

1912

POLICY OF THE UGANDA MISSION.

The position of the European within a Native Church must necessarily be that of a leader. This is the sole justification of his presence. And the function of a leader is to give a clear lead. It is most important that we, as a body of European missionaries within the Uganda Church, should agree together as to the lead we will give: so agree, that there may not even be the appearance of friction or of wavering: so act together, that the native Church may recognize a consistent lead, and may follow it.

To give such a lead we must know, in the first place, where we are going. What, so far as we can see it, is the ultimate goal of our Mission work? So far as I can myself at present see it is this: a country united, and dominantly Christian: within that country a Church co-extensive with the Diocese, educated enough and strong enough to stand alone; and within that Church a nucleus which is truly Christian at heart, a vital spiritual force in the country.

Far off as we are as yet from this ideal, we have yet, I think, more to thank God for in this Mission than have the workers in any other field. Already, within the lifetime of a single generation, we have gone far on the road towards that goal. No one could travel even rapidly, as I have recently travelled, from one Mission station in Uganda to another, without being impressed with the extraordinary hold that Christianity already has on the country as a whole. The thousands of children in our Schools: the hundreds that volunteer for Church work, at a time when every other calling offers better advantages: the open identification with Christianity on the part of the chiefs: the fact that the most powerful levers in the country, as Education and Literature, are entirely in Christian hands: the ever increasing number of tribes asking for Christian teachers: all these are signs which cannot be ignored of the passing of Paganism, and the coming of the Kingdom of Christ.

But great as the work done has unquestionably been, the work lying as yet undone is immeasurably greater. It is my hope to sketch out broadly the present position of the Church in Uganda, that we may agree together as to the general lines on which our future work should be conducted.

The present Diocese of Uganda comprises five Provinces, which together make up the Uganda Protectorate, and the greater part of a sixth, which lies within the East African Protectorate.

As regards **area** the Northern Province stands first of the five, with 36,500 sq. m.: the Eastern Province, including Busoga and Bukedi, second, with 32,000: then Buganda, with 21,300; then Rudolf, with 17,600; and lastly the Western Province, including Toro and Ankole, with 10,100.

As regards **population** the Eastern Province is by far the largest, with 1,053,300: and then in order Buganda 664,400, Northern Province 487,700, Western Province, 343,700, and lastly Rudolf, 150,000.

The Native population of the Nyanza Province, in B. E. A. is estimated at some 900,000, and would therefore, in point of numbers, take second place among the Provinces.

Relative claims certainly cannot be estimated merely by comparing the relative areas or counting the heads. But at the same time it is impossible to study the relative distribution of our available force, as shown by the C.M.S. statistical tables, without realizing that it is at present hopelessly disproportionate. Of 24 European clergy now working in the Diocese, excluding those on leave, 12 are stationed in Buganda: of 38 native clergy 30 are in this one Province: 6 out of 9 European laymen: 3 out of 4 nurses: and 6 out of 14 Lady missionaries. Yet no one could claim that Buganda proper is over-manned: it is emphatically the reverse: only the figures bring out the obvious and the even greater need of the other Provinces by contrast.

The recently published Government Census gives the total Native population of the Protectorate at 2,840,469. Add to this the 900,000 in the Nyanza Province, and you have a total of 3,700,000 odd: of these we claim some 200,000, the Roman Catholics some 230,000, as adherents. We are still only at the very beginning of our task.

In four main directions we are urged to advance: Mumia's District to the East: Bukedi to the North-east: The Nile districts, round Gulu, to the North: and the newly opened district of Kigezi to the South-west. None of these claims can be neglected with impunity: two of them at least are urgent. We have to decide as to their relative importance.

Put very briefly the respective claims are as follows:—

1. **Mumia's**.—A population of 450,000, mainly Bantu, under one Paramount Chief, Mumia. The country lying on the main track of approaching civilization, with every prospect of a Railway being built through it in the near future, and with evidences everywhere of rapid transition to a new order of things: Mumia's district is probably the one of all others which we can least afford to neglect, even for a few years. (Note 1).

2. **Bukedi** has a population of 343,741. It is a name loosely applied, and stands for tribes speaking widely different languages, but using Luganda as a *Lingua franca*. The presence everywhere of Baganda Agents, the widespread desire to adopt the religion as well as the language of the Baganda, the natural intelligence and alertness of the primitive peoples, all point to a rapid and comparatively easy progress of the Gospel in Bukedi. Two stations, Mbale and Ng'ora, are in positions of great value, and the Schools there should certainly be strongly supported from the purely missionary point of view. The possibilities of such schools are incalculable. (Note 2).

3. **Gulu** is the newly opened Government station in the Nile district, just south of the Third parallel. The total population of the Nile district is stated to be 356,833. The urgency of the claim in this direction lies in the fact that this area is peculiarly open to Mohammedan influence from the North. It is proposed to cut off the northern part of the Nile districts, around Gondokoro, and place it under the Soudan Administration, Uganda receiving in exchange the southern half of the Lado Enclave. One inevitable effect of this political move will be the advance of Islam to our doors. The urgent need of occupying, as strongly and as soon as possible, the exposed area north of Bunyoro, is obvious. Delay in this quarter will be dearly paid for. (Note 3).

4. **Kigezi**, lying south-west of Ankole, is one of the latest acquired portions of the Protectorate. It lies in the angle formed by the German and Belgian boundaries, and has a population of 100,000 Bantu-speaking natives, the greater part of whom belong to a single dominant nation, the Barwanda. Already the Roman Mission is taking active steps towards the occupation of the country, which offers not only a needy but a peculiarly attractive field of work, and one in which the Baganda could do good work without the language difficulties inseparable from work in Bukedi or on the Nile. (Note 4).

In all these four fields the Government officials are, I believe, anxious for us to go forward. Not to do so at this juncture is to lose an opportunity which certainly will not be ours in ten or even in five years' time. It is supremely unfortunate that, at this of all times, the Parent Committee should be constrained, so far from encouraging us to go forward, to speak of reducing our already badly depleted forces. Unable to count on reinforcements from home, it remains for us to consult as to whether we cannot, by adjustment of our available force, contrive to occupy at least those posts which are immediately threatened.

This leads one to a consideration which is fundamental: What should in general be our policy in regard to extension?

There are two possible policies, each perfectly justifiable:—

(a) The one is to advance **along the line of the least resistance**. The advantages are that we meet with immediate and large results: far from the influence of civilization the work is incomparably easier; we anticipate the evils to come, and forearm and forewarn the converts; we establish at leisure a strong barrier against the advancing tide; we work on virgin soil, and we gather our harvest without let or hindrance. We in Uganda, at least, have cause to be thankful for such a policy, when we contrast the history of our own Mission with that of our sister Mission at the Coast.

(b) The other policy is that which occupies **the points most immediately threatened**. Such a policy would send us into the highway of Civilization, to occupy and to seek to influence the towns, the trade routes, the ports, the capitals, and Government stations. The reasons are sufficiently obvious. The towns inevitably influence and determine the character of the country. Christianity, relegated to the more remote villages, will never dominate the whole; the further from the track of progress, the slower the change of conditions, and the better relatively can we afford to wait; St. Paul's policy undoubtedly followed this second course: and, in the main, with or without any settled idea of missionary policy, it has been ours in Uganda.

Personally I would decidedly urge that, as a Mission, we adopt the **second** of these two alternatives, though not to the exclusion of the first, and make a strenuous effort to occupy first of all those parts of the Diocese which can least of all afford to be kept waiting, namely, Mumia's and the Nile district.

1. Coming to the question as to how such new districts should be occupied, it must, in the first place, be by **Europeans**. While paying the highest possible tribute to the Baganda, as missionaries and pioneers, and remembering how much is owed to them in Bunyoro, in Toro, in Ankole, and in the Eastern Province, we must all recognize their inevitable limitations. European leadership is as necessary as is European initiative. The decision as to the right line of advance; the choice of the site, on which so much of the success of a Mission will depend: the necessary dealing with Government officials and with Native chiefs: the reduction of an unwritten language, and subsequent translation work; effective and systematic education: the financing of a pioneer station: all these are, for the present at least, beyond the powers of the native evangelist. Wherever else we may find ourselves able, or compelled to dispense with European help, it must not be in our pioneer stations.

2. Secondly, I think we ought to have a few **strong stations**, rather than many weak ones. Three men attached to one station will do better and more effective work than those same three men isolated. This is a conviction born of personal experience. Normally one would be away from the station, itinerating: one would be in charge of the station, with probably translation work in addition, and the third could devote himself to the school. I would deprecate, especially in pioneer fields, a system of one-man stations.

3. With regard to the employment of **native foreign missionaries**. There is happily no lack of volunteers for this work, in spite of the hardship often involved. But one cannot but feel that the service rendered is often very much less effective than it might be. The policy, more particularly in Bukedi, has been to respond in every possible case to an appeal of a local chief: to accept and send out every available candidate, trained or untrained, and at least to occupy the position until more adequate help could be forthcoming. The result of this policy has been that a large number of untrained and inexperienced Baganda, and especially Basoga, have been sent out into Bukedi; they seldom stay long enough to learn the language: they are too often, from force of circumstances, sent to work alone; and they are exposed, in a purely heathen environment far away from home, to a most severe moral test.

At the same time we most certainly cannot afford to work without Baganda Christian agents; they are our greatest possible asset. Only they must, for this special work, go through a

special training. For this purpose it was proposed, some time ago, in the original draft constitution of the Board of Missions, to establish a **missionary training College**, for the training of Native missionaries. It is now proposed to carry this proposal into action, and to start what one hopes may prove the first of several similar Institutions, at Ng'ora, in Bukedi.

The reasons for selecting **Ng'ora** are these: a central position, in the midst of a very large Pagan population; a Christian church in Busoga as a base; the presence on the spot of a staff of Europeans peculiarly well qualified for the particular work: and a sufficient distance from the Capital to enable the Baganda missionaries in training to do what they might find difficulty in doing in their own country.

As regards the method of training, the main points are as follows. Two classes of Teachers would be eligible, volunteers from the settled districts, as Busoga and Uganda, and converts native to the country. The different sections would be housed separately, but work together. The course of teaching to be mainly concerned with a sound **elementary** training in the three R's; in the art of **teaching**, and especially teaching beginners: **manual** work, that whatever is possible may be done for themselves by the men in training; and **language** work, the foreigners learning the native languages, and the native converts Luganda. It goes without saying that **Scripture**, and more particularly the Gospels, would form the essential part of all the training. (Note 2).

No one would be eligible who was not willing to enlist for at least **two** years, and to undertake to do what he was told, and go where he was sent. For the first year he would be in residence at the College. During that year he would gain practical experience in the local Day schools, in village preaching, etc. Every fourth month he would be away in the district teaching, the men going two and two, one foreigner and one native. The chief inviting them would be responsible for housing and feeding them, a continuance of the succession of teachers depending in each case on his fulfilment of these conditions. The subsequent pay of the teacher, on leaving the College, would depend on his language capacity and his length of service.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

The **general principle** underlying Church organization is that of local self-government, subordinated to central control.

(a) The principle of **local self-government** is seen at work in the Parochial church councils which everywhere deal with purely local matters; on a larger scale in the District church councils, which control the affairs of a given District; and on a still larger scale in what we may call National church councils, as in Bunyoro or Busoga, which are responsible for matters that concern the Church in that country.

(b) The principle of **central control** finds its expression in the Annual Synod, representative of the whole Anglican Church in the Diocese, and itself represented in the intervals between its session by the Diocesan Council.

For practical purposes the Synod sub-divides the work entrusted to it among a number of Sub-Committees or **Boards**, each in charge of its own department, and all responsible to the body that appoints them, that is the Synod.

In the actual working of these Boards the same principle is observed. Each Board is left free to deal in its own way with its own department, whether of Education, or Theology, or Translation, or of Foreign Missions. But by the submission of the Minutes in each case to the Diocesan Council, the principle of central control is maintained.

Similarly with regard to the **Women's work**; the local Women's church councils are responsible for the local affairs within their own departments; the central Women's Conference in Mengo unifies the whole work, and is itself dependent, for the final ratification of its decisions, on the Synod.

The **Medical Department** stands at present in a sense outside the general organization of the church, being indeed a very definite part of the church work, but not in any way responsible

to the Synod, as are the other Departments of the work. The unifying factor is found in allegiance to the Bishop, as representing the Native Church.

The same thing holds good in the case of the **Missionary Committee**, which at first sight seems in theory to stand entirely outside the Church organization. It has, on the face of it, no relation to the central Governing Body. It is appointed in England, and is responsible to the Parent Committee of the C. M. S. Yet, more than any other Committee, it has a dominant voice in the conduct of the native Church affairs, inasmuch as it directly advises as to the locations of the European leaders. But in actual fact it is not an alien body. It deals with **European affairs**, as the Board of Education deals with educational matters, as a body of experts in the subject. It does not advise the Diocesan Council, because it is not wise in the present early stage to discuss European affairs before a mixed body, but it does advise the Bishop, and it is he, not they, who makes the locations, "in consultation with the body supporting or responsible for the missionary," that is the C. M. S., as represented by its Corresponding Committee in the field. And in making these appointments the Bishop acts on behalf of and in the name of the Native Anglican Church.

Similarly the **Ladies' Committee** advises as to the best locations in the case of Lady missionaries, reporting to the Bishop through the M. C. The M. C. is not bound to adopt their advice in any given case, but in the event of disagreement between the two Committees, the matter would be referred home to the Parent Committee, who would not necessarily support the ruling of the M. C.

It may well be questioned whether the position of these two Committees, as within the Native Church, would not be clearer if, on the nomination of the Parent Committee, they owed their formal appointment to the Synod, if only as a matter of form: and if, so soon as it can wisely be done, their decisions with regard to European locations were reported, for final ratification, to the Diocesan Council.

Such, as I understand it, is the system of government in the Uganda Diocese. The underlying principle is, I think, sufficiently clear, and it has, I believe, been one of the secrets of the success of the Uganda Mission. For it gives the fullest play to individual and national initiative, and yet secures the necessary degrees of uniformity throughout the whole.

Consistently with this principle of local self-government, we do well to give the utmost possible liberty to the local **churches**. Let the public preaching and prayers, and the elementary education be in the local language, let the teachers be examined, and appointed, locally: let the local churches have their own church funds, and develop along their own lines. Let them have their own translations, at least as far as the New Testament and those parts of the Prayer Book which are in common use.

On the other hand let us, in developing the local churches, never lose sight of the unity of the whole church. Let us, with every possible allowance for local differences, work towards a **common centre**. A complete literature in every dialect is as undesirable as it is impossible, and the adoption of a **common language** for higher education will do much towards unifying the whole. A common system of **education**, a common standard for **Teachers**, a common centre for training **Clergy** and **Lay Readers**, a common **policy** throughout the whole church, a common **government** in all things that involve issues beyond the local church, these are our safeguards against the possible disintegration which would follow too large a degree of local independence.

It is for those in the central church to sympathise with and encourage the national type as seen in each local church; and it is for those who lead the local churches to keep in mind consistently the ultimate ideal, a single, united, and truly native Christian Church.

EDUCATION.

Education is and must remain the backbone of our work. The church will be strong in proportion as it is inspired by an education which is thorough, and adapted to local conditions, and, above all, Christian.

We in Uganda have a unique advantage in that the entire system of education in the country is in the hand of the Christian Missions. How long it will remain so will depend largely on the way in which we fulfil our trust. But for the present at any rate we have a magnificent opportunity; a clear field, a people naturally intelligent, and keenly anxious to be taught: and a School roll which is larger by over 15,000 than that in any other C.M.S. field.

Our general **Educational system** is as follows:—

1. The senior School is the **King's School, Budo**. This alone, with the Mengo Normal School, is central for the whole Diocese.
2. Next to Budo come the **High Schools**, each central for its own country. The fine lead given by the Mengo High School has now been followed by most of the countries round. Hoima for Bunyoro, Mbarara for Ankole, Kamuli for Busoga, Maseno for Kavirondo, and Ng'ora for Bukedi, are doing in varying degrees what Mengo High School is doing and has done for Uganda, training the rising generation of prospective chiefs. That we should thus secure the training of so many of the future leaders of the country means more for the future than we perhaps can realize at present.
3. Next to the High Schools come the **Central Schools**, at Ndeje, Mukono, and Mityana. These differ from the High Schools in not being Boarding Schools, in being only indirectly under European control, and in paying lower fees.
4. Beyond these are the **Day Schools**. 125 in number the great majority of which are conducted entirely by native teachers. These form by far the greater part of the School system in

Uganda, the vast majority of the 47,000 boys and girls whose names are on the Registers owing whatever they possess in the way of education to these village schools.

5. It is a remarkable fact, and one that speaks much for the progress of the country, that some 21,000, not far short of half of the children in the schools, are **girls**.

Corresponding to the Boys' High Schools are similar Boarding schools for girls, Gayaza for Buganda, Iganga for Busoga, Mbarara for Ankole, and Kabarole for Toro.

6. Obviously very much indeed will depend on the quality and character of the training given in these schools: and this must in turn depend on the type of Teachers available. The teaching in most of the schools is undoubtedly a weak spot. There is everywhere a crying need of trained teachers. At present we have one regular **Normal School**, that in Mengo, where Pupil Teachers and Schoolmasters are trained, and the results of the training are on the whole admirable. But there is accommodation for 60 boys only. With this limited accommodation it is impossible to train a tenth of the Teachers who are imperatively demanded by the conditions of the times.

To supplement this, attempts are being made in various parts of the country, as at Kikoma, Hoima, Masindi, Mityana, Mukono, to train locally the much needed Pupil Teachers; but almost everywhere the attempt is handicapped by the difficulty of finding the really essential European supervision, and by the necessary employment of the teachers in the local schools, leaving far too little time for their own training.

In Mengo and at Ndeje an attempt is being made to train **girl Pupil teachers**. The need of them is obvious, but the possible pitfalls are equally so.

7. Personally I would much like to see a **central Normal School** established in each country: in **Bunyoro**, for Bunyoro and the Nile districts; in **Toro**, for Toro and Anole: and in **Busoga**, for Busoga and Bukedi. In these centres the boys could be trained up to the standard reached by the end of the first year in Mengo; and could then come on to the Capital for a first year's training, and for the schoolmaster's certificate. This would relieve the congestion in Mengo, and go far towards meeting a most urgent need.

8. In this as well as in other matters connected with Education, it would be an advantage to us to secure a larger measure of **Government** co-operation. At present the Government makes, towards our Educational work, an annual grant of £917, of which £317 is returned in the form of Poll tax. The actual cash contribution, therefore, available for educational purposes, is £600. In view of the large numbers in training, the comparatively high standard reached in our upper schools, and the unquestioned gain to the country of the education carried on by the Missions, this amount is, both relatively and actually, exceedingly small. We might fairly ask for a definite capitation grant, paid according to the standard reached: and for the appointment of a Government official to regularly inspect and report on the Mission Schools. Such an appointment would, I believe, materially help in raising the general level of education in this country.

9. With regard to the vexed question of **Compulsory Education**, I do not think we are yet ripe for it. We have neither the available schools nor have we the trained teachers to cope with the entire child population of the country. No law regarding education will be effective unless backed by penalties. To exact legal penalties at the present stage, even if it were possible, would be to alter entirely our relationship to the people. And to make education compulsory would be to invite into the country that of which they have hitherto known nothing, a purely secular education. For the Government here would rightly argue, as the Government in East Africa has already argued, we cannot make religion compulsory: if we insist on all being educated, and there are no Schools but Mission schools, then we must provide at least the alternative of schools where definite religious teaching will not form part of the curriculum.

10. Lastly, at any cost our schools must be definitely **Christian** institutions. They exist for the purpose of giving an essentially, though not an exclusively religious training. Not exclusively religious: our aim is to influence through these schools the whole national life, and not any one part of it. That boy is not necessarily lost to the cause of the church who passes out into a purely secular calling: we need, in all the training of our boys, to remember the nation as well as the church. But yet essentially religious, it must be. We have in our hands a marvellous opportunity of moulding a nation at its most formative age. May we ever use that opportunity to the very uttermost in the cause of Christ.

The question of religious education is intimately bound up with another, that of **Biblical criticism**. The Bible is to us all a sacred Book. Through it we have come to know all that as yet we do know of God, revealed in our Lord Jesus Christ. That within its pages is contained the highest and most perfect revelation from God to man that this world ever did or ever can receive: that the very voice of God spoke and still speaks through this Book: on all this we are entirely at one.

But here, as in every part of the Christian church of to-day, the storms of controversy have gathered around this Book. It is the Word of God: and like Him who was the Word Incarnate, it is at once **human** and **Divine**.

To one the **Divine** aspect of it is so overwhelming, that the human side of it fades almost entirely out of sight. To another the **human** side so attracts and fascinates, that, for the time at least, it seems to cover the whole horizon. To the one it is so manifestly and so completely inspired, that interest in the human agent, through whom God spake, is all but lost in the tremendous and transcendent fact that God has spoken. To the other the study of the human personality through whom the message came is so full of absorbing interest, that he becomes almost impatient of the supernatural element. Yet both are there, and no theory of the Bible will ever be wholly true which loses sight of either. "God has spoken," let us never lose sight of that supreme fact; but He has spoken "in the prophets," the revelation has come, as alone it could have come, through human channels, and in such a way that those human channels never ceased to be human, and never lost their individuality.

I cannot pass on from this subject without saying a word with regard to the special form that this controversy has taken among us in Uganda. As I have already said, Budo School marks the highest stage that we have yet reached in native education, and is the climax of our School system. As all here know, Budo School has come to be especially identified with what is known as the Critical position in regard to Bible teaching, and an unfortunate letter was written, expressing a profound distrust with the teaching as at present given in Budo. That letter may or may not have expressed a wider feeling of dissatisfaction; at any rate it has been unreservedly withdrawn. But what is of vital importance is that we, as a body of missionaries working in a common cause, should learn unreservedly to trust and whole-

heartedly to support one another. To do anything else is to court disaster. Obviously we can never hope all to see eye to eye in every matter: but we can differ, frankly and honestly, and we can give the fullest expression to our differences, and yet each respect the other's conviction and leave the personal friendship entirely untouched.

With regard to the teaching actually given at Budo, it is I think most important that we should all be clearly informed; for so long as there exists in the mind of some a certain latent uneasiness, it will be obviously impossible cordially to advise boys to go there. If such a sense of uneasiness does exist, I would strongly urge those who feel it to read carefully a paper which Mr. Weatherhead has written, at my invitation, giving a clear statement of the general principles on which the Bible is taught at Budo. Strongly as I myself believe in the Divine inspiration of the Bible, on the lines there laid down, I would have no hesitation in giving to Budo my wholehearted support.

We must however be prepared frankly to recognize that, with the most perfect sincerity and the highest purpose on either side, there will yet remain very great differences between us in our way of treating Scripture. But we shall certainly gain nothing by mutual recrimination or suspicion or contempt. Each side is haunted by a dread, and inspired by a great ideal. On the one hand, there is a dread lest, by any chance, the child-like faith be shattered by premature insinuation of doubt: and the ideal, that the Word of God may never lose one iota of its Divine authority. On the other hand there is, none the less, a dread lest the Bible should be exalted into a fetich, ignorantly and unintelligently worshipped: and the ideal that at all cost it shall be made to speak as a living voice, appealing irresistibly to men because itself, for all its inspiration, is so truly human.

We have to learn to trust and to appreciate one another. Let us guard on the one hand against any teaching which has as its effect the stifling of independent and intelligent thought: and let us guard on the other against any unnecessary raising of questions in minds that are not yet in a position to appreciate them. Let the difficulty be felt before it is answered. Let us avoid any questioning of Scripture from a standpoint which is purely rationalistic. Let us avoid above all a struggle for truth at the cost of charity.

Thank God there is among us a very much larger measure of agreement than some perhaps realize. I believe there is not one who would not heartily endorse the weighty words of Dr. Driver in regard to the findings of modern criticism: "Those conclusions affect not the fact of revelation, but only its form.—They do not touch either the authority or the inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old Testament." "Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it presupposes it; it seeks only to discover the conditions under which it operates."

In our aim, in our deepest beliefs we are essentially at one, Let us learn to understand one another.

An essential part of the Educational work carried on by the Church in Uganda is the **training of Clergy** and Teachers. It is no exaggeration to say that they are the mainstay of the work in every part of the country; and there is no C. M. S. field in the world where the native Christians have shown themselves so ready to take their part in the Church work of their country. The annual returns show, for Uganda, a total return of 2,400 teachers, of all grades; the next largest total is found in South India, and shows 1843. This abundant supply of native teachers has made it possible, at an extraordinarily small cost, to plant local churches in almost every village community in the country.

On the other hand we are threatened by the Home Committee with an actual decrease in our supply of European missionaries (Note 5), and that at a time of unprecedented growth and opportunity of expansion. Our policy under the circumstances can hardly be doubtful, that is, to make the utmost possible use of that which happily we have; to secure for the time to come a thoroughly trained and really efficient **native ministry**; and more and more—and that especially in the more settled areas—to rely on that, the European missionaries more and more restricting themselves to their true role, that of specialists. Indeed, we are far too few to afford to be otherwise: of necessity the pastoral and the evangelistic work must increasingly fall to the Natives; the work of higher education and organization, the suggestion and the inspiration, must to a large extent come from the European.

This being so, the proper training of a native ministry, supported by a larger body of native teachers, becomes a matter of the first importance. I am coming to the conclusion that the

capital is probably not the best centre for such training. It is not merely a question of the difficulty of food or housing: it is that in the capital the distractions and counter attractions are too many; the student is lost in the crowd, and the greatest factor of all in the training, the personality of the Christian teacher in charge, is all but lost. Personally I would like to see one centre chosen, where those in training for Ordination and those reading for the Diocesan Letter could live a community life, without certain of the restrictions but not without the discipline of school life. Two men would be required to undertake the training, and the separation of two men for such a work would be abundantly justified. The plan would in the first instance involve a considerable expenditure, but the advantages are obvious (Note 6).

DISCIPLINE.

I turn now to a question which is one of the most difficult and the most urgent of all the problems that face us, that of Church discipline. It is with no wish to shirk a difficult subject that I am purposely avoiding bringing this matter forward in the Synod of this year: it is because I believe more good will be done in the end if one avoids too precipitate action, and that to bring forward the same matter year by year in the annual Synod, without the discussion having any practical effect on the moral state of the country, may do more harm than it does good.

I am therefore anxious to postpone a public discussion of the matter, until, by careful enquiry I am in a position to understand better than I do to-day what are the actual conditions. I need hardly say that in regard to this enquiry I shall very much depend on many here who have an experience of the country and a knowledge of the people such as I certainly have not yet gained (Note 7).

The main points on which I am anxious to be clear are these: What is the actual condition of the church in Uganda at the present time? What are the main evils? How far are they prevalent? What classes are most affected, and what classes can be relied on?

Secondly, to what is this present state of affairs due? Whether to premature admissions to Baptism, or to laxity of discipline, or to inadequate marriage laws, or to sheer ignorance, or to any other cause?

Thirdly, how can these causes best be removed, or at least restricted? Whether by further legislation, or by more careful guarding of the Sacraments, or by a more thorough system of visitation?

Fourthly, I would enquire what penal powers exist, civil or ecclesiastical? How far they have as yet been used, and with what effect on the individual and on the church? And what further powers, if any, are needed?

Lastly, as to what should normally be our policy in dealing with moral failures, and on what general principle it should be based?

The whole subject confessedly bristles with difficulties. The difficulty of finding sufficient evidence to amount to legal proof: the danger of alienating the chiefs, on whom humanly speaking so much of the future of the country depends; and stifling in its infancy a national movement towards Christianity: the failure of all mere legislation and penalty to check an evil deep seated as human nature; and the difficulty of even attempting to deal with European offenders in the same way.

Yet to ignore the subject because of its difficulties would be disastrous. Something further will unquestionably be necessary, and the path is not so impassable as it may at first sight seem. To begin with, our responsibility towards men is proportioned to our potential hold over them. Chiefly we are responsible for our own agents, paid or unpaid; we need employ none in whom we have not implicit confidence. In a somewhat lesser degree we are responsible for those who are placed in any position of authority, as on a church council: for Communicants, and those admitted to church privileges: for children in church schools, and tenants on church lands: and to a lesser degree we are responsible for all baptized members of the church, and for all who have been accepted as catechumens. Beyond that we have no direct responsibility, except that it rests with us in all moral questions to lead and not to follow public opinion. But wherever we have a direct responsibility there, too, we have, if we will use them, certain legitimate powers.

Then we have on the side of right certain strong elements in the church which can be relied on: it would be futile to attempt any disciplinary measures were it otherwise. I feel sure that, in facing this matter, we shall be wise to adopt St. Paul's method in dealing with the Corinthians, holding the church itself corporately responsible for its own discipline. No measures, merely carried through by weight of European influence or force of external authority, will ever prove ultimately effective. The punishment to be felt, must proceed from the natives themselves: and there is no doubt that a considerable and an influential body of native opinion is heartily in favour of some effective disciplinary measures. It is ours to stimulate and direct this public opinion within the church (Note 11).

There is one fundamental question, underlying all questions of moral discipline, which will be brought forward at the Synod, that is the question of **Marriage**. It does not seem to me that we have hitherto been guided by any very clear principle in facing the infinitely complex questions connected with native marriages. If we can have such a principle clear before us, it will immensely tend to smooth our path. It is more than possible that some here will not at all agree at first sight with what I am about to say, but I would ask for a very careful hearing.

Marriage is not essentially a Christian institution: it is common to all races, though the method of effecting it, and its value when effected differ with every nation.

In Uganda a man may marry as many wives as he can afford: they are all, in the eyes of the native law, equally his wives: and they may all, with equal facility, be put away.

Christian marriage differs in at least three important particulars; it is to one wife only; it initiates a lifelong union: and it is attended by a definitely religious sanction.

The passage from Polygamy to Monogamy is inevitably attended by very great hardship, especially to the wives and to the children.

In taking the step there are three possible courses open;

- (1) To regard a native marriage as having no permanent value; to discard all the wives, and to marry afresh at Baptism.
- (2) To recognize all the wives as equally married, and to choose any one of them.
- (3) To regard the original marriage as having been a true marriage, consistent at once with the law of man and with the law of God, and to retain the first wife.

To consider these three alternatives seriatim.

1. Let the polygamist marry afresh. Two main reasons may be adduced in support (a) No native marriage was ever intended to be permanent; it is unfair to saddle a man with a tremendous responsibility which he had no intention whatever of **assuming**.

There are very grave, and to my mind fatal, objections to this view.

1. It destroys the fundamental idea of native morality. Granted that that conception is defective. A heathen man intends to marry; he does so, fulfilling every condition of the law as he knows it. The woman becomes his lawful wife, and he lives with her as such. His conception of marriage is defective: he may take in addition other wives: he may dismiss her without adequate cause. Nevertheless she is, by universal consent, his true wife.

It seems to me a fatal step for the church to teach that man that such a marriage is a negligible quantity; it shakes the very foundation of his moral code.

2. The Law of the land so far recognizes the validity of the native marriage that it makes it a punishable offence for a man, while still married to a woman under native law, to marry under the Marriage Ordinance: and equally punishable for a man already married under the Ordinance, to marry another woman by native custom. That is, the Law takes cognisance of native marriages. It is hardly the part of the Church to undermine them.

3. It is emphatically the part of the church to uphold the Law of God. In the words of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, "They deprecate any course which would tend to impair the validity (within their own sphere), of contracts undertaken prior to conversion, so far as these contracts are not inconsistent with the law of Christ." Or again, "Our first care has been to maintain and protect the Christian conception of marriage; believing that any immediate and rapid successes which might otherwise have been secured in the mission field, would be dearly purchased by any lowering or confusion of this idea." What else can follow but a "lowering and confusion of the idea" of marriage when a convert is taught, at the most solemn moment of his life, that his wife is not his wife.

(b) The second reason brought forward is this: Whatever may have been the relationships contracted in the times of ignorance, Baptism marks the beginning of a new life. Let past entanglements be shaken off, and a fresh start made.

The answer to this is that it is obviously impossible, even if it were desirable. The past is not so easily shaken off. No man would dream of applying the same argument to his father or mother: why apply it to the still more sacred relationship of wife?

It is not possible: and it is not right. Religion sanctifies, it does not destroy every legitimate relationship of life. The Jewish plea of Corban, given to God, did not excuse those who urged it from the fulfilment of moral and social obligations. The Jews held that it did: our Lord taught emphatically that it did not. No plea of a new relationship to God can annul the claim of human relationship, whether it be of parent or of wife.

St. Paul is not less emphatic: "To the married I give charge, yet not I but the Lord. That the wife depart not from her husband—and that the husband leave not his wife." "Let each man abide in that calling wherein he was called": or again, "Art thou bound into a wife? Seek not to be loosed." There is no thought here of a fresh start.

2. The second alternative is for the polygamist to choose one of his wives. This has, in the main, been our line of policy in Uganda. It has the advantages, undoubtedly, of a "via media" and the disadvantages.

It has the advantage that it upholds the idea of a native marriage, while it eases the strain on the man, by leaving him free to choose his youngest or his favourite wife. It has this disadvantage, that it inevitably weakens his moral sense. The assumption is that all his wives stand on the same footing in their relationship to him. Either all are married, or none are. If all are married to him, on what ground does he discard the rest? If none, then by what right does he retain the one? If, he may well argue, the marriage could be so easily dispensed with in the case of the rest, why not, with equal facility in the case of the one chosen? If it be pointed out, she is now bound to him by law; then to him marriage becomes merely a matter of civil contract, not of Divine law.

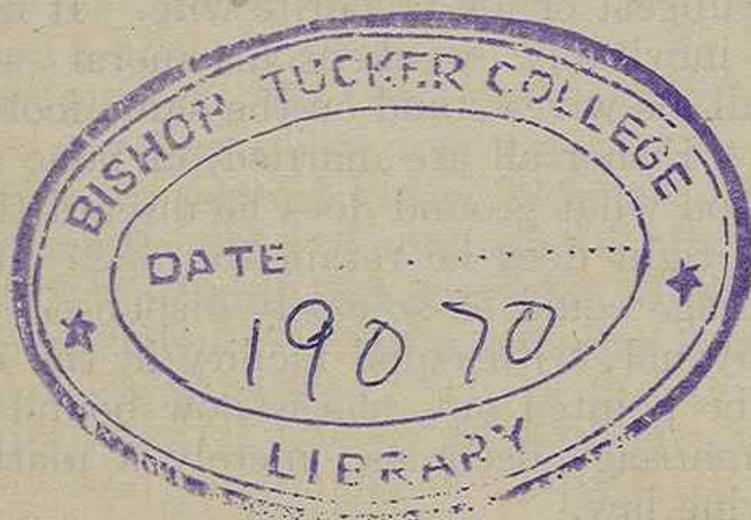
3. The third possible course, and to my mind the true one, is that, whenever possible, the first wife should be retained. By native law all his wives are equally married to him: but she is

his by double right, by human custom and by Divine law. It is doing her a grave injustice to set aside her unquestionable prior claim in favour of that of a younger competitor.

This is the line taken by the Roman Catholic Mission. It is the line instinctively taken by a primitive people in Kavirondo. It has the great gain of supplying a clearly defined principle, that the first woman married to any man shall, unless reason exist to the contrary, be recognised as his wife. The whole question will come prominently forward at this Synod, and it is most important that we should take a common line of action. Briefly what is proposed is this.

The candidate for Baptism will appear before the local Church council. If married, they will enquire into the status of his wife or wives. The wife first married will be accepted as his true wife, unless she has been, for valid reasons, separated from him. The correctness of the native marriage having been certified by the Saza chief, the man and his wife will be formally registered by Government. Finally, when both parties have been baptized, they will seek in church the blessing of God on the union (Note 8).

The great principle, to be held steadily in view throughout, is this; the sanctity of marriage as such, whether it be of Christian or of Pagan.



FINANCE.

The Finance of the church is a matter of paramount importance. I know too little about it as yet to say much; but there are some matters to which I would especially invite your attention.

1. The public accounts of the church should be made public. Uganda is no longer the relatively primitive country that it was. Many of the chiefs and their clerks are accustomed now to business method, and to the handling of very large sums of money. They are more capable, perhaps, than we have realized, of entering intelligently into questions of finance; and the more we can take them into confidence in the matter of church finance, the better will it be for ourselves, and for the church in Uganda. There is a very real danger, far as we have gone in the matter of self-support, of the natives regarding the church as the church of the Europeans and in proportion as it remains an exotic in the country, the church will be ineffective, and a constant source of anxiety.

The Synod will be asked to nominate three Baganda to sit with three Europeans, who will together form a Financial Board. This Board will be asked to enquire into the financial position of the church, and to report to the Synod of 1913. I would submit the names of Mr. Baskerville, Mr. Millar, and Mr. Rowling, as the European members of the Board (Note 9).

2. The principle on which the finance of the Uganda church is based is that of self-support, and to a very large extent it has been operative. But many of the heavier items of expenditure have necessarily been met out of English money, through the medium of what is known as the Diocesan Fund. I would ask missionaries to bear in mind, in asking for grants out of that Fund, that to a very marked extent conditions have now changed. In losing Bishop Tucker we have lost not only a leader and a friend; we have lost a most powerful advocate. The Diocesan Fund consisted, for the most part, of sums, often large sums, given to Bishop Tucker personally, for use in the Diocese at his

discretion. How far such help will be continued remains to be seen: but we must be prepared to face a very considerable reduction.

3. Of all questions connected with our church finance, that of the salaries of the native Clergy and teachers is undoubtedly the most urgent. It is well to face the situation as it stands to-day.

We have in the church 36 native Clergy, 21 Lay Readers, holding the Bishops License; 125 Teachers with Second Letter, 258 with First Letter. Including local teachers of all kinds, the returns show a total for 1911, of 2402.

The payment is made every six months, and is totally out of all proportion to the general rates of pay now obtaining in the country. There are certain allowances, varying according to the status of the teachers: but the actual cash payments are as follows:—

The monthly pay of a Clergyman amounts to five rupees; that of a Lay Reader to three rupees, (i.e., one rupee less than that of a day-labourer): a Senior teacher receives two rupees, and a Junior teacher one rupee fifty cents: a Local teacher or a Junior woman teacher receives 66 cents a month.

Two results inevitably follow. There is everywhere a spirit of latent discontent which is only too well justified. The Teachers feel that they are slighted, and the value of their work assessed at an unworthy figure. They feel, and feel it increasingly as years go on, that the promises made by each successive Synod since 1908 have not been kept. They feel that they are being kept out of what is legitimately theirs.

The second result of parsimony is this, that the church loses the services of those best fitted by training to take the lead, and those on whose education the church has herself expended far more than she will afford for her best agents. Yet how can we in reason invite a boy, who has it in his power, in virtue of the education we have given him, to earn twenty rupees a month, to take up a work for which he is offered one and a half or two rupees a month? A few of the best spirits will face the sacrifice: the rest go elsewhere. Hence we must look forward, if matters are allowed to remain as they are, to an educated laity, and a relatively uneducated clergy.

These two results, I say, must follow. A third is more than possible. The teachers will not be content, for all time, to be pacified with promises. They may leave for other work, as many have already left. Our 1,000 native churches, our 47,000 children in the schools: the whole vast network of district and parochial machinery, ultimately depend on the labour and self-sacrifice of a body of men and women whose loyalty and devotion we are straining to the breaking point.

As a temporary measure of relief, until this matter can be put on a safer and more satisfactory footing, it was suggested to me by Mr. Casson that I should, as Bishop, open a Clergy and Teachers' Augmentation Fund, for the purpose of augmenting the existing pay of all clergy and certificated teachers, to the extent of one quarter of their salary for every five years of service: the teachers to date from the receipt of their First Letter, and the clergy from the day of Ordination to Deacons' Orders. The principle has obviously very much to recommend it.

As a first step a meeting was held at the Katikiro's June 27, the need was emphasized, and the details of the scheme laid before a large and representative gathering: with the result that a sum of Rs. 1460 was promised by those present. I hope, during the year, to hold similar meetings in all the large centres of missionary work.

My idea was to promise this addition, by way of a gift, from the Augmentation Fund, for this year only. Mr. Rowling suggests that it be made a permanent addition to their pay, as it now stands, or as it may hereafter stand: and that the Synod be asked to make the church corporately responsible for this addition.

I hesitate to ask European missionaries to contribute towards this Augmentation Fund, knowing that many are already giving in other ways to the limit of their capacity. But I would take this opportunity of saying that, inasmuch as all are members of the church of Uganda, we should be in no way infringing on the principle of self-support if we contributed to such a Fund. The urgency of the need will, I think, be sufficiently obvious (Note 10).

4. Our hopes for the future lie in two directions. The first is the increase of voluntary contributions: the second is the development of church lands. No reason exists why we should

not do what others, settlers, missionaries and natives, are doing to-day with such success in Uganda. Given a good European in general charge of this work, and a moderate loan at the start, we may reasonably hope for a very substantial help from this quarter. Many of the stations have already made a good start in this direction. It should be one of the first duties of the proposed Finance Board to enquire carefully into this whole question. (Note 10).

I have, I hope, said enough to make it clear that to my mind this question of Finance is of the utmost importance.

EUROPEANS.

The past thirty years have witnessed a most complete change in this country. The Missions no longer stand out as the sole representatives of a higher civilization. We are surrounded to-day by our fellow countrymen; it is well to define our relationship to them.

1. Government.

(a) Let us cultivate the most friendly relations possible, and seek by all means to break down the natural barriers, or mutual misunderstandings due often to our ignorance of one another. I hope every missionary will make a point of calling on the officer in charge, whenever passing through a Government station, and of entertaining when opportunity offers: and of being present whenever invited at any official or ceremonial occasion.

(b) Let us recognize and uphold authority. One most important function of the missionary is to interpret, where necessary, the native to the Government, and the Government to the native. We have it in our power, to a remarkable degree, to foster a spirit of loyalty and contentment, and to uphold and strengthen the authority of the powers that be. Happily for us and for the native population, we can honestly do this: for, whatever may be the occasional failure on the part of individual officers, we have over us a Government just, sympathetic, and emphatically friendly to the best interests of the native.

(c) The Mission has, in Uganda, a unique influence and opportunity. First in the field, the sole educator and trusted confidant of the people, and a large land owner, the Church holds an exceedingly strong position in the country. But we need to beware of seeking at any time to establish an Imperium in Imperio: of hearing cases which should rightly go to the native chief: of using our influence to secure for our own tenants privileges and exemptions which other tenants have not: and of refusing to let them take their legitimate

share in the common labour of the country. Nothing could more surely or more properly prejudice officials against the Mission: nothing is more keenly resented than an attempt to interfere in a province which is not our own.

(d) Yet there is an intervention which is not interference. There may arise occasions in which, through misunderstanding or culpable action on the part of the individual, a real injustice is threatened. The missionary may be compelled to intervene, through the proper channels, and uphold the right of the native. But let the cases be no more common than is absolutely necessary, and let all bitterness and personality be avoided; let us be always ready to champion the cause of weakness, but never advocate a weak cause. And whenever the case we undertake to advocate is really good, we may confidently count on fair hearing, and substantial justice.

2. Other Missions.

It is an extraordinary fact that, widely as the success met with in Uganda has been published abroad, no other Protestant Mission has attempted to enter so fertile a field. But we have other Protestant Missions within the Diocese, in British East Africa, and we have the two Roman Catholic missions at our doors. What should, in general, be our attitude towards these?

With regard to the Protestant Missions: I would certainly advocate a recognition as far as possible of the comity of Missions, the cultivation of the friendliest personal relations and mutual co-operation and support in every legitimate sphere. We are, at the best, too few to afford to overlap. Whenever another mission, of whose essential principles we can sincerely approve, has reasonable prospects of entering a given field in the near future, let us not dispute it with them. And let us welcome every opportunity afforded of mutual conference, and united prayer.

With regard to the Roman Missions. Two great churches exist, and will exist in Uganda. Each is firmly established, and for good or for evil will remain. Are they to be regarded as rivals, or as friends? If as rivals, the result must be alienation, incessant friction, and the needless mystification of the native mind. As friends, we may accept the fact that, in matters of religion we do differ, and differ profoundly, though not radically. But personally and socially we may and should give the fullest

possible expression to the Christian spirit. And in matters moral and educational, for the common good of the people, and the glory of the One Lord, we can and should unite.

3. Settlers.

We have to look forward, in the near future, to a considerable influx of white settlers and planters. And with their advent, here as everywhere, the economic conditions of the country will materially alter. The course of the Mission will become, in some respects, very much less smooth than it has lately been. Labour problems, the steady rise in wages, racial antagonism, and moral dangers will inevitably attend in the train of civilization. For the native the days of childhood, of leisure and of shelter, will have passed for ever. In a changed country the position of the Mission will of necessity be changed. The transition from childhood to manhood is inevitable. God grant that in the great change the respect and the confidence and the affection of the native Christians may not be lost.

Childhood must give place to boyhood, and boyhood to adult manhood. We have had a great opportunity with this people, and by God's grace that opportunity has been greatly used. It is now our part to fit them to face the new conditions, and to help them at a time when, more than ever, they need our counsel and support. And with regard to the planters themselves, let no gap of our making separate us from those who are our own countrymen, and many of whom will unhesitatingly identify themselves with the cause which we have most at heart.

4. Fellow Missionaries.

Lastly, with regard to our relationship towards one another. I am glad, before this representative body of the entire Mission, to be able to thank you from my heart for the loyal and affectionate welcome which I have met with in every place. Frankly it has been a revelation to me, and a greater encouragement and stimulus than I can say.

My great hope and constant prayer is that we may all, at all times, work in complete harmony with one another. We shall not always agree, we cannot hope always to agree, on every point. But let us never, in the stress of work, lose the spirit of Christian courtesy; let us consistently treat one another as Christian gentlemen. We need, more than we know, the

abiding presence of the Spirit of God in our midst. God grant that nothing in us may ever forfeit that on which all else depends.

“ Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice; and be ye kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another: even as God, for Christ’s sake, hath forgiven you.”

May this be the spirit in which henceforth our work shall be done.

J. J. WILLIS,

Bishop of Uganda.

July 4, 1912.



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NOTES

1. The Rev. W. Chadwick has since been appointed to Mumia's District, and has commenced work at Mumia's, 9 miles south of Mumia's station.

2. A Missionary Training College, for training native missionaries from Buganda and Busoga in practical work and especially in language study, with a view to missionary work in Bukedi, has been opened at Ng'ora, and is in charge of Mr. H. G. Dillistone.

3. The Rev. A. B. Fisher volunteered for work in the Gulu district, and with Mrs. Fisher left Hoima for Gulu January, 1913. The exact site of the new station has not yet been decided.

4. No arrangements have been possible as yet, owing to the lack of workers, and Kigezi still remains unoccupied.

5. The Parent Committee have since promised a further supply of recruits as soon as possible to fill some of the gaps left in the Mission by recent resignations.

6. The training of Clergy at a centre outside Mengo has not yet proved practicable, many members of the Diocesan Council feeling that, in spite of the obvious disadvantages of the Capital, the time has not yet come for removing the Theological Hostel. All teachers junior to Lay Readers will however be trained away from Mengo.

7. The Synod of 1912 agreed to leave to the Bishop the two questions of Discipline and Finance, the whole subject, after full inquiry, to be brought forward in the Synod of 1913.

8. The following were the findings of the Synod of 1912 with regard to Native Marriages:—

(a) A married man wishing to be baptized must first register his marriage.

(b) In order to register his marriage, he must first appear before the church council with the wife whom he has chosen.

(c) Where no reason for separation exists he shall go with his wife to the Saza (county) chief, who shall inquire into his marriage; if in order they shall then go to the Government offices to be registered.

(d) After both parties have been baptized they shall seek, in church, the blessing of God on the marriage.

(e) If a Christian man or woman contracts a non-Christian marriage, according to native custom, he shall on that account be subject to discipline, but the marriage shall be regarded as valid, and shall be duly registered.

As effect cannot be given to the above findings without official sanction the whole matter was referred to the Governor, and is now under the consideration of the Government.

9. A Finance Board was appointed by the Synod of 1912 to consider the whole question of church finance, and to report to the Synod of 1913. This Board consists of three European and three native members, with the Bishop as chairman. Since then it has had under prolonged consideration a scheme for the development of church lands, and an appeal has been issued inviting a loan for that purpose. The Committee consist of:—

Ven. Archdeacon Baskerville,
 Rev. E. Millar,
 Rev. F. Rowling,
 Hamu Mukasa, Sekibobo,
 Tefiro Musalosalo,
 Yusufu Mukasa.

10. A special Augmentation Fund was opened by the Bishop in 1912, and a considerable sum has been collected. This sum has been used in augmenting the salaries of all those Clergy and Teachers who have done five years' service or over, each man receiving a grant from the Fund amounting to one fourth of his salary for every five years' service.

11. The early part of the year 1913 is being occupied by the Bishop in an inquiry, held in all the large mission centres in Uganda, into the present condition of the native church, especially with regard to the matters of drink and immorality. The results of this inquiry will be submitted to the Synod next July.

Mengo, January, 1913.