A HISTORY OF THE

NEW ZEALAND

BAPTIST MISSIONARY

SOCIETY.

1885 — 1947.

BY

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1949.
A Thesis presented for the Master of Arts Degree.
University of New Zealand.
"It is one thing to describe what once was; it is still another to attempt to determine how it came about."

-- J.H. Robinson.
PREFACE.

The New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society is today a comparatively complex organisation, with its superior administration in New Zealand and doing specific work in two districts of East Bengal (Dominion of Pakistan) and in Tripura State (Dominion of India). The purpose of this present study is to discuss the origins and development of this work. The roots of the Society are deeply embedded in history, for the story is essentially a tiny segment of the total history of the expansion of Christianity. Consequently, it is essential to indicate the relation of the Society to that wider movement.

The attempting of this present task was inspired by the study of Professor K. E. Latourette’s "History of the Expansion of Christianity". It was observed that Dr. Latourette’s only knowledge of the work of New Zealand Baptists was derived from a single article in "The Chronicle". That article, though good in itself, was far from being an adequate source of information, being frankly an uncritical and popular sketch which omitted a full valuation of the work done.

The N.Z.B.M.S. has published three quasi-historical

sketches, the best of which is certainly H. S. Driver's "These Forty Years". But there has been no endeavour up to the present to write a formal history of the Society.

The primary and secondary sources of information are fully listed in the bibliography. While manuscripts have been few in number it has been the habit of the Society to publish a great wealth of material in the official periodicals. In fact, so much has been published that it would almost be possible to write brief biographies of the individual missionaries without seeking other source material! The most difficult problem of condensation occurred in relation to Chapters 3 and 4. In the former of these chapters it has been necessary to omit many details which the source material supplies, and in particular to ignore extremely valuable and faithful work done by individual missionaries. In full justice to the persons concerned it is to be hoped that someone will undertake to write that more detailed story.

There was also a difficult problem in regard to Chapter 4, and the crisis which developed in the work and administration of the Society. While the story of the crisis was common knowledge at the time, the generation which knew the truth has nearly disappeared.
The quasi-historical publications of the Society discreetly (or indiscreetly) side-stepped the subject. However, a careful study of all the published records, and inquiry from some whose memory of events is good, including contact with those who were intimately concerned, create the conviction that the explanation offered in chapter 4 is the correct explanation.

It should be stated that the Mission has again reached a transitional period in its history. In November, 1949, it is planned to send a Commission to the Indian Field to report upon the whole work, and to recommend to the appropriate authorities the type of readjustments which may seem desirable. This Commission is to be composed of the Rev. P. F. Lenyon, General Secretary of the Baptist Union of New Zealand and of the A.Z.B.M.S., and Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Neoc.

The question of the spelling of Bengali names is a perplexing problem. At different stages and by different people the spellings have varied greatly. As a general rule, the spelling adopted in regard to the New Zealand Field is that now in current use, but that adopted in regard to the neighbouring Australian Fields has been that which was the accepted usage at the time.
Grateful appreciation for helpful co-operation
must be expressed to the Rev. P. F. Laney, Secretary
of the Society since 1949, and formerly, for fourteen
years, a missionary on the staff of the neighbouring
Australian B.M.E. Field. Several missionaries have
contributed impressions which have helped to enlighten
certain obscure points. In particular, Miss E. A.
Bradfield (a present missionary) and Miss E. M. Gainsford
(a retired missionary) have loaned valuable literature
which otherwise could not have been obtained. Likewise
thanks are due to the Rev. Dr. Albert J. Hill, Secretary
of the Australian B.M.E. for supplying two important
and otherwise unobtainable volumes. Finally, the author
must acknowledge full personal responsibility for the
manner in which this topic is handled.
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CHAPTER ONE

THE MISSIONARY IMPULSE

The history of the expansion of Christianity is a wide and many-sided subject. Its roots go back to the inconspicuous church of Apostolic times, when a handful of followers of Jesus of Nazareth were convinced that their crucified Master had been raised from the dead by the power of God. Their conviction that the Resurrection was a fact, led to certain consequences, the chief being their belief that their amazing Master and Teacher was what he claimed to be: The Son of God. This conviction went beyond the accepted Jewish beliefs about the expected Messiah, but it was no hindrance to the followers of Jesus teaching from the outset that Jesus was both Lord and Christ. By that teaching they made the highest possible claims for the One whom they worshipped and served henceforth as God Incarnate.

In the first days of the Christian church the disciples of Jesus treated His commandments with great

1. St. Matthew xvi,15-17; xxvi 62-34; St. Mark xiv, 61-62
   St. John ix,35-59; xix,7.
2. St. John xx,30-31; Acts of the Apostles 12,30; Epistle to the Romans 1,17 (and numerous other references by St. Paul), Epistle to the Hebrews 1, 1-4; iv,14; vi,6; II Peter 1,17; I St. John i,3, and twenty other references in this epistle alone; The Revelation ii,20. This is not an exhaustive list, but it indicates the nature of the Apostolic teaching between the date of the Crucifixion and about 100 A.D.
seriousness, because they regarded them as unquestionably the commands of God. That first generation of believers who confessed that "Jesus is Lord," quoted two particularly important utterances, which they regarded as the final "marching orders" given to the disciples by Jesus himself after the Resurrection but before the Ascension. They were:

"And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." (Matthew xxviii, 19-20).

And:

"Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." (Acts i, 8.)

The story of the expansion of Christianity almost entirely springs from the acceptance of the claims made by and for Jesus of Nazareth, and the zealous obedience given to His final recorded commandments by successive generations of His followers. There have been some elements in the story of Christian expansion which have not sprung entirely from faith and spiritual zeal, but the genesis of all the greatest movements in the total story has been a sincere belief that Jesus of
Nazareth is the Son of God, and is the Saviour of the World, and that all the world should be brought into His eternal Kingdom.

It is no part of the present study to discuss the evidences for the truth of the basic belief in Jesus Christ; nor is it our task to survey the total witnessing task undertaken by successive generations. It is, however, necessary to point briefly to the modern awakening to the missionary task, for that lies at the root of the enthusiasm out of which grew the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society.

The Sixteenth Century brought a major crisis to Christianity. Christianity had become circumscribed, and belonged essentially to the spirit of that Medieval Europe which was passing away. There had suddenly come a vast expansion of Europe's horizons. The spirit of Christianity changed with the changing social and political order. While there was admittedly a great deal of corruption amongst the rulers of the church in the West, there was also much genuine zeal amongst the less prominent leaders. There arose the reforming movements, first within the fold of the Roman communion, and then outside that particular allegiance. While there

4. For full treatment of this crisis see Professor E.S. Latourette, "History of the Expansion of Christianity" Vol.6, especially Chapters 1, 6, 16, 17, 18.
was a great deal of political activity in these movements of the early 16th Century, there was also an important and genuinely religious movement which was not much interested in the political aspects of the situation. It was inevitable that the merchant adventurers of Europe should share in this quickening of religious life. Wherever they went they took their religion, sometimes showing great zeal in their desire to maintain and to propagate their faith, at other times being content to maintain only a nominal religious life. When colonization began, the Europeans who settled in the new countries took with them their religion, sometimes animated by an extremely zealous spirit. In some places the non-Europeans who were most closely associated with these merchants or settlers became at least nominally Christian.

In most areas it was necessary for native peoples who wished to receive employment under European auspices to become professing Christians. As the greatest expansion of European influence came first from Portugal and Spain, which were both loyal to the Roman communion, the earliest impulse for the expansion of Christianity was definitely Catholic. Very soon the Jesuits became the acknowledged leaders in this missionary work, and their organization reached a high peak of efficiency.

5. This was true in areas where the Europeans were Roman Catholics, but it also occurred to a lesser degree among Protestants. e.g. In Dutch Ceylon, where native peoples were obliged to join the Dutch Reformed Church in order to receive official appointments. cf. Lathourette, op cit. Vol. 3. p.290 and Gustav Wurneck, article, "Missions, Protestant, among the Heathen", p.1559 (b) Vol.2. of the Schaff-Herzog "Religious Encyclopedia".
Between the years 1500 and 1600, missionary activity was almost exclusively in the hands of Roman Catholic orders, but by the latter date two changes were occurring. The impetus of Catholic expansion was slackening, and Protestantism suddenly came alive as a missionary force. During the next one and a half centuries the missionary leadership has rested with the Protestants.  

The 17th Century saw the beginning of Protestant concern for the propagation of the Gospel in areas outside Europe. An important element in this awakening was the German Pietistic movement which developed at the end of the 17th Century. The founder of Pietism, Jacob Spener, was a missionary enthusiast, who called upon Protestants to take their share in preaching the Gospel to the heathen.

There arose, more or less directly out of this Pietistic call to missionary activity a notable response in the Moravian movement. This once numerous and powerful Protestant sect, tracing its descent directly from John Huss, had been bitterly persecuted in Central Europe. Early in the 18th century a small remnant established a community at Herrnhut, in Saxony, where they soon came under the leadership of Count Zinzendorf, a pietist full of missionary zeal. In 1731 Zinzendorf began to urge upon his followers

the Christian duty of preaching the Gospel to the ends of the earth. With remarkable speed the Moravian missionaries travelled to many parts of the world, extending from Greenland (in 1732) to almost every part of the world where Protestant traders or settlers were established. John Wesley came into his great religious experience through the influence of Moravian missionaries. He subsequently visited Herrnhut, and returned to England seized with a great evangelical fervour. His preaching began the great Evangelical Revival which swept England in the latter half of the 18th century. In its turn, this Revival stimulated a missionary zeal in England such as had never previously been known, even though two missionary societies had been established in 1598 and 1709 respectively. These societies had failed because, during the major part of the 18th Century, religious life in England was at an extremely low ebb, and rationalism and deism were predominant. In such an atmosphere, missionary zeal does not live. When the Wesleyan revival began in England (with the parallel Great Awakening in America), there came very swiftly a great upsurging of religious enthusiasm, largely of a pietistic type. Directly influenced by this Evangelical Revival, though not organically connected with the Wesleyan groups,

William Walker "A History of the Christian Church" p. 515
Leslie Stephen "English Thought in the 18th Century".
there came the great Protestant Missionary Societies of England:—The Baptist Missionary Society (formed October 3, 1792); The London Missionary Society (formed September 31, 1793) and The Church Missionary Society (formed April 19, 1799). Other lesser societies, both English and Scottish followed them.

The notable thing about these societies is that they represented a new approach to the missionary task of the Christian Church. Roman Catholic missions had always been clerical movements, supported mostly by the governments of the lands from which the missionaries and traders or settlers went out. In some cases wealthy individuals supported individual missionaries. The same had been true also of the much less numerous Protestant missionaries prior to the closing years of the 18th Century. The Moravians had been the chief exception to this general rule. They were a lay organisation, almost entirely self-supporting. They made no serious attempt to establish Moravian churches where they laboured, but rather strove to create a pietistic zeal within other Protestant churches. In this objective they were very largely successful. But with the rise of the B.M.S., L.M.S., and C.M.S. there were seen new elements, most notably the fact that these societies were spontaneous organisations with no official support from those in political

religious or social authority. They were not even pre-
dominantly clerical movements, and very soon they were
 gaining their main support, both financially and morally,
 from the ordinary Christian community. In their approach
to the missionary task their attitude was essentially
evangelical. They distrusted mass movements (such as had
been the objective of the Jesuit missionaries). Instead,
they sought to convert the individual heathen to Christ-
ianity by methods of persuasion, divorced from any sense
of compulsion. 

The Religious revival of the second half of the
18th Century ushered in a double movement: on one hand
evangelical enthusiasm and on the other hand humanitarian
and philanthropic sentiment. The former enthusiasm came
directly out of Methodism, while the latter sentiment owed
a great deal to the Dismal and Latitudinarianism of the
period. Because Evangelical Christianity notably affected
the lower middle classes and the labouring classes, it was
not surprising that they should be particularly interested
in the social welfare of depressed classes or groups. They
were the people who showed the greatest interest in the
new-formed Missionary Societies.

Several influences were preparing for this new
movement. Charity schools for the lower classes were being

12. Latourette, op.cit. pp.50-51. Wrennek, op.cit. pp.1521-
14. Trevelyan, op.cit. Ch.11
established in villages in England. A new intellectual life was beginning to stir in the country, due largely to the influence of Rousseau. Great events for England’s expansion were occurring in America and India. Captain Cook was charting the Pacific. Then came the American Revolution, with a profound upsurging of the spirit of liberty, equality, fraternity, and the clear enunciation of the doctrine of the Rights of Man. In England the popular hero of the masses was "Jack Wilkes", and political Radicalism was popular with non-conformists. Tom Paine was noisily preaching Rousseau’s doctrine of the people’s sovereignty and the rights of man. Neither Paine nor Rousseau cared in the slightest degree for Christian missions; but their utterances stirred the hearts of Evangelicals to care about the welfare of the heathen, who were regarded as brother-men, living in spiritual darkness and eternal danger. Men were beginning to rise in anger against the slave trade." The preaching of Wesley and Whitfield was an antidote to both the Latitudinarianism of the Established Church and the rigorous Calvinism of the majority of the Dissenters."

Into the midst of this situation there came a young man, son of a village school teacher, himself a combination of village school teacher, cobbler and

15. cf. Coupland: "The British Anti-Slavery Movement".
dissecting preacher, William Carey the Baptist minister at Leicester. He had been moulded by all these forces, plus the effects of the preaching of two other famous Baptist ministers, Robert Hall and Andrew Fuller. These latter two men, by their intellectual and spiritual greatness, and with spoken and written word, had smashed the arguments of the hyper-Calvinism of the majority of English Baptists of that period. They were to a large extent, responsible for converting those "Particular" Baptists into Evangelicals. More especially they prepared the Baptists to hear and to answer Carey’s challenge that a Society should be established to evangelize the heathen. With Fuller as Carey’s chief supporter, "The Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen" was formed, on October 3, 1792, at a meeting of the Northampton Baptist Association. It was a small Association of Churches; they were a small and hesitant group of men; but they responded to the enthusiastic appeal of the youthful Carey. The enthusiast himself wished to become a missionary. For years, in his cobbler’s shop, there had hung a map of the world. He had carefully read all of "Captain Cook’s Voyages". In his thinking there was a paramount desire: to go as a missionary to the Pacific. That desire was still with Carey at the time of the famous Kettering meeting at which the missionary society was formed. But then a new factor suddenly entered the scene. Less than four months before the Kettering meeting
Dr. John Thomas had landed in England with the avowed intention of gaining Baptist support in order to continue the missionary work upon which he had been engaged in Bengal for about five years. Thomas's plea for Bengal, and for a companion to work with him, coincided with the newly established Society's desire to send out a missionary, and this resulted in Bengal being the selected scene of their labours.

It is not a part of this study to trace the difficulties which the Society (soon to become known as the "Baptist Missionary Society") or its agents, had to face in the succeeding years. Carey set foot in India late in 1795. He soon proved to be a missionary genius, with an unparalleled capability for acquiring foreign languages. In the course of time he has become a symbol of the modern Protestant missionary movement. For Baptists in particular, but not for them only, Carey was the pathfinder. In the course of time there developed around the name of William Carey and of missionary work in India, a peculiar sense of romance, which was to have direct consequences in New Zealand 50 years after Carey was dead.

Carey and his colleague, Andrew Fuller, led the crusade to imprint imperishably upon the minds of modern Baptists the call to foreign missionary enterprise. From

17. C.S. Lewis; "The Life of John Thomas".
that small Kettering meeting there has gone out the impulse which has touched off not only every Baptist missionary society throughout the world, but also the other great denominational Missionary Societies. In 1885 the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society joined the chain of societies. Carey's eager plea:

"Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God"

was repeated by missionary enthusiasts in Dunedin on October 15, 1885. "He, being dead, yet speaketh."

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18. J. Pearce Carey: op. cit. p. 94.
Latourette, op. cit. Vol. 4, p. 69 ff.
CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPMENT OF MISSIONARY ENTHUSIASM AMONG NEW ZEALAND BAPTISTS.

The New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society was not produced in a vacuum. The Baptists in the colony had the closest ties with their denominational brethren in England, and in practically every respect they reflected the thinking of the English groups. The great majority had come from the British Isles, and practically all the early ministers had been trained in England, where Baptist Missionary enthusiasm was at a high level. Many of these ministers looked upon their coming to New Zealand as a semi-missionary task. A number of men who had served as missionaries, came to New Zealand for health reasons. The influence of the English B.M.S. deeply impressed all sections of Baptist work in the whole Empire, and it impinged upon the young colony from a number of directions—from Bengal, Ceylon, Jamaica, and particularly from South Australia. Even a passing American invalid played a part. These influences, together with the intangible Colonial pioneering spirit, all combined to build up the conditions in which the formation of a missionary society at Dunedin on October 15, 1885, became more or less inevitable.

More definite reference will be made in the next chapter to the theological thinking of the generation which established the Society. Here consideration will be given
to the beginnings of corporate organization and the rising missionary enthusiasm.

While Otago had an essential Free Church (Presbyterian) basis, brought from the Scottish homeland, there was amongst them a quite vigorous element of Baptists, also largely of Scottish ancestry. Within fifteen years of the founding of Otago a strong Baptist Church was formed in Dunedin. Wherever handfuls of Baptists could be gathered together, regular services were arranged, and subsidiary churches began to operate. But even then there were some who called themselves "Baptists" who either lived too far away from meeting places to be able to play an active part in the work, or who became associated with other sections of the Christian community, and ultimately became absorbed by them.

A similar story can be told of the Canterbury settlement, with the difference that Baptists who went to Canterbury were under greater religious disabilities, and suffered more from sectarian intolerance. When the "New Zealand Company" was in the midst of its press propaganda in England, seeking for support for its ventures, there arose a semi-official enthusiasm amongst English Baptist organizations for sending Baptist colonists to New Zealand. This took a double form in regard to the Canterbury project.

1. Hanover Street Baptist Church: formed in 1835.
Baptist young people were urged to go out to the new colony as servants, because greater opportunities for self-advance-
ment were offering in a new settlement of this type. Likewise Baptist young men, experienced in farming, were urged
to migrate to Canterbury to take up land under Wakefield’s scheme. Consequently, within the first thirty years of
Canterbury’s history there developed fourteen groups of Baptists in the rural part of the province.
For some years there was a vigorous “Canterbury Baptist Association” committed to the expansion of Baptist work in the Province.
It gained most of its strength from the rural areas. It
played a major part in establishing the “Baptist Union of
New Zealand” in 1882, and once the latter Union was safely
launched, the Canterbury Association disbanded, holding
its final meetings late in 1884. It must be confessed,
however, that part of the reason for disbanding the Associa-
tion was the waning interest in its evangelistic policy in
the Province. Another factor, not mentioned in any
official Baptist publication at that time, but which must
have played a significant part in the decline, was the
current depression which was particularly severe in the
rural areas of Canterbury.

   “N.Z. Baptist” Vol.1 (1881) ppr ff; 177f; 183f, 161f.
   (N.Z. Centennial Volume). Minutes of rural Baptist
   Churches (see Bibliography).
5. cf. Shrimpton & Mulgan, op.cit.p 306ff; Considerable refer-
   ence made to this depression in unpublished Memoirs of J. H.
   Adams op.cit.
The infant Nelson province also had its group of Baptist pioneers, and to this area goes the honour of establishing, in 1851, the first two Baptist churches in New Zealand. Baptist settlers in North Island areas were slower at forming themselves into compact units. A large central church was established in Auckland in 1855. As a by-product of the gold-rush, a quite vigorous church was established at Thames in 1867. But other Baptist work in the Auckland province was more pedestrian in tone, and lacked the early vigour shown in the South Island. The Maori Wars doubtless played a large part in circumscribing this work, as is witnessed by the fact that Baptist preaching places outside of the Auckland urban area were, in 1881, still confined to places which had been military settlements.\(^6\) The same reason partly accounts for the chequered career of the group of Baptists at New Plymouth, where a church was originally constituted in 1845. Strangely enough, very few Baptists settled in the Wellington area, and by 1883 only one church existed in the province. Thus it is evident that the greatest endeavour to advance the Baptist witness and to organise Baptist churches, prior to the formation of the Union in 1882, came from the Canterbury Association. It served as the nucleus around which the wider work gathered. Just as the greatest enthusiasm for

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\(^6\) "N.Z. Baptist" Vol.1. (1881) p.32.
centralized New Zealand government came from Canterbury and Wellington, so it was from these areas that the initial impetus came for the formation of the Baptist Union. The magazine which had been established by the Canterbury Association became the strong advocate of the Union movement. On November 1st, 1875, exactly two years after the Provincial Governments were abolished in the colony, a letter appeared in "The Canterbury Baptist" over the signature of the Rev. Thomas Harrington of the Wellington church, strongly advocating the formation of a "Baptist Union of New Zealand", and also urging that "The Canterbury Baptist" become the recognised mouthpiece of the Baptists of the whole colony. His plea bore immediate fruit, in that the next issue of the magazine announced that its purpose was henceforth to "promote the union of the Baptist churches throughout the colony." Soon after, Mr. Harrington visited Canterbury for the main purpose of urging the formation of a New Zealand Union, and in the Canterbury Baptist Association Annual report considerable space is given to the topic of the projected "Baptist

8. This paper, originally a quarterly publication, appeared in August 1875, and was called "The Canterbury Evangelist" but was soon renamed "The Canterbury Baptist". In January and April 1880, it appeared as "The Baptist"; and in July 1880 as "The New Zealand Baptist". This was its last issue as a quarto sized quarterly magazine.
9. "The Baptist" (January 1880) p.32.
Union of New Zealand". The report, summing up the argu-
ments, records:

"We believe that if the Canterbury Baptist
Association became merged into the Baptist Union
of New Zealand, the result would be immense benefit
to the denomination in the colony."

There followed, on September 23, 1880, at the Oxford
Terrace Church, Christchurch, a conference of delegates
from most of the Baptist Churches in the colony." During
this conference it was made abundantly clear that a Union
of the Churches was both desirable and desired. No formal
constitution of a Union then occurred, but from that date
until a Conference in Wellington in October 1883 actually
constituted the Union, there was both a steady advocacy
of "Union" in the Baptist periodicals, and there was talk
of the "Union" as though it already actually existed.

At this juncture the quarterly magazine ceased
publication to re-appear in a larger form, in February 1881.
From its first issue, the new monthly paper was an earnest
advocate of "Union", though it was not until January 1884
that "The New Zealand Baptist" became the official organ
of the Union, with its editorship transferred into the
hands of two Dunedin ministers, one of whom was the
missionary enthusiast, the Rev. Alfred North. In fact the
first editorial under the new control, stressing the

12. "The New Zealand Baptist" (Oct.1880) supplies a full
report of this conference. The formation of the Baptist
Union of New Zealand is discussed in an unpublished
thesis "Baptist Principle, and its relation to Baptist
Church practice in S.Z." by Rev.O.T.Beilby, M.A. in A.U.C
Library.
immediate task before the denomination, said

"The Church must retain and increase the evangelising and missionary spirit, if she is to fulfil her mission in the world,"

and the article goes on to stress the missionary responsibility of the Church. The inference for New Zealand Baptists was obvious. From this date onward, there was a regular "Foreign Missions" section in the monthly issues. But this did not imply a change in policy, rather only a change in method; for, from the outset, every New Zealand Baptist publication bore the mark of that missionary zeal.

At the census taken in 1881 (eighteen months before the formation of the Union) there were 11,476 Baptists in the colony, representing 3.35% of the population, with 3555 in Otago, 2789 in Canterbury, 2563 in Auckland, 1286 in Wellington, and 690 in Nelson, and negligible totals in the other provinces. Commenting upon these figures, the Secretary of the Union showed that approximately half of these "Baptists" were living in areas where they could not be in fellowship with any Baptist group, and the returns of the churches themselves showed that these people were quite outside the influence of the established churches. Actually if this contention were correct, it showed a considerable improvement on the conditions existing in the middle of

15. Census returns issued by Registrar-General.
1880, when the Secretary of the Canterbury Baptist Association, in his annual report claimed that only 2,514 Baptist people were known personally to Baptist churches or ministers in the colony. It is thus evident that the Baptists were what amounted to a very small proportion indeed of the colony's population. The active Baptist constituency could hardly have been 1% of the population. But they were a surprisingly vigorous group, with some outstanding leaders, and, as already mentioned, they showed a marked tendency to reflect the thinking and acting of the Baptists in Great Britain.

It is not difficult to discover the reason for the close attachment of the colonial Baptists to those in the homeland. The great majority of them maintained some contacts with their Baptist relatives in England, and not a few of them were proud of belonging to families with centuries of dissenting and Baptist history behind them.

16. The New Zealand Baptist" (July 1880) p.74. Also, in "The Canterbury Baptist" (November 1878) pp 79-81, reprint of an article, originally published in Australia, by the Rev. J. Upton Davis, of Hanover St. Church, Dunedin. It underlined the numerical weakness of the Baptists who were in active association with eight churches then operating outside the Canterbury Province. While Canterbury had a number of active churches (of which about half have long since ceased to exist), there was a pitiful lack of trained ministers.

17. This tendency is clearly seen in the "N.Z. Baptist" files and does not even begin to show a decline until the beginning of the 20th Century.
But more significant for the future was the fact that the Churches almost invariably looked to England for their supply of ministers.

The first Baptist minister to arrive in New Zealand was the Rev. Decimus Bolton, who settled at Nelson in 1851. The three leading Baptist Theological Colleges in England, in the succeeding years, supplied a number of young and vigorous men. But older men also came—often in search of renewed health. One such arrival was particularly significant. The Rev. Charles Carter, who had been a S.S.S. missionary in Ceylon for 23 years, arrived in January 1862 to take charge of the Ponsonby Church, (Auckland). He had an outstanding record as a scholar, missionary and Bible translator, having seen his complete Sinhalese Bible through the press before he left Ceylon. 16 Immediately after his arrival in the colony, Carter began publishing missionary articles in the "Baptist", and was also in considerable demand as a missionary speaker. In 1865 he moved to Gaversham, Dunedin, where further signs of his missionary zeal were promptly shown. 17 That particular move had some special significance, for it made him the close neighbour of another missionary enthusiast, the young and forceful Rev. Alfred North, who had reached Dunedin in August 1862 to become pastor of the Hanover Street Baptist

17 "N.Z. Baptist" Vol. 7 p. 10, including quotation from Ceylon "Observer".
18 "N.Z. Baptist" Vol. 5, p. 74.
Church. 21.

At about the same time there came a young semi-invalid, in search of renewed health. His arrival coincided with a vacancy in the pastorate of the original Auckland Baptist Church, and he was invited to supply the pulpit. In this casual manner the astounding ministry of Pastor Thomas Spurgeon began in Auckland. He was a life-long enthusiast for foreign missions. One of his earliest actions was to become the intermediary between an American invalid, Mr. W. P. Snow and his own famous father, the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon of London. 22 Mr. Snow had come to Rotorua hoping that the hot springs would do him some good. He acquired a great respect and love for the Maori people, and pleaded with Thomas Spurgeon to arrange with his father to send out a missionary from "The Metropolitan Tabernacle College". In October 1883 it was announced that a missionary was coming, the Rev. Alfred Fairbrother. By January 1883 he was living at Ohinemutu and had commenced his work amongst the Maori people, and was being assisted by Mr. Snow. 23 For the next three years considerable space is given in the successive issues of the "N.Z. Baptist" to the work being done by "the Baptist Maori Mission." Thomas Spurgeon organised in his own Church a strong supporting committee, and throughout the

Baptist Sunday Schools in New Zealand, collecting boxes in aid of the Maori Mission were regularly used. Editorial appeals were made to the churches to accept this work as a joint responsibility, and within a few months of the formation of the Baptist Union, practically every church had stepped into line to support this Maori work. It continued with considerable vigour until 1885, and then rather swiftly disappeared from the scene. Official records give only hints to explain the death of this Maori Mission. Its actual closing days are shrouded in silence and mystery. There are, however, certain facts from which an inference may be drawn. The mission had been largely supported by Mr. Snow himself, and upon his death, less than a year after the mission was established, there followed considerable financial embarrassment. It was obvious that the contribution from the Baptists in the colony must greatly increase if the work were to be maintained. Further, the editorship of the "N.Z. Baptist" moved to Dunedin, into the hands of an enthusiast for Indian Missions. Already there was much propaganda on behalf of undertaking work in East Bengal. Baptist work in New Zealand was much stronger in the South Island than in the North. The three Auckland churches had each undertaken financial obligations which fully taxed their powers, for two of them had undertaken

expensive building schemes and the third (and smallest) had called its first minister.

As soon as the N.Z. Baptist Missionary Society was formed there went out strong appeals for finance to further that object. The possible sources of income were very limited even at the best of times, but all these things coincided with a serious economic depression. In the early conferences of the Baptist Union there is no sign that Fairbrother's work received even a fair share of consideration. Thomas Spurgeon seems to have been the only influential person who consistently supported the scheme, and apparently many in the South Island felt that the Mission was the responsibility of his church. It would appear, therefore, that the Baptist Maori Mission was really a still-born effort, which, despite the publicity given to it, never seriously fired the imagination of New Zealand Baptists. In succeeding years there have been a number of endeavours to establish a sound Baptist work amongst the Maori people. As early as 1887, at the second annual meeting of the N.Z.B.M.S., a special Committee was appointed to inquire into the question of undertaking this type of work. The report, brought to the third annual meeting, acknowledged a kind of obligation (though it said nothing about the now dead "Baptist Maori Mission"), but stressed

the fact that the denomination could not finance both an Indian Mission and a Maori Mission. Periodically the question has been reopened, but the answer remained the same until the 1947 Assembly of the Baptist Union granted £100 towards Baptist work amongst the Maori people in a small area in the Waikato.

While this abortive effort at Rotorua was running its course, the Baptists in the colony were not allowed to forget the extensive and enlarging work of the Baptist Missionary Society. They were also kept fully informed about developments in connection with the South Australian Baptist Missionary work. This latter work soon assumed a peculiar significance for New Zealand. At this point we meet what was probably an unconscious, yet quite direct, influence of contemporary political thought upon the religious activity of British colonists. Already the colonies were beginning, politically, to assert their individual rights and were shouldering greater responsibilities. "Responsible government" had been granted to a considerable extent. The Australasian Colonies were in their political adolescence. As their sense of independence developed it was not surprising that they should show a desire to be freed from English

27. "Year Book" 1947-1948, p. 28 and 162.
apron-strings in other respects. The movement to establish
the several Baptist Missionary Societies in these colonial
areas was a natural corollary. The Canadians, who had
given the lead in the political movement, had also pointed
the way in the religious sphere. Baptists in Upper Canada
formed a "Missionary Convention" in 1833, but more
vigorous action came from the Baptists in the Maritime
Provinces, who formed a Foreign Mission Board in 1843.
Subsequently, in 1867 the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec
organized a similar Board. Thus, in the year in which
the Canadians achieved responsible government and saw the
Canadian Federation established, the Canadian Baptists
completed their movement towards independence from the
Baptist Missionary Society. In due time the same type of
movement began to affect the Australasian colonies. As the
vitalizing breath of responsible government was felt, it
was more or less inevitable that new Missionary Societies
should be formed in the Colonies. The new Societies were
in no sense antagonistic to the parent Society, but in an
interesting manner, the relationship which continued to
exist between the English and the Colonial Societies was
very similar to the relationships now existing between the

29. K. S. Latourette, op. cit. Vol. 5, p. 34.
30. "The United Baptist Year Book of the Maritime Provinces
of Canada (1945) p. 111, ff. and "The Baptist Year Book
for Ontario and Quebec and Western Canada" (1938),
p. 103, ff.
several parts of the British Commonwealth under the terms of the Statute of Westminster.

The first stirrings of independent missionary action by Baptists in the Australasian colonies came in 1854, when the Rev. Silas Head, M.A., LL.B., minister of the Flinders Street Baptist Church, Adelaide, called a meeting to organize a missionary society. The resultant South Australian Baptist Missionary Society was the first missionary society of any denomination to be formed in the southern hemisphere. But Silas Head had bigger ideas in his fertile mind. He visualized a federation of all the Baptists in the Australasian colonies, and their united acceptance of missionary responsibility in East Bengal. 31 At the outset the South Australian Society was little more than a contributing agency to the English Society, but gradually, under Head's constant goading, more responsibility was assumed. By 1881 the South Australians had established a mission station at Furreedpore, East Bengal, and in that year it was decided to send out lady missionaries to undertake Zenana work. Prior to this date, the Society's contribution had been administered by a succession of B.M.E. agents, who had employed Bengali evangelists to work in the Furreedpore district. For some years there had been talk of the

"N.Z. Baptist" Vol.5. (1895) p.10 ff.
advisability of employing some English or Australian missionary who would devote full time to the work at Furreedpore. The opportunity to implement this idea did not come until 1881. In that year Miss M. T. Gilbert, and in the next, Miss Ellen Arnold, offered to become Zenana missionaries. This was a form of mission work open only to women; and gave promise of touching the women of Bengal in a way that was totally closed to male missionaries. Enthusiasm for Zenana work had developed in recent years in England, and there were those who optimistically believed that it would be the most fruitful form of missionary enterprise. It was in this optimistic spirit that the two candidates were accepted, and set out for Furreedpore, East Bengal, in October 1882. At that place they built a mission house which later became the training centre for Zenana Missionaries sent out by the Baptist Missionary Societies of Victoria, New South Wales, New Zealand, Queensland, and Tasmania.

Miss Arnold had not been in Bengal long when severe tropical illness required her urgent return to Australia. She soon recovered, and before returning to Furreedpore she undertook, at Silas Mead's urgent request, a tour of all of the Baptist churches in the several Australian states and New Zealand. Official intimation

22. "The Centenary Volume" (South Australia) op. cit. p.15.
23. op. cit. p.15 f.
of her coming to New Zealand was published in the "N.Z. Baptist" in December 1884. She arrived early in February and in the following three months visited all the churches and was given an amazing reception. During her tour it was demonstrated that the Baptist people as a whole had long possessed a lively interest in foreign missions. Many of the churches held regular monthly Prayer Meetings for missions, and missionary boxes (for the benefit of the English B.M.B.) were extensively used. But Miss Arnold's deputation work in New Zealand cannot be divorced from the prime significance of Silas Mead's comprehensive scheme for a united Australasian Baptist missionary work in East Bengal. This scheme had been published in full in the January 1885 issue of "The New Zealand Baptist", being there given maximum editorial support. By this time the Rev. Alfred North, as sole editor of the paper, was throwing all his enthusiasm into the idea of forming a "New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society". In actual fact Miss Arnold's tour could hardly have had lasting significance except that it sufficed to bring Silas Mead's and Alfred North's ideas very effectively before the Baptist constituency.

The scheme outlined by the Rev. Silas Mead was addressed to all the Baptist people of Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania. He outlined the needs of the Indian

24. "N.Z. Baptist" Vol.5, (1885) contains a great deal of important material, including the full text of Silas Mead's appeal in the January 1885 issue.
mission field, the fact that the B.M.S. was unable to expand its work there owing to responsibilities in other areas such as the recently opened Congo region, and the proximity of Australia and New Zealand to India. He was anxious that six major districts of East Bengal be taken over as the responsibility of the combined Australian, New Zealand and Tasmanian churches. Of these six districts, South Australia had already accepted responsibility for Furreedpore; Victoria had agreed to work in Hymsing, and New South Wales was planning to take Tipperah. The B.M.S. was working in the central area of Dacca. He pleaded that the New Zealand, Tasmanian and Victorian Baptist Unions would accept responsibility for the remaining areas of Sylhet and Cashar. By this means the task of evangelizing a compact area of 94,044 square miles—less than a quarter of the size of New Zealand—, with a Bengali speaking population of slightly over nine millions, would become the responsibility of the combined Australasian Baptist churches. To help forward this objective, Head visualised a united printing press, a common work for the higher education of Bengalis, a steam-boat to serve all the areas during the monsoon rains, and a general superintendent to oversee the interests of the combined colonial effort. Already a Mission House had been built by the South Australians at
Furreedapore, and it was suggested that this should be the centre for language study and other early training of colonial missionaries. The whole scheme as outlined, involved some degree of federation of the Baptist Unions concerned. 35. Quoting the South Australian experience, Mead pleaded for the immediate adoption of the Zenaas mission work. For nearly twenty years the work had been carried on in Furreedapore by Bengali evangelists who worked under the general guidance of a succession of B.K.S. agents. But the response to this method of evangelization had been slow. The mixed Moslem and Hindu population of Bengal had always tended to look upon Christianity with disfavour, as being only a "Western religion". In the hope that this apathy, or even active opposition, might be broken down, Missionaries had turned their thinking towards the closely

36. Mead's advocacy of this federal union is interesting in that it shows how his thinking was influenced by the then current advocacy of Australasian (Political) Federation. cf. R.C.K. Haer, "England 1876-1914", p.233 ff. Similarly, it is to be noted that the advocacy of the formation of a "Baptist Union of New Zealand" followed swiftly on the heels of the abolition of the Provincial government of the Colony, and the establishment of the United Assembly in Auckland.

37. The reports of the most famous of these, Punchanon Biswas, were regularly published in "The N.Z. Baptist". He visited South Australia on deputation work, in 1880. cf."Our Centenary Volume" op.cit. p.13 ff.
guarded Zenasas, where the women and children were kept in isolation. Here seemed to be an important sphere for missionary work, for future generations could be influenced even in the seclusion of the Zenasas. It was, of course, a work which only lady missionaries could do. Therefore Head pleaded for the establishment of this type of work, supported by Bengali evangelists.

Thus Elias Head placed his scheme before the Colonial Baptists. To support the idea, he took a hurried visit to Auckland early in 1885 when he presented his plea with great eloquence to Auckland Baptists. While he confessed to being glad that there was work being done amongst the Maori people, he urged his hearers that "they should not forget their fellow-subjects in India".58. His appeal in Auckland was followed swiftly by Miss Arnold's tour of the churches, and by the hearty support of the Rev. Alfred North as editor of "The N.Z. Baptist." While Miss Arnold was still in New Zealand, Mr. North published an editorial in which he pleaded for the formation "at our next Union meetings, of a New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society. It would be well if this matter were discussed between this and October by our Churches in their Church meetings, that so, when the representatives come together they may have a clear understanding of the feeling and desire of the Churches they represent in relation to it. We cannot but believe that the claims of India upon us all will be recognised by all, and that an unanimous decision to recognise them in the most practical way will be arrived at."

Subjoining this editorial was the reply of the London Secretary of the R.M.S. to Silas Mead's suggestion that the colonial unions take over responsibility for the East Bengal districts. This reply makes it clear that the total scheme was the product of Silas Mead himself, who had laid it before the R.M.S. before it had received any official approval in South Australia. Further, before hearing the R.M.S. judgement on the issues he had also laid the plan before the colonial unions! However the R.M.S. heartily approved of the project, and promised all possible support if it were carried into effect.

The next issue of "The N.Z. Baptist"40 contained a further article by Mr. Mead in which he stressed the grounds for a federation of the Baptist Unions in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. In this article he assumes that his Bengal mission scheme is going to be put into operation, and quotes that as a major reason for federation. In commenting upon this article, the editor expressed himself as in favour of the idea, but fearful that it was impracticable because of the distance between New Zealand and Australia. As far as New Zealand was concerned, the idea did not bear fruit, though federation in Australia-Tasmania did occur. It seems to have been in Mr. North's mind that New Zealand would work in full cooperation with Mr. Mead's

Bengal plan; but even this did not occur as fully as the originator had hoped. While happy relations have existed between the N.Z.B.M.S. and the Australian work, the cooperation which has existed has been worked out by the missionaries on the Field and very seldom by the home committees.

Reference has been made above to the arrival in the colony of certain ministers who played a prominent part in stimulating missionary thinking in the Baptist community. Those already named were by no means the only missionary minded individuals within the denomination. It would be impossible to name all who played significant parts in moulding opinion, but certain ones cannot be ignored. First of these is the Rev. F.M. Cornford, who had been minister of the Auckland Church for 15 years until 1876. He had been a N.Z.B.M.S. missionary in Jamaica for ten years, when health had forced his retirement in 1850.41. But he remained a missionary enthusiast until the end of his life. In 1876 he moved to Sydney, but in the early 'eighties (due to a fresh collapse of health) he returned to the colony to live quietly at Napier. While his health prevented him from taking a personal part in the actual formation of the N.Z.B.M.S., he was President of the Union and Society from October 1867 to October 1868, and exerted a strong influence. When he moved to Sydney, he was

succeeded in Auckland by the Rev. Allan A. Webb, who had been trained for the ministry under the supervision of the Rev. Allan Head, from whom he had caught missionary zeal. (He) was in New Zealand for only a few years, but during that time had eagerly supported the idea of the formation of the Baptist Union. Returning to South Australia to become minister of the North Adelaide Church, he was consequently back once more in close association with the Rev. Allan Head, and became his enthusiastic colleague in missionary endeavour. As he was remembered with great affection and respect both by Auckland Baptists and by Baptist leaders in other parts of the colony, any scheme in which he took a prominent part would be assured of at least a sympathetic hearing.42.

Then, late in 1893 there arrived in the colony a young minister from England, the Rev. William Carey, a grandson of the famous missionary. Early in 1894 he became minister of the Lincoln (Canterbury) Church, while he awaited appointment to the staff of the R.M.C. in India. His waiting period was reduced to a few months. Apparently one of the reasons which brought him to New Zealand was the fact that his brother Andrew Fuller Carey was already in the colony. Together, they set out to establish a religious magazine, "The Church in the Home", but the project failed when the young minister left for India. In 1890 another brother, Jonathan Rylands Carey

came to the colony. These two business men extended a wholesome and powerful influence in denominational affairs for many years, Mr. A. P. Carey becoming President of the Union and Missionary Society, and Mr. J. R. Carey exercising an even more lasting influence as a wise-bodied committee man, though he consistently refused nomination to the highest office within the grant of the denomination in New Zealand. 43.

In the same year that the Rev. William Carey visited the colony, the Rev. C. C. Brown and his wife arrived from India. They had been on the staff of the B.M.S., and Mrs. Brown had been a Zerana missionary. They were called upon to give a large number of addresses especially in regard to Zerana work, and they exercised a considerable influence among South Island Baptists in particular. 44.

During the months immediately before the October 1885 annual conference of the Baptist Union was to meet in Sydney, the missionary publicity in the "A.Z.Baptist" steadily increased, until it crowded out almost every other topic. In four successive issues there appeared a

43. "A.Z. Baptist" Vol.4, p.11 supplemented by information supplied by Mr. William Carey, son of Mr. J. R. Carey, and nephew of this minister.
44. "A.Z.Baptist" Vol.6, p.57 f., 73, 75 f., 161 f.
prominent notice that the Rev. Alfred North proposed to move, at the conference, that New Zealand Baptists take their place in the scheme proposed by Mr. Head. So the ground was fully prepared for what was to follow.

Before passing from these preparatory influences some reference should be made to the question of missionary interest in other circles. It is to be remembered that the Baptist community which was showing such an enthusiasm for missions was then very small in proportion to the total population of New Zealand, and still is very small. 45.

With the sole exception of the Presbyterians, whose numbers and organisation were much in advance of the Baptists, there does not appear to have been any extensive missionary enthusiasm amongst other denominations in New Zealand prior to 1835. The General Assembly of the Northern Presbyterian Church of New Zealand was formed in 1835, and decided at the same time to engage in foreign missionary work. Their first missionary went out to the New Hebrides in 1836. Three years later the Church of Otago

45. Census figures show Baptist percentages in proportion to total population as follows: 1851, 1.6%; 1861, 3.0%; 1871, 3.5%; 1872, 3.5%; 1873, 3.5%; 1874, 2.9%; 1875, 2.3%; 1876, 2.2%; 1877, 2.3%; 1878, 2.3%; 1879, 2.2%; 1880, 2.0%; 1881, 2.0%; 1882, 2.0%; 1883, 2.0%; 1884, 2.0%; 1885, 2.0%; 1886, 2.0%; 1887, 2.0%; 1888, 2.0%; 1889, 2.0%; 1890, 2.0%; 1891, 2.0%. In the more recent years the Annual reports reveal that a much higher proportion of self-avowed "Baptists" are in actual contact with Baptist Churches.
and Southland joined this venture. It is possible that this Presbyterian missionary activity had some influence upon Baptists, but there is no documentary evidence on the point. No other denomination committed itself to the task of sending out missionaries to other lands until some years after the first New Zealand Baptist missionaries had gone to India. Thus, if size and date of organization are duly considered, the Baptists in the Colony showed an altogether phenomenal enthusiasm for missionary work at an early period.

48. "How Did the Church Get There?" edited by A.A. Brash. pp 15-25. This official publication deals with missionary activity undertaken by all the Protestant Denominations in New Zealand.
CHAPTER THREE

FOUNDING THE NEW ZEALAND BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Under the cloud of economic depression which overhung the whole world, and after a winter in which soup-kitchens had made their first appearance in the Colony, and while the outlook gave little reason for confidence, the delegates assembled at Dunedin, in October 1885, for the fourth annual conference of the Baptist Union of New Zealand. Not only was the internal condition of the Colony disturbed, but many people were alarmed about the possibilities of war with Russia.¹

The President of the Union was the Hon. Thomas Dick, a leading officer of the Hanover Street church, Dunedin, and Colonial Treasurer in the Stout-Vogel administration. The delegates represented thirteen churches, from Auckland to Invercargill. Another thirteen churches which were entitled to send representatives failed to do so; and only five of those which did send delegates had included laymen.² They represented a formally organised Baptist community with an official list of 2588 actual

¹ Shrimpton & Mulgan, op. cit., p.217. ² T. B. Adams, op. cit.
² "N.Z. Baptist" Supplement to issue of January 1885.
See Appendix C.
Church members and a Sunday School enrolment of 4181.
The majority of the churches were very small. In fact,
only seven had more than 100 Church members\(^2\), and two
of these were not represented. The small size of some
of the churches, the distances and hazards of travel,
and the prevailing economic conditions, would sufficiently
explain the absences from the Conference.

Thirteen men travelled to Dunedin, where they
were tendered an enthusiastic reception by both the
Dunedin delegates and the people of the three established
churches in that area. From Auckland there came the Rev.
Thomas Spurgeon, already gaining fame for his own sake,
and revered for his father's sake—for the name "Spurgeon"
had a curious significance for Baptists. He was known to
be a missionary enthusiast. With him was a church officer
who was also an enthusiast, Mr. S.H. Matthews. From
Wellington came a young New Zealander, the Rev. R.H. Driver,
who had just returned from his ministerial training at
the Metropolitan Tabernacle College ("Spurgeon's College"),
London. He was supported by two of his church officers.
From Christchurch came the Rev. Charles Ballastone, one of

\(^2\) Auckland (Rev. Thomas Spurgeon) 542; Christchurch (Rev.
Charles Ballastone) 246; Dunedin (Rev. Alfred North) 318;
Thames (Rev. C.R.oolley) 136; Gaversham (vacant) 147;
Wellington (Rev. R.H. Driver) 146; Sydenham (Rev. J.B.
Gilmore) 135.
the pioneers of the Union movement, and keen for the missionary cause. From Kirwee, Canterbury, came the aged Rev. D. Delamore, the first Baptist minister to arrive in the Colony—a man who had come to New Zealand 24 years previously to do a missionary's task. From Timaru came the Rev. C.R. Brown, a former missionary in East Bengal. From Inversaryill came the Rev. Joseph Hinton, member of a family with a long history of successive Baptist ministers, in whom there was notable missionary zeal. Nor were they the only ones who travelled to Dunedin to be met by the Revs. Alfred North and Charles Carter, the former a life-long advocate of missions, the latter himself a notable missionary. Less is known about the laymen, but amongst them was Mr. W. Inge who had a son and a daughter who were amongst the early missionaries of the Society. One of the Hanover Street church delegates was Mr. H. Beckingsale, father of one of the most notable lady missionaries to serve the Society. It seemed perfectly obvious what the decision of these men would be. The two men who would have had most reason to urge delay were not present. The Rev. Thomas Fairbrother of the "Baptist Maori Mission", and the Rev. J. George Johnston, formerly evangelist for the Canterbury Baptist Association, and now Home Mission agent for the Union on the West Coast, were unable to be present. Both of these causes were starved for want of financial support.
While there were those who urged the needs of a more vigorous home mission policy, for some reason that idea did not stir the minds of the leaders adequately.

The first President of the Baptist Union had been the Rev. Charles Carter; the second had been the Rev. Alfred North, and now the third was the Hon. Thomas Dick. The first two of these had, for some years past, been stressing missionary work. There is no sign that Mr. Carter was ever seriously interested in Home Mission work, nor is that surprising, considering his previous record. By the time the 1886 Conference assembled, Mr. North had been editor of "The N.Z. Baptist" for nearly two years, during which time the majority of space was taken up with missionary matters. Certainly no-one who read "The N.Z. Baptist" could fail to be well aware of current Baptist missionary activity in India, the Congo, China, Japan, Siam, Zanzibar, and the West Indies. From January 1885 the most prominent issue before the readers was the Rev. Silas Mead's proposed Australasian co-operation in missionary work in East Bengal. The work of the "Baptist Maori Mission" and the "West Coast Mission" (the only Union sponsored movements) were not entirely ignored, but they were not nearly so prominently before the Baptist constituency. The 1886 Conference seemed to be enthusiastic about these two
Missions, but they were immediately and completely overshadowed by the vigour with which the official journal took up the Head Scheme for foreign mission work. By May 1885 the paper began to lend its strong support to Miss Ellen Arnold's suggestion that "Missionary boxes" be placed in every Baptist home. It was acknowledged that there were collecting boxes for the benefit of the Maori Mission, but the needs of the Indian mission were pressed with much greater vigour. The total impression left by the published material which went into the hands of the prospective contributors is that the Maori and West Coast Missions were quite secondary matters, while the establishing of an Indian Mission was an imperative demand. "The N.Z. Baptist", which was the chief means of this propaganda, and was the main, if not the only, real link between the Baptists of the Colony, had at this time a circulation of 700 a month, and certainly reached the keenest of the people.

In his presidential address at the decisive Conference the Rev. Thomas Dick spoke on "The Home and Foreign Missions of the Church, as they are fostered by Union." The major part of the address was taken up

5. "N.Z. Baptist" Vol. 5; (May, 1885), and frequent subsequent references. p.79.
with discussion of the need for training, in New Zealand, the ministers needed to advance the denominational work in the Colony. In the discussion on the Foreign Mission issue, he quite fairly outlined the Baptist devotion to foreign missions by saying:

"All the traditions of our Church, as well as the desires of our hearts, lead us to recognise that mission work belongs to us essentially. We cannot remain at rest without taking our share in it. From the time that Carey led the van in missionary labour, leaving Fuller and other warm advocates of the cause at home to urge the duty, necessity, and privilege of the Churches supporting Christian missions - from that time to the present day the Baptist Churches have realised their responsibility to have the Gospel preached to every creature. They have not lacked those who were willing to go forth, and they have never ceased to seek and obtain the means of sending them forth."

He then went on to outline the way in which the initiative in the present Indian mission project had come from South Australia, and he particularly stressed the appeal made by Miss Ellen Arnold as she had visited the New Zealand Churches earlier in the year. Finally, he indicated the fact that the only serious hindrance to fulfilling this project would be the financial hurdle. Could the churches meet their own financial needs, plus those of the Home Mission cause (as then chiefly represented by the West Coast Mission), and still hope to shoulder the cost of engaging in work in East Bengal? In that question, the President had certainly touched the crux of the problem. There were very few Baptists in the Colony who, on principle, disbelieve
in foreign missions; but there were those, as he pointed out, who were fearful, both because of the numerical weakness of the Churches, and because of the prevailing distress.

On Thursday, October 18th, the second day of the Conference, after some routine business had been transacted the Rev. Alfred North moved:

"That a New Zealand Baptist Foreign Missionary Society be now formed, to take up at the outset Missionary work in India." 8

In moving the motion, he referred to the objections being raised to the formation of the Society, in that it was too great a financial responsibility. He dwelt at some length upon the fact that the group which formed the original "Baptist Missionary Society" had been an even smaller and poorer group. He also read a lengthy letter from Miss Ellen Arnold, who urged upon the delegates the duty of engaging in this work. Mr. North gave to Miss Arnold considerable credit for having stimulated interest and causing the project to be brought forward at that particular juncture. Mr. North's motion was seconded by the veteran missionary, the Rev. Charles Carter. Apparently every delegate spoke in the debate which followed, and not

8. For this and following details see "N.Z. Baptist" Vol. 3. Nov. 1885) p.155 f.
a single dissentient voice was raised. The report for
the "N.Z. Baptist", written by ex-missionary J. C. Brown
conveys something of the atmosphere of the occasion:

"Thus was inaugurated the New Zealand Baptist Foreign
Missionary Society. It was an historical occasion.
Those present will ever look back with the greatest
satisfaction and remember that they were the men who
deliberately committed the Churches to this enter-
prise, the result of which, in time and in eternity,
who can foretell?" 9.

On the following day rules for the newly
established society were approved, including an alteration
in the name by deleting the word "Foreign", and the first
controlling committee was elected. The Rev. M. M. Driver
was the first Secretary.

The brief editorial of "The N.Z. Baptist" which
recorded the decisions of the conference tells its own
story:

"Not only have we formed our New Zealand Baptist
Missionary Society, but we are profoundly gratified
to announce that, already, a lady-worker, impelled
by the love of the Lord, is offering herself for
the field. The thing now needful is that the Churches
and schools should set their machinery to work to
secure the necessary funds. Let us be as enthusiastic
as we ought to be in so glorious a cause."

The young lady concerned (Miss Fulton of Dunedin)
was duly accepted by the committee within a month from the
date of the formation of the society. 10.

   p.8, and p.127.
The nature of the Bengali climate necessitated the delay of some months in sending the candidate out to India, so the offer of the Rev. C.C. Brown to commence her tuition in Bengali was accepted and acted upon. Unfortunately, this candidate felt obliged to resign in the following September. But in the meantime, the fact that the Society was in existence, and a candidate was offering for service in India, had stimulated considerable activity in raising funds, and engendered in the Baptists of the Colony an even more lively enthusiasm for this foreign mission. Printed circulars were broadcast throughout the denominational constituency, and appeals were made to Sunday Schools to begin regular collections for the Society. In the spate of this enthusiasm, the very thing which the more cautious had feared, apparently happened. The chief and immediate financial sufferers were the Maori Mission and the West Coast Home Mission. It is difficult to know where the fault lay, but one thing is evident: The Union and Missionary Society were represented, between Conferences, by one Committee, though there were different individuals acting as executive officers of the respective branches of the work.

The Committee for the year 1885-1886 was chiefly
composed of men who were leading enthusiasts for the Foreign Mission project. Also, the Missionary Secretary was a young man of undoubted initiative and vigour, whose pen was always his strongest weapon. For the next seventeen years he was the chief executive officer of the Society. During those formative years the Union, with its avowed "Home Mission" emphasis, did not possess so settled a secretariat. Consequently the Union lacked the driving power which the Missionary Society possessed from the outset. The Union never deliberately abandoned its Home Mission task, but that side of the work languished, as some had feared it might. That failure seems to have been due chiefly to lack of inspiration and the right kind of united action. From the first, the churches were united in sharing financial responsibility for the Mission work, and a central Committee directed its general policy and propaganda in New Zealand. But when it came to the question of united action to further the work of the denomination within the country, local jealousies began to appear, and churches began to think of their traditional Baptist "independence". Consequently, vigorous united action was very difficult to obtain, especially for a long term policy.

Reference was made above to the fact that there

was some slight opposition "on principle", to the formation of the Missionary Society. This calls for a brief consideration of the underlying theology of the people who brought this society into being. For more than 340 years prior to the establishment of the Baptist Union in New Zealand there were two main branches of the Baptist denomination in England. The General Baptist group was the older, while the Particular Baptists developed under the influence of the Calvinistic Puritans. These latter believed that Jesus Christ did not die for the salvation of all men, but only for the salvation of "the elect". In the course of time, extremists were convinced that evangelism and any attempt at missionary work was deliberate interference in God's rule of the Universe. Under the influence of the Evangelical Revival, much of the harshness of the Particular Baptists was softened, and the General Baptists, with their Arminian doctrine, were stimulated. Amongst the Particular Baptists, by the time the first Baptist churches in New Zealand were being formed, there were three groups, holding to different interpretations of Calvinism. The great majority of "Particular Baptist had come to accept the teaching of Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall, which brought them very close to the "General Baptist in their zeal to take the message of the Gospel of Jesus

Christ to all men. Baptists who had come to New Zealand represented all shades of theological belief, and in about the same proportions as they existed in England. In a few Colonial churches, in the earliest period, quite serious discussions occurred over those theological beliefs. In one or two places an extreme form of Calvinism persisted, but gradually it faded from notice. 13.

Even more significant is the fact that the New Zealand Baptist leaders were the products of a general movement amongst Protestants, and particularly of English speaking Protestants. The latter half of the 19th Century witnessed a quickening of all aspects of evangelical Protestantism, and especially those sections which had been most affected by Wesleyanism and Pictism. There had been a series of "revivals" during the first three-quarters of the 19th Century. Always the stress had been upon the conversion of individuals to Christianity, by their personal faith in

13. In at least two Canterbury Baptist Churches, still existing, the hyper-Calvinistic element was originally in control, until ultimately the Churches ceased to function, and were closed. They were later revived by less extreme Calvinists. (Rangiora Baptist Church; Oxford Baptist Church). The author has heard it claimed that some other early churches which have disappeared belonged to this hyper-Calvinistic section.
Jesus Christ. Combined with this evangelism there was a definite spirit of philanthropy and humanitarianism. There was also a decided and ill-advised tendency to equate the benefits of western civilization with essential Christian standards, and consequently a desire to change the cultures of non-European peoples in order to make them conform to alleged "Christian" standards, which were too often only "Western" standards.

By the early 1880's Protestants were beginning to talk of "the evangelization of the world in this generation." They were striving to organise the work of foreign missions so that there would be no overlapping, and at the same time to cover all parts of the world. This surge of vitality coincided with the expansion of Europe, due to the new Imperialism. New Zealand Baptists were simply keeping in step with a widespread movement which was particularly affecting Protestant evangelicals.

Baptists have gained the reputation for being the most evangelical of the evangelicals. That description may not always have been true, but it has been largely true.

14. "The watchword of the "Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions" (1885)
since the middle of the 19th Century. In particular, the English Baptists played a not inconsiderable part in creating the strong evangelical fervour of the mid-Victorian era. It was at that period that the great expansion of the Baptist denomination seriously commenced.

The prevailing emphasis of the evangelicals, of whatever Protestant denomination, was upon the primacy of the Bible, literally interpreted. The Bible was viewed, without reserve, as the Word of God to man, in which God's self-revelation was declared. Starting from that basis, the Evangelicals had no doubts about the certainty of life after death, with definite rewards and punishments, and with the fearful certainty of the Final Judgment and the eternal issues of Heaven or Hell. Further, they looked upon this present life as important only in so far as it was a conscious preparation for eternal destiny. While the nature of this evangelical creed has altered in

16. In 1971, Dr. J. C. Irwin (in his "Baptist History") estimated the world strength of Communicant Baptists at 1,610,430. In 1981 official figures gave the total as 2,450,894 (cf. "Baptist" May 1981). In 1941, the official figures were 1,214,520 (cf. "Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention" 1945, p.392). These latter figures omitted the numbers in the areas controlled by Soviet Russia, where it is known that the total runs into some millions.

certain details in the succeeding years, its main emphasis has not varied. It has possessed definite humanitarian elements, but its chief concern about men has been that they are "sons for whom Christ died," and that their eternal destiny depends upon their response to Jesus Christ, in terms of such scriptural passages as St. John, iii, 16: "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

This evangelicalism of the Victorian era was at its peak about 1870, and it manifested itself in a number of ways, including a great quickening of missionary enterprise. The Baptist leaders in New Zealand were most strongly influenced by that evangelical outlook. In fact, it is no exaggeration to assert that apart from that outlook, the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society would not have been inaugurated; and that essential evangelical faith has lain at the back of the maintenance and growth of the Society in the succeeding years.

CHAPTER FOUR

RENEWING THE TASK. 1885 - 1902.

As has been stated above, it was during the fourth annual Conference of the Baptist Union of New Zealand, held in Melbourne in October 1885, that the decision was made to form "The New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society". The reports of those proceedings make no reference to the adoption of any policy, though it was apparently assumed that the plan outlined by the Rev. Silas Need of Adelaide would be followed. The nearest approach to a policy statement made at that particular juncture appeared as an editorial comment in the December 1885 issue of "The N.Z. Baptist".

"Let it be understood that much money will be wanted, not for the support of our first Zenaan Missionary, indeed, for we may say that that is practically secured, but for the second, and for the native preachers and Bible-women that it will be necessary for us to employ, and for the houses that we shall have to build." 1.

Immediately, plans were made in various parts of New Zealand to organise Missionary agencies, and a flood of propaganda was issued by the Secretary of the new

1. "N.Z. Baptist" Vol.3. (December 1885) p.195. (The"Zenaan Missionary" mentioned was Miss Fulton, previously mentioned).
Society. The most significant thing done at this juncture was to establish "The New Zealand Missionary Messenger". It began its existence as a section of "The N.Z. Baptist", and was then reprinted as a separate four-page bi-monthly journal with a 3,000 circulation for free distribution amongst people who might be interested in the work of the Society. For propaganda purposes it was an excellent publication. It remained under the editorial supervision of the Rev. H.R. Driver for many years.

The most important matter before the newly-formed Society was the question of deciding upon the exact location of the work in East Bengal. Immediately after the Dunedin Conference the Secretary wrote to the London Secretary of the S.M.B., both explaining what the Conference had decided, and asking for advice. This letter was

2. "N.Z. Baptist": Vol. 3. (1883), p.5 (an official notice of some importance); p.17; p.23; p.42; p.44 (reporting action by Lady Randolph Churchill, wife of Secretary of State for India, in taking active interest in Zenana work); p.45; p.49 (appeal to Sunday School scholars); p.51 (Rev. J. Kerry describing qualifications required in missionaries, including need to be perfectly fit, physically, and possessing practical common sense); p.72; p.77 (stating, among other things, that the minimum salary "to continued health and comfort in the climate of India" for lady missionaries would be £100 a year); and p.88 (which announces the establishment of "The New Zealand Missionary Messenger". This paper made its appearance in June 1886, under the title of "The Missionary Messenger".)
referred to the B.M.S. Agent and Financial Secretary at Calcutta, the Rev. George Kerry, whose reply was published in February, 1885. While he advocated the adoption of the Cachar district, he also stressed the need to have the missionaries sufficiently close to one another to avoid the evils attendant upon isolation from fellow-workers. He then went on to imply that the Head plan was rather too ambitious, and suggested that the Mymensingh district, by itself, would be a big enough task for the combined strength of the Colonial Societies. At the same time it was arranged that Mr. Kerry would visit the Colonies in order to discuss details of the work with the Societies concerned. He arrived in New Zealand on August 22, 1885, and with his wife, toured the principal churches in the Colony, speaking about the missionary task in Bengal. Unfortunately, Mr. Kerry had to leave the Colony before the October 1886 Conference met at Auckland, but he had given some advice which was acted upon at that Conference. He suggested that the New Zealand Society should combine with the Queensland Society, so that jointly they might undertake the heavy financial responsibility of building a Mission House and commencing work. This time,

he advocated Ubanah as a suitable district for activity, presumably because of its proximity to Suroodpora, and Deesa, where work was already proceeding under the direction of the South Australians and the English respectively. The secretary, however, commented that there would be no urgent necessity to make a decision, because it would be at least two years before the first New Zealand missionary could actually commence her evangelistic work. It was decided, however, to enter into negotiations with the Queensland Society. Later, writing from Calcutta, Mr Kenny explained that he had suggested union with the Queensland Society because he did not think the New Zealand Society strong enough to send out more than one lady missionary, and he knew that it would be impossible to open a new mission station without at least two lady workers, together with a minimum of two Bengali preachers to work in the locality. But he adds: "Possibly I underestimated the zeal and ability of the New Zealand Baptists in this matter." He went on to state that he had been making further inquiries on behalf of the M.E.B.M.S. on the subject of a suitable place to establish their first station, and he again

5. "M.E.Baptist" Vol. 5 (May 1887) p. 70 f., letter dated Feby. 25th, 1887. (It is appropriate to remark here that "The M.E.Baptist" files for 1883, 1887, 1888 are each called "Volume 6", though in each year numbers are given from page 1."
advocated Pubash. He pointed out, however, that if the New Zealand Society were resolved to establish an independent station it would be necessary to find an initial £1,000 to build a suitable Mission House, and that it would cost about £200 annually to support two lady missionaries, two Bengali preachers, Bible-women, and to pay incidental expenses. He made it clear that this would be a minimum expense.

Mr. Kerry's estimate of the New Zealand Baptists' zeal was underlined by a report issued a few months later by the Rev. J. Price, secretary of the South Australian Society. In reviewing the missionary enterprise of the Baptists of all the Australasian Colonies, he pointed out that the New Zealand Society was one of the youngest in the Colonies, yet was the most vigorous.7

The ambitions of the youthful society were well illustrated at the second annual meetings, held in Wellington on November 15th, 1887. Though the Queensland Society had expressed willingness to join with the New Zealand Society, the Committee had decided that it would be better for the Society to undertake the entire responsibility for a single field. Consequently, upon the recommendation of the Committee, the following minute was passed:

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6. An editorial note questions the accuracy of "£200" suggesting that it must be a clerical error for "£500". The Secretary had already estimated that £400 would be the absolute minimum.
7. "N.Z. Baptist" Vol. 6, p.165 f. (November 1887)
"That this Society resolves that, if it be found, on consultation with Mr. Kerry and our own agents, to be desirable and practicable for us to occupy Dacca, we accept that as our station; but that if it be undesirable, the committee be free to select another field." 8.

Before replies had been received from Mr. Kerry and the two ladies who had already gone out as servants of the Society, the Secretary of the Society published considerable information about Dacca, which revealed that the B.W.S. had already established in that city and district a considerable work, with an English staff of six, and five Bengali school teachers working in four schools. It was pointed out that, if the B.W.S. were to surrender this work to the M.Z.B.S.S., there would be ample room "for the display of all our enthusiasm and enterprise." 9. That enthusiasm, however, was not encouraged by those to whom the inquiries were directed. Mr. Kerry intimated that the English B.W.S. had no intention of giving up Dacca, but he suggested that a site at Narayangunge (seven miles from Dacca) would offer an excellent opportunity for the Society. The two ladies concurred in Mr. Kerry's advice. 10. From that time until late in 1889, it was accepted as definite, both by the B.W.S. and the M.Z.B.S.S. that the latter would commence work at this port of Dacca (on the river Ganges) as soon as the Society's missionaries had become proficient in Bengali. In fact, at the Annual Meeting of the Society...
November 14th, 1888, the following two resolutions were passed:

"That in accordance with the advice of the Rev. G. Kerry, advice in which our agents heartily concur, we adopt Narayanganj or a suitable place in its near neighbourhood as the centre of the operations of our Society in India."

"That this meeting authorize the Committee to secure through the Rev. G. Kerry, a desirable site and a suitable mission-house providing accommodation for four missionary agents."

It should be noted, in passing, that the Rev. George Kerry had been the official advisor and agent of the N.Z.S.M.S. at Calcutta ever since the first annual meetings of the Society.

Considerable enthusiasm was expressed for the prospect of being able to proceed with the building of a mission house. Already some money had been set aside for this purpose from the credit balances in the previous years, and now news had come to hand that a person in Victoria had anonymously given £500 to the Society to help it build a mission house. A spirit of enthusiasm, which amounted almost to recklessness, led the assembled delegates to resolve that the mission staff should be increased as rapidly and as largely as possible. They were presumably cognisant of the fact that two further missionary candidates

11. Minutes of N.Z.S.M.S. Third Annual meetings at Oxford Terrace Baptist Church, Christchurch, November 14, 1888.
were offering their services. At the same time it was announced that a person who wished to remain anonymous had offered to bear the whole expense of supporting another missionary agent. The resolution to send out further missionaries was promptly acted upon. All of this work must be considered in the light of the continuing economic depression, which was having a severe effect in New Zealand. In fact, the economic situation was such that the main set speeches at the Conference had been dealing with problems created by the depression.

However, the question of the location of the Society's field had not really been settled. While the first lady to go out to serve the Society actually lived and worked at Narayangunge for a time, it was found impossible to obtain suitable accommodation at that town. For a brief time the two missionaries lived in Moonshigunge, across the river from the proposed site of activities. However, the conditions were not satisfactory. At this juncture, the Society had the valuable assistance of the Rev. Charles Carter, who had returned to Ceylon for a brief period to complete the publication of his revision of the Cingalese Bible and other work in his old sphere of labours.

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At the annual meeting of the Society, held in December 1890, it was resolved to ask Mr. Carter and Mr. Kerr, together with the Rev. G. H. House, to act as a Commission on behalf of the Society. They were instructed "to personally inspect Narayangunge, and consider the possibility and advisability of our retaining it as the headquarters of our mission." Their instructions then authorised them to select some other area, if they thought fit, and to take the initial steps to purchase land and erect a suitable house to act as field headquarters of the Mission. Other points in their instructions dealt with the advisability of employing a European married missionary, acquainted with Bengali, to act as head of the staff, and to confer generally with Mr. A. H. Daynes, the London Secretary of the B.M.S. regarding the Society's position and work in India. The Commission did its work thoroughly and speedily. Its report was solidly against Narayangunge, or its locality. Further, there was again the implied criticism that the Colonial Societies were attempting to undertake more work than they could accomplish effectively. Consequently, it was recommended that the Society join forces with the New South Wales Society in adopting North Tipperah as the field of Labours. In that

15. Minutes of 4th Annual Meeting of B.M.S. (December 11th, 1899.)
areas the other society already had a station at Comilla, where Miss Allen Arnold was in charge. It was suggested that the New Zealand missionaries might work in conjunction with the ladies at Comilla, and that perhaps at a later date the district of North Tipperah might be divided between the two societies. The idea of employing a suitable married missionary was approved, and two names were suggested for the consideration of the Committee. ¹⁶ Mr. A. H. Baynes had been in Bengal just before the Commission set about its task, but members were able to confer with him before he returned to England. Amongst his comments, perhaps the most significant was his criticism of the Colonial Societies for establishing missionary stations when they were able to locate only two ladies at any such station. His specific criticism applied to Comilla, but it had even more force in regard to the conditions under which the two New Zealand missionaries were living at Moonshingra. These two ladies were bereft of any European companionships: neither was yet very proficient at Bengali; and they were living in an Indian bungalow, which offered no real protection to Europeans against the Bengali climate. ¹⁷

The recommendation of the Commission was quickly

adopted, and Comilla became the temporary headquarters of the Mission. At the same time the Committee employed the Rev. H. G. Emere de St. Delmas and his wife to be the "superintendents" of the Society's station in India. Mr. St. Delmas had served as a Missionary in India since 1879 and was highly commended by responsible authorities. Before this man was able to take up his duties under the Society, Miss R. MacGeorge, the senior New Zealander on the field, reported that Brahmanbaria, about 40 miles north of Comilla, would make an admirable permanent site for the Society's work. At the fifth Annual Meeting of the Society, in December 1890, it was reported that the Committee had approved this recommendation. But it remained for Mr. St. Delmas to find suitable land in this town, and to have the necessary buildings erected. Early in 1891 he was able to purchase the occupancy rights to a plot of land in the town for £10, and on April 7th 1891, Mr. St. Delmas and his wife took possession of the first house built on land held by the Society. It was a "mat bungalow", the walls being made of bamboo mats and the roof of grass thatch. It was a cheap building, typical of the locality, and by no means a satisfactory residence for Europeans in such a hot, sultry climate.

19. B.M. Driver "Our work for God in India" p.61.
This original building was described as providing "comfortable accommodation for two missionaries". A second house, of a similar type, was being constructed, with the purpose of moving all the staff to Brahmanbaria as soon as possible. Mr. St. Dalmas reported that it would not be possible to start building a more substantial house until the following October, due to the intervening rainy season, which would cause extensive flooding of the whole area. However, plans could be made for such a masonry building, as an anonymous donor, above-mentioned, had promised £500 towards the building of a suitable mission house.

For a number of reasons the work on the proposed masonry mission house did not begin until late in 1893, and it was not completed until nearly the middle of 1894, after Mr. St. Dalmas had left on furlough. The house, which had not been very honestly built by Bengali workmen, offered satisfactory accommodation for four Europeans.

While the work was being done on the Mission House at Brahmanbaria Mr. St. Dalmas suggested that it would be appropriate to build a Church or Hall. Some funds were raised towards this purpose in 'Baria (to use the common abbreviation of the name), and the Committee

20. "I. Baptist" Vol. III, p. 25; p. 73; p. 121; p. 127; p. 127
voted the remainder. Consequently, by the time the building operations were completed, there were reasonably adequate buildings on the Mission Compound, which had cost the Society $1,100. 21.

In the meantime another development occurred which led directly to the opening of a second mission station. When Mr. St. Jalmes joined the Society's staff, arrangements were made whereby the London Missionary Bureau would send out six men to serve under his direction. Three arrived in 1891, and the remainder came in the following year. One of the former group was Walter La Barte, a young man who had been something of an adventurer. He had spent six years in New Zealand, had subsequently served in the British Army in India and Burma, and had then returned to England before going out again as a missionary. In commanding this man to the Society, it was reported that he "had a practical knowledge of medicine and surgery, gained in the military hospitals and by study and practice in England." 22. He was accepted as the first medical missionary of the Society, though his medical qualifications do not seem to have been more

"N.Z. Baptist" Vol.9 (1892) p.73, p 78. For the story of the six men, Vol.9 pp.57 and 74.
then those of a trained male nurse. He had expectations of an early marriage, and steps were taken to find a suitable sphere for his labours. When Mr. St. James recommended him for employment, he suggested that a second mission station be opened. Consequently, the 1893 Annual meetings agreed that an out-station be established at Subah, an important town about half-way between Baria and Comilla. At this time the Society could view such expansion with confidence, seeing that the funds showed a credit of £1,125, and the new station was not to cost more than £300. But that credit balance was a snare. At the Annual meetings a comprehensive policy was adopted which involved the Society not only in opening this out-station, but also in spending £100 on a new house boat, in accepting a male missionary candidate for training, in obtaining additional Bengali helpers, in sending out another Zenna missionary as soon as possible, and in giving both Mr. LaBarre, and Miss Bacon (a qualified nurse and dispenser on the staff) a complete stock of medicines. It was felt by the delegates at the Conference that the liberality of the people in the previous financial year justified the maximum expansion. The Annual report had pointed out that in its initial seven years the Society had sent out

22. Minutes, 7th Annual Meeting of R.Z.B.W. (1893); also "Seventh Annual Report".
four ladies from New Zealand, and had employed another
four from England, as well as having the help of five
young men who were under the control of the superintendent
of the Mission. As against this, the Victorian Society
had sent out ten missionaries, and was now being forced
to retrench; the South Australian Society (with Tasmanian
help) had sent out nine; New South Wales had sent out
three and Queensland had contributed two. The New Zealand
Society was undoubtedly proud of its effort, and viewed
the future with optimism. Even when "the roar of retrench-
ment" had been the common note of the hard-hit-Colony, the
third Annual report stated that the nature of the Society's
income "relieves us of all necessity for that cautious
economy which we previously felt it needful to study",
and that "the expansion of our activities will be limited
by our means alone". The Society had been warned
repeatedly by responsible officers of the B.M.S. to be
cautious, but the light-hearted optimism of the New Zealand
Committee was unabated, even though it had been sobered a
little by the retirement, through ill health of the second
missionary to go out, and had been shocked by the untimely
death of the first lady to go out. These two events made
the Committee become more careful of the health of its
agents. But they were soon to have it further impressed
upon them that a European could not live like a Bengali

24. 'The Missionary Messenger' December 1888— for a very
optimistic report.
in that climate, for the third lady to join the staff, after a brief attempt to live Indian fashion, went into a physical decline from which she did not rally. The retirement of Miss Newcombe had been unfortunate; the death of Miss MacGeorge was a shock; but the death of Miss Pillow was a sobering blow. All these ladies had spent some time living in houses quite unsuited to Europeans. By now the Home Committee realised that it was necessary to insist upon certain minimum requirements in regard to living conditions, and holidays away from the humid and malaria-infested Bengali plains during the most trying mid-year months. Not long before Miss Pillow's death, Mr. St. Dalmas returned to England on furlough. The five men who had come out from England to work under his direction were by this time finding their own fields of service. Three of them, who had been made "Honorary Associates" of the New Zealand Mission, were to achieve fame as missionaries to the Hill Tribemen. 25. While the superintendent was in England, some misunderstanding developed between him and the Committee, which resulted in his resignation—to the consternation of the Committee. 25

The implications of this resignation had hardly been digested, when the news of Miss Pillow's death reached New

25. cf. David Kyles "Lorrain of the Lushais."
Zealand. The staggered Committee took stock of its position. It now had only four agents in Bengal: Mr. and Mrs. Walter La Barte, the former finding it difficult to master the language, and also greatly worried over the ill-health of his young wife, and Miss Annie Bacon and Miss L. Peters, the latter still struggling with language studies. It was also clear that Miss Bacon should be brought home on furlough as quickly as possible, lest her health suffer. Clearly the staff must be reinforced. Already two men, Walter Barry and John Ings had been accepted for training, and a trained nurse; Miss E. Beckingsale was being sent to Edinburgh for additional special medical training.27 But they would still have to complete their training and learn Bengali before they could undertake responsibility in Bengal. The situation was eased by an unexpected event. The Rev. George Hughes, a B.M. missionary on furlough, had come to New Zealand early in 1896 and had accepted the temporary pastorate of the South Dunedin church. When he was made aware of the situation, he promptly offered to serve the Society as its "chief of staff" at Brahmanbaria.28 He and his wife sailed from New Zealand in October 1896. When he left he was probably aware that Mr. and Mrs. La Barte were going to leave the

27 "A.Z.Baptist" Vol.11 (1894) p.9, p.87, p.92.
28 "A.Z.Baptist" Vol.12 (1896) p.55,p.72,p.120,p.161.
staff and that a third male recruit, John Tickle, was offering, though these decisions were not publicly announced until the November Conference. 29.

The first major task entrusted to Mr. Hughes was to complete the settlement of the second New Zealand Mission station at the town of Chandpur. More than a year previously, Miss Bacon had submitted a report, recommending this place, and pointing out that it was rapidly becoming a more important town than Brahmanbaria. Careful inspection had followed by a Commission of Englishmen, who reported favourably. The Committee had thereupon resolved to establish the second centre of work at this town. 30. When Mr. Hughes arrived at Chandpur he discovered that land values were grossly inflated because of the new importance of the town as a railway terminus. In the succeeding months this missionary proved himself an amazing worker. The details of the protracted negotiations and the actual building of the mission house need not detain us. Mr. Hughes was a proficient man in a number of ways, and was certainly the most able of the early servants of the Society as far as his pen was concerned. His reports make vivid reading. He also acted

as supervisor of works as the Chandpur mission house was being erected. Mr. Hughes could see that it would be wise to have the house available before the three male recruits arrived from New Zealand. He was well aware of the hazards of cooping up a number of missionaries in cramped quarters in the Bengali climate. But before the work was completed the recruits arrived, and an event which Mr. Hughes had obviously feared was already well on its way to fulfilment.

In August 1896 five New Zealanders were sent out from the Colony to serve in East Bengal. Miss Bacon was returning to Brahmanbaria after her first furlough. The other four, the Revs. B. Barry, J. Ings, and J. Takle and Miss L. Ings, were new recruits. Miss Beckingsale had already reached Bengal, after undergoing additional medical training at Edinburgh. This was the largest group of new missionaries ever to be sent out at one time by any colonial society. In Bengal they joined Mr. and Mrs. Hughes and Miss Peters. Of the total group, Miss Bacon had spent the longest time in India, and they were all distinctly youthful.

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33. Records of M.Z.A. show that Mr. Hughes must have been about 50 years of age at this time. He died in 1944.
The stage was set for the New Zealand Committee to learn a most humiliating lesson. Proficient though George Hughes was in a number of ways, his personality was such that he was largely unfitted to be in charge of a group of probationary missionaries. His experience was still very limited, and he lacked the authority which an older and more wise-headed man would have possessed. Further, the Committee planned to have nine young people on the mission field while they possessed adequate provision for only four at Brahmanbaria. Accommodation for others was being made at Chandpur, and some could find a temporary haven at the other Colonial stations. But in whatever light the situation is viewed, it is clear that the Committee had allowed its zeal to outstrip its discretion. Also, without the benefit of an experienced staff, it was indisputable to allow a situation to develop in which a majority of the staff members would be engaged simultaneously in the study of elementary Bengali. The Committee also seems to have failed to consider the full implications of the fact that these three male recruits would doubtless desire to marry. At least one of the men had already contracted a matrimonial engagement. Further, it was the purpose of the Society to send out a medical missionary (Dr. Charles
North) in the near future. Quite apart from any prospective marriages, the Committee was planning to have a total European staff of ten on the field before 1899. To send out so many recruits at one time was undoubtedly the mark of zeal, but it was also the most serious failure in sound judgment in the history of the Society. Previous experiences should have warned the Committee that the Bengali climate was dangerous to health. Yet here was a large staff being employed when the Committee did not possess the proper type of housing for that number. The S.E.H. had given a number of warnings in regard to the selection of staff, housing them properly, and generally on the subject of hastening slowly. However, in their zeal, the members of the Committee seem to have forgotten these warnings.

There is no profit in discussing the details of what transpired in the following three years in regard to the staff in Bengal. With the sole exception of Miss Peters (whose health broke down a few years later) all the members of that group have long and notable missionary records, but unfortunately only two of them were to remain in the service of the New Zealand Society. In 1898 a crisis developed, which occasioned the New Zealand

Committee such anxiety. The immediate consequences of the crisis in Bengal were six resignations. The Rev. George Hughes and his wife returned to B.M.S. work; the Rev. Walter and Mrs. Barry joined the Queensland B.M.S. staff at Nookhali; and the Rev. John Ings and his sister resigned, and subsequently served Australian Societies with much honour. But the crisis had greater repercussions in New Zealand. The whole policy of the Society was reviewed.

Until the Committee presented its 14th Annual Report at the 1899 Conference there had been only one type of criticism of the Society, namely, that it was being developed more quickly than finances permitted. Now, however, there arose criticism of the Committee's administration. The murmurings of dissatisfaction grew in the next three years.

It was just at this juncture that the Rev. Alfred North accepted the invitation to the pastorate of the Circular Road Baptist Church, Calcutta. He left New Zealand in September, 1900, and acted as the Society's financial agent in Calcutta until he returned to New Zealand early in 1903 to take the pastorate of the Peacockby

25. Formerly Miss Annie Bacon, who had been on the staff since 1890.
Church.\(^{37}\) Thus the dominating personality in the society and on the committee was absent from the country when the committee faced its first real crisis in New Zealand. Interestingly enough, the attack was led by Alfred North's eldest son, the Rev. J. J. North, whose brother, Dr. Charles North, was now on the society's staff and was busy building a hospital at Chandpur.\(^{28}\)

The absence of the Rev. Alfred North was immediately felt. Largely due to his son's advocacy, the 1902 Conference placed the accent strongly upon Home Mission work. That was the beginning of the real crisis at home, though it is doubtful whether many realised what was happening. The Rev. H. M. Driver, who had been secretary of the society since its formation, was anxious to surrender his office. However, he was persuaded to retain office until the 1902 Conference. It was that Conference which resolved to reverse the former policy of the society. He presumably felt that the reversal of policy amounted to a vote of no confidence in himself; but there seems no justification for drawing such a conclusion, for even those

\(^{28}\) "N. Z. Baptist" Vol. 17, p. 25, p. 105, p. 189. Minutes of 15th, 16th and 17th Annual Meetings of the N. Z. B. M. S., and reports of these conferences in "N. Z. Baptist" January 1901, 1902, and 1903 respectively, for this and subsequently mentioned facts.
who opposed the former policy of the Committee offered handsome tribute to this man who, for 17 years, had devoted himself unsparingly to the service of the Society.

There seems little doubt that the policy of the Committee had been largely the product of Alfred North's thinking. During the first fifteen years of the Society's existence he had been the dominating figure in the denomination. In 1894 it had been pointed out that a quarter of the Society's total income to that date, and almost all of the Society's servants who had gone out from New Zealand, had come from his church.29. The denomination was still very small, and was relatively badly organized. In such circumstances an exceptionally competent and clear-sighted individual is the only type of person who could lead an organisation like the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society. By 1900 the Society was still far from being firmly established. Consequently, the departure of Alfred North for India at that particular juncture opened the way for possible change. The recent crisis in India had made a number of people take stock of the situation. There were some incidental criticisms of the past administration, but it was obvious that some bigger change was developing. There began to be an

unusual sign of life in the Home Mission policy of the Union.

The explanation for this change in tone became clear during 1909. A number of young and distinctly able men had been recent additions to the ministerial ranks. One of them, F. J. Borchen of Mosgiel, had become editor of "The N.Z. Baptist"; another, R. S. Gray, had toured the churches pleading for a more vigorous Home Mission policy; and a third, and more permanently significant man, J. J. North, had just been appointed secretary of the Baptist Union. While none of these were against the foreign mission work, they were all keen advocates of a more vigorous policy within New Zealand.

At the end of his first year's secretaryship the Rev. J. J. North carried through the Annual Conference a radical change in policy. Until that date a small Committee had been entirely responsible for the policy of both the Baptist Union and the Missionary Society. Its powers had bordered on the dictatorial. It had deliberately turned its major attention towards the foreign missionary aspect of its responsibilities. The attitude of the Committee, and the heart of the Missionary Society's policy, was effectively summarized by the Rev. A. H. Jellicoe when moving the adoption of the Society's
annual report in 1997. He held the Union secretarial office from 1887 until 1900, and he was speaking as Union Secretary when he said:

"I believe we shall best serve the work at home by pressing on the work in India." 40.

On November 10th, 1903, J. J. North moved that an alteration be made in the manner of electing the Committee. The significance of the event was that the open conference, instead of the Committee, would now dictate policy. 41. That, in turn, meant that no single individual, or even small group of individuals, could push on the missionary activity, or any other activity, without the full and deliberate consent of the Annual Conference. Also, the prevailing tone of the Conference was strongly in favour of extending the work in New Zealand. There was no desire to retrench the work in India. 42. All the retrenchment which might have been necessary occurred as a by-product of the crisis in East Bengal in 1898-9.

The next step in the reversal of the Committee's policy was contained in H. H. Driver's final report as Secretary of the Society:

"The whole question of the future staffing of the stations has been seriously considered by your

41. "M. Z. Baptist" Vol. 13, p. 108; and Minutes of 30th Annual Meetings of the Baptist Union of M. Z.
42. Minutes of 17th Annual Meeting of M. Z. B. U. (1903) for this and subsequent matters."
Committee, and in their judgment the time has now arrived when the policy of the Society should be in the direction of the maintenance of the present strength of our European staff and the increase of native agents as opportunity offers." 43.

The final step in the reversal of policy was shown in the election of the Union and Missionary Society Committee for the ensuing year. The personnel was quite clearly composed of men who were concerned to expand the denominational work within New Zealand.

A. H. Collins, five years previously, had said; "...we shall best serve the work at home by pressing on the work in India."

Henceforth the implicit policy was to advance the work in India by pressing on the work at home.

In dealing with this crisis it has been necessary to pass over an important matter which occurred during these trying years. In November, 1907, a Conference of Australasian Baptists was held in Melbourne. The Rev. Alfred North was sent as the New Zealand delegate. While most of the Conference was concerned with matters relating to federation and home mission policy, Mr. North had been asked to introduce the discussion on the only missionary topic on the agenda. He was asked to discuss:—"In what ways, and to what extent, can the Australasian Baptist

Foreign Missionary Societies work together?" It is clear that federation was desired by at least a number of the Australian Colonial Societies, but Mr. North reported that he refused to countenance the idea. 44. This suggestion had been part of the original scheme proposed by Silas South, and had at that time been opposed by Alfred North. The chief purpose of this Conference (from the Australian point of view) failed; but out of it came some minor decisions for united action, two of which bore fruit, and a third (co-operation between the Colonial Committees) could have been useful, but was allowed to lapse. The several societies agreed to consider the establishment of a common hospital and a common orphanage. Already the New Zealand Society had sponsored Mr. Charles North as a medical student, with the intention of sending him to establish a hospital on the New Zealand field: and the Victorian Society was well advanced with plans for an orphanage. The Sunday Schools in New Zealand raised £100 towards the hospital which Dr. Charles North built at Chandpur, and opened in 1901. 45.

The total achievement of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society during this period was impressive.

44. "N.Z. Baptist" Vol. 15, pp. 11-12, p. 35.
considering its size. At the time of the forming of the Society in 1885 there were 2588 church members. In 1902 the number had increased to 3,721. The majority of the churches were still struggling against adversity. Yet in 1901, when the Rev. Charles Williams, a former President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and notable Baptist author, visited the Colony and subsequently the New Zealand Society's station at Chaudpur, he was greatly impressed, and asserted that, proportionately, the work of the young Society was in excess of that of the parent Society.46.

CHAPTER FIVE.

THE WORK IN EAST BENGAL.

Tuesday, September 29th, 1886 was a great date for New Zealand Baptists, for on that day Miss Rosalie Macgeorge was farewelled as she began the first part of her journey towards East Bengal. She was the first of a noble and self-sacrificing company of women who have gone out from New Zealand as missionaries. At the valedictory service in Dunedin, the Rev. Alfred North said:

"As far as I know,... our sister, whose appointment to this work is in this service solemnly recognised, is the first woman sent forth by any organisation in the Colony for mission work amongst idolaters." 1.

Prior to this date, in fact, there appear to have been only two ministers, each accompanied by his wife, who had been sent out from New Zealand to be missionaries. These had been sent out by the Church of Otago and Southland (Presbyterian) to the New Hebrides. 2. With the sending of Miss Macgeorge the work of the Society in East Bengal actually commenced.

Upon her arrival in Bengal she was associated with the ladies serving under the South Australian Society, and began her exacting language studies which occupied

2. A. A. Brash: "How Did the Church Get There?" P.15 ff.
practically all of her time for her first two years in India.

The Society has always insisted that its servants should become thoroughly efficient in the use of Bengali. In more than one case a servant of the Society has retired because of inability to master the language. On the other hand, some of those who have served the Society have become so familiar with Bengali that they have come to experience real difficulty either to think or to express themselves in English.

There is a limited amount of work which can be done by a person who has not acquired fluency in Bengali, but the Society can never consider a missionary's initial training completed until at least two years after the date of that person's arrival in Bengal. Nevertheless, long before those exacting two years expire, the missionary has learned much about the conditions existing in East Bengal. About these general conditions something should be said.

In the previous chapter reference has been made to the manner in which the Districts of Brahmanbaria (North Tipperah) and Chandpur (South Tipperah) were selected as the spheres of labour. Between them lay the Coochilla District, where an Australian Society was working.
Adjoining the Brahmanbaria District, as the eastern border, is the independent native state of Hill Tipperah (now called Tripura). The total population of the three districts of Tipperah was, in 1884, 1,419,249. The earliest available census figures for the districts of Brahmanbaria and Chandpur are those of 1901, when the former had a population of 577,858 and the latter 485,339. By 1911 these had increased to 767,479 and 573,656 respectively. The increase continued in this rapid manner until the latest published figures are 1,339,515 and 1,970,338 respectively. The Brahmanbaria district covers 769 square miles (somewhat under 40 miles by 20 miles in size), and thus had a population density of 882 per square mile in 1901 as against 1,433 in 1947. The Chandpur district is slightly smaller (424 square miles), and the population figures have jumped from 906 to 1,794 per square mile in the same period. These figures may be compared with the present New Zealand population density of 15 per square mile. The two districts are humid, malarial infested river and canal intersected agricultural plains, where the chief crops are rice and jute.

Considering the density of the population the two chief towns are quite small. In 1947, Chandpur was only slightly

3. See Appendix A.
over 40,000 and Brahmenberis was under 35,000. But both districts are tightly packed with villages. In fact, the communal life centres upon the villages, where the great majority of the people exist in a continual state of object poverty, and with no prospect of an improvement in their lot.

In the village economy every head of a family has his small farm, which he has inherited (commonly accompanied by large debts) from his ancestors. One of the sacred duties laid upon every man is that of leaving behind him as many sons as possible. Upon his death, his agricultural holding is divided equally between his sons. It is extremely unusual to discover any holding as large as one acre. 3.

When the Society began its work in 1886 the population was officially estimated to be equally divided between Hindus and Moslems. Gradually the ascendancy has been acquired by the Moslems, until, in 1947, 52% of the population was Moslem. Both religious groups, in their respective manners adhere tenaciously to their traditional systems. 7. The great majority are illiterate and socially

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John Tooker: "The Bible in 'Basis".
John Tooker: "The Bible in 'Basia".

J. E. Hodge: "Salute to India" pp 7-48.
so depressed that they are unable to comprehend any system other than that under which they were born and brought up. The caste system of Hinduism creates an almost insurmountable obstacle to social change, in that the individual is considered to be born into a certain social and religious status out of which he may not contract himself. The nature of the individual’s caste determines almost exclusively his occupation and virtually all his social contacts. For a caste Hindu to become a Christian involves him in loss of caste, in every way as serious a matter as excommunication was in the later Middle Ages. Within Hinduism there is the large group of “Untouchables” or out-caste people whom were despised by all the caste Hindus. These Untouchables have always been the most fruitful source of converts to Christianity. They have had the least to lose by deserting their traditional religion, but even they have been called upon to face bitter persecution from fellow out-castes when they have shown any sign of adhering to the Christian faith. While conversion to Christianity always involved the most serious social consequences in the earlier days of the society’s work, in more recent years a slightly more liberal attitude has been displayed. At one time the relatives of a Bengali would not hesitate to endanger life and limb to prevent any possible conversion

to Christianity. For many years it was not possible to leave any convert, Hindu or Moslem, in his own community; it being essential, for his own safety, to move him away to some other area.

The Hindu system contains many elements which, to a Western and Christian mind, are shocking. Held in spiritual bondage under the Brahmin caste, and in fear of a vast hierarchy of deities, the people had become enslaved mentally, morally and socially. The condition of women under the system is so debased that it is hardly possible to make their lot worse. They are valued only as sexual chattels. Mental life for the overwhelming majority of the people is stagnant. When the Mission began its work, there was no possibility of even the most rudimentary education for any except a privileged few. These factors combined to create, on the common level, a standard of life which struck Western minds as extremely depraved and degrading.

The Moslems belonged to a different tradition, yet they had been affected by the older Hinduism and could not avoid the taint of social depravity. They were involved in the same economic system. While Hindus have been quite willing to honour Jesus Christ as a peerless teacher, and have not infrequently confessed to being greatly influenced by Christian standards, Moslems have
tended to stress that Jesus is only one of the many prophets, and is definitely inferior to and superseded by Mahomet. In the Moslem community the position of women is, if anything, worse than under Hinduism. In the Hindu system, to be born a woman signified extreme punishment for depravity in a previous incarnation, but there remained hope of a better reincarnation in a future existence. In Moslem belief, however, a woman is a soulless chattel, fit only as a household slave and to bear sons.

Under the influence of the early missionaries in India some of the more horrifying practices had been curtailed, but when the New Zealand missionaries first reached East Bengal there still remained an abundance of practices which seemed terrible to Western thinking. As the years have passed some of these evils have been modified by the work and influence of Christian missionaries. The achievements have been particularly notable in the spheres of education and medical services. Sir H. Verney Lovett has pointed out that "from 1807 to 1812

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9. This topic is discussed by Sir H. Verney Lovett in Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. 5, "India" Chapters 7, 7 and 19.

10. Immediately after her arrival in Bengal, the first missionary of the society began writing regular letters of a descriptive nature. From the May, 1887 issue of the "N. Baptist" to the present day such letters have been regular features, and give a wealth of detail.
mission work was an object of serious apprehension to the government at Calcutta, but that great pressure applied to the British Houses of Parliament resulted in the Government agreeing to missionaries preaching, translating, and teaching at their own risk, but that on no account should the government employ or maintain missionaries. While the Government was obliged to follow a neutral policy, the above-named authority was able to state that

"Missionaries... rendered invaluable assistance to the Government in educational enterprise. Under the scheme of 1854 their schools became eligible for grants-in-aid." 11.

The record of missionary educational enterprise in India is good. It began seriously with the activity of the Rev. Dr. William Carey and his colleagues of the Baptist Missionary Society at Serampore, East Bengal, in the closing years of the 18th century. Carey was a great orientalist, and wished to build a University which would stress the greatest elements in Eastern and in Western culture. However, forces were at work which persuaded the Government to sponsor education in English with a strong bias towards Western culture, and by 1825 this plan had become the official policy. Lord Macaulay was the individual chiefly responsible for this scheme. He

11. op. cit. p.122 f. To discuss this topic more fully (and in relation to the agitation of Charles Grant — later Lord Gladstone) in pp.96 ff.
imagined that by imposing upon the Indians an English education "in thirty years there would not be a single idolater among the respectable classes of Bengal." 12. Macaulay had taken an entirely superficial view of the situation, had debated the issue with more heat than light, and finally persuaded the Government to adopt an educational policy which caused such alarm among responsible administrators and missionaries in India. There followed a reaction, which came back to Carey's position. Western education was the essential basis for entry to the Indian Civil Service, but the system commenced under Macaulay's inspiration was an unsatisfactory system which created great problems.

In the meantime a much more fruitful educational system was developing. The missionaries were beginning to institute vernacular day schools in the villages, including schools for girls, who had been excluded from previous consideration. At the same boarding schools for orphans were being founded, and through Zemana work domestic instruction was being given in middle and upper class families. Considering the huge population and the small number of missionaries, comparatively little could be

12. op. cit. p.110. See Lovett's discussion of the adoption and results of this system. pp 110-119.
accomplished, but they pointed the way to the system which
was to come nearest to meeting India's need. Concerning
the educational work of the missionaries, Sir Verney
Lovett says:

"The main credit of a great initiative rests with them"

The early B.M.S. missionaries had evolved the method.
Others copied their successes and tried to profit by their
mistakes. Under the Government scheme schools were
scattered throughout Bengal. For the most part they were
of poor quality, but they served the not very numerous
middle and upper classes. In these schools the teachers
were normally glad to avail themselves of the help of
missionaries. The teachers and pupils were primarily
interested in learning English and acquiring a good pro-
nunciation, while the missionaries were anxious to introduce
the pupils to the Bible. This form of teaching was open
to missionaries who were still far from proficient in the
vernacular, and from the earliest days of the New Zealand
Baptist Mission it has been a significant part of the
routine activities.

As soon as the first mission station of the New
Zealand Society was established at Brahmapuria, steps
were taken to obtain teaching opportunities in schools
in the vicinity. In April 1868, one of the earliest ladies

13. op.cit. p.115.
to serve the Society, Miss Pillow, opened a school for girls in a low-caste village near Brahmanbaria. Instruction was given in the vernacular for three hours daily. As the years passed this type of work was extended somewhat, but the most significant development came when a school was opened on the Chandpur mission compound in January, 1893 and a Bengali male teacher was employed as the regular teacher. This particular work was commenced by Miss E. Beckingsale, who became one of the most notable missionaries sent out by the Society. At the same time it was resolved to open a similar school at Brahmanbaria as soon as Miss Bacon could find a suitable teacher to undertake the routine work. From small beginnings, these two schools were gradually built up until they became quite large institutions with very creditable records. It has always been the policy of the mission to employ Bengali Christian teachers, who work under the Principalship of a New Zealander. Of course, it has been desirable to have as Principal a trained teacher, and this has normally been possible.

In the course of time the urgent need for the Mission's own school at Chandpur became less imperative.

due to the development of good Government schools in that
town, and the school was closed. However, the Brahmanbaria
school is still operating, and has acquired a first-rate
reputation. In 1947 it had a staff of eight trained
Bengali teachers under Miss I. J. Thomson, B.A. and had
an enrolment of 202. At the present time about three-
quarters of the enrolment is normally composed of Hindu
and Muslim girls. Miss H. D. Adams will be assuming
the Principalship of this school in 1948. In addition to
these ordinary schools, a considerable amount of work has
been attempted of the nature of Sunday School and Bible
Class teaching. This activity has tended to resemble the
type of Church youth activity known in New Zealand.

During the years 1935–1947 the educational work
largely centred around the school at Brahmanbaria. This
institution has served as a model to the Government schools.
Work has continued in both districts, as opportunity has
offered, to teach in the local schools, on a basis which
has been rather similar to the "Bible-in-Schools" system
operating in New Zealand at present. A significant
development in regard to education has occurred since 1938
in the Tripura State section of the work, but that will be
discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The women who were originally sent out by the S.Z.A.M. were called "Zenana Missionaries", and that type of work has always been a feature of the total activity. The Zenas are more characteristic of the middle and upper classes where the women are kept hidden from the prying eyes of strange men. The mere existence of these Zenas is a commentary upon the morals of India. Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the high hopes entertained for the Zenana missionary work. In certain aspects time has shown that it was not the panaceas which the early enthusiasts had believed it would be. Nevertheless, by that means a great deal was accomplished to leaven the communities with which the missionaries had personal touch. The reports of Zenana missionaries give many accounts of women who have shown every sign of becoming personal believers in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, yet social bondage has been so strong that it has been impossible for them to become openly declared Christians. In a rather intangible manner such women have played their silent part in ameliorating the viciousness of the old social conditions.

As an extension of this Zenana work, women members of the staff have done a great amount of work itinerating in the villages around the main centres. The responsiveness of the Bengali women has been quite marked,
especially amongst the outcaste Hindu groups. At times, of course, and in certain areas, the response has been hostile. Moslems were often antagonistic, and particularly in the immediate vicinity of Chandpur. Not infrequently missionaries went in danger of life and limb. In the earlier days of the work there was much suspicion of the missionaries. At a later stage, when civil disobedience movements first began to appear, the missionaries suffered a great deal at the hands of Bengalis who apparently believed that they were thereby showing their disapproval of the British raj. 17.

As a by-product of the work among women and children there developed an orphanage and rescue home. The condition of child-widows is pitiable, and in the cruelty of the social system many women and children are left utterly destitute. In connection with her dispensary work at Brahmanbaria, Miss Beckingsale was brought into contact with many tragic cases. In the earlier days such people were sent to institutions operated by neighbouring Missions, but in 1920 Miss Beckingsale urged the founding of a Home for Widows and Orphans at Brahmanbaria. Since that date rescue work has proceeded apace. The children who come to the Home are given as good an education as can

benefit them, and the women are given gainful employment in weaving, and in other domestic occupations.18.

Parallel with the village work done by the women of the staff, assisted by Bengali "Bible-women", there is the evangelistic work done in the towns and the villages by the male missionaries, assisted by Bengali evangelists.

By 1890 the Society's Committee was acutely aware of the need of undertaking more than the Zenana work. Consequently they obtained the services of the Rev. M. G. Eric de St. Palma, formerly of the S.M.S., who became "chief of staff". Six young men, all of whom worked for a time at Brahmanbaria, were put under his orders by the London Missionary Society.19. From that time onward there was always at least one European male missionary on the staff. The first Bengali evangelist to join the staff was Babu Sri Kisan Chatterjee, a convert from high caste Hinduism, who came to the Mission in 1891, and subsequently became the first pastor of the Bengali Church which was established at Brahmanbaria in January 1901. He served with notable zeal and efficiency until

his death in 1910.

Mr. St. Dalmas, with Chatterjee Babu began another type of evangelisation which has remained a constant feature of the work until the present day. Well supplied with Christian literature, including Gospels and Bibles in Bengali, they would preach in bazaars and in villages and in any place where they could gain an audience. In the earlier days much literature was given away, but later it was found that better results would be obtained by levying a nominal charge. During the rainy season, when the whole countryside is under water, a house-boat is used for itineration purposes. Without such a boat work would be impossible for months in every year. Consequently it has always been a concern of the Society to see that the workers have been adequately supplied with such equipment. The rivers and canals which abound in the swampy and malarial plains are usable even in the dry season, though bicycles or other simple means of conveyance are used with better effect during those times.

From the very first it was obvious that something should be attempted in regard to the medical needs of the people. The first missionaries of the Society had repeatedly written about the appalling needs of the people in that

direction. Consequently, in 1890 Miss Annie Bacon, a trained nurse, was sent out to the field. In the following year Mr. Walter La Barte (one of the six young men from England) joined the staff as a "medical missionary". His qualifications could not have been much above those of a trained nurse, but they were nevertheless greatly above the qualifications of the best of the Bengali practitioners in the Brahmanbaria district at that time.

Both of these missionaries opened dispensaries, and handled large numbers of patients. For example, in August 1892, Mr. La Barte was visited by 1,550 patients (during morning "clinic hours") and called upon an unspecified number in their own homes in the evenings. Always such work was associated with preaching work. While one was busy with patients another would be telling the Gospel story to the waiting patients.

The great importance of the medical work was steadily impressing itself upon the Society, with the consequence that a brilliant young man, Charles North, was accepted for training as a medical missionary. After taking degrees in Arts, Science and Medicine, he was sent

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to London to take his diplomas there. He reached Bengal late in 1898, and begun medical and surgical work immediately. To him goes the credit for building the Mission Hospital at Chandpur. He was an altogether amazing worker, for while he was still learning the language, and was supervising the whole task of building and equipping the Hospital, he found time to handle a huge amount of clinical work. From the beginning of his work in Chandpur Dr. North earned and kept an immense reputation. The Hospital was completed in 1901. When it opened Dr. North had as his assistant a young Bengali, recently converted from Islam, Dr. Amir Hossein, and other Bengalis who acted as male nurses.23 Until his death in 1932 Dr. Hossein was in charge of the Hospital. His whole record, both as a medical man and as a leading personality in the Christian community, was particularly outstanding.

The Hospital maintained 28 beds, and the first annual report of this aspect of the work23 recorded that there had been 175 "in-patients" and at least 250 friends of patients who stayed at the Hospital! During the same year 3,534 "out-patients" from 531 different villages.

paid 9,080 visits to the clinic. It was officially estimated in 1914 that 150,000 patients (of whom 2,000 were "in-patients") had been treated at the Chandpur Hospital, and that they represented every village in the District. 27 Not one of these people went away without hearing something of the Christian message, and a large proportion of them bought copies of Gospels, or even of larger portions of the scriptures. Dr. North's published letters and annual reports all refer to the great influence exerted upon the Bengalis by this medical work. Though he had to contend with almost unbelievable ignorance and superstition, he himself and his hospital soon acquired a very creditable reputation both among the Bengalis and with the Government. 28 It has remained to the present day the leading hospital in the District, even though the Government has done much to increase the medical services in the whole area.

Dr. North remained at Chandpur until 1910, 29 when the exacting nature of his work as missionary in charge at Chandpur and superintendent of the Hospital, together with the hazards of the treacherous climate, combined to compel his retirement for health reasons.

27. M.B. Driver "These Forty Years" p.90.
He had been on furlough in 1904-5, when Dr. E. J. Newcombe, brother of the second lady to serve the Society, acted as locum tenens. His health was undermined by the Bengali climate, and he fell a victim of typhoid fever very soon after Dr. North returned from furlough. Dr. J. H. Pettit succeeded Dr. North in 1910, and remained until 1915, and ultimately found it impossible to return to Bengal. He handed over the superintendency to Dr. Amir Hosein, who was assisted by a Hindu, Dr. D. L. Roy, who was temporarily in charge in the last few months of Dr. Hosein's life. Then, in 1922 another Christian Bengali was found to take over, Dr. Nirmal Chandra Ghosh, who maintained the good record of his predecessors.

For a number of years the great medical needs of women had been stressed, and it had been made clear that the Hospital could never do a satisfactory fraction of the necessary work until a lady doctor should be added to the staff. This long-desired purpose was achieved in 1921, when Dr. Nola Ivory joined the staff. When she had mastered the venereal at the end of 1923 she took over the superintendency of the Hospital, and completed the process of converting the institution into a women's hospital, for by this time the Government

hospital and the Indian medical services were adequate

to deal with all the medical and surgical needs of men.

As the date of Dr. Ivory's furlough approached steps

were taken to find a locum tenens. This brought to the

hospital and Mission Dr. D. T. Daintree, an English

lady who had been working, at her own expense, with the

N.E.B.M.M., took charge of the hospital in 1936.

Upon Dr. Ivory's return, and with the opening of the work

in Tripura State, Dr. Daintree concentrated on medical

work in that new field, remaining on the staff until 1945.

In 1942 Dr. Ivory was due to return to New

Zealand for a second furlough, and it proved virtually

impossible to find a suitable locum tenens to carry on

the work. Dr. Daintree was already busy in the Tripura

area that she could not return to Chandpur. After a

period in which the hospital was virtually unstaffed,

there developed a further serious crisis because of the

War in Burma. Dr. Ivory's health was causing anxiety and

she was required for hospital work in New Zealand. Also

the Government of India was anxious to remove as many

Europeans as possible from the Tipperah area which was so

close to the scene of warfare. In these troubled conditions

the Hospital was ultimately leased to Dr. B. B. Ghosh in 1945. He was also pastor of the Church in Chandpur by this time, and the recognised and highly respected leader of the Christian community. His standing in the community is demonstrated by the fact that he was selected to be the speaker at Chandpur when the whole Moslem, Hindu and Christian community combined to pay tribute to the assassinated Mahatma Gandhi.

Thus the medical work in Chandpur, pioneered by the S.J.B.S.S. has now become the responsibility of a Bengali Christian, and is being continued by him in accordance with the highest traditions, and is still recognised as a Christian Hospital. It is with the greatest satisfaction that the society is able to hand over such work to the local Christian community. The situation has now developed in such a way that it is unlikely that the society itself will be called upon to do further medical work in the Chandpur district. Over the years the medical work has been a big factor in breaking down Moslem and Hindu opposition.

Parallel with this Hospital and clinic and dispensary work in Chandpur there has been dispensary work undertaken in Brahmanbaria. A special dispensary

32. Annual Reports of S.J.B.S.S. for 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944; published in "Year Books" and, in particular "Year Book 1943-47" p.150.
was built and regular work was commenced by Miss E. Backingsale in 1902, and was continued under her superintendency until her retirement in 1934. That work has continued as a normal part of the Society's activity in that area to the present day. It has always been for the benefit of women, and has performed a huge and extremely valuable service. The formal opening of the Brahmanbaria Dispensary was not, however, the first work of this type undertaken by the Society in this area. As early as 1891 Miss A. Bacon had been engaged in clinical work for women, and so paved the way for what was to follow. From the time of the appointment of Miss Bacon to the staff it has always been the Society's policy to have at least one fully qualified nurse working at Brahmanbaria. Also, as in the other aspects of the work, so in this department Bengali Christians have been employed as assistants. Without their help the work could not have been continued with any degree of efficiency.

It would be possible to expand almost indefinitely the description of the work undertaken in the Brahmanbaria and Chandpur districts, but what is written above indicates the main lines of the work. At times emergencies have occurred, when the servants of the Society have been able

36. "S. L. Baptist" Vol.20, p.38 for a typical note concerning work done by Bengali Christian helpers of Annual Reports.
to perform notable special services. For example, in 1894 a serious famine, due to unusually severe floods and the failure of the rice crop, gave the Society a great opportunity to show its practical sympathy.\textsuperscript{37}.

Famines and other types of disasters were not infrequent. Cholera is the scourge of East Bengal, and epidemics are periodic. For self-sacrificing service in such emergencies the missionaries have frequently received the high praise of Government officials, and in some instances the Government has relied almost entirely upon them to direct emergency social services. Typical of such emergencies was that which arose in the Chandipur area in 1942-44 when famine and cholera created a dangerous situation. For his outstanding services at that time the Rev. B. S. Bade was decorated with the Kaiser 1' Hind gold medal.\textsuperscript{38}.

Also, during the war years, from late in 1941 two male missionaries became officers of field rank in the Indian Army, and served on the Assam border, and all the missionaries on the field were involved in some types of war work.\textsuperscript{39}.

It would involve too much detail to discuss the general evangelistic work done in the two districts from the time of the Rev. H. G. S. de St. Salmas to the end of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{37} "N.Z. Baptist" Vol. II, p.22.
  \item \textsuperscript{38} Sixtieth Annual Report of S. E. E. M. I. (Year Book, 1945-46, p.135 ff.)
  \item \textsuperscript{39} Rev. R. Jones M. S. E. Colonel, Bengal Pioneer Force; Rev. C. C. Brown, Major, Indian Army. 50th Report, op.cit p.166.
\end{itemize}
1947. The Society has always endeavoured to have a European male missionary in charge of each district.

From 1896 it has normally been possible to supply this requirement from New Zealand, but on two occasions, and for brief periods, men from other Baptist societies have assisted.

It is hardly fair to single out men who have been engaged in this general evangelistic work, for so many have rendered valuable service. However, reference must be made to the Rev. John Tackle, who made a special study of Islamics and became recognised as one of the world's authorities on that subject. He wrote a number of books, chiefly in Bengali and for the benefit of Moslems, and he organised the "Missionaries to Moslem League", which, under his early guidance became a powerful force. Out of this movement developed the "Henry Martyn School of Islamics." 40. His literary work was varied, and has left a permanent mark upon the wider field of Christian Missionary enterprise. He was in charge of the work at Brahamanbaria from the date of his arrival in Bengal in 1898 until his retirement, in broken health, in 1924.

Two other men who have been able to endure the unwholesomeness of the Bengal climate for over 20 years,

M.B. Driver: "Those Forty Years" p. 41 ff.
the Rev. E. A. Jones and S. N. Sade, have done notable work, yet not without much self-sacrifice. They have worked in the Tipperah area for 24 and 21 years respectively, and both have been decorated for special services rendered. A brother of Mr. Sade will receive considerable mention in a subsequent chapter for the part he has played in the work in Tripura. Mr. Jones and Mr. S. N. Sade are both men who are to be classed with Mr. Takie, for, while one was breaking new ground and won enhanced repute as a consequence, the others have performed rare and valuable service to the missionary cause though they have been chiefly following the trodden way.41.

As the years have passed Bengali Christians have been increasingly used in the work of the Mission. The policy in this regard will be discussed in a later chapter, and it will be sufficient to mention here that the first Bengali to be employed as a regular member of the staff was Babu S. K. Chatterjee, who joined the mission as an evangelist in 1891, and served with conspicuous fidelity until his death in 1910.42. There were ten Bengali helpers, men and women, by 1901. In 1911 the number has increased to nine Bengali men and thirteen.

41. H.R.Driver "These Forty Years", pp 92-91 gives a fairly complete record of the European servants of the Society from 1886 until 1926. A similar statement is now required for those who have served after 1926.
42. "4th Baptist" Vol.9,p.103; H.R.Driver "These Forty Years" p.72. The facts relating to these subsequent years are obtained from the relevant Annual Reports.
women at Brahmanbaria and eight men and one woman at Chandipur; a total of thirty-one which has tended to be the approximate strength of the Bengali staff ever since. By 1921 four outstations were being staffed by Bengalis in the Brahmanbaria area, and among these workers were two men who were listed as ordained ministers, the Revs. Sarat K. Sircar and Kalash K. Das. In the earlier days of the Mission it was difficult to persuade these workers to accept responsibility, but as time has passed, and particularly in the last 20 years, it has been possible to rely to a great extent upon these National workers. In fact the Annual Reports unconsciously reveal that the growth of Indian Nationalism and the development of self-confidence and responsibility in the Bengali workers in the Mission were contemporary movements. If an arbitrary dividing line in this development can be set, it is in 1920 when the East Bengal Baptist Union was established and left entirely in the hands of the Bengali Christians.43.

European missionaries have faced two hazards which are not such grave disadvantages to the Bengali servants of the Society. The first, and continuing hazard is the climate, which is amongst the most humid known in any part of the world. During the "cold season" (November

to February) Europeans can live with some comfort on the plains. The "hot season" occupies the rest of the year, with the addition of the "rainy season" from June to September. Just before the "rainy season" breaks, the climate is completely unbearable to a European. Few Europeans indeed are able to live in East Bengal for more than a few years, because the climate exacts such a heavy toll.

The second hazard is that of suspicion. Almost invariably the Society's agents have been looked upon as agents of the British Government. Repeatedly they have been informed by Bengalis that the Government grants them subsidies for every convert won! The idea of seeking the welfare of one's fellows was quite foreign to Indian thought, and they could not believe that Missionaries were genuinely their friends. They also looked upon Christianity as a Western religion which had no rightful place in India. In particular, the Christian emphasis upon mercy and love was incomprehensible to them. Further, a moral stigma adhered to the unmarried ladies who served the Society. Gradually, however, these suspicions have diminished. The medical side of the work has contributed most to this improvement in relations, but the total attitude of the

44. "3.%Baptist" vol.9 (1892) pp 37, 38f, and repeated references in published letters and Annual Reports for this point and the following matters.
Missionaries has had a cumulative effect. By 1947, when the Brahmanbaria and Chandpur districts became part of the new Dominion of Pakistan, the Missionaries and the Christian community had achieved a respect and status in the areas which vastly differed from the early distrust and opposition.
CHAPTER SIX

THE WORK IN TRIPURA STATE.

The propagation of the Christian faith in East Bengal proved to be a difficult task. The first necessity was to break down suspicion and prejudice. The Bengalis looked upon the missionaries as agents of the British Government, and for this reason alone suspected their motives. They also suspected any missionary activity because they were unable to understand any persons engaging in such work for altruistic motives. Further, the religio-social system placed great barriers in the way of any possible convert. While the Hindu caste system acted like a chain of bondage, the Neo-Asiatics always, were notoriously unsympathetic to the reception of any creed other than their own.

While the missionaries of the society found a considerable number, especially among the women, who were responsive to the Christian Gospel, the common experience was that such people would stop short at a complete committal of themselves to the Christian religion. It was found that a few showed a marked tendency to become "rice-Christians". This was noticed particularly among Hindus of the poorer type, who considered that they could

become a legitimate charge upon the Mission if only they professed conversion. Extreme carefulness in handling such types became almost a routine matter.

In early 1896 the first definite converts to Christianity in Tipperah, East Bengal, were won. They were Hindus, Jagannath Ghosh and Bipra Charan Deb, both of whom had been in close touch with the missionaries of the Society for some years. It was a further six years before the first convert from Islam, Imam Ud Din, was won. He was baptised at Chandipur on July 27, 1902. His conversion was of special interest, in that he had been a particularly zealous Moslem, and had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

But, in those days, it was essential to remove converts entirely from their old community, in order to save them from an extreme form of persecution which endangered life and limb. This is illustrated by the fact that the first convert to be actually baptised into the Christian faith at Brahmanbaria was a young man, Jagendra Nath Chatterjee, from Koakhali, where the Queensland P.M.S. was working.

In regard to the baptism of converts it has

always been the policy of the society to impose upon
the candidate a probationary period, during which time
special instruction in Christian doctrine and ethics
is given, before baptism is administered. Under
normal circumstances this probationary period is about
six months. It has been found essential to adopt this
habit in order to assure, as far as may be possible,
the genuineness of the conversion. The method was
adopted by the first missionaries of the E.M.S., and
has been maintained as being a wise precaution.

One of the serious problems of the Mission
until a large proportion of the initial prejudice had
been broken down, centred around the fact that there
was no place in the Bengali social system for a
Christian, unless actually employed by the Mission.
The policy of the Mission has always been typically
"evangelical", in that the conversion of individuals to
personal faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord has
been the essential objective. Consequently, in the
very nature of the situation, conversions from Hinduism
and Mahomedanism in East Bengal has always been slow.
Further, it was not until 1901 that actual local Churches
were formed at Brahmanbaria and Chandpur, and they

Messenger", No. 92, (Dec. 1901): 16th Annual Report of
M.Z.M.S.
have remained the centres of small Christian communities.

In marked contrast to the difficult conditions which have confronted the Society in East Bengal there has been more recent and greatly encouraging work in Tripura State, formerly spoken of as Hill Tipperah.

Then the Rev. H. C. K. de St. Helme joined the staff in 1890, he had placed under his supervision six young men who were preparing to undertake pioneer missionary work among the Hill Tribesmen of Assam and the border land between East Bengal and Burma. While not all of these men fulfilled their purpose, their early connection with the Mission helped materially to direct the attention of the Society towards these unevangelised peoples who lived on the eastern border of the Brahmanbaria district. In fact the capital of Tripura State, Agartala, is only 16 miles from the town of Brahmanbaria, though 70 miles from Chandpur.

Tripura State was an independent Native State until it was absorbed into the Dominion of India; but during the whole of the period covered by the present

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study it was independent and ruled by a Maharaja. The people are tribal, and in marked contrast in type from the Bengalis of the plains. Their economy is of an extremely primitive type, bearing a close resemblance to that existing among the Maori people at the time of the arrival in New Zealand of the European settlers. In fact, in many ways, including language, there is a marked likeness to the Maori people, though there has been an obvious addition of Mongolian blood. In the State there are eleven distinct tribes.* These peoples are predominantly Hindu, with some Moslems and a few Buddhists. However, the Hinduism of these peoples is a vastly different thing from that existing on the Bengali plains. They could be described, far more accurately, as animists, sunk in the deepest ignorance and superstition, and living in continual terror of evil spirits.

When the missionaries of the society commenced work at Chhindpur they found a few isolated groups of these Hill Tribesmen living in the vicinity of that town. Their friendliness impressed the Rev. George Hughes, who was the first to have dealings with them. He was able

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* The main peoples are: Tripura (119,000); Jonatia (13,000); Riang (42,000); Raotia (80,000); Halan (16,000); Chakma (32,000); Mog (7,000); Garo (2,500); Sushai (1,901); Darlong Noki (1773); Manipuri (19,000). Figures from "Year Book" 1947-48; p.122.

to see the Prime Minister of the Maharaja of the State in October, 1898, and he found the Minister decidedly sympathetic to the work of Christian Missionaries. But the Maharaja himself had the strongest objection to permitting any European missionaries to enter his State. A second attempt was made, late in 1899, by the Rev. John Takie, to obtain permission to enter the State, but nothing eventuated. It seemed that the only way to approach this task would be to send a Bengali evangelist to work among the Hill Tribesmen who lived in the vicinity of Chandpur, with the hope that ultimately some of them would return to Tripura to become evangelists to their own people. This scheme was put into operation in 1901, under the guidance of Dr. Charles North, and the Caversham Baptist Christian Endeavour Society undertook, as a special responsibility, to pay the salary of the selected Bengali evangelist. Baba Abhaya Nath, who had been serving the Society for some years, was selected for the task. In 1901 he began visiting this scattered and grossly ignorant and superstitious community, and in the following year settled

9. "L.Z. Baptist" Vol.17, p.32. In the "Report of the Commission" (1922) it was stated (p.5) that this Maharaja was personally extremely antagonistic to Christianity.
among them. While both Hindus and Moslems professed
the most profound contempt for these tribesmen in their
midst, they were violent in their opposition to the
endeavour to befriend them and to evangelise them.
Also, the extreme ignorance of the people made them a
difficult problem. Abhoy Babu was soon replaced by
Babu Tarak Nath Sircar, who organised two schools for
the education of adults and children of these aboriginal
tribes. But the work did not produce the results
expected. The tribesmen were under the control of
Hindu landlords and money-lenders, who were at pains
to assure their non-adherence to the Christian faith.
In fact, this seems to be the basic reason for the
failure of this particular line of approach. Subsequently
it was discovered that these people were of a poorer
type than the average of those living in Tripura State.

Endeavours to gain entry to the Maharaja's
State were continued; and in 1909 the Rev. John Takle
secured limited permission to commence work in the
capital, Agartala. The Society was permitted to locate
two Bengali workers in that town, but they were not
permitted to move outside the limits of the town, and

(Dec.1902); "Year Book" 1905: 13th Annual Report,
p.94. "Year Book", 1909, p.94.
were forbidden to preach, but were permitted to converse about their faith and to sell books. However, because accommodation had become a problem, and visible results had been notable for their absence, this work was abandoned before 1930.

Shortly after this Bible depot was established at Agartala a small group of Kuki Christians moved into the Maharaja's territory, from across the north-east border, and settled in the Jaspui area of the State. While these people maintained some contacts with their old tribal area, they made an impression upon local tribal people. In 1934 some of these Kuki Christians appealed to the Society to send them teachers. The Rev. H. A. Jones and his wife obtained permission from the Maharaja to visit these people, but they were not permitted to prolong their stay in the area. After further negotiations permission was obtained in 1935, to send a trained Garo worker from Birisiri, Abraham Sangma, to live with these people at Hosaibari. Abraham Babu, with some assistants did some extremely valuable pioneering work, and he will be remembered as one of the great helpers of the Mission.

At this particular juncture two events happened which had some influence upon future action in the State. The North East India General Mission, which had been officially responsible for the oversight of the Lushai Christians who had entered the State, had been unable to supervise the work, and now finally offered the responsibility to the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society. This gave the Society a more official status with the Government. In the second place, the inability of the above mentioned Mission to maintain its work among these Christians gave the opportunity for a small Roman Catholic mission to be established in the area.\textsuperscript{14}

The survey of the area undertaken at this time revealed the presence of a number of Garo tribesmen who had moved into the western plain of the State from British India, and who had previously been associated with Baptist work. In the course of the following year, work was undertaken among them, and the first Garo church in the State was organised in July, 1927, a year after the first church in the State had been established among the Kuki people at Hanabari. Within that initial year of organised work, while certain antagonism was encountered

\textsuperscript{14} "Year Book" 1927-28, pp 134-135 for this and following details.
many encouragements were given to the mission staff, which strengthened their resolve to press on with this work if official disapproval could be overcome. In the circumstances, therefore, great excitement was occasioned when the Rev. M. J. Rade and his wife were able, in November 1929, to make a personal appeal to the Maharaja who was asked to grant permission to the society to allow European missionaries to live and work within his territory. The Maharaja, son of the man who had formerly refused permission, was definitely sympathetic. He gave permission for the purchase of land for the establishment of a central station at Agartala, and assured the society that its missionaries might work in any part of the State, or among any of the people except two tribes, which were particularly excluded for reasons of Government policy.15.

This grant of entry into the State had been prepared by the good quality of the work already done by Abraham Bahu and his helpers, under the general supervision of the staff at Brahmanbaria. In early 1929 three Garo and two Muki evangelists were working in the State. The three Garos had assumed responsibility for three major "circuits" in the State: Tikendra Chakra in the southern

circuit, Abraham Gangaa in the central circuit, and Narayan Chandra Nove in the northern circuit. These men had created a very favourable impression within the State, and in particular upon the Government officials.

Organisation within the State developed at a rapid pace once official permission had been granted for European missionaries to live in the Maharaja's domain. The Rev. M. J. Eade was put in charge of the work, with his headquarters at Agartala. A Tripura State Christian (Baptist) Union was formed in 1929, with Abraham Babu as its first president, and four sub-unions were organised. There were fourteen groups of Christians, with four fully organised churches. The actual communicant church membership was 106, with a recognised Christian community of 241, led by four evangelists and 15 teachers working in the State. One of the teachers was a Bengali, all of the other people were Hill Tribesmen.13.

The policy in regard to this work has remained constant: to establish a self-supporting and self-propagating Church. When it seemed probable that the European servants of the Society would be permanently excluded from the State, it was resolved to organise the

work on entirely indigenous lines, with the European staff at Brahmanbaria giving advice when necessary, but otherwise throwing the responsibility upon the workers in the area. The actual admission of the European workers into the state had not altered this policy, but has enabled the organisation of the work to be accelerated.

There exist numerous contrasts between the work among the Hill Tribesmen and the Bengalis of the plains. The first and most obvious difference is that of race and language. Each tribe has a language or dialect of its own, but a unifying factor is the official primacy of Bengali. The consequence is that the missionaries are restricted to the use of Bengali. Teacher-evangelists who are located in restricted areas are able to use the prevailing dialect. The language question alone underlines the wisdom of the policy in regard to the indigenous Church. Another significant difference is the physical geography of the state, the countryside being chiefly hilly and divided by a series of parallel ranges, running north and south. The highest of the ranges is slightly over 3,000 feet above sea level. Jungle abounds everywhere, with a plentiful supply of wild animals, including elephants, tigers, panthers and a variety of small black bear. Communications are primitive and chiefly along
jungle tracks and shallow streams. The main means of transport is by foot, though in some places bicycles can be used, while there is only one effective motor road (70 miles in length) in the State. Elephants are used extensively for transport purposes. The climate is similar to that on the Bengal plains, except that the "cool season" is slightly longer. Consequently, any European who works in the area is subject to severe physical strain. But even the Tripuris themselves are harassed by malaria, smallpox, and cholera. If the medical needs of the Bengalis had been great in 1898, those of the Tripuris in 1933 were as great. The population figures show a striking difference from those of the Chandpur district. Tripura, with its population of slightly over half a million and an area of about 5,617 square miles, has a population density of 33 per square mile, as compared with the Chandpur figure of 1,704.

But the greatest contrast of all between the East Bengal and the Tripura areas is the active response to the preaching of the Gospel. In East Bengal work has always been slow, and more often disappointing than encouraging. In Tripura, from the start of organised work onwards, the response has been quite outstanding.

From the outset it was obvious that the
preaching of the Gospel in Tripura State must be accompanied by two other activities: educational and medical services, neither of which were being attended to in any adequate manner by the Government. Quite apart from the humanitarian aspect of the medical work, this was also at heart a difficult religious question among the Tribesmen, for, in the time of illness, the prevailing custom was to appeal to the Head Men of the community, who would perform religious rites in order to give relief. To help meet this great need Dr. D. T. Daintree made her headquarters at Agartala in 1940, and built (at her own expense) a bungalow in which was incorporated a consulting room, dispensary and operating theatre. 17.

In her first year in Tripura Dr. Daintree established what has remained the regular routine under her successor, Dr. Nola Ivory. In addition to clinical work at Agartala, the centres of church work are visited, and courses in elementary hygiene, first aid and dispensing are given to the teacher-evangelists. The itineration work involves far greater physical hardships than were ever faced on the Bengali plains. 18. In 1942 the "Secking-sale Dispensary" was built at Sarchawi, which, by that date was becoming the centre of mission work in the eastern

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half of the State.

The educational work of the Society in the State began immediately the Mission was able to send Indian workers into the area. The immediate objective was to establish village schools wherever small Christian communities existed, for Baptists have always insisted that there is more to fear from ignorance than from a thorough education. To establish such schools, it was essential to obtain the right type of Hill Tribe men to be trained as both teacher and evangelist. In selecting men, careful attention was given to Christian character, personality, and the possession of such qualities as would make them natural leaders among their own people.

As the number of village schools increased, the need for a larger and more central school to handle higher education became evident. Consequently, the Rev. H. J. Eade opened "St. Paul's School" at Agartala in 1943. Promising pupils from village schools, upon completing Standard 8, could then be sent to St. Paul's School for further training. This boarding school remains under the supervision of a European Missionary. The first head teacher was Miss L. J. Thomson, B.A. who
has been succeeded, early in 1947, by Miss Eileen Arnold.21. The school is obviously only in the early days of its development, but has already demonstrated something of its prospective value in the training of future Christian leaders in the State. In 1947 it had an enrolment of 39 boys and 14 girls, belonging to nine tribes.22. Quite obviously there lies ahead of the Society the need to establish a Theological College for the benefit of the work in this State. At present well qualified men have to be sent to Colleges operated in other areas by sister Missionary Societies.23.

The primitive agricultural economy has made its special demands upon the Society. This was first brought to the notice of New Zealand Baptists in a forcible manner in May, 1947. The annual “Self-Denial” offering throughout all the Baptist Churches in New Zealand had just been taken, when a particularly urgent appeal came from India.24. In North Tripura the crops had failed; the Government relief scheme showed signs of serious inadequacy, and a Christian community of 2,000 was faced with extreme famine conditions. When the appeal was placed before the Baptists of New Zealand there

was a prompt response. The "Self-Denial" offering at
the beginning of May had totalled 98,400: the "Famine
Relief Appeal" at the beginning of June brought in a
further 24,023. The Rev. R. A. Jones organised the
relief work, which created a particularly good impression
upon both the people and the Government. The relief
work was so prompt and efficient that, as far as is
known, no lives were lost through failure to obtain
necessary food.

This famine brought urgently before the
Mission a matter which had concerned the staff from the
commencement of the Tripura work: the need to do some-
thing about the organisation of the tribal social
economy. The old system meant that any unusual element
in the season might easily mean the total failure of the
crop. Consequently, the Mission added to its educational
work the task of teaching agricultural economy and a
more efficient method of local self-government.

The matter of taking over the missionary
the
responsibility for north-eastern portion of the State,
from the North East India General Mission, occasioned

25. It should be stated that S.M.M.A. and the Friends'
Service Unit supplied valuable goods, equal in value
to the above-mentioned contribution. "Year Book" 1947-
48" op. cit.
both the staff and the authorities in New Zealand considerable anxiety. An increasing number of Lushai tribesmen were moving into the Jampui area of the State. Many of these were nominally Christian, but were not being shepherded by the Mission out of whose effective area they had moved. As a consequence they were showing a decided tendency to lapse back into animism. The missionaries of the North East India General Mission could not handle the task, and made their position quite clear to the New Zealand Society's staff. However the Philadelphia headquarters of the Mission delayed definite action for some time. At the 1941 Annual Meetings of the New Zealand Society it was decided to supervise this particular work as far as resources and personnel would permit.

It was realised that expenses would be considerably increased if full responsibility were accepted. However, the obvious need outweighed the considerations of increased costs, and when the Philadelphia headquarters of the B.M.I.S.E. announced its complete withdrawal from the area, as from February 1948, the way was clear for the New Zealand Baptist Society to accept
full responsibility for Protestant Mission work in
the whole of the State. The Society's Annual Meetings
in November 1943, formally and eagerly undertook the
duty, even though it entailed a considerable annual
increase in the budget. There has remained in the
State a small Roman Catholic Mission, with an estimated
Catholic community of under 500. 27

Reference has already been made to the
responsiveness of the Hill Tribesmen to the preaching
of the Gospel. The Society has toiled in the Brahmanbaria
and Chandipur districts among the Moslems and Hindus since
1890 and 1893 respectively, yet the official 1947
statistics speak eloquently of the difficulty of the
work. Both districts have populations of over a million
people, yet the total recognised Bengali Christian
community in the two districts numbers 301. 29

There were two churches and four outstations operating
in the older portion of the field. But in Tripura, in
marked contrast, there were 71 churches and outstations,
with a recognised Christian community of 3,834. In East

27. "Statement on Policy" in connection with our Work in
India" - Document placed before Annual Meetings of
Year Book 1942-43 p.114; 1943-44 p.143, 1944-45
Vol. 52, p.236.
28. Year Book 1944-47 pp.122, 123, 131, 133f, 143. Figures
for Brahmanbaria and Chandipur are those applying June
1947. Figures for Tripura State are those at December
1947.
Bengal areas during the preceding year, there had been five admissions to the Church by baptism; in Tripura there had been 810 baptisms. These figures do not convey the whole truth. The future of mission work in East Bengal is decidedly indefinite, owing to the new political situation, but in Tripura State there are definite signs of the beginning of a kind of mass movement into the Christian Church. Appeals for teacher-evangelists are coming in from tribal areas, and whole communities are asking for baptism. The policy of the Mission has always been to instruct carefully and to test the sincerity of candidates before they are baptized. At the end of 1947 the staff (European and National) working in Tripura was totally inadequate to seize all the opportunities which were offering. The chief hindrance to the full use of the opportunity was the inability of the Budget to meet every contingency. The situation seems to be well summed up in the words of Jesus, when He said:

"The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth labourers into his harvest."

29. It should always be remembered that Baptists administer the sacrament of baptism only to such persons as make deliberate confession of faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord.
31. St. Matthew ix, 37, 38.
CHAPTER SEVEN.


As has been stated above, a major alteration in policy became effective at the 17th Annual Meetings of the Society. That alteration, however, was essentially a change in administration rather than in methods adopted in India.

Between 1902 and 1947, the work of the Society became solidly established in New Zealand. Certain things which had commenced, tentatively, in the earlier years of the work were now consolidated, some other less desirable habits were eliminated, and a number of new ideas were put into operation — with varying degrees of success. This steady evolution of the work after 1902 was quite unforced, though it has its definite landmarks.

One of the earliest developments on the Mission Field was an organised close co-operation between the agents of the several Australasian Societies. It was inevitable that the handful of Colonial missionaries (all ladies) who were scattered among the millions of East Bengal would want to have some fellowship with one another. Out of these informal meetings there developed

1. In Chapter 4, pages 71-79.
a regular Annual Convention, which presently assumed
real importance. By 1891 the missionaries were using
these conventions for the purpose of discussing the best
methods of work, and they were going a long way in the
direction of mutual aid. Out of this particular coöperat-
ion there developed two things which were of importance
in the formative years of the work. Firstly, the
missionaries were able to speak with a single voice to
their home committees. This was no small advantage.
Undoubtedly some of the worst of the early troubles of
the New Zealand Society would have been avoided if the
home committee had paid more attention to advice tendered
by its own agents and other more experienced missionaries
in India. Secondly, the Convention organised a monthly
news-letter, "Our Bond", which was of considerable value.

The co-operation between the missionaries on
the field was halted short of real federation, and the
New Zealand Society was left out of such schemes after
its position had been made quite clear by the Rev. Alfred
North at the Melbourne conference of the Colonial Societies
in 1892.

2. "S. Baptists" Vol. 8 (1891) p. 78.; Vol. 9 (1892) p. 43f.
Vol. 12 (1895) p. 41 (Reporting "Eighth Annual Convention
of the Australasian Missions in Bengal"- Nov. 1894.
All stations represented, 15 Europeans, 8 Bengalis
present.
3. "S. Baptists" Vol. 9 (1892) p. 155 and other examples cited
in Chapter 4.
4. See Chapter 4, pages 9-30.
The most important administrative development of the New Zealand Society in India in this earlier period was not entirely dissimilar from these conventions. The new development was put into operation by the Rev. George Hughes who was in charge of the work of the Society in 1896. In February of that year, when there were nine European members of the staff in East Bengal, he called them together for a meeting at Chandpur. It was proposed that thereafter meetings should be held quarterly, and that they should be for devotional purposes, and to discuss missionary methods, to transact business relating to the work, and that each missionary should present thereat a quarterly report which should thereafter be sent to the Secretary of the Society in New Zealand. In reporting upon the establishment of this "Field Committee" the Rev. George Hughes expressed the hope that there would be much future benefit derived from these meetings, for

"in the multitude of counsellors is safety, and the frank discussion of matters on which the progress and prosperity of the work depend will, we trust, issue in the adoption of the wisest and most fruitful methods."

The Committee in New Zealand, however, clearly looked with disapproval upon the establishment of this committee.

of missionaries, for it seemed to be a threat against the authority of the Home Committee. With evident reluctance the "Field Committee" was approved, but it was expressly stated that only those agents who had passed their final language examinations might attend its meetings. Under the prevailing circumstances that restriction virtually rendered the proposal ineffective, but within a few years the Field Committee, later known as the "Field Council", began to come into appropriate prominence and became one of the major elements in the administration of the Society. The Field Council has gradually developed into a distinctly authoritative body. Ever since 1900 it has been looked upon as an essential part of the administration of the Society. By that time its form was established, and no major changes have occurred in it since that date. It is composed of all European missionaries in full status and such Indian workers as may have been recommended by the Field Committee and approved by the Home Committee. Missionaries wives and second year probationers are permitted to attend and speak, but they have no vote. The complete equality

5. "The Baptist" Vol.15, p.106. Link this with Chapter 4, p. 7ff.
6. For the first two years of service (and while chiefly concentrating on language studies) missionaries are called "Probationers". See rule 24 of "Draft Manual."
of Indian members of the committee with the European members is stressed. The Field Committee was granted power to administer all field work, but always on the clear understanding that the consent of the Home Committee would be required before any change in policy could be adopted, and that the annual financial estimates be not exceeded.

A new era in the work of the Mission commenced with the 17th Annual Meetings of the Society at the end of 1902. The future policy of the Mission was expressed in the Annual Report as follows:

"The whole question of the future staffing of the stations has been seriously considered by your Committee, and in their judgment the time has now arrived when the policy of the Society should be in the direction of the maintenance of the present strength of our European staff and the increase of native agents as opportunity offers."

The staff at that juncture was composed of two married male missionaries, three lady missionaries, thirteen

8. "The Draft Manual" p.4. (See Bibliography). The Manual lists seven "broad lines along which their authority will move": These may be summarised as follows: (a) to advise the Home Council on matters relating to the work in general; (b) to prepare the Indian estimates, and to carry out the policy and decisions of the Home Committee; (c) to decide on furloughs and annual holidays; (d) to allocate missionaries to their stations; (e) to appoint and control Indian agents; (f) to decide upon forms of work to be undertaken; (g) to make recommendations about the Society's work in India and concerning the opening or closing of stations. (The final approval of this "Draft Manual" dates from 1900).

Bengali workers engaged in the general work, and three on the hospital staff. These people were conducting two small churches, four Sunday Schools, a Bible class for English-speaking students, four ordinary day schools, one fully equipped hospital and six dispensaries. A great amount of open-air preaching and visitation of homes was regularly done; scripture teaching was given in a number of Government schools, and large quantities of Christian literature were sold or otherwise distributed. The hospital and the dispensaries were kept very busy indeed, and were consistently used as a means for giving Christian teaching, as well as ministering to the bodily needs of the people. This was the foundation upon which, in the succeeding years, the Society built up its work and witness in East Bengal.

Reference has already been made to the opposition which so frequently manifested itself, and sometimes in actual physical violence. The troubles in the 19th Century, however, had been unsystematic, even if they

10. The Europeans were: Rev. John Tattle and Mrs. Tattle; Dr. Charles North and Mrs. North; Misses L. A. Peters, E. Beckingsale and M. Inglesby (probationer). See "K.L. Baptist" Vol.19 (1923) p.44 for the details mentioned here.

were by-products of the clash of East and West. But in 1906 something much more dangerous began to develop. Political troubles flared up, and everything British was anathema to the Bengalis. In the common condemnation, Christianity as a "Western religion" was included, and a deliberate persecution of the small Christian communities at Brahmanbaria and Chandpur broke out. In the following year the anti-British feeling assumed serious proportions, and fears were expressed that an organised rebellion against the British raj was about to break out. The work of the Mission, especially at Brahmanbaria, was greatly curtailed, and there was even talk of altering the whole method of approach to the missionary task. This trouble on this occasion was essentially of Hindu making, and it is of interest to note that the Rev. John Talcot, then in charge at Brahmanbaria, was so trusted by the Moslems that they sought his advice in regard to the way in which they should behave under the severe provocation being given them by the Hindus. When the Government introduced strong

12. "Year Book" 1908-09, p.98f; "1907-08" p.38f; "1906-07" p.30; Cambridge History of the British Empire: Vol.5, "India" Chapter 13 (pp. 245-254): Ch. 30, pp. 548-589, p. 55ff especially; Chs. 31,22,23, (pp.585-603).

13. "Year Book 1907-08" p.98ff (for this, and the subsequent matter).
measures to handle the situation, the Hindus, who had been using bombs and other forms of violence, lapsed into a sullen quietness which was, if anything, more alarming than the former violence. The signs could be seen on every hand of an India awakening to national consciousness. There were two immediate and strange results which favoured the Mission. The movement had been a "Caste Hindu" movement, and the low caste Hindus were alarmed lest there should be a return to the old Brahmin political domination, under which their lot would become much worse. Consequently these low caste people became much more interested in the preaching of the Gospel than had ever been the case previously. This increased interest was no doubt occasioned by a belief that the Christian religion and the British raj were two aspects of one thing. In particular the Namasudras were eager to welcome the missionaries, and to receive every advantage of education which they could receive from the Mission. Parallel with this movement among the most depressed castes, there was a Moslem movement of sympathy towards the Mission. They realised that in any return to Hindu rule in India they would be reduced to the status of helots, and they were consequently most favourably inclined towards the British raj and anything
which was associated in their minds with that rule.

When the political situation returned to normal, there was a slight reaction in New Zealand. The supporters of the mission had been buoyed up with the hope that there might be a mass movement towards Christianity, as there had been on the famous American Baptist "Lone Star Mission" field among the Telugu of South India. Instead, there seemed to be an actual loss of ground. The dissatisfaction was first clearly expressed by the missionaries themselves, who acknowledged that the visible results were far smaller than the great amount of labour which had been expended. Yet there remained a dogged perseverance in the task. It was remembered that the "Lone Star Mission" had seemed a completely hopeless field, yet it had become one of the great thrills of modern missionary enterprise. It was also known that a large number of Hindus, especially of the lower castes, were gaining a high regard for the Christian faith, but they were not ready to break from the vice-like grip of the caste system. The missionaries believed that if anything occurred to break the grip of the old system, there would be a tremendous movement towards Christianity. Therefore, believing in the certainty of the final triumph

15. "Year Book" 1913-14: p. 54f.
of the Gospel, the missionaries and their New Zealand supporters were ready to carry on.

There followed a further period of extreme unrest, directly occasioned by World War I. When the War broke out, both Hindus and Moslems spoke in ironical terms of "the Christian War". Gradually that sentiment disappeared to be replaced by a resurgence of Nationalism, chiefly the product of Indian nationalists who had learned Western ideas of self-government. This time Moslems and Hindus were beginning to move together, but out of this movement there came one item of extreme importance and value: the beginnings of a genuinely indigenous Church.

Up to 1920 the missionaries had attempted to give opportunities for initiative and responsibility to the Bengali Christians, but the latter had always rested heavily upon their European leaders, and had shrunk from accepting any real leadership themselves. But in 1920 it was found possible to organise, in conjunction with the other Baptist Societies working in East Bengal, the "East Bengal Baptist Union". This Union has been entirely a Bengali organisation, and is so constituted that it would

continue the work of Christian witnessing in Bengal
even if all the missionary societies were obliged
to withdraw from the area. This Union is not large,
but it is the evidence of the success of the purpose
to establish the Indigenous Church in East Bengal. 17.

The serious unrest existing in India at this
period occasioned great misgivings among the supporters
of the Mission in New Zealand. There were those who
thought the work in East Bengal should be abandoned,
because the people were so unresponsive to the preaching
of the Gospel. There were others who were quite un-
willing to agree to such a defeatist attitude, but who
believed that a review of the whole policy and
organisation of the Mission should be made. The
significant leader in this latter group was Mr. Samuel
Barry of the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, and brother
of the Rev. Walter Barry of East Bengal. Mr. Barry
urged that a Commission be sent to the field, and that
the question of Federation with the Australian Missionary
Societies be again raised. 18.

The direct result of this agitation and Mr.

17. In 1947 the Union comprised 12 Churches, and numbered
approximately 500 Church members. In every respect
it is Bengali controlled, cf. "Year Book 1947-48"
p.129.
18. Minutes of 35th Annual Meeting of A.E.B.M.S. (October
17, 1930) and Minutes of 37th Annual Meeting, (October
17th, 1932.)
Barry's well-informed criticism of the Society's policy was the appointment of a strong Commission to report upon the work of the Society in East Bengal. The report of the Commission contains a full description of the work of the Society at that date, but its chief virtue lay in its realistic approach to the situation. There were those who thought the New Zealand Society should assume responsibility for a larger field, but it was pointed out that it would be impossible to assume responsibility for a larger area without increasing the staff; and the Home Base lacked the financial resources for such an increase. The Commission described the towns of Brahmanbaria and Chandpur as the only possible centres for activity in the two districts, and described the Mission's buildings as "models of completeness". In regard to the Bengali Christians themselves the report was good: They were a fine type, whose "courage and persistency and earnestness" were "remarkable". But they were still at the stage where they seemed totally dependent upon the Mission. The Commission had been asked to report upon what would happen to this Christian community if the European workers were removed. The

Report stressed that the work would certainly continue, though some of the most unstable elements of the converts from Islam might revert to that religion, it being a much more simple thing for a Moslem to revert to his old religion than for a Hindu to return to his old status. It was, however, pointed out that the Christian community at Brahmanbaria and Chandpur, being so small, would probably migrate in a body to join some larger Christian community if the European missionaries were withdrawn.

In dealing with the Indian staff the Commission pointed out that an isolated mission, such as the New Zealand Baptist Mission, worked at a serious disadvantage compared with larger missions. In regard to workers, it did not possess either the wide choice of persons, or the effective means of training them. Thus, the limited resources of the Mission, both in East Bengal and in New Zealand were looked upon as a serious hindrance. This topic was raised again in discussing the question of "Federation. The first paragraph of that section deserves full quotation:

"The difficult question of Federation received our careful consideration. We would first remark that there has been cordial co-operation on occasion between Australia and E.W.C. workers and the New Zealand staff. It has been friendly interaction and has been without any administrative basis. There is therefore a certain loneliness and isolation attaching to the New Zealand work, from which the Commission thinks it should be delivered. The crisis through
The only serious objection to Federation appeared to be the loss of both close personal contact, and the intimate knowledge of the work which had been so characteristic of the New Zealand supporters of the Mission. The missionaries themselves were anxious to have closer union with the Australian work, and ultimately with the adjacent E.M.S. work also. However, their repeated suggestions along those lines had fallen upon deaf ears, and the Field Council felt:-

"that their suggestions and decisions do not always receive that attention to which they are entitled at the Home Base. Exact knowledge of field conditions is not possessed at Home, and yet a degree of home management is imposed which seems to be greatly in excess of that employed by the E.M.S."31.

The Report ended by endorsing the methods of work being used, and stating that there was little needed other than to bring the European staff up to normal strength and to reinforce the Indian staff.32.

The incidental recommendations of the Report were carried into effect, but the major suggestion in regard to Federation was shelved.

32. See Appendix D. for total list of European workers. At that particular juncture there were only seven European workers, of whom two were just about to retire and two had just arrived.
The Report reassured the Society, and there followed a fresh burst of enthusiasm for the task. Within a few years the staff was restored to full strength and the slow plodding work continued. It was not until 1924 however, that real signs of progress were to be noted. By that date the ground which had been lost on account of World War I. was being recovered in all areas where missionaries were working. But in the years following that war there had been a marked change, particularly in India, in the attitude of the people towards Jesus Christ. In East Bengal those missionaries with the longest record of service were able to say that they had never known Hindus and Moslems so friendly and so willing - in fact, so eager - to hear the Gospel. Many responsible leaders imagined that a great Christian mass-movement was about to start. Undoubtedly a "crisis of opportunity" had arrived. 22. The number of Bengali inquirers was increasing. Many were "secret disciples", afraid to make a public confession and to be baptised for fear of victimization. It was reported that in 1927 a Moslem convert was able to remain in his own home and village after his baptism. Such toleration of a Christian would have been unbelievable a few years previously. Then

there came the declaration of the leaders of the
"Sixty millions of the Depressed Classes" that they
were going to lead those people out of Hinduism, and
there seemed a probability that they would turn their
faces towards Christianity. Some 50,000 of these
people were resident in the two districts of Brahmanbaria
and Chandpur. Had any mass movement occurred at that
juncture it would have imposed an extremely heavy
burden of responsibility upon the Mission, but it would
undoubtedly have been shouldered. At this stage the
mission staff deliberately concentrated its energies
upon presenting the claims of Jesus Christ to the Sama
Sudra people living within the limits of the Society's
field.

Then the hour of opportunity seemed just
about to strike, with a crashing disappointment the
World War II. broke out, and a reaction, somewhat similar
to that which occurred in 1914-15, set in. 24 Once more
the political situation became electric, but the situation
at no stage became as dangerous as at the time of the
first World War. The greatest difference noticed by the
missionaries was the attitude of the Indians to the
Christian Church. Twenty years previously the Christiane

were in physical danger: now they were held in respect by all except the irresponsible section of the community.

The anxieties of the war years were considerable. Airies fought within 200 miles of East Bengal, and bombs were dropped within six miles from Brahmanbaria. In many ways the routine work was seriously hindered, but in abnormal ways the Christian witness was maintained and advanced.26

The political situation was gravely troublesome after the conclusion of the War. As East Bengal was one of the Moslem areas, it was one of the storm-centres. The future for the Mission in East Bengal seemed full of uncertainty. The new Prime Minister of India, Pandit Nehru, declared that:

"Christians have nothing to fear. They are part and parcel of the Indian people. There will be religious freedom."

On August 15th, 1947 India gained full self-government, and was divided into two Dominions, within the British Commonwealth. The districts of Brahmanbaria and Chandpur became a part of East Pakistan, and passed under Moslem rule. Tripura State became part of the Dominion of India. The future of Christian missions within the Dominion of India seems to be decidedly hopeful.

The future in Pakistan remains an enigma.\textsuperscript{27}

These developments, together with the great opportunity and response in Tripura State,\textsuperscript{28} forced upon the society the need to discuss a realignment of its work in India. There began to be doubts about the wisdom of retaining so much institutional work, and some felt that the limited resources of the society should be entirely devoted to directly evangelistic work. Obviously, a proper balance of the work, in the light of actual needs, would have to be achieved. As opinions differed both in New Zealand and in India concerning the best course to follow, the wisest thing to do was to send a commission to investigate the situation at first hand.\textsuperscript{29} This commission will be leaving New Zealand late in 1948.

While this development was occurring in India, a parallel development took place in New Zealand. In 1902 the Baptist denomination was small and ill-organised, and had just emerged from one of those trying experiences so often associated with adolescence. The crisis of 1902-1903 had left the society with a comparatively formidable debit balance on its general account.

When William Carey set out for India in 1793 his

\textsuperscript{27} "Year Book 1947-48", p.127f. J. K. Hodge "Salute to India".
\textsuperscript{28} See Chapter 5 above.
friend Andrew Fuller remained in England "to hold the ropes". Obviously, in any missionary venture, the "home base" is of considerable importance. The work could be advanced in East Bengal only as far and as fast as the nature of Baptist support in New Zealand would permit.

In the first seventeen years of the Society's life the deliberate policy was to push ahead the work in East Bengal, in the belief that such a policy would benefit the work of the Baptist Union in New Zealand. There were repeated complaints about the failure of the Union to pay proper attention to Home Mission policy, and occasionally the criticism assumed a bitter tone. The chief difficulty until 1903 was occasioned by the fact that both the Union and the Missionary Society were controlled by one Committee which had taken great powers and which was enthusiastic about the foreign mission work. As has already been stated, the policy of the Society was reversed in 1903, but the one Committee continued to supervise both the Union and the Missionary Society. This remained the case until 1910 when it was resolved to divide that Committee into two parts, one part being particularly responsible for the foreign

20. cf. Chapter 4, p. 77ff.
Mission Work. 32. This step was an important advance in the administration of the Society, but it still fell short of putting the administration under a truly representative committee. The several steps leading up to the establishment of two completely separate executive committees (now called Councils) need not detain us, but in 1923 that objective was achieved. 33. At the present time the Council is a fully representative body of thirty people, eight of whom act as an executive committee. The Council is responsible to the Annual Meeting of the Society, at which all the Baptist Churches in the Union and certain subsidiary agencies are represented. 34.

As the work of the Union and the Society increased, it became evident that some greater degree of organisation should be adopted. Both the work of the Secretary of the Society and the expenditure of the Society was steadily increasing. To help relieve the overworked Secretary, the 1909 Annual Meeting resolved to appoint a "Missionary Organiser". 35. Several Organisers served the Society until, in 1919, it was resolved to establish a Union and Missionary Society Secretariat. 36

33. Minutes of 29th (1924) 40th and 41st Annual Meetings of N.Z.B.S.
with an office in Wellington. The chief value of possessing a full-time Secretary-Treasurer of the Union and Missionary Society was felt by the Union and its rapidly increasing organisation, but, by this time any development in Union efficiency showed an immediate advantage to the Missionary Society also.

In the earliest days of the Society there were no formal assisting organisations, but some (and especially the Baptist Women's Missionary Union) have become decidedly important. At the outset of the work in 1886 one of the first appeals for regular assistance was made to the Sunday Schools. By 1893 there had developed an interdenominational movement known as the Y.P.S.C.E. 37. Most Baptist Churches possessed branches of the organisation. These began contributing to the Missionary Society and developed considerable keenness for the work. However in the early years of the 20th Century a new movement began among the older young people of the Churches: the Bible Class Movement. By 1915 the Young Women's Bible Class Union began contributing funds towards the Society, and in 1917 the Young Men's movement took its place among the helping organisations. 38. While these young people have been an important element in the total story, the

38. "Year Book" 1915-16 p. 27; "1916-17" p.80; "1917-18" p.73
greatest honour must be accorded the Baptist Women's Missionary Union.

After the society had been operating for fourteen years it was resolved to form a New Zealand Baptist Prayer Union, to be known as "The Watchers' Band." It was not intended to restrict it to women only. However, the scheme did not advance greatly, but it impressed Mrs. J. E. Bennett of the Reball Church, Dunedin, who proposed that there should be established in New Zealand a "Baptist Women's Missionary Union" along lines similar to the "Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union" which Mrs. H. H. Driver had earlier organised in Australia. This development was the first direct result of the admission of women as delegates to the Annual Conferences of the Baptist Union and Missionary Society. In the first year of its existence the "W.M.U." contributed £18-12-3 to the funds of the Society. As the years have passed, its organisation has developed and its contributions have increased. For many years it has been looked upon as one of the strongest auxiliary helpers the Society possesses.

This was recognised in a tangible manner in 1909 when two representatives of the B.M.U. were associated with the Society's Committee. Today the B.M.U. possesses a voice in the Society's affairs commensurate with its notable financial contributions. In 1947 it contributed $2,753 to the general fund of the Society, as well as making valuable contributions in other directions.

The notable record of the Women of the Baptist Churches has repeatedly called forth the suggestion that a similar men's organisation should be established. Definite action did not occur until 1947, when Mr. B. Williams of the Royal Oak Church, Auckland, was President of the Baptist Union and Missionary Society. With characteristic zeal, he toured New Zealand with two male missionaries who were on furlough (the Revs. B. E. Bode and Royston G. Brown), and established wherever possible branches of a "Baptist Men's Missionary Fellowship". If early enthusiasm signifies later success, this B.M.F. should have a greater future than the B.M.U.

At various stages of the history of the Society helping organisations have been formed and have disappeared. Most of them seem to have flourished for only a year or two, and to have been little more than propaganda.


agencies. One of these organisations deserves mention, for it now seems to be definitely established. When the Society was founded in 1885 steps were taken to establish District Committees, to further the work, at the four main centres. These committees soon faded from the scene. Subsequently, in 1915 and 1916, there were established "Foreign Mission Committees" of the Auckland, Canterbury and Otago-Southland Auxiliaries of the Baptist Union. But even these Committees languished, to be given new vitality in 1938-1939, since when each of the Auxiliaries has maintained a special "Foreign Mission Committee" which has rendered considerable service in the local area.

The question of finding the essential finance for the work has been the Society's constant concern. As early as 1900, some concern was expressed, and the fourth Annual Meeting of the Society resolved to establish, as an annual fixture, a "week of Prayer" in May. When preparations were being made for the second such week.

43. "Year Book, 1915-17", p.79. There were, at this date four "Auxiliaries" of the Baptist Union. The "Auxiliaries" were charged with "doing the work of the Union in their respective districts." There are now five "Auxiliaries", the latest addition being "South Auckland". The remaining Auxiliary is "Central". "Year Book 1937-39" p.84: "1938-39" p.92.
the Rev. Thomas Spurgeon suggested that it should be called "Self-Denial Week", and that a special offering should be taken for the benefit of the Baptist Union and Missionary Society funds. Though the idea met with the approval of some, it was not acted upon, but a special "Missionary Sunday" (in October) was arranged, when the Churches were asked to make special offerings for funds.\textsuperscript{45} Apparently nothing of a permanent nature was accomplished, for the Society was embarrassed by a comparatively large debit balance for a number of years. Ultimately, in 1906 it was resolved to organise a "Self-Denial Offering", with the intention of liquidating a £357 deficit on the General Account of the Society.\textsuperscript{46}

The problem of keeping pace with a steadily mounting expenditure was not solved by such temporary expedients, and, in a spirit of some concern, a "Finance Committee" to act on behalf of the Baptist Union and Missionary Society was established by the Union Executive. From this committee there came the suggestion that a regular annual "Week of Prayer and Self-Denial" should be established. This was approved by the Annual Conferences.

\textsuperscript{45} Minutes, 7th Annual Meeting of B.U.M.S. (1902).
\textsuperscript{46} Minutes, 21st Annual Meeting of B.U.M.S. (1906).
of the Union and Society in 1913.\textsuperscript{47} It was resolved that of the Self-Denial Offering, two thirds should go to the Society and the remainder to the Union for work in New Zealand. As its share of the first Self-Denial offering, the Society received £327-15-5. In the succeeding years the figure has steadily increased until in 1947 the amount actually credited to the Society from this source was £3,045-10-3.\textsuperscript{48}

As early as 1908 the Annual Meeting had demanded that the Committee should present an estimate of expenditure for the ensuing year.\textsuperscript{49} At first this "Budget" was not presented in detail, but gradually more information was supplied until in recent years the "presentation of the Budget" has come to be regarded as the occasion of one of the most important debates during the course of the Annual Meetings. The Society's constituency is acutely aware of the importance of finance in the maintenance and expansion of the work. At all times the financial contributions of the people have been good, but at times they have been quite remarkable.

At the 1940 Annual Meetings of the Society an interesting

\textsuperscript{47} Minutes of 22nd Annual Conference of Baptist Union of N.Z. (October 7th-14th, 1915). Minutes of 50th Annual Meeting of N.Z. B. Union (October 13th, 1915).
\textsuperscript{48} "Year Book, 1913-17" p.83; "Year Book 1947-48" p.156.
thing occurred which has been repeated in later years in an even more remarkable manner. The Budget, as presented to the Annual Meeting, showed a prospective deficit of slightly over £300. The principle of budgeting for a deficit was contested, and it was argued that there should either be a reduction of the estimated expenditure, or a special offering to meet the amount. The President called the Assembly to prayer. While the brief devotional session was in progress an anonymous donor sent forward a note: "I will give the £300". In a few minutes the remainder of the required sum was contributed.50. In a somewhat similar manner (but without such a large individual donation) the sum of £344 was contributed at the 1945 Annual Meeting, and over £500 at the 1947 Annual Meeting.51.

One of the outstanding things in regard to the financial support given to the Society is the fact that the contributions have been almost entirely in small amounts. The nature of the giving reveals the fact that practically all the Baptist people in New Zealand are personally interested in the work, and make their

individual contributions to it. The development of the "Missionary Box Department" helps to illustrate this matter. When the world economic depression was beginning to affect New Zealand in 1930, Mr. Samuel Barry undertook to reorganise the collecting of money through "missionary boxes" in individual homes. In the first year of this work, the boxes produced $103. Successive organisers have done good work in this department, until in 1947 the amount contributed (chiefly in copper and small silver coins) reached the surprising total of $1,079. Over 2,000 such boxes are in use.52.

While the administration of the Society has become comparatively complex, the cost of the administrative work in New Zealand is kept to a minimum.53.

This chapter should not be concluded without brief mention of the influence of the International Missionary Council upon the work of the Society. Both the missionaries on the field and the Committee in New Zealand, together with many other interested persons, kept themselves well informed of the deliberations and findings of

53. The figures for 1946-47 (Year Book 1945-47, p.150f) are typical. The total expenditure for the year was $13,159; the amount spent for the administration was $1,351.
the successive World Missionary Conferences. The New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society has also been actively associated with the National Missionary Council ever since its formation in 1927. It is impossible however, to assess the influence of these national and international Protestant organisations upon the policy of the Society. The influence has been more indirect and unconscious than direct and deliberate.

54. Edinburgh Conference 1910 ("Year Book for 1911" p.38); Jerusalem, 1928 ("Year Book, 1927-28", p.35); Tambaram 1933 ("Year Book 1939-40", p.120).
CHAPTER EIGHT.

A VENTURE OF FAITH.

While the achievements of the Society may be comparatively small in the total record of Christian missionary activity, it must be remembered that the Baptist denomination has never represented more than 2.5% of New Zealand's population. In 1885, when there were only 25 churches1 with 2,500 members, they deliberately undertook a share in a great scheme to evangelise East Bengal. Not long afterwards the Society accepted the responsibility for two thickly populated districts which have always possessed a population greatly in excess of the total population of New Zealand. Many difficulties have been encountered, and on at least one occasion the voices of the pessimists nearly prevailed. But having set their hands to the plough they refused to look back, but persevered, always believing that they were doing a work whose consequences in time and in eternity no man could assess. The spirit which has prevailed in the thinking of the people who supported the Society was aptly expressed by a speaker at the 1897 Annual Meeting of the Society:

"All lasting growth is slow. I am very distrustful

1. See Appendix B. for particulars. In 1947 there were 89 churches with 12,049 members; cf. Statistical Sheet published with "Year Book, 1947-48."
over the spirit that is anxious to tabulate results and announce converts, and we shall be wise if we receive the word of warning from our friends, and, while we plead with our people for increased support, are content to wait God’s time and God’s way of showing us the fruit of our labours.”

From the commencement of the work until today there has existed a notable combination of dogged perseverance and evangelical fervour.

In 1885 the only missionary work being done in East Bengal was under the guidance of the S.M.S. and the Infant South Australian A.M.S. Statistically, the response was always extremely slow, but as the years passed there was an obvious leavening of the people living in the area. The progress was like that of the incoming tide on an ocean beach: successive waves showed the progress. At the moment, in the Brahmanbaria and Chandpur districts, the waves are retreating, but in Tripura State they are rushing forward. The Society is committed to a task from which it will never willingly withdraw.

In East Bengal there has been established an East Bengal Baptist Union, which is feeling out towards union with the much larger Bengal Baptist Union. These unions represent the young Christian Church in Bengal

assuming its own responsibilities. The young Church is established and is being consolidated. It can continue without further aid from the older Churches, but to withdraw the missionaries at this stage would occasion much unnecessary hardship to the Indian Church, and would seriously slow down the process of evangelisation. In Tripura State the progress has been more marked. A Tripura State Christian (Baptist) Union has been formed, and in 1947 it was already approximately a fifth of the size of the Baptist Union of New Zealand. Stopes are being taken to affiliate this Union with the All Assam Christian Council.

To this work of evangelisation with no thought of personal reward, but burdened with a care for the eternal welfare of men, the Baptists of New Zealand have devoted time, talents, and treasure. There have been many young men and young women who have offered themselves as prospective missionaries, yet who have been unable to fulfil their desire. Some have lacked the proper qualifications in personality or in health. In other cases the Society has been unable to undertake the support of candidates who have been entirely satisfactory. Many young people, catching a vision of the missionary

4. Membership of the Tripura Churches (baptised communicants) 8,003; of the New Zealand Churches, 10,049.
obligation, have gone out as servants of other Missionary organisations. 5. Always the Society has insisted upon the very highest standard of training for its candidates, and always the missionaries have shown a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to their vocation. The personal devotion of many of these men and women is beyond praise. In this they belong to the highest traditions of Christian Missionary enterprise. Those who have gone out as missionaries of the Society have been held in the highest repute by the Baptists of New Zealand: honoured for their work's sake.

The record of the Baptists of New Zealand in the missionary enterprise is, on a comparative basis, outstanding. While the N.Z.B.M.S. is probably the

5. "Year Book, 1947-48" p.186f. gives names of 110 New Zealand Baptist Church members who, at August 31st, 1947, were serving missionary societies other than the N.Z.B.M.S. To this number may be added nineteen on the staff of the N.Z.B.M.S. In a Missionary Pageant at the 1945 Assembly of the Baptist Union of New Zealand (and 50th Annual Meeting of the N.Z.B.M.S.) the names were displayed of 220 New Zealand Baptist Church members who had, up to that date, served overseas as missionaries. Of these, 45 had served, or were serving the N.Z.B.M.S. One of the number had been martyred in Abyssinia and eight had died while on active service as missionaries. (of "N.Z.Baptist", Vol.61, (1945) p.299 and p.311).
smallest Baptist Mission in the world, and is consequently easily overlooked in any world survey, there is no other Baptist Mission which is so consistently and liberally supported, or which has, in proportion to its Home Base, established such a strong work on its Mission field.\(^7\)

When a final assessment is made of the work attempted by the Society, certain things stand out. Belonging to the "Independent" tradition, individual Baptist Churches have notoriously tended to be a "law unto themselves". They have united for mutual aid, but have been jealous of their independence. That spirit has been at once both a matter of strength and a source of weakness. In New Zealand the Baptist Union was established in order to advance the Baptist work and witness in the then infant colony. Work was begun both among the Maori people and in a vigorous Home Mission policy. Within three years the Foreign Mission work was commenced, with an immediate falling off in Home Mission work. Comparatively speaking, the major failure of the New Zealand Baptists has been in regard to this Home Mission work. The Baptist constituency could not afford to maintain an effective work in India, and also press

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7. This statement is made in the light of a careful survey of the official publications of the Baptist Societies of the British Commonwealth and of America. See Appendix E.
forward with a vigorous Home Mission work, such as has
been seen in other countries. But even if there has
been this failure, there has been a great advantage
which has been a by-product of the Missionary Society:
the Baptists of New Zealand have been united in a close
bond of fellowship which has overridden the dangers of
their traditional independency. Controversies which
have caused grievous harm among Baptists of other lands
have not hurt the Baptists of New Zealand. Because they
have learned to work together as brethren in the cause
of Foreign Missions, they have learned to work together
in New Zealand. This advantage may yet overcome the
initial disadvantage of the comparative failure of Home
Mission work in the years here being reviewed.

It would seem appropriate to conclude this
study by quoting the final section of the Sixty-first
Annual Report of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary
Society:

"Speaking in New York, on April 7th, 1942, Viscount
Halifax, who is remembered affectionately in India,
as Lord Irwin, quoted words from the great Indian
Emperor, Asoka, who lived three centuries before
Christ: "For what do I toil? For no other end than
this, that I may discharge my debt to living beings." He
then went on to say, "We too have toiled in India,
for past and future generations. The issue of our
toil lies in other than human hands. But, if when
the time comes that we can lay upon India's shoulders
the full burden of responsibility now resting on us, a like verdict might be recorded, I do not think that the British race could desire any higher commendation."

Missionaries in India have toiled, and we have been workers together with them, because the love of Christ constraineth them and us. It is the reconciling Word that maketh "all things new," and will yet make of India's diverse peoples and races, one great Commonwealth of God. Let the Missionary prayer sound forth:—

"Thy Kingdom come, O God,
Thy rule, O Christ, begin;
Break with Thine iron rod
The tyrannies of sin.
O'er heathen lands afar
Thick darkness broodeth yet:
Arise, O morning star,
Arise, and never set."
### APPENDIX A

Statistics quoted in "Mead Plan".

In the proposal for a combined Australasian Baptist missionary scheme in East Bengal, the Rev. Milas Mead, C.A. B.B. quoted the following official figures relative to six districts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dacca</th>
<th>Mymensing</th>
<th>Purnea</th>
<th>Pore</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area, square miles</strong></td>
<td>2,783</td>
<td>2,799</td>
<td>2,249</td>
<td></td>
<td>17,954</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Villages</strong></td>
<td>5,016</td>
<td>7,401</td>
<td>3,414</td>
<td></td>
<td>20,321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population</strong></td>
<td>1,652,035</td>
<td>3,249,917</td>
<td>1,511,878</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,413,820</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Hindus</strong></td>
<td>795,769</td>
<td>817,933</td>
<td>655,409</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,269,111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Moslems</strong></td>
<td>1,050,161</td>
<td>1,513,984</td>
<td>856,477</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,430,582</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Principal Town</strong></td>
<td>Dacca</td>
<td>Mymensing</td>
<td>Purnea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Population of</strong></td>
<td>92,918</td>
<td>10,050</td>
<td>8,592</td>
<td></td>
<td>111,560</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total area, square miles</strong></td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>4,440</td>
<td></td>
<td>11,844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total population</strong></td>
<td>456,416</td>
<td>1,238,219</td>
<td>359,234</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,053,869</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supplement to "M.B. Baptist", January, 1885.
### APPENDIX B.

Statistics of New Zealand Baptist Churches

as at August 31st, 1885.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>When</th>
<th>Formed</th>
<th>Pastor</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>E.S. Scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mt. Eden)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otahuhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponsonby</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>T. Hughes Jones</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>T. C. Wilson</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnedale</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>E. J. Brookes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Plymouth</td>
<td></td>
<td>(closed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thames (closed)</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>W. R. Woolley</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>L. Shackelford</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>R. H. Driver</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori Mission</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>A. Fairbrother</td>
<td>No Returns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashburton</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyre</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td></td>
<td>147</td>
<td>149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dunedin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mornington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portobello</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mooloolah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Hutt</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>C. Carter</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>G. Ballston</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunedin</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>A. North</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Island</td>
<td>(closed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori Hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. E. Valley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greendale</td>
<td>1872</td>
<td>T. Bray</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invercargill</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>T. T. Hinton</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirwee</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>D. Dolasare</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>T. Weggstaff</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln Road</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>J. Standing</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>T. A. Gate</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camaro</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangaroa</td>
<td>(closed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Melvern</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>J. C. Gilmore</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timaru</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>J. C. Brown</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Coast Mission</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>J. C. Johnston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C.

Delegates at the Dunedin Conference of the Baptist Union of New Zealand, October, 1885, when the "New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society" was formed.

Bengami: Rev. L. Shackelford.  
Wellington: Rev. H. H. Driver, Mr. John Collins, Mr. E. Peist  
Christchurch: Rev. T. Bellaston.  
Kirwee: Rev. S. Bolemore.  
Greendale: Rev. T. Bray.  
Lincoln Road (Sprydon): Rev. J. Standing.  
Timaru: Rev. C. C. Brown.  
Dunedin: Rev. A. North, Mr. C. Horder, Mr. H. Beckingale,  
Mr. Cottrell, Mr. J. G. Fraser.  
Caversham: Mr. W. Ings, Mr. J. Feltham, Mr. C. Wix.  
Caversham Town Hall: Rev. J. A. Carter, Mr. J. Craig  
Mr. Waiken.  

The above is the official published list; yet it does not entirely tally with the official photographs of the delegates. Mr. Waiken does not appear in the laymen's photograph; and the following appear therein: Messrs W. Blackwood (of Caversham); Geo. Calder (of Hanover St. Church) J. Outram (of Hanover St. Church); Gideon Rutherford (of Hanover St. Church, but resident at Makem, North Otago). The probability is that Mr. Blackwood was acting in place of Mr. Waiken, a delegate for the "Caversham Town Hall Church"; and that the other three were either co-opted, or were not actually delegates. Mr. J. Fulton, M.H.R., is not listed as a delegate, nor did he appear in the official photographs. But he spoke in the debate in favour of the motion.
APPENDIX D.

Missionaries who have served in India under the M.B.S.

Hereunder is a complete list of missionaries who have served the Society in India between the date of the formation of the Society in 1885 and 1947. In the case of missionaries who have been members of Baptist Churches in New Zealand, the name of the Church is given. Some missionaries who had been associated with other Baptist Societies served the New Zealand Society for short terms. Their other connections are indicated. The position of five men from England who arrived at Brahmanbaria in 1891 and 1892 is somewhat irregular. They were supported from London; Three (who were Baptists) were given rank as “Honorary Associates”; all did some work in the area, and all were under a certain measure of control exercised by the New Zealand Society. As the others are not usually listed as members of the staff their names appear only in a footnote.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Home Church</th>
<th>Years of Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. MacGeorge</td>
<td>Hanover St.</td>
<td>1895 - died 12/4/91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A. F. Newcombe</td>
<td>Auckland Tabernacle</td>
<td>1896 - 1899.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss H. P. Pillow</td>
<td>Oxford Terrace</td>
<td>1899 - died 22/5/93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. St. Dalmas</td>
<td>ex-B.M.S.</td>
<td>1890 - 1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Annie Bacon</td>
<td>Hanover Street</td>
<td>1890 - 1899.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. W. La Berte</td>
<td>from London</td>
<td>1891 - 1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. La Berte</td>
<td>from London</td>
<td>1893 - 1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. W. Pettigrew</td>
<td>&quot;Honorary Associate&quot;</td>
<td>1891 - 1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. J. H. Lorraine</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1891 - 1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. F. H. Savidge</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1892 - 1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss L. B. Peters</td>
<td>Hanover Street</td>
<td>1894 - 1904.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. George Hughes</td>
<td>ex-B.M.S. and South Dunedin</td>
<td>1895 - 1899.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Hughes</td>
<td>(South Dunedin)</td>
<td>1895 - 1897.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. Beckingsale</td>
<td>Hanover Street</td>
<td>1895 - 1904.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss L. Ings</td>
<td>South Dunedin</td>
<td>1896 - 1900.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Charles North</td>
<td>Hanover Street</td>
<td>1898 - 1910.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Taile</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>1898 - 1924.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(née M. Scotts)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. With these three "Honorary Associates" were also Messrs. Stephen and Craighead, who were not Baptists.
3. His academic distinctions included: B.A.; B.Sc.; M.B.; Ch.B.; M.R.C.S.; L.R.C.P.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Home Church</th>
<th>Years of Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Charles North</td>
<td>Hanover Street</td>
<td>1900 - 1910.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see Wiseman)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Ingleby</td>
<td>Oxford Terrace</td>
<td>1901 - 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr F. M. Newcombe</td>
<td></td>
<td>1904 - died 28/10/05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. M. Caingford</td>
<td>Oxford Terrace</td>
<td>1904 - 1912.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. S. Brown</td>
<td>from W.A. B.M.S.</td>
<td>1905 - 1907.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs de Carteret G.</td>
<td>Auckland Tabernacle</td>
<td>1907 - 1911.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr W. H. Pettit</td>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>1910 - 1915.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Pettit</td>
<td>Caversham</td>
<td>1910 - 1915.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A. L. Cookes</td>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>1911 - 1915.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs White</td>
<td></td>
<td>1911 - 1915.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss N. Wilkinson</td>
<td>Ponsonby</td>
<td>1912 - 1914.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A. Hall</td>
<td>Auckland Tabernacle</td>
<td>1914 - 1917.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. S. Rise</td>
<td>Napier</td>
<td>1914 - 1917.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. A. Bradfield</td>
<td>Owha</td>
<td>1918 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. E. N. Coring</td>
<td>Eydenham</td>
<td>1919 - 1926.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Coring</td>
<td>from N. S. W. B.M.S.</td>
<td>1921 - 1923.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see Esmar)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss G. Peters</td>
<td>Oxford Terrace</td>
<td>1922 - 1925.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Eileen Arnold</td>
<td>Goulville</td>
<td>1923 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. W. C. Hunter</td>
<td>from B.E.S.</td>
<td>1923 - 1926.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Hunter</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1923 - 1926.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. H. A. Jones</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>1928 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Jones</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>1929 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see Gillanders)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. E. H. Sade</td>
<td>Feilding</td>
<td>1929 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Livingstone M.</td>
<td>Royal Oak</td>
<td>1931 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. Ogilvie</td>
<td>Auckland Tabernacle</td>
<td>1937 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs E. S. Sade</td>
<td>from U.S.A.</td>
<td>1937 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see L. Adams)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr R. A. Ivory M.B.Ch.B.</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>1931 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M. Bush</td>
<td>Auckland Tabernacle</td>
<td>1931 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss G. Wiss</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>1932 - 1937.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Dr Newcombe, brother of second lady to serve the Society, was serving in Natal when he responded to appeal for a medical man to serve the Society.
5. Gave special service for a year while staff depleted.
6. A former missionary giving special service while staff depleted.
7. Replacing when Rev. John and Mrs Takle retired.
8. Transferred to Inhiana College Hospital, S.W. India.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Home Church</th>
<th>Years of Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. Coad</td>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>1934 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. H.J. Bade</td>
<td>Feilding</td>
<td>1935 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs M.J. Bade</td>
<td>Feilding</td>
<td>1935 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(née C.A. Gifford)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev. R.G. Brown</td>
<td>Avondale</td>
<td>1936 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs Brown</td>
<td>Epsom</td>
<td>1938 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(née A.T. Rees)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss F. Hughes</td>
<td>Whangarei</td>
<td>1939 – 1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr D.T. Daintree</td>
<td>ex- B.M.S.</td>
<td>1935-36; 1939-1945.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss I.J. Thomson</td>
<td>Gisborne</td>
<td>1940 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M.E. Turner</td>
<td>Mt Albert</td>
<td>1944 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss J.P. Croker</td>
<td>Green Island</td>
<td>1945 – 1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss M.D. Adams</td>
<td>Greendale</td>
<td>1945 –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss E. Drew</td>
<td>Mt Eden</td>
<td>1947 –</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above list, the following came from other Baptist Missionary Societies to serve the N.Z.B.M.S., for relatively brief periods, subsequently returning to their former fields of service:

Rev. H.C. de St Dalmas and Mrs St Dalmas.
Rev. George Hughes and Mrs Hughes.
Miss C.E. Brown.
Rev. W.F. White and Mrs White.
Rev. W.C. Hunter and Mrs Hunter.

The following went out originally to serve under the N.Z.B.M.S., and subsequently transferred to other Baptist Societies working in East Bengal:

Rev. John Ings and his sister Miss L. Ings.
Rev. Walter Barry and Mrs Barry (née Annie Bacon).
Miss F. Hughes, who married Rev. N. Anderson of the Australian B.M.S., 1942.

Miss A.J.P. Newcombe, like many other servants of the Society, was unable to remain in the dangerous climate of East Bengal. She transferred to a Presbyterian mission working in the Hills, but soon had to leave India entirely.

10. This lady went to India, under the B.M.S., in 1930.

In 1935-36 she took charge of the Chandpur Hospital while Dr Hola Ivory was on furlough. In 1939 she became a regular member of the N.Z.B.M.S. staff.

* Denotes missionary still on active service, 1943.
APPENDIX \*.

The Annual Income of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society.

In the following records, for the sake of simplicity, all income relative to the N.Z.B.M.S. has been included in the figures under the heading of "Income." In some instances this will not agree with the total in the "General Account," for (in the earlier years of the Mission in particular) there were often "special accounts" organised. When the "special amount" was particularly large in comparison with the total, it is indicated. While these figures are not infallible, they are taken from official sources, and a serious endeavour has been made to assure their accuracy. Amounts are given to the nearest $1.

In order that effective comparisons may be made, the official membership figures of the Churches within the Baptist Union of New Zealand are supplied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Church Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>3,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>3,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>2,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>2,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>2,747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>2,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>2,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>1,335 (1)</td>
<td>2,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>3,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>3,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>3,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1,723 (2)</td>
<td>3,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1,219</td>
<td>3,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>1,453 (3)</td>
<td>2,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>1,665</td>
<td>2,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>2,280 (4)</td>
<td>2,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,455 (5)</td>
<td>3,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>1,588 (6)</td>
<td>3,731</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. $500 of this for Mission House at Brahmapur. Centennial Year of B.M.S.; special effort to raise ordinary revenue above $1,000.
2. Including $540 for Chandpur Mission House.
3. Including $217 for new boat.
4. Including $272 for Chandpur Hospital Fund.
5. Each of 1901 and 1902 include anonymous gifts of $500.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>March Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>1,567</td>
<td>3,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1,451</td>
<td>3,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>2,149 (3)</td>
<td>4,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1,791</td>
<td>4,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>1,915</td>
<td>4,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1,917</td>
<td>4,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>2,729 (7)</td>
<td>4,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,412 (3)</td>
<td>5,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,359</td>
<td>5,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>2,977</td>
<td>5,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>2,786</td>
<td>5,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>2,796</td>
<td>5,304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>4,263</td>
<td>5,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>3,378</td>
<td>5,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>4,159</td>
<td>5,906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>4,061 (9)</td>
<td>5,943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>5,751 (10)</td>
<td>5,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>10,499 (11)</td>
<td>5,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>9,079</td>
<td>5,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>4,897</td>
<td>5,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>5,102</td>
<td>5,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>5,207</td>
<td>5,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>6,911 (13)</td>
<td>6,354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>5,015</td>
<td>7,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>5,882</td>
<td>7,317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>5,785</td>
<td>7,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>5,720</td>
<td>7,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2,155</td>
<td>7,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>5,231</td>
<td>7,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>5,316</td>
<td>8,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>5,260</td>
<td>8,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>5,599</td>
<td>8,725</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>7,051</td>
<td>8,356</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>7,030 (13)</td>
<td>9,095</td>
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<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>7,378</td>
<td>8,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>7,735</td>
<td>9,239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Including $628 for new building.
7. Special donation of $500.
8. Including $252 for new cutstation.
10. Including $1,333 for buildings at Brahmambaria.
11. Including $3,227 for Special Expee Fund.
12. Including $1,860 testimonial to Rev. John Tappy upon retirement.
13. Including $1,005 from Carey Commemoration Fund.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Church Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>8,157</td>
<td>9,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>7,902</td>
<td>9,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>10,120</td>
<td>9,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>9,108</td>
<td>9,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>9,198</td>
<td>9,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>10,766</td>
<td>9,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>10,230</td>
<td>9,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>10,844</td>
<td>9,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>15,068 (14)</td>
<td>10,049</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14. Including £944 special offering at Assembly; but not including a special "Famine Relief Fund" (for Tripura State) of £4,029, contributed on one Sunday in June 1947.