. I, pp. 57 and 508, and Vol. II, p. 74). Retired in 1908 (*L.M.S. Register of Missionaries, 1796–1923*, p. 77).

(15) S.I.D.C. Conference Minutes, 10.1 and 19.1.1899, L.M.S. Phillips gave an address on "Native Pastorates". A sub-committee of which Phillips was the convener drew up a scheme for United Councils.

(16) *L.M.S., The One Hundred and Eighth Report*, 1903, p. 196.

(17) Printed *Constitution for a Church Union*, Nagercoil, 1903. Cf. A. T. S. JAMES, *Twenty-Five years of the L.M.S., 1895–1920*, p. 40.

(18) A. Parker, 4.6.1905, to Thompson (L.M.S., Eastern); "The laymen are more keen on the Union business than the pastors. The latter, dear good slow old souls, love the old system where the pastor brought all his woes to the District missionary and prayed for an "Order" to settle the dispute (and his opponent) for ever."

(19) The L.M.S. Home Board accepted the plan 14.3.1905 (Directors' Minute Book, 1904–07). A special committee which had to revise the Society's field of labour took the union to be only for educational purposes (Minutes, Meeting of Directors 11.7.1905, *ibid.*). J. P. Cotelingam, 28.12.1905, informed R. W. Thompson that this was not correct (L.M.S., Eastern).

(20) J. Duthie (1833–1908), missionary in India from 1856. His main work in Nagercoil in South Travancore (*L.M.S. Register of Missionaries*, p. 70).

(21) Cf. B. LUCAS, "The Church and the Kingdom", *Harvest Field*, Aug. 1903, pp. 285 ff., and "The Adaptation of Western Christianity to India", *ibid.*, July 1904, pp. 249 ff. In the latter article he expressed his regret at "the utter absence of any genuine heresy" in the Church in India. "Let us pray for and I would certainly say, let us welcome, a little genuine

heresy", and "welcome the Indian Christian, to whom Episcopacy is nothing nor Independency . . . but does follow Christ and is filled with His Spirit." That Creed begins: We believe in one God, the source of all that is, and the Divine Father of all men:—in Jesus Christ the Divine Revealer of the Father: and in the Holy Spirit, the Divine Presence of the Father in the human soul. We believe that all men partake of the divine nature, and are therefore brethren. . . .

(22) So B. LUCAS, in *Report, First General Assembly*, p. 13: "We are no longer Trinitarians or Unitarians, Protestant or Reformist, Churchmen or Dissenters, for we are . . . brothers . . . of the Lord Jesus Christ." Cf. PAUL DANIEL (Indian minister, Travancore), *ibid.*, p. 67: "The words Government and Church, to my mind, convey ideas that repel each other. For Government implies authority; whereas the idea underlying the word Church is the bond of brotherhood."

(23) *U.C. Herald*, March 1920, p. 597.

(24) J. H. MACLEAN, "Church Union in South India", *Harvest Field*, Jan. 1908, pp. 25 f.

(25) J. Duthie's and J. S. Chandler's remarks from their addresses quoted in *First General Assembly of . . . L.M.S. and Madura Mission, July 1905*, pp. 24 and 20.

(26) A. Parker (cf. *Register of L.M.S. Missionaries*, p. 119) wrote to the L.M.S., 4.6.1905: "Our chief trouble will be as of old with Creed and Confessions and subscriptions to them. Our Scotch brethren seem still inordinately fond of these things which we have not, only an inherited antipathy to them for ourselves. But we feel we ought to save the infant Churches of India from the swaddling bands which tend to become too tight for lusty youth."

(27) J. H. MACLEAN, *Harvest Field*, Jan. 1908, p. 26.

(28) G. E. PHILLIPS, "The History of the South India United Church", in *Handbook of the S.I.U.C.*, p. 2.

(29) PHILLIPS, *ibid.*, p. 3.

(30) *Report, S.I.U.C. First General Assembly, 1908*, p. 50: W. A. Wilson, representing the Presbyterian Church in India, stressed a different aspect: "A united Indian Church would appeal to non-Christians in a way that divided churches cannot do." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 9, and cf. also PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

(31) G. E. Phillips wrote an important letter on this problem to the Foreign Secretary of the L.M.S., R. W. Thompson (26.11.1908, L.M.S., Eastern). He admitted that "frankly, missionaries originated this thing. . . . There is no indication that the Indian Christians would have brought this about if left to themselves." But Phillips is warning against the idea which Thompson seemingly had formed that "we have only to leave the native church to itself for it to develop in a true indigenous fashion". Missionary guidance was needed but the real significance of the union lay in the fact "that the missionaries have entered into this as an act of *self-extinction* for

the very purpose that the Church may not grow up in European fashion on the lines of Western denominationalism".

(32) J. P. JONES, "Church Union in South India, Its Need and Prospects", *Harvest Field*, Nov. 1907, p. 427.

(33) Cf. *U.F.C.S. Eighth Report on Foreign Missions*, (1907), pp. 8 ff., and *The Missionary Record of the U.F.C.S.*, 1908, p. 216.

(34) Thus J. M. MACPHAIL, in *Conference*, Feb. 1908, p. 80. He suggested that in the new circumstances North Indian Presbyterians should bring about union with Congregationalists in the north. He foresaw no inherent difficulties in such union: "Many of us belong to paper presbyteries but in our methods of church government are frankly, perhaps inevitably, congregational."

(35) J. H. MACLEAN, in *Conference*, May 1908, p. 35.

(36) So, e.g., the Kanarese church council (of L.M.S.) 29.4.1907 statement to the South India District Council of C.M.S. (L.M.S. 1907, Eastern). B. Lucas of Bellary was the leading missionary in the Kanarese area. This council opposed "a merely nominal union embracing all India".

(37) *Report, First General Assembly, 1908*, p. 71. The Arcot and Madras Presbyteries had some 6,000 each, the rest were Congregationalist (Travancore 74,000, Cuddapah, etc., and Madras 30,000, and Madura 20,000).

(38) *Ibid.*, p. 4. The same Congregationalist influence is to be seen in another explanatory note, saying that the S.I.U.C. "reserves to itself the right to revise its general confession of faith whenever the consensus of opinion of the United Body demands it".

(39) J. M. Russel, of Madras, mentioned this to the General Assembly of his home church: "Though we have given up the term 'presbytery' and speak instead of church councils, in organization and government the church is essentially presbyterian (Applause)" (*U.F.C.S. Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly*, 1909, p. 83).

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(41) W. F. Hatch, 28.7.1907, to R. W. Thompson (L.M.S., Eastern).

(42) Members of the first committee on union were J. H. Maclean, J. H. Hacker, and J. P. Cotelingam, K. T. Paul and S. Joseph (*Report, First General Assembly, 1908*, p. 47). Maclean corresponded with representatives of the Wesleyan and the Episcopal Methodists, with Friends' Missions, the American Marathi Mission, "The Christian Mission" and the "Christian and Missionary Alliance" (*Report, Second General Assembly, 1909*, p. 16).

(43) *Ibid.*, pp. 20 f.

(44) N. MACNICOL, "Federation and Union", *Harvest Field*, Aug. 1909, pp. 46 f.

(45) *The One Hundred and Fourteenth Report of the L.M.S.*, 1909, p. 1, expressed regret at this refusal to join the S.I.U.C., a refusal caused by "misconceptions concerning the meaning of Congregationalism, and of the nature of this church union". Cf. also *S.I.U.C. General Assembly Report, 1909*, p. 9.

(46) *Handbook of the South India United Church*, Madras 1918, p. 20.

(47) W. W. Stephenson, April 1910, Secretarial Report to Thompson, (L.M.S., Eastern).

(48) T. M. Rajaratnam, 26.5.1910, to the Directors of the L.M.S. (L.M.S., Eastern).

(49) *The One Hundred and Eighteenth Report of the L.M.S.*, 1913, p. 146.

(50) *The One Hundred and Twentieth Report of the L.M.S.*, 1915, p. 101. An interesting sidelight on the conditions in Madras is thrown by the information that Devadasen, in order to demonstrate his opposition to the L.M.S., secretly applied to the Bishop of Madras to become an Anglican. G. E. Phillips, 7.9.1910, to Thompson, and R. J. Bowen, 17.9.1910, to *idem* (L.M.S., Eastern).

(51) *Harvest Field*, April 1910, p. 127. Cf. F. Lenwood, 2.1.1913, to C. F. Angus (L.M.S., India, Madras copy).

(52) *The Continuation Committee Conference in Asia, 1912–1913*, p. 107.

(53) K. T. PAUL, *Indian Leadership in Mission and Church*, Madras, 1918.

(54) H. A. Popley, 26.12.1917 and 27.10.1918, to F. Lenwood (L.M.S., Eastern).

(55) Stringfellow, 11.11.1919, to F. Lenwood, Telugu Missionary Conference (L.M.S., Eastern).

(56) Among those who took part in this Kodaikanal meeting were Eddy, V. Santiago, Samuel Joseph and E. S. Carr (interview with S. Joseph, Feb. 1951). Carr followed up the Kodaikanal contact by being present as a visitor at the Second General Assembly of the S.I.U.C., at Trivandrum, in Dec. 1909. The Rev. M. D. Wardrop, chaplain of the Anglican Church at Trivandrum, also attended the Assembly. Carr and Wardrop became "Corresponding Members" of the Assembly (*Minutes of the Second General Assembly, 1909*, p. 8). Samuel Joseph was a leading S.I.U.C. minister in the Madura district. Characteristically he originated from Tinnevelly, where his father was an Anglican catechist. V. S. Azariah was S. Joseph's cousin. They both came from Mengnanapuram. Cf. C. S. VAUGHAN, "The Effect of Union on the Basis of the Proposed Scheme in the Madura Area", *Church Union News and Views*, March 1932, p. 192.

CHAPTER III

(1) *The Proceedings of the C.M.S., 1901–1902*, p. 278.

(1*a*) *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, p. 63. In ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Tinnevelly was still at this time under the Bishop of Madras. Bishops R. Caldwell and E. Sargent (from 1877) of Tinnevelly were Assistants of the Bishop of Madras. The question of the Anglican missionary episcopate in India has been treated with an abundance of material in E. STOCK, *History of the C.M.S.*, III, pp. 198 ff., and *passim*, W. F. FRANCE, *The Overseas Episcopate*; cf. also J. MCLEOD CAMPBELL, *Christian History in the Making*; H. CNATTINGIUS, *Bishops and Societies*. J. Richter has within a short

compass given a fine historical analysis of the problem in the chapter "Der anglikanische Episcopat", *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, pp. 381 ff.

(2) See A. CARMICHAEL, *Walker of Tinnevelly*, pp. 175, 230 ff. and *passim*. New edition of this book under the title: *This One Thing, Story of Walker of Tinnevelly*, 1950.

(3) See E. STOCK, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 492, where Stock discusses the important question whether the church council system as applied in India was really an implementation of Venn's ideas or not. Cf. W. D. CLARKE, "Our Native Church Council: An Experiment in Self-Government", *Harvest Field*, Nov. 1901.

(4) [ANONYMOUS], in *Harvest Field*, 1905, pp. 304 ff.: "South India Missionaries of the C.M.S.". Cf. *C.M.S. Regulations for Native Pastorate Committees . . . Tinnevelly 1896 and Telugu 1889*.

(5) Thus E. STOCK, *op. cit.*, III, p. 764. Vol. III of Stock's history was published in 1899. Stock expressed the hope that Whitehead would be able to co-operate with his evangelical clergy, however widely removed his personal views might be from those of the missionaries.

(6) The Tinnevelly C.M.S. Missionary Conference (Minutes 6.4.1901, C.M.S., India, 1901).

(7) On Whitehead's work in Calcutta, see G. LONGRIDGE, *A History of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta*, pp. 36 ff. In Calcutta Whitehead was disillusioned about the chances of evangelism: "He said at a meeting in Oxford in 1898: 'It sounded, perhaps, strange and contradictory to say so, but he would venture to say it was true that the main work of their Christian missions in India at present was not the conversion of the heathen, but the strengthening and building up of the Christian Church that already existed'" (*Oxford Mission to Calcutta, Quarterly Paper*, Jan. 1899, p. 93). Whitehead was to change his view completely on this point when coming to Madras.

(8) *Harvest Field*, June 1922, pp. 216 ff.

(9) Under the Bishop the two Anglican Societies were represented in Madras by one Secretary each, E. Sell for C.M.S. (from 1880) and G. H. Smith for S.P.G. (from 1897).

(10) H. WHITEHEAD, *Our Mission Policy in India*, p. 23. Cf. WHITEHEAD, "Higher Education in India", *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Jan. 1905, and *idem*, "The Progress of Christianity in India and Mission Strategy", *The East and the West*, 1907, pp. 21 ff. At the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908 Whitehead vigorously propounded the same view, but he had to put up with definite opposition from Bishop G. A. Lefroy, then of Lahore, and from H. Pakenham-Walsh (*Report, Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908*, Vol. V, pp. 150 ff.) "It is then at any rate open to reasonable doubt whether after all it is worth maintaining Missionary Colleges at a large cost in men and money, for the higher education of Indian Christians" (*ibid.* p. 23).

(11) The first letters on this theme, a subject to which later he consistently returned, are Whitehead, 21.10.1904, to Montgomery (S.P.G., Letters Received, Asia, Madras–Tinnevelly, 1904), and Whitehead, 3.2.1902, to C.M.S. (Durant), South India, 1905.

(12) Cf. *Report of the South India Missionary Conference, 1900.* C.M.S. was well represented by Canon Sell and sixteen others. Sell was appointed convener of the important committee on "The Native Church: Its Self-Support, its Self-Government and its Self-Propagation" (*ibid.*, p. 9).

(13) To the South India Missionary Association J. H. Sharrock wrote letters, which revealed the difference in the views on comity between his side and that of Protestant missionaries. He suggested that Anglican teachers from Tinnevelly employed by other missions should not be expected to attend their religious services "except quite voluntarily". The Church of England teaches, Sharrock contended, "that Non-conformity weakens the Church, and is opposed to our Lord's prayer for unity given in St. John 17" (*Harvest Field*, Oct, 1901, pp. 283 ff.). Cf. J. A. SHARROCK, *South Indian Missions*, especially pp. 278 ff. The Anglican's reference to "Non-conformity" brought a terse reply from an American of the Reformed Church, Dr. J. H. Wyckoff. Wyckoff, being American, did not carry history with him in the same sense as English missionaries of opposing schools (S.P.G.—L.M.S.). *He* was not in England in 1662, so to speak. Wyckoff says: "For Mr. Sharrock to intimate that this large company of devoted workers are opposing the unity for which Christ prayed, because they do not conform to his Church, would be laughable, if it were not so serious. The cool assumption of such a statement astonished those of us who come from other lands than England" (*Harvest Field*, 1901, pp. 389 ff.). A lively controversy followed upon these letters (*ibid.*, Oct. 1901).

Sharrock, J. A. (1854–1932): 1877 to Tinnevelly, Assistant to Bishop Caldwell; Supt. Missionary Cuddalore and Trichinopoly. Returned to Britain in 1910. Author of books on Tamil lyrics and of a Tamil hymn book. Wrote *South Indian Missions*, 1910, and *Musings of a Missionary*, 1921.

(14) Before the Conference an "Indian Churchman" wrote to the *Harvest Field*, protesting against Anglican missionaries taking part and urged the Bishop "to prevent the scandal of Anglican Clergymen mixing promiscuously with dissenters" (*Harvest Field*, Nov. 1902, p. 402).

(15) Pastoral Letter from the Bishops in Synod (1900) (Archives, Metropolitan's Office, Calcutta).

(16) Whitehead's address in *Report of the Fourth Decennial Indian Missionary Conference, Madras, Dec. 1902*, pp. 6–14.

(17) *Harvest Field*, Jan. 1903, p. 6, said editorially: "We have no hesitation in saying that of all the spiritual counsels addressed to the Decennial Conference the speech of the Bishop of Madras is likely to be best remembered and the most fruitful in good results. The spirit of his words brooded over all the sessions of the conference."

(18) So E. W. Thompson, one of the best missionary statesmen among Wesleyans in South India. Cf. his article "Churchmanship in India", *Harvest Field*, March 1903, p. 106. He there draws attention to the fact of the approximation between the societies: "The C.M.S. for instance in its scheme of Church Councils gives to the laity a larger voice in the administration of the affairs of the church than has yet been found possible at home;

the Congregationalists in their local committees practise a greater measure of mutual co-operation and subordination than the strict theory of independent congregations allows; while the Wesleyan Methodists have, without any attempt to disguise it, abandoned the itinerant system which still makes them singular among the churches of Great Britain."

(19) There were representatives of forty different missionary organizations on the Board (*Report, Decennial Conference, 1902*, pp. 161 f.).

(20) H. Whitehead, 17.2.1904, to Bishop H. H. Montgomery (S.P.G., Letters Received, Asia III, Madras–Tinnevelly, 1904): "The Bishops generally were not in favour of taking any part in the proposed court. Since I consented to take part in it, it has been proposed to very considerably extend the function of the court. Consequently I shall not now myself feel able to give it my support."

(21) Minutes of the Tinnevelly C.M.S. Missionary Conference, 11.2.1905 and 8.7.1905 (in C.M.S., South India, 1905). E. Sell had come to regard the Board of Arbitration "as a very unreal thing" (22.3.1905 and 16.8.1905 to C.M.S., South India (Durant), *ibid.*). He reported that the Baptists refused any kind of arbitration and that the Episcopal Methodists had also withdrawn. Cf. also *Harvest Field*, 1905, pp. 122 and 125.

(22) H. WHITEHEAD, "The Conversion of India", *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, 1907, p. 34.

(23) Thus in letters to Bishop Montgomery, 22.5.1907 and 5.2.1908 (S.P.G., Letters Received, Asia III, Madras–Tinnevelly, Volumes 1907 and 1908). Cf. H. WHITEHEAD, *Our Mission Policy in India*, p. 34.

(24) Cf. his visit to an L.M.S. mission station (*Madras Diocesan Magazine*, 1910, p. 278), and with the Syrian Christians (*ibid.*, 1910, pp. 160 ff.).

(25) A. CARMICHAEL, *Walker of Tinnevelly*, p. 340.

(26) Cf. narratives about such campaigns (*Proceedings of the C.M.S., 1907–1908*, pp. 169 ff.; *ibid., 1908–1909*, pp. 164 ff.).

(27) See memorandum of address by Mr. G. Sherwood Eddy at the General Committee (of C.M.S., Madras), 8.11.1904 (C.M.S., India, 1904): "He should like to bear testimony to the fact that as regards the spiritual life, the C.M.S. was distinctly the leader in India." Cf. an article by J. Stewart of U.F.C.S. on "Wanted—a Change of Policy in Foreign Missions", *Conference*, Aug. 1907, pp. 52 ff., where this Presbyterian singles out C.M.S. as the outstanding example to be followed in evangelism.

(28) From Whitehead's sermon in Hyderabad, *Harvest Field*, 1906, p. 124.

(29) *Harvest Field*, 1906, pp. 210 ff. (Sharrock), and p. 236 (J. H. Wyckoff's remarks).

(30) Thus H. GULLIFORD (Wesleyan) in *Harvest Field*, 1906, p. 203.

(31) Thus J. CHAMBERLAIN (Arcot Mission), *The Kingdom in India*, p. 264. It is in this book that Chamberlain uses the term "Episco-Presby-gational-Bapto-Methodist Church". In later discussions the term "Episcopresbygational" was sometimes used in order to lighten the burden of some intricate theological discussion.

(32) H. WHITEHEAD, "The Future of Christianity in India", in *Maaras Diocesan Magazine*, 1906 pp. 528 ff., and a précis in *Harvest Field*, 1906, pp. 445 f. The editor of *Harvest Field* disagreed with the argument about caste dangers. He pointed out that "it is within the Roman Catholic [Church] that caste distinctions are perpetuated without relaxation" (*ibid.*, 1906, p. 446).

(33) *Report, Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908*, Vol. VII, p. 79.

(34) Cf. E. CHATTERTON, *History of the Church of England in India*, pp. 338 f.

(35) H. MONTGOMERY, *Life and Letters of George Alfred Lefroy*, pp. 245 ff.

(36) C. J. GRIMES, *Towards an Indian Church*, p. 111.

(37) *Ibid.*, pp. 112 ff.: "The Synodical scheme for the Province of India in 1912/13 can best be regarded as an implementation for India of the decision of the first Lambeth Conference in regard to Synodical organization." Cf. also J. MCLEOD CAMPBELL, *Christian History in the Making*, p. 311.

(38) R. S. HEYWOOD, "Church Organization in Bombay", in the *Church Missionary Review*, 1912, pp. 339 ff.

(39) R. S. HEYWOOD, "The Desirability of Synods in India and the Limits of Authority", *ibid.*, pp. 343 ff.

(40) *Harvest Field*, Sept. 1911, p. 335.

(41) From a Bishop's Conference at Bangalore in July 1913, Whitehead writes to his wife: "Bombay did the lion's share of the work in the discussions on the Synodical Constitution. His legal mind is a great asset to us in dealing with what is largely a legal question." But Whitehead goes on: "He [Bishop Palmer] and I fought consistently on questions of principle from beginning to end. My main object during the final part of our discussions was to insist on the special circumstances of our Indian dioceses being taken into account and during the latter part to preserve the principle of liberty of thought and action and prevent the Province from being bound by legal bounds. Bombay is all for trying to make it impossible for the Province to alter any part of the declaration of doctrinal principles by legal enactment."

(42) Bishop Whitehead testified that the decision to make Azariah a bishop gave rise to "an extraordinary outburst of antagonism from many quarters" (J. Z. HODGE, *Bishop Azariah of Dornakal*, 1946, p. 20). To Bernard Lucas, Bishop Whitehead's plans for Azariah and for Dornakal were part of a much larger scheme: "It is part of a large scheme for the development of a well-planned system of Bishoprics throughout the Indian Empire with Archbishoprics at Calcutta and Madras. The Ecclesiastical authorities apparently assume that [the Church of England in India and the Indian Episcopal Church] are one Church, and on the strength of that assumption are planning for a State-recognized Episcopal Church throughout the whole of India. The true significance of the appointment of an Assistant to the Bishop of Madras, rather than the creation of a Missionary Bishop, is that the first is in harmony with this conception of a State-recognized Church while the second is not" (B. LUCAS, "The Position of the Anglican Church in India", *Harvest Field*, Sept. 1912, pp. 325 and 328). It was easy for Whitehead

to show that he was bound by the Act of Parliament of 1913 and that the same procedure of applying through the Government of India for a King's Mandate for the consecration of Azariah had been followed on former occasions, viz. for the European Bishops of Chota Nagpur and Tinnevelly. Whitehead says in his conciliatory way: "I agree with you that this state of things is undesirable, but it is one for which the Bishops are in no way responsible" (*Harvest Field*, Nov. 1912, p. 405). In a memo. to C.M.S. Bishop Whitehead had pointed out that while Azariah legally would be an assistant bishop, he would, by an arrangement between the Metropolitan and Whitehead, together with the Episcopal Synod, have assigned to him a definite area in the Telugu country, within which he would exercise full episcopal powers (WHITEHEAD, "Memorandum on the Proposed Arrangements for the Bishopric of Dornakal" 17.6.1912, C.M.S., South India, 1912).

Lucas replied in the *Harvest Field*, Nov. 4, 1912, pp. 406 ff., that Bishop Whitehead's statement "has entirely removed the suspicion as to the intentions of the Bishops in the matter", but he insisted that the incident raised wider issues of the relation between Church and State in India. A leading Indian Christian, A. C. Mukerji, in an article in the *Harvest Field*, April 1913, pp. 148–56, while praising the laudable step of consecrating an Indian Bishop, deplores his appointment through "the machinery of the Established Church of England, necessitating approval by the Government of India, the Parliament and so forth".

(43) See *Proposed Revised Constitution for the C.M.S. Central Church Council, Telugu Mission*, 1913.

(44) *Church Missionary Society: Telugu Mission*, Madras 1919.

(45) Bishop Waller in a letter to Canon E. Sell, 12.7.1919 (C.M.S., South India, 1919), points out that Azariah in his constitution has avoided the term "Rural Deanery" because he regarded the term as "too English", e.g. too much accompanied by connotations of English conditions. Instead, Azariah's constitution uses the term "Circle". Waller remarks dryly: "The word 'Circle' is one I loathe but if they want it, let them have it. 'Rural Deanery' is Latin and Greek Latinized, 'Circle' is Latin. But if 'Rural Deanery' is on that ground too 'English', I say nothing. My real point was that in subsequent diocesanizing a Rural Deanery is a well-known unit and a Circle is not." Azariah may, however, have had in mind another interest. He wished to use terms which would be understood by non-Anglicans after reunion. Cf. on the Telugu church council generally: A. F. R. BIRD, "Essays in Self-Government", *The East and the West*, Oct. 1919, pp. 332 ff.

(46) Bishop Acheson-Williams writes 3.5.1910, to Bishop H. H. Montgomery, General Secretary of the S.P.G.: "Since the beginning of this year, I have thrown more responsibility upon the *Indian* Clergy and placed them in charge of Districts, increasing their powers of administration and authority" (S.P.G., Letters Received, Asia, 1910, Madras–Tinnevelly).

(47) Cf. *Rules of the S.P.G. Local Church Committee of 1915, District Church*

Councils and Central Church Councils of the Diocese of Tinnevelly and Madura, printed draft in S.P.G., Madras, Letters Sent, Vol. 8, and *Constitution of the Diocesan Council of Tinnevelly, Ramnad and Madura*, Madras, 1919.

(48) In a letter to Langdale-Smith, Secretary of C.M.S., Bishop Waller explains the position in Tinnevelly church council (28.8.1916, C.M.S., South India, 1916). The Bishop's right to preside at council meetings seems to Waller to be a *sine qua non* of any diocesan organization worthy of the name. "At the same time the Bishop is given no such *ex officio* powers that there is any danger of 'prelacy'. . . . In practice I open the meeting sometimes and then resign the chair, or I ask the Chairman to preside throughout." "The election of their own representatives by the clergy is a small step towards a synodical system; and it gives the clergy a voice." Azariah was not so sure about this. He regarded the Tinnevelly draft of 1916 as too clerical and not giving the laity sufficient powers. His views were shared by Whitehead. Cf. Bishop Azariah, 21.9.1916, to Langdale-Smith, C.M.S., South India, 1916, and Whitehead, 23.11.1916, to Canon E. Sell, *ibid.*

(49) Waller to Bishop King, 18.6.1919 (S.P.G., Letters Received, Originals, Asia, India II).

(50) E. W. THOMPSON, *The Church Catholic and Free*, p. 35.

CHAPTER IV

(1) H. GRESFORD JONES, "Reunion East and West", in *Towards Reunion*, 1919, p. 325.

(2) *Edinburgh Conference Report*, VIII, pp. 87 and 115 ff.

(3) *Ibid.*, pp. 87 and 224 ff. Cf. also W. H. T. GAIRDNER, "*Edinburgh 1910*", *An Account and Interpretation of the World Missionary Conference*, pp. 178 ff.

(4) Some of those who had already taken a prominent part in the Federation discussion 1900–10, and who were to give a lead in the union movement in South India from 1910 onwards, had contributed important statements which were used or embodied in the report of the Conference (Vol. VIII, *Co-operation and Unity*). The list of correspondents to the commissions on co-operation and unity include the following names: The Bishop of Bombay, L. B. Chamberlain, J. S. Chandler, A. C. Clayton, James Cooling, H. Gulliford, J. H. Maclean, G. E. Phillips, John Stewart and E. H. Waller. They do not discuss the church union issue, only questions of co-operation and comity. It should be noted also in this connexion that Bishop E. S. Talbot, who took a prominent part in the discussions of the commission on union, had just then returned from a visit to India. Cf. G. STEPHENSON, *E. S. Talbot*, pp. 183 ff.

(5) G. S. Eddy, in an address on "The Demands on the Church by the Present Missionary Opportunity", emphasized the need for unity as the condition of success in the mission work. Azariah's address was, in the opinion of many, "the outstanding memory of Edinburgh 1910" (J. Z. HODGE, *Bishop Azariah of Dornakal*, p. 3). Cf. *Edinburgh Conference Report*, IX, pp. 306 ff.

(6) *Edinburgh Conference Report*, IX, pp. 319 ff.

(7) The role of Edinburgh for Bishop Brent's conception of a World Conference on Faith and Order has been pointed out by W. R. HOGG, *Ecumenical Foundations*, p. 133.

(8) I call this gathering "the unofficial Madras meeting on Faith and Order". It is sometimes referred to in letters and articles from this time as "a meeting in Bishop Whitehead's house", and there has been a great deal of vagueness about the actual date when it was held, whether it was in 1910 or 1911 or 1912. Whether any set papers were read on this occasion or not is difficult to ascertain. In the circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that certain important articles that appeared in *Harvest Field* and elsewhere in 1911 must be regarded as the outcome of this unofficial Madras meeting. I use Eddy's minutes and a letter from Bishop Pakenham-Walsh together with the articles from the *Harvest Field* and the *S.I.U.C. General Assembly Minutes* in order to recapitulate the meeting as far as possible. Without the articles and papers referred to, the later development is inexplicable.

(9) Bishop H. Pakenham-Walsh, 20.11.1947, to the author.

(10) R. T. DAVIDSON (ed.), *The Five Lambeth Conferences*, *passim*. Cf. the attitude of Lambeth 1908 to the Eastern churches (*ibid.*, pp. 424 ff.).

(11) Quoted after *Edinburgh Conference Report*, VIII, pp. 113 f.

(12) See H. WHITEHEAD, article in *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, Jan. 1911, pp. 42 f.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) Cf. his article "Some Problems of Unity", *Harvest Field*, Jan. 1911.

(15) *Ibid.* When approaching the problem of the historic episcopate, H. Pakenham-Walsh suggests a procedure which must have appeared as novel at the time: "It should be studied without partizanship; those who have it should study it from the point of view of those who have not and those who have not from the point of view of those who have." That is to say, the Anglicans should attempt to look at the problem from a non-episcopalian viewpoint, and *vice versa*. In such a case, Pakenham-Walsh contended, the non-episcopalians might not hold that episcopacy was of the *esse* of the church, but would at least agree that it was of the *bene esse* of the church, "as giving it the pastoral supervision which is primitive, apostolic and practically universal" (p. 27). The episcopalians on the other hand looking at the problem from the non-episcopalian side would discover that they could never expect the latter to accept "any rigid principle of Apostolic Succession or re-ordination by bishops. The question of the episcopacy in Union derives its importance also from the fact that they should not exclude the possibility of once bringing in Rome and the Eastern Church in such a reunion" (p. 29).

(16) *Report, First General Assembly of the S.I.U.C., 1909*, pp. 30 f.

(17) J. H. WYCKOFF, "The Indian Church", *Harvest Field*, April 1910, pp. 126 ff.

(18) "Some of us are familiar with the recent action of the Episcopal Congress in America in deciding to open their pulpits to non-episcopal ministers" (*ibid.*, p. 132). We might add that already in 1907 another of the American Congregationalists in South India, J. P. Jones, had drawn the attention of his fellow missionaries in South India both to the Lambeth Quadrilateral, and to the *rapprochement* between Presbyterians and Anglicans in Australia (J. P. JONES, "Church Union in South India, Its Needs and Prospects", *Harvest Field*, Nov. 1907, p. 421). Besides Newman Smyth's important books with their pleas for the acceptance of Episcopacy (see *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism*, especially pp. 155 and 161, cf. also his *A Story of Church Unity*, p. 72), there is another American book which also has been influential in South India at this time: C. A. Briggs' *Church Unity* discusses the value of the historic episcopate in terms which often are quoted verbally by G. S. Eddy and H. Whitehead, (cf. BRIGGS, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.). See also Briggs' discussion of Newman Smyth's thesis (BRIGGS, *op. cit.*, pp. 426 ff.).

(19) C. G. Marshall, L.M.S., kept this in mind and remembered it as an argument against the Tranquebar 1919 proposals: "There was 'the round table conference' in 1911, to which he (Whitehead) invited two S.I.U.C. Indian Christians and three or four American missionaries (but not a solitary British missionary!). Nothing came of this, but the seed was planted" (C. G. MARSHALL, "Church Union", *U. C. Herald*, Oct. 1919, p. 324). The meeting was held in 1910, not 1911.

(20) H. Pakenham-Walsh, letter, 20.11.1947, to the author.

(21) H. Pakenham-Walsh says (*ibid.*): "When [Eddy] first wrote inviting me, I said I was too busy, had such a lot of important engagements. He wrote indignantly that this was the most important engagement that could be conceived. . . . Eddy had to be away for a day or half a day and when he returned he found we had all dropped down several notes in our scale, and were thinking that the most we could hope for would be federation. He at once inspired us, or most of us again, to think in terms of *Union*."

(22) K. T. Paul read a paper at the Third General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. in 1911 where he endorsed the opinion of a L.M.S. missionary, T. E. Slater, who had said: "The very idea of nationality has come to the educated mind of India under the auspices of Christianity." The Y.M.C.A. leader K. T. Paul was anxious to define the Church "in the widest possible terms" and deprecated any attempt to understand it "merely as an ecclesiastic organization" (*Harvest Field*, Jan. 1912, p. 10). J. P. Cotelingam, Congregationalist Indian layman and educationalist, President of the S.I.U.C. for 1910 and 1911, wanted to give to the Indian Church "Indian" forms of expression. He rejoiced at the prospect that "the establishment of the National Missionary Society . . . is wakening up the *Swadeshi* spirit in the Indian Church". He elaborates this theme in his address on "*Swadeshi* and the South India United Church" (*Report, First General Assembly of the S.I.U.C., 1909*, pp. 48 f.).

(23) Minutes of meeting, cyclostyled, "Madras".

(24) This expression is a direct quotation from Bishop H. Whitehead's article in the *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, 1911, p. 43: "The crux of the situation has always been the Historic Episcopate." The Anglican bishop and the American missionary influenced each other considerably at this time. It is not always possible to decide which of the two in each case took the initiatory step. Eddy refers expressly to two articles by Whitehead in *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, Jan. and Feb. 1911.

(25) A. ANDREW, "An Indian National Church", *Harvest Field*, July, 1911, pp. 256 ff. He found Eddy's article "vague and general and somewhat academic". As for the episcopate of the early Church, Andrew claimed that episcopacy is "a late invention in the history of the Church". N. Macnicol opposed the "priestcraft" and "superstition" connotations of the episcopate (*ibid.*, Sept. 1911, p. 334). The editor of *Conference*, J. M. Macphail, warned against belief in organic union: "It is possible to have spiritual without organic union, and it is also possible to have organic union without spiritual unity" (*Conference*, Aug. 1911, pp. 41 f.).

(26) H. Gulliford, 11.10.1911, to Wm. Goudie (M.M.S., Mysore, 1908–12): "What we most want to find out is what the attitude of our men is on the question of union. Here in South India we must face it. We have gone so far that we cannot draw back."

(27) John R. Mott had secured J. H. Maclean as his adviser for the India Conferences. Mott wrote to Sir Andrew Fraser, 18.3.1912, and to F. Ashcroft, 4.4.1912 (U.F.C.S., "Madras", 1912), for the loan of Maclean. "I regard him as one of the wisest men in counsel with whom I am familiar. Moreover, he and I know each other intimately and could work together with thorough understanding and helpfulness." Cf. Maclean, 28.5.1912 (*ibid.*), accepting Mott's invitation. Maclean knew Mott from as early as 1894 when they met at Keswick and in Glasgow, where Maclean played an important role in the Student Volunteer Movement (B. MATHEWS, *John R. Mott, World Citizen*, pp. 112 f. and p. 130; see also TISSINGTON TATLOW, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement*, pp. 31 and 51 f.).

(28) J. H. Maclean had prepared the Conference by a short paper on "Co-operation and Church Union". He wrote an important article in the *International Review of Missions*, April 1912, dividing missionary opinion in South India into four different classes of opinion: (1) Those who care little for organic union and are content with "spiritual fellowship". (2) On the opposite side, but also against union: Romans, Higher Anglicans and Lutherans, "strict" Baptists and "Brethren". (3) The position maintained by moderate Anglicans, expressed in the formula which Palmer quoted from Archbishop Lang: "not compromise for the sake of peace, but comprehension for the sake of truth". (4) Some Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, who are ready for intercommunion immediately, but are above all interested in organic union.

(29) Bishop Whitehead had an opportunity of opposing the concept of comity: It "insists rather on the right of the individual or church than on the general interest of the Kingdom of God". Lucas "felt that comity did

not promote unity. Comity perpetuates differences" (*Harvest Field*, Dec. 1912, pp. 443 f., and W. E. S. HOLLAND, in *The Travancore and Cochin Diocesan Record*, Dec. 1912, p. 128).

(30) *The Travancore and Cochin Diocesan Record*, Dec. 1912, pp. 129 ff.

(31) *The Continuation Conferences in Asia, 1912–13*, p. 38.

(32) *Ibid.*, pp. 141 f.

(33) H. WHITEHEAD, "The Next Step Towards Unity", *Harvest Field*, Feb. 1913, pp. 45–51. A précis was published in *The International Review of Missions*, April 1913, pp. 367–68. W. E. S. Holland (in *The East and the West*, 1913, pp. 276 ff.) has vividly described the effect of Whitehead's passionate appeal for the adoption of the historic episcopate. The appeal created "a new atmosphere of hope, in which things appear possible that a year ago seemed beyond the range of practical politics".

(34) G. A. Lefroy had in preparation for the Episcopal Synod of 1908 sent the other bishops a confidential statement, the first paragraph of which is called "On Unity" (H. H. MONTGOMERY, *The Life and Letters of George Alfred Lefroy*, p. 174).

W. E. S. Holland described the Calcutta Conference in *The East and the West*, July 1913, pp. 270 ff. Lefroy and Whitehead had just become the two Anglican Representatives elected by the National Conference, Calcutta, for the Interim Committee preparing for the setting up of a National Mission Committee. Cf. *The Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia*, 1912/13, p. 140.

C. S. Copleston, as Metropolitan, supported the resolution on intercommunion passed by the Episcopal Synod in 1908. "The Synod fully shares the pain which is widely felt at the absence of intercommunion with many of our fellow Christians, in whose life and work the power of the Holy Spirit is so clearly manifested" (Resolution of the Episcopal Synod, 1908, The Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(35) Minutes of Episcopal Synod, 1912–13, Resolution 20, The Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta.

(36) H. WHITEHEAD, "The Significance of the Continuation Committee Conferences and their Conclusions", *International Review of Missions*, 1913, p. 275.

(37) B. LUCAS, "The Next Step Towards Unity", *Harvest Field*, March 1913, pp. 85–92.

(38) *Harvest Field*, Feb. 1913, p. 43.

(39) *Conference*, Feb. 1913, p. 2.

(40) *Church Times*, 28.3.1913, editorial: The Editor informs Bishop Whitehead: "Commission to minister is given, as our Article says, '*in* the congregation', not as the Swedish Lutheran Ordinal has it, '*by* the Congregation'. To this principle the Bishop of Madras appears to adhere."

(41) After a protest against the editorial of 28.3.1913 by A. Leigh-Lye (*Church Times*, 11.4.1913), the editor replied that his aim had been to show

that "Church unity is not a mechanical arrangement but vital and sacramental".

(42) A. C. MUKERJI, "The Movement towards Unity in the Indian Christian Church and the Ideal of a National Church", *Harvest Field*, April 1913, pp. 148 ff.

F. Lenwood warned Mukerji that even if the Europeans were to withdraw from India, the Church in India might still have its divisions (Lenwood, 7.3.1913, to Mukerji (copy), L.M.S., India: Church Union).

(43) Bishop Charles Gore, letter in *The Times*, 29.12.1913.

(44) See Frank Weston's two pamphlets: *Ecclesia Anglicana: For what does she stand?*, and *The Case against Kikuyu: A Study in Vital Principles*.

(45) Some of the fundamental documents in the Kikuyu controversy are to be found in Bishop J. J. Willis's article on "The Kikuyu Conference", in *Towards a United Church, 1913–1947*.

(46) See J. J. WILLIS, *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

(47) G. K. A. BELL, *Randall Davidson, Archbishop of Canterbury*, I, pp. 690 ff.

(48) J. J. WILLIS, *loc. cit.*, pp. 50–51, and G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 705 ff.

(49) See, for instance, the article by H. M. Gwatkin on "The Kikuyu Conference" in *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, May 1914, pp. 561 ff. H. Whitehead refers to the Kikuyu Controversy in *The Madras Diocesan Magazine*, 1914, p. 240: "It is a symptom of the same spirit of uncharitableness and unreasonableness and unwisdom that is driving so many Christian nations into a great war." One could add that B. H. Streeter's *Restatement and Reunion, A Study in First Principles*, which is a discussion, from the point of view of a New Testament scholar, of the Kikuyu issues (cf. *ibid.*, p. 83) was written after a visit to South India in 1913 (*ibid.*, Introduction, p. IX).

(50) H. Whitehead writes to his wife, 8.3.1913: "I have been reading the article on Authority in *Foundations*. I like it very much. It puts excellently the ideas that I roughly threw out in my address on Unity. I must try and get the people here to read it."

(51) H. Whitehead, 16.4.1913, to his wife. In the same letter he says: "I have been pondering to-day on the question, how to put to a candid and earnest non-conformist the necessity for the Historic Episcopate when one has admitted that the theory of the Apostolic succession cannot be proved by the facts of history."

(52) On 19.7.1913, Whitehead admits to himself that the chapter on Apostolic Succession "rather breaks the argument of the book as a whole, which leaves the theory of Ap. Succession an open question". It was not included in the book.

(53) H. Whitehead's sermons were printed in the *Baptist Missionary Review*, July, Aug. and Sept. 1913. After having received a sharp attack in the *Church Times* for his "olive branch" to the non-conformists, Whitehead writes to his wife that the appearance of his articles in a Baptist review "is rather quaint, the *Church Times* would say quite natural and significant". (30.6.1913). When Whitehead gave an address on the Mass

Movement to the missionaries assembled at Ootacamund the meeting had a Baptist chairman (Dr. D. Downie), who referred to Whitehead as "our Lord Bishop" (29.5.1913).

(54) E. A. L. Moore, The C.M.S. Divinity School, Madras, memo. dated 12.8.1913 (C.M.S., South India, 1913). Moore was Bishop of Travancore 1925–37.

(55) H. Whitehead, memorandum dated 3.4.1914 (C.M.S., South India, 1914).

(56) H. Whitehead, 29.11.1915, to Mrs. Whitehead.

(57) V. S. Azariah, 17.1.1916, to Mrs. Whitehead: "I must confess I feel absolutely blank in regard to your question *re* Y.W.C.A. From my experience of Y.M.C.A. work, I would answer No. The Y.M.C.A. is for places where there are more than one denomination. In villages they would only go and interfere with some church work already existing or some work which the local church ought to be doing."

(58) H. Whitehead to H. Montgomery, 28.4.1915 (S.P.G., Letters Received, Originals, Asia, India, II, 1915).

(59) Published in *The Mission Field, A Monthly Record of the S.P.G.*, May 1915, pp. 154 ff.

(60) Bishop H. Montgomery in circular letter to the Bishops of Madras, Dornakal and Tinnevelly, 25.9.1918 (S.P.G., Madras, Letters Sent, Volume 8).

(61) H. H. Montgomery, 4.1.1918, to H. Whitehead (copy in S.P.G., Letters Sent, Volume 8). In this respect Montgomery was obviously not in accord with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who in his pronouncement on the Kikuyu Controversy had declared the admission of non-episcopally ordained men into Anglican pulpits as "a matter of local and primarily of Diocesan administration" (G. K. A. BELL, *Randall Davidson*, I, p. 707).

(62) H. Montgomery was hesitant on this point. On the same day as the letter to H. Whitehead, he wrote a letter to Canon Smith, S.P.G. Secretary, Madras (S.P.G., Letters Sent, Volume 8). There he says: "It surely must be a question absolutely necessary for reference to the whole Province, and in this case to the Indian Episcopate, who should pronounce a collective opinion on it. Indeed, we are not sure whether even a Province has any right to make such arrangements without consultation with all other Provinces of the Anglican Communion. The world is a whispering gallery and everything that is done everywhere is at once announced in all other places." Montgomery did not wish the Kikuyu spirit to spread to the other side of the Indian Ocean. Montgomery's intervention on this point was probably caused by his concern about Whitehead individually.

(63) H. Whitehead 12.3.1918 to H. H. Montgomery, S.P.G. Letters Received (Originals) India, 1918.

(64) G. FINDLAY & W. HOLDSWORTH, *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, V, pp. 339 and 346. Cf. on Hyderabad Missionary Policy, *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, July 1902, pp. 207 ff. and *The Foreign Field of the Wesleyan Methodist Church*, Oct. 1906, pp. 20 ff.

(64*a*) Interview with J. S. M. Hooper, Sept. 1952.

(65) E. W. Thompson (*Harvest Field*, March 1903, pp. 103 ff.) wrote an important article on "Churchmanship in India", inspired by Whitehead's address at the Decennial Conference, 1902. He there advocates reunion, which "is much to be desired. The burden of proof lies with separation."

(66) Cf. C. H. MONAHAN, *Theophilus Subrahmanyam, The Story of a Pilgrimage*, pp. 78 ff.

(67) *Conference*, Nov. 1913, p. 8. Cf. *Harvest Field*, Dec. 1912, p. 447.

(67*a*) *Harvest Field*, Dec. 1912, p. 447.

(68) M. Edwards, *Methodism and England*, p. 9. Cf. W. J. Townsend and others, *A New History of Methodism*, pp. 379 ff.

(69) *Report Second General Assembly*, p. 15; *Third General Assembly*, 1911, p. 15.

(70) *Report Fifth General Assembly*, 1915, p. 22.

(71) E. W. Thompson, missionary in South India 1894–1919. In the situation in 1914 Thompson theologically followed A. E. J. Rawlinson's views in *Foundations*. In relation to the S.I.U.C. his own experience from the mission field in India had shown him "that something more needs to be done to enable the South India United Church to realize its own ideal". He was convinced that the "connexional principle or the government of the church by a central representative council" is not one which an Indian church can afford to neglect; it ought to be one of the gifts of Western to Eastern Christianity" (E. W. THOMPSON, "The South India United Church —the Possibility of Larger Union from a Wesleyan viewpoint", *Harvest Field*, Sept. 1914, pp. 338–44).

(72) *Harvest Field*, Nov. 1914, pp. 437–39.

(73) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1915*, p. 9; *Harvest Field*, June 1915, pp. 444 ff. At the Communion Service of the Assembly, W. H. Thorp assisted the President of the Assembly (*Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1915*, p. 10).

(74) *Ibid.*

(75) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1913*, p. 21.

(76) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1915*, p. 21.

(77) For the relations of the Basel Mission with the S.I.U.C. and subsequent union plans, see A. J. ARANGADEN, *Church Union in South India*, pp. 19 ff.

(78) A. J. ARANGADEN, *ibid.*, pp. 26 ff.

CHAPTER V

(1) H. A. Popley writes: "Mr. Eddy's letter concerning the wonderful meetings conducted in China in 1914 made a great impression in South India and first started the impulses towards the movement in this country (*Handbook for Workers in Evangelistic Campaigns in India*, 1917, p. 7).

(2) H. WHITEHEAD, "An Impending Avalanche", *Church Missionary Review*, June 1914, p. 344. On the L.M.S. side people like H. A. Popley had discovered that missionary institutions could be a danger and that evangelistic fervour in the work of the church was essential. F. Lenwood, too, was inclined to this point of view: "Above all I am in sympathy with the warning that institutional work is an octopus drawing support to itself all the while at the cost of the rest" (F. Lenwood, 20.11.1914, to H. A. Popley, copy in cardbox with Lenwood's letters, L.M.S.).

(3) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Fifth General Assembly, 1915*, p. 69.

(4) Letter from H. A. Popley to the author, 28.8.1947.

(5) H. A. POPLEY, *Suggestion for Workers*, Madras, 1914; 2nd edition 1917, called *Handbook for Workers in Evangelistic Campaigns in India.*

(6) H. A. Popley, 28.7.1947, to the author.

(7) In the first week of simultaneous evangelism, the workers engaged especially from the ranks of the S.I.U.C. numbered 7,926. Addresses were given in 371 towns and villages in the Tamil country and some 8,500 persons expressed a desire for further teaching and some 6,300 "a determination to follow Christ". Eddy (*International Review of Missions*, 1916, p. 271) refers to a report by H. A. Popley according to which in one week an army of 8,288 Christian workers were engaged in evangelism and reached in 3,814 towns and villages some 300,000 people. The results were estimated by Popley as "8,500 won to a desire to study the power and teaching of Christ and over 6,000 men and women to a determination to follow Him". The exact figures are quoted here, not because they are relevant as such to the question of the union movement, but because they reflect the attitude to Christian work taken by G. S. Eddy and H. A. Popley at this time. Cf. *U.C. Herald*, March 1914, pp. 367 f., March 1915, p. 500, May 1915, pp. 56 ff., and July 1915, pp. 47 f.

(8) F. Buchman was in South India in August 1915. H. A. Popley says of his "personal work": "He has been able to put this vital subject before us in a way that has never been done before" (*Minutes, S.I.U.C. Fifth General Assembly, 1915*, p. 71).

(9) The meetings arranged with the great singer-preacher of South India, Ayardurai Bagavathar, "a kind of John Macneill and Sankey rolled into one", are described as of great importance. H. A. Popley, 14.4.1916, to Hawkins (L.M.S., Eastern), and *idem*, "A Remarkable Campaign", *Missionary Review of the World*, 1917, p. 255.

(10) Two of the leading men from the "Madras unofficial meeting, 1910" worked together on these lines for the Syrian Churches: Bishop C. H. Gill of Travancore and Cochin writes to Wigram, 24.2.1916 (C.M.S., Travancore and Cochin, 1916): "Bishop Pakenham-Walsh was a great power and he and Eddy worked well together. I believe the conventions with their harmonious preparations and their vigorous 'following up' enterprises have given an enormous spiritual impetus to all the Churches here which I trust will be maintained."

(11) H. A. Popley describes the conference in 1916 (2.6.1916 to Hawkins,

L.M.S.): "We are just in the middle of a Conference of Indian leaders from the Tamil country and we have here with us men representing the different churches and missions in South India. We have been together for ten days, enjoying each other's fellowship and getting ideas from one another." On this particular occasion N. V. Tilak was one of the speakers.

(12) H. A. Popley says they were heard exclaiming: "We hear of men and women winning others in large numbers to discipleship to Christ. In our Church we see nothing of this. Let us go back and put it all to our congregations" (*The East and the West*, 1919, p. 139). The fact that this Tranquebar meeting was held in May 1918 has been ascertained by H. A. Popley in a letter to the author, 28.11.1947.

(13) In his report of the Evangelistic Committee of the S.I.U.C., H. A. Popley speaks of "a new sense of unity which has been created in the church. It is in this united campaign that the church has realized its unity. Travancore and Jaffna feel themselves to be one with us. Telugu and Tamil have come together as never before. In a certain town the S.I.U.C. churches which had never united in one committee have joined forces for the purpose of the campaign. The campaign is welding the church into one" (*Minutes, S.I.U.C. Fifth General Assembly, 1915*, p. 75).

(14) H. A. Popley writes, 15.4.1918, to F. Lenwood (L.M.S., Eastern) of his experiences in Barisal: "There are two types of work in Barisal, and both are needed in the evangelization of India. There is the quiet prayer life of the Oxford Mission and the enthusiastic organization of the Baptist Mission."

(15) H. A. POPLEY, "The Evangelistic Movement in the Indian Church", *The East and the West*, 1919, p. 141.

(15*a*) H. Whitehead, 27.2.1917 and 15.12.1917, to Mrs. Whitehead.

(16) H. A. Popley writes, 26.12.1917, to Lenwood (L.M.S., Eastern): "Another special reason for my continuance as a secretary of the campaign is that we expect Eddy here early in 1919 and in order to ensure that his work shall not be a mere flash in the pan it is necessary to thoroughly prepare for it. This will keep me busy all the time." Later (20.6.1918) Popley writes again to Lenwood about the same subject: "We are expecting Eddy to visit us here next year. It is not possible to foretell what next year will bring, but it is quite possible that we may have results far beyond our expectations." This statement proved to be prophetic.

(17) R. P. DUTT, *India To-day*, 1940, pp. 264 ff.

(18) The Editor, *Church Times*, 24.1.1913, became quite lyrical when visualizing the importance of the consecration of an Indian bishop: "He will not present Christianity as an alien religion but as the embodiment of eternal truth. The new prelate is no Europeanized *babu*, decked in borrowed plumes from Piccadilly and affecting for good or for evil the fashions of the Sahib. The establishment of the Indian Church will be near at hand."

(19) *National Missionary Intelligencer*, June 1911, p. 84.

(20) D. F. EBRIGHT, *The National Missionary Society*, pp. 146 f.

(21) [CHRISTO SAMAJ], *Memorandum on the further Development and Expansion of Christianity in India*, 1921, p. 1.

(22) D. F. EBRIGHT, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 f.

(23) A statement on the first Retreat, held in December 1917, appears in K. T. PAUL, "Indian Leadership in Mission and Church", *Young Men of India*, Aug. 1918. The missionaries present were J. Bittman and L. P. Larsen (both Danes), D. G. M. Leith, J. H. Maclean, J. E. Neill, L. R. Scudder. Among the Indians were P. Appaswamy, V. Chakkarai, P. Chenchiah, D. M. Devasahayam and S. Gnanaprakasam. On Larsen's role in this connexion see C. BINDSLEV, *L. P. Larsen*, pp. 237 ff.

(24) D. F. EBRIGHT, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 f.

(25) K. T. PAUL, "Church Union—a study in John XVII", *Harvest Field*, Dec. 1914, pp. 446–51. I quote some of the most significant phrases from this article: "In the land that is lamented as a land of divisions, it is very poor indeed to present the torn limbs of the Body of Christ. Sympathetic Indian thinkers from Keshab Chander Sen to Narayan Rao Chandavarkar have been painfully impressed by this fact. Unity is therefore doubly a duty in this country of India. In India, however, the heritage offered by the Churches might well be reviewed from the foundations and what would be considered great sacrifices by the West might well be made in the interest of realizing the unity which from spiritual and apologetic points of view is of unspeakable urgency." He goes on to show that this unity could be reached by stressing the value of the Indian heritage.

(26) H. A. POPLEY, *K. T. Paul*, pp. 47, 84 and 156, and *Minutes, S.I.U.C. General Assembly*, 1913, pp. 54 ff., and 1915, pp. 78 ff.

(27) *Harvest Field*, Nov. 1916, pp. 409–15: "Indian Christians living in cities and towns should sink all their accidental differences and traditional exclusiveness and combine into organized bodies and arrange their own worship, build their own churches as much as possible in their own Indian style and choose their own pastors and deacons. Christian truth can find its natural expression in Indian phraseology."

(28) B. LUCAS, "A National Church for India", *Harvest Field*, Jan. 1917, pp. 19 ff. Cf. H. Gulliford's appreciative remarks on Lucas's suggestion, pp. 4 f.

(29) J. NEHRU, *An Autobiography*, p. 75.

(30) M. K. GANDHI, *The Story of my Experiments with Truth*, II, p. 444.

(31) R. COUPLAND, *The Indian Problem, 1833–1935*, p. 73.

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 446. Cf. MAJUMDAR, ETC., *An Advanced History of India*, p. 959.

(33) J. S. HOYLAND, *The Case for India*, p. 27.

(34) C. F. ANDREWS-MUKHOPADHYAYA, *The Rise and Growth of the Congress*, pp. 290 ff.

(35) S. C. BOSE, *The Indian Struggle*, p. 84.

(36) (A. D. LINDSAY) *Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India*, p. 70. See also A. MAYHEW, *The Education of India*.

(37) J. NEHRU, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

(38) H. A. Popley, 24.8.1921, to F. Lenwood (L.M.S. Eastern 1921): "The other day I was in a native state. It was simply a delight to be in an atmosphere where the Englishman is not top dog. We had an awfully sympathetic audience who realized their own deficiencies in a way that would have been impossible in British India. I do hope that at any rate the Free Church leaders in England will take a definite stand on the question of self-government."

CHAPTER VI

(1) F. J. HALL, *Christian Reunion in Ecumenical Light*, p. 21.

(2) See G. K. A. BELL, *Documents 1916–1920*, pp. 15 ff., and G. J. SLOSSER, *Christian Unity*, p. 338.

(3) R. H. Gardiner, 1.4.1920, to H. Whitehead. Gardiner agrees with Whitehead's viewpoint about the evangelistic urge as a motive for unity: "We are altogether too apt to think of the question of unity from the theological and ecclesiastical and not the evangelistic point of view."

(4) From time to time information about the development of the Home Reunion problem appeared in *Harvest Field* and especially in *Madras Diocesan Magazine*.

(5) G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–9.

(6) The episcopate should reassume a constitutional form, both as regards the method of the election of the bishop as by clergy and people, and the method of government after election (Second Interim Report, in G. K. A. BELL, *ibid.*, p. 13).

(7) WOODS–WESTON–SMITH, *Lambeth and Reunion*, p. 35.

(8) G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

(9) *The Life of Hugh Price Hughes by his Daughter*, pp. 435 ff.

(10) J. H. SHAKESPEARE, *The Churches at the Cross-Roads*, p. 120.

(11) J. H. SHAKESPEARE, "Church Unity: Its Position and Outlook in England", *Constructive Quarterly*, 1919, p. 219.

(12) Cf. G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.

(13) A. E. Garvie as one of the Directors of the L.M.S. and a member of its India Committee was deeply interested in the South India Union. F. Lenwood, who with much consternation had seen A. E. Garvie, W. B. Selbie and J. D. Jones, ex-chairman of the Congregational Union, sign the Mansfield Resolutions, could report to B. Lucas that Garvie in the India Committee of L.M.S. in Oct. 1919 declared that union on Tranquebar terms was not possible (F. Lenwood, 30.10.1919, to B. Lucas, L.M.S., India: Church Union). Garvie had gathered in the discussions that Tranquebar meant re-ordination, and that went against a principle of his, "for which, if need be, I should be ready to die" (A. E. GARVIE, "A Congregationalist View of the Lambeth Appeal on Christian Reunion", *Constructive Quarterly*, 1920, p. 559). In his *Memories and Meanings of My*

Life, Garvie mentions that J. H. Maclean, of Conjeeveram, was one of his "most intimate friends" from his student years (*op. cit.*, p. 78).

(14) Cf. P. CARNEGIE SIMPSON, *After the Lambeth Joint Conferences*, p. 6.

(15) G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 f.

(16) G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 f. The Anglican members of the Second Mansfield Conference in a special covering letter to the English Diocesan Bishops interpreted "due authority" in the Anglican Church as being received through the imposition of the Bishop's hands.

(17) See TISSINGTON TATLOW, *The Story of the Student Christian Movement*, p. 463.

(18) Cf. the correspondence of F. Lenwood with Spencer, Kingsley Williams and others, in L.M.S.: General: Free Church Fellowship and L.M.S.: Archives; a correspondence which is of great importance for the knowledge of reunion discussions in student circles at this time. Cf. also R. C. WILSON, *Frank Lenwood*, pp. 31 ff. and 56 ff.

(19) *Report of Overseas Fellowship Meeting*, 18.6.1918 (L.M.S.: General: Free Church Fellowship). Cf. Anglican Fellowship, *Findings of the Commission on Intercommunion*, 7.9.1919, Dr. Hugh Martin's papers.

(20) B. H. STREETER, *Restatement and Reunion*, p. IX: "During the last twelve months a visit to India and Ceylon has given me the opportunity of some first-hand study of the material aspects of that problem, as it presents itself in the Mission Field." T. R. Glover, who, as we have seen, took part in the Forward Evangelistic campaign in South India in 1915–16, gave his perhaps best-known book, *The Jesus of History*, as a series of lectures in India (see *ibid.*, p. IX). It was another symptom of the ecumenical temper of the time that Archbishop Davidson wrote the Foreword to Glover's book.

(21) H. A. Popley's Reports, Letters 1–4 on the Eddy Campaign in L.M.S., Eastern.

(22) G. S. Eddy, 16.2.1919, Circular to "Dear Friends" (copy in L.M.S., Eastern).

(23) K. L. PARKER, "The Development of the United Church of Northern India", *Journal of the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, Sept.–Dec. 1936, p. 180. Represented at the Allahabad conference were S.I.U.C. (by H. A. Popley, who acted as one of the secretaries of the conference), the Presbyterian Church of India, the L.M.S. Churches of Benares and Bengal (represented by, among others, Professor S. J. Mukerji), and the Congregational Churches of Western India. See *United Church Herald*, July 1919, pp. 133 f.

J. J. Banninga, editor of *The S.I.U.C. Herald*, was hesitant about the Allahabad programme: "Do we want a 'united Church in India' at this time, especially one composed only of the Presbyterian and Congregational elements of the Church of Christ? Or do we want to develop more comprehensive local unions which shall include other bodies also before we proceed to the development of the all-India union?" Although Banninga says that much could be argued for both sides, it is obvious that already he is more for the "comprehensive local union", which Tranquebar did suggest.

(24) G. S. Eddy had not met Azariah since his consecration in 1912. He later said of his visit to Dornakal in 1919: "My weak faith was utterly rebuked" (EDDY, *Pathfinders of the World Missionary Crusade*, p. 148).

(25) G. S. EDDY, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 f. The context makes it almost certain that these general remarks were evoked by Eddy's visit in 1919 to Dornakal.

(26) H. A. Popley's Reports, Letter No. 4, dated 20.3.1919 (L.M.S., Eastern).

(27) J. A. JACOB, "Twenty-eight Momentous Years, 1919–1947", *First Quarry Article*, 1947, p. 20.

(28) H. Whitehead, 19.7.1913, to Mrs. Whitehead.

(29) H. Whitehead, 15.11.1919, to Mrs. Whitehead: "Azariah came to me yesterday and this morning. I gave him my pamphlet on the duty of the Church of England in regard to the movement towards unity in South India, and he said it was very good, but he firmly believes himself in the Tractarian Doctrine of Apostolic Succession."

(30) H. Whitehead, 26.4.1919, "To the Clergy of the Telugu Mission District in the Diocese of Madras" (a copy in C.M.S. Madras, 1919). Whitehead reserved for himself as Bishop of Madras the power to issue and withdraw licences to the clergy and settling questions of discipline affecting the clergy. All other matters should be settled by Bishop Azariah himself: "I have taken this step, because I feel that it is for the best interests of the Church in those Districts that I should do so." Cf. *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, 1919, p. 280.

(31) "Inauguration of Church Union in South India," *First Quarry Article*, pp. 60–61; short biographical statement on V. Santiago (he died in 1929).

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 20.

(33) "Conference of the Ministers of South India", *United Church Herald*, June 1919, p. 97.

(34) *First Quarry Article*, p. 21.

(35) V. Santiago's Report, in *United Church Herald*, June 1919, p. 97: "In view of the reconstruction of the world after the war in the formation of the League of Nations and in view of the present strong tendency toward Church Unity as manifested in several Christian communities and of the present situation in India itself it is time for the Christians in India to seek in Jesus Christ the unity of the body expressed in one visible Church."

(36) The Lutherans present at the conference were Rev. William Nielsen, Danish Missionary Society, Rev. H. Frykholm, Director of the Lutheran Seminary, Tranquebar, Rev. S. Devaprasadam, Assistant Director of the Seminary, Rev. P. Sandegren and Rev. N. Samuel. When Dr. Eddy in the debate made a reference to Lutheran doctrine, N. Samuel took exception to this: "You must know that I am the author of *The Truth-teller* [as the title would read in English], dealing with forty Christian truths. I do not say anything which is not true." Eddy asked to be pardoned. (M. Peter, interview). Rev. P. Sandegren, who in 1915–16 was stationed

at Tranquebar, took part in the two Tranquebar Conferences, 1918 and 1919.

(37) It has generally been taken for granted that the Tranquebar Manifesto was accepted by both sides without discussion. Rev. S. Devaprasadam's account, in a letter to the author, 8.12.1947, claims that there was a division of opinion, although this does not appear in the Manifesto.

(38) Thus S. DEVAPRASADAM, *loc. cit.*

(39) P. Sandegren, 6.12.1947, to the author.

(40) G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 248–81.

(41) C. G. Marshall, one of the theological teachers within the S.I.U.C., detected this. He speaks of the Tranquebar Manifesto, "which bears in every line traces of Mr. Eddy's hand" (*United Church Herald*, Oct. 1919, p. 324).

G. S. Eddy, 4.6.1919, to K. T. Paul (I.M.C. India, 1919: Church Union), says on the Tranquebar Manifesto: "It is carrying out the plan that we made at the round table conference with the Bishop of Madras when you were present." V. S. Azariah also saw the connexion between Madras 1910 and Tranquebar 1919. Cf. his letter, 9.5.1919, to Mrs. Whitehead: "The relationship of other clergy to this new church was not discussed. I am sorry I forgot this in Tranquebar, for though we went into this fully in the *old conference years ago* [italics mine], the S.I.U.C. then claimed the right to allow any of the other ordained ministers to their pulpits and tables. But I think the Indian Pastors will show more sense."

H. A. Popley (interview, 12.2.1951) stated that Azariah and Eddy were largely responsible for issuing the Manifesto.

(42) *Harvest Field*, June 1911, p. 220: "We look forward to reunion not by way of compromise but by way of comprehension."

(43) G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.

(44) *Harvest Field*, June 1911, p. 220.

(45) *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, July 1919, p. 151.

(46) G. S. Eddy, 4.6.1919, to K. T. Paul (copy in I.M.C., India, 1919; Church Union). In discussing the proposal with Mrs. Whitehead, Azariah writes, 9.5.1919: "There is one slight error in your summing up of the proposals. They [S.I.U.C.] do not require the Bishops to receive commission from their ministers: the commission is only for pastors who desire 'extra jurisdiction' as it were. It does not touch the future. Once the Church is in intercommunion, I suppose after the first commissions, all the episcopally ordained men would be on equal footing."

(47) H. Whitehead to V. Santiago, 9.7.1919.

(48) H. Whitehead's comments on Resolution of Madura C.C., 17.7.1919.

(49) H. Whitehead to V. Santiago, 21.7.1919.

(50) Message to General Assembly of S.I.U.C., 9.9.1919.

(51) I quote G. S. Eddy's reference to the Tranquebar conference in his article "Church Union in India", *Harvest Field*, July 1919, pp. 247–58.

I have assumed that the main argument in this paper, published in July, was used by Eddy in his addresses in May and June.

(52) The ecclesiastical implications of the political crisis were emphasized: "If ever union was needed on the mission field, it is now. India is facing a great crisis in her history." The self-government of India was approaching. "If the State can be one, much more should the Church be so" (*ibid.*, p. 251).

(53) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1919, p. 132.

(54) *S.I.U.C. Herald* (editorially), July 1919, *ibid.*, and G. S. Eddy, 21.6.1919, to J. H. Oldham (I.M.C., India, 1919: Church Union).

(55) G. S. Eddy to J. H. Oldham, 21.6.1919 (I.M.C., India, 1919: Church Union).

(56) G. S. Eddy, 5.8.1919, to J. J. Banninga.

(57) Bishop Winnington-Ingram's Proposals in G. K. A. BELL, *Documents 1916–1920*, pp. 48 ff. Ingram referred to return with Weleyans.

(58) G. S. EDDY, "Union or Disunion", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, August 1919, p. 182.

CHAPTER VII

(1) "Union with the Anglican Church", *Harvest Field*, Aug. 1919, pp. 284 ff.; also in *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Aug. 1919, pp. 187 ff.

(2) This statement needs to be qualified. H. A. Popley was an L.M.S. missionary who by his interest in evangelism was led to believe in church union. G. E. Phillips is the other outstanding exception who by his work (at the United Theological College, Bangalore, and for the orphaned Basel Mission and through his theological studies was led to an ever deepened understanding of the Catholic view.

(3) *Harvest Field*, August, 1919, p. 295.

(4) V. S. Azariah, 20.8.1919, to Mrs. Whitehead. A. W. Brough, see *Register of L.M.S. Missionaries*, p. 133.

(5) Editorial, *S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1919, p. 132.

(6) The article by the Danish Lutheran K. Heiberg on "Communion and Unity", *Harvest Field*, May 1919, pp. 177 ff., was a plea for intercommunion from a "Lutheran Pietistic" point of view, against the views of the Swedish missionary P. Sandegren in "Communion and Unity", *ibid.*, March 1919, pp. 94 ff. As to the British Baptists, J. J. Banninga said they "have shown by their conduct that their particular doctrine does not separate them from fellowship with other bodies" (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1919, p. 133).

(7) Bishop Azariah and Bishop Waller had an informal meeting with L. R. Scudder and A. W. Brough in Madras in August. Azariah quotes Scudder as saying on "service of commission": "I have prayed about this matter, and if it comes to it at the last moment I suppose I would submit to it for the sake of union and for the sake of the Indian Church. But should you require this of me? After forty years of ministry? Within the United

Church where we would accept the Episcopacy and granted that hereafter all ordination shall be by Bishops—could you not license us as authorized to celebrate in any Church in this organization where the pastor or the local church may invite me?" Azariah's conviction was shaken by the earnest plea of the venerated old missionary. He adds, "I quote these words so fully because it shows the spirit of the demand made. I wish we could allow this!" (Azariah, 20.8.1919, to Mrs. Whitehead.)

(8) V. S. AZARIAH, "Church Union in South India", *Harvest Field*, Sept. 1919, p. 333.

(9) H. Whitehead in a short reply to B. Lucas's article declared that the point of view according to which the sacraments were made valid through the historic episcopate was "certainly not of the theory of the Anglican Church as a body". He heartily endorsed the "Second Interim Report of March 1918 on Anglican and Free Church Home Reunion" (*Harvest Field*, Sept. 1919, pp. 344–46).

(10) V. SANTIAGO, "Presidential Address", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1919, p. 379.

(11) J. H. MACLEAN, "The Proposed Church Union", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Oct. 1919, pp. 319 ff. A letter from K. T. Paul, "An Open Letter to the Moderator", *ibid.*, pp. 334 ff. He, too, urged caution and favoured adherence to the more federative Allahabad Union Scheme, which appealed more to the Y.M.C.A. Secretary than the organic union idea.

(12) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1919, p. 385 (Banninga), and Sept. 1919, pp. 278–79 (Popley), and reference to A. W. Brough in V. Santiago's letter, 4.10.1919, K. T. Paul (I.M.C.).

(13) F. Kingsbury's fate in the S.I.U.C. is interesting as an indication of a change in the attitude towards creeds in the S.I.U.C., a change caused by the increasing Presbyterian influence. Kingsbury, an Indian pastor, who first was a teacher of Tamil in Bangalore United Theological College, served as a Military Chaplain in Mesopotamia 1920–23. Here he came into contact with modern theology. A. Harnack and Kirsopp Lake became his authorities. He published books, such as *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1924, and the *Life of Jesus*, 1932, with a strong liberal bias.

(14) J. M. Kesari, of the L.M.S. district of Nagercoil, stressed that their Indian heritage predisposed them for casting in their lot with the Anglicans, because the Indians had "for millenniums embraced a system more or less akin to the Anglican system of worship" (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, Oct. 1919, p. 329).

(15) *Ibid.*, Nov., p. 386.

(16) V. Santiago, 4.10.1919, to K. T. Paul.

(17) Cf. F. Lenwood, 19.9.1919 (L.M.S., cardbox with copies of Lenwood's letters), to P. Chenchiah, soliciting Chenchiah's views in criticism of missions as they are run at present. Lenwood's agile, versatile mind enjoyed coming up against Indian criticism of western ways. When K. T. Paul delivered his famous lecture at Swanwick in 1919, Lenwood rejoiced:

"Thank heaven for the Indian who will stand up to us. We have everything to gain from that type" (F. Lenwood, 19.11.1919, to J. T. Macnair, Cuddapah, *ibid.*).

(18) "My own view is that if the Indian Church wants it, they must be allowed to go ahead, though I think we are bound to protest. But I hope the Board will leave the Indian Church free, difficult as will be the situation which will be created!" (F. Lenwood, 8.10.1919, to A. T. Foster, Travancore, L.M.S., *ibid.*).

(19) A. E. Garvie's reaction came as a surprise to F. Lenwood. The Congregational theologian had then only recently signed, together with P. T. Forsyth, W. B. Selbie and others, the resolutions of the First Mansfield Conference, Jan. 1919, with its recognition of a "reformed Episcopacy". Lenwood describes the scene in the Board: "We raised the matter at the India Committee the other day and we are to discuss it more fully with fuller light, but it was interesting that Garvie rose and supported the view that union on such terms (Lenwood mentions particularly what he calls "re-ordination") was an impossibility" (F. Lenwood, 30.10.1919, to B. Lucas, L.M.S., India: Church Union).

(20) *Harvest Field*, Jan. 1920, p. 31, and *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Feb. 1920, p. 457.

(21) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, March 1920, pp. 610 ff., where the resolutions of all the church councils are printed.

(22) A. J. ARANGADEN, *Church Union in South India*, p. 26.

(23) It should be observed that at this stage it was still taken for granted by the councils that the union would embrace also the Mar Thoma Syrian Church.

(24) V. S. AZARIAH, "Church Union in South India", *Harvest Field*, Sept. 1919, p. 340.

(25) V. S. AZARIAH, "Church Union", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Sept. 1919, p. 235.

(26) E. H. M. WALLER, "Union of the S.I.U.C. and the Anglican Church", *Harvest Field*, Sept. 1919, p. 330. Cf. Waller in *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Sept. 1919, pp. 237 ff. The Tinnevelly Diocesan Council in Dec. 1919 recommended the Tranquebar proposals (Minutes in *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, 1920, p. 24).

(27) H. Whitehead, 24.9.1919, to Bishop King, Secretary of the S.P.G. (S.P.G., Letters Received, Originals, Asia; India II).

(28) Interview with Bishop E. J Palmer, 22.6.1949.

(29) TISSINGTON TATLOW, *The Story of the S.C.M.*, pp. 139 f. In Tractarian circles the S.C.M. was up to then known as an undenominational body, and it was only about this time that the S.C.M. began to revolt against Keswick undenominationalism and to describe itself as interdenominational (*ibid.*, pp. 138 and 387 ff.). This change of policy made it possible for Palmer to attend. As a student he found non-Anglican friends in the S.I.U.C. (interview, 1949).

(30) *Official Report, Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908*, S.F. III. Palmer says

here: "A Church, says a recent writer, cannot be both oecumenical and national! The Church, I reply, must be both oecumenical and national—but the Anglican Communion is not *the* Church. Granted. Neither is it *a* church. It is a federation of National Churches. The Church Universal *will be* a federation of National Churches" (p. 7).

(31) That was the title of Palmer's article in the July issue of the *Indian Interpreter*, 1909. He warned there against "any mechanical or arithmetical method of reaching a Greatest Common Factor" as a basis of union. N. Macnicol found, when reading Palmer's article, that "there is little that he says that any Presbyterian, certainly, will find objectionable" (*Conference*, August 1909, pp. 46 f.).

(32) N. MACNICOL, "The Church of England and Indian Union", *Harvest Field*, Sept. 1911, p. 335.

(33) In 1915 E. J. Palmer tells his diocese in the *Bombay Diocesan Record* of a visit to Swanwick: "There are no Kikuyu difficulties at Swanwick. The separate communion services confess the actual disunion of the Christians who come there. Nothing in the world makes one pray more fervently for the future than this frank admission of present disunion. Swanwick does not hurry, does not confuse. This is partly because it is really interdenominational." The difficulty with most missionaries, he felt, was that they had not come under the influence of interdenominationalism: "Those of them who are most keen on co-operation are inspired by memories of Keswick, not of Swanwick. After all my seven years of Indian experience and in the midst of the Kikuyu controversy, I still feel that with Swanwick and its ideals lies the hope of the future" (quoted after *Harvest Field*, 1915, pp. 486–87).

(34) E. J. PALMER, *Reunion in West India*, p. 71.

(35) It is characteristic that Bishop Hensley Henson, then of Hereford, wrote to H. Whitehead (8.3.1920) acknowledging the fact that Whitehead and he, having "started in the Episcopate with the unbending Tractarian attitude established in their minds", had laid it aside. Cf. also a letter from R. H. Gardiner, 9.4.1920, to Whitehead.

(36) E. J. Palmer, printed circular, 4.2.1929, to the Joint Committee.

(37) *Ibid.*

(38) *Ibid.*

(39) *Parting Words* (by E. J. Palmer), p. 22.

(40) *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*, Edinburgh, 1937, p. 148. In 1908 Palmer found to his great surprise that his idea of "willingness to die to separate and competitive life" had already been expressed by an American Congregationalist, Dr. Newman Smyth. Palmer's address published under the title *Parting Words* was given at Oxford, October 18, 1908. The preface to the pamphlet is signed November 13, 1908, in India. He now added a note to his address, referring to having read, apparently on board ship, "an exceedingly interesting book", Newman Smyth's *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism*. In 1937 Palmer's theme of

reunion as dying was to be found in one of the outstanding theological works of the day. A. M. RAMSEY, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, pp. 221–31.

(40*a*) *Dispensation in Practice and Theory*, with a special reference to the Anglican Churches, the Report of a Commission appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1935 under the chairmanship of Edwin James Palmer, S.P.C.K., 1944, p. 90.

(41) E. J. Palmer, 20.7.1932, to Bishop F. J. Western.

(42) E. J. PALMER, *The Challenge of an Indian Experience*, p. 26. He was gainsaid on this point by DOM GREGORY DIX, *Bishop Edwin J. Palmer on Lay Celebrants*, 1935 (reprint from the *Church Union Gazette*).

(43) Most of the following quotations are taken from: *The Great Church Awakes, Look for the Morning*, and *Watersmeet, A Description of the Proposed Union of Churches in South India, passim.*

(43*a*) *The Cost of Reunion*, 1937, p. 20.

(43*b*) *East and West Review*, Oct. 1915, p. 382.

(44) K. T. PAUL, "An Open Letter", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Oct. 1919, p. 336, and E. J. PALMER, *The Great Church Awakes*, p. 104.

(45) Archbishop Lefroy died in 1919 and was succeeded by Foss Westcott, earlier Bishop of Chota Nagpur (1905–19).

(46) The letter is published in E. J. PALMER, *The Great Church Awakes*, pp. 3–9.

(47) Thus according to J. J. Banninga, in *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Eighth General Assembly, 1921*, p. 28.

(48) J. Z. HODGE, *Bishop Azariah of Dornakal*. p. 97.

(49) Very early in his missionary career H. Waller began to work for the Indianization of the Church. Cf. WALLER, "The Relations of Mission Work to National Customs in North India", in *Pan-Anglican Papers*, 1907, S.D. 3 (1).

(50) "I used to find that C.M.S. thought that evangelical principles withered at the first whiff of incense or the first zephyr of Modernism" (H. Waller, 25.5.1931, to Stacey Waddy, S.P.G., Letters Received, India II, Madras, etc.). "The A.C.'s seem to be afraid that all their special doctrines will fade away at once if people are brought into the Church who hold a Protestant view" (Waller, 20.9.1935, to Foss Westcott, Calcutta).

(51) H. Waller, 18.9.1935, to Kenneth Hall (Bishop Hall's papers, Chota Nagpur). Dr. B. J. Kidd's article in *Theology*, 1935, on dispensation was in certain parts directed against Waller.

(52) Address by the Right Rev. Bishop N. H. Tubbs, D.D., at the Memorial Service for the late Right Rev. E. H. M. Waller, *Indian Church Magazine*, 1942, p. 104. Tubbs gives an interesting indication of Waller's Bible knowledge: "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 résumé 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."

(53) N. H. Tubb's views in 1926 on the Reformation are interesting: "Instead of unity, the Reformation substituted division, instead of variety, uniformity, instead of missionary adventure, missionary stagnation" (TUBBS, *A Charge*, 1926, p. 13).

(54) Ever since 1924 S. G. Maduram had been a strong opponent of diocesanization in Tinnevelly, which he thought would make S.P.G.'s influence too strong. In 1930 he wrote *The South India Church Union Scheme: A Review*. He pleaded for a Scriptural solution of the unity problem, a solution for which "the true Church of England, standing faithful to the reformed settlement and abiding by the Prayer Book and the Articles of 1662, I am sure, will be a happy co-partner, but no bar" (*ibid.*, p. 18).

(55) Just as Bishop Palmer found some of his ideas expressed in the book of 1908, *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism*, by the American Congregationalist, Newman Smyth, so Dr. Banninga learned much from C. A. Briggs's (an American Episcopalian) *Church Unity*, written in 1909.

(56) In 1924 J. J. Banninga sent a group of his students for church union discussions to the Anglican seminary at Nazareth in Tinnevelly (*A Century of Theological Education at Pasumalai, South India, 1842–1942*, p. 4).

(57) J. J. Banninga, 10.9.1930, to Bishop A. C. Headlam.

(58) Banninga's handwritten notes from some of the many church union meetings he attended are interesting. This American, full of drive and energy, found the sense of time in Oriental India somewhat perplexing. As he jots down the contributions of each speaker, he also watches his clock: "[J.P.] Cotelingam 10.37–10.58 = 18 minutes: I'm coming to it, I'm coming to it. . . . [A.] Silver 10.58–11.03." India is hot, and one can sympathize.

(59) H. Gulliford, diary, 6.3.1929.

(60) J. H. Maclean, 8.6.1923, to E. J. Palmer, Madras. (The year is not stated but is probably 1923.)

(61) *Ibid.*

(62) J. H. Maclean, 30.4.1931, to Alexander Martin, copy Madras.

(63) J. V. CHELLIAH, "Why I favour the Church Union Scheme", *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1933, p. 70. M. Peter quotes Chelliah: "When I went [to the Joint Committee] I went with a mind to oppose union on the basis of the historic episcopate, but when I returned, I returned with a different mind and carried a very sympathetic heart for the Anglican representatives whose brotherliness and spirit of humility made a deep impression on me" (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1931, pp. 175–76). The recognition of the Free Church ministers as "truly ministers of the Word and the Sacraments" was according to Chelliah equivalent to capturing "the very citadel of the episcopal position".—"After the concession on such a vital

point, our concessions in matters like episcopacy seem to me to be comparatively trivial" (*Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1933, p. 71).

(64) E. J. Palmer gave an important address to the Conference of which J. J. Banninga published a précis in *S.I.U.C. Herald*, May 1920, pp. 31–32.

(65) *Report of Joint Committee on Union containing Resolutions of the General Assembly of the S.I.U.C. 1919 and the first three Joint Committee Meetings* was published with a preface by Bishop H. Whitehead in London, 1921.

(66) G. K. A. BELL, *Documents on Unity 1916–1920*, pp. 15 ff., and G. J. SLOSSER, *Christian Unity*, p. 338.

(67) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Aug. 1919, p. 179.

(68) The programme included lectures on Episcopacy; "The place of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth in English Church History"; the Interim Reports, etc. It should be noted that Stanley Jones took part in the meeting and led the devotional periods (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, May 1920, pp. 38 ff.).

(69) In a letter, 21.6.1919, to J. H. Oldham, G. S. Eddy says that he made the overture to the Mar Thoma Church "at the request of Bishop Azariah and Rev. V. Santiago, Moderator of the S.I.U.C." (I.M.C., India, 1919: Church Union). In his letter to K. T. Paul (4.6.1919, I.M.C.), Eddy says that he is on his way to Travancore with a view to union negotiations with the Mar Thoma Church.

(70) A brief sketch of the history of the Syrian Churches in India is to be found in S. C. NEILL & OTHERS, *Towards a United Church*, pp. 85–88. A readable account is E. E. KEAY, *A History of the Syrian Church of India*, Madras, 1938, which contains a bibliography.

(71) E. E. KEAY, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

(72) C. J. GRIMES, *Towards an Indian Church*, p. 86.

(73) See P. O. PHILIP, *The Late Bishop Abraham Mar Thoma*, Tiruvalla, 1947, pp. 2–3. The Metropolitan died in September 1947.

(74) See also K. K. KURUVILLA, "The Present Situation in the Syrian Church in Travancore", *Church Union News and Views*, May, 1932, pp. 208 ff.

(75) While C.M.S. missionaries and Free Churchmen kept in contact with the Mar Thoma Church, High Church Anglicans cultivated relations with the Jacobite section. Invited by a Metropolitan of the Jacobites in 1911, members of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta paid annual visits, including students' conferences and retreats for priests. Bishop C. H. Gill of Travancore, himself an Evangelical, felt that if he gave permission to men of his own school to hold conventions for the Mar Thoma Church, he could not withhold his permission to Anglo-Catholics to visit the Jacobites (C. H. Gill, 30.7.1917, to Wigram, C.M.S., Travancore and Cochin, 1917).

(76) G. S. Eddy and H. A. Popley, Circular Letter, 16.4.1909, copy in L.M.S., Eastern.

(77) Published in *International Review of Missions*, January 1920, pp. 147 ff.

(78) G. S. Eddy says of the Metropolitan and Bishop Abraham: "They

unanimously approved of the plan and are working quietly to win the approval of a few older conservative priests of their Church" (21.6.1919, to J. H. Oldham, I.M.C., India, 1919: Church Union).

(79) K. K. KURUVILLA, "The Syrian Church and Church Union", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, June 1920, p. 68. Kuruvilla enumerates the following reasons against union with the Tranquebar group: (1) Under union, the enthusiasm and loyalty of its younger men to the Mar Thoma Church might be lost. The term "Syrian" had a charm of its own to them which might be lost in a larger Indian church. (2) It would be unwise to join with organizations which have foreign support and therefore are stronger than the Mar Thoma Church. (3) Union would not solve the internal problems of the Mar Thoma Church. (4) A large majority of the Church are suspicious of union. (5) The relation with the Jacobites.

(80) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Eighth General Assembly, 1921*, p. 10, on Lambeth and Mar Thoma; see *Lambeth 1920, Conference of Bishops*, p. 151.

CHAPTER VIII

(1) Bishop Azariah, when writing to Dr. J. J. Banninga, suggesting the convening of the Bangalore conference, said that such a meeting was needed as the Anglican bishops needed full information before going to Lambeth (*Minutes, S.I.U.C. Eighth General Assembly, 1921*, p. 28).

(2) WOODS–WESTON–SMITH, *Lambeth and Reunion*, p. 23. A. C. HEADLAM, *The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion* appeared just before Lambeth 1920, and greatly influenced the debate.

(3) G. K. A. BELL, *Randall Davidson*, II, p. 1015; see *Lambeth 1920, Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, with the Resolutions and Reports*, especially pp. 11 ff.

(4) F. Lenwood, 2.3.1921, to Miss Pelton (copy in L.M.S., India: Church Union). Garfield Williams told the Church Congress in England, 21.10.1920: "The fresh and vivid statements by overseas bishops of actual problems which they themselves had had to face in their attempt to propagate a divided Church in a non-Christian world must have been a very potent factor in that remarkable unifying process which clearly did take place at Lambeth" (quoted from *Harvest Field*, March 1921, p. 87).

(5) *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, Jan. 1921, p. 3.

(6) For Azariah's impressions of the Lambeth Conference, see "Union and the Lambeth Conference", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1920, pp. 176 ff.

(7) *Lambeth 1920, Conference of Bishops*, p. 12.

(7*a*) E. J. Palmer at Lambeth referred to the noble example of St. Chad (d. 672) who submitted to re-consecration. In the Joint Committee and in other connexions he often cited this instance (interview with Bishop E. J. Palmer, 22.6.1949).

(8) *Lambeth 1920, Conference of Bishops*, p. 135.

(9) *Ibid.*, pp. 141–43.

(10) W. J. SPARROW-SIMPSON, *Dispensations*, pp. 159, 170, 189.

(11) *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, Aug. 1921, p. 145.

(12) WOODS–WESTON–SMITH, *Lambeth and Reunion*, p. 47.

(13) Resolutions of the Kodaikanal meeting in *S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1920, pp. 79 ff.

(14) According to J. J. Banninga's report in H. A. POPLEY, *K. T. Paul, Christian Leader*, p. 156.

(15) *Ibid.*, *S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1920.

(16) One of the chairmen of the Kodaikanal conference was C. G. Marshall of the Travancore C.C., sharp opponent of Eddy's plans. The Telugu C.C. of the S.I.U.C. after Lambeth accepted resolutions which closely followed the Kodaikanal resolutions. "We believe that those bodies that are nearest to each other at present in doctrine and policy should become one in organization as soon as possible" (Minutes, 15.10.1920, L.M.S., Eastern).

(17) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Eighth General Assembly, 1921*, p. 29.

(18) J. J. Banninga, 11.10.1920, to V. S. Azariah.

(19) V. S. Azariah, 1.11.1920, to J. J. Banninga.

(20) H. Popley, 3.11.1920, to V. S. Azariah.

(21) G. E. PHILLIPS, "The Lambeth Conference, the Proposals for Church Union in South India", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1920, pp. 181 ff. H. A. Popley in the same issue of the *Herald*, pp. 186 ff., was more optimistic. He thought the Appeal "will be found to contain suggestions which should lead to the end we all long for".

(22) F. Lenwood had a revealing correspondence with N. Talbot, Anglican S.C.M. leader and later Bishop of Pretoria, about this. Cf. series of letters from Lenwood to Talbot (L.M.S., General: Church Union).

(23) J. H. Maclean, 4.11.1920, to Daly (U.F.C.S., Madras, 1920).

(24) J. H. MACLEAN, "Impressions of the Bangalore Conference", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Feb. 1921, p. 280.

(25) J. J. BANNINGA, "Second Bangalore Conference on Union", *ibid.*, p. 270.

(26) V. SANTIAGO, "Impressions of the Bangalore Conference," *ibid.*, p. 278.

(27) Cf. *Dnyanodaya*, 13.5.1926.

(28) V. SANTIAGO, *loc. cit.*, p. 279.

(29) V. S. AZARIAH, "Union and the Lambeth Conference", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1920, p. 179, and *idem*, "Lambeth Resolutions", *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, Dec. 1920, pp. 285 f.

(30) V. Santiago, *loc. cit.*, p. 279.

(31) *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, Aug. 1921, p. 151.

(32) E. J. PALMER, "Union and Apostolic Succession", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1921, p. 80.

(33) *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, Jan. 1921, p. 29.

(34) When L.M.S. Board of Governors sent far-reaching resolutions to India suggesting changes in this respect, H. A. Popley found that some of his colleagues thought that "the voice is the voice of the Board, but the hand is the hand of Phillips and Popley" (H. A. Popley, 4.11.1920, to F. Lenwood, L.M.S., Eastern).

(35) *Report of Revision Sub-Committee of the South Indian District Committee*, 27.1.1921 (L.M.S., 1921, Eastern).

(36) F. Lenwood was strongly for this change. He felt at the time the Congregational system was a problem: "For the Mission Field I don't believe in Congregationalism and certainly what you have been working in Travancore was always nearer Episcopacy than Congregationalism. That's one for you, my Lord Bishop!" (F. Lenwood, 3.11.1921, to T. H. Hacker, cardbox with copies of Lenwood's letters, L.M.S.).

(37) Apart from Church Government the six sub-committees dealt with Intercommunion, the Creeds, Confirmation, Freedom of Marriage and Marriage, and the Diaconate. See *S.I.U.C. Herald*, May 1921, pp. 27 f., with the names of the members on the various sub-committees.

(38) *Harvest Field*, April 1921; *S.I.U.C. Herald*, May 1921, pp. 37 ff.; and *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, May 1921, pp. 109 f. Close to a hundred Indian ministers were gathered, representing Anglicans, S.I.U.C., Syrian Christians and "Swedish Lutherans".

(39) K. B. WESTMAN, "Lutheran Episcopacy", *Harvest Field*, June 1921, p. 234. The Tamil Evangelical Lutheran had in the same month, March 1921, become an episcopal church through the consecration of Dr. E. Heuman. Professor K. B. Westman expressed, according to J. J. Banninga's report, his hope that "when the United National Church of India is formed, the Lutheran Church would contribute its due share to the welfare of that Church" (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, May 1921, p. 38). A Swedish missionary, J. Sandegren, had in the January issue of *S.I.U.C. Herald* (pp. 251–52) pointed out that "if constitutional episcopacy means that the bishop is elected by his constituency having only one vote in the consistory—can at any time be voted down by his Council, then the Church of Sweden has one thing which the Anglican Church strives to get but has not yet got".

(40) On their reaction to Tranquebar see *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Sept. 1919, pp. 274 f., and Nov. 1919, p. 384.

(41) H. A. POPLEY, *K. T. Paul*, p. 157. K. T. Paul's chief interest on the union question was the national issue. At the Kodaikanal meeting in May 1920 he rejected episcopacy because it was *too* Indian, too readily accepted by the Indians. This was, of course, from his point of view a paradoxical statement. In general, he felt that not only "the full-time pastor is an importation into India" (K. T. PAUL, "An Indian Form of Episcopacy", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Sept. 1921, p. 135) but particularly that "episcopacy is likely to be for a long time a perplexity to the Indian mind" (K. T. PAUL, "The Lambeth Advance and the Viewpoint of India", *ibid.*, p. 129).

(42) H. A. Popley, *op. cit.*

(42*a*) Cf. E. H. M. WALLER, *Memorandum on the Governing Body of the Proposed United Church*, p. 8.

(43) Other questions treated were the Creeds, Confirmation, Intercommunion, the Diaconate (*Minutes of Third Meeting . . .*, pp. 9 ff.).

(44) Title of an address by Dr. J. J. Banninga at the meeting, *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Eighth General Assembly, 1921*, p. 2.

(45) H. A. Popley, 27.9.1921, to G. S. Eddy (L.M.S., Eastern, copy for F. Lenwood).

(46) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Eighth General Assembly, 1921*, p. 48.

(47) "Sometimes I get anxious. If, for instance, as I hear is the suggestion, it rested with any given congregation to settle whether a Presbyterian minister should be invited to celebrate the Communion in it, many of us in England would regard that as a very great blow at Catholic Order" (Bishop King, 23.8.1921, to E. H. M. Waller, copy S.P.G., Madras, Letters lent, Vol. 9; the reference is to Madras Joint Council Resolutions, VI).

(48) J. H. Maclean, 18.8.1921, to Daly (U.F.C.S., "Madras," 1920).

(49) See paper on U.F.C. and the admission of ministers from other churches (Principal A. Martin Collection, Church Union Papers, File "Letters to the end of 1920"), and A. Martin, "Memorandum on Presbyterian Orders and some Topics connected therewith" (Principal A. Martin Collection, Church Union Papers, Vol. XII), both in New College Library, Edinburgh.

(50) The publication in 1920 of *Eucharist in India* is an important step in the search for Indianized forms of worship. The influence of the Syrian liturgy is particularly strong. See J. C. WINSLOW, ETC., *Eucharist in India*, 1920. Cf. also J. C. WINSLOW, "A Vision of the Indian Church", *International Review of Missions*, 1920, pp. 247 ff.

(51) The Glasgow academic concludes: "As you will see, I am not a bigoted Presbyterian, for I could cordially support and work under a bishop who would in all likelihood be a man of some learning and equipment as well as a man of good manners—especially if that bishop were appointed or elected, even as he is in Scotland—but I see no hope in any union being accomplished or remaining as an accomplishment, if it is to invade the rights of Christian men, and if that invasion is based upon a claim that the Lord's apostles were priests and not merely temporary witnesses, with a special function, and that the Lord's Supper is a *sacrifice* valid only when celebrated by episcopally, as against presbyterially, ordained men" (Clow, 7.10.1921, to Daly, U.F.C.S., "Madras", 1920, Clow's main theological contribution in his *The Church and the Sacraments*, 1933).

(52) F. Lenwood had his own solution for the central problem of church order, as discussed at Tranquebar and Lambeth: "If the Lambeth people here would allow, in certain special circumstances, twenty Christian men to get together and consecrate a bishop without grinding him out of the

Apostolic Succession mill, I shouldn't see very much to worry me in Episcopacy" (F. Lenwood, 3.11.1921, to H. A. Popley, L.M.S., India: Church Union).

(53) F. Lenwood, 2.3.1921, to Pelton (L.M.S., India: Church Union).

(54) F. Lenwood, 3.11.1921, to H. A. Popley, (*ibid.*).

(55) Quoted by *Harvest Field*, Aug. 1921, p. 284. This, incidentally, was the reverse of E. J. Palmer's observation, according to which "the movement towards unity in India is a popular movement, not a movement by leaders" (*The Great Church Awakes*, p. 11).

(56) [CHRISTO SAMAJ], *The Memorandum on the Further Development and Expansion of Christianity in India*, Madras, 1921, p. 16.

(57) The most glaring example of this kind of diplomacy was quoted: "An ecclesiastical crime of a worse character has been perpetrated in the inception and establishment of Episcopacy in the Tamil Lutheran Church within the space of twelve hours by the Church of Sweden Mission—a feat, we believe, unprecedented in the history of the world and indicative of the helplessness of the Indian Church on the one hand and the highhandedness of missionaries on the other" (*ibid.*, p. 15).

(58) Fundamentally, the opposition of *Christo Samaj* against the union of the churches was a determined Indian stand against history, against introducing western history and Church history into India. The Pasumalai Church History Summer School for the Indian ministry was, according to this point of view, "putting the cart before the horse", and the Indian Christian's protest against them was "but to make the barest demands of self respect for his community" (*Memorandum on the Further Development*, pp. 14 f.). V. Chakkarai expressed his syncretistic ideal in 1923: "The Indianization of Christianity and the Christianization of Hinduism will proceed on parallel lines towards an ultimate goal where they will converge" (V. CHAKKARAI, "Towards an Indian Interpretation of Christianity", *Harvest Field*, 1923, p. 169).

(59) "An Indian Christian Manifesto on Church Union" and "Bangalore Conference Resolutions on Church Union", *ibid.*, pp. 31 f. Cf. S. C. MUKERJI, *Presidential Speech at 8th Session of All India Conference of Indian Christians, Lahore, 1921*. Mukerji said that "the time had come that missions as such should cease to exist" (*ibid.*, p. 5).

(60) E. W. Thompson gave a penetrating analysis of "The National Spirit and its Effects on Foreign Missions", *Proceedings of the Fifth Ecumenical Methodist Conference, 1921*, pp. 169 ff. He said there: "Regarded from the viewpoint of this Ecumenical Conference, that is, of World-wide Methodism, Nationalism may appear separatist in its tendency, but from the Chinese or Indian viewpoint it is unifying" (p. 173). His colleague, H. Gulliford, opposed the *Christo Samaj* because of their attitude to church union (*Harvest Field*, Aug. 1921, pp. 284 f., and May 1922, pp. 161–63 and p. 243, where he attempted to show that the *Christo Samaj* view was pantheistic).

(61) PALMER, *The Great Church Awakes*, p. 11.

(62) They were supported by the Indian Christians in North India, who, says Whitehead, were "solid in favour of the movement going forward in South India as they think it will hasten the day of reunion in the North and help them to get greater independence" (Whitehead, 30.1 and 6.2.1922, to Mrs. Whitehead).

(63) A synopsis of the resolutions from the Council in *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Ninth General Assembly, 1923*, p. 32 ff.

(64) So even in the Kanarese C.C., where B. Lucas had been so influential. The N. Tamil replies: "The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed represent the belief of the people of our church, but we think candidates for ordination should be permitted to express their faith in other forms in harmony with these creeds" (*ibid.*, p. 32).

(65) The Third Report had introduced the principle of voting by houses: bishops, clergy, laity. This was the only point on church government rejected by the S.I.U.C. church councils (*ibid.*, p. 35).

(66) K. T. Paul at the same time, in the *U.C. Herald*, May 1922, put the alternative questions to his own S.I.U.C.: "(1) Do we wish to unite organically with the Anglicans? (2) Do we wish to begin by introducing episcopacy so as to annul the present lack of unity with the Anglicans and other episcopalian bodies in India and the world?" The latter alternative was, of course, his own choice: He wanted to "work out a form of episcopacy such as the genius of India may evolve in spiritual freedom and with absolute emphasis on spirit and truth". The attempt is an interesting indication of K. T. Paul's struggle to reconcile history and India, catholicity and Indian heritage.

(67) Banninga circular, 4.8.22.

(68) CADOUX, Biographical Memoir in J. V. BARTLET, *Church Life and Church Order during the First Four Centuries* (ed. Cadoux), p. XXVII.

(69) Of the weightier contributions to applied patristics which emerged from the South India church union debate should be mentioned, besides PALMER, *The Great Church Awakes* (1920), G. E. PHILLIPS, *The Ancient Church and Modern India* (the same year, 1920 with foreword by V. Bartlet), a well-balanced discussion of the relation of the early Church and the churches in the mission field.

(70) V. Bartlet's letter, 14.8.1921, to J. J. Banninga, printed as Appendix A to the Joint Committee Report, Pasumalai, 1923. Cf. G. K. A. BELL, *Documents on Christian Unity*, I, p. 319. Bartlet's suggestions were effectively dealt with only at Pasumalai 1923, to the minutes of which his letter was appended.

(71) Bartlet uses the term "ordination of bishops", in order to make clear the distinction from Anglican consecration. This was, however, an ambiguity of terms which possibly was not sufficiently appreciated in the negotiations.

(72) Azariah writes, 3.1.1923, to Whitehead: "The tendency nowadays is to lie low and wait until self-government is obtained and then to negotiate

union. The S.I.U.C. is anxious not to fight with the home constituencies and thus delay action. Bishop Waller and the Bishop of Bombay are for delay on the Anglican side."

(73) Bishop Palmer was not present at the fourth J.C., being in England. He read an important paper before the International Missionary Council, Oxford, July 1923, on "The Practicability of Missionary Co-operation in Face of Doctrinal Differences," *International Review of Missions* 1923, pp. 505 ff. His experience in India had shown him that the plans put forward at this I.M.C. meeting were "confused and uncertain and led nowhere. The next step is not with this Council. The hope for missionary progress lies now in the hope that the missions will one day be the missions of the United Church" (*ibid.*, p. 514).

(74) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Ninth General Assembly, 1923*, p. 38.

(75) Cf. P. B. EMMET, "Church Union in S. India", *Review of the Churches*, 1927, p. 30 f. Emmet was Anglican representative at the Pasumalai meeting, together with Fr. T. E. T. Shore, who later was also to take an important part in the negotiations.

(76) The "Form of Commission to be pronounced": "We pray Thee, O God, to anoint with Thy Holy Spirit these Thy servants that they may faithfully perform the work of a Presbyter in Thy Church, and especially in those parts of it which are now entering into closer fellowship in accordance with the prayer of Thy Son that they all may be one" (*Minutes, S.I.U.C. Ninth General Assembly, 1923*, p. 39).

(77) E. J. Palmer, 29.6.26, to Gore.

(78) E. J. Palmer, 24.5.21, to J. H. Maclean. See also Palmer's address at Lausanne 1927 on *The Ministry of the Church.*

(79) WALLER, *Church Union in South India*, p. 77.

(80) *Report, J. C. Committee on Union*, p. 21 f. The S.I.U.C. resolution on intercommunion was accepted by the whole J.C. There was also the matter of inter-celebration. The S.I.U.C. members appealed to their Anglican brethren to allow ministers of sister churches or visitors from the Home Church to celebrate Communion in their churches and that this should not be regarded as in any way conflicting with the declared intention of the Church to maintain the principles of unity (*ibid.*, p. 27). Because of "inadequacy of time", the Anglican members did not discuss this proposal. The *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Ninth General Assembly, August 1923*, p. 9, noted "with satisfaction the signs of progress in relation to intercommunion".

(81) C. H. Turner, 3.11.1924, to Foss Westcott (Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(82) The Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Headlam), 8.3.1924, to Foss Westcott.

(83) The Archbishop of York (Dr. Lang) to Foss Westcott, 3.11.1924.

(84) E. J. Palmer, 9.2.25, to Azariah.

(85) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Ninth General Assembly, 1923*, p. 8. Banninga made a survey of the possibilities of wider union. He divided into three groups the twenty-one missions and churches outside the negotiating bodies: those

who could be considered sympathetic towards union, being six in number; those known to be unsympathetic, eight belonging to this group, and the uncertain, seven in number (Banninga circular, 24.9.1923, to S.I.U.C. Committee on Union).

(86) EDDY, *Pathfinders of the World Missionary Crusade*, p. 104: Larsen, "perhaps the greatest missionary I have ever known".

(87) The D.M.S. had co-operated with the Reformed Arcot Mission in the Teachers' Training School at Viruthampet. In 1924 the D.M.S. joined the Lutheran Teachers' Training School at Tranquebar instead (C. Bindslev, 25.11.1947, to the author).

(88) *D.M.S. Church Council Minutes*, 20–26 February, 1924, No. 65.

(89) Bindslev, letter quoted.

(90) *Report of Secretarial Visit, 1920–21, by Rev. Wm. Goudie, to Ceylon, India and Burma.*

(91) *Proceedings of the Fifth Ecumenical Methodist Conference, Sept. 6–16, 1921*, p. 202. The context is characteristic: "As I stood (in Conjeeveram) in the seething mass of people who had come, 250,000 strong, to take part in the idol procession . . . what use could I possibly have for Church divisions? Methodist Union is not enough. It is wildly impossible for us to cover all the ground alone. Those who revere John Calvin and John Wesley cannot win the world without the aid of those who look up to men like Hooker."

(92) Cf. W. J. TOWNSEND, *The Story of Methodist Union* (no year); TOWNSEND –WORKMAN–EAYRS, *A New History of Methodism*, pp. 379 ff.

(93) The reports from the Pasumalai 1921 Conference seemed to overcome the difficulties. Gulliford writes: "We are in full sympathy with the principles underlying the idea of a bishop as contained in the paper by Dr. Westman and rejoice that episcopal ordination does not destroy intercommunion with other Lutheran Churches that have a presbyterian form of government." He had his doubts though: "We welcome the stress laid upon Christian evidence, but we should like to have seen it connected immediately with Jesus Christ and not mediated by Church and Scriptures, and Sacraments" (*Harvest Field*, editorial, June 1921, p. 204).

(94) *Harvest Field* editorial, July, 1921, pp. 242 ff.

(95) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. Ninth General Assembly, 1923*, p. 9.

(96) The letter was dated 21.12.1923, and sent to Rev. J. Passmore, Chairman of the S.I. Provincial Synod of the W.M.M.S. See "Church Union", printed statement (drawn up by H. Gulliford), Mysore, 1927.

(97) *Thirty-First Report of the S.I. Provincial Synod, 1924.*

(98) The Madras, Trichinopoly, Hyderabad and Mysore Districts declared their willingness to take part in consultations (*Thirty-Second Report of the S.I. Provincial Synod, 1925*, p. 27).

(99) *Fifth Meeting of Joint Committee on Union*, pp. 38 ff.

(100) The only point where they served notice of disagreement was on the consecration of bishops. They wished to discuss the matter further at a later date.

(101) This was literally so. Azariah mentions as one result of the Madras J.C. a plan to publish a "union glossary". "We do not understand when the Wesleyans speak of their circuits, class meetings, District Synod and Provincial Synod. They on their part do not understand what we mean with our Pastorate Committees, Circle Committees, Diocesan Synods, Provincial Synod, etc." The Wesleyans did not take the resolutions of the former Council meetings at their face value: "For their sake, we had to go over the old ground again" (Azariah, 25.2.1925, to Bishop Whitehead).

CHAPTER IX

(1) GRIMES, *Towards an Indian Church*, p. 155.

(2) G. H. Parker, born 1869, sailed for India in 1900, chiefly working in Travancore. See *Register of L.M.S. Missionaries*, p. 144.

(3) G. E. Phillips, 17.2.1927, to Tissington Tatlow (L.M.S., India: Church Union).

(4) G. E. Phillips, 9.3.1927, to J. H. Maclean (*ibid.*).

(5) G. E. Phillips, 29.6.1927, to J. H. Maclean. Cf. Bishop Azariah's encounter with Bishop Weston at the Anglo-Catholic Congress in 1923, "With the Bishop of Dornakal he had long confabulations at night and ultimately agreed to his proposals, provided that the Lambeth Conference did not formally sanction what was irregular and that satisfactory guarantees were given for the future. He told Bishop Azariah 'If you are one of the Bishops of the South India United Church, I shall be entirely satisfied'." (M. SMITH, *Life of Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, p. 230.)

(6) N. TUBBS, *Lausanne and South Indian Unity Proposals, A Charge*, p. 7.

(7) *Faith and Order, Proceedings—Lausanne*, pp. 233 ff. and pp. 263 ff. H. Sumitra's contribution to the debate would have won the admiration of B. Lucas: "We feel that keeping true to the Spirit of Christ we are at liberty to develop that form of organization which is most helpful to our corporate life in Christ. We are also bound to consider seriously the religious organizations in India in preference to the religious organizations of the West" (*ibid.*, pp. 421 f.).

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 241. Drawing upon the lessons of Presbyterian and Congregationalist union, viz. S.I.U.C., and the effects of such unions of making the new church largely Presbyterian, Palmer expresses his "hope that even the successors of the Independents are moving away from the typical Independent theory of the ministry." "The Independent theory of ministry is a mistake", he claimed. Palmer's address, which from his experience of South India actually reckoned with the possibility of union, was not easily acceptable to the others at Lausanne. "[Palmer] lifted us on to a higher level. . . . It was a great address, but perhaps some of us were not ready to take it in" (E. S. WOODS: *Lausanne 1927*, p. 63). An American observer judged E. J. Palmer to be, next to Charles Gore, "the most prominent English Anglican at the Conference" (E. D. SOPER, *Lausanne: The Will to Understand*, p. 40).

(9) N. TUBBS, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

(10) *Faith and Order, Proceedings—Lausanne*, p. 495; TUBBS, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Azariah found the Anglo-Catholics, the Lutherans and the Greeks particularly difficult in the Lausanne discussions. Headlam, Azariah, Tubbs and Banninga had a private meeting in Lausanne, and Headlam promised that he would lead the fight in Lambeth in 1930 and "make Lambeth endorse our action: that is good!" (V S. Azariah, 6.8.1927, to Bishop H. Whitehead).

(11) G. E. Phillips, 18.7.1927, to Dr. Sidney Berry (copy, L.M.S., India: Church Union).

(12) C. K. Williams, 4.3.1926, to W.M.M.S.

(13) *Report, Sixth Session of the Joint Committee, 1926*, p. 51, Appendix III.

(14) C. K. Williams, *loc. cit.*

(15) E. J. Palmer, 9.2.1925, to V. S. Azariah, Dornakal. Palmer was greatly influenced by C. H. Turner's advice in taking this stand with regard to the Commissioning Service. In an interview, 22.6.1949, Palmer said of Turner: "I had a very great reverence for him. I venerate that person."

(16) Palmer, 29.6.1926, to Charles Gore (copy in Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta). Cf. Palmer's statement in *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, May 1926: "I felt bound to tell the Joint Committee at an early stage that so far as I could judge the Commissioning Service proposal as printed is dead."

(17) "Dr. Palmer's Striking Sermon on Church Union", *Dnyanodaya*, 13.5.1926.

(18) G. K. A. BELL, *Documents on Christian Unity, 1920–1924*, p. 159. Cf. *idem*, *Randall Davidson*, pp. 1116–22, and J. G. LOCKHART, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, pp. 264–84.

(19) G. K. A. BELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–93.

(20) According to C. Kingsley Williams, Palmer argued for episcopacy as "God's first thought for the Government of His Church". Williams adds: "This was put so strongly that it almost led to a rejection by the S.I.U.C. and the Wesleyans of the document" (4.3.1926, W.M.M.S.).

(21) *Dnyanodaya*, 13.5.1926.

(22) E. J. PALMER in *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, May 1922: "This sounds at first hearing, a most eccentric proposal, but it should be remembered that something like it has been contemplated by the Lambeth Joint Committee."

(23) *Report of the Sixth Session of the Joint Committee on Union, February 25–28, 1926*, p. 48 (Report of Fourth Meeting).

(24) Thus according to Sackett, 6.3.1926, to Thompson (W.M.M.S., Letters Incoming and Outgoing, Hyderabad, 1924–28).

(25) *Report Sixth Session of the Joint Committee, 1926*, p. 48.

(26) "Maclean 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"

(Sackett, 6.3.1926, to Thompson, W.M.M.S.). Thorp on the Wesleyan side was afraid "that the concessions which the Anglicans had made" in so conciliatory a spirit are rather in the nature of an expedient to bring about union than an admission of the truth of Free Church principles". His chief objection was that the Anglican idea of the united church was "substantially a church after the Anglican pattern" (Thorp, 18.3.1926, to Thompson, W.M.M.S.). Bishop Tubbs expressed the idea which Thorp tried to guard against: "If and when the S.I.U.C. and the Wesleyans join us, we shall no doubt have to form a new Province" (TUBBS, *A Charge*, 1926, p.17).

(27) Both F. C. Sackett and C. Kingsley Williams liked the proposal but feared that the Anglican delegation would not be able to persuade their own church authorities (F. C. Sackett, 6.3.1926, to E. W. Thompson, W.M.M.S., Letters Incoming and Outgoing, Hyderabad, 1924–28; Kingsley Williams, 4.3.1926, circular in *ibid.*, Madras, 1925–26).

(28) W. H. Thorp, 18.3.1926, to E. W. Thompson, Mysore Chairman (Feb.–Aug. 1926, W.M.M.S.).

(29) J. H. Maclean, 31.1.1928, to V. S. Azariah, Dornakal. F. C. Sackett described Maclean's struggle in the Joint Committee (6.3.1926 to E. W.Thompson, cf. footnote 26 above). Waller complained about Maclean: "The only people we need fear are those who like Maclean meant definitely to introduce three customs of ordination into the Church. Even Bartlet does not ask for that" (Waller 13.3.1926, to Palmer, copy in Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta). Maclean wrote to G. E. Phillips, and mentioned that he experienced a "duality in my feeling" in regard to the union problem. Phillips replies: "I can well understand the duality in your feeling about Church Union. I have very frequently been acutely conscious of the same thing. The objections which certain of my Congregationalist friends raise make me almost fanatical in the desire for it, until some Church paper, or one of these 'Catholic' people in Oxford, cures me. I think I am glad that things are moving very slowly in South India just now. Faster progress could hardly have been supported by either side at the home end" (Phillips, 9.3.1927, to J. H. Maclean, copy in L.M.S., India: Church Union).

In his correspondence with Principal Alexander Martin, Edinburgh, Maclean may have been informed on the reunion problems in Scotland in 1927. Various questions about the ministry and ordination were discussed between the two uniting churches there. Martin tried for instance to find out the rules in the Presbyterian churches in Britain, in regard to the laying on of hands at ordination and whether elders are included in the ordaining presbyteries. One report says: "The variety disclosed, which is next to impossible to tabulate, has astonished me" (W. Lewis Robertson, 4.10.1927, to Alex. Martin, New College Library, Edinburgh, Principal Martin's college; *Church Reunion in Scotland*, Vol. 17).

(30) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1927*, pp. 38–46; *Minutes, S.I.U.C General Assembly, 1927*, pp. 41 ff. Madura C.C. had characteristically a more conciliatory wording of their resolution than the other councils: "The 50 years clause may be omitted as not in accord with the resolution on

Intercommunion which was passed by the Joint Committee." Intercommunion was also discussed by the church councils of Madras and Madura. The Madras council hoped that with regard to this question the united church would accept "what the Council believes to be the more truly Catholic view" (*ibid.*, p. 44).

(31) V. S. Azariah, 1.2.1928, to H. Whitehead. Carpenter-Garnier at this time was very moderate in his criticism of South India. His long statement in *Church Times*, 30.3.1928, "Union in South India", is remarkably sympathetic towards the South India plans.

(32) V. S. Azariah, 1.2.1928, to H. Whitehead: "Bombay again gave them some severe shocks. He gave them a lecture again that the validity of the sacraments did not ever depend upon a certain method of ordination. Episcopacy offered an order and unity for the celebration and did not constitute its validity."

N. Tubbs opposed Gore *et consortes* in his *Lausanne and South India Unity Proposals*, delivered as a Charge to his Tinnevelly clergy, March 15, 1928.

(33) CARPENTER-GARNIER, *Church Times*, 30.3.1928.

(34) V. S. Azariah, 10.2.1928, to J. J. Banninga (Madras).

(35) H. Gulliford notes in his diary, 4.7.1928: "It was ultimately decided with three dissentients that the wishes of the Anglican bishops, in the form they desired, should be granted."

(36) *Report of the Seventh Session of the Joint Committee on Union*, Bangalore, June 1928, pp. 5–6.

(37) *Proposed Scheme of Union*, 1929, p. 10. W. H. Thorp (interview, 5.9.1947) stated that C. H. Monahan was the originator and author of the Pledge. Others have referred to J. S. M. Hooper as the author. The latter is probably right in describing it as teamwork of the Methodist delegation.

(38) F. C. Sackett, 11.3.1929, to W. J. Noble (Home Correspondence, 1929–30, South India United Scheme).

(39) H. Gulliford, diary, 2.7.1928. In a letter to Noble, Gulliford says about the Bangalore meeting: "Only on two occasions was there a divided vote. The highest opposition vote was three out of about forty" (Gulliford, 1.8.1928, to W. J. Noble, W.M.M.S., Letters Incoming and Outgoing, from Mysore 1922–27).

(40) E. J. PALMER, in *Bombay Diocesan Magazine*, 1928, p. 22.

(41) *Proposed Scheme of Union*, 1929, p. VIII. The 1929 Scheme may be found in full in Bell's *Documents*, Second Series, pp. 143–90.

(42) *United Church Herald*, June 1921, p. 56.

(43) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1933*, p. 32.

(44) *Joint Committee Report*, 1923, p. 27.

(45) A special committee of enquiry into F. Kingsbury's case was appointed. Cf. *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1927*, pp. 13–14 and pp. 31–37.

(46) E. J. PALMER, *The Great Church Awakes*, p. 54.

(47) This point was not always appreciated in the West. Dr. William

Temple, as Archbishop of York, wrote on South India in the *York Diocesan Gazette*, 1929, holding that "these schemes therefore provide that when the period of transition is ended the Apostolic Succession will be secure in the united church". William Paton informed Dr. Temple about the adverse comment that this statement would provoke in South India (Paton, 28.5.1929, to Wm. Temple, I.M.C.). Dr. Temple replied (29.5.1929, *ibid.*): "I know one is engaged in an egg dance in saying anything about this matter. But a thing like a succession does not depend upon whether anybody accepts a theory of it or not. If there is episcopal ordination in the S.I.U.C. there will then be in it any succession that there may be in that episcopate from which they derive their own series."

(48) V. Bartlet, 18.9.1928, to J. J. Banninga, Madras. K. T. Paul shared Bartlet's view (Paul, 17.3.1928, to Banninga).

(49) A. C. Headlam, 15.10.1928, to E. J. Palmer.

(50) E. J. Palmer, 9.2.1925, to V. S. Azariah (Dornakal).

(51) A. C. Headlam, 15.10.1928, to E. J. Palmer.

(52) Cf. *Joint Committee Report*, 1921, pp. 18–19.

(53) *Joint Committee Report*, Dec. 1920, p. 10.

(54) E. J. Palmer, memorandum, 30.11.1928.

(55) *Ibid.*

(56) B. SAMUEL, "What the Scheme means to the Telugu Field", *Church Union News and Views*, September 1931, pp. 74–76. For comparative statements, see C. STANLEY VAUGHAN, "The Effect of Union on the Basis of the Proposed Scheme in the Madura Area", *ibid.*, March 1932, pp. 191–94; H. THOMPSON, *Into All Lands*, pp. 376–78; and JOHN SAMUEL, "How the Proposed Union would affect the Tinnevelly Church", *ibid.*, May 1932, pp. 221–24.

CHAPTER X

(1) L. A. HASELMAYER, *The Church of South India*, p. 51.

(2) V. Bartlet, 8.11.1932, to E. J. Palmer (cyclostyled).

(3) V. BARTLET [ed. CADOUX], *Church Life and Church Order*, p. LXI.

(4) V. Bartlet, 8.12.1932, to E. J. Palmer.

(5) *Church Union News and Views*, July 1932, pp. 22–23.

(6) *Ibid.*, Nov. 1932, p. 92.

(7) Bishop Western felt that the church union method of Palmer, namely historical argument, was not effective. With reference to an understanding of the historical episcopate he wrote to Azariah (1.8.1933): "Can we then get a solution by going deeper? Not, I believe, on the line of historical discussion, which Bishop Palmer is apt to follow; to wait for agreement here means to wait indefinitely and to give up the principle that it is only by living together that we shall come to agreement on such matters."

(8) J. J. Banninga, 13.3.1933, to H. Waller and 10.10.1933, to G. C. Hubback. Cf. G. E. PHILLIPS, *The Transmission of the Faith*, p. 64.

(9) *Church Union News and Views*, 1933, pp. 202–03.

(10) Thus J. S. M. Hooper (interview Sept. 1952). K. T. Paul's statement was made at the 1929 meeting at Madras.

(11) A. STRECKEISEN in *Church Union News and Views*, Jan. 1934, p. 144.

(12) S. C. NEILL, in *Towards a United Church*, p. 96. The generous reference to the role of women in the Joint Committee needs to be modified by statistical facts. At the twenty Joint Committee meetings 1920–47, the S.I.U.C. on *one* occasion, June 1932, sent a lady representative, Miss Inglis. The Methodists sent Miss M. Brown once in November 1939, and Miss E. D. Birdseye twice, 1941 and 1944. Out of a total of 656 attendances by three delegations 1920–47, only 4 were of ladies.

(13) E. J. Palmer explained his position in a letter to Azariah, H. Waller and Foss Westcott, 10.5.1932: "I learned from the campaign of 1929–30 that the great thing was not to let any serious objections go by default, but to get an answer before the public concerned as soon as possible. I have found since that my answers written and spoken had a greater currency and effect than I had expected."

(14) About Palmer's contribution, see pp. 115 ff.

(15) H. Waller defined his ecclesiastical position in a letter to Stacey Waddy of the S.P.G., 25.5.1931 (S.P.G., Letters Received, India II, Madras, etc.): "I am not an A.C. in capitals but I have very clear notions of what the Church means." He was hurt by the *Church Times* criticism of his pro-union standpoint. "That I cannot get over." Cf. his letter to Foss Westcott, 20.9.35 (Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta): "What I always feel about the attitude on the part of both Catholics and Evangelicals is that they have no confidence in their own doctrines. The Anglo-Catholics seem to be afraid that all their special doctrines will fade away at once if people are brought into the church who hold a Protestant view."

(16) H. Waller, 18.9.1935, to Noel Hall (copy in Diocesan Archives, Madras).

(17) Cf. T. R. Foulger's impression, *Church Union News and Views*, March 1936, pp. 71–72.

(18) J. C. Bennett, 19.2.1934, to W. J. Noble (M.M.S.)

(19) N. HALL, "Some Thoughts which underlie my Attitude to the South India Scheme" (undated typewritten statement, obviously written in 1935, Diocesan Archives, Chota Nagpur).

(20) A. C. HEADLAM, *Christian Unity*, 1930, p. 155.

(21) *Church Union News and Views*, Aug. 1933, pp. 202–09.

(22) D. CHELLAPPA, "Canon R. A. Manuel, An Appreciation", *The S. India Churchman*, July 1949, pp. 133–36. Cf. H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, pp. 629–30.

(23) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1937, p. 83.

(24) *First Quarry Article*, "Inauguration of Church Union in S. India", p. 45, where J. J. Banninga and J. S. M. Hooper are referred to as "two architects of Union".

(25) J. S. M. Hooper, interview, Sept. 1952.

(26) Cf. N. C. SARGANT & A. M. WARD, *Tomlinson of Mysore.*

(27) A. M. WARD, in *First Quarry Article*, p. 55.

(28) A good-humoured jibe was told in South India against Posnett: "The people in Hyderabad don't want bishops. They have a pope already."

(29) Cf. J. J. ELLIS, *Paul Rangaramanujam—Servant of Jesus Christ*, pp. 62–65.

(30) ANANTA RAO, in *Church Union News and Views*, January 1932, with a reply by J. S. M. HOOPER, *ibid.*

(31) A. H. Legg, 17.12.1935, to J. H. Maclean. Maclean complained in an article in the *Church Union News and Views*, Dec. 1935, p. 41, that "it is believed in some quarters that a Council is in no way bound by any resolution passed at a former meeting."

(32) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1935*, p. 11.

(33) J. J. Banninga, 12.10.1927, to E. J. Palmer (Archives of the Bishop of Bombay). Banninga explained his attitude towards the end of the 'thirties in an interesting letter to Bishop Waller, 5.11.1940: "I did realize on my return from furlough that it was utterly impossible to get the S.I.U.C. to adopt the scheme as it stood, and that perhaps those of us who were officially connected with the S.I.U.C. in carrying out the scheme felt that we had gone too fast and too far forward for our church and that the only way to bring the church up to the place where they could possibly adopt the Scheme was to go back to the position where the church was and to try to lead them to a forward position."

(34) D. M. Devasahayam's publications on church union, see Selected Bibliography, General Works.

(35) D. M. Devasahayam was supported in his criticism of the Scheme by A. Zachariah. Speaking at a Laymen's Conference in 1932, the latter had to criticize some ideas in his own church: "In Travancore even the L.M.S. Christians had somewhat sacerdotal ideas regarding ordination and ministers" (proof: they wanted Holy Communion to be administered by ordained men, not by laymen). On the other hand "our early church prospered very well under our old missionaries who were more or less bishops" (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, 1932, p. 20).

(36) "Congregationalism was suitable to Indian genius both in view of its spiritual emphasis and the importance of the village system in India. It was not advisable to make it possible for any authority to interfere with the autonomy of the local congregation" (D. M. Devasahayam in *S.I.U.C. Herald*, June 1932, p. 69).

(37) *The Guardian* (Madras), 5.9.1935.

(38) J. J. ELLIS, *Paul Rangaramanujam*, p. 65.

(39) Interview with Rev. W. Scopes, Dornakal, January 1951, and his letter, 18.1.1953, to the author. I would like to suggest that the spirit of humour which became such a smooth oil in the negotiations was a characteristically English and Indian contribution. It should not be taken for granted that if the majority of the missionaries had been, for example, Continentals the same spirit would have prevailed.

(40) J. J. Banninga, 12.7.1932, to Azariah (Dornakal).

(41) H. Gulliford, 8.12.1933, to W. J. Noble (M.M.S.).

(42) The problem of the democratic response of the masses to the challenge of union was analysed from time to time. D. M. Devasahayam felt himself to be the protagonist of democratic Protestantism. When a democratically elected church council did decide in favour of union, he promptly resorted to the arguments of aristocratic intellectualism: "Care should be taken that the comparative ignorance and helplessness [of the Indian churches] should not be taken advantage of by others to achieve union" (D. M. DEVASAHAYAM, *The Proposed Scheme of Union: Its Broken Pledges*, 1935, p. 3).

An Anglo-Catholic missionary with experience from the Nandyal area maintained that "as many as ninety-five per cent [of the Indian members of the church] did not know what the uniting churches were" (B. P. BURNETT, *Reunion by Anticipation*, p. 17). The persuasiveness of this statement is partially offset by a reminder from the American sociologist Joseph Goldstein that exactly the same percentage of British trade unionists—five per cent—show real and sustained interest in the branches of their own T.U.C. Cf. J. GOLDSTEIN, *The Government of British Trade Unions, A Study of Apathy and the Democratic Process*. Interestingly, J. S. M. Hooper in his polemics against the Indian Methodist minister Ananta Rao resorted to the same argument: "Most of our Indian Christians know little or nothing about [the Scheme of Union]; and, drawn as they are chiefly from the depressed classes, only just emerging from darkness and ignorance into the light of the Gospel of Christ, there is no reason why they should be troubled with the technicalities of a discussion which could only confuse them" (*Methodist Recorder*, 19.11.1931).

(43) A. A. MARTIN, in *S.I.U.C. Herald*, June 1933, p. 67.

(44) Meshach Peter in 1933 (*Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1933, p. 74) suggested that every church in South India should arrange for addresses and papers.

(45) D. JIVANAYAKAM, in *S.I.U.C. Herald*, 1940, p. 41.

(46) Thus C. W. Posnett, at Methodist Conference 1933 (*Methodist Recorder*, July 1933).

(47) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, December 1939 and August 1941.

(48) Azariah, 6.1.1940, informed the bishops of the C.I.B.C. that the total number of Anglican subscribers in the whole of India was 24! The diocese of Madras had 6 subscribers, Tinnevelly 2, Dornakal 8 and Lucknow 2, whereas Assam, Calcutta, Chota Nagpur, Travancore and Nasik had one subscriber each.

(49) G. C. Hubback, 2.2.1936, to Azariah (Dornakal Archives). A few months earlier, Bishop Hubback had written to Azariah (8.9.1935, *ibid.*): "I could bear almost any temporary irregularities if I felt that the other parties could share in the conviction that the Episcopate, when exercised in a true spirit, is the God-ordained means for securing the unity for which

our Lord prayed." Archbishop Wm. Temple at the same period suggested that the Scheme should not be allowed to become more complicated: "I am inclined to think that you will not get much further with the J.C., and had better now settle the lines as far as possible leaving the United Church of the future to complete the picture" (Temple, 2.12.1936, to Azariah, Dornakal).

(50) *Proceedings of the Episcopal Synod*, C.I.B.C., 1938. A committee dealt with Bishop Hubback's resolution. The first resolution on the Episcopate was altered to read: "They agree that in the United Church there shall be one ministry of which an integral part shall be the Episcopate." Bishop Hubback thought that this was "a decided improvement".

(51) The House of Laity voted for Bishop Hubback's proposal with 35 votes to 4; the House of Clergy likewise with 27 votes to 14. The House of Bishops voted against with 5 votes to 7. According to the rules of the Episcopal Synod the proposal was thus declared lost.

(52) R. COUPLAND, *Indian Politics 1936–1942*, Part II, p. VI.

(53) R. COUPLAND, *India: A Re-statement*, p. 152.

(54) G. V. JOB, *Re-thinking Christianity in India*, pp. 179, 181, 196.

(55) *Church Union News and Views*, July 1930, p. 37.

(56) There were, of course, other Indian standpoints also. A group among the Indian Wesleyan ministers in Hyderabad followed for a while the lead taken by their colleague, Ananta Rao, who at this time regarded the Church Union Scheme as sacerdotalism.

(57) M. J. SARGUNAM, "Church Union—An Imperious Need", *Church Union News and Views*, July 1931, p. 22.

(58) A. J. Appasamy drew up this appeal together with J. A. Jacob, C. J. Lucas, H. Sumitra and M. J. Sargunam (Cf. Appasamy, 25.5.1936, to Azariah, Dornakal). W. Paton cheered his Indian friends: "The question 'What may we do without offending our fellow-Christians in the West' ought to be on the breakfast tables of every ecclesiastical leader in this country" (Paton, 27.5.1936, to Azariah, Dornakal Archives). Three years earlier, E. J. Palmer had interpreted the note of urgency in this Indian search for church union: "Fathers and brethren", he hears the Indians saying to the Western churches, "your learned advice may help us much: but nothing that you can do can stop us" (*The Challenge of an Indian Experience*, p. 21).

(59) *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*, 1937, p. 103.

(60) *Proceedings of the Episcopal Synod*, 1938. Cf. Conjeeveram Conference, Sept. 1937 (*Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1937, pp. 29–30): "The Conference agreed that the church urgently needs Union in view of her supreme task of preaching the Gospel. The keynote of this session was that since we are not saved by dogmas it would be folly to think of delaying Union until all differences of interpretation have been removed. Mr. W. Jeevaratnam urged that we should not wait to attain a set of doctrines

acceptable to all, for Union is essential in S. India from a family and a political point of view."

(61) *The Guardian* (Madras), 4.2.1937.

(62) H. Sumitra, 28.3.1942, to N. Goodall (L.M.S.).

(63) *Church Union News and Views*, Jan, 1934, p. 149.

(64) *Ibid.*, Sept. 1931, p. 45.

(65) Reformed Church of America, Mission Board, statement, May 1934.

(66) *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1934, p. 23.

(67) *R.C.A. Reply on S. India*, dated June 1934. Cf. J. J. DeBoer, 20.8.1936, to C. J. Lucas, Vellore. J. H. Maclean, 9.10.1936, to Muyskens observed that this financial pressure from the West caused some Indian pastors to oppose the Scheme, as they feared loss in the support from the U.S.

(68) The decision of the General Committee of C.M.S. was taken in Dec. 1929.

(69) *S.P.G. Standing Committee 1933–35*, Vol. 74, pp. 4810, 4818. Cf. S. India Church Union Advisory Group Minute Book I, June 1935.

(70) This refers particularly to S.P.G. discussions in 1936.

(71) In 1928, "South India" had been discussed by the Anglicans in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, occasioned by a motion by Canon C. E. Douglas. He warned against the wish of "the Bishop of Dornakal and the apostles of Christian *swarage*" (*Chronicle of Convocation*, Canterbury, 1928, July, No. 2, p. 226). In 1929 the Archbishop, Dr. Lang, ruled that the problem of reunion in South India was not then "constitutionally before the Convocations" (*ibid.*, 1929, p. 97). In 1929 Gore and others published a statement on "The Proposed Scheme of Union in South India, An Opinion". It contained strong criticism of the tendency to a dual ministry within the church and of the "anomalies" of the Interim Period.

(72) *The Report of the Lambeth Consultative Body*, which was addressed to the Metropolitan of Calcutta, was dated 1.8.1938. Cf. the debate in the Convocation of Canterbury, January 1938 (*The Chronicle of Convocation*, p. 134—Dr. Lang's statement). In 1936 Bishop Headlam on his own initiative published "Notes by the Bishop of Gloucester on the Scheme for 1935, 1936, compared with that of 1929". The result of this private enquiry was even more favourable than that of the Consultative Body.

(73) *Church Union News and Views*, May 1932, p. 238.

(74) J. J. Banninga, 4.2.1938, to E. J. Palmer. Undoubtedly his proposals in this direction were one powerful factor in the formation of Friends of Reunion in Britain in 1933. Banninga's contacts with Dr. William Paton of the International Missionary Council were of great importance in this connexion. Banninga wrote, 10.12.1932, to V. Bartlet suggesting the formation of a group for discussion of fundamental Faith and Order problems. Bartlet told Paton about this, and the latter, 10.1.1933, interested Principal Alexander Martin in these plans. Later in the year the Friends of Reunion group was formed. It was Paton who arranged the important meeting

between Bishop Western and the Scottish theologians in Edinburgh in July 1933.

(75) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1932, p. 199 (reprint from *The Christian World*).

CHAPTER XI

(1) H. H. HENSON, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life*, p. 265; J. G. LOCKHART, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, p. 347.

(2) H. WALLER, *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1930, p. 62.

(3) AZARIAH, in *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1930, pp. 69–70.

(4) J. J. Banninga, 10.3.1930, to W. Paton (I.M.C.).

(5) A. H. LEGG, *The Proposed Scheme of Union between the Anglicans, Wesleyans and the S.I.U.C. in South India*, Trivandrum, 1929; H. W. NEWELL, *Some Reflections on the Present Proposals for Church Union in South India*, Pasumalai, 1929; and WM. CLEWES & OTHERS, "The South India United Church Scheme, Objections from Missionaries", *The Christian World*, 26.9.1929.

(6) F. J. WESTERN, *A Letter on the Proposed Scheme of Union*: "I think the truth is that in any union between churches it would be impossible to maintain the full Congregational position. Indeed, you have already recognized this by joining the S.I.U.C."

(7) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1929*, p. 13.

(8) J. J. BANNINGA, *A Letter regarding the Proposed Scheme of Union*, Pasumalai, 1929.

(9) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1929*, p. 32.

(10) *Report of the Joint Commission* . . . January 1931.

(11) American Board, 13.6.1931, to Madura C.C.

(12) A. Martin, 24.6.1931, to J. H. Maclean.

(13) *Reply to Questions*, 1930.

(14) A. J. ARANGADEN, *Church Union in South India*, pp. 109–13. The Continental theologian Hartenstein published his criticism in the form of "*Ten Theses*" *on Church Union.*

(15) A Streckeisen, 27.10.1933, to J. J. Banninga. Cf. *Malabar Church Council Report on Union*, Sept. 1932.

(16) A. STRECKEISEN, *Quartalbericht von Bruder A. Streckeisen*, Calicut, October 1931.

(17) K. R. Karunakar, Church Union, Statement in the Malabar C.C., 1932 (Basel Mission Archives).

(18) *The Proposed Scheme of Union: Two Documents*, Nagercoil, 1930. Cf. A. H. Legg, 17.12.1935, to J. H. Maclean.

(19) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, March 1931, p. 279.

(20) J. H. Maclean, 30.4.1931, to A. Martin. Cf. *Church Union News and Views*, Nov. 1931, p. 110.

(21) Banninga's persuasive powers in the interest of union were not acceptable everywhere. At an all-India Round-Table Conference on

Union he expounded the advantages of the South India Scheme. John Drake wrote in his paper *Dnyanodaya*, Feb. 1931: "The kind of advocacy in which Dr. Banninga indulges could only confirm their most unfavourable impressions. His statement, for instance, that Methodist Episcopal Bishops could not be allowed to join in the consecration of Bishops on the ground that the Methodist episcopate only dates back 150 years, whereas, waiting any appeal to New Testament teaching, the Anglican succession can be dated back, at least, to 300 A.D.—'a matter of arithmetic', as he admitted —is queer doctrine from the lips of a Congregationalist."

(22) J. J. Banninga, 3.7.1931, to J. H. Maclean.

(23) Madura C.C. Minutes, 11.1.1931.

(24) H. Gulliford wrote in *Church Union News and Views*, May 1932, on "The value of Episcopacy in the Indian Church": "The personal element is needed. . . . The father in God, who will remain for a longer season, is what is needed to complete the organization."

(25) C. W. Posnett, 3.2.1932, to Azariah (Dornakal): "The word historic seems to stick in the throats of some of our people."

(26) J. S. M. Hooper's address at the Wesleyan Conference in England, 1931 (*Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1931).

(27) J. J. Banninga, 28.11.1931, to H. Waller.

(28) A. Streckeisen, 27.10.1930, to J. J. Banninga.

(29) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1931, pp. 199–201.

(30) J. J. Banninga, 29.9.1930, to Azariah.

(31) Azariah, 3.10.1930, to J. J. Banninga.

(32) Temple wrote to Azariah: "I should hesitate myself to start upon intercommunion until it was quite certain that the Scheme was going through, but I should be ready for such a step in my own mind as soon as that was certain because then the spirit of schism would have been definitely driven out" (Temple, 23.12.1930, to Azariah, Dornakal Archives).

(33) J. S. M. Hooper, 20.11.1930, to H. Gulliford.

(34) J. S. M. Hooper, 20.11.1930, to H. Gulliford (Madras).

(35) C. J. Lucas, interview, 1950.

(36) J. S. M. Hooper, 20.11.1930, to H. Gulliford.

(37) Temple, 23.12.1930, to Azariah (Dornakal Archives).

(38) Loyd, 19.11.1930, to J. S. M. Hooper (Madras).

(39) Tubbs, 10.11.1931, to Foss Westcott (Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(40) H. Waller, 26.11.1931, to J. J. Banninga.

(41) S. C. NEILL, in *Towards a United Church*, p. 107 f.

(42) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1932.

(43) J. J. Banninga, 10.9.1930, to A. C. Headlam (copy, Madras).

(44) Foss Westcott, 30.10.1930, to G. C. Hubback, Assam (copy in Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(45) FOSS WESTCOTT, "The Oxford Theologians' Note," in *Calcutta Diocesan Record*, May 1932.

(46) Foss Westcott, 7.1.1933, to E. J. Palmer (copy in Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(47) E. J. PALMER, in *Church Times*, quoted in *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1932, p. 67.

(48) *Lambeth Occasional Reports, 1931–1938*, p. 103.

(49) FOSS WESTCOTT, in his paper "The Oxford Theologians' Note (on Intercommunion)", *Calcutta Diocesan Record*, May 1932.

(50) J. J. Banninga, 28.9.1930, to Azariah (copy, Madras).

(51) Western, 22.6.1932, to Foss Westcott (Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(52) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1932, p. 170. In March 1933 Waller had become so cautious that he said: "'35 is first possible date, '36 more likely or '37" (to Paton, 6.3.1933, I.M.C.).

(53) Foss Westcott's standpoint defined in his "The Oxford Theologians' Note" (*Calcutta Diocesan Record*, 1932, and in offprint), and in his letter, 3.6.1932, to the Archbishop of Canterbury (copy, Calcutta).

(54) FOSS WESTCOTT, "The Oxford Theologian's Note", *Calcutta Diocesan Record*, 1932.

(55) *Assam Diocesan Magazine*, 1932, Bishop's Letter.

(56) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1932, p. 173.

(57) C. G. Lang, 6.5.1932, to Foss Westcott; Foss Westcott, 3.6.1932, to C. G. Lang (copies in Calcutta). Discussing the advisability of limited intercommunion in South India, Father A. G. Hebert in his book *Intercommunion, A Theological Study of Christian Unity* (London, 1932) defined the Anglican position: "We Anglicans may not give way even if we want to. . . . The tension between principles and friendliness is bound to be exceedingly acute; but it is just this tension that we must expect to meet at every turn, on the road that leads to Reunion" (p. 126).

(58) J. J. Banninga, 15.2.1932, to Azariah (Dornakal).

(59) J. H. Maclean, 11.5.1932, to J. J. Banninga.

(60) H. Waller, 24.5.1932, to Azariah (copy, Madras).

(61) H. Gulliford, 20.6.1932, to W. J. Noble (M.M.S.).

(62) Azariah, 21.5.1932, to J. J. Banninga (Madras).

(63) Gulliford, diary.

(64) Headlam, 5.1.1933, to J. J. Banninga. Another Headlam remark to J. J. Banninga, 10.6.1933: "You must really get rid of the idea that the Anglo-Catholic who opposes indiscriminate intercommunion is in any way more narrow-minded than the Free Churchman who has no principles which prevent him from such intercommunion."

(65) Azariah, 26.3.1933, to J. J. Banninga (copy, Madras).

(66) The Leader (*R.C.A.*), 30.5.1934.

(67) V. Bartlet, 17.12.1929, to J. J. Banninga.

(68) J. J. BANNINGA, in *Madras Mail*, 27.6.1932: "Provision was made in the Scheme whereby the Basis of Union could be altered in the future. At the suggestion of Dr. Vernon Bartlet of Oxford, however, the Committee has changed its thoughts on this subject and the Basis of Union as finally adopted will become a historic document that will be unalterable."

(69) E. J. Palmer, 17.11.1932, to H. Waller (quoted after the copy to Azariah, in Dornakal Diocesan Archives).

(70) In the same edition of the Scheme there was another footnote, this time added to the Constitution, according to which, on Streckeisen's suggestion, in the Malabar C.C. of the S.I.U.C. presbyters retained the right to administer Confirmation (*Constitution*, Chapter III).

(71) V. Bartlet, 11.11.1932, to J. J. Banninga.

(72) J. H. Maclean, 30.4.1931, to A. Martin (Madras). Cf. *Church Union News and Views*, Nov. 1931, p. 110.

(73) Western, 22.6.1932, to Foss Westcott (Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(74) H. Gulliford, 8.12.1932, to W. J. Noble (M.M.S.).

(75) J. J. Banninga, 28.6.1932, to Wm. Paton (I.M.C.). Cf. H. Gulliford's diary, 17.6.1932.

(76) E. J. Palmer, 5.1.1933, to Foss Westcott (Calcutta).

(77) E. J. PALMER: "Two Exploratory Essays" (typescript, 2.3.1932, with Dr. Hugh Martin, London).

(78) E. J. Palmer, 25.10.1930, to A. Martin (copy in Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(79) E. J. PALMER: "Two Exploratory Essays" (typescript 1932, with Dr. Hugh Martin).

(80) E. J. Palmer, 5.1.1933, to Foss Westcott (Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta).

(81) E. J. Palmer, 17.8.1932, to Azariah and H. Waller, and "Some Observations by Bishop Palmer", January 1933 (typewritten).

(82) *Episcopal Synod, Jan.–Feb. 1933, Proceedings and Record of Decisions*, p. 4.

(83) Cf. articles on Voting by Houses, by J. H. Maclean and W. E. S. Holland, in *Church Union News and Views*, March 1933. H. Gulliford was for Voting by Houses and had thought this method would do away with the bishop's veto (H. Gulliford, 22.2.1934, to W. J. Noble, M.M.S.).

(84) *Ibid.*, p. 165.

(85) H. Gulliford, 20.6.1932, to W. J. Noble (M.M.S.).

(86) J. J. Banninga, 28.6.1932, to W. Paton (I.M.C.).

(87) V. Bartlet, 11.11.1932, to J. J. Banninga (cyclostyled).

(88) E. J. Palmer, 17.8.1932, to Bishops Azariah and H. Waller, and to J. J. Banninga and H. Gulliford (cyclostyled). A very important correspondence between E. J. Palmer and V. Bartlet in Sept. and Nov. 1932 was also cyclostyled.

(89) *Ibid.*

(90) "Resolutions from Episcopal Synod, C.I.B.C., 1930", *Church Union News and Views*, July 1930, p. 19 ff.

(91) Cf. H. Waller's explanation of Lambeth's view on the Pledge, (*ibid.*, Sept. 1930, p. 61).

(92) Paul Daniel, Secretary of the Travancore C.C., in *ibid.*, July 1931, p. 25.

(93) J. J. Banninga, 30.4.1930, to Wm. Paton (I.M.C.).

(94) Western, 27.2.1933, to J. J. Banninga. Cf. Azariah, 26.3.1933, to the same.

(95) To write the new draft of the Pledge was left by the J.C., June 1932, in the hands of a Drafting Committee consisting of Western, H. Gulliford, N. G. Ponnaiah, C. J. Lucas and J. J. Banninga. The new formula was inserted in the 1932 Pledge, an edition printed only in 100 copies.

(96) J. J. Banninga, 9.3.1933, to F. J. Western (copy, Madras).

(97) *Ibid.*

(98) Godfrey Phillips' notes, taken at the meeting 7.7.1933, Madras. Dr. Paton was chairman of the meeting.

(99) E. J. Palmer, 10.4.1933, to Foss Westcott (cyclostyled).

(100) *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1933.

(101) H. Waller, 8.5.1933, to Foss Westcott (Calcutta). Cf. letters, *ibid.*, from Bishops of Lucknow, Nagpur, Assam, Chota Nagpur and Dornakal.

(102) Thus according to Foss Westcott, 16.5.1933, to Wm. Paton (I.M.C.).

(103) *Church Union News and Views*, July 1933, p. 8.

(104) H. Gulliford, 22.2.1934, to Noble (M.M.S.).

(105) In 1943 when the Pledge issue reappeared Bishop Noel Hall of Chota Nagpur referred to the treatment of the subject in the J.C. of 1934: "The 1934 explanation represents the views of the majority of the J.C. The fact that it is described as the judgment of the whole Committee must not be taken to mean that individual delegates, of whom I was one, approved of the Scheme containing the Pledge so interpreted. If I remember rightly I got up in the meeting and said that all I could vote for was that this interpretation should be referred to the Governing Bodies of the uniting churches to discover whether they agreed to it or not" (*Bombay Diocesan Magazine*, January 1943).

(106) The Pledge was discussed in Dr. W. F. Lofthouse's Report on his visit to the churches in S. India, 1934. Cf. also the *Methodist Conference Report*, 1934.

(106*a*) Joint Committee Minutes, Feb.–Mar. 1935, p. 5.

(107) Quoted after *Bombay Diocesan Magazine*, January 1943, p. 8.

(108) *Lambeth Consultative Committee*, 1.8.1938.

(109) Western's long, highly illuminating letter, 1.8.1933, to Bishop Azariah (copy in I.M.C.).

(110) Western felt he had the theological support of Dr. Quick's *The Christian Sacraments* on this point.

(111) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1934, p. 186, and H. Gulliford, 4.10.1933, to Noble (M.M.S.).

(112) Notes of a group meeting on church union in London, 7–8.4.1933, in letter from E. J. Palmer, 10.4.1933, to Foss Westcott (Calcutta); E. J. Palmer, letter to *Church Times*, 29.6.1935. See also the debate between B. J. Kidd and Western in *Theology*, Aug. and Nov. 1935. It was V. Bartlet who in the 'twenties had referred to the Swedish precedent. At Lausanne 1927 J. J. Banninga had made Archbishop N. Söderblom's acquaintance and he deeply admired the Swedish Church leader. Dr. Y. Brilioth was asked by E. J. Palmer to explain the significance, according to the Swedish view, of the participation of presbyters in consecration. Cf. Y. Brilioth, 8.12.1932, to "My dear Bishop". Copies of this letter were circulated to some of the leaders in South India.

(113) *Report of the Visit of the Rev. W. F. Lofthouse, etc.*, 1934.

(114) J. H. Maclean, 25.7.1935, to G. E. Phillips.

(115) Telugu C.C. Minutes, 29.6.1933.

(116) Azariah, 1.9.1933, to J. J. Banninga (copy, Madras).

(117) Telugu C.C. Minutes, 29.6.1933.

(118) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1933*, p. 50.

(119) A. STRECKEISEN, *Tertialbericht 1933*, in Basel Mission Archives.

(120) *Church Union News and Views*, Jan. 1934, p. 125.

(121) H. Gulliford, 6.3.1935, to Noble (M.M.S.).

(122) *Minutes, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1935*, pp. 44–45.

(123) *Ibid.*, p. 38.

(124) Travancore C.C. Minutes, Sept. 1935. The decision was not unanimous. The Scheme was opposed by 97 votes to 23, and 6 abstentions.

(125) J. J. Banninga tried to cheer the unionists with an article "We must Unite!" which he wrote while on furlough in the U.S.A. (*Church Union News and Views*, Aug. 1935, p. 94.): "We shall never have a united Christendom unless we can build a model to convince the world of its practicability. Ours is the privilege in South India to make such a demonstration."

(126) R. A. Dudley, interview, July 1952. His personal church union method was "united service" rather than theological discussions (DUDLEY, "Pathways to Union", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1934, p. 69).

(127) A. STRECKEISEN, "How a Continental looks at the Scheme of Union", *Church Union News and Views*, Jan. 1934.

(128) See *Theological Education in the Tamil Nad; A Century of Theological Education at Pasumalai, South India, 1842–1942*; and *Minutes of a Meeting of the Special Committee on a Union Theological Seminary in the Tamil Country*, Pasumalai, 1933.

(129) Western 23.3.1935, to S. Waddy (S.P.G., Letters Received,

Tinnevelly); *S.P.G. Standing Committee*, 3.5.1934, 7.1.1935; Western, 13.12.1935, to "Members of the Committee on the Union Theological Seminary" (S.P.G., Letters Received, Tinnevelly).

(130) J. H. Maclean obviously referred to the Tinnevelly–Pasumalai issue when he told the S.I.U.C. constituency that there was no need to fear "that the bishops will rule autocratically. Assuming that the union comes into being while the present Anglican bishops of South India are in office the position will be that there will not be a single Anglo-Catholic in the episcopate, and we have had instances recently of the present Anglican bishops yielding to their clergy" (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1935, p. 69).

(131) The term was used by at least one S.I.U.C. leader at this time.

(132) Western, 24.9.1935, to J. H. Maclean.

(133) G. E. PHILLIPS, "Suggested Further Consideration of Church Union in South India", August 1934 (cyclostyled).

(134) G. E. Phillips was conscious of "deeper currents not yet showing themselves on the surface which must turn the tide ultimately". In a letter to J. H. Maclean, 25.10.1934, he gave a remarkable analysis of these currents: Indian political freedom and the possible outcome of the German political situation ought to make people feel "how foolish it is for the church to cling to little separating points which prevent it from acting together" (Madras).

CHAPTER XII

(1) J. J. Banninga, 2.11.1937, to H. Waller (Madras).

(2) E. P. RICE, *The Lambeth Quadrilateral and the Church Union in South India*.

(3) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1935*, p. 39, and *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Sept. 1931, pp. 144–45.

(4) Interview with C. J. Lucas, Madras, December 1950.

(5) *Church Union News and Views*, 1933, p. 77. Kanarese C.C. had in 1934 8 pastors and 47 deacons and elders.

(6) J. H. Maclean did not accept A. Streckeisen's view. Writing to the latter, 2.10.1936, he says: "I doubt the wisdom of compelling the Indian Church to pronounce an opinion on this or that matter connected with the Reformation. While there is much in the Reformation in which we Protestants rightly glory, there is a good deal of which we must take a different view, and the Indian Church should not be perplexed with historical questions of this sort." As a retort of a Scottish Protestant to a Swiss Protestant, this statement by Maclean is not without interest. Maclean's long experience in India and his struggle with union problems had had their effects on him.

(7) J. J. Banninga, 4.2.1938, to E. J. Palmer.

(8) "Observations by Bishop Palmer", 21.1.1938, cyclostyled.

(9) Minutes S.I.U.C. Church Union Committee, Sept. 10, 1939, at Pasumalai. In "Some Observations", addressed to Foss Westcott, E. J. Palmer had in January 1933 taken the same view: "The policy of making

elaborate Confessions of Faith was a wrong policy which tended to magnify and stereotype divisions."

(10) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1939*, p. 19.

(11) ARANGADEN, *Church Union in South India*, pp. 127–31.

(12) Cf. Hartenstein's important study: *Die Mission als theologisches Problem.*

(13) *Documents of the C.S.I. and the Anglican Communion*, 1950, p. 15. H. Sumitra liked the amended clause on the Faith of the Church: "It should satisfy everyone in the S.I.U.C." (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, May 1940, p. 23).

(14) A. Streckeisen himself pointed out (*Documents of the C.S.I. and the Anglican Communion*, 1950, pp. 14–15) that the 1929 Scheme was in danger of being interpreted in a sectarian and individualistic way. The modification in 1939 aimed at counteracting this tendency.

(15) E. J. PALMER, *South India: The Meaning of the Scheme*, 1944, p. 6. Thus against the Open Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, written by Superiors of Certain Religious Communities, *ibid.*

(16) C. B. FIRTH, "The House of God", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Dec. 1941. The series went on until April 1942.

(17) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1915*, p. 27, and J. H. Maclean, 10.1.1941, to H. Popley (Madras). Maclean and H. Sumitra both corroborated this statement.

(18) A. Streckeisen, 27.11.1932, to J. J. Banninga.

(19) *Report of the Continuation Committee*, June 24–26, 1935. Cf. Monahan, 29.6.1935, to W. J. Noble (M.M.S., Madras).

(20) W. T. Clewes, 12.2.1935, to J. H. Maclean (Madras). Maclean replied: "For the sake of a principle to which effect is very seldom given, are we going to insist that the Indian Church must always remain divided?" (12.3.1935, *ibid.*).

(21) Résumé of Clewes's argument in Banninga, 2.11.1937, to H. Waller.

(22) A. Streckeisen refers to IGNATIUS, *Ep. Smyrna*, VIII:1–2.

(23) A. Streckeisen, 24.12.1937 and 21.3.1938, to J.J. Banninga; Banninga, 28.1.1938, to Streckeisen. Streckeisen did not take his learned intrusion into the patristic domains of the Bartlet–Palmer argument too seriously. Ignatius proved that Lay Celebration was accepted "up to at least the 2nd century. I therefore do not think to trouble more about it, but to leave my Ignatius during holidays on the bookshelf enjoying the same rest he had had practically all these years" (21.3.1938).

(24) J. J. Banninga, 2.8.1939, to Azariah.

(25) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, 1939, p. 84. Some of his correspondents were Anglicans.

(26) J. J. Banninga, 10.12.1937, to Azariah. Cf. *idem*, 26.4.1938, to H. Waller.

(27) J. J. Banninga, 2.11.1937, to H. Waller.

(28) H. Waller, 4.11.1937, to J. J. Banninga.

(29) E. J. PALMER, *The Challenge of an Indian Experience*, 1933, p. 26.

(30) "Observations by Bishop Palmer", 28.1.1938.

(31) Headlam, 29.12.1937, to J. J. Banninga.

(32) Azariah, 2.10.1939, to R. A. Manuel.

(33) Monahan, 5.9.1939, to J. J. Banninga; J. S. M. Hooper, 9.9.1939, to Azariah.

(34) J. J. Banninga, 23.9.1939, to J. S. M. Hooper.

(34*a*) R. BLISS, "Regional and Gathered Churches", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Oct. 1937, p. 171. The programme of Bliss at this time was "Protestant Catholicism" (*Church Union News and Views*, July 1933, pp. 17–18).

(35) *Faith and Order, Edinburgh 1937 Report*, pp. 101–03, and C. J. LUCAS, "Sacraments and Laymen", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, July 1938, p. 103.

(36) Bishop Azariah in his correspondence with J. J. Banninga pointed to C. J. Lucas's example. "I ask: Is the S.I.U.C. doing this now? Is the lay moderator celebrating? If (I argue) you in the S.I.U.C. do not practise Lay Celebration now before union, is it right to ask us after union to do this, when you know one of the negotiating churches would consider it a serious breach of church order?"

(37) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Oct. 1939, p. 229.

(38) J. H. Maclean, 20.12.1940, to J. J. Banninga.

(39) Azariah, 11.3.1940, to J. H. Maclean (Madras). Cf. Azariah in *The Guardian*, 11.1.1940.

(40) W. E. Orchard's autobiographical work was called *From Faith to Faith*, London, 1933.

(41) H. LEFEVER, *Lay Celebration, a Congregationalist Point of View*, p. 43.

(42) C. B. Firth, 11.9.1940, to H. Lefever (Lay Celebration file).

(43) C. B. FIRTH, "The House of God", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, March 1942, p. 148.

(44) C. B. Firth, 10.7.1940 and 11.9.1940, to H. Lefever.

(45) C. B. FIRTH, "The House of God", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, April 1942, p. 4.

(46) A. M. WARD, *Lay Administration of the Lord's Supper; A Methodist Point of View*, 1941, p. 40.

(47) Gunamony of S. Travancore was hindered from coming to the Bangalore meeting. In his place, uninvited but undaunted, D. M. Devasahayam showed up. He defended Lay Celebration to the last ditch. "He did not give in, although he gave no reasons for his standpoint. He just stubbornly refused" (interview, 8.9.1952, with H. Lefever). Devasahayam's altogether remarkable influence in the S.I.U.C. at the time is indicated by the fact that in 1939 he was not only elected a member of a sub-committee, together with B. Rottschaefer and A. Gunamony, on "The Historic Episcopate with reference to the Scheme", but also made Convener of this sub-committee. The sub-committee reported in 1941. The report is against "legalizing insults and discriminations to which the Assembly does not

submit", and so on (S.I.U.C. Union Committee, Report of the Sub-Committee on the Historic Episcopate with reference to the Scheme, 1941).

(48) Interview with H. Lefever, Sept. 1952. When Lefever returned to Trivandrum in Travancore after the meeting, his Congregational colleagues quoted Goldsmith at him:

"You went to scoff
and stayed to pray."

(49) The Report, see Appendix A to Joint Committee Report, Oct. 1841, *Church Union News and Views*, Sept.–Dec. 1941.

(50) Banninga, Maclean, Firth, Sumitra, C. J. Lucas, J. D. Manasseh and Sargunam on this occasion voted against Lay Celebration.

(51) *Joint Committee 1941 Report*, p. 24.

(52) Ward, *Lay Administration of the Lord's Supper*, p. 14.

(53) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1937*, p. 51.

(54) J. J. Banninga, 2.11.1937, to H. Waller.

(55) J. J. Banninga, 14.2.1938, to A. M. Hollis.

(56) H. Waller, 4.11.1937, to J. J. Banninga.

(57) *Ibid.*

(58) *Report, S.I.U.C. General Assembly, 1939*, p. 18.

(59) Noel Hall, 3.10.1939, to Azariah (Dornakal Archives).

CHAPTER XIII

(1) Cf. A. M. WARD, *Our Theological Task.*

(2) A. M. Hollis, 27.1.1936, to W. F. France (S.P.G., Letters Received, Tinnevelly).

(3) A. M. HOLLIS, "Some Thoughts on Church Union", *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, 1943, p. 227.

(4) This tendency was corroborated from 1941 by Dr. William Paton's "Plea to the Indian Churches for Closer Co-operation". They should act in all possible matters *as if* they were a united church in being. Cf. *The National Christian Council Review*, May 1941.

(5) P. T. FORSYTH, *The Church and the Sacraments* (1917 ed.), p. 121.

(6) THE BISHOP OF COLOMBO, *The Proposed Scheme for Church Union in South India*, Oct. 15, 1942 (printed).

(7) *Intercommunion: A Summary . . .*, Sydney, 1940.

(8) *The Proposed Concordat . . .*, 1939, and *Basic Principles proposed for the Union, etc.*, 1942. Interesting light is thrown on the development of these plans in American discussions from 1935 onwards by information in *The Basic Formula of Church Union* (ed. Douglas Horton), 1938, pp. 83–85.

(9) C. C. RICHARDSON, *The Sacrament of Reunion*, 1940.

(10) *Living Church*, August 1943; BRANDRETH, *An American Plan for Unity.*

(11) *Church Union News and Views*, July–August 1943, p. 4.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 3.

(13) *Ibid.*, Sept. 1943, p. 13.

(14) V. S. AZARIAH, "A Way Out", The *Dornakal Diocesan Magazine*, July–August 1943.

(15) E. J. Palmer and F. J. Western, 20.11.1943, to V. S. Azariah (mimeographed).

(16) HUBBACK, "My Ideas on Church Union", *The Student Outlook*, Feb. 1943, p. 21.

(17) *Ibid.* We refer to this article on the assumption that the main contents of it were expressed in Hubback's addresses at Nagpur, February 1944.

(18) *Dornakal Diocesan Magazine*, August 1944, p. 4.

(19) A. M. HOLLIS, *Statement on the Unification of the Ministry*, to the Diocese of Madras, 1944 (mimeographed).

(20) This point of view was already expressed in *Convictions* (ed. L. Hodgson), published in 1934, p. 187.

(21) *C.I.B.C. General Council*, Feb. 1944. Bishop S. C. Neill drafted the final form of the C.I.B.C. resolution. Cf. NEILL, *Christian Partnership*, p. 104. An important role in the debate was played by Anglican laymen such as Major Frank Lake. He felt Bishop Hubback's intervention to be "a breath of fresh air from the Holy Spirit". Cf. Lake's article on "Supplemental Ordination" in *Church Union News and Views*, June 1944.

(22) G. BROOMFIELD, *Anglican and Free Church Ministries*, p. 18.

(23) This reply was published in *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, June 1944, p. 130.

(24) Thus Tinnevelly and Nasik in April 1944, Madras in September 1944 (letters from Bishop Neill, Bishop Loyd and Bishop Hollis, to Bishop Hall, Archives, Chota Nagpur).

(25) A. M. HOLLIS, *Statement on the Unification of the Ministry*, 1944 (mimeographed).

(26) J. S. M. Hooper's letter to Newton Flew, 10.3.1944; Flew's memorandum, April 1944. E. W. Thompson wrote a memorandum with the title "Is there any Objection to Supplemental Ordination on Doctrinal Grounds?", 16.5.1944. His "Suggested Draft for Methodist Conference", 30.5.1944. Cf. E. W. Thompson, *The Church, Catholic and Free*, pp. 79–86. R. Newton Flew and G. E. Hickman Johnson, as Chairman of the Faith and Order Committee and the Committee on Church Union in South India, within the M.M.S., sent their reply to Hooper, 13.7.1944 (Letters from Flew and Thompson to W. J. Noble's file on Church Union in South India, M.M.S.).

(27) Church of Scotland, Supplementary Report of Inter-Church Relations Committee, May 1944. S. C. NEILL, *Towards a United Church*, p. 125, summarizes this report somewhat hastily: "The reply of the Scottish Church is concerned mainly to defend the *adequacy* of the ministry of that Church. This is the usual approach to the problem." In fact, the Scottish

reply, careful and generous at the same time, was not inspired by the concern which is here attributed to it.

(28) H. V. MARTIN, *Scheme of Church Union*, printed sheet, Anantapur, 1943. Cf. correspondence between Martin and Azariah in Dornakal Diocesan Archives. Azariah encouraged Martin: "I should therefore say, Go ahead with your proposal. The present seems to be an opportune moment for this new approach."

(29) C. B. FIRTH, in *The Church and Union*, p. 53.

(30) *Ibid.*, p. 36.

(31) J. E. L. Newbigin, 29.7.1944, statement (mimeographed): S.I.U.C. Committee on Church Union.

(32) J. E. L. NEWBIGIN, *The Reunion of the Church*, pp. 110–14.

(33) *Report of the S.I.U.C. Committee on Church Union*, Sept. 1944.

(34) The additional clause on the two-thirds majority was due to an amendment by J. E. L. Newbigin, who opposed the Travancore proposal (Newbigin, 15.10.1944, to R. A. Dudley, Madras).

(35) "In spite of the adverse vote in the S.I.U.C. Assembly, I am hopeful that what is called 'Supplemental Ordination' may be found acceptable; if it were, the '30 years' would probably become unnecessary" (E. J. Palmer, 26.10.1944, to Bishop V. S. Azariah, cyclostyled).

(36) Cf. A. M. WARD, "The Commissioning of the Ministry of the United Church", *Church Union News and Views*, March 1944.

(37) A. M. Ward, interview, Sept. 1952. Obviously, J. S. M. Hooper, who opposed Supplemental Ordination, did not support the majority of the Methodist delegation on this point.

(38) *Church Union News and Views*, Dec. 1944, p. 9.

(39) Canon R. A. Manuel, the Anglo-Catholic Indian member on the Joint Committee, was disappointed with the outcome of the Supplemental Ordination issue. In 1945 he left his work in Madras and joined the staff of Bishop's College, Calcutta. It has been said that one of the reasons for this was his uneasiness about the dual ministry in the church, which he foresaw Lambeth would not approve. He could see a solution only by conditional re-ordination. (D. CHELLAPPA, "Canon R. A. Manuel, An Appreciation", *The South India Churchman*, July 1949, p. 135; D. T. Niles, statement in the "Post-Lund" Conference, 1952.)

(39*a*) *Bombay Diocesan Magazine*, Sept. 1942, Cf. a series of five articles in *Nagpur Diocesan Magazine*, 1942.

(40) *Bombay Diocesan Magazine*, Jan. 1943, pp. 9–10.

(41) J. S. M. Hooper, 21.12.1942, to the Metropolitan, Dr. Foss Westcott (Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta). For Foss Westcott's endorsement, cf. *S.I.U.C. Herald*, March 1943, p. 187.

(42) *Bombay Diocesan Magazine*, Jan. 1943, p. 11.

(43) The Metropolitan, Dr. Foss Westcott, and Bishops Azariah, Loyd and Western were some of those who took part in the discussion (*ibid.*, and F. J. Western, 24.8.1943, to Max Warren, C.M.S.).

(44) *Bombay Diocesan Magazine*, Jan. 1943, pp. 12–13.

(45) Cf. F. A. IREMONGER, *William Temple*, pp. 589 ff.

(46) *Minutes, Lambeth Consultative Body*, 9.7.1943.

(47) J. E. L. Newbigin, 13.6.1943, to W. Paton (I.M.C.).

(48) *Church Union News and Views*, June 1945, p. 91.

(49) *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1943, p. 12.

(50) The meeting of the Continuation Committee was held in Nov. 1943, Cf. *Church Union News and Views*, Dec. 1943, pp. 20–21.

(51) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1944.

(52) The *Dornakal Diocesan Magazine*, July–Aug. 1943, p. 7.

(53) *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1945, p. 5 (Newbigin); Hooper's statement (*ibid.*, p. 1).

(54) S. G. NEILL, in *Towards a United Church*, p. 134.

(55) Bishop of Bombay, 29.11.1945, to the Metropolitan (G. C. Hubback), Calcutta.

(56) J. E. L. NEWBIGIN, in *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1945, p. 7.

(57) In another connexion, Bishop Hollis expressed this in the following way: "Real union . . . will not reach anything like adequacy until the second or third generation. You cannot just add Methodism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and Anglicanism together like a series of counters" (*Church Union News and Views*, March 1946, p. 26).

(58) *Church Union News and Views*, Dec. 1946, pp. 13–14.

(59) A. M. Hollis (mimeographed) letter 19.2.1946, as reply to circular sent by the Bishop of Colombo. Note by the Bishop of Colombo on the Presbyterate and the South India Scheme, 6.2.1946.

(60) The first amendment was moved by Archdeacon E. F. Synge, of Nagpur. The second amendment (referring the matter to Lambeth) was moved by Bishop A. O. Hardy of Nagpur, seconded by Canon R. A. Manuel.

(61) H. Sumitra in a letter to N. Goodall (28.3.1942, L.M.S.) gave his opinion on "what the real judgment of Indians is on this matter. It is not difficult to give a definite reply. Undoubtedly a very large majority of Indians are for union, for this union. In Travancore, Telugu, North Tamil and Madras Councils it is the missionaries who have so long delayed the acceptance of the scheme. They have pointed out the dangers, they have proposed changes. Left to themselves, Indians would have united long ago. But this long delay has meant valuable education to us. The time is drawing nigh for a supreme exercise of faith in the wisdom and power of Him who rules over all and for ever." J. V. Chelliah, "Should We Retreat?", *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1943, p. 119.

(62) DANIEL JENKINS, *The Church Meeting and Democracy*, 1944, p. 59: "Modern Congregationalism must be revivified and in some cases reborn. . . . It must begin with what has been described as 'theological repentance'."

(63) Five leaders of the S.I.U.C. in 1944 published a symposium volume called *The Church and Union*. The theological contributions by Firth, Newbigin and Streckeisen are of special value.

(64) N. Goodall, 24.9.1941, to secretaries of the L.M.S. church councils: "If you will suffer a pastoral word on the matter: If this road [of union] were now abandoned and the gains of the last twenty years set aside, a serious check would inevitably be given. . . . On matters of Order, the remaining difficulties are less formidable than those which have already been surmounted."

(65) *Church Union in South India*, Statement of the Board of the L.M.S., 9.12.1942.

(66) "The N.T., as I read it, seemed to lay so much stress on the fellowship of Christians in the one Body and so little stress on the kind of theories and practices that separated us. I began to feel that loyalty to secondary and often merely inferential matters was making us disloyal to the primary stress of the N. T. on the fellowship of the Body." The whole character of the Scheme of 1942 as compared with that of 1929 also made A. H. Legg a protagonist of the Church of South India (A. H. Legg, 20.4.1953, to the author).

(67) *The Guardian* (Madras), 23.7.1942 and 16.8.1942.

(68) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Dec. 1943, p. 142.

(69) H. V. Martin had, for various reasons, interesting views on baptism: "There is not a shred of evidence in the New Testament that water-baptism was essential to joining the Apostolic Church." The main thing was "Spirit-baptism" (MARTIN, in *The Church and Union*, Papers by Members of the S.I.U.C., 1944, p. 43).

(70) R. Robertson's attitude to the Scheme could perhaps be best summed up in his declaration of 1945: "Personally I want to vote for Church Union, and could even vote for the proposed Scheme if only it were more generous to the Congregational and Presbyterian elements which it is its proposed aim to include. . . . We stand for the spiritual principle that 'Where Christ is there is the Church' against 'Where the bishop is there is the Church'. Delay till real unity is more evident is the way of wisdom" (*S.I.U.C. Herald*, Aug. 1945, pp. 67–68).

(71) *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Oct., Nov., Dec. 1943.

(72) Cf. *Report of the S.I.U.C. Committee on Church Union*, Sept. 1944; S.I.U.C. Committee on Church Union, Sept. 1946; and *S.I.U.C. Herald*, 1941–47, *passim*.

(73) The Travancore opposition was carried on after Union by a small sectional group which styled itself "Travancore Church Council (London Mission Churches)", refusing to join the C.S.I. Priesthood and episcopacy were here the great bogeys. "The C.S.I. is a Church founded by the priest for the priestage [*sic*!] and honour of the priest. We know the very name 'Historic Episcopacy' has a sinister sound. The very word and its systems call upon very many associations, pride, persecution, bribery, robbery, violence, treachery and humiliating disabilities. We know that the Memorial Hall in London stands as a Memorial to the Fleet Prison and the persecutions in England by the same historic episcopacy. So much so that we are

also undergoing the same experiences [at the hand of the C.S.I.]" (S. J. Retnam, 12.12.1950, to the Secretary, International Congregational Council, printed pamphlet).

(74) *Report of the S.I.U.C. Church Union Committee*, Sept. 1944, p. 15. The Joint Committee accepted the request for a two years' respite, and expressed its hope that the following General Assembly would be able to give the final vote of the S.I.U.C. (*Joint Committee Minutes*, 22.11.1944, p. 5).

(75) A. H. LEGG, "Church Union", *Church Union News and Views*, Sept. 1946, pp. 6–7. Cf. on the 1946 Assembly, *S.I.U.C. Herald*, Nov. 1946, pp. 114–16. Cf. Legg's printed report on *S.I.U.C. Committee on Church Union, 1944–1946*.

(76) Devasahayam's final complaint was that "the non-Anglicans had not been able to extricate themselves from the Anglo-Catholic doctrines that dominate the scheme". He felt that the S.I.U.C. decision in September 1946 was due to "theological immaturity of the Indian Church and lack of genuine evangelical Christian experience" (*The Guardian*, Madras, 17.10.1946).

(77) *Episcopal Synod Minutes*, 1942, Appendix I.

(78) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1942, pp. 39–40.

(79) THE BISHOP OF COLOMBO, *Some Problems connected with the Proposed Scheme of Church Union in S. India*, 1942; and his speech to the Colombo Diocesan Council, Oct. 1942: "The Proposed Scheme for Church Union in S. India."

(80) The question was debated in the Colombo Diocesan Council for two days. The result was that 35 of the clergy voted for the scheme, 31 against; 76 of the laity for, and 29 against (*Church Times*, 11.2.1942).

(80*a*) The intensity of the debate in the *Church Times* can be measured by simply mentioning the editorials, articles and correspondence on South India published in the period Sept. 1942–July 1943:

1942: Sept. 25, H. J. Edwards. *Oct. 2*, W. B. O'Brien. *Oct. 9*, J. C. Sprotts (supports O'Brien). *Nov.* 6 (letter from Bp. of Colombo). *Nov. 27*, summary of Scheme. *Dec. 4*, leader: C.S.I. Scheme "narrow, one-sided and solely Protestant view"; "astounding recommendation of last Lambeth Conference, that, in order to consummate reunion in S. India, whole Dioceses should go forth from the Anglican Communion". *Dec. 4*, detailed criticism of Scheme. *Dec. 11*, letters from George Arthur, J. L. Dart, R. C. Bulley, A. H. Lutchford, comment on Bishop Western. *Dec. 11*, discussion in Colombo.

1943: Jan. 1, "Lance-Corporal", F. V. Dawkins, E. Anty. *Jan. 8*, Lord Quickswood, G. F. Pollard, C. B. Moss, W. E. Pitt, C. O. Rochett, W. Rees Wright, M. E. M. Donaldson, H. G. Fothergill. *Jan. 22*, D. E. Anty. *Jan. 29*, H. G. Blomfield, H. G. Fothergill, D. E. Anty, Church Unity Octave Council Meeting. *Feb. 5*, leader: "Catholics and the Future". *Feb. 12*, C. B. Moss, replying to Dr. Anty: "The Scheme permits any member of the proposed Church to deny 'any word or phrase' in the Creed, and ignores doctrines which we (who oppose

the Scheme) hold to be clearly taught as essential, by the New Testament. H. J. Edmonds has grave doubts whether all Ordinations of Presbyters, after union, will be regular"; Fr. O'Brien. *Feb. 19*, Dr. Raven. *Feb. 26*, leader: "Idea of a Church Militant"; Lord Hambleden, J. Plowden, W. E. Pitt, J. E. Roberts. *March 5*, F. J. Edmond, M. E. M. Donaldson, C. A. Wheeler, H. G. Peile. *March 19*, "Perplexed", G. E. Hickman Johnson. *March 26*, W.J.S.S., Martin Caton, J. Plowden. *April 2*, correspondence between J. S. M. Hooper and others with Bishop of Bombay *re* "Gentleman's agreement". *April 9*, leader: discussing statement in *Times* that proposed S.I. Church "will not be a part of the Anglican Communion"; A. E. Baker on "Reunion of Christendom: the Theological Approach"; leader: "Catholics and Reunion". *April 16*, W. C. Turney, Ceylon: Memorial from 52 Priests. *April 30*, Trevor Jalland. *May 7*, Report C.M.S.; Roland V. Dodd, A. S. Bryant. *May 14*, Protestant Objections; W. H. G. Holmes. *May 21*, Bishop of Gloucester: Five points: (1) The S. India Church will be S. Indian Branch of Universal Church (not of Anglican Church). This is not disintegration. (2) S. India has taken guidance of Lambeth Conference *re* essentials of the Church. (3) Temporary arrangements will allow churches to grow together. (4) S. Indian Church is like Church of England in having no theory of the Ministry. (5) Scheme will not injure relations with Orthodox Church. Bishop of Calcutta. *May 28*, The Primate and Reunion, Norman H. Blow, Trevor Jalland, H. J. Fynes-Clinton. *June 4*, S.P.G. attitude to Scheme; Bishop of Bradford, Bishop of Gloucester, Norman Goodall, C.D.C.P., W. J. Noble. *June 11*, G. Broomfield, Birmingham Synod and Southwark Diocesan Conference; discussions. *June 18*, "Spectator", W. G. Cameron, R. Fielding, Herbert Waddams, J. A. Thomas, Reviews of Church Defence Pamphlets. *June 25*, Principal of Dorchester Missionary College. *July 9*, D. E. Anty. *July 16*, C. B. Moss, "Roffensian" and J. C. W. Herschel replying to Anty. *July 30*, C. B. Moss.

(81) F. A. IREMONGER, *William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury*, p. 586.

(82) *Minutes of the Fourteenth* [should read Fifteenth] *Meeting of the Central Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference*, July 9, 1943.

(83) *The Chronicle of Convocation of Canterbury*, Jan. 1944, Upper and Lower Houses, p. 14.

(84) *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, 1944, June, p. 130–31.

(85) V. S. AZARIAH, *South India Union Scheme (Authority of Bishops)*.

(86) Account of S. C. NEILL, in *Towards a United Church*, p. 126. Cf. also L. A. HASELMEYER, *The Church of South India*, p. 24.

(87) A. M. Hollis's statement in *Church Union News and Views*, March 1945, p. 14.

(88) "A Statement on the Resolutions passed by the House of Bishops of the General Council of the C.I.B.C." The signatories were twelve, of whom nine were from South India. B. L. Rallia Ram of Lahore seems to have been the author of this statement.

(89) *The South India Church: An Open Letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop Stephen Neill*, p. 10.

(90) "Derby" Report [The Bishop of Derby], *The South India Church Scheme, Being the Report . . .*, 1946.

(91) S. C. NEILL, in *Towards a United Church*, p. 119.

(92) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1941, p. 26.

(93) *Ibid.*, p. 29.

(94) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1942, pp. 40–42, by A. M. Ward.

(95) *Church Union News and Views*, March 1943, pp. 54–55.

(96) This refers to statements in the local press in South India (J. E. L. Newbigin, 13.6.1943, to Wm. Paton, I.M.C.).

CHAPTER XIV AND EPILOGUE

(1) Interview with Bishop N. Hall, 31.8.1952.

(2) Cf. *A Memorandum on the Consecration of Bishops in the Church of South India*, with J. S. M. Hooper's remarks in pencil showing the liturgical origin of each part of the service (Metropolitan's Archives, Calcutta). The litany was adapted from Greek sources. The Church of Sweden consecration service lent the following elements: selection of passages from the Bible; prayer for labourers in the harvest; public examination; consecratory prayer. For an analysis of the text of the ordinal, see E. R. HARDY, JR. "Re New Ordinations in South India", in *The Living Church*, Oct. 5, 1947, pp. 17–18. Cf. E. J. Palmer's comment in the *Church Times*, 1.8.1947.

(3) *Joint Committee Minutes*, June 1947, p. 7.

(4) *Proposed Scheme of Union*, 1929, p. 51.

(5) *Joint Committee Minutes*, June 1932, pp. 6–7.

(6) *Report Continuation Committee*, June 1935, pp. 5–19; *Report Joint Committee*, March 1935, pp. 18–20. In 1935 administrative problems of the prospective dioceses were considered.

(7) *First Quarry Article*, p. 74.

(8) R. D. PAUL, "The Inauguration and After", *The Madras Diocesan Magazine*, Dec. 1947, p. 29.

(9) *Lutherans, Baptists and the C.S.I.*; and *More Conversations between Lutherans, Baptists and the C.S.I.*

(10) Cf. *Documents Concerning S.P.G. and the Church of South India.* Interesting comments in [F. J. WESTERN] *The Former S.P.G. work in South India and the Church of South India.*

(11) *The Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Situation in the Nandyal Area*, and *Church Times*, 1947–52 *passim.* Cf. A. M. WARD, *The Pilgrim Church*, pp. 185–87, where also the difficulties in the North Kerala Diocese (Malabar) are mentioned.

(12) Cf. A. M. WARD, *The Pilgrim Church*, pp. 13–35.

(13) The "Derby" Report: *The South India Church Scheme*, pp. 11 ff.

(14) We do not speak here of J. C. Ryan, the "Ferrete" Bishop in Madras, with his "Evangelical Church in India". Cf. H. R. T. BRANDRETH, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Church*, p. 52.

APPENDIX

THE SYNOD

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22. When any proposition is brought before the Synod which directly concerns

(*a*) the faith and doctrine of the Church;

(*b*) the conditions of membership in the Church, and the rules which govern excommunication from the Church;

(*c*) the functions of the ordained ministers of the Church;

(*d*) the Worship of the Church, and any forms of worship proposed for general use in the Church;

the matter shall be discussed in the Synod in the usual manner, and amendments thereto may be passed, but the proposition as amended shall be submitted to the Synod for final voting thereon only in the form approved by the diocesan bishops sitting separately for that purpose. Provided that any decision by the bishops to modify the form in which the proposition has left the whole Synod, or to refuse to submit it in any form to the Synod for final voting, shall require a majority of not less than two-thirds in the separate session of the bishops, and in the latter case the bishops must make a special report to the Synod stating the reasons for which they hold that it is not advisable

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22. When any proposition is brought before the Synod which directly concerns

(*a*) the faith and doctrine of the Church;

(*b*) the conditions of membership in the Church, and the rules which govern excommunication from the Church;

(*c*) the functions of the ordained ministers of the Church;

(*d*) the worship of the Church, and any forms of worship proposed for general use in the Church;

the matter shall be discussed in the Synod in the usual manner, and amendments thereto may be passed; but the proposition as approved, whether amended or not, shall be referred to the Diocesan Bishops sitting separately for that purpose. The Bishops shall transmit the proposition to the Synod if approved by a majority of them; or they may, by a majority of two-thirds, either modify it and transmit it to the Synod for final voting, or refuse to submit it in any form. In either case they shall submit reasons to the Synod why they urge the acceptance of the proposition in a modified form, or why they refuse to submit it in any form. If the Synod accepts the proposed amendment of

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that a decision should be taken on the matter concerned.

The proposition when thus placed before the Synod for a final vote may be discussed and, if desired, be referred back to the bishops for further consideration and possible modification; and such a proposition may either at this stage or at any previous stage be referred by the Synod to the Diocesan Councils for their opinion.

Such a proposition shall be declared to have been passed at its final voting only if it obtains a two-thirds majority of the members of the Synod present and voting, or a three-quarters majority in the case of an alteration in the Governing Principles of the Church.

23. If a proposition has been referred to the bishops sitting separately under the provisions of Rule 22, and the bishops have refused to submit it in any form to the Synod for final voting, a vote of the Synod shall nevertheless be taken on the proposition in the form in which it was referred to the bishops. If in such voting the proposition obtain a two-thirds majority of the whole Synod (or a three-quarters majority in the case of an alteration of the Governing Principles of the Church) this vote shall be recorded and the propositions shall be referred to the Diocesan Councils, together with the special report made by the bishops. If the proposition so referred be accepted in substantially the same terms by not less than two-thirds of the Diocesan Councils, it shall again be considered by the Synod at its next ordinary meeting,

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the Bishops, the proposition may then be passed and become an act of the Church.

Such a proposition shall be declared to have been passed at its final voting only if it obtains a two-thirds majority of the members of the Synod present and voting, or a three-quarters majority in the case of an alteration in the Governing Principles of the Church.

23. If a proposition has been referred to the Bishops sitting separately under the provisions of Rule 22, and the Bishops have refused to submit it in any form to the Synod for final voting, or if the proposition fail to receive the support of the necessary majority, the matter shall be dropped. If desired by a Diocesan Council, the matter may be again proposed at the next ordinary session of the Synod; and after discussion and amendments if any, shall again be submitted to the Bishops. If the Bishops again refuse to submit it to the Synod in any form for final voting, a vote of the Synod shall nevertheless be taken on the proposition in the form in which it was originally referred to the Bishops. If in such voting the proposition obtain a three-quarters majority of the members of the Synod present and voting, this vote shall be recorded and the proposition shall be referred to the Diocesan Councils, together with the special report made by the Bishops. If the proposition so referred be accepted in substantially the same terms by not less than two-thirds of the Diocesan Councils, it shall again be considered

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and when so considered, Rule 22 of this chapter shall not apply, but it may be passed by a two-thirds majority of the whole Synod (or a three-quarters majority in the case of an alteration of the Governing Principles of the Church) and if so passed shall become an Act of the Church.	by the Synod at its next ordinary meeting, and when so considered Rule 22 of this chapter shall not apply, but it may be adopted by a three-quarters majority and if so adopted shall become an act of the Church.

Only books and articles directly dealing with the history of Church Union in South India 1900–47 are registered here. For the general literature we refer to the Notes and to H. R. T. Brandreth's valuable work, "Unity and Reunion, A Bibliography", *Adam and Charles Black, 1945; and Supplement to the same, 1948.*

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4th ,,	April 1923	Pasumalai	14 pp. With App. A., V. Bartlet's letter of 14.8.1921.
5th ,,	Feb. 1925	Madras	8 pp.
6th ,,	Feb. 1926	Trichinopoly	12 pp.
7th ,,	June 1928	Bangalore	18 pp.
8th ,,	Feb.–March 1929	Madras	59 pp. Scheme of 1929.
9th ,,	Nov. 1930	Madras	14 pp.
10th ,,	June 1932	Bangalore	8 pp.
11th ,,	Nov.–Dec. 1932	Madras	8 pp.
12th ,,	Feb. 1934	Madras	15 pp.
13th ,,	Feb.–March 1935	Madras	21 pp.
14th ,,	Feb. 1936	Madras	11 pp.
15th ,,	Feb. 1938	Madras	11 pp.
16th ,,	Nov.–Dec. 1939	Madras	17 pp.
17th ,,	Oct. 1941	Madras	28 pp.
18th ,,	Nov. 1944	Madras	10 pp.
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Report on Eighth Conference of Ministers and Laymen with Resolutions on Church Union. Pasumalai, April, 1928, 6 pp.

Extracts on Church Union from the Minutes of the Twelfth Assembly of the South India United Church. Bangalore, Oct. 1929, 30 pp.

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Church Union News and Views was the official organ of the Joint Committee on Church Union. Editors were J. J. Banninga 1930–34, and J. S. M. Hooper 1935–47. Six copies per annum were published. The editorials contain important statements. The articles included Joint Committee official statements, such as minutes of the sessions. Articles on problems of Faith and Order, debates on particular ecclesiastical and union problems, etc., appeared frequently.

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MADRAS

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Copies of letters from J. H. Maclean.
Letters from and to J. S. M. Hooper.
Letters to R. A. Dudley.

The vast mass of Joint Committee letters, minutes, memoranda during Dr. J. J. Banninga's time of office as Secretary of the Committee has been registered here as part of the Madras Archives. Dr. Banninga has put all this material at the disposal of the present writer.

MADURA

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This study is mainly built on unprinted material, particularly the correspondence in the many files kept by Dr. J. J. Banninga, 1920–47, and now recorded as under Madras. Much of the unprinted material is in mimeographed form, memoranda and letters which were sent to many addressees and are to be found in various archives and in private files. In the notes these have as a rule been classified as "*mimeographed copy*".

The author has probably overlooked the existence of important collections of letters. For example, he has not had access to the large collection of papers in the possession of Bishop Palmer. On the other hand, it will be clear from reading the book that a very large number of letters and mimeographed papers from or by Palmer do exist in archives both in India and in England, and these the author has used. Bishop Loyd's papers are in the care of the Rev. Stacey Waddy, who is writing his biography.

The attention of Church historians should be drawn to the serious danger to which collections of papers and letters in the younger churches are exposed at the present time. The author has met with important cases of this. For example, invaluable correspondence of Bishop Azariah has been destroyed and many volumes of Popley's diaries, kept through long years of service in India, have been burned.

Letters to the Author from

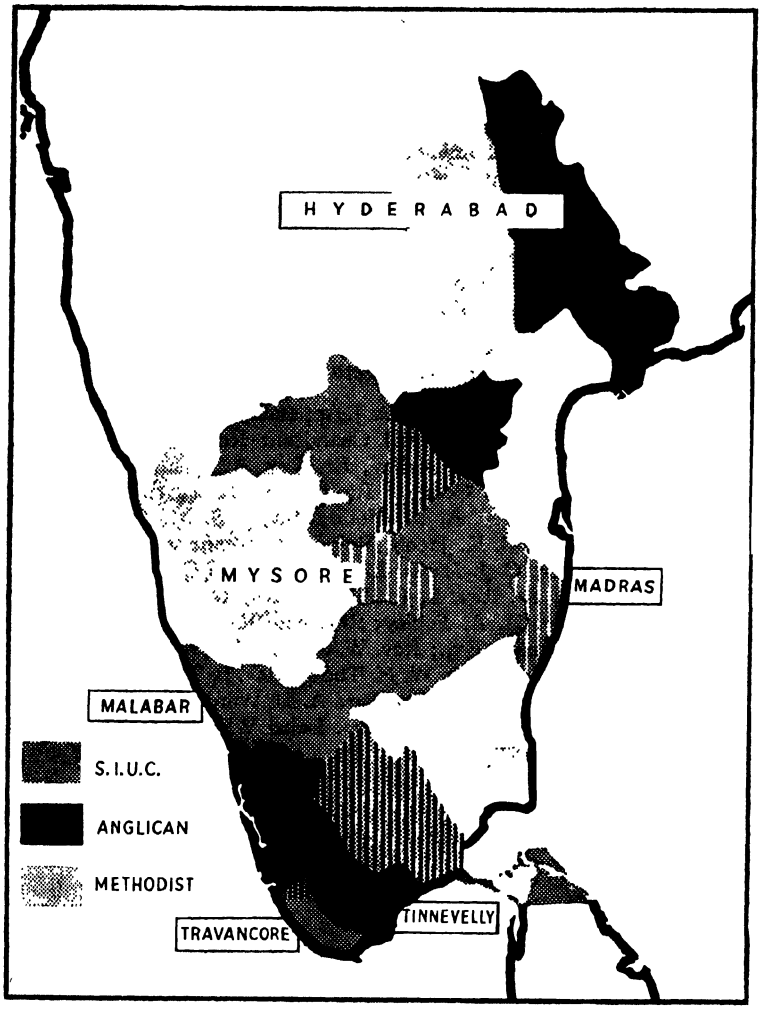
C. E. Abraham, J. J. Banninga, G. K. A. Bell, C. Bindslev, H. R. T. Brandreth, David Chellappa, G. Sherwood Eddy, P. B. Emmett, C. B. Firth, W. E. Garman, A. M. Hollis, J. S. M. Hooper, G. C. Hubback, G. V. Job, C. Kingsley Williams, A. H. Legg, John McKenzie, H. V. Martin, J. E. L. Newbigin, E. J. Palmer, A. E. J. Rawlinson, P. Sandegren, W. A. Sandford, Norman Sargant, W. Scopes, G. T. Selwyn, W. H. Spencer, E. W. Thompson, F. J. Western,

Interviews

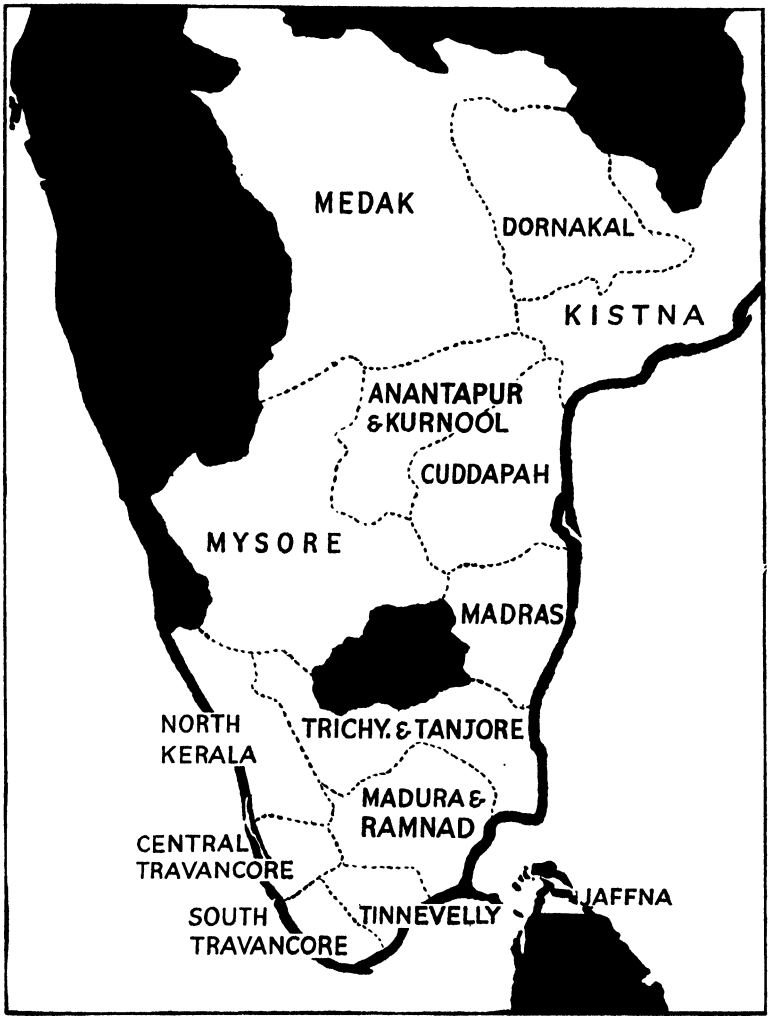
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CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA

Constituent Bodies Previous to Union



CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA
Dioceses in 1947



The black area in the middle of the map represents that of the North Tamil Church Council which joined the C.S.I. in 1950 as the diocese of Coimbatore.

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