

A STUDY OF THE Y.M.C.A.

OF

INDIA, BURMA & CEYLON

Made as an integral part
of the International Survey

BY

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

A survey might be defined as an analysis on the basis of which plans are to be built for the future. It is not a venture in programme building but a preliminary step in that process. Opinions differ as to what type of analysis is most useful as a basis for programme building. In this case an attempt has been made to present, not so much a cross section of the present situation, as a genetic picture revealing the growth and development of the two Christian Associations in India, Burma and Ceylon, down through the years. The value of the present study lies more in what light has been thrown on the nature and genius of the movements than in any detailed description of all their activities. The interest has been more in the life history of the Associations than exclusively in what they were doing at the time the survey was made. It is the belief of the survey staff that both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. are entering a period during which the process of building with Indian resources, both as to funds and personnel, will be increasingly emphasized. It is also a time when the need for clear distinction between the essential Association and the good things it does will be very real. It is hoped that the present survey will be of service in this connection.

The survey of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon is part of a world-wide enterprise in co-operation. The Foreign Divisions of the North American Associations and those movements in other countries which they are assisting with funds and personnel have together produced an international survey under the supervision of a special committee chosen for this purpose in New York. This committee was made up of the following persons :—

Daniel J. Fleming, *Chairman.*
William F. Russell, *Vice-Chairman.*
Mrs. John H. Finley, *Secretary.*
William M. Kingsley, *Treasurer.*
Miss Clara C. Benson.
Mrs. Harry Emerson Fosdick.
Rufus M. Jones.
William H. Kilpatrick.
Adrian Lyon.
Miss Florence M. Read.

The underlying purpose of the entire enterprise will be best conveyed by the following quotations from the preliminary plan drawn up for the International Survey Committee :—

“According to the terms of reference under which the present project was launched the planning of the survey was to be guided by the following general considerations :—

- (1) Emphasis shall be laid upon the study of the work and of the fields of opportunity of the two organizations from the point of view of the largest statesmanship, with a view to discovering what curtailments, modifications, or advances in policies and programme promise the largest release of the constructive forces within each country and community.
- (2) The survey shall also make a study of the supporting constituency in this country (U.S.A.), including the objectives of the work as seen by them, and the measure of their prospective support.
- (3) Since the work in all the countries in which the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association are co-operating is in the hands of autonomous national movements, the study is to be carried forward from the beginning with the fullest participation of those movements.
- (4) To the degree that the method is consistent with sound procedure, the leaders of the communities and Associations studied are to be given an active part in the process of survey and appraisal in order that the results and methods may be built into the life of the national and local organizations.

“Perhaps the most significant of these guiding principles is that the foreign work of the two Christian Associations is to be studied ‘from the point of view of the largest statesmanship’. This clearly means that the meticulous examination into mechanical efficiency, which has so commonly marked social and educational surveys, is not to be stressed. While data bearing on the narrower aspects of efficiency should be gathered, the emphasis must be placed elsewhere. The major object of the survey is to provide the most fundamental possible appraisal of a great social enterprise.”

The same document laid down the following five major lines of inquiry to serve as guides for the several national surveys :—

- (1) What are the basic assumptions, presuppositions, and purposes underlying and controlling the foreign work of the North American Associations ?
- (2) In what respects is the present work of the national Associations indigenous to those areas to which the North American Associations have gone, and to what extent have the North American elements become naturalized in those areas ?
- (3) What results have followed the work of the Associations in the several countries ?
- (4) How efficient is the administration of the foreign work of the North American Associations and of the work of the Associations in the several countries ?
- (5) How is the work of the Associations supported ?

When the staff representative of the International Survey Committee, known as the regional consultant for India, Burma and Ceylon, reached India he was presented with a questionnaire from the Indian Y.M.C.A. which reflected a different viewpoint from that contained in the five questions just enumerated. The Indian questionnaire assumed that the study should be made of the Indian Association, with special emphasis on its own administrative problems, rather than as part of a wider fellowship. The New York plan assumed that the distribution of resources was a matter of concern only to North American and Indian officials of the Christian Associations. There are, however, at least three other parties interested in the affairs of the Indian Associations : the Indian community, the European community in India, and the supporting constituency of the North American secretaries. The greater part of the so-called increase in indigenous support of the Indian Associations is actually an assumption of increased financial responsibility on the part of the European population. The donors in India have been taking over the burden from the donors in North America and are therefore to be considered when policies are drawn up. It seemed best, therefore, to confine the present study to the work in India on the assumption that what the New York Committee really wanted was a clear picture of this work on the basis of which future plans of co-operation could be built. Fortunately, the outline as drawn up by the

North American Survey staff lent itself very readily to the study contemplated by the Indian Y.M.C.A.

After consultation with representatives of the Indian Christian Associations, in the fall of 1929, two national commissions were set up to take charge of the proposed surveys. The personnel of these commissions was as follows :—

For the Y.M.C.A. : Rev. S. K. Chatterji, M.A.
 Clifford Manshardt, B.D., Ph.D.
 P. O. Phillip, B.A.
 Prof. E. Ahmed Shah, M.A.
 Rev. T. G. P. Spear.
 J. H. Gray, M.D.
 K. T. Paul, O.B.E., B.A.
 B. L. Ballia Ram, B.Sc., B.T.

For the Y.W.C.A. : Mrs. K. M. MacDonald.
 Miss H. Bose.
 Mrs. F. Burnett.
 Miss P. Madden.
 Mrs. V. M. Illahibaksh.
 Miss O. Lawrence.

These commissions met early in October, 1929, and appointed the following staff :—

National Consultants : K. K. Kuruvilla, M.A., B.D.
 Elizabeth Z. Kuruvilla.

Technical Associate : H. E. Becknell, B.A., M.A.

Special Research Associate : Bernice Becknell, B.A., M.A.

This staff, part of which was unable to start work before January, 1930, has sought to build up a picture of Association work in India on the basis of official census records (unfortunately the 1921 Census was the latest available), Association records, observations and interviews. Extensive photographs were taken of the work and the negatives filed with the Foreign Divisions in New York.

The staff has, with one or two exceptions, visited every important Association in India, Burma and Ceylon, and desires to bear witness to the courtesy and co-operation encountered everywhere. The officers of the Associations have given unsparingly of their time and have patiently filled out schedules and questionnaires. It is the deepest hope of the survey staff that this report, and similar ones now under way, may serve to furnish

guidance and help to organizations that have been able to command the loyalties of so splendid a body of men and women. There is no way to record by scientific analysis that complex of courage, patience, sympathy and insight which lies at the foundation of any movement. The staff simply wishes to take this opportunity to record its knowledge of the existence of these imponderables and of the essential part they have played in the history of the Association movements of India, Burma and Ceylon.

FINDINGS OF THE Y.M.C.A. COMMISSION.

The Commission in receiving the report prepared by the survey staff on the work of the Young Men's Christian Association in India, desires to acknowledge the great value of the material assembled and presented therein. While the time available for studying the report in detail was limited, the main issues that emerge from a study of the report were carefully considered by the Commission as a whole and the following findings were adopted :—

I. GENERAL.

(1) There has been a great development of pioneering projects, which for the most part have done valuable work, *e.g.*, rural reconstruction, students' hostel in London, lecture department, Association Press, physical education and industrial welfare work.

(2) Although the total membership of the Association has increased, active membership has remained stationary, and active members are taking a diminishing share in the control and work of the Association.

(3) The Associations in the smaller centres have not received an adequate share of men or money as compared with the Associations in larger centres.

(4) The paid secretaries have increasingly come to dominate and become the soul of the Association movement.

(5) It would seem that the Y.M.C.A. has felt constrained to work on too wide a front in relation to its available leadership and financial resources.

(6) We would recommend that the Y.M.C.A. should now enter upon a period of consolidating the work in hand and making it really effective.

(7) We would recommend a period of looking in, of self-purification, that the work of the Association may be the more effective.

(8) We would recommend the transferring of such work as can now be carried on by other agencies, and the strengthening of those areas in which the Y.M.C.A. can make a definite and unique contribution to the building of Christian character. We would recommend that no new work should be entered into without a full consideration of the relation of the new to the existing

programme and that the immediate governing principle in the future should be effective intensification rather than expansion.

(9) We would recognize the validity of the present aims of the Association, but we recommend that care should be taken to divide in due proportions the Association's resources of men, money and energy amongst the different spheres of work.

II. MEMBERSHIP.

(1) We recommend that steps be taken to revive the idea of membership as a "fellowship for service," which should be parallel to and supplementary to the existing fellowship of paid secretaries as a "fellowship for expert service". In order to secure this we suggest:—

- (a) That only one class of membership equally open to both Christians and non-Christians be established, subject to the articles *infra* on Organization, from which it will be seen that the final control of material and personnel rests with those who sign the Paris Basis ;
- (b) That secretaries should particularly endeavour to direct the energies of Christian members to the service of the Christian Church as well as to the general community ;
- (c) That attempts be made to provide definite outlets for the non-Christian members.

III. ORGANIZATION.

We consider that a central organization such as the National Council is necessary for the cohesion and development of the Association in the existing conditions in India and that on the whole it is exercising a necessary and beneficial influence.

(1) We recommend that the measures be considered for securing the active participation of a larger number of the National Council in the work of the Council.

(2) We recommend that where local conditions make it possible (a Christian population, local initiative, etc.), regional councils which would be closely related to the National Council may be set up to develop work in that area. (Beginnings might be made in Madras, Ceylon and Travancore.)

(3) We would recommend that the same principle be observed in regional councils as is recognized in (1) above for the National Council,

(4) We would recommend that the possibility be considered either of sending to the National Council representatives responsible to regional committees, or of dividing the work of the National Council among special committees working in specific areas in specialized departments of activity, touch being maintained with the National Council by means of travelling secretaries.

(5) We recommend that in local Associations the organization shall be that of a board of trustees to hold property, appoint secretaries and pass budgets, and that the membership of the board shall consist of Christians who accept the Paris Basis of membership. Further, there shall be a board of management, which shall be elected by all the members, and shall conduct the active affairs of the Association.

(6) We recommend that the Association study the possibility of securing more Indian representation on the boards of Associations in the leading port cities.

IV. PERSONNEL.

(1) We suggest that security of tenure of secretaries might be increased by following up a preliminary period of probation of three years with admission to the permanent staff on longer contract, and that some means of decreasing the hazard of unemployment should be studied.

(2) We would express the following principle with relation to foreign financial assistance. Self-support does not necessarily mean full self-support. It may mean increasing local support and control. A continuance of foreign gifts is not to be disparaged if it can be looked upon as a basis of fellowship and not as a charity.

(3) In the interest of further developing self-support on the part of the Indian Association we recommend the appointment of an Indian revenue secretary (in addition to the present revenue secretary) who, realizing the magnitude of the task before him, shall accept the long time task of mobilizing Indian resources for Association support.

(4) We recommend that the general secretaryship of local Associations be reserved for Indians.

(5) To enable local Associations to employ Indian general secretaries of sufficiently high standard we recommend that foreign money be sent in the place of foreign secretarial personnel.

(6) We believe that foreign secretaries for specialized posts are still needed in India.

(7) We recommend that the requirement that every foreign secretary should learn an Indian language should be strictly enforced.

(8) We suggest that the possibility be explored of recruiting foreign short-term secretaries on a smaller salary basis than that of the permanent staff.

(9) We consider that large city and town Associations using foreign personnel should make a larger contribution to the National Council by way of compensation, that the smaller Associations may profit therefrom.

(10) We recommend the raising of endowments as an added source of support for the work of the local Associations and specific projects.

V. HOSTELS.

We recommend that non-student hostels be separated from the general work of the Y.M.C.A. and operated as Y.M.C.A. hotels. These hotels may be run either on Indian or European lines, but must not be racially exclusive.

PART I

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION IN ITS ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

CHAPTER 1.

MAIN TRENDS IN THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE Y.M.C.A. OF INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON.

The following discussion is not presented as a thorough-going history of the Y.M.C.A. movement in India, Burma and Ceylon, but rather as a general introduction to the more detailed treatment of the various topics within the scope of this survey found in the ensuing chapters. It is an attempt to summarize the salient features of the organization's development in its broad outlines. In this development three distinct phases are to be discerned. The first falls roughly in the period 1850-1890 and is characterized by spasmodic, unco-ordinated activity in various cities of India and Ceylon. The second, dating from 1890 to the World War, represents the period of unification and consolidation during which the work was extended to Burma and was largely dominated everywhere by the ideal of the building-centred "four-fold" programme. During the last period, since the World War, the conception of the Y.M.C.A. as a service agency has been developed and given expression mainly through elaborate projects in social service carried on by the central organization on a national scale.

The work of the first period represents the initiative of British and North American missionaries and businessmen, who had known the Association movement at home and attempted to develop similar work in the country of their adoption. There was no unity of action between the various centres, and indeed very few of them knew of the existence of the others. Some idea of the range and number of these early Associations will be derived from the following tabulation, on which they are listed according to the date of organization. No account is taken in the records of the casualties, of which there were not a few. For instance, both Calcutta and Colombo suffered temporary setbacks at times, and many of the smaller centres passed completely out of existence.

The First Y.M.C.A.'s by Date of Organization.

Year.		India.	Ceylon.
1854	..	Calcutta.	
1861	..		Kandy.
1875	..	Bombay. Lahore.	

Year.		India.	Ceylon.
1877	..	Simla.	
1880	..	Nagercoil.	
1881	..		Mannipay.
1882	..	Erumapra. Valakam	Colombo.
1884	..	Poona.	Galle. Jaffna College.
1885	..	Adoor. Anarmala. Ellampiram. Kannikal. Koovapalli. Salem.	
1886	..	Bombay (Bandora). Masulipatam. Nagpur. Pasumalai College. Trichur.	Royal College.
1887	..	Cochin. Koduwalunji. Mussoorie. Meyoor.	Wofendahl.
1888	..	Karungal. Kottayam. Kunnankulam. Seoni Chappra.	
1889	..	Bangalore. Bombay (Grant Road). Hyderabad. Madura. Tanjore.	Kornegalle. India—(Contd.)
1890	..	Bombay (Parel). Chingleput. Coonoor. Dindigul. Hyderabad (Indian Christian Union). Karachi High School.	Kolani. Madras. Muirabad. Ootacamund. Palamecottah. Tripatore. Vellore.

These early Associations were carried on entirely under volunteer leadership. The membership was made up for the most part of small groups of young men, either Europeans away from home on business and in need of a stabilizing factor, or young Indians, usually Christians in those days, in whom these pioneer progenitors of the movement proper had a friendly interest or toward whom they felt a sense of obligation. The activities were not greatly diversified, consisting in weekly or semi-weekly Bible classes and prayer meetings, with an occasional charitable undertaking of some sort, in addition, such as feeding the poor or conducting Sunday school classes for children.

The year 1890 may be said to mark the beginning of a new era. On January 9th the first employed foreign secretary, Mr. David McConaughy, arrived in India and started work in Madras. This event inaugurated the official co-operation of the Indian Associations with Y.M.C.A. movements in other lands and also the rise of an employed secretariat, which are both trends that have characterized the movement ever since. At the same time other tendencies were set in motion. There developed a movement towards national cohesion and organization, and together with the almost precipitate rise of the "four-fold" programme an associate, or non-Christian, membership slowly grew up and large buildings of the institutional kind were erected. Types of work were undertaken that demanded more and more financial support from both India and abroad, and all the problems incidental to consolidation and expansion were introduced. This second period lasted until about 1915. Then came the war with its abnormal impetus to the work and the undertaking of new projects with the troops in India, France and the Near East. The few years of the war represent a period of transition, for by 1920 the emphasis had shifted away from the "four-fold" programme to a type of activity that may be classified as social service.

It will of course be understood that no hard and fast lines can be drawn between the three periods here outlined. The changes in organization and programme emphasis did not take place abruptly but shaded into one another so gradually as to make the problem of setting dates a difficult one. The three periods, however, do represent in a general way the main stages of development of the Indian Y.M.C.A.

Mr. McConaughy's arrival in India was the direct outcome of efforts in South India and Ceylon. The Y.M.C.A. at Jaffna College, founded in 1884 immediately applied for affiliation with the North American movement. A few years later, an American

student secretary, Mr. L. D. Wishard, made a world tour in the interests of Association work and included India among the countries he visited. He was able to arouse considerable interest in behalf of the work in India on his return to North America. In 1888, a missionary conference at Madras officially requested the North American International Committee to send out a secretary to work with the students of that city. As a result of these various efforts, Mr. McConaughy was finally appointed to India but given freedom of choice as to the field in which he was to work and the type of programme he was to develop. He arrived in Madras at a time when Mr. Wishard happened to be there again and they at once laid plans together for the advancement of the movement.

In less than a year after Mr. McConaughy's arrival, plans were under way for the first national convention "in response to suggestions received from ten or more Associations in India" (*National Convention Report*, 1891, p. 4). The wording of the call to this convention reveals the strong sense of evangelistic responsibility felt by these pioneers towards "the millions of perishing young men in this great land" (*Opus citatum*, p. 6). The convention assembled at Madras in 1891, with a delegation composed of twenty-six Indians, seven Europeans and two Anglo-Indians. The chief topic of discussion was the best means by which the existing Associations might co-operate. There was general agreement as to the desirability of some sort of union, but opinion differed as to whether this should be by districts or on national lines. The latter plan was finally adopted and the first national committee elected. The convention, furthermore, defined the function of the Association as work with, for, and by young men. While reserving the control of the organization for the active membership, determined by affiliation with the Christian church, the ranks of the associate membership were opened to all young men of good moral character.

Central in the programmes of the Associations, during this period, was the religious work. The real purpose for which the organization existed was held to be that of leading young men into closer relationship with Christ. While non-Christians were welcomed into the general membership, it was never forgotten that all works and all active members had a distinct duty of evangelization towards these young men. At the same time, other phases of the "four-fold" programme were not neglected. Physical work was begun in Calcutta, in 1896, and developed in all the leading Associations as the buildings were erected. Student work received

especial attention in the earlier years of this period ; in 1896 there arrived three secretaries for such work : Mr. Frank Clark to serve in Bombay, Mr. Campbell White in Calcutta and Mr. Sherwood Eddy on the National Council. In 1895, the first Indian employed secretary, Mr. V. S. Asariah, was appointed for work among the Tamil-speaking students. While boys' work was an early concern of the pioneers, as appears from resolutions passed at national conventions, it has been promoted on the initiative of local Associations more than by the national organization. It has consequently not been very well developed, on the whole, except perhaps in Calcutta where there has been a boys' work secretary consecutively since 1904. Educational lectures and courses were developed in all leading Associations, and a monthly magazine, *Young Men of India*, was early started as a national organ.

Principles governing financial support were laid down by the first conventions. While it was recognized that foreign secretaries would be needed to build up the work in India and that large buildings were desirable to house the movement, it was felt that foreign gifts would be necessary to finance both. On the other hand, it was agreed that workers recruited in India, Burma and Ceylon should be supported by funds raised in those countries, and that local Associations had a certain responsibility for the support of the national organization. (*National Convention Report*, 1896, pp. 49-50.)

The work steadily expanded along these lines until the war, and increased in membership, personnel, financial resources and buildings. While evangelism was recognized as the avowed mission of the movement, during this period, church relationships were carefully maintained and the Y.M.C.A. sought to make clear its desire to supplement the activities of the church rather than to compete with them. At the beginning of 1902, Mr. McConaughy returned to North America and his place as general secretary was filled in 1904 by Mr. E. C. Carter. While the "four-fold" programme was the basis of the work, other tendencies were beginning to make themselves felt which were to receive greater development after the war. In 1913, for instance, a department of rural work was added to the national programme when an Indian secretary, Mr. K. T. Paul, joined the staff as associate general secretary. At about the same time Mr. J. N. Farquhar retired from student work, which had hitherto engaged his attention, and devoted himself to the organization of a literature department. In 1912 the student Y.M.C.A.'s separated from the

city movement and formed an organization of their own. Since that time such work among students as has been done by the Y.M.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon has been limited largely to non-Christians. In 1910 a small training school for secretaries was opened in Calcutta and moved to Bangalore in 1912. Unfortunately, it had to be discontinued, in 1921, mainly for financial reasons and because of the difficulty in securing students.

Then came the war and with it such expansion as had not been thought possible even a few years before. Funds poured into the treasury both from India and from abroad. The war years mark the peak of the building era, as will appear in a later chapter. Special war work was carried on in France, Mesopotamia, British East Africa, Palestine and Egypt as well as in India itself. A lecture department was established which found its greatest usefulness in the closing years of the war.

As a result of this war activity important changes were brought about within the Y.M.C.A. movement. In the first place, no conventions could be held between 1910 and 1920, a circumstance which inevitably weakened the interest of the lay leadership. Furthermore, the national organization had been called upon to promote large undertakings and so not only became greatly interested in social service projects, but also became a more powerful agency. It greatly increased the prestige of the whole movement in the eyes of the general public and tended to give it the character of an agency for community service.

Just after the close of the war a physical training school was started in Madras, under the leadership of Mr. H. C. Buck. The school is well known all over India for its training of leaders in community athletics and recreation programmes. In 1919 a project in industrial work was started in Nagpur in co-operation with the Empress Cotton Mills. A similar project was started in Bombay early in 1925. The programme in rural reconstruction was developed in Southern India. A new enterprise in religious work was the establishment of an *ashram* at Puri by the Rev. B. C. Sircar, which in its method of approach differed greatly from the energetic evangelism of the earlier days. A department of Anglo-Indian work was created by the national executive, during this period, and a study of the Anglo-Indian situation was completed by Mr. W. Hindle in 1926. However, nothing further seems to have been done along this line.

The financial situation of the movement, and particularly of the national organization, has been a difficult one since the

war. Not only were the special war funds gradually exhausted, but world-wide economic depression has forced the friends of the Indian movement, both at home and abroad, to curtail their contributions in drastic fashion. There has been a steady decrease, accordingly, in funds and personnel sent from other movements.

The same period has, however, witnessed the development of indigenous leadership, and again especially in the national organization. The brilliant achievements of this body are associated especially with the names of Mr. K. T. Paul and Dr. S. K. Datta, men who have made the Y.M.C.A. known and respected not only in India but also in Europe and North America.

Such then, in brief outline, has been the history of the Y.M.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon. Space has not permitted adequate mention of the dominant personalities that have shaped its course; indeed such a task would be an impossible one in any case, for there have been many devoted workers and the contribution of most of them can never properly be measured. An idea of the general development, as suggested by the membership, buildings, and personnel, may be derived from the following table. Unfortunately, full figures were not available later than 1925.

Development of the Y.M.C.A. between 1890 and 1925.

	1890	1901	1910	1920	1925
Number of Associations ..	35	151	158	241	66
Total Number of Members ..	1,896	6,556	12,100	10,463	10,759
Total Number of Active Members ..	1,016	2,381	4,035*	—	2,164
Number of Buildings Owned ..	2	16	26	57	42
Value in Rupees ..	—	6,47,200	16,51,856	32,74,862	35,82,181
Current Expenses in Rupees ..	15,667	58,041	3,72,310	3,78,409	9,07,819
Foreign Employed Staff ..	1	12	57†	70	43
Indian Employed Staff ..	2	7	29†	153	84

*Figure for 1907.

†Figure for 1913.

*Sources for this Chapter :—*Worman, Clark : “ Early History of the Y.M.C.A., 1854-1900,” and “ National Convention Reports,” 1891-1926.

CHAPTER 2.

THE Y.M.C.A. IN BOMBAY, CALCUTTA AND RANGOON.

A. THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

That the Young Men's Christian Association is essentially the product of the modern commercial or industrial city is a fact so widely recognized that it scarcely need be argued here. With the introduction of steam and machinery into the manufacture of goods, workers were uprooted from their scattered villages, the world over, and drawn into the great urban centres. These workers were, for the most part, young unmarried men, unused to the complexity of city life, and unprepared to meet the moral hazards created by the congestion of their new surroundings. The modern city opened up a new frontier in the world of morals and made heavy demands on personal character. Former social customs and usages, based on the simple life of village and farm, could not stand the stress put upon them and new ones had to be created. Life in the new city presented a definite challenge to organized religion; such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., the Salvation Army, and others, were the reply of the Protestant Christian forces in England, the continent of Europe and North America. The history of the Association movement in the West is a vivid story of the attempts of dedicated religious men to grapple with the moral problems of modern youth.

A study of the map of India, Burma and Ceylon will at once suggest that what has taken place in the West has been repeated with perhaps even greater emphasis in the East. Before the coming of the British, with commerce as their chief concern, the great urban centres of India were in the interior. Even the great Moghul Emperors showed comparatively little interest in their coasts and ports. The important cities of pre-British India—Lahore, Delhi, Patna, Hyderabad, Madura, Kandy, Mandalay, to name only a few of them—were largely significant for the concentration of political power which they represented. To-day these ancient centres are, for the most part, of secondary importance to the life of the country. It is only within recent years that the political headquarters of British India have been moved from Calcutta to Delhi, thus restoring to the latter city some of its ancient prestige. Others in this group of formerly great cities

retain significance as religious centres or as places of historic interest.

Cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon and a few others along the coast represent a new type in India. They are the product of British commerce and industry. Before the coming of the British the three cities named above were small villages of no importance; to an invading commercial group, however, they offered strategic points of vantage from which the trade of the country might be controlled. Calcutta and Rangoon are located at the mouths of important waterways to the interior, the Ganges and Irawaddy rivers, by means of which produce could be transported to the sea and out to foreign markets. With control of these waterways, the economic exploitation of the country was made comparatively easy. The development of Bombay, which has an excellent harbour but no great river connection with the interior, was dependent on the extension of other means of transportation.

Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon are to-day the three leading cities of the British Indian Empire and the nerve centres of its commercial life. From the point of view of economic development, Calcutta is both the oldest and largest; it claims indeed to be the second city of the British Empire itself. In 1921 it had a population of 1,327,547. Bombay was next in line with 1,175,914. The population of Bombay has greatly increased in recent years and the total number of persons within the corporation of the city is now considerably larger than that within the corporation of Calcutta. The population of Calcutta, however, has been able to spread to the suburbs in a manner not possible in Bombay, which is situated on an island. Unlike conditions in Bombay, there are few large mills and factories in Calcutta itself, and less than half the number in the whole industrial area of which Calcutta is the centre are located even within the suburban municipalities. They are spread for thirty miles along the banks of the Hugli, the most important branch of the Ganges delta. The third of the cities here under consideration, Rangoon, has grown faster than Calcutta but is still small in comparison. In 1921 the total population was only 341,962. An interesting fact about the population of this city is the surprisingly large Hindu element. In 1921 there were 125,002 Hindus as compared with 111,571 Buddhists. This situation, in the Buddhist country of Burma, is caused by the heavy migration of South Indians to Rangoon. These are usually Hindu men, either unmarried or without their families, who are attracted to the city by the economic opportunities there offered.

The population in these three cities is racially complex, but it is characteristic of nearly all groups that the male element strongly predominates. The proportion is two to one for the total population in Calcutta and Rangoon, and only slightly less in Bombay. This seems to indicate that large numbers of men are being attracted, who do not regard the city as home but rather as an exceptional opportunity for economic improvement. There is of course a tendency for certain groups to settle permanently in the city. This is particularly true of the Anglo-Indians, among whom the proportion between the sexes is roughly equal. The Anglo-Indian is the product of white and Indian inter-marriage and may be regarded characteristically as native to the Indian city. His taste and manner of life are urban. The group which most nearly approximates the Anglo-Indian community, with respect to settled habits, is represented by the Indian Christians. The chief movement within the population of these great cities occurs among the non-Christian Indians and the Europeans. Many of the former own land and homes outside the city, where their women folk remain and to which they can return when employment is scarce. The Europeans are likewise usually only temporary residents; the term "home" for most of them connotes England or the continent of Europe. In the opinion of experienced observers, this tendency of Europeans to regard India as only a transient dwelling place is actually on the increase. It will be seen from these considerations that life in the great cities of India is unsettled and restless. The various racial groups remain as such, but the individuals especially within the dominant ones are constantly changing. The atmosphere is that of a camp rather than of an established home.

Another significant aspect of the population situation, in these cities, is the fact that the several racial groups tend to follow marked lines of economic differentiation. Broadly speaking, the Europeans represent the moneyed and controlling class; they are usually the employers. The Indians are, on the whole, the employees. There is a slight exception to this general rule in Bombay, where an Indian employing class is developing, consisting of wealthy Parsees who have been remarkably successful in the cotton industry. The point to be noted, however, is that the European is generally regarded in the public mind as the employer and the Indian as the employee. This situation is of course reinforced by the political system, according to which Europeans occupy the major positions and the authority of the British Parliament is supreme.

The racial composition of the three cities here studied is roughly the same. There are three main ethnic groups, each of which is subdivided by socio-economic factors. In the first place, there are the Europeans and allied peoples, among whom three classes are to be distinguished. At the top of the social scale are the commercial, professional, military and government groups; they maintain clubs for their own use and tend to move in exclusive circles. Trades people and skilled artisans make up a middle class, and lower in the social scale than these is a third group consisting of domiciled Europeans, British soldiers and Anglo-Indians. This grouping cannot be regarded as absolute, for exceptions and variations do exist, but it is a useful classification for the purposes of this report. The second large racial element consists of the Hindu population. Social standing within this group is still controlled more by the caste system, albeit relaxing in many ways, than by economic considerations. From the standpoint of the Y.M.C.A. and its interests, however, they may be classified as students, clerical workers, professional and business men, and unskilled labourers. The Mussulman community represents the third significant racial group. Social distinctions are not so marked among them as in the other two cases. As a group they are just emerging from illiteracy and as yet have only a small student and professional class. The Mussulman masses, in these cities, are unskilled labourers; they tend, however, to take up semi-skilled occupations as soon as possible, and in Calcutta nearly dominate the situation in the simple handicrafts such as carpentry, masonry and others. This element of the population does not figure very largely in the life of the Associations.

Before closing this section, special mention should be made of the missionary group. Although numerically small and of limited means, their social standing is nevertheless good in the European community and their influence on the work of the Associations important. As a class they are respected by their fellow-countrymen in business and government, and receive from them support for their work.

B. THE HISTORY OF THE LOCAL Y.M.C.A.'S.

The Y.M.C.A.'s of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon were founded by young Englishmen in search of an opportunity for fellowship, mutual improvement and religious service. The Association of Calcutta was the first to be organized in India. The first such enterprise on record was started in 1822 by the Rev. John Lawson and others, and was known as the Calcutta

Christian Juvenile Society. In 1854 another organization was founded bearing the name of Y.M.C.A. It seems to have had a library and reading room, and the list of officers and committee members suggests that the work was intended for the benefit of young Europeans in the more fashionable parts of the city. Whatever may have been its origin and purpose, the organization soon went out of existence. (*Cf.* J. N. Farquhar, "Old Stalwarts of Bow Bazar".) In 1850, the name of the Calcutta Christian Juvenile Society was changed by vote of the members to the Young Men's Christian Association; it was able to maintain itself without interruption until 1882. It is of interest to point out, in this connection, that George Williams and his friends started their work in London in 1844; only six years later the movement had clearly taken root in Calcutta. From this may be seen how close was the relationship between the English community in India and the home country.

Between 1850 and 1882, the Calcutta Association was strongly evangelistic in character. The activities consisted of prayer meetings in private houses, a "literary" class, a circulating library, a reading room, and a Sunday school. The programme was intended for young Europeans and Anglo-Indians living in the congested sections of the city. The atmosphere of these early days is reflected in the official reports. For instance, the objects of the Association are defined as "the spiritual and intellectual improvement of young men, the extension of Christian truth, and the promotion of religious interest". The membership was open to all young men who "profess to be followers of Christ". The secretary of the organization wrote of it in 1860 as follows:—

"It is a glorious thing for those who desire to make the world better, happier and holier than it is, by spreading the Kingdom of the Redeemer, and to refresh themselves with each other's presence, opening their hearts freely, and kindling a brighter flame on the altar of devotion than might otherwise burn there."

It is probable that the growth of ordinary missions in the city deprived the Y.M.C.A., in 1882, of its reason for existence and its financial support. The Association was reopened in 1890 when Mr. L. D. Wishard, of the North American movement, visited India. With the co-operation of the Calcutta Missionary Society, Mr. Wishard was able to secure, in 1893, the services of Mr. J. C. White of the United States as the first employed officer of the Association. From this time on the Y.M.C.A. moved forward rapidly. By 1898 the "four-fold" programme was approved

as is reflected in the restatement of purpose: "to promote the spiritual, intellectual, social and physical interests of the young men of Calcutta." Active, that is to say, voting, membership was restricted to members in good standing of the Protestant churches, but all other privileges of the Association were open to "any young man of good character".

The Association of Bombay was started in 1875 by a group of young Englishmen, who, in the words of their first report, felt that,

"At a time when unbelief under many forms and from many quarters is making attacks on Christian faith, in a land where idolatry has acquired immense power over many millions of the human race, in obedience to the teaching of the Word of God, much may be done by Christian young men in the sphere in which God has placed them to bear witness to the truth. Let it be the aim of all who join the Association, in consistent dependence upon the strength and guidance of God, to manifest by life and word that they are followers of Christ."

This fellowship was in close relationship with the church, and its meetings, like those of the Calcutta group, were essentially for the purpose of deepening and extending the Christian life.

The early development of the Bombay Y.M.C.A. presents one of the finest examples of effective lay leadership to be found in any Association in India, throughout the history of the movement. For twenty years it was directed on a volunteer basis by the earnest men who founded it; during this period it developed from a small Bible class to a strong "four-fold" work housed in three branches, practically those now operating, and with a membership of 463 of whom nearly two-thirds (62.4 per cent) were in the "active" class. Mr. Frank J. Clark, the Association's Honorary Secretary, attributed their success to three things, of which he said:—

"The first needs no remark. Without prayer no one could expect any success whatever. As regards the second, it lies in the old proverb: 'If a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well.' Thirdly, the plan for getting hold of young men was to make friends with them." (Worman, "Early History of the Y.M.C.A.")

As far as Rangoon is concerned, it so happened that in April 1893 a young Englishman came to this city from Madras. His name was Gradiner and he seems to have made the transfer for

business reasons. In Madras he had been a member of the Y.M.C.A., and had come under the influence of Mr. David McConaughy, the first General (*i.e.*, National) Secretary on full time. Mr. Gradinger immediately set about organizing an Association in Rangoon, the object of which he defined in his first report as being "to lead young men to the Saviour through the instrumentality of young men." He quoted one of his friends as saying :—

"I do not like to hear the remark that the Association does a work which the churches cannot do. Church members working through this or any other Association represent the Church at work."

After the turn of the century, these three Y.M.C.A.'s entered upon the policy of employing a trained staff, both Indian and foreign, to build up and carry on the work. The following table throws light on the development in this regard :—

Trends in Leadership.

Calcutta—		1901	1919	1926
Honorary Secretaries ..	..	1	—	2
Employed Foreign Secretaries ..	..	2	5	5
Employed Indian Secretaries ..	..	—	8	5
Bombay—				
Honorary Secretaries ..	..	2	—	—
Employed Foreign Secretaries ..	..	1	2	5
Employed Indian Secretaries ..	..	—	4	3
Rangoon—				
Honorary Secretaries ..	..	—	—	—
Employed Foreign Secretaries ..	..	1	4	3
Employed Indian Secretaries ..	..	1	2	2

It will be seen that the tendency is clearly away from volunteer leadership and that, in more than half of the above instances, the foreigners outnumbered the Indians on the employed staff.

Interesting changes were taking place at the same time with in the membership, as may be seen from the following figures for Calcutta and Bombay. The record for Rangoon is too inaccurate to be included but suggests substantially the same trend.

Proportions between Active and Associate Membership.

	Active.	Calcutta. Associate.	Total.	Active.	Bombay. Associate.	Total.
1894 ..	168	88	256	317	193	510
1901 ..	286	185	471	233	143	376
1919 ..	268	1,221	1,489	147	499	646
1926 ..	295	1,772	2,067	—	—	821

Membership Changes in regard to Racial Composition.

	European.	Calcutta. Indian.	Total.	European.	Bombay. Indian.	Total.
1894 ..	255	1	256	448	62	510
1901 ..	285	186	471	303	73	376
1919 ..	316	1,173	1,489	307	339	646
1926 ..	633	1,434	2,067	455	366	821

The steady rise to complete dominance of the associate and Indian memberships, respectively, will be noted. The data for the three preceding tables were compiled from the national convention reports. If the figures on the approximate value of buildings and property, as given in the same documents, may be relied on, then significant increases are to be noted, as will be seen in the following table :—

Values of Buildings and Property Owned by the Y.M.C.A.
(in rupees)

	Calcutta.	Bombay.	Rangoon.	Total.
1894 ..	2,500	25,800	..	28,300
1901 ..	1,09,083	43,015	9,308	1,61,406
1907 ..	5,46,000	2,15,000	1,50,000	9,11,000
1919 ..	9,57,475	5,40,793	3,06,352	18,04,620

After 1919 these Associations acquired no new buildings except a small hut for industrial work in Bombay.

The implications of the rapid increase in material possessions, above indicated, were reflected somewhat in the preceding tables on leadership and membership. The Associations became more complex organizationally and offered greatly more diversified programmes. The young men who first worked as volunteers, especially in Calcutta and Bombay, later took their places on the boards of directors. As they became successful in business, they wished to see the Associations firmly established and helped to secure funds for the buildings and equipment. The questions that confronted them at this stage had to do with finances and

administration. The programme was entrusted to full time employed officers. It would appear to be self-evident that these Associations came to lose their character as intimate, informal societies of deeply religious comrades, and grew into general agencies for social service. These Associations were greatly aided in their desire for expansion by the missionary spirit of the movements in England and North America. After about 1900 these fellow-Associations, and particularly the latter, began sending to India both experienced secretaries, whose salaries were paid abroad, and increasingly large amounts of money for buildings.

C. PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE LOCAL Y.M.C.A.'s.

The organization of the three Associations here under consideration consists of a board of directors in charge of the entire work in each city and subordinate committees of management to supervise the individual branches. The racial composition of the three city boards in 1928, appears below :—

Boards of Directors Analysed by Race.

		Indian Members.	European Members.
Calcutta ..	..	5	15
Bombay ..	..	3	31
Rangoon ..	..	10	11

It is indeed only to be expected that in these cities where the Association is a traditional adjunct of the European community, especially in Calcutta and Bombay, this element of the population should predominate on the controlling boards. On the branch committees there is a marked tendency to follow the same racial pattern as obtains in the general membership. This will be clear from the following table :—

Committees of Management Analysed by Race.

Calcutta—			Indian Members.	European Members.
Bhowanipore (Indian)	..	..	8	3
Boys' Branch (Indian)	..	..	9	1
College Branch (Indian)	..	..	13	2
Central Branch (European)	..	..	—	12

			Indian Members.	European Members.
Bombay—				
Proctor (Anglo-Indian)	..	..	—	8
Byculla (Cosmopolitan)	..	..	9	4
Central Branch (European)	..	..	—	10
Rangoon—				
Central Branch (European)	..	..	—	15
Town Branch (Indian)	..	..	18	—

The boards of directors are the ultimate authority in the affairs of the Associations. They hold the property, control the distribution of funds, and appoint the employed officers. The latter act as their agents in carrying out the details of administration and conducting the programme. The chief point of interest about the present secretariat of these three Associations is the proportionately large number of foreigners among them. Of the nineteen secretaries at present sent from abroad for service in the local Associations of India, nine or nearly half of them are on the staffs in Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon. Each of these Associations has had the services of a North American physical director for a number of years; these men devote considerable time to organizing community playground work in their respective cities. The majority of general secretaries, on the other hand, have been Englishmen. This has been the case particularly since the war.

The membership in 1929 totalled 2,039 in Calcutta, 577 in Bombay, and 786 in Rangoon. Over sixty per cent of them were students and clerks, a circumstance easily accounted for by the character of these cities as university and commercial centres. The group of business and professional men was likewise considerable. Of special interest is the fact that, in all three Associations, the nucleus of the Indian branches is formed by groups of young Madrassi Christians, who came to the great cities in much the same way and with much the same outlook as did the groups of young Englishmen who founded the European branches. This is particularly true of Calcutta (Bhowanipore Branch) and of Rangoon (Town Branch). As was to have been expected, the bulk of the Anglo-Indian membership of the entire Indian movement is to be found in these three cities.

The programme is substantially the same in all three of these Associations. It is almost entirely building-centred and institutional in character. The most significant community service is the work done by the physical directors in developing

public playgrounds and in organizing community athletics. The most valuable part of the building programme is the student hostels maintained in all three cities under the supervision of a secretary on full time. Another distinctive feature in Calcutta and Bombay, and especially the former, has been the work for Anglo-Indians. The three central branches for Europeans, on the other hand, have experienced great difficulty in interesting their members. They have become little more than inexpensive hotels with very meagre social and lecture programmes; the secretaries in charge all express the greatest discouragement at the existing lack of response.

In the matter of physical equipment, the Calcutta Y.M.C.A. owns four large buildings and an army hut, the latter erected in 1917. The oldest building was purchased in 1896 and houses not only the college institute, but also a branch for Bengali boys and a schoolboys' hostel. It is in very bad condition but the site is of considerable value. The other buildings were erected in 1902 (Central Branch), 1915 (University Student Hostel) and 1916 (Anglo-Indian Branch). In 1928 the board rented a large building for the work with Indians. All buildings are fairly well located from the point of view of accessibility to their several constituencies. For some years the question has been under consideration of the advisability of selling the central building and putting up a less pretentious structure on a less expensive site.

The Bombay Y.M.C.A. owns four buildings, namely, the Central Branch erected in 1906, the Byculla and Proctor Branches in 1913, and the student building put up in 1911. The central building is well located near the Fort for the class of men it is designed to serve. The close proximity of the Proctor and Byculla buildings can only be justified on the grounds that one serves Anglo-Indians and the other an Indian constituency, the assumption being that the two groups cannot be attracted to the same quarters. The student building is near Wilson College.

The Rangoon Y.M.C.A. owns three buildings, the oldest and largest being the Central Branch, erected in 1905 and accommodating an institute, a hostel and a boys' department. It serves a European and Anglo-Indian constituency and is beginning to show signs of serious deterioration. In 1913 the Association built a hostel which can accommodate a warden and his family as well as forty high school boys. The third building and its site were recently purchased for the Association by the English Y.M.C.A. It is not a very convenient house that had been

previously rented by the Rangoon Association for its work among Indian immigrants.

The fact already indicated that these three Associations receive nearly half the assignments in foreign personnel, made to local centres, is of considerable importance from the point of view of finances. It practically means that the bulk of their personnel budgets is being met from abroad. The average cost of maintaining a foreign secretary in India is estimated to be Rs. 12,700 a year. By representing the foreign secretaries actually on the staff in terms of rupees on this basis, an attempt is made in the following table to suggest the financial significance of the contribution made to these Associations :—

Financial Equivalents of Assignments in Foreign Personnel.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Calcutta	..	50,800	50,800	50,800	50,800	50,800
Bombay	..	12,700	38,100	38,100	25,400	12,700
Rangoon	..	38,100	25,400	25,400	25,400	25,400
Total Rs.	..	1,01,600	1,14,300	1,14,300	1,01,600	88,900

The contributions made by these Associations to the Indian National Council, during the same period, will be of interest in this connection.

Contributions made to the National Council.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Calcutta	..	8,831	5,380	5,189	4,026	4,407
Bombay	..	5,913	3,865	2,970	2,227	2,272
Rangoon	..	2,000	2,375	2,000	2,000	2,000
Total Rs.	..	16,744	11,620	10,159	8,253	8,679

It will be seen that the Associations have not been able to make comparable returns to the National Council for the assistance they have received. Instead of building up their own resources and being able to make larger contributions to the national work they have actually had to decrease the amounts sent in by fifty per cent in five years.

The three main sources of support on which these Associations depend are public contributions predominantly from the

European community, membership dues, and earnings in the form of fees and rentals. The trends taking place in this matter may be studied in the following tables :—

Contributions Received.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Calcutta	..	35,620	33,357	33,210	25,799	23,221
Bombay	..	34,735	21,081	16,715	12,429	12,829
Rangoon	..	17,454	12,663	13,007	13,570	13,018

Membership Dues.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Calcutta	..	10,645	12,158	12,262	11,213	10,949
Bombay	..	10,156	9,914	8,573	7,589	7,180
Rangoon	..	10,904	10,184	9,773	9,393	9,510

Earnings.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Calcutta	..	1,20,975	1,12,025	1,26,538	1,36,049	1,67,692
Bombay	..	1,46,720	1,41,037	1,31,305	1,32,928	1,27,568
Rangoon	..	94,725	90,801	96,266	86,432	1,06,008

The contribution income, it will be seen, has rapidly decreased during the five year period, and especially so in Bombay ; in Rangoon, on the other hand, the amount has not varied significantly since 1925. With regard to membership dues the situation has been fairly stable, on the whole, but the tendency is towards decrease in Rangoon and especially in Bombay. In earnings there have been notable increases except in the case of Bombay. This Association, it will be seen, is fast losing ground financially on all three counts. Apart from the subsidies received in the form of personnel from abroad, these Associations are tending towards self-support. Calcutta claims to meet expenses with regular fees and dues to the extent of about 92 per cent ; Bombay about 90 per cent ; and Rangoon 85 per cent.

D. SUMMARY.

From the standpoint of investments, membership and employed leadership, the Y.M.C.A. movement of India is strongest in the great port cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon. These

cities are the products and nerve centres of foreign commerce and British rule ; they have consequently been the focal centres of the European population. They are, moreover, regarded by both Indians and Europeans as places in which to make a living rather than in which to establish homes. The result is a general predominance of the male population with the notable exception of the Anglo-Indian communities. Social distinctions are clearly drawn as between races and within each ethnic group ; there is in fact a definite tendency for class lines to become accentuated in the cities of India.

The Y.M.C.A. in these cities is rooted in the life of the European commercial community. Not to understand this fact is not to understand the present problems of these Associations. The movement was started by Englishmen and originally conducted almost entirely for English and Anglo-Indian young men. The Associations functioned at first as religious fellowships, with out paid leadership or elaborate equipment. The programme was distinctively religious. After 1900 large buildings were secured, trained personnel employed, the programme diversified, and a large associate membership developed. The better class Europeans came to lose interest in the Associations as fellowships, preferring their own exclusive clubs, and now regard the work primarily as a charity for lower class Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians. The central buildings in all three cities are dedicated to work with Europeans and the leading secretaries are British and North American. The most outstanding aspects of the programme are the community recreation work, the student hostels, and the institutes for Anglo-Indians. It is important to emphasize the fact that the European community, hitherto the main-stay of these Associations, has been markedly defecting in recent years. The European membership is not interested in the programme and aspiration of the Y.M.C.A., and the income from contributions has decreased sharply.

CHAPTER 3.

THE Y.M.C.A. IN COLOMBO, LAHORE AND MADRAS.

A. THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

There is but one good reason for grouping together three such diverse cities as Colombo, Lahore and Madras, but that reason has an important bearing on the structure of the local Y.M.C.A.'s. These cities have attained roughly the same degree of commercial and industrial development and are to be ranked, from this point of view, immediately below the leading cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon. The European community has consequently been smaller and less influential, in this second group, a circumstance which has resulted in a more advanced stage of Indianization in the Associations. It has also influenced the type of secretary called from abroad. While Associations with predominantly European boards and memberships have shown a marked preference for Canadian and British secretaries those in which the Indian element preponderates have usually found the American point of view more congenial.

In their historic development these cities have been very different but have tended to resemble each other increasingly under British rule. Colombo, with a population in 1921 of 244,000, is the main city of Ceylon, an island inhabited by more than four and a half million people. It is essentially the product of British occupation and its modern development is to be dated from the opening of the harbour in 1885.

The population of Ceylon still bears the traces of the many invasions, from peoples differing widely in race and religious affiliation, to which the island has been subjected in the past. The earliest conquerors were the Sinhalese from North India, in the sixth century B.C. About 300 years later, the island was converted to Buddhism and at the same time the first challenge to Sinhalese rule was presented by Tamil warriors. This inaugurated a state of almost continuous warfare between the two factions that lasted until the arrival, in 1505, of the Roman Catholic Portuguese. By 1656 more than 900 Portuguese families of noble birth are said to have been living in Colombo; the large number of Roman Catholics in the present population may be traced to this source. In 1602 the first Dutch ship arrived; after a conflict lasting fifty years, these new Protestant invaders gained

supremacy over all previous ones and formally took possession of Colombo. The Dutch were primarily concerned with developing trade and, in contrast with the Portuguese, adopted a policy of conciliation with the native inhabitants. Their practice of recognized inter-marriage has given to the resulting, so-called "Burgher", population a social standing not generally accorded Eurasians anywhere. In 1796, the island changed hands for the last time when the Dutch ports were ceded to the British; six years later Ceylon was declared a "crown colony," the original policy of administering it from India having proved unsuccessful. Under the new order the interior of the island was opened up to commerce by the construction of roads and the development of coffee, tea and rubber plantations.

Lahore occupies in the north a commanding position similar to that of Colombo in the south. It lies in the centre of the Punjab, which bore the brunt of the great Mahommedan thrust into India. Its recorded history goes back thirteen centuries, during which time it has repeatedly changed hands in the struggle for supremacy between Hindu and Mahommedan, Sikh and Christian. To this day the city is the headquarters for many religious movements within Hinduism and Islam.

Since the British occupation, in 1855, Lahore has shared the fate of the entire Punjab, which is described as follows in the 1921 census: "The years 1855-1860 represent a period of resilient recovery from oppression expressed by an unusual rate of increase in the population. During 1860-1881 this rate of increase declined, at first under normal conditions but in the later years accelerated by poverty and disease. The decade 1881-1891 was one of good crops and relative prosperity, subsequently checked, however, by pressure on available resources. In 1896 the Punjab was visited for the first time by the plague. After 1911, disastrous harvests and the unparalleled loss of life in the influenza epidemic of 1918 renewed, in modern times, the region's age-long struggle against poverty and pestilence. In 1921, the population of Lahore was 281,781."

Madras, with a population in 1921 of 526,911, is the port city of Southern India. It grew up as a result of the British occupation, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and has been called the birth-place of British India. An enthusiastic writer has expressed this idea as follows:—

"Possibly some day a gifted sculptor will typify the birth of the British Indian Empire in some such way as this: in

the centre a globe ; to the west of it, Queen Elizabeth signing the charter incorporating the Honourable East India Company ; on the opposite side, the Maharajah of Vizianagram sanctioning the gold-plated *kaul* conveying Madras to the merchants. At the feet of the two sovereigns the sculptor might well place an English trader of the seventeenth century, yard measure in hand, and an Indian weaver delivering the stipulated length of stamped calico."

The concessions made to the East India Company by the Rajah of Chingleput included the stipulation that it was to be custom free at the port of Madras and that only half the usual custom was to be paid on goods transported through his territory. Under these advantageous conditions, the Madras trade rapidly attained significant proportions.

After this diversity in historic development, the three cities here studied present certain similarities in general structure that are of interest. In the first place, the relatively low stage of Industrialization is probably responsible for the fact that they are one-centre cities. They have not as yet taken on that diversity characteristic of the more active cities, in which one section is developed for educational purposes, another for business, industry, residence, and so on. Nor are class lines drawn with the same rigidity as yet. However, in both Madras and Lahore the beginnings of diversification have manifested themselves in the projected plans to move the educational institutions to the suburbs.

Mention has already been made of the smaller European communities in these cities, as compared with those studied in the preceding chapter. If grouped, however, according to the relative size of the *Christian* community, the six cities would be ranked as follows :—

Relative Size of Christian Communities (1921).

Colombo	..	65,462	or	268	per	1,000	inhabitants.
Madras	..	44,161	„	84	„	„	„
Rangoon	..	25,309	„	74	„	„	„
Bombay	..	68,170	„	58	„	„	„
Lahore	..	11,287	„	40	„	„	„
Calcutta	..	41,226	„	31	„	„	„

The strength of Christianity in South India is at once revealed by the above table ; it will be remembered, moreover, that there is a heavy migration from this part of the continent to Rangoon.

Accordingly in comparing the work of the several associations, throughout this report, it should be borne in mind that those of the south have a distinct advantage over the others in this respect. With the exception of Calcutta, these cities follow the same order when ranked according to the degree of literacy in English attained by the total population, as will be seen below :—

Relative Number of Literates in English (1921).

Colombo	..	37,927	or	155	per	1,000	inhabitants.
Calcutta	..	175,275	,,	132	,,	,,	,,
Madras	..	65,079	,,	124	,,	,,	,,
Rangoon	..	40,551	,,	119	,,	,,	,,
Bombay	..	110,540	,,	94	,,	,,	,,
Lahore	..	25,717	,,	91	,,	,,	,,

By way of summary, it can be said that Colombo, Madras and Lahore are alike in the degree of industrialization attained, in their structure as one-centre cities, and in the size of the European communities. The two former, however, reflect the wider distribution of Christianity in South India and exhibit a larger group of literates in English than is the case in Lahore. The materials out of which to build an Association are accordingly more at hand in Colombo and Madras.

B. HISTORY OF THE LOCAL Y.M.C.A.'s.

The early history of all three of the Y.M.C.A.'s here under consideration is closely connected with the missionary community. It was in response to the request of a missionary conference in Madras, in 1888, that the first North American secretary was sent to India, and it was in Madras that he made his headquarters. Many missionaries joined the first Y.M.C.A. in Colombo, organized in 1882, and played a conspicuous part in its early development. The Lahore Y.M.C.A. came into being as the result of a revival meeting conducted by the Rev. Summerville; from the very start Forman College played an important part in its development.

While the Y.M.C.A. of Lahore originally had a European membership, which, however, rapidly became predominantly Indian after 1894, the Associations of Colombo and Madras apparently always have had a prevailingly indigenous constituency. Early membership analyses are available for the two latter Associations and will illustrate this point.

Membership of the Madras Y.M.C.A. Analysed by Race (1893).

Indian	..	..	..	141
Eurasian	..	..	..	81
British	..	..	..	19
American	..	..	..	4
Armenian	..	..	..	2
Portuguese	..	..	..	1
				<hr/> 248 <hr/>

Membership of the Colombo Y.M.C.A. Analysed by Race (1901).

Sinhalese	..	..	..	104
Tamil	..	..	..	40
Malay	..	..	..	3
Parsee	..	..	..	1
Burgher	..	..	..	91
European	..	..	..	44
Australian	..	..	..	3
American	..	..	..	1
Moor	..	..	..	1
				<hr/> 288 <hr/>

That there was at first a tendency at Lahore to follow the Association pattern evolving in Calcutta and Bombay, is further indicated by the fact that for the first twenty years the affairs of the organization were managed by British volunteer secretaries, and subsequently until 1912 by employed secretaries from Scotland. At Madras and Colombo there were employed secretaries almost from the beginning and they have been very largely from the United States. On the other hand, while the chief employed officer in these two latter Associations is till a foreigner, the general secretary at Lahore, between 1925 and 1930, was an Indian.

C. PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE LOCAL Y.M.C.A.'s.

The boards of directors in charge of these three Associations are cosmopolitan in personnel, as may be seen in the following table :—

Boards of Directors Analysed by Race (1928).

	Colombo.	Madras.	Lahore.
Indians ..	23	10	9
Anglo-Indians ..	6	1	—
Burghers ..	7	—	—
Britishers ..	—	8	5
Americans ..	1	—	2

The total membership, in 1929, at Colombo was 1,404 ; at Madras 1,207 ; and at Lahore 544. The cosmopolitan character of the Associations is interestingly reflected in the membership distribution according to religious affiliation.

Membership Analysis according to Religion (1929).

	Colombo.	Madras.	Lahore.
Christians ..	950	210	110
Hindus ..	163	500	291
Mahommedans ..	55	49	92
Buddhists ..	145	—	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,313	759	493
No Data ..	91	448	51

The bulk of the membership (over 70 per cent in each case) was found to be between twenty and forty years of age, with the emphasis on the late twenties and early thirties. The occupational distribution was as follows :—

Membership Analysis by Occupations (1929).

	Colombo.	Madras.	Lahore.
Clerks ..	678	115	80
Business Men ..	228	179	62
Professionals ..	225	164	45
Students ..	38	223	84
Govt. Officials ..	28	—	46
All Others ..	9	—	50
Unemployed ..	1	31	164
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,207	712	531
No Data ..	199	495	13

The "four-fold" programme is probably receiving nowhere more thorough recognition than in the three Associations here

studied. Colombo, with its modern building, conducts an active gymnasium work and is carrying on a very creditable enterprise in adult education, especially with regard to training for citizenship. The Government of Ceylon has given official recognition to this last project. Lahore, in addition to its vocational courses, conducts a well-rounded educational programme on religious and cultural subjects. Madras has made a speciality of lecture courses on a wide range of topics. It likewise operates an outdoor gymnasium and actively co-operates in religious services that are broad and vital in outreach. However, careful observation indicates that a new interest is emerging in these Associations, especially at Madras, which is coming to represent the main driving force in the work. The educational and athletic programmes are being made increasingly to serve a wider social goal than hitherto and by affording different racial and social groups an experience of associated living are being used productively in the interests of Christian brotherhood. The individual is being integrated into a new corporate life. The general secretary at Madras has exhibited the skill and insight of an artist in his ability to manipulate Association machinery towards this end.

The funds with which the work is financed are derived principally from public contributions, membership dues, and fees and rentals for services. The trends may be studied in the following tables :—

Contributions Received.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Colombo	..	8,588	8,446	8,993	12,403	16,762
Madras	..	9,872	11,633	12,229	7,536	6,720
Lahore	..	7,308	5,464	8,957	7,627	8,275

Membership Dues.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Colombo	..	8,137	10,357	15,989	17,898	14,192
Madras	..	1,975	2,533	3,570	3,934	4,204
Lahore	..	821	1,067	1,066	2,477	2,346

Earnings.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Colombo	..	65,086	110,846	139,027	142,390	163,448
Madras	..	18,820	17,275	21,965	22,902	23,333
Lahore	..	7,465	7,131	8,638	8,518	9,288

It will be seen that these Associations have been able to maintain better financial condition, during the five year period, than was true in Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon. All three have been gaining ground, but especially Colombo with its modern building. Lahore derived an additional income from shop rentals that increased from Rs. 2,520 in 1924 to Rs. 7,453 in 1928. The falling off since 1926 in the contribution income of the Madras Y.M.C.A. is to be attributed to the absence on furlough of the general secretary. The contribution income of all three Associations is derived from indigenous sources to a considerably larger extent than is true in the leading cities, and the number of donors of this type, especially at Colombo, is on the increase.

D. SUMMARY.

The fact that the cities of Colombo, Madras and Lahore are less advanced industrially than the great cities of the Indian Empire, has meant that they have possessed smaller European communities, which in turn has entailed a more cosmopolitan constituency for the Associations there. The local Y.M.C.A.'s have attained a relatively high degree of Indianization with respect to lay leadership, membership and financial support. These Associations are in good condition, both from the economic and from the functional point of view. There is an interesting trend, especially at Madras, in the direction of using the resources of the Association creatively to the end of significant corporate living.

CHAPTER 4.

THE Y.M.C.A. IN THE MOFUSSIL TOWNS.

A. THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

The so-called "Mofussil" towns of Hyderabad, Bangalore, Madura, Trivandrum and Coimbatore were of importance before the coming of the British, when the Indian States were at the height of their power, and before trade was deflected to the great port cities. They are all situated in the south of India and, with the exception of Trivandrum, in the interior of the country. During the decade 1911-1921, the population either decreased or increased only slightly in Hyderabad, Trivandrum and Coimbatore, as well as in other towns of this type. The greater increases in Bangalore and Madura can be explained by special circumstances. The 1921 census report affirms: "There is no tendency in the south of India towards the growth of genuine town life."

Hyderabad was once the seat of the viceroys of the Moghul empire; it is now the capital city of the native state of the same name, a territory with a population of 12,435,627 (1921). In addition to being the headquarters for all the state departments, Hyderabad is important as an educational centre. There are two colleges of liberal arts, nine high schools, a law school and a medical school; about 5,000 students attend these institutions. Situated off the chief lines of transportation, the city is isolated from the main streams of commerce and industry.

Bangalore is the capital of the native state of Mysore, one of the most progressive in India. Like Hyderabad, it is the seat of the government and an important educational centre. Since the Maharaja lives in the city of Mysore, however, Bangalore loses some of its prestige and importance as the capital of the State. The town is built in two sections, the city proper and the cantonment. In the latter are stationed a number of European troops, and the twenty-five per cent increase in the population, during 1911-1921, is largely accounted for by the soldiers sent there after the war. The government is trying to develop the few local industries; there is some manufacture of cotton, woollen and silk fabrics, and also some weaving of gold and silver lace.

Madura was once the capital of the ancient kingdom of Pandya, and is now the second city in the Madras Presidency.

It is the administrative and judicial centre of the government for two districts. Two colleges and six high schools are among its educational institutions. Situated in the heart of the cotton growing area, Madura is unlike most other mofussil towns in that it has a thriving spinning and weaving industry. The Madura Mills & Co. is a concern employing about 5,000 people, and there are in addition some 1,800 active handlooms in the place. Additional handicrafts are represented by wood-carving, dyeing, and the making of gold and silver threads. Madura is furthermore the site of some of the oldest organized Christian enterprise. The Jesuits were the pioneers in the seventeenth century; the most important among the subsequent Protestant undertakings has been the work of the American Mission.

Coimbatore is likewise an important town in the Madras Presidency, being one of the political centres in the southern part. Like Madura, it is situated in the cotton area and 3,750 people are employed in its three spinning and weaving mills. There is a small coffee business, in addition. While there are only a few educational institutions, students come from all over the presidency to its agricultural college. About 1,500 boys attend the high schools. Coimbatore has long been a centre of missionary activity, and four organizations are at work there now; these are the Roman Catholic Church, the London Missionary Society, the Church of England and the Lutheran Church.

Trivandrum is the capital of the native state of Travancore at the very tip of the continent. It is the residence of the Maharaja as well as the seat of the administration. Its four colleges and numerous high schools attest to its importance as an educational centre and are attended by some 5,000 students. The town is considered to be the special field of the London Missionary Society, but there are likewise Anglican and Syrian congregations there.

The social structure of life in these towns is not advantageous to Association development. While the six cities first studied have considerable industrial population, these towns can claim practically none. Madura, the most important in this respect, has 6,000 or 7,000 workers at the most in its local industries. As a result the European population is also very small. The relatively large proportion of Europeans at Hyderabad and Bangalore consists largely of soldiers stationed in the cantonments. There are not more than a dozen or so Europeans in the other towns. In regard to the Christian community, comparison with the other cities studied so far indicates that, while many of

the mofussil towns rank high proportionately, the actual numbers concerned are so small as to put them at quite a disadvantage. This may be verified in the following table :—

Relative Size of Christian Communities (1921).

Colombo	..	65,462	or	268	per	1,000	inhabitants.
Trivandrum	..	9,525	„	131	„	„	„
Madura	..	7,332	„	99	„	„	„
Madras	..	44,161	„	84	„	„	„
Coimbatore	..	6,392	„	82	„	„	„
Rangoon	..	25,309	„	74	„	„	„
Bombay	..	68,170	„	58	„	„	„
Bangalore (City)	..	4,945	„	42	„	„	„
Lahore	..	11,287	„	40	„	„	„
Hyderabad	..	13,717	„	34	„	„	„
Calcutta	..	41,226	„	31	„	„	„

Bombay and Hyderabad appear to be exceptions to the general rule, established for the Y.M.C.A.'s of India, that a correlation exists between the strength of the Christian community and the strength of a local Association. While the Christian population of Bombay is substantial, the Y.M.C.A. there is a steadily losing ground ; in Hyderabad there are actually more Christians than in Lahore, but the local Association is not half as strong. This indicates, of course, that while the Christian community has an important influence on the growth of an Association, it is not the only factor in the situation.

Since the work of the Y.M.C.A. is confined to the English-speaking element of the population, the mofussil towns are again at a disadvantage as will be seen below. Full figures for Coimbatore and Trivandrum were unfortunately not available ; as regards the male population, however, there were respectively 2,400 and 6,249 literates in English in these towns in 1921.

Relative Number of Literates in English (1921).

Colombo	..	37,927	or	155	per	1,000	inhabitants.
Calcutta	..	175,275	„	132	„	„	„
Madras	..	65,079	„	124	„	„	„
Rangoon	..	40,551	„	119	„	„	„
Bangalore (City)	..	13,167	„	111	„	„	„
Bombay	..	110,540	„	94	„	„	„
Lahore	..	25,717	„	91	„	„	„
Madura	..	8,946	„	64	„	„	„
Hyderabad	..	22,451	„	56	„	„	„

The English-speaking communities of Hyderabad and Bangalore are relatively large for mofussil towns, and may be attributed to the influence of the military cantonments established there.

By way of summary it can be said that the mofussil towns of South India are not in the main stream of the commercial and industrial life of the modern empire. As a result, the local Associations are rather at a disadvantage in that they have not large communities of Christians, literates in English, or wealthy Europeans to draw on for the general maintenance and support of their work. On the other hand, the importance of these towns as educational centres represents a real opportunity for work among young men.

B. THE LOCAL Y.M.C.A.'S.

As was found to be the case with the Associations studied in the preceding chapters, these Y.M.C.A.'s owe their origin largely to missionary influence. The Association at Trivandrum was started in 1873, by a Miss Mary Bourne, a member of the Church of England Zenana Mission and supported by the London Missionary Society. The Madura Association had its beginning in 1886 at Pasumalai College, a mission enterprise. The work in Hyderabad was started by a man who had seen the Bombay Association in action. While there is no record of the origin of the Bangalore and Coimbatore Associations, the strong probability is that they were started by missionary effort also.

While there was, in the very beginning, a European and Anglo-Indian membership at Bangalore and Hyderabad, all five of these Associations have, throughout most of their history, attracted a preponderantly Indian constituency. In the course of time, the same increase of the associate over the active membership took place that was recorded in the larger Associations. This will be clear from the following table:—

Trends in Membership.

Hyderabad—	1891	1901	1907	1919	1929
Active ..	106	75	64	19	141
Associate ..	6	2	6	64	344
Total ..	112	77	70	83	485
Bangalore—					
Active ..	38	30	75	101	357
Associate ..	—	15	118	343	83
Total ..	38	45	193	444	440

Trivandrum—		1891	1901	1907	1919	1929
Active	..	14	33	32	80	129
Associate	..	9	22	38	128	212
Total	..	23	55	70	208	341
Coimbatore—						
Active	..	—	—	30	47	89
Associate	..	—	—	22	50	226
Total	..	—	—	52	97	315
Madura—						
Active	..	40	25	28	14	—
Associate	..	3	—	—	21	—
Total	..	43	25	28	35	—

(NOTE.—The figures for 1929 really distinguish between “Christian” and “non-Christian” members, but may be taken to represent the difference between “active” and “associate”. Unfortunately the records for Coimbatore and Madura were incomplete.)

Before 1900, all of these Associations were managed by volunteer leadership. In the new century, the shift to employed officers took place, as was true of the whole Association movement, but very few foreign secretaries came to these mofussil towns. In 1929 there was one such secretary at Hyderabad and, ten years earlier, there was one each in this city and at Bangalore. Otherwise, the employed staffs of these Y.M.C.A.’s have been Indian during the last decade. The total staff, in 1929, numbered three at Hyderabad, two each at Bangalore and Trivandrum, and one each at Madura and Coimbatore.

The lay leadership in these Associations is apparently made up of Europeans and Indians in equal numbers, but nearly all of the former are at Bangalore, and more especially Hyderabad, where the military cantonments are located. The details, so far as they are available, appear in the following table :—

Boards of Directors Analysed by Race (1928).

			Indian Members.	European Members.
Hyderabad	..	..	8	27
Bangalore	..	..	7	7
Trivandrum	..	..	14	3
Coimbatore	..	..	11	3

The distinctive contribution of these Y.M.C.A.'s from the point of view of programme, is that they function as community centres for social life. The general secretary at Coimbatore has had training in physical education and so is able to enrich the local programme by introducing sports and games for both the membership and the community.

The fundamental problem of the mofussil Associations is financial. Between 1912 and 1928, they all acquired buildings of their own largely through contributions from abroad. These buildings were modelled after the larger structures in the cities without proper account having been taken of the fact that there was no comparable industrial and wealthy European community on which to fall back for financial assistance. As a result, most of these Associations are in difficulty over the expenses of maintenance. They are likewise embarrassed by the charges involved in employing professional secretaries. The National Council has sought to remedy the situation by making annual appropriations to the work of the mofussil Associations. The trends within the main sources of income for these Y.M.C.A.'s during the period 1924-1928, may be studied in the following tables :—

Contributions Received.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Hyderabad	..	4,647	5,117	6,604	4,039	5,158
Bangalore	..	2,298	1,819	2,698	2,401	2,254
Trivandrum	..	915	482	717	1,071	349
Coimbatore	..	695	277	350	533	456
Madura	..	372	30	977	1,062	1,130

Membership Dues.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Hyderabad	..	1,320	1,180	1,249	1,295	1,361
Bangalore	..	987	1,358	1,169	1,362	1,568
Trivandrum	..	749	671	419	610	668
Coimbatore	..	725	650	670	645	648
Madura	..	800	727	829	1,176	1,006

Earnings.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Hyderabad	..	6,785	11,970	54,431	82,635	1,23,884
Bangalore	..	16,842	17,992	15,204	13,046	17,312
Trivandrum	..	732	1,259	1,624	538	1,659
Coimbatore	..	3,118	3,285	3,069	3,075	4,025
Madura	..	87	342	1,194	2,455	2,499

National Council Grants.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Hyderabad	.. ..	2,368	2,500	1,770	1,300	
Bangalore	..	4,266	3,422	4,600	2,500	3,600
Trivandrum	..	1,260	945	1,260	1,200	1,151
Coimbatore	..	667	672	672	550	412
Madura	..	2,400	2,340	2,440	2,060	1,960

While the trends are spasmodic and uneven, it will be seen that the earnings are nevertheless distinctly on the increase, and that the contributions and dues are in general holding their own, albeit with difficulty. The grants from the National Council have been on a diminishing scale. Although no cash subsidies have been granted, during this period, to the six large Associations, the National Council has helped them with foreign personnel, which means a very much larger financial contribution than anything given to the mofussil Associations. This may be seen in the next table, in which the foreign personnel have been expressed in terms of rupees, at the rate of Rs. 12,700 a year each.

Total Grants from the National Council.
(in rupees)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Cash to Mofussil	..	8,593	9,747	11,532	8,080	8,423
Personnel to Mofussil	.	12,700	12,700	12,700	12,700	12,700
		21,293	22,447	24,232	20,780	21,123
Personnel to 2nd Group Cities	..	1,27,000	1,14,300	88,900	76,200	76,200
Personnel to 1st Group Cities	..	1,01,600	1,14,300	1,14,300	1,01,600	88,900

C. SUMMARY.

The mofussil towns were of greater importance under pre-British India than is now the case. They are now centres for the local administration and for education, but do not participate to any great extent in the modern commercial life of the empire. Wealthy Europeans therefore are not attracted to these towns and there are relatively small communities of literates in English. This is not quite so true of Bangalore and Hyderabad, where large numbers of European troops are stationed.

While there is a real field for the Y.M.C.A. in these towns, especially among students, the local Associations are handicapped financially in carrying on their work. This is primarily due to the fact that they all own buildings that presuppose a wealthier supporting constituency than can be developed. The present programme is valued particularly for its social aspect; the Associations are functioning in these towns as informal community centres.

CHAPTER 5.

THE Y.M.C.A. IN TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN.

A. THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND.

Travancore and Cochin are the two largest of the Madras States, and are situated at the south-western tip of India. They occupy a combined area of 9,104 square miles, somewhat isolated from the rest of the continent by high mountains, on the east, and by the ocean, on the west. The combined population, in 1921, was 4,985,142 and the bulk of it (over 80 per cent) was in the larger state of Travancore. That this is one of the most densely populated areas of India is indicated by the fact that Travancore ranks seventeenth in point of area, among Indian states and agencies, and only third in point of population.

The inhabitants of this area are predominantly rural. The 1921 census classified 90 per cent of the population of Travancore and 87 per cent of that of Cochin as in this category. There were 3,956 villages (*karas*)* in Travancore and 38 towns. The population of these states has certain common features that differentiate it somewhat from the rest of India.

In the first place, Travancore and Cochin are the site of the oldest Christian enterprise in the empire. Indeed, there are more Christians proportionately (in 1921 as many as 1,429,071 or 29 per cent of the total population) in these states than anywhere else in India or, in fact, Asia. They are numerically stronger than the caste Hindus. More than half (53.6 per cent) belong to the Syrian Church, just under a third (30.4 per cent) are Roman Catholics, and the rest (16 per cent) are distributed among the various sects of Protestantism. These Christians are, on the whole, a very conservative group; their religious life expresses itself more often in devout personal experience than in service to others.

From the point of view of literacy, these states rank very high. Within the Indian empire, Travancore is second only to Burma in this respect. If 15 per cent of the total may be taken approximately to represent the population of school age, then

*A *kara* is a former land division representing an area of 1.93 square miles and a population of 924; the present sub-division is called a *pakuthi* and represents an area of 17.5 square miles and a population of 69,188.

71 per cent of this group actually are at school in Travancore. In the total Madras States (only slightly larger than Travancore and Cochin combined) the degree of literacy is 212 per 1,000 inhabitants, and even higher (294 per 1,000) within the Christian community. Literacy in English, on the other hand, is not very widespread, being only 14 per 1,000 inhabitants in the total population, and 21 per 1,000 among Christians. The state devotes one-fifth of the gross revenue to promoting education.

Women enjoy a much better social position in Travancore than anywhere else in India. This state ranks first in the empire with respect to female literacy. The circumstance that inheritance has been traced through the female line, for the past several hundred years, has given to the women of this area a real economic importance, and so has served to make them self-reliant and independent.

Throughout Travancore and Cochin, the so-called "communal" problem—one of the most acute with which rural India is faced—is in evidence. The several villages are welded into self-contained and exclusive groups by communal loyalty. It is difficult to raise the spirit of the people to the concept of a wider fellowship. This feeling exists not only between communities of different religions, but also between those belonging to different sects of the same religion. It is particularly strong between groups of Christians. The rivalry between communities is intensified by economic pressure. From the point of view of agriculture, the area is already over-populated. In addition, while the many schools and colleges have produced a number of educated men of average ability, these individuals are extremely reluctant to leave the country and seek a living elsewhere. Consequently, there is great competition among them for state appointments and other posts. Public office is determined to a large degree by communal favouritism and petty politics, a circumstance that has made the situation in Travancore and Cochin particularly annoying.

The question of land tenure in Travancore is unusually complicated. For the purposes of this report, however, it will suffice to say that, broadly speaking, holdings are of two kinds: those owned by the state and leased to the peasant cultivators (the *ryots*), and those owned by the high caste Nambudiri Brahmins and cultivated by their tenants. Disputes over payments and constant litigation have been marked features of relationships, in the latter case. An additional twist is given to the situation in recent times, because of the circumstance that Christians who

have acquired means through commerce and industry are now buying the ancient proprietary rights from the Brahmins.

The peasants are, as everywhere in India, exceedingly anxious to gain access to the land, although capital invested in proprietary rights does not yield an interest of more than three per cent. Few people, however, own sufficient ready money to make such a purchase. This means that recourse is had to the money-lender, a recognized "institution" of rural India. The phenomenal increase in the number of banks all over Travancore is likewise indicative of this state of affairs. An authority on Indian rural life estimates that three-quarters of the population are in debt. (Slater: "Some South Indian Villages.") The fact that the already dense population is still rapidly increasing, in this area, means that the land is being constantly sub-divided and is suffering deterioration. Agriculture is being rendered profitless. The census report of 1921 estimated that even

"With favourable monsoon and land breezes, the state cannot produce sufficient paddy to maintain the population for seven months in the year."

To sum up briefly, the population of Travancore and Cochin may be thought of as unusual in the Indian empire on account of the high degree of literacy attained, especially by the women, and on account of the strength of the Christian community. The inhabitants live for the most part in small villages and country towns. Between such groups communal rivalry is very intense on account of both religious differences and economic competition. The area is too densely populated for the proper support of its inhabitants.

B. THE HISTORY OF THE Y.M.C.A. MOVEMENT.

The communal conflicts and the litigations over land tenure, prevalent in Travancore and Cochin, led devout Christians to withdraw from the field and to give themselves up to the cultivation of their spiritual life. Prayer unions were consequently organized and evangelistic activities promoted. In this atmosphere the Y.M.C.A. came into being, in about 1870. The first Association to be organized was that of Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, in 1873; the history and structure of this organization were treated in the preceding chapter.

The history of the Y.M.C.A. in Travancore and Cochin may be divided into four periods. During the years 1870-1889, a few isolated Associations were founded through individual effort.

During the next decade, the several Associations came into relationship one with another, especially through the efforts of Mr. McConaughy who visited Travancore in 1892. The number of Associations increased from six to thirteen, during this time. Between 1898 and 1913, the work in Travancore and Cochin was placed under the guidance of a district union, and assigned to the care of a travelling secretary, appointed on full time. The arrangement was not very successful, however, although many Associations came into being at this time. In 1913, out of a total of 160 local Y.M.C.A.'s in all India, 83 or more than half were in Travancore.

The modern period may be said to have begun with the appointment of an Indian to the national general secretaryship and the arrival of a foreign secretary in Travancore, Mr. L. A. Dixon. The latter's work was interrupted during the war, when he was called to service in Mesopotamia. It was after the war that Mr. K. T. Paul, the National General Secretary, conceived the idea of a project in rural reconstruction, which had a direct bearing on the Associations of Travancore. In 1924, a demonstration centre was organized and a rural programme developed by Dr. Hatch with the co-operation of Mr. Manuel and Mr. Jesudas. This centre is part of the general project in rural reconstruction promoted by the National Council, and is described in detail in a separate report of this survey.

The importance of the work in this area from the point of view of developing an indigenous movement, was early recognized by a secretary of the district union, previously described, a Mr. G. Alexander. Sections of his report for 1909 are worth quoting at this point.

"Travancore and Cochin are the most Christian countries in all India....If the Y.M.C.A. movement had been developed in Travancore and Cochin with anything like the care and solicitude bestowed on it in other parts of India, one cannot help thinking that it would have created a great missionary zeal and have become the means of sending forth the Christian young men, in these countries, with God's message of Salvation to other parts of India....In Travancore and Cochin, owing to the large number of Christians to be found everywhere, there is no difficulty in forming Y.M.C.A.'s by scores, but these Associations have to be carefully watched, repeatedly visited and sympathetically nurtured in their early years, otherwise they will soon lose all vitality and become extinct.

"It is a well-known fact that a large proportion of the Christians in Travancore and Cochin are Syrians of the Jacobite persuasion, and to them the present definition of 'voting' membership is unacceptable. It is therefore very much to be desired that what is known as the Paris Basis should be adopted for India and Ceylon, or at least for Travancore and Cochin.* With this change in the test for membership, with the appointment of a general secretary for all Travancore and Cochin, and with the erection of large buildings in important and strategic centres, there is a glorious future for the Y.M.C.A. movement in these states, and through it to the glorious cause of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and not only in these our countries but in all India...."

C. PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE LOCAL Y.M.C.A.'s.

In addition to the Y.M.C.A. of Trivandrum, already described, there are Associations in the towns of Alleppey, Kottayam, Kunnankulam and Quilon. The bulk of the movement in this area, however, consists of the little village Associations; there are about one hundred of these, exclusive of those related to the demonstration centre at Marthandam. The control and leadership of the movement is almost entirely in the hands of Indians, and largely on a volunteer basis. While the National Council subsidizes two foreign and six Indian employed secretaries for this area, largely in connection with the demonstration centre, and while there are in addition three Indian employed officers locally maintained, most of the work is in the hands of some 1,900 Indian volunteers, acting as secretaries or on boards and committees.

On the financial side, the National Council is making heavy contributions to the work in Travancore and Cochin. This is chiefly in connection with the demonstration centre at Marthandam, that receives some Rs. 7,000 out of the total of Rs. 9,000 which is annually contributed. Only about Rs. 1,000 of this amount is raised in Travancore itself, mainly from European planters. It has not been possible to raise more locally for several reasons. In the first place, the Christian community in this area, as indeed everywhere in India, is in relatively humble circumstances. Moreover, each denomination makes heavy demands on its members for its own work. Non-Christian sentiment, which in other parts of India liberally supports the work of the Y.M.C.A., has not been enlisted in Travancore and Cochin owing to the evangelistic emphasis and limited appeal of the programme.

*The Y.M.C.A.'s of India, Burma and Ceylon, in convention assembled, adopted the Paris Basis in 1920.

It will be interesting to discuss general conditions in the town and village Associations separately. In the four towns of Alleppey, Kottayam, Kunnankulam and Quilon, the local Associations are now housed in substantial buildings of their own. These have, in each case, been made possible by grants from the National Council. For many years the local secretary at Alleppey was likewise subsidized by the National Council, but is now supported locally. This has meant an increase in local sense of responsibility and has had beneficial effects on the work. During the past two years the hostel has been full to capacity, and a continuous programme of diversified activities has been maintained. The affairs of the Kunnankulam Association became so involved, in 1926, that the management was taken over by the National Council. Two years later, conditions had improved to such an extent that the work was entrusted to a new board of directors. At about the same time, the National Council was obliged to discontinue the annual subsidy, and with it the services of the employed officer, whose place was taken by a volunteer. The record of the Kottayam Association has been one of steady, unpretentious, but effective service, under the direction of Mr. M. C. Samuel. This gentleman was subsidized by the National Council until 1929, when his place was taken by a secretary whose support was met locally. The boys' hostel and the programme of games, religious and educational activities have shown a steady increase in patronage. In general, the trend in these town Associations appears to be in the direction of greater local responsibility for the work.

The village Associations are run entirely by volunteers and, except in a few cases, without any buildings of their own. Meetings are held in churches, schools, or private houses. The typical programme is predominantly religious, with devotional and study periods, but also includes games, talks on various subjects, night classes, and social service. While all of these Y.M.C.A.'s define their aim in terms of meeting the "needs of young men and boys, spiritual, physical, intellectual, social and economic," the actual plans for meeting these needs vary all the way from a weekly prayer meeting to more elaborate and pretentious programmes than can be considered feasible for these organizations. Yet, small as the average village Associations are, their vitality is not to be denied nor their importance in the aggregate minimized. Much might be accomplished through them if the right leadership could be found to co-ordinate their efforts. An illustration of what can be done is afforded by the work of the demonstration centre at Marthandam.

The work of the rural reconstruction project is confined to an area roughly within a five mile radius of Marthandam. This is not a hard-and-fast boundary, of course, and a few of the village Y.M.C.A.'s related to the project are as many as fifteen miles away from the centre. The section is situated in south Travancore and is one of the poorest in the country. This is due both to the hilly, unfertile soil and to the dense population. The village Associations in this area carry on much the same programme as that of the other village Associations, but, in addition serve as distributing agents for the information given out at the centre. They are the means whereby the principles of the programme in rural economics may be spread and made available to large numbers of people. It was most fortunate that these Associations preceded the organization of the centre, for they have given the work a distinct advantage over similar enterprises of the government that suffer from inadequate publicity. The Association members and secretaries are experienced and also imbued with the spirit of service, so that they become the most effective kind of demonstrators. They spread knowledge both by example and by active propaganda. It is largely through the Y.M.C.A. village organization that, during the last few years, improved varieties of poultry have been distributed through the area, with the result that these poor country people can now ship eggs twice a week to their co-operative society at the centre. Other cottage industries that have benefitted by the work are bee-keeping, weaving, gardening, and cattle raising. Information has also been spread on rural sanitation, temperance, physical education, and similar topics of general interest. The village Associations in this area, often referred to as the "rural" Associations, enjoy membership in the circulating library maintained at the demonstration centre. Each is allowed ten books a month, and is supplied with a tin receptacle for its own use.

The possibility of work through the village Associations of Travancore and Cochin, similar to that done in the interests of rural reconstruction, is very great and only awaits adequate vision and leadership. Nothing is being done at present by the local Y.M.C.A. movement in behalf of the 300,000 outcastes living right in their midst. The Christian fellowship itself could only be enriched and deepened by being set to work productively in behalf of these depressed classes. Similar lines of organization, largely dependent on volunteer leadership, as obtain at Marthandam, could be relied on to co-ordinate the efforts of the local Associations. The problem of intercommunal reconciliation is

another very urgent matter, in this area, and one of peculiar interest to the Y.M.C.A. The marked vitality of these little village Associations indicates their importance to the whole movement in India, from the point of view of making the ideals of the Y.M.C.A. known and real to the indigenous population.

D. SUMMARY.

The Y.M.C.A. movement in Travancore and Cochin is established in the capital, Trivandrum, and in four additional towns, but is particularly identified with the numerous little village Associations scattered throughout the country. The wide spread of literacy and of Christianity render these states exceptionally propitious for Association enterprise under indigenous leadership. Equally great opportunities for real service are offered by the depressed economic condition of most of the people, crowded as they are into an over-populated area that cannot adequately support them. Significant beginnings have been made, both towards meeting these opportunities and in demonstrating the possibilities of co-ordinated effort among these Associations, by the work of the Marthandam demonstration centre of the National Council's project in rural reconstruction. There are similar opportunities for ministering to the depressed classes, for deepening the life of the Christian community by altruistic service, and for striking at the acute communal problems of these states that might be explored by similar co-operative effort. The Y.M.C.A.'s of Travancore and Cochin are impressive demonstrations of the ability of Indian leadership to carry on programmes of interest to Indians.

PART II

**THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION AS A
FUNCTIONING AGENCY**

CHAPTER 6.

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION.

A. INTRODUCTION.

The growth of the Young Men's Christian Associations of India, Burma and Ceylon, in terms of membership, property and personnel, has been attended by an increasing complexity of organization and an intensifying of the problems of administration. The extent of this growth has been discussed in other chapters of this report, but for the purpose of visualizing the attendant difficulties in the field of control, a short recapitulation will be in order. The summary table, given at the end of Chapter 1 and compiled from the National Convention Reports, is herewith repeated in somewhat amplified form.

Development of the Y.M.C.A. between 1890 and 1925.

	1890	1901	1910	1920	1925
Number of Associations ..	35	151	158	241	66
Total Membership ..	1,896	6,556	12,100	10,463	10,759
Active Membership	1,016	2,381	4,035*	—	2,164
Associate Membership ..	93	2,154	4,081*	—	8,595
Number of Buildings Owned ..	2	16	26	57	42
Value in Rupees ..	—	6,47,200	16,51,856	32,74,862	35,82,181
Debt in Rupees (on Buildings) ..	—	—	2,51,340	98,062	50,685
Current Expenses in Rupees ..	15,667	58,041	3,72,310	3,78,409	9,07,819
Foreign Employed Staff ..	1	12	57†	70	43
Indian Employed Staff ..	2	7	29†	153	84

* Figure for 1907.

† Figure for 1913.

These figures indicate that up to 1920, the local Associations grew enormously in number, in equipment, in current expenditures, in employed staff, and in total membership. (The decrease between 1910 and 1920 in membership is due to the secession of the college Associations.) The period 1920-1925 witnessed the readjustment and retrenchment after the war. It will be noticed that, while there is little change in the total membership during these years, there are increases in the associate membership, in the value of buildings owned, and markedly in the current expenditures. The employed staff decreased considerably at the same time.

Two major conclusions may be drawn from the above facts. In the first place, the largest increase in buildings, employed staff and (presumably) associate membership took place between 1910 and 1920. Secondly, the retrenchments made necessary by financial difficulties after the war resulted in a reduction of staff. In other words, the net result of the phenomenal growth of the organization prior to 1920, was to leave the Association with a huge physical equipment and a large non-voting membership on its hands, and with a staff only sufficient, in many places, to take care of the business management.

B. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL: FIRST PERIOD (1891-1920).

An understanding of the present administrative system will be best conveyed by a consideration of the most significant steps in its evolution. As indicated in the foregoing chapters, the first Y.M.C.A.'s of India were formed by groups of European young men who had probably had some contact with the movement started in London by George Williams. The structure of the early Associations was naturally patterned after the parent organization. There is evidence, however, that some of these first groups had no very definite aim, or conception of qualification for control, and suffered many vicissitudes in consequence. Mr. David McConaughy, the American pioneer secretary in Madras, discussed the subject of membership basis at some length, at the first national convention in 1891. Extracts from his address are worth quoting at this point.

"It is not to be wondered at, perhaps, that in the early stages of their development, some Associations should have been diverted into general evangelistic meetings in hospitals, and jails, and homes for old women, in fact into almost every sort of work except that for which the Young Men's Christian Association was expressly designed, *viz.*, the work

of reaching and winning the young men of the world to Christ.

"Shall we not avail ourselves of the ripe experience that has been gleaned through many and expensive experiments by those who have been before us? . . . We stand upon the shoulders of the pioneers—of George Williams of England, and Pastor Cook of France, and George H. Stuart of America, and other noblemen—who met at the First World's Conference at Paris in 1855, and wrought out the international alliance.

"Our first duty is to our members. . . . (but) our basis should be a broad basis, as regards the scope of the work—broad enough to extend its privileges to all deserving young men, absolutely without distinction of race or creed or occupation. . . . Broad as our basis ought to be as to the classes we seek to reach and as to the *methods* we employ, it should at the same time be a *restricted* basis as concerns the control of the Association. The right to vote and hold office should be carefully kept within the hands of the Active members, who must be communicant members of Christian Protestant Churches. This is the vital point—our loyal allegiance to the Church of Christ; not apart from, but apart of, her communion; not an auxiliary to the Church, much less a substitute for the Church in any sense or in any degree; not even undenominational—the Association is in fact *the Church at work in a definite direction*, for the young men of the world.

"Hence our basis should be fixed unchangeably, not only (as to) the rights of voting and holding office, but also (as to) the possession of property (which should be) in the hands of those who belong to the Christian Church and who represent the beliefs of those who founded the Association. . . . Only Active members should serve on Committees. This rule should apply also to the Boards of Trustees, as these are required and created, to hold property that will be acquired. Here a temptation may arise, to enlist men because of their business ability, social position, wealth, or influence in the community, even though not really Christian men. Nothing will be lost but much gained by adhering loyally to the principle of retaining the control of the organization entirely within the Christian Church. While the right of management is vested in the Active membership thus exclusively, the *privileges* should be extended alike to all."

Mr. McConaughy further stated that, while the constitution of the Madras Y.M.C.A. provided that any young man who was a "member in good standing of a Christian Protestant Church" *might* become an active member, the practice of the Association tended to prevent any from being so classified unless they agreed to *act* in some capacity in connection with the work. The test was one of service as well as of church membership.

The address of Mr. McConaughy at the 1891 convention is quoted at such length because of its very direct bearing on the subsequent development of the movement in India. The principles there set forth were to become the foundation stones of the entire Association. The convention unanimously adopted the Paris Basis for active membership with the following additional qualifications:—

"That the Active membership of such Associations (as wish to attend future national conventions) shall be composed of young men who are members in full communion of Christian Protestant Churches; and we hold these Churches to be Christian Protestant, which do maintain the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith and practice, and do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of the Father, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the God-head, Who was made sin for us though knowing no sin, and Who bare our sins in His own body on the tree, and that His name is the only name under Heaven among men whereby we must be saved from everlasting punishment."

Mr. McConaughy submitted to this convention a model constitution, which embodied his principles and which he suggested for the use of local Associations, especially in small towns. A copy of this document is appended to the report of the convention. The early records indicate that this constitution was generally adopted, with only occasional slight alterations to suit local conditions.

The convention of 1891 likewise marked the launching of a national organization of the Y.M.C.A.'s of India. In a paper entitled: "How can the existing Associations best co-operate to extend our work to reach the young men of India?" Dr. E. Sargood Fry, a lay delegate, argued the need for "a practical knowledge of and sympathy with each other and each other's work" and also for some "means of communication one with another when we return to our several stations and homes". His proposed solution was a national committee with a secretary "who

shall not confine his work simply to one Association, but who shall serve all". As regards the necessary finances, he had hopes "that the strong Associations of England and America might be willing to increase the help they are already giving".

There was some discussion after this speech. Mr. Frank J. Clark, the veteran volunteer secretary of the Bombay Y.M.C.A., pointed out the fact that a "district union" had recently been formed in the Bombay Presidency and suggested a similar plan for the Madras area. Another delegate felt "that the suggestion to form district unions was no doubt practicable, but there should be something more than that". He called attention to the fact that the national convention was a reality and advocated the creation of a national committee. Mr. McConaughy, who subsequently became the first national secretary, argued for such a committee in the interests of extending the work throughout India. He believed, on the basis of his experience, that district organization would grow naturally from national organization. Mr. Clark opposed the suggestion on the grounds that "here in India the distances were too great for one secretary," and favoured organization by presidencies with a secretary for each. Mr. McConaughy answered that, although the members of such a national committee would live all over the country, the difficulty of transacting business could be overcome by having the annual meeting at the same time as the convention and disposing of such additional matters as required the concurrence of the whole committee by mail; the ordinary routine would be entrusted to a sub-committee, as was the practice in England and North America, the personnel of which would all live in one place, or vicinity, so as to make frequent meetings easy.

The upshot was that the convention preferred the national organization and formally resolved that—

"With a view to extending the Young Men's Christian Association's work throughout India, an Indian National Committee be appointed by this Convention, for the purpose of mutual encouragement and co-operation and that the Committee be empowered to add to its members."

The committee was accordingly organized and Mr. McConaughy appointed secretary. The North American International Committee subsequently assumed responsibility for the support of an additional secretary for the Madras Association.

By the time of the national convention of 1894, this national committee had so commended itself that the decision was reached

to form a national union. An elaborate constitution was adopted for this organization and its management entrusted to a National Council, composed of twenty-one members representing all parts of India and Burma. Representation on the Council was determined by the proportion of active members, in a given area, to the total active membership of the Indian movement. The constitution recognized from the beginning the existence of district unions and the possibility of others being formed, but treated them on the same basis as a local Association. In other words, the constitution tacitly approved of district unions but gave them no definite status in the national organization. In this way, the idea of district unions was incorporated but was not sufficiently defined to ensure its usefulness. The constitution further stated that a fundamental principle of the Indian national union should be the recognition and promotion of the complete autonomy of each local Association and each district union, in India and Burma. As will appear, however, from the discussion of the allocation of foreign personnel and funds to these units, a process which has always been effected through the National Council, this "complete autonomy" must be liberally interpreted. Finally, in order to carry on its routine business, the Council was authorized by the constitution to "elect from its members an executive committee, consisting of five or more members residing in the same locality."

Notwithstanding the vagueness of the relationship between district unions and the national organization, earnest attempts were made to establish such unions in various parts of India. As already noted, there was an organization of this type in the Bombay Presidency even before the appointment of the national committee. There are records of similar organizations in the Punjab and in Travancore and Cochin. The functions of the Punjab union included arranging for periodical district conventions, promoting inter-visitation between local Associations, preparing the way for and establishing new Associations, and co-operating with the National Council in assisting the Associations by means of correspondence and publications. The union for Travancore and Cochin was entrusted particularly with co-ordinating and extending the work of the village Associations. At the national convention of 1901, reports were received from both of these latter district unions, but no mention is made of the Bombay organization.

In 1907, the local Associations of Ceylon formally joined the national union and the Council was enlarged to thirty mem-

bers. It was stipulated that these men should represent all parts of India, Burma and Ceylon and that not more than two of them should be from Ceylon. Several proposals were also made at this convention to change the membership basis. The desire was manifest to enunciate a formula that would be acceptable to the Jacobite Christians and the Anglican High-Churchmen, who objected to the word "Protestant". Owing to the great differences of opinion, however, no decision was reached, and since there were no conventions between 1910 and 1920, the matter was not settled until that time. The convention of 1920 adopted the relatively simple Paris Basis which does not require church membership.

The National Council's report for 1920 covers the entire decade 1910-1920. It records the fact that, in the absence of conventions during this period, vacancies had been filled, as constitutionally authorized, by the Council itself and that, as a result, it had not been practicable "to ensure the adequate representation of the different parts of India, Burma and Ceylon." Due to force of circumstances incident to the war, the work of the National Council had been carried on largely by the executive committee and a great centralization of authority had taken place at the headquarters in Calcutta. The Convention of 1920 proceeded to deal with the question of decentralization. As recorded in the official report, it

"considered that the time had come to establish regional committees, with a view to closer supervision and to decentralization at the national headquarters; and to include a clause in the constitution empowering and instructing the National Council to arrange for the formation of such committees and the appointment of regional secretaries, whenever the Council, in consultation with the local Associations concerned, should consider the time ripe for such a step."

The constitution was further amended to provide that the National Council should meet at least once a year, in addition to the monthly meetings of the executive committee.

From the standpoint of organization, the most significant step taken was the proposal for regional committees. This may be regarded as an inheritance from the idea of district unions. It should be noted, however, that whereas the district unions were autonomous and voluntary organizations in a given area, with greatly diversified functions, the proposal of 1920 was for regional committees appointed by the National Council, to which the Council would delegate, at its discretion, "any or all of its respective responsibilities in the respective areas." The work was to be

supervisory and would naturally involve the services of an employed officer who would take his orders from the national general secretary. The influence of "war-time" psychology may be observed in this arrangement; it was essentially a military organization with chief authority at the top. In no real sense of the word can the proposal be interpreted as "decentralization"; it merely called for a delegation of responsibilities that were still primarily vested in the national agency.

C. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL: SECOND PERIOD (1920-1930).

The convention of 1920 marked the close of a distinct epoch in the life of the Y.M.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon. Prior to this date, the Association had passed through two phases. The period of 1891-1910 witnessed the growth and development of an essentially lay organization. As noted earlier, during the decade of 1910-1920 the Association grew tremendously with respect to buildings and equipment, membership, and employed staff. Owing to the exigencies of war-time administration, the movement practically handed over complete authority to the National Council. The most significant point to be made, however, is that authority actually passed into the hands of the employed secretaries. As will appear in the chapter on personnel, it was during this time that the professional secretaryship gained ascendancy over the honorary secretaryship, in the local Associations. In other words both the difficulties involved in managing a complex war programme and the growth of institutional equipment brought it about that the actual, albeit never the legal, control was transferred from laymen to employed officers.

The story of the readjustment after 1920 abundantly substantiates this point. As will appear in the chapter on finance, the years immediately following the war were burdened with terrific financial problems among the local Associations. By 1922, the state of affairs had become so acute that drastic action was called for. The group that faced the situation in all its aspects was a conference of secretaries, which met in January of that year. This conference reached three important decisions which were later adopted by the National Council and are of significance for the movement to-day.

In the first place, they agreed upon some general principles of strategy that may be briefly summarised as follows. Quality of service was to be emphasized rather than extent of an activity or occupation of the field. In actual practice, this meant curtailment of the existing work and concentration on certain

activities that might serve as "beacon lights" or demonstration centres. Strategic areas of activity recommended for such concentrated effort included work with the educated classes in towns and cities, high-grade rural work in a few centres, boys' work, and model centres for army work.

The second decision had to do with organization. In contradistinction to the action taken by the national convention of 1920, two years previously, the secretaries favoured instead of regional organizations the appointment of associate national secretaries, who should assist the national general secretary in developing the local Associations. In order to facilitate the administration, these associates were to be located permanently in selected areas outside of Calcutta, the national headquarters. This was obviously a further step in centralized control, for the associate secretaries were to be in no way responsible either to the local Associations or to a regional committee; they were simply the subordinates of the general secretary. The third momentous decision reached at this time was to the effect that

"an advisory committee of five secretaries should be appointed by the National Council to co-operate with the National Council in its revenue work and report back to the next Secretaries' Conference."

During the twelve months following this conference, the principles of curtailment and concentration were put into effect. The burden of making the decisions with regard to staff reductions or closing work was actually carried by this "advisory committee", officially designated as the revenue commission. Their decisions were submitted for approval to the executive of the National Council. By the end of 1923, the revenue commission had become so powerful that it formally requested the executive committee to refer to it "all important changes having financial implications before finally passing them." While this proposal caused some discussion in the executive committee, it was finally approved.

That this development caused some consternation, in certain quarters, may be seen from the following letter written by an administrative officer of the North American International Committee to one of his colleagues:—

"I have also read the report of the revenue commission. I am positively alarmed at the way in which this commission is dealing with questions which, it seems to me, only partially belong within its sphere. If the Indian National

Council does not look out, it will have a powerful secretarial commission operating alongside of the Executive, and a commission which has too large a foreign personnel. It is important to get the money, but what is the use of getting it if, after it is secured, it has weakened the Indian movement in the process. I feel pretty strongly about this and hope that some steps may be taken to point out the danger."

—(E. C. Jenkins to F. V. Slack, May 13th, 1924.)

The revenue commission acknowledged the criticism and tried to meet it, in their meeting of November 12th, 1924. The constitution was altered to enlarge the staff and include laymen, as may be seen from the following extracts from the minutes.

"The Commission shall be composed of sixteen representatives who shall be selected as follows:—

"Eight members to be elected by the Secretaries' Conference, four secretarial members to be nominated by the National Executive, four members who shall be laymen to be nominated by the National Executive. It shall be open to the local Associations to recommend the names of suitable representatives.

"The Chairman and Honorary Treasurer of the National Executive shall be *ex-officio* members of the Revenue Commission.

"The Commission shall elect a working Committee of five, three at least of whom shall be local representatives, to attend to necessary business apart from the annual meeting."
—(*Revenue Commission Minutes*, 1924.)

However, no real change in the situation was effected by this constitutional amendment, for of the seventeen persons that attended the next annual meeting all were employed secretaries."* Further changes were then proposed and, as finally adopted by the next secretaries' conference, provided that the revenue commission should consist of the honorary treasurer of the National Council and fifteen other members—secretaries and laymen—eight to be appointed by the secretaries' conference and seven by the national general secretary, "with a view to representing all interests, as far as it may be possible." The provision for a working committee was dropped.

* The revenue commission threw open its annual meeting, by special invitation, to interested individuals.

The outcome of the new arrangements was that at the next meeting of the commission, in 1926, the attendance was twenty—twelve being secretaries on the commission, one the honorary treasurer (a layman), and seven secretaries on the national staff. The record since 1926 indicates that there never has been more than one layman on this important commission. It was accordingly not found possible to check the increasing power of the secretariat. The power of the revenue commission itself, however, was curtailed two years later. In November, 1928, the national secretary for finance raised the question of abolishing the commission and entrusting its functions to another body. The action taken on this suggestion was to change the name to "budget reviewing committee" and to limit its competency to financial questions exclusively.

It should be said, in all fairness, that sincere efforts were made to have lay representatives on the revenue commission. But even the few who were induced to accept appointment did not find it possible to attend meetings. This difficulty is experienced by nearly all similar organizations, in these days of many engagements and complex business relationships, and is especially common among such societies in India as try to work through representatives from all parts of the empire. A meeting of the revenue commission usually involved a week's time, including the travel period; moreover, the expense attached to such attendance was frequently prohibitive.

Reference has often been made, in the foregoing pages, to the Secretaries' Conference. This institution paralleled the Revenue Commission, after 1920, and in a very real sense came to exercise that guidance of the whole movement that rightfully belongs only to the national conventions.

It will be seen from the discussion so far, in this section, that instead of effecting decentralization, the Association has actually made little progress in bringing local and national work into productive relationships. The attempts to give the local Associations some share in the control of the movement have resulted in vesting too much power in the employed secretariat. With the growth and strengthening of the national organization, the regional or district units have been relegated. Among the by-products of centralization, albeit influenced by other causes as well, has been the loss, to the Association movement as a whole, of that interest among laymen which was once so vigorous in India. That there has been considerable appreciation of the dangers in the present administrative system may be gathered

from the abortive attempts at decentralization, recorded above. Further evidence is afforded by a memorandum submitted by the Secretaries' Conference to the National Convention of 1926, and recorded in the official report of that gathering as follows :—

“At the Secretaries' Conference held at Waltair a proposal was made.....to recommend to the Executive certain very important and fundamental changes in the constitution. Our experience after working on the constitution has shown that the control of the Association movement in India.... largely lies in the hands of a few, and that we have failed so far to link up the local Associations in the general work of the National Council. The reasons may be stated to be as follows :—

“The National Council is elected at a Convention to be representative of all Indian interests ; the constitution does not specifically state Association interest. Being a body thus constituted, it consists of persons who are unusually absorbed in their own work, and have little or no time to give to the work of the National Council. Among them are included quite a substantial number of persons whose connections with the local Associations, or even the Association movement generally, is remote. The result has been that it has not been possible to obtain a National Council that would really function.”

The report then indicates that certain constructive proposals were made calculated to ensure the direct representation of local Associations, either individually or in groups, with power to fill vacancies or send substitutes vested in the local Associations rather than in the National Council. The report continues :—

“The Executive has not had sufficient time at its disposal for enquiry, nor is it in possession of sufficient facts, to be able to make a recommendation to the Convention, but it believes that it would be well to investigate the advisability of these changes in the constitution, which would bring about direct representation of the local Associations. They trust that these changes, if undertaken, may result in the interest of all Associations in the general movement being enhanced, and that the local Associations will thereby undertake more fully the responsibility which ought to lie on them.”
(*National Convention Report*, 1926, p. 20.)

D. THE LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Because of the requirements for affiliation in the national union, and also owing to the fact that model constitutions were made available to the early Associations, practically no variation exists in the organization of the local centres. Legal authority for the management and policy of the work is everywhere vested in a board of directors, made up of laymen, and all properties are held by boards of trustees, likewise volunteer in personnel. The National Council, early in its development, made the provision that there should not be more than one Association in each city or town. Accordingly, the various branches in a given centre are organized under one central board of directors; the branches are in the hands of separate committees of management, limited in power and responsible to the central board. The personnel of these committees is sometimes appointed by the board and sometimes elected by the active membership of the branch in question.

As indicated earlier in this report, the growth of the associate membership has had an important bearing on the administration of the Y.M.C.A. Not only has the active membership lost its significance as a controlling force, but the fact that elaborate privileges have been extended to the large associate membership has entailed organizational problems of such magnitude as to put a premium on good business judgment and financial experience, so far as the boards and committees are concerned. It is a matter of common observation that the great institutions developed by the Y.M.C.A. have compelled the movement to retain on its boards men who can give it status with the wealthy community. As a result, the present situation is often such that a wealthy group of directors are managing affairs in behalf of a large, unrepresented associate membership. Furthermore, while the membership is largely Indian or Anglo-Indian, the tendency, especially in the great port cities, is for the boards to be European, to a considerable extent, as may be seen in the following table :—

Boards of Directors Analysed by Race (1928).

	Nationals	Europeans
Calcutta ..	5	15
Bombay ..	3	31
Rangoon ..	10	11

Nationals. Europeans.

Colombo	..	36	1
Madras	..	11	8
Lahore	..	9	7
Hyderabad	..	8	27
Bangalore	..	7	7
Trivandrum	..	14	3
Coimbatore	..	11	3

In general, the tendency is for the boards to become increasingly indigenous as the Associations become smaller; the little village Y.M.C.A.'s are almost completely in the hands of Indians. The Colombo Association is an exception to the general rule, with an almost entirely indigenous board in one of the larger organizations. The large European element at Bangalore and, more especially, at Hyderabad is to be attributed to the presence in these towns of the European military cantonments.

As regards the racial composition of the branch committees, information is available only for four of the larger Associations. The facts are given below :—

Committees of Management Analysed by Race (1928).

		Nationals.	Europeans.
Associations in 1st Group—			
Branches for Nationals	..	57	10
European and Anglo-Indian			
Branches .. ..	..	..	45
An Association in 2nd Group	..	14	1

It will be seen that, in the cities of the first group, where Europeans are in control of the boards of directors, they are also completely in control of the European and Anglo-Indian branches. However, branches in which the membership is indigenous are almost entirely in the hands of nationals. Since the board has complete authority over the branches, it will be seen that the racial situation offers opportunities for friction between the board and a branch.

Additional information is available for a sampling of the lay leadership in the larger Associations. The data are presented first on the number of years these men have been in service.

Length of Service of Lay Leadership (1928).

		On Boards and European Branches		On Non-European Branches	
		Nationals	Europeans	Nationals	Europeans
1 : 1— 2 years	..	19	34	18	3
2 : 1— 5	..	21	14	13	2
5 : 1—10	..	9	4	12	3
10 : 1—15	..	7	3	8	..
15 : 1—20	..	..	1	5	..
20 : 1—25	..	4	1	5	1
25 : 1—30	..	..	..	3	..
Over 31	..	..	..	1	..
		60	57	65	9
No Data ..	..	26	47	13	5

It will be observed that the nationals tend to remain in service somewhat longer than do the Europeans. Possibly the fact that Europeans generally do not remain in India for long periods may account for this circumstance.

The record of attendance at meetings does not show much variation as between the different groups. On the whole, no great interest on the part of the majority is indicated.

Attendance at Meetings of Lay Leadership (1928).

		On Boards and European Branches		On Non-European Branches	
		Nationals	Europeans	Nationals	Europeans
1 meeting	..	5	9	4	..
2 meetings	..	7	7	14	..
3	..	5	10	1	..
4	..	2	11	7	..
5	..	6	6	3	1
6	..	5	4	3	..
7—12	..	16	30	13	1
		46	77	45	2
No Data ..	..	40	27	33	12

The data with regard to age are more complete than on the other matters presented so far. It will be observed that the lay leaders are, in more than half the cases, over forty-one years of age.

Age of Lay Leadership (1928).

	On Boards and European Branches		On Non-European Branches	
	Nationals	Europeans	Nationals	Europeans
20 years and less .. ..	..	..	1	2
21—25 years .. ..	..	..	2	1
26—30 „	2	7	11	3
31—35 „	8	8	13	..
36—40 „	14	20	12	1
41 years and over	45	57	36	7
	69	92	75	14
No Data	17	12	3	..

The general secretaries at the branches concerned were asked to rate their laymen as to their contact with the ordinary membership. The results are presented in the following table :—

Estimated Contact of Lay Leadership with the Membership (1928).

	On Boards and European Branches		On Non-European Branches	
	Nationals	Europeans	Nationals	Europeans
None	1	13	7	1
Rare	13	26	12	2
Occasional	10	36	36	6
Frequent	30	16	16	1
Regular	17	13	5	2
	71	104	76	12
No Data	15	..	2	2

It will be noticed that, while the membership contacts of the nationals serving on the boards appear to be more frequent than those of the European leaders, neither group was thought to be in very close touch in the branches. This suggests that the branch committees may be rather nominal in character and have no very deep interest in the work.

Information with regard to the professional occupations of the lay leadership was available for the board members of the Mofussil Associations as well as for those analysed above. The data are as follows :—

Lay Leadership Analysed by Occupations (1928).

	Leading Y.M.C.A.'s	Second Group	Mofussil	Total
Ministers ..	24	6	16	46
Other Professions ..	93	31	53	177
Government Servants ..	..	7	..	7
Industrial Executives	10	..	1	11
Business Executives	43	7	7	57
Business Employees	20	8	1	29
All Others ..	5	5	2	12
Retired ..	..	2	..	2
				<hr/>
				341
No Data ..	..	..	..	21

It will be seen that all groups of Associations draw heavily on the professional classes for their lay leadership. In Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon there is likewise good representation from the business world, and especially of executives. It will be recalled that these are the Associations that have the most extensive physical equipment.

As was indicated in the foregoing section of this chapter, the local Associations are not adequately represented on the National Council. The interests of the larger centres in national affairs are taken care of only through the general secretaries of these Associations. The smaller units are represented either by a district secretary, as in the case of Travancore and Cochin, or by some staff member of the National Council who has travelled in the mofussil area and knows the local situation. This is particularly serious for the Mofussil Y.M.C.A.'s because they are very heavily dependent on the National Council for support; it has even been suggested recently that the salaries of the employed officers of these Associations be paid from Calcutta. This was because the local boards have sometimes been irregular in their payments, due to financial difficulties, and have thereby in some cases caused actual hardship for the secretaries. The plan suggested was that the boards should pay back an equivalent sum to the National Council. The result of such an arrangement would of course be a further centralization of power in Calcutta.

The lay leaders of the local Associations take very little interest in the affairs of the national movement. In fact, lay representation from all quarters, at the National Conventions,

does not more than roughly equal that of the employed staff. In 1923, there were 68 delegates at the Convention of whom 36 were secretaries ; in 1926, there were 31 secretaries out of a total attendance of 67. On the latter occasion, the situation was formally recognized and regretted in the following terms :—

“ Recognizing that the Association movement, from its earliest years, has been maintained through voluntary leadership, and that the importance and necessity of a trained and consecrated secretariat to meet ever-expanding needs does not in any sense decrease the necessity of the leadership of laymen, but rather increases it, the Conference would reiterate its abiding conviction that sacrificial voluntary leadership in all departments, branches and activities is essential to the fulfilment of the Association’s great responsibility to the boys and young men of the world. The Conference recommends that in the composition and leadership of committees, and in the attendance at and participation in conferences, both national and international, there should always be a much larger proportion of laymen than of secretaries.” (*National Convention Report*, 1926, p. 224.)

E. CO-OPERATION WITH FOREIGN MOVEMENTS.

The extent to which the Young Men’s Christian Associations in other countries, particularly in England and North America, have aided the development of the movement in India has been set forth in other chapters of this report. The records of the Association bear ample testimony to the anxiety of these co-operating Y.M.C.A.’s not to let their contributions in any way hamper the development of the Indian movement. In 1892, with a view to extending the work throughout India, an ‘ appeal ’ for men and funds to support them was very carefully prepared and addressed to the English National Council, the North American International Committee, and the Australian Intercolonial Council, “ with the request that it be published as widely as possible and circulated among the Associations.” (*National Convention Report*, 1892, p. 87.) The response to this appeal was almost immediate from all three groups and subsequently continued to grow in volume, especially as far as the International Committee was concerned.

In 1913, the Indian National Council took the following action :—

“ RESOLVED that we believe it would facilitate the work of the Y.M.C.A. in India and Ceylon, if the foreign Councils

and Committees of Y.M.C.A.'s doing work in India would regard the National Council of India and Ceylon as their agent for all work in India and Ceylon. At present, many of the foreign Councils deal directly with the local Associations with reference to secretaries, finance, etc., and do not inform the National Council of what they are doing. Yet, when there is any difficulty, when a secretary resigns or is invalided, the burden is placed on the National Council."

The report of the 1920 National Convention records (p. 20) that this minute, on being sent to the organizations concerned, "received their hearty assent and has ever since been loyally obeyed." The Indian National Council now theoretically makes all assignments of foreign personnel and allocates all foreign subsidies. It has, however, departed from this rule in some instances and granted the privilege of assigning secretaries to specific centres to some councils "whose foreign work is in that stage of development which makes it desirable to have a special place on which to focus its giving."

Both the English National Council and the North American International Committee follow the practice of appointing one of the men they send out as "senior secretary," whose function it is "to act for and speak on behalf of the Committees in appropriate matters, the authority of the National Council and of the entire staff being suitably guarded." (*National Convention Report*, 1920, p. 21.) The following recommendations concerning the relationship of the North American senior secretary to the National Councils of the movements to which they are sent, were drawn up, in 1926, at a conference at Lake Placid in the United States, and were subsequently accepted by the executive committee of the Indian National Council :—

"The Foreign Committee of the National Councils of the U. S. A. and Canada sends out a secretary to another country as a member of its employed staff, and enters into an understanding with him on the basis of which understanding he goes abroad to serve another Association movement. While maintaining this relationship, the Foreign Committee allocates him to a national movement for service as a secretary of such movement for periods of time specified in its understanding. During these periods, the secretary is responsible as a secretary to the National Committee, but the Foreign Committee is still responsible for him in the same sense that it is responsible for members of its home staff, in all respects, except within the range of duties which are

involved in the original allocation to and understanding with the National Committee.

“ The following are included in this continuing responsibility which the Foreign Committee sustains to its secretary :—

To pay his salary.

To provide allowances for his children.

To provide him with a suitable residence.

To safeguard the health of himself and members of his family.

To provide for necessary vacations.

To make satisfactory provision for the education of his children.

To provide furloughs at times specified in the original understanding. If a furlough appears to be necessary at any time other than as specified in the original understanding, the time for such furlough shall be subject to negotiation between the Foreign Committee and the National Committee.

“ In the matter of the original assignment of the secretary to his post, and in the matter of his transfer from one place to another, the Foreign Committee is involved in the same way as it would be in North America, when one of its secretaries is transferred from one place to another, that is, it should be satisfied that such conditions as safeguard the health of himself and members of his family are acceptable to the secretary himself, and furthermore that the funds necessary for a satisfactory transfer are provided.

“ In order to enable the Foreign Committee fully to carry out its obligation to its secretaries, whose services have been allocated to a National Committee, it is to the advantage of the Foreign Committee and the National Committee concerned that there should be a special secretary of the Foreign Committee within the intimate councils of the National Committee, who will be explicitly entrusted by the Foreign Committee with the responsibilities for its obligations to its secretaries on the field. Within this scope his responsibility is final, and he is answerable to the Foreign Committee for his actions.

“ Whenever the discharge of these obligations, referred to above as belonging explicitly to the Foreign Committee, has implications affecting the policy or programme of the National movement, these should be shared fully with the national general secretary ; likewise, when the policy and programme

of the National movement have implications which may involve the discharge of obligations borne by the Foreign Committee, these should be shared fully by the national general secretary.

“Whenever questions arise which are not fully included in the specified list of obligations of the Foreign Committee, as indicated above, such questions shall be taken up with the national general secretary; and it shall be the responsibility of the national general secretary to decide finally, after consultation, whether the question at issue is, or is not, included within the list of obligations mentioned above. If the question at issue is likely to prove a precedent, then whether or not it should be included in the list of obligations mentioned above, should be dealt with by negotiations between the National Committee and the Foreign Committee, and either added to the list of obligations indicated above, or omitted from that list, in which latter case it shall no longer be within the scope of the responsibilities of the Foreign Committee.

“The secretary of the Foreign Committee responsible for the above, will also, when explicitly so charged, act as its agent in the disbursements of its funds and in the acquisition, sale and use of its property.”

F. CONCLUSIONS.

The foregoing facts and general discussion indicate that the chief administrative problems now confronting the Young Men's Christian Association of India, Burma and Ceylon may be formulated as follows:—

How is the active membership to be made more effective in the control of the local Associations?

How may the local Associations, especially in the large cities, be released from the present unfortunate racial situation in which they find themselves, whereby national branch committees are subordinated to European boards of directors?

How may the lay leadership be induced to take greater responsibility for the control of the movement?

How may the National Council be rendered more adequately representative of the local Association?

How may foreign contributions in personnel and funds be distributed more equitably among the Associations?

How may the relationship and service of the National Council to the local Associations properly be defined?

CHAPTER 7.

QUESTIONS OF FINANCE.

A. INTRODUCTION.

It should be obvious that any comprehension of the financial problems of the Young Men's Christian Association of India, Burma and Ceylon demands an acceptance of the fact that the movement is essentially a missionary enterprise. As such it has created difficulties for itself that are common to all missionary endeavour. Some of the most important centre about the question of self-support. There are those who would test the degree to which an organization has become indigenous by the extent to which it is able to care for its financial maintenance from local sources. They would say that the interest of the community may be measured by its willingness to bear the cost.

The Y.M.C.A. of India faced the problem of self-support, with all its implications, from the very beginning. It is the purpose of this study to reveal the financial problems which the leaders of the Association encountered during the course of its development, to describe the methods used in attempting to solve these problems, and to evaluate the financial situation in the Association to-day. It is hoped that by means of this review of the past and evaluation of the present, some light may be thrown on the question of meeting the problems of the future.

B. EARLY FINANCIAL PROBLEMS. [*Omitted.*]

C. TRENDS REGARDING BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT.

The following table sets forth at a glance the extent to which the various groups of local Associations have acquired property, by five-year periods, since 1896. The data were extremely difficult to secure, in the absence of systematic record keeping, and were compiled from old documents belonging to the local Associations. The survey is indebted to Mr. S. N. Barling, of the National Council staff, for the excellent work done.

The figures do not represent present values, but of necessity only the original cost. Furthermore, the data were compiled for all local Associations and not simply for those studied by this survey. While the "first group" centres are the same as in the preceding chapters, there are four Y.M.C.A.'s in the "second

group" below, twenty-five Mofussil Associations, and twenty-one village Associations, in addition to the four army centres.

Association Building Record by Groups of Y.M.C.A.'s and by Five-Year Periods.

(in rupees.)

	First Group	Second Group	Mofussil Group	Village Group	Army Group	Total
1896-1900 ..	232,000	188,513	....	....	....	420,513
1901-1905 ..	513,544	....	....	....	....	513,544
1906-1910 ..	188,325	....	....	....	....	188,325
1911-1915 ..	544,216	80,000	223,380	77,355	67,500	992,451
1916-1920 ..	362,166	282,600	187,672	11,000	118,500	961,938
1921-1925 ..	....	428,279	41,131	36,000	....	505,410
1926-1930 ..	7,391	117,878	308,321	43,043	157,915	634,548
<hr/>						
Total ..	1,847,642	1,097,270	760,504	167,398	343,915	4,216,729
	43.8%	26.0%	18.0%	4.0%	8.2%	100.0%

As was to have been anticipated, the table indicates that the building programme started in the large cities and then spread out to the smaller centres. Generally speaking, the equipment of the Associations in the first group was put up before the war. Of the figure shown for this group, during the period 1916-1920, the greater part (Rs. 2,06,166 out of the total Rs. 3,62,166) was used for the national headquarters building in Calcutta; the balance was for the Anglo-Indian branch of the Calcutta Association. The building period for the centres in the second group really started in 1916, although Madras owned a structure costing Rs. 1,88,513 as early as 1900. These Associations acquired the bulk of their property between 1916 and 1925. As far as the Mofussil centres are concerned, two building periods are indicated; one between 1911 and 1920 and the second since 1926. The amount spent on the village Associations is not large and was made chiefly during the years 1911-1915 and again since 1926. The expenditure for army buildings took place during the war; the sum of Rs. 1,57,915 shown for the period 1926-1930 was for the Simla Association which is only partially planned for army work.

The following figures indicate the proportion of the total property acquired in each five-year period :—

		Per cent.
1896-1900	..	9.9
1901-1905	..	12.2
1906-1910	..	4.5
1911-1915	..	23.5
1916-1920	..	22.8
1921-1925	..	11.9
1926-1930	..	15.2
		<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

As previously noted in this report, the above percentages clearly indicate that the decade 1911-1920 was the most active period of building construction in the history of the Indian movement. Nearly half (46.3 per cent) of the present equipment was acquired at that time. This is especially noteworthy since the period includes the four years of the Great War, when conditions generally were very unsettled. The years 1921-1925, on the other hand, represent a relatively quiescent period. This was a particularly difficult time, as will be apparent from the discussion to follow. The only building of any consequence to be erected was the large central plant at Colombo. In conclusion, it will be interesting to note the proportionate distribution of the total property among the several groups of Associations, in each five-year period, as may be done in the following table:—

Percentage Distribution of Buildings and Equipment among Groups of Associations by Five-Year Periods.

	First Group Per cent.	Second Group Per cent.	Mofussil Group Per cent.	Village Group Per cent.	Army Group Per cent.	Total Per cent.
1896-1900	.. 55.2	44.8	....	....	....	100.0
1901-1905	.. 100.0	....	....	....	....	100.0
1906-1910	.. 100.0	....	....	....	....	100.0
1911-1915	.. 54.8	8.1	22.5	7.8	6.8	100.0
1916-1920	.. 37.6	29.3	19.6	1.1	12.4	100.0
1921-1925	.. ....	84.7	8.2	7.1	....	100.0
1926-1930	.. 1.2	18.6	48.6	6.8	24.8	100.0
Total	.. 43.8	26.0	18.0	4.0	8.2	100.0

The funds, with which the Association's buildings were erected, are analysed according to source in the following table. Unfortunately the data available did not always reveal the necessary detail. The classification "Other Sources" includes

gifts from interested individuals outside the locality, money from the sale of old property, debentures, and in a few cases gifts from other foreign Associations than those listed. It is felt, however, that the record is sufficiently complete to convey the essentials in the situation.

Total Building Funds Analysed according to Source.

	Rs.	Per cent.
Local Contributions ..	9,76,474	or 23.2
Government Subsidies ..	4,85,364	„ 11.5
Indian National Council ..	1,84,500	„ 4.4
English National Council ..	2,72,565	„ 6.4
International Committee ..	15,10,922	„ 35.8
Other Sources ..	7,86,904	„ 18.7
Total ..	42,16,729	or 100.0

The situation within each group of Associations is given below in percentage form :—

Total Building Funds Analysed according to Source and Groups of Associations.

	First Group Per cent.	Second Group Per cent.	Mofussil Group Per cent.	Village Group Per cent.	Army Group Per cent.
Local Contributions ..	27.3	22.1	19.9	22.3	12.1
Government Subsidies ..	14.1	18.4	2.7	....	....
Indian National Council ..	....	0.9	3.0	19.1	34.7
English National Council ..	14.8	....	....	....	....
International Committee ..	27.7	41.2	63.2	21.8	9.1
Other Sources ..	16.1	17.4	11.2	34.8	44.1
Total ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

As was to have been expected, the Associations that derived the largest proportion from local contributions are the strong centres in Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon. Government subsidies have been granted to only the larger Associations, those in the second group having received a greater proportion. The English National Council has made its building contributions exclusively to the three leading Associations. It is interesting to note that, while the North American International Committee has given the Associations in the first group more than a quarter of their building funds, it has financed the buildings in the second

group to the extent of 41.2 per cent, and in the Mofussil towns to the extent of 63.2 per cent, of their respective totals. The English National Council has not sent any funds for buildings to India since 1915 ; the International Committee, on the other hand, has contributed the major portion of its gifts for this purpose since that date.

The two preceding tables indicate that the largest sources for building funds have been local contributions and the North American International Committee. It will be interesting to study the proportions derived from these sources by the several groups of Associations, in each of the five-year periods. The following table presents the facts regarding the local contributions :—

Proportions of Building Funds derived from Local Contributions.

	First Group Per cent.	Second Group Per cent.	Mofussil Group Per cent.	Village Group Per cent.	Army Group Per cent.	Total Per cent.
1896-1900 ..	21.5	16.9	....	....	....	19.5
1901-1905 ..	32.7	....	....	....	....	32.7
1906-1910 ..	80.2	....	....	....	....	80.2
1911-1915 ..	15.7	50.0	32.2	2.8	25.9	21.6
1916-1920 ..	12.1	29.2	13.7	68.2	17.7	18.9
1921-1925 ..	....	19.7	....	44.4	....	19.8
1926-1930 ..	100.0	2.6	17.3	27.1	1.9	12.3
Total ..	27.3	22.1	19.9	22.5	12.1	23.2

Prior to 1911, the construction of buildings was confined to the Associations in the first group and to Madras, among those in the second group ; it will be seen that the trend was in the direction of greater proportions of funds from local contributions. Between 1911 and 1920, most of the buildings in the second group and in the Mofussil towns were erected, as well as many of those owned by the three leading Associations. It will be noted that the proportions derived from local contributions have been on a diminishing scale, after an original rather high figure. This is largely due to the fact that very much more expensive buildings have been put up since 1911 than was true before that time. While the local contributions secured in the leading cities and the Mofussil towns have been on a diminishing scale since 1911, in actual rupees, this has not been the case for the Associations in the second group. As far as the latter are concerned, the sums received in the periods 1916-1920 and 1921-1925 were approximately the same and each more than double the amount secured

during 1911-1915. The significant fact remains, however, that instead of erecting buildings within the limits of even growing local resources, these Associations have preferred to put up more expensive structures with greatly increased outside aid.

In the following table the facts are presented in the same form with respect to the contributions of the International Committee :—

Proportions of Building Funds derived from the International Committee.

		First Group Per cent.	Second Group Per cent.	Mofussil Group Per cent.	Village Group Per cent.	Army Group Per cent.	Total Per cent.
1896-1900	..	21.6	44.9	....	....	....	32.0
1901-1905	..	10.1	....	....	....	....	10.1
1906-1910	..	18.2	....	....	....	....	18.2
1911-1915	..	33.3	18.8	45.6	....	22.2	31.6
1916-1920	..	63.0	27.8	53.5	18.2	....	42.4
1921-1925	..	....	46.7	100.0	27.8	....	49.7
1926-1930	..	....	63.3	76.6	56.2	10.3	55.4
Total	..	27.7	41.2	63.2	21.8	9.1	35.8

This table supplements the information on the preceding one and clearly establishes the point that the Indian Associations have depended on North America for their building funds in greatly increasing proportions, especially since 1915. In actual rupees, the contributions have been as follows, for the period 1911-1930 :—

	Rs.
1911-1915	.. 3,13,168
1916-1920	.. 4,03,416
1921-1925	.. 2,51,131
1926-1930	.. 5,51,694

The two tables together indicate that the International Committee has helped to put up buildings, particularly in the centres of the second group and in the Mofussil towns, that were well beyond the means of the local constituency. This is especially to be regretted in the former instance, because local contributions were on the increase in these centres, as already indicated. But while local contributions increased from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 84,255, during the period 1911-1925, the corresponding increase in the gifts of the International Committee was from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 2,00,000. It was only to be expected that financial difficulties would be the inevitable result by such a state of affairs. The matter of upkeep and maintenance, once a building

is erected, is an additional question that calls for careful study before such an undertaking is launched. The present financial situation in the local Associations, which has resulted primarily from their buildings, will be discussed in detail in a later section of this chapter.

D. THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

1. *Sources of Income.*

The main sources of income for the National Council are indicated in the following table, for every other year, during the period 1900-1928 :—

*Sources of Income and the Total Expenditure
of the National Council.
(in rupees.)*

		Contributions in India.		Inter- national Com- mittee	Other Sources	Total Receipts	Total Expendi- ture
		Associa- tions	Indivi- duals				
1900	..	709	844	....	204	1,757	1,747
1902	..	1,111	518	....	1,057	2,686	2,517
1904	..	878	413	....	1,685	2,976	2,931
1906	..	1,162	3,470	....	6,998	11,630	11,259
1908	..	1,579	11,479	....	4,252	17,310	15,313
1910	..	1,783	8,268	....	12,584	22,635	21,544
1912	..	3,720	12,726	....	31,703	48,149	45,763
1914	..	3,163	9,519	....	50,799	63,481	61,961
1916	..	390	824,955	....	715	826,060	379,727
1918	..	522	1,574,284	....	33,057	1,607,863	1,345,374
1920	..	50	85,125	833,722	16,715	935,612	837,816
1922	..	....	96,100	87,120	65,367	248,587	383,983
1924	..	21,168	41,254	113,070	48,703	224,195	208,091
1926	..	15,003	39,738	105,000	84,821	244,562	242,015
1928	..	12,709	28,926	95,000	85,168	221,810	223,507

It should be said at once that, owing to the way in which the records are kept, it was not possible to separate out from the "Other Sources" the contributions of the International Committee prior to 1920, or any of the contributions from the English National Council and other foreign movements. That the Indian National Council had received revenue from these movements, however, is acknowledged in the Convention Report for 1920.

"Prior to the outbreak of the War, the National Council secured its funds from local Associations, grants from a few bodies in India in recognition of services rendered, grants from foreign Councils and Committees, and private subscriptions secured by personal solicitation." (p. 23.)

"Steady and most generous support came (during the war period) from foreign Association Movements, especially the English National Council and the International Committee of North America. On March 1st, 1916, the English National Council began giving a grant of a thousand pounds *per mensem*, later increased to two thousand pounds, besides which it carried a large amount of expenditure for Indian troops in France, and sent various special gifts to India from time to time. The International Committee contributed \$ 2,000 a month, from January 1916 for two years, then increasing the amount to \$ 6,000. It also gave a special grant of \$ 250,000 in July, 1919, toward the expenses of work among Indian troops." (p. 24.)

Perhaps the most striking thing in the above table is the total derangement during the war of the trend in the contributions received in India. This international catastrophe upset the Association's finances completely. The movement was called upon to handle an extensive emergency programme, at a time when it was undergoing its greatest development in the regular work. Because of the need for united and quick action, during these years, the financial affairs and general control of the entire movement, both local and national, were put into the hands of the National Council. Instead of conducting individual financial campaigns, therefore, as had been the practice before, the local Associations joined the national organization, and all together went before the public for funds. The situation is described in the Convention Report for 1920 as follows:—

"On the outbreak of the War, it was decided to make a special appeal for the Army Work, separate from the civilian funds, and during 1914 and 1915 this was carried out. Certain grave difficulties arose, however, with this plan. It separated the emergency from the regular work so decidedly, and so much effort for army funds had to be spent by those responsible also for the administration of the Civilian Work, that it seemed essential to find some more satisfactory method. This was made all the more necessary by the need of local Associations to keep their own regular activities going, and a wide canvas for Army Work funds soon showed that very serious results might come thus to the various local Associations. After much consideration, therefore, the principle of the Joint Financial Campaign was adopted, by which the local Associations and the National Council pooled the amounts they needed for their respective budgets, under

all heads, and approached the public jointly for the entire sum." (p. 23.)

By 1924, these special war-time arrangements had been given up ; it will be seen that the local Associations were able to make substantially larger contributions to the National Council after the war, albeit on a steadily diminishing scale than had been the case before that time.

The contributions from individuals increased in the main, it will be noted, until the war period. In 1916, a striking increase took place, which was nearly doubled two years later. The eight *lakhs* of rupees, in 1916, and the nearly sixteen *lakhs*, in 1918, bear eloquent testimony to the public confidence of India in the Association's war service programme. The steady decrease in contributions, since 1922, on the other hand, is disturbing.

Information is available on the number of Indian and European contributors to the National Council, and of the specific amounts given by them, for the years 1927, 1928 and 1929. Prior to 1927 the detail is not recorded. The period covered is however of special interest because there occurred, in 1927, an attack on the Y.M.C.A. by another organization, known as the European Association, and an unfavourable effect on public contributions was expected to result from this action. The facts are presented in the following table. Attention is called to the circumstance that the donors here studied contributed to the National Council only ; the facts for the local Associations are given elsewhere.

Contributions to the National Council Analysed by Race and Size of Gifts.

Rs.†	1927		1928		1929	
	Indians	Europeans	Indians	Europeans	Indians	Europeans
1— 10 ..	304	496	204	517	161	565
11— 20 ..	53	188	21	149	33	153
21— 30 ..	28	116	26	66	25	101
31— 40 ..	6	8	1	10	1	10
41— 50 ..	23	37	12	31	17	27
51— 100 ..	16	24	7	13	13	15
101— 250 ..	7	9	4	5	5	8
251— 500 ..	5	2	1	1	....	1
501—1,000 ..	....	1	....	....	....	4
Over 1,000 ..	....	1	....	1	....	1
Total ..	442	882	276	793	255	835
	33.4%	66.6%	26.0%	74.0%	22.4%	77.6%

The total amounts received within each gift bracket are given in the next table.

*Gifts received by the National Council Analysed by Size
and Race of the Donors.*

Rs.	1927		1928		1929	
	Indians	Europeans	Indians	Europeans	Indians	Europeans
1— 10 ..	1,520	2,480	1,020	2,585	805	2,825
11— 20 ..	795	2,820	315	2,235	495	2,295
21— 30 ..	700	2,900	650	1,650	625	2,525
31— 40 ..	210	280	35	350	35	350
41— 50 ..	1,035	1,665	540	1,395	765	1,215
51— 100 ..	1,440	2,130	665	1,105	1,195	1,335
101— 250 ..	1,265	1,715	770	955	1,015	1,470
251— 500 ..	2,430	795	500	295	....	440
501—1,000 ..	....	1,000	....	....	....	3,494
Over 1,000 ..	....	1,329	....	1,326	....	1,338
Total ..	9,395	17,114	4,495	11,896	4,935	17,287
	36.5%	64.5%	27.4%	72.6%	22.2%	77.8%

It will be seen that, in 1928, there was a decided falling off both in the number of donors and in the amounts received, among Indians and Europeans alike, but more especially among the former. In 1929, there was a complete rally as far as the European donors are concerned, but an additional decrease among the Indian donors. It will be noted further that the bulk of contributors, Indian and European alike, make only small annual gifts of Rs. 10 or less. In 1929, as many as two-thirds of the total number were subscribers in this class. What the process of money raising means to the National Council, particularly since the donors are scattered over wide areas of territory, is suggested by this fact. It will be of interest to discover what parts of the country have been particularly affected by the changes. This may be gathered from the following table :—

*Contributors to the National Council Analysed
by Residence.*

	Total Indian.			Total European.		
	1927	1928	1929	1927	1928	1929
Assam	7	10	5	207	164	189
Bengal	12	6	6	115	243	295
Bihar and Orissa ..	47	55	43	155	162	102
Bombay Presidency ..	24	10	5	21	12	39
Central India and Rajputana	2	..	4	1	..	1
Central Provinces ..	36	..	42	7	..	46
Madras Presidency ..	157	120	79	92	84	68
Punjab	89	60	46	84	86	63
Travancore and Cochin*	6	..	..	55	..	..
	380	261	230	737	751	803
United Provinces ..	48	15	14	115	42	53
Miscellaneous	14	..	11	30	..	29
Grand Total ..	442	276	255	882	793	885

*Incomplete.

It will be seen that, with the exception of the considerable numbers in the Central Provinces and Central India, no net increase is recorded among the Indian contributors anywhere. Among the European donors, there were slight increases in the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces and a very substantial increase in Bengal. In view of the fact that the attack from the European Association took place in Calcutta (Bengal), it would seem evident that the effects of this hostility were not very far-reaching. Other considerations probably had far more to do with the changes recorded. One of the most important factors was undoubtedly the degree of effort in soliciting made by the Y.M.C.A. For instance, a special attempt was made, in 1928, to cultivate the region of the "Dooars" in Bengal, an area formerly not visited by revenue secretaries. In the Madras Presidency, on the other hand, the North American secretary was on furlough, during this period, and the area was accordingly not cultivated as thoroughly as usual. There are, however, three very significant facts that emerge from the above figures. In the first place, while there were, in 1927, twice as many European as Indian contributors to the National Council, the ratio in 1929 was 3.5 to 1, in favour of the Europeans. Then, a very definite relationship is indicated between the number of contributions received and the effort put forth to get them. Finally, it has been demonstrated that the Association's revenue secretaries can go into a new area and cultivate it with good results, even when the movement is under public criticism.

At the close of the war, the Indian National Council was faced with the problem of demobilising its army work and readjusting itself to normal times. The great increase in buildings and equipment which the Associations had experienced between 1911 and 1920, together with the brilliant success of the war service programme, made the leaders of the 1920 Convention look forward to the future with optimism and large plans. The national general secretary was able to secure a special gift of over eight *lakhs* of rupees, in 1920, with which the National Council paid off its war deficits and established a working capital of two *lakhs* for its regular work.

The period of 1920 to 1924 represents the most trying time in the history of the Y.M.C.A. in India. Despite the optimism of 1920, the movement encountered difficulties too complex for it to master. These are set forth, to some extent, in the Convention Report of 1923 :—

" The Convention (of 1920) saw an Association Movement at the crest of a great wave of a universally appreciated enterprise of service, with a far-flung network of activities, and saw also a wide public who were joyously participating in those activities and looking to our Movement for large and varied services, which they were willing to support financially. The work of the Calcutta Convention (1920) reflects an attitude in the minds of the leaders which bears little correspondence to the actual history of the three years which followed it. The causes are not far to seek. Like the rest of the world, India had to experience an unprecedented depression of business, which had a much greater and much more sudden effect than was anticipated on the Association's revenue, and consequently on its staff. But more, the course of public events in India took on revolutionary aspects, and their various currents necessarily brought a Movement like ours, which deals with the young manhood of the nation, opportunities as well as trials which could not have been anticipated, and for which it was not adequately prepared. The general course of the triennium may, therefore, be described as a struggle on the one hand at continual adjustment to rapidly decreasing resources, and at the same time at a determined endeavour to render the best and the most timely service demanded for the vital interests of the Kingdom in India." (*National Convention Report*, 1923, p. 5.)

As already indicated in the preceding chapter, the Secretaries' Conference of 1922 was the first group "to face seriously the problem of National Council revenue and to accept responsibility for it." This Conference authorized the revenue secretary to appoint an advisory committee of five secretaries (the precursor of the well-known revenue commission), which should study the problem of revenue from the point of view of both the local Associations and the National Council, should guide the revenue department in forming its policy, and should seek to justify the Council's budget to the local Associations. The National Council officially recognized this committee and charged it with making recommendations to the executive committee of the Council and to the Secretaries' Conference.

The advisory committee worked out a policy entitled "A Ratio Plan of Revenue" and also submitted a second memorandum on the question of subsidies to local Associations. As the discussion on these two documents progressed, the necessity was felt of one body to consider the whole problem of revenue

in all its aspects, including the policy of grants-in-aid to local Associations, subsidies in foreign personnel, the size of the Council's annual budget, methods of raising money, and similar matters. Accordingly, a revenue commission was appointed to consist, as finally constituted in 1924, of sixteen members all but one of whom were professional secretaries.

The revenue commission decided at its first meeting on very drastic cuts in the budget of the National Council, on the acceptance of the ratio plan in general outline, and on a list of local Associations to receive subsidies for their current budgets. The executive committee accepted these recommendations practically in their entirety. At subsequent meetings, the revenue commission worked out the ratio plan in detail. The scheme called for a classification of the local Associations in order to effect an equitable distribution of the financial burden. Associations in the first class were asked to give to the National Council four annas of each rupee received from the public. Associations in the second class were asked to give two annas of each rupee so contributed. A third class of Associations was designated as "self-supporting" and was required to make no contribution to the National Council, but at the same time was to receive no subsidy from this body. The Associations in the fourth and last group were those in need of grants-in-aid from the National Council.

The minutes of the revenue commission record the complete failure of this ratio plan because of the inability of the Associations in the first two classes to meet their own expenses with the balance of their contribution income, after making their payment to the National Council. The commission was forced to reduce and readjust the assessments every year. The following table indicates the proportion of its contribution income assigned each year to the Associations studied by this survey, for the period 1923-1927. After 1927 the scheme had broken down completely and no assignments were made. It should be noted that the classification of the local Associations adopted by the revenue commission are not those agreed upon for the purposes of the survey :—

*Number of Annas of each Rupee of Contribution Income
Assessed from the Local Associations.*

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Bombay ..	4	4	3	3	3
Calcutta ..	4	4	3	3	2½
Madras ..	4	2	2	2	2
Rangoon ..	2	2	2	2	0

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927
Lahore	.. 2	1	1	1	1
Colombo	4	3	3	0
Coimbatore	2	2	2	2
Bangalore	2	1	1	1
Hyderabad	1	1	1	1
Madura	1	1	1	1
Trivandrum	5½	1	1

The amounts actually paid in annually by these Associations may be noted in the following table :—

Contributions to the National Council.
(in rupees.)

	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Bombay	.. .. 6,397	5,913	3,865	2,970	2,227	2,272
Calcutta	.. .. 7,000	8,831	5,380	5,189	4,026	4,407
Madras	.. .. 2,763	1,483	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,250
Rangoon	.. .. 2,000	2,375	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Lahore	.. .. 700	500	500	500	700	500
Colombo	.. .. ..	500	2,600	2,000	2,000	2,000
Coimbatore	.. .. ..	25	50	..	..	..
Bangalore	.. .. ..	100	225	..	210	..
Hyderabad	.. .. ..	..	450	365	292	350
Madura	.. .. ..	50	65	..	100	120
Trivandrum	.. .. ..	200	80	50	50	..

Since 1927, the local Associations have been paying simply what they could without any regular allotment. Similarly, the grants-in-aid have come to be assigned by special arrangement of each case rather than according to a ratio plan. By the early part of 1928, the whole question of contributions from some local Associations and grants-in-aid to others had become so involved, and the whole situation so unsatisfactory, that proposals were made for an intensive restudy of the whole problem. This problem may be regarded as the most acute with which the National Council is faced to-day. In the following table are set forth some interesting facts bearing on the matter :—

*Financial Relationships of the National Council and
the Local Associations.*

	1910	1925	Decrease	Increase
Local Associations—			Per cent.	Per cent.
Total Membership	.. .. 12,100	10,759	11.1	....
	Rs.	Rs.		
Cost of Buildings, etc.	.. .. 11,22,382	35,82,161	....	319.0
National Council—				
Total Expenditures	.. .. 21,544	2,28,091	....	1,068.7
Receipts from local Associations	.. .. 1,783	16,247	....	911.2

The strain of contributing to the National Council experienced by the local Associations is indicated to some extent by the fact that, while their contributions to the National Council increased nearly three times as much as did the cost of the buildings and equipment they acquired during this period, their total membership actually decreased by quite a substantial amount, at the same time. The increase in the receipts from local Associations comes within 100 per cent of equalling the increase of the total expenditures of the National Council.

2. *Avenues of Expenditure.*

As the supervisory agent of all the Y.M.C.A.'s of India, Burma and Ceylon, the National Council has not only had the responsibility of making grants-in-aid to such Associations as could not finance themselves without assistance, but has also conducted projects of general interest to the movement and carried on certain programmes of its own. While the income of the National Council is not specifically earmarked for given purposes, it is usually understood that the funds received are to be used more or less definitely for those undertakings that most interest the donors. In the following table the expenses of the National Council are classified according to the funds from which they are expected to be met:—

Class "A"; to be met from the contributions of foreign Associations:

- General Administration.
- Salaries of the National Staff.
- Rural Department.
- Lecture Department.

Class "B"; to be met from investments of the National Council:

- Literature Department.
- Department for Religious Work.
- Training Department.
- Building Department.

Class "C"; to be met from local subsidies and contributions:

- Grants-in-Aid to Local Associations.
- Army Work.
- Student Work.

Class "D"; wholly self-supporting:

- Industrial Work.
- Association Press.

In the following tables, the actual amounts needed for the several departments, together with the amounts received for their maintenance, are given for the years 1922-1929, which represent the period of post-war readjustment.

Class "A": Expenditures and Income from Foreign Associations.
(in rupees.)

		General	Salaries	Rural	Lecture	Total "A"	Income
1922	..	36,189	61,074	38,095	2,293	1,37,651	87,130
1923	..	33,304	43,437	30,096	3,332	1,10,169	86,986
1924	..	26,520	42,606	30,048	9,167	1,08,341	1,13,070
1925	..	32,226	46,943	31,239	8,346	1,18,754	1,22,914
1926	..	35,638	46,254	30,498	7,000	1,19,390	1,14,987
1927	..	30,017	50,149	32,301	....	1,12,467	1,13,283
1928	..	20,991	37,412	29,797	4,291	92,491	1,00,000
1929	..	26,187	26,883	29,199	8,302	90,571	96,769

It will be seen that the most substantial reductions were made with respect to salaries and general administration. The expenses of the rural department were cut in 1923, but since that time have varied only slightly. The amounts spent by the lecture department have been most irregular, from year to year.

*Class "B": Expenditures and Income from
National Council Investments.*
(in rupees.)

		Literature	Religious Work	Training	Building	Total "B"	Income
1922	..	3,587	8,311	8,453	1,066	21,417	22,771
1923	..	732	7,790	1,102	....	9,624	11,193
1924	..	4,399	4,814	789	....	10,002	....
1925	..	7,939	5,650	3,131	7,733	24,453	9,658
1926	..	6,785	4,800	6,167	....	17,752	13,630
1927	..	6,149	5,773	4,287	....	16,209	11,482
1928	..	3,311	6,583	2,601	1,369	13,864	10,073
1929	..	616	1,870	1,124	1,394	5,004	10,046

The departments in this class require only small annual expenditures and might be grouped together as part of the general office and miscellaneous expense of the National Council, rather than as separate projects. The (Indian) staff reductions made necessary by financial difficulties, after 1922, took place largely within these departments. The work of the literature department is carried on by a foreign secretary; the religious work has been entrusted as an additional responsibility to the revenue secretary, likewise a foreigner; the training department is now under the direction of the Madras Physical Training School, in the hands of two physical directors from abroad; and the building department has been closed since 1929.

At the risk of burdensome repetition, attention is called to the fact that the funds obtained by the National Council are in no way designated by the donors for the purposes here indicated. The classification was made on the basis of the prevailing understanding of how the several funds are used. Thus it is generally supposed that the money received from "unoccupied" areas (*i.e.*, where there are no local Associations) is given largely to the army work, and that the receipts from the stronger Associations are used for the grants-in-aid required by the others. In the case of the Government grants, an exception to the general rule is encountered, for these funds are definitely specified for use in student work, and particularly for the Indian student hostel in England. The figures for the Class "C" expenditures are given in the following table, together with the appropriate sources of income. The expenses of the revenue department are added to those of the army work.

Class "C": Expenditure and Income from Local Sources.
(in rupees.)

	Army Work, etc.	Un- occupied Areas.	Local Associations. Grants to	Amounts from	Student Work.	Govern- ment Grants.
1922	.. 91,897	90,605	12,092	....	18,746	5,500
1923	.. 26,785	30,827	20,600	20,684	17,118	2,000
1924	.. 12,550	42,221	20,557	21,168	14,001	5,500
1925	.. 18,331	41,254	25,557	16,247	13,294	12,500
1926	.. 29,710	43,072	21,053	15,003	13,409	12,500
1927	.. 28,691	33,392	19,262	13,096	15,500	15,500
1928	.. 25,798	28,926	17,778	12,709	16,250	16,832
1929	.. 35,807	32,219	16,805	13,217	18,258	16,933

It will be seen that, after substantial decrease between 1922 and 1925, the expenditures for army work have been on the increase again, during the last four years. The grants to local Associations, on the other hand, increased up to 1925 and then steadily declined. The decreased expenditures for student work during 1922-1925 were practically reversed during 1926-1929.

The industrial projects are taken care of by grants made by the companies whose workers are being served. The Association Press is self-supporting.

By way of brief summary of the foregoing material, it may be said that in a general way the contributions received from Associations abroad, the bulk of which come from the International Committee, are used to pay the expenses of the general administration of the National Council, of the rural work, and of the annual deficit on the lecture department. On the other

hand, funds are secured in India to cover the cost of the army work, the student work, and the subsidies to local Associations. The other items of expenditure are not very considerable.

The above figures do not, of course, include the additional subsidies made by foreign Associations to India in the form of personnel. Exact equivalents in rupees for such assistance cannot be computed, but it is estimated that the sum of Rs. 12,700 *per annum* approximately represents the cost to the foreign Associations of maintaining the average secretary in India. On this basis, the foreign staff of the National Council, during the period under consideration, is expressed in terms of rupees, in the following table :—

Foreign Staff of the National Council Expressed.
(in rupees.)

Type of Secretary	1922	1923	1924	1925
General	25,400	12,700	12,700	12,700
Regional	6,350	31,750	31,750	31,750
Army	12,700	....	....	....
Building	25,400	25,400	25,400	25,400
Lecture	12,700	12,700	....	....
Literature* ..	12,700	12,700	....	....
Physical Work ..	12,700	12,700	12,700	12,700
Association Press ..	12,700	12,700	12,700	12,700
Religious Work ..	19,050	19,050	19,050	19,050
Revenue	25,400	12,700	38,100	25,400
Training .. ..	....	....	....	12,700
Total ..	1,65,100	1,52,400	1,52,400	1,52,400
	1926	1927	1928	1929
General	25,400	19,050	19,050	25,400
Regional	31,750	25,400	25,400	25,400
Building	25,400	12,700	12,700	12,700
Literature* ..	12,700	12,700	12,700	12,700
Physical Work ..	12,700	12,700	....	12,700
Association Press ..	12,700	12,700	12,700	12,700
Religious Work ..	19,050	12,700	12,700	6,350
Revenue	12,700	6,350	6,350	6,350
Training	12,700	12,700	12,700	12,700
Total ..	1,65,100	1,27,000	1,14,300	1,27,000

*Provides his own support.

One of the secretaries in the above list designated as a regional secretary is giving his time to the rural area and might possibly be called a rural secretary.

In concluding this section of the chapter, the following table is presented in which are indicated the channels into which the National Council directed its resources, in 1929 :—

National Council Disbursement of Resources (1929).

		Cash		Personnel		Total	
		Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.	Rs.	Per cent.
General Administration*	..	57,070	34.3	57,150	19.5	1,14,220	24.9
Rural Work	..	29,199	17.5	....	..	29,199	6.3
Lecture Department	..	8,302	5.0	....	..	8,302	1.8
Literature Department†	..	616	0.4	12,700	4.4	13,316	2.9
Religious Work	..	1,870	1.1	6,350	2.1	8,220	1.8
Training and Physical Work	..	1,124	0.7	25,400	8.7	26,524	5.8
Building Department	..	1,394	0.8	12,700	4.4	14,094	3.1
Army Work	..	31,807	19.1	....	..	31,807	6.9
Local Associations	..	16,805	10.1	1,65,100	56.5	1,81,905	39.7
Student Work	..	18,258	11.0	....	..	18,258	4.0
Association Press	..	....	..	12,700	4.4	12,700	2.8
Total		1,66,445	100.0	2,92,100	100.0	4,58,545	100.0
		36.3%		63.7%		100.0%	

* Includes regional administration and income production.

† The Secretary provided his own support.

It will be seen that the National Council used about a quarter of its total resources for its administrative expenses, and another two-fifths were assigned to the local Associations. As pointed out in part one of this report, however, the relatively small cash subsidies are made to the smaller Associations, while the bulk of the personnel subsidy (all but Rs. 25,400 in the above table) goes to the six strongest Associations.

E. THE LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The discussion of the financial situation in the local Associations will be confined to the five-year period, 1924-1928, which represents fairly normal conditions after the reorganization introduced by the revenue commission. The study will furthermore be concerned only with those local Associations selected by the survey for special investigation, and will make use of the same classification followed in part one of this report. By way of recapitulation, it will be in order to reproduce this classification at this point.

First Group Associations	..	Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon.
Second Group Associations	..	Colombo, Lahore and Madras.
Mofussil Town Associations	..	Hyderabad, Bangalore, Tri- vandrum, Coimbatore and Madura.

The Associations in the first two groups are the six leading centres in the Y.M.C.A. movement of India, Burma and Ceylon; it is felt that the five selected among the smaller units are fairly typical, as far as general problems are concerned, of this class of Association as a whole.

1. *Sources of Income.*

There are three main sources of income common to all three groups of Associations here studied, namely : public contributions, membership dues, and earnings in the shape of rentals and fees for the services offered. The following table will serve to indicate the trend in regard to contributions :—

Contributions Received. (in rupees.)

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
First Group ..	87,809	67,101	62,932	51,798	49,068
Second Group ..	25,768	25,543	30,179	27,566	31,757
Mofussil Assns. ..	8,927	7,725	11,346	9,106	9,347

It will be seen that there has been a steady decline in contributions for the three leading Associations, during this period, a smaller increase for the Associations in the second group, and some fluctuation for the Mofussil centres resulting in roughly the same amounts in 1927 and 1928 as were received in 1924. For further detail within each group of Associations, reference is made to the appropriate chapters in part one.

The contributions received from the public come from private individuals and also from business corporations. In the following table, the number of donors in each class is given for every year, in the period studied, and for each group of Associations :—

Donors to the Local Associations.

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
First Group—					
Indians ..	296	191	223	245	229
Europeans ..	311	225	265	215	239
Corporations ..	330	229	247	231	239

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Second Group—					
Indians ..	88	226	283	325	291
Europeans ..	120	189	177	171	150
Corporations ..	90	115	127	130	119

Mofussil Associations*—

Indians ..	153	335	357	371	371
Europeans ..	63	43	58	56	53
Corporations ..	4	11	6	5	6

* Includes figures for the Kottayam Association in addition to the five here regularly studied.

In general, the corporations may be taken as being European, especially in the leading cities. It will be seen that the greatest decline, in the first group, took place among the European donors and especially among the business corporations. Notable increases, on the other hand, are recorded for the Indian donors to the other two groups of Associations. A further analysis of the donors, according to the size of their gifts, will be of interest at this point.

The situation will be presented first for the Associations in Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon.

*Individual Donors to the Associations of the First Group
Analysed by Race and Size of Gifts.*

Rupees	1924		1925		1926		1927		1928	
	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.
1— 10 ..	99	131	31	59	57	69	76	66	61	61
11— 20 ..	30	35	14	28	22	28	41	36	34	35
21— 30 ..	52	56	25	50	36	70	43	60	46	56
31— 40 ..	1	1	1	1	3	3	6	2	4	4
41— 50 ..	54	43	50	48	53	55	46	28	43	41
51—100 ..	48	29	52	29	42	26	28	14	32	29
101—250 ..	10	12	15	6	7	9	3	7	7	11
Over 250 ..	2	4	3	4	3	5	2	2	2	2
Total ..	296	311	191	225	223	265	245	215	229	239

It will be seen that the greatest decreases took place among those contributing ten rupees and less, and especially so among the Europeans, and again among those whose gifts ranged from forty to one hundred rupees, in both groups. The figures for the corporation donors follow:—

*Corporation contributing to the Associations of the First Group
Analysed by Size of Gifts.*

Rs.		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
1— 25	..	69	36	51	45	64
26— 50	..	94	44	50	56	52
51—100	..	65	51	54	54	55
101—250	..	62	58	57	45	40
251—500	..	19	21	19	19	19
501—1,000	..	15	13	12	9	7
Over 1,000	..	6	6	4	3	2
Total	..	330	229	247	231	239

It will be seen that the corporations represent the large donors to these Associations and that significant decreases have been taking place especially in the highest bracket. The total decrease noted in the contribution income of these centres, for the period under consideration, is to be attributed therefore largely to the decrease in gifts from this source.

Turning to the Associations in Colombo, Madras and Lahore, the facts are again first presented for the individual donors.

*Individual Donors to the Associations of the Second Group
Analysed by Race and Size of Gifts.*

Rupees	1924		1925		1926		1927		1928		
	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	
1— 10	..	25	24	68	56	68	54	97	45	88	34
11— 20	..	10	22	33	22	57	21	57	27	35	26
21— 30	..	28	28	53	47	72	39	83	35	64	29
31— 40	1	2	2	3	2	8	3	6	4
41— 50	..	5	19	38	27	26	25	28	15	37	14
51—100	..	13	15	24	24	41	22	43	33	36	32
101—250	..	4	9	7	9	13	12	8	8	20	8
Over 250	..	3	2	1	2	3	2	1	5	5	3
Total	..	88	120	226	189	283	177	325	171	291	150

Very remarkable, in the above table, are the substantial increases in the higher brackets and especially among the Indian donors. The figures for the corporation donors follow.

*Corporations contributing to the Second Group Associations
Analysed by Size of Gifts.*

Rs.		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
1— 25	..	31	36	43	42	41
26— 50	..	39	51	53	57	42
51—100	..	15	19	19	21	23
101—250	..	5	4	6	8	9
251—500	..	..	5	6	2	4
Total	..	90	115	127	130	119

It will be seen that, while the corporations of these cities have not contributed such large amounts to the Associations as did the firms of Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon, no gift being recorded higher than Rs. 500, they have nevertheless increased in number, during the period studied, and notably in the higher brackets. The total increase in contribution income noted above for these Associations is derived largely, it would appear, from corporations and Indian private individuals.

Finally, the facts are here presented for the donors to the Mofussil Associations.

*Individual Donors to the Mofussil Associations Analysed by
Race and Size of Gifts.**

Rupees	1924		1925		1926		1927		1928		
	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	Ind.	Eur.	
1— 10	..	73	17	206	4	228	13	225	14	216	10
11— 20	..	36	21	64	21	75	22	89	27	88	15
21— 30	..	26	9	30	6	26	10	31	7	34	8
31— 40	..	2	1	5	3	3	2	3	..	3	2
41— 50	..	5	11	12	4	9	8	14	5	11	8
51—100	..	6	4	12	4	8	2	6	3	11	7
101—250	..	3	..	4	1	7	1	2	..	6	2
Over 250	..	3	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	2	1
Total	..	153	63	335	43	357	58	371	56	371	53

* Includes figures for the Kottayam Association in addition to the five here regularly studied.

These Associations are clearly supported primarily by Indian donors; increases are to be noted for these contributors in all brackets. Gifts from corporations are received in very small numbers, by these centres, and with one exception all such gifts were of Rs. 100 or less, during the period studied.

So much for the contribution income. The trend in regard to membership dues may be studied on the following table :—

Membership Dues.

(in rupees.)

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
First Group ..	31,705	32,256	30,608	28,195	27,639
Second Group ..	10,933	13,957	20,625	24,309	20,742
Mofussil Associations	4,581	4,586	4,336	5,088	5,251

It will be seen that, while the revenue from this source steadily declined in the leading Associations, the reverse was true among the other centres and especially among the Associations of the second group. Further detail on this head will be readily obtained in the appropriate chapters of part one.

By far the largest single source of revenue for all local Associations is the earnings from fees and rentals, in connection with the regular services. The trends may be studied below :—

Earnings.

(in rupees.)

	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
First Group ..	3,62,420	3,43,863	3,54,109	3,55,409	4,01,268
Second Group .	91,371	1,35,252	1,69,630	1,73,810	1,96,069
Mofussil Assns.	27,564	34,848	75,522	1,01,749	1,49,379

These earnings represent receipts from hostels, restaurants, educational classes, socials and similar features. Among the Mofussil Associations, Bangalore and Hyderabad both include the revenue from their army canteens under this head. While there is some variation as between individual Associations, as may be noted in part one, there have been on the whole substantial increases in this category, in all groups. It is of special interest to observe that, while the income from membership dues has been declining in the leading Associations, during the period studied, the reverse is true of the income from earnings. This seems to indicate that the Associations in question are developing as “service agencies” more than they are as “fellowships”.

Additional sources of income for some of these Associations are Government grants, endowments, and subsidies from the National Council. Government grants have been made regularly to the Associations in Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon and Lahore (the latter on a diminishing scale), during the period studied,

and somewhat irregularly to the Associations in Hyderabad, Madura and Trivandrum. Calcutta and Lahore are the only Associations with endowments, that of the latter being considerably smaller. Subsidies from the National Council are made only to the Mofussil Associations.

In concluding this section, the sources of revenue above discussed will be presented in relation one to another, in the following table, in percentage form. The figures are for the year 1928 and are presented separately for each group of Associations. Inasmuch as the Hyderabad Association derives an unusually large income from earnings, for this class of Association, the Mofussil group will be presented in two forms, with and without the Hyderabad centre, for purposes of comparison.

Sources of Income of the Local Associations (1928).

	Leading Associa- tions	Second Group	Mofussil Group	Mofussil without Hydera- bad
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Contributions ..	9.0	12.1	5.3	9.9
Membership Dues ..	5.1	7.9	3.0	9.0
Earnings ..	74.1	74.8	84.5	59.9
Government Grants .	3.9	2.3	2.5	4.5
Endowment ..	7.9	2.9	..	..
National Council ..	..	..	4.7	16.7
Total ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

2. Avenues of Expenditure.

Owing to the fact that the local Associations do not keep uniform records, the data secured from them on expenditures are confused and on the whole not very satisfactory. Some Associations reporting no outlay under the heads of "Compensation" and "Commodities" clearly misunderstood the terms, and others were confused between "Commodities" and "Miscellaneous Services." The tables are therefore not very reliable and are not reproduced in this report. They may be consulted, however, in the files of the International Survey.

The bulk of expenses for all Associations, as was to have been anticipated, comes under the head of general maintenance

and salaries. Only the larger Associations make regular contributions to the National Council, as will be recalled from the discussion of the revenue commission's ratio plan of assessment. The Associations in Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, Madras, Bangalore and Hyderabad have been paying relatively substantial sums in interest on loans, during this period, and the Madura centre has done so since 1927. All three of the leading Associations, moreover, are carrying accumulated debts on operating expenses, and four of the Mofussil Associations are similarly encumbered. This indebtedness is covered, in the first instance, by overdrafts on the security of their property and investments, and, in the second case, chiefly by grants or loans from the National Council. In 1928, the indebtedness of these centres was as follows :—

				Rs.
Calcutta	..	..	..	35,000
Bombay	..	..	..	17,871
Rangoon	..	..	..	15,000
Hyderabad	..	..	..	20,000
Bangalore	..	..	..	2,265
Madura	..	..	..	1,200
Trivandrum	..	..	..	330

According to statements secured from the general secretaries of these Associations, budgets are regularly prepared in all centres. The procedure followed is substantially the same in all cases ; the secretary of the branch or department prepares the first draft for presentation to the committee ; this body, after scrutinizing the document, hands it on to the board of directors for final sanction. Nearly all of the Associations here studied have been experiencing difficulty in accurately estimating their regular income and expenditure for the subsequent year. All accounts are, apparently, submitted to a thorough-going audit once a year. Whenever there is more than one branch in a given city, the accounts are centralized. The six leading Associations own their buildings, land and equipment, but the National Council holds in trust the property of the Mofussil centres. The general secretaries, on the whole, reported a favourable attitude on the part of the community towards the Association's business methods.

F. CONCLUSIONS.

In the foregoing discussions of the financial situation of the Y.M.C.A. movement in India, Burma and Ceylon, the major facts have been presented with regard to the sources of income

and avenues of expenditure of the National Council and the local Associations. From these facts there emerge certain important questions that may be formulated as follows :—

What sources of revenue are open to the Young Men's Christian Association in India ?

What are the conditions necessary for self-support, as far as both the National Council and the local Associations are concerned ?

What distribution of the contributions from abroad will be most advantageous for the movement as a whole ?

It is not within the scope of this study to answer these questions, that being the proper function of the administration of the movement itself. Valuable opinion on this subject will be found in Appendix B of this report, from persons intimately associated with the Association's financial problems. This appendix probably embodies the best informed judgment available on the above questions.

CHAPTER 8.

THE INDIAN SECRETARYSHIP.

A. INTRODUCTION.

In the present organization of the Young Men's Christian Association in India, Burma and Ceylon, the employed secretary plays a very important part. That this has not always been the case will be recalled from earlier chapters of this report. Even to-day a large amount of work is being done by volunteer, or honorary, secretaries in the smaller centres. In the towns and cities, however, and in the work of the national organization, the employed secretary occupies the place of major leadership. A study of the problems of this group is accordingly in order.

The purpose of this investigation is to discover such areas of friction and maladjustment as may exist in the personnel situation, and to appraise the significance of the secretaryship to the movement as a whole. A study of this kind must necessarily be confined to broad issues and fundamental policies. It should also be pointed out that personnel studies are likely to bring to the surface more criticism and bitterness than the situation actually warrants. By this process, however, defects in policy and sources of maladjustment may also be indicated. Certainly to get at the root cause of personnel difficulties is to disclose some of the factors that determine the success or failure of the organization itself.

In the following table, the trend away from honorary secretaries and towards the use of employed officers may be studied :—

Trends in Y.M.C.A. Leadership.

			Honorary Staff	Employed Indian Staff	Employed Foreign Staff	Total Employed
1891	..	..	35	2	1	3
1892	..	..	41	2	1	3
1894	..	..	69	4	4	8
1896	..	..	60	7	7	14
1899	..	..	107	9	15	24
1901	..	..	116	7	12	19
1903	..	..	82	4	24	28

			Honorary Staff	Employed Indian Staff	Employed Foreign Staff	Total Employed
1905	..	..	50	4	28	32
1907	..	..	59	16	35	51
1910*	..	..	..	..	..	60
1920	..	..	19	153	70	223
1921	..	..	24	91	72	169
1922	..	..	24†	103	52	155
1923	..	..	24†	81	47	128
1924	..	..	32	80	45	125
1925	..	..	35	84	43	127
1926	..	..	34	80	42	122
1927	..	..	40	80	38	118
1928	..	..	44	69	33	102
1929	..	..	48	70	36	106

* Incomplete record.

† Estimated.

It will be seen that the number of honorary secretaries consistently increased between 1891 and 1901. The first period of Association history in India was clearly one of volunteer leadership. However, from the year 1891 onwards, the employed staff was likewise on the increase. At this time the Association had become self-conscious as a national organization and was holding national conventions regularly every three years. The opinion is warranted that these employed secretaries, who were giving their full time to the work, were coming more and more to dominate the policies of the movement. It will have been noted above that, beginning with 1903, the number of honorary secretaries declined while the employed secretariat increased enormously. By 1920, only 19 honorary secretaries are recorded while the employed officers numbered 223.

The years 1920-1924 were critical ones for the Association and took heavy toll of the personnel. The Indian employed staff dropped from 153 to 80, during this period, which represents a decrease of 52.3 per cent. At the same time there was a drop from 70 to 45 on the foreign employed staff, or a decrease of 64.3 per cent. These were abnormal years of readjustment after the war period. Many secretaries had been engaged for temporary war service and were released after 1920. By 1925, the situation had about returned to normal. At that time there were 35 honorary and 127 employed secretaries on the staff. Since then,

there has been a slight increase in the former group, and a continued decrease in the latter group. The financial curtailments forced upon the movement, at this time, are reflected in this situation. The financial difficulties of the Associations abroad are likewise seen in the steady withdrawal of foreign personnel.

While the following analysis of the staff relates to an abnormal period, it does serve to indicate the way in which economic pressure influenced the readjustment of the Association's affairs.

Racial Composition of the Employed Staff (1920-1924).

	1920	1924
Indians ..	150	79
Anglo-Indians ..	3	1
North Americans ..	28	24
British ..	40	20
Swiss ..	2	1
	<hr/> 223	<hr/> 125

It will be seen that, while reductions took place all along the line, the most drastic cut occurred among the Indian secretaries, and the second largest cut among the British secretaries.

An interesting development in recent years has been the fact that other foreign Associations besides those of England and North America have been sending secretaries to India. During the period 1926-1928, the movements in Australia, New Zealand, Denmark and Sweden each sent a representative to serve the Indian Association. The Danish and Swedish secretaries were sent to special centres related to the fields served by the missionaries from these countries.

On January 1st, 1930, there were 107 secretaries on the employed staff of the Association, and 43 honorary secretaries. Of the former, 36 came from abroad and were supported by foreign movements. The remaining 71 secretaries were Indians, Anglo-Indians, Ceylonese and a few locally supported Englishmen. From many points of view, the Indian employed officers—numbering 55 in all—are the most significant group on the staff. This study is confined to a consideration of their problems only.

B. THE PRESENT INDIAN STAFF.

In August, 1920, after prolonged investigation and study, the National Council adopted a plan for standardizing the Indian

secretaryship. These rules have guided the personnel policies of the National Council ever since.

With these regulations in mind, it will be of interest to survey the present situation among the Indian secretaries. Information, with varying degrees of completeness under the several heads, was available for all but five of the present Indian staff.

1. *General Characteristics and Background.*

The educational attainment of the present staff is given in the following table:—

Education of the Indian Staff (1930).

High School only	..	..	7
1—2 years of College	..	..	11
3—4 years of College without graduating	..	..	7
B.A. Degree	..	..	18
M.A. Degree	..	..	6
B.D. Degree	..	..	1
			—
			50
			—

Of the eighteen holding B.A. degrees, seven had also done some post-graduate studying without taking advanced degrees. It will be noted that half of the above group had had less than a full college education. In this connection, it will be of interest to compare the present staff with former Indian secretaries, in regard to educational attainment. Information is available on nineteen men who have left the work since 1924, and is given herewith.

Education of Former Indian Secretaries.

High School only	..	8
Some College Education	..	1
B.A. Degree	..	5
M.A. Degree	..	2
B.D. Degree	..	1
Technical Degrees	..	2
		—
		19
		—

Nearly half the number, it will be seen, had had only a high school education. While no generalization is warranted from such small

figures, the opinion may nevertheless be hazarded that some college education tends to enhance a man's chances of succeeding in the secretaryship.

Nearly two-thirds (65.8 per cent) of the present staff have had additional formal training in Association methods. Of these, 28.9 per cent were sent to North America for training either in the Association Colleges or in the local Associations; the remaining 36.9 per cent have taken courses either at the former secretarial school at Bangalore or at the present school for physical education at Madras.

Seventeen (the 28.9 per cent above mentioned) of the present Indian employed officers went to North America for training, at the time indicated below :—

Period when the Indian Staff Trained in North America.

Between 1910 and 1920	..	8
„ 1920 „ 1923	..	4
„ 1923 „ 1926	..	3
Since 1926	..	2
		—
		17
		—

Of these seventeen, three have since left the Association. Two are at present at Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's institution at Santiniketan, Bolpur, one being principal of the college and the other principal of the high school. The third is charity commissioner in Colombo, Ceylon. Of the fourteen who are still in Association work, three are wardens of Indian student hostels in England and Scotland, five are general secretaries in local Associations, two are doing welfare work, one is a physical director, one is in rural work, one has charge of the Association Press book store, and one is in charge of a branch for boys. The record of these seventeen men is of practical significance, in that a considerable outlay of money was required for their education, and in that they were sent to North America specifically for training. It should be said at this point that a number of the other Indian secretaries on the present staff have had the advantage of foreign experience, either in connection with war service or as secretaries of the English and Scotch hostels for Indian students.

The data on church membership, so far as available, are given in the next table. It will be seen that, while there is rather a wide distribution between the various Protestant sects, there is also a great predominance of Anglicans.

Church Membership of the Indian Staff (1930).

Anglican	..	..	30
Presbyterian	..	..	4
Lutheran	..	..	3
Wesleyan	..	..	3
Mathoma	..	..	2
Methodist Episcopal	..	..	2
Baptist	..	..	1
Congregational	..	..	1
Scotch Episcopal	..	..	1
			—
			47
No Data	..	..	3

Information is available for thirty-nine secretaries as to their activities in the church before taking up Association work. Of this number, twenty-eight had been Sunday school teachers, sixteen had served as lay preachers, and fifteen had been members of the church board.

The present age of the Indian staff is given in the following table :—

Age of Present Indian Staff (1930).

Under 30 years	..	..	4
31—35 years	..	..	5
36—40 „	..	..	19
41—50 „	..	..	6
51—55 „	..	..	4
			—
			38
No Data	..	..	12

It will be seen that the modal age group is the later thirties, and that most of the secretaries are over thirty-five, with a considerable proportion over forty. This indicates either that very few new secretaries are being recruited or else that older men are being admitted. As will appear later, the first alternative is more nearly the case, a situation of serious import for the Association. Information on age at the time of entering the secretaryship was available for the entire present Indian employed staff, and is presented in the next table :—

Age of Indian Staff on Entering the Work:

Under 21 years	..	..	4
21—25 years	..	..	23
26—30	„	..	14
31—35	„	..	13
36	„	..	1
			—
			55

It will be seen that most of the secretaries were under twenty-five when they first entered the work, and that the modal age group is the early twenties. The mean (or weighted average) age is between twenty-four and twenty-five. On the other hand, there was also quite a high proportion that joined the work after thirty. The latter probably trained first for some other vocation, possibly teaching, and became interested in the Association later.

The record is not so complete with regard to place of birth, as may be seen from the following table :—

Place of Birth of the Indian Staff.

South India and Travancore	22
Bengal	5
Punjab	4
Bombay Presidency ..	3
Ceylon and Miscellaneous ..	4
	—
	38
No Data	12

Of special interest is the obvious preponderance of South India and Travancore as the region from which Indian secretaries are recruited. This fact is easily understood in view of the strength of the Christian community, in that part of the empire, and in view of the many spirited local Associations.

By way of further indication of the background from which these men came, it will be of interest to consider the vocations of their fathers. By far the greater number are the sons of professional men, and notably of pastors, as may be seen below :—

Occupations of the Fathers of the Indian Staff.

Pastors	..	..	12
Teachers	..	..	7
Other Professions	..	..	10
Business Employees	..	..	5
Miscellaneous	..	..	4
			—
			38
No Data	..	..	12

Some information was secured on the vocations followed by the present staff before they joined the secretariat. The material is presented in the following table :—

Previous Occupations of the Indian Staff.

Teachers	..	..	19
Business Employees	..	..	9
Students	..	..	8
Lecturer	..	..	1
			—
			37
No Data	..	..	13

It is interesting to note that, while the educational world is clearly the best field for recruiting, as many as nine (or nearly a quarter) of the above number came to the Association from business positions.

Of special significance is the fact that as many as twenty-eight of the present Indian staff (71.9 per cent) had been members of the Association before taking up the work as a profession. Twenty-three had taught Bible classes for the Association, and twenty-four had been lay delegates to national conventions. Eighteen had served first as honorary secretaries. Others had been camp leaders, chairmen of committees, or teachers of the educational programme. Seventeen had lived in Association hostels. These men had thus had considerable contact with the movement before they actually became employed officers.

2. Conditions of Work.

Significant light on the personnel situation within the organization will be thrown by a consideration of the length of time the present staff has been in service. The figures are given below as of January 1st, 1930.

Length of Service of the Indian Staff.

: 1— 5 years	..	..	5
5 : 1—10 ,,	..	..	6
10 : 1—15 ,,	..	..	25
15 : 1—20 ,,	..	..	11
20 : 1—25 ,,	..	..	3
			—
			50

The above table clearly indicates that younger men are not being attracted to the work in the right proportions ; only five of the present number have served less than five years. As many as thirty-nine, or nearly four-fifths, of the above group have been in the work ten years or more. The average term of service is about fourteen years.

The following table is a record of the number of centres served by most of these secretaries. Changes due to war service or training are not included :—

Number of Centres Served by the Indian Staff.

17 secretaries worked in 1 centre only.

8	„	„	2 centres.
5	„	„	3 ,,
7	„	„	4 ,,
5	„	„	5 ,,
2	„	„	7 ,,
1	„	„	8 ,,

—
45

5 No Data.

Two general modes of behaviour are indicated by the above figures. On the one hand there is a considerable group, the larger numerically, that tends to remain in one Association for a long time. Seventeen men have served the same organization since entering the work, and twenty-five have served only one or two Associations. On the other hand, as many as fourteen secretaries have been employed by four to eight different centres. It will be recalled (see preceding table) that no period of service exceeds twenty-five years in all. The conclusion is warranted that real cause of maladjustment must have existed in some of these cases.

Further light on this problem is shed by the following table, on which the length of time served in any one Association, exclusive of war service and training, is indicated. From the preceding

tabulation it appears that the forty-five secretaries together served 123 different terms, or periods in one centre. These periods are analysed below according to their duration:—

Periods of Service Analysed by Length of Time Served.

37 periods, or	30.0	per cent of the total,	lasted	: 6— 1	yrs.
8	6.5	"	"	"	1: 1— 1: 6 "
13	10.5	"	"	"	1: 7— 2 "
7	5.7	"	"	"	2: 1— 2: 6 "
11	9.0	"	"	"	2: 7— 3 "
16	13.0	"	"	"	3: 1— 5 "
22	18.0	"	"	"	5: 1— 10 "
9	7.3	"	"	"	over 10 "
123	100.0				

The average length of service in any one centre rendered by the group of forty-five secretaries was between two and three years. Slightly more than half of the terms analysed lasted two and a half years or less.

In the next table a rough comparison is made between the range of income of the above forty-four Indian secretaries and a similar range for nineteen North American secretaries. According to the statement of the senior secretary of the English National Council, the range of income of foreign secretaries other than North American would be about the same as that here indicated for the representatives of the International Committee.

Total Income of Indian and North American Secretaries Compared.

Rs.	North	
	Indians	Americans
501— 1,000	..	2
1,001— 2,000	..	6
2,001— 3,000	..	9
3,001— 4,000	..	9
4,001— 5,000	..	2
5,001— 6,000	..	7
6,001— 7,000	..	4
7,001— 8,000	..	3
8,001— 9,000	..	1
Carried over	..	43

Rs.	North	
	Indians	Americans
Brought forward ..	43	2
9,001—10,000 ..	..	..
10,001—11,000 ..	..	3
11,001—12,000 ..	1	1
12,001—13,000 ..	..	2
13,001—14,000 ..	..	..
14,001—15,000 ..	..	1
15,001—16,000 ..	..	4
16,001—17,000 ..	..	3
17,001—18,000 ..	..	2
Over 18,000 ..	..	1
	—	—
	44	19
	—	—

It will be seen that, while the income for the middle fifty per cent of the Indian secretaries ranged from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 6,000, the income for the corresponding group of North Americans ranged from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 16,000.

There has been a "Secretaries Provident Fund" in operation since 1923 and open to all secretaries on the regular cadre. Forty-six members of the Indian staff now participate in the arrangement. The plan calls for an annual payment of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of a member's salary each from the secretary himself and from the employing body. At the age of fifty-five, the secretary is entitled to the full amount standing to his credit with interest. If he leaves the work before attaining that age, the amount due to him is determined by a series of rules covering all possible eventualities.

D. ATTITUDES OF THE INDIAN STAFF TOWARD THEIR WORK.

Thirty-two of the Indian secretaries filled out a questionnaire dealing with the satisfactions and dissatisfactions of their work. Among other things, they were asked to rate eight items pertaining to the secretaryship on a scale of six points, ranging from "very unsatisfactory" to "very satisfactory". The composite answer was as follows:—

Chances for personal growth ..	..	Fairly satisfactory.
Chances for professional development ..	..	Fairly satisfactory.
Chances to participate in the work ..	..	Satisfactory.
Chances for education ..	..	Fairly unsatisfactory.

Chances for leisure, recreation, etc.	..	Fairly unsatisfactory.
Staff relationships .. ..	..	Satisfactory.
Salary situation .. ..	..	Fairly satisfactory.
The secretaryship as a profession	..	Fairly satisfactory.

It will be seen that the group as a whole considered the chances offered for participating in the real work of the Association and the staff relationships to be satisfactory. The chances for personal growth and professional development, the salary situation, and the secretaryship as a profession were rated as only fairly satisfactory, while the chances for education and recreation were thought to be fairly unsatisfactory. There were of course individuals whose opinion differed considerably from the group opinion as here stated.

There were on the questionnaire sub-questions pertaining to each of the main items already listed, which were designed to elucidate further the secretary's general evaluation. With regard to the first item, nearly all agreed that work in the Association definitely contributes something to their personal development. They stated that the work took about all the energy they had, but some added that perhaps it released more energy, on the whole, than it took. Nearly everyone agreed that they were better, more alive and bigger persons for being in the Y.M.C.A.

Most of the secretaries seemed to feel optimistic about their chances for professional development in the Association, but opinion was divided as to the value of Association experience as a preparation for other vocations, in case a transfer became necessary. While most of the secretaries felt they had ample opportunities for participating in the work, and were conscious of being a part of the national and world movements, eleven out of the twenty-eight recording the fact said that they were not doing the work for which they felt themselves best fitted.

As indicated above, the majority were not very happy about their chances to keep up their mental development. If they found any period for study, it was on their own time. They said there was no provision in their schedules for systematic study and that the National Council gave them no help in this respect. Similarly, most of the group indicated that they had very little time to themselves or for recreation. The work called them away from home at the times when their families might be together. A good many said they were so closely tied to their work that they could not participate in the life of the general community as much as they would like to.

While the majority opinion indicates that staff relationships are on the whole good, a number mentioned the fact that they hardly ever see the national secretaries. A number also reported that they had very little in common, in a social way, with the foreign secretaries. Nevertheless, the men filling out this questionnaire did feel that, on the whole, their working relationships were happy.

With regard to the salary situation, the comments varied greatly. Fourteen out of the twenty-eight answering this question said they were not satisfied with the present arrangement. Some of them said the scale itself was satisfactory, but since there was no pension or adequate retirement fund they felt insecure about the future. A few mentioned that, though they were on a definite scale, they had not received the increment due them because their local Association was in financial difficulties.

Generally speaking, the group was of the opinion that the secretaryship ranks high among the vocational opportunities open to Indian Christians, but that the uncertainty of Association finances introduces an element of insecurity with respect to the future and to old age. It is possible that the effect of the drastic staff reductions made necessary after the war is reflected in this judgment.

The staff was further asked to estimate their average number of working hours per week. Replies were received from thirty-seven secretaries. The group average estimate was a working week of fifty-seven hours, distributed among the following activities :—

- 40 per cent of the time was given to administrative routine,
- 25 per cent to conference with individuals,
- 20 per cent to committee work,
- 10 per cent to study and preparation for the work,
- 5 per cent to actual class work.

100 per cent.

This is the composite rating for the entire group ; it should, of course, be emphasized, representing administrative as well as programme secretaries. The above distribution does, however, indicate to some extent the proportion in which the Association makes use of the various talents of its staff.

The secretaries were likewise asked to estimate the distribution of their time according to the people with whom it was spent. According to the judgment of the group :—

40 per cent of their time was spent alone,
 20 per cent with members individually,
 15 with members in groups,
 10 per cent with members of the community as individuals,
 10 per cent with members of the community in groups,
 5 per cent with their colleagues on the staff.

100 per cent.

One measure of a secretary's contact with the movement as a whole, not mentioned so far, is his membership on Association committees. Only fourteen of the forty-three answering this question indicated that they were serving on any such committees. Three of these were members of the secretaries provident fund committee, two were serving on the budget reviewing committee (the former revenue commission), and one each was on the secretaries alliance committee and on the boys' work committee. The other committees represented were in connection with the local work.

E. CONCLUSIONS.

From the foregoing facts and discussions, the following questions emerge for special consideration :—

In whom should responsibility and control be vested for recruiting, training, placing and transferring the indigenous employed staff ?

What principles should govern the relationship of the foreign secretary to the present work ?

What principles should govern the standards for the salary and allowances of the Indian and foreign employed staffs ?

CHAPTER 9.

MEMBERSHIP.

The time and funds at the disposal of this survey did not permit any official count and analysis of the present membership of the Young Men's Christian Association. The following brief study was compiled from the reports of the national conventions, supplemented by statements and records from the leading local Associations. For the period 1910-1920, which included the emergency war service, no reports are available.

The trend in membership, as indicated in the following table, shows a fairly steady increase between 1891 and 1910 with relatively little change after that year. The decrease recorded for 1920 was due to the separation of the student Associations from the city movement, which took place in 1912.

Trend in Membership.

			Total Membership.	Number of Associations.
1891	..	..	1,896	35
1892	..	..	2,219	45
1894	..	..	3,793	78
1896	..	..	4,600	74
1899	..	..	5,265	131
1901	..	..	6,558	151
1903	..	..	6,957	110
1905	..	..	6,937	108
1907	..	..	8,502	120
1910	..	..	12,100	158
1920	..	..	10,463	242
1925	..	..	10,759	66

Information is available for studying the individual growth between 1901 and 1929 of all the local Associations selected for special attention by this survey, with the exception of Madras. The material is presented below :—

Growth of Membership in Ten Local Associations.

	1901	1907	1919	1925	1929
Bangalore	.. 45	193	444	426	440
Bombay	.. 376	550	646	821	357
Calcutta	.. 471	732	1,489	1,967	2,139

		1901	1907	1919	1925	1929
Coimbatore	..	..	52	97	241	515
Colombo	..	288	..	377	1,015	1,406
Hyderabad	..	77	70	183	451	485
Lahore	..	73	59	428	532	544
Madura	..	25	28	35	140	..
Rangoon	..	433	562	968	776	786
Trivandrum	..	55	70	208	215	341

The classification of the total membership is not complete for all Associations, but enough information is available to indicate the general trend. In the following table the membership is analysed according to "active" and "associate" classes.

Trend in Active and Associate Memberships.

		Active	Associate	No Data
1891	..	1,106	93	697
1892	..	1,267	98	854
1894	..	1,990	282	1,521
1896	..	2,167	..	2,433
1899	..	3,184	391	1,690
1901	..	2,383	2,144	2,031
1903	..	3,472	3,485	..
1905	..	3,434	3,488	15
1907	..	4,035	4,081	386
1910	..	..	..	12,100
1920	..	..	..	10,463
1925	..	2,164	7,270	1,325

It will be seen that the active membership far outnumbered the associate class between 1891 and 1901, that the two groups were roughly equal during the period 1901-1907, but that when the record is resumed in 1925 the associate membership had outgrown the active group more than three times. The latter had, moreover, substantially decreased in actual numbers.

The classification by races is more complete, on the whole, and is given in the next table.

Trend in Racial Composition of the Membership.

		Indian, etc.	European and Anglo-Indian	No Data
1891	..	1,074	813	9
1892	..	1,096	1,057	66
1894	..	1,935	1,482	376
1896	..	....	....	4,600

		Indian, etc.	European and Anglo-Indian	No Data
1899	..	3,978	1,287	....
1901	..	....	....	6,558
1903	..	5,379	1,578	....
1905	..	3,268	2,313	1,356
1907	..	5,502	2,729	271
1910	..	....	....	12,100
1920	..	....	....	10,463
1925	..	7,130	1,376	2,253

While the European and Anglo-Indian membership has grown only slightly, during this period, and has apparently been on the decrease since 1907, the indigenous membership has grown enormously. Some of the Associations that were originally intended for Europeans are now serving an Indian constituency. This is especially the case in the Mofussil towns and to a large extent in Lahore. The data were unfortunately not sufficiently complete to furnish an analysis according to religious affiliation.

The 1929 membership of the eleven local Associations especially studied by this survey was analysed more in detail. In the first table are presented the facts with regard to the length of time the present members have been in the Association.

*Length of Present Membership in Eleven Local Associations
(1929).*

		Ordinary Member- ship	Hostel Member- ship	Total Membership Per cent.
6 months	..	1,066	452	1,518 or 27.4
1 year	..	1,302	206	1,508 „ 27.3
2 years	..	543	223	766 „ 13.8
3 „	..	250	25	285 „ 5.2
4 „	..	219	20	239 „ 4.3
5 „	..	160	5	165 „ 3.0
6 „	..	179	12	191 „ 3.5
7 „	..	113	11	124 „ 2.2
8 „	..	247	5	252 „ 4.6
9 „	..	151	..	151 „ 2.7
10 „	..	352	..	332 „ 6.0
		<hr/> 4,572	<hr/> 959	<hr/> 5,531 or 100.0

The fact that over two-thirds of the members studied (68.5 per cent) have not been in the Association longer than two years suggests a fairly rapid turnover in the group as a whole. No significant difference on this head appears to exist between the hostel members and the ordinary programme participants. The distribution according to age is as follows:—

Age of Members in Eleven Associations (1929).

				Per cent.
5—10 years old	..	..	85	or 1.6
11—15	..	..	419	„ 7.9
16—20	..	..	897	„ 17.0
21—25	..	..	1,244	„ 23.6
26—30	..	..	1,117	„ 21.2
31—40	..	..	941	„ 17.8
Over 40	..	..	575	„ 10.9
			<hr/>	
			5,278	or 100.0
No Data	..	..	253	

It will be seen that nearly half of the group studied were in the twenties, and more especially in the early twenties. From the following analysis according to vocation it will be noted that over half are business employees and students.

Vocations of Members in Eleven Associations (1929).

				Per cent.
Business Employees	..	..	1,842	or 35.4
Students (all types)	..	..	1,073	„ 20.6
Business Executives	..	..	781	„ 15.0
Professional Men	..	..	721	„ 14.0
Government Officials	..	..	273	„ 5.3
Artisans and Mechanics	..	..	143	„ 2.7
Domestic Servants and Unskilled				
Labourers	..	..	104	„ 2.0
Artists and Journalists	..	..	37	„ 0.7
Unemployed	..	..	222	„ 4.3
			<hr/>	
			5,196	or 100.0
No Data	..	..	335	

It will be recalled from the tables dealing with the income from membership dues and from earnings in Chapter 7, E, that while the receipts from dues are decreasing in the leading

Associations, they are on the increase in the other centres studied. The income from earnings is markedly on the increase in all groups of Associations. The indication is that people are making use of the privileges offered by the Y.M.C.A. and are apparently satisfied with what they receive ; in the strongest Associations a growing tendency is evident to regard the Y.M.C.A. as an agency from which services can be bought rather than as a fellowship to be joined.

There are other indications of the waning significance of Association membership itself and the growing interest in service features. As indicated earlier in this chapter, the active membership is now far outnumbered by the associate class. Furthermore, it is at present the practice to make no demands on active members that are not also made on the associate members. In former times they were called on to make special pledges concerning their conduct, such as keeping the morning watch, but no such requests are made now. There is moreover little evidence to show that active members take their voting privilege very seriously.

The effect on the programme of this change in emphasis has been marked. Members are left a good deal to themselves while activities are planned with a wider audience in mind. Association secretaries are becoming community servants. That the movement itself is aware of this state of affairs, and questions its value to some extent, will be seen from the following quotation from the *National Convention Report* for 1924-1926 :—

“ The National Executive would point out to the Convention that the whole question of membership and its significance will have very shortly to be re-examined ; for, in spite of the increased importance (*i.e.*, numerically) in membership, the non-membership activities of the Association—for quality of work—it would appear are still among the best achievements of the Association. A statement like this needs explanation before its significance can be appreciated.

“ In a number of the local Associations there are activities, for which the local Boards are responsible and yet which have no membership features ; these are a form of service to the community in which the ordinary membership of the Association does not share. Dr. A. G. Noehren, in his report on the Physical Department, has pointed out very clearly that the Physical Directors—most of whom are recruited by the Foreign Committee of the U.S.A. and Canada* for

*This body succeeded the International Committee in 1925 ; it was a joint committee of the independent National Councils of the two North American movements.

service in India—have served the local Associations not by a particular service to the membership so much as by a service to the community in general. For example, in the Bombay Association most, if not all, of the time of the Physical Director has been given to developing a programme for physical education among the students in the training colleges, or (to) helping the University with the physical education of their students....In some other parts of India, the local Physical Director has become the chief adviser on physical education to the Education Department of the local Government.

“In another city in India a secretary, who was set aside for work in an Anglo-Indian centre, soon was led into the community itself, and was enabled thereby to devote his time and his energies to serve that community in a wider manner than would have been possible if he had devoted himself to the specific task of administering the particular centre, of which he was in charge. As we have already indicated, some of these services to the community at large would appear to be of extreme value, but it has raised the question and will continue to raise the question as to how far, in a country like India where doors of opportunity are opening up in all directions, the Association movement should confine itself and its workers to a membership programme.”

The hostels form an important part of the Y.M.C.A. activities. They serve to increase the Association membership and are also a source of income to the organization. But among the residents there are very few, perhaps ten per cent, who take any real interest in the programme. From answers to a questionnaire circulated among hostel residents, it appears that very few attend the religious services offered. Not one expressed a word of appreciation for them nor felt the need for such activities. One secretary in charge of a hostel said he had given up the idea of running a religious programme. On the other hand, almost everybody apparently makes some use of the facilities for physical activities. Appreciation was also expressed for the social and lecture programmes. The feature of the work most often cited for approval was the opportunity provided for meeting men of different provinces and countries on a level of equality and friendship.

The sum total of the opinion secured, however, indicated, as noted above, that the hostel membership as a whole was rather

indifferent to the programme offered. This is partly due to the transient nature of the group, as suggested earlier in this chapter by the fact that the majority of the present membership have not been in the hostels for more than a year or two. Another factor in the situation is the circumstance that the hostels are managed largely by junior secretaries or young assistants who are not always the equal of the residents in intellectual attainments. Under these conditions, the best purposes of the Association can obviously not be achieved.

CHAPTER 10.

THE WORK OF THE LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Owing to the restrictions on this survey, in terms of time, and also to the fact that qualified investigators were not easy to secure, no formal study or appraisal were undertaken of the present programme in the local Associations. Studies of the major projects of the National Council are presented in part three of this report, to follow. In this chapter are brought together briefly certain considerations that will throw light on the work done in the local centres.

A. HISTORICAL NOTES.

In the first place, there is valuable insight to be derived from a study of the historical records. It will be recalled from earlier chapters that certain well-defined phases are to be discerned in the evolution of the typical Association. The first stage has often been called the Bible study period because of the prevailing almost exclusive emphasis on formal religious activities. Then followed a period when the curriculum was enlarged to take account of the individual's full personality. The next step was to enlarge the range of the Association's field and to extend the work to include welfare and service projects affecting Christians and non-Christians alike. The tendency at this stage was to reach out from the building into the community at large. Finally, there is at present discernible in certain Associations, notably Madras, a tendency to shift the emphasis away from formal instruction towards education through graded social experience. According to this conception, character is built through successful experience in associated living; life in the Association itself constitutes an education. The following brief summaries of the life history of the representative local Associations will illustrate the general trend.

The History of an Association in a Leading Port City.

This Association started as a religious fellowship amongst spiritually minded Europeans. It carried on for twenty years with an unpretentious equipment and volunteer leadership. Its active membership at this time was roughly twice as large as the associate membership. So far as can be deduced from the records responsibility for the extension and growth of the work rested

on the general membership, led by a few important committees. The same group controlled the policies of the Association. During this period, branches were established in various parts of the city and a rather notable extension programme was maintained. The equipment was limited to a lecture hall and a coffee room. Finances were taken care of from the pockets of the members.

After twenty years, an employed secretary was secured on full time and he soon began to agitate for a larger building. In due time such a building was acquired, followed in the course of years by other buildings and the employment of additional secretaries. Subtle but real changes occurred in the control of the Association. The functions of the board of directors increased in importance and this body came to be elected less from the general membership and more from the large interests of the city. Government and municipal officials were chosen, for instance, as well as representatives of the city's business and industrial life, and other leading citizens of the same calibre. The clergymen on the board were made honorary vice-presidents of the organization. Furthermore, the budget increased in size, and financial support was secured less from the members and more from the general public. The associate membership grew to equal the active class, which in turn increased only slightly during this time. One gets the very definite impression that active membership came to mean less and less, and that control went by default to the employed staff and the board of directors. The Association at this stage was primarily an educational institution and only secondarily a fellowship. There was an emphasis on equipment and such features as can be served by equipment. The success of the work was tested by the numbers brought to the buildings.

The second period lasted approximately until the war years of 1914-18. Certain developments took place during the actual war period that left the Association a different organization when it was over. The Y.M.C.A. then began to call itself a service agency and to send its employed officers out from the buildings into the community. The Association movement now became largely identified with the personnel of trained experts in physical education, community service and welfare work, who were furnished on request to the government, to business corporations and to public institutions, or who were sent into a given neighbourhood to work for social betterment. The key to service was the need of the community. The necessary funds were furnished by the government and the general public, and secured

by the board of directors now chosen quite largely for their ability to secure the desired backing for the trained staff. At this time, the Association established five community centres and advertised its work as part of a world-wide community service. Active membership had become quite ineffective; only insignificant sums were received in membership contributions. The term "member" was applied to those individuals who had come together to receive the services of the staff; they were the beneficiaries of the programme. This period may be characterized as the stage of social service under the leadership of trained secretaries.

The third stage in the development of the Association under consideration has not been superseded by any newer practice. The life of the organization, as a matter of fact, is visibly becoming weaker. One branch is facing dissolution for lack of moral stamina, another is in financial straits, and the constituency of a third is dwindling. Fellowship appears to be at a very low ebb. This particular Association exhibits very little courage in the face of opposition from certain community groups. Only slight financial and moral support is secured from the membership at large. The basic difficulty appears to lie in the fact that the Association is trying to do social work but is not itself a socially significant entity. It tries to teach what it cannot exemplify and is limited by the moral neutrality of its own members.

*The History of an Association in one of the Cities
of the Second Group.*

This Association was founded expressly to meet the spiritual loneliness of young Europeans away from home. In the words of one of the annual reports, the original hope was that "by God's grace it might be used to secure Christian fellowship and kindly interest between those who love the same Master." The organization functioned for nearly twenty years with very little equipment and with volunteer leadership. The programme was almost entirely religious in nature and for the immediate benefit of the founders and members themselves. In fact, one of the conditions of membership was attendance at certain Bible readings.

The original life impetus of this Association had worked itself out after roughly twenty years and the work was closed. Within a year, however, it was reopened under new management and with a new purpose. The organization was then carried on primarily for the Indian population and put into the hands of an

employed officer from abroad. Between this time and the war years occurred the institutional development typical of the Association movement as a whole. The four-fold programme was introduced, buildings were acquired, and branches developed in various parts of the city.

After the war period the Association continued to develop primarily as an educational institution rather than as a social service agency. It attained an advanced stage of Indianization, in regard both to lay leadership and financial support, and its employed staff became dominantly Indian. This Association is noted for its active student work and also for its programme for boys, as well as for the more ordinary features of the typical Association programme. A significant development in very recent times has been the emphasis on racial and religious tolerance. Hindus, Moslems and Christians alike are admitted to the boys' camps, for instance, where religious services are conducted both for the entire group together and for the followers of each faith separately. To quote another annual report :—

“As a Christian Association, the Y.M.C.A. is firmly loyal to its Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, and to the Way of Life as taught by Him. But without deflecting in any way from its fundamental loyalty to Him, it stands for a broad-minded policy of tolerance and mutual respect for each other's point of view.”

B. PUBLIC COMMENT ON THE WORK OF THE LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Group and individual interviews were secured all over India, by the survey staff, on the general subject of the work and function of the local Associations. Some 200 people, representing the Associations and also the several communities, participated in the group discussions, which are briefly summarized below :—

Question No. 1: “*What is the most useful and valuable thing about the Y.M.C.A. in your community?*”

Answers received in the leading port cities :

The programme in physical education ..	5
It promotes internationalism	2

Answers received in the cities of the second group :

It promotes inter-communal friendship ..	3
It is a non-proselytizing institution ..	2
It promotes internationalism	2

It provides an opportunity for social experimentation	2
It spreads the Christian outlook on life ..	1
The hostels	1
The programme in physical education ..	1
It furnishes club life inexpensively ..	1
It is a non-political institution ..	1
It has a big building	1
It stimulates the community because it is a new venture	1
The personal work with individuals ..	1
Answers received in the Mofussil towns :	
It acts as a town social centre ..	4
It promotes inter-communal friendship ..	2
It promotes internationalism	2
The rural work	1
The programme in physical education ..	1
Its freedom in social experimentation ..	1
Answers received in rural Travancore :	
The work in religious evangelism ..	15
It promotes inter-denominational friendship	4
It promotes inter-communal friendship ..	2
It furnishes a platform for lecturers ..	2
The programme in physical education ..	2
It organizes small religious groups ..	1
It spreads the Christian outlook on life ..	1
It promotes internationalism	1
It keeps the children out of mischief ..	1
The Sunday schools	1

Quite striking in the above analysis is the recurrent emphasis on the Association's function as an agent of reconciliation. While certain programme features are praised more in some parts of the country than others (this is notably the case with respect to the religious work of the Travancore village Associations), the bulk of the answers from all over the country have to do with the way in which the Association cuts across social barriers of one kind or another. In the port cities, where perhaps significantly little was offered in praise of the movement, it was at least given credit for being to some extent international. In the cities of the second group, the term used most often was "inter-communal"; in the Mofussil towns the Association was thought of as a "community

centre"; in rural Travancore the emphasis was on "inter-denominationalism" and "inter-communal friendship". Everywhere, moreover, much the same idea is to be noted back of the praise for the Association's ability as a social pioneer and for its purpose of spreading the Christian outlook on life.

Since the Madras Association represents the place where the principle of reconciliation has perhaps so far received the greatest development and expression, the testimony of some of the friends and members of this Association will be of interest at this point.

"I consider the striking and enduring contribution of the Y.M.C.A. to be two-fold :—

1. It shows that the Christian spirit must of necessity express itself in love and service, apart from any question of response from society. The Christian filled with the love of Christ is attracted to the suffering, the needy, to the lovable and the glorious, even if a single soul is not converted. Christian life operates without a thought to the fruit or returns. This aspect of Christian life appeals to the Hindu who is taught to appreciate, in the *Gita*, 'unmotivated love and work'.

2. The Y.M.C.A. disarms the persistent suspicion against proselytising movements, that behind all philanthropy of the Christian Church is the one predatory motive of capturing men for the community and for the church. The Y.M.C.A. does not preach Christ in 'words' nor engage in invasions of non-Christian society. It spreads Christ by contagion, by living a free, natural, spontaneous Christian life with others. There is a Christianity of which the symbol is not an angler's rod or fisherman's net. That Christianity India needs and the Y.M.C.A. gives.

"I have been a member of the Y.M.C.A. for over fifteen years and a member of the hostel for over ten years. I have also taken part in the activities of the Association throughout. I did not join the Y.M.C.A. with an extraordinary expectation of what the Y.M.C.A. can do for men like myself. No one is, however, more surprised than myself when I find that the services that the Y.M.C.A. renders to the young men in the city are far more than what I expected it to be capable of doing. The Y.M.C.A. has been regarded as a foreign institution, in this country, and in these days of growing nationalism all institutions that have a foreign origin are looked upon with a certain amount of prejudice and suspicion.

I decided not to look at the activities of the Association with prejudice, and that helped me to form a correct estimate of what the Association has done for the country. It has been a powerful factor in cementing the bonds of fellowship between the various communities, in this Presidency, and has helped them to cultivate a spirit of brotherhood in the true sense of the term. One of the reasons why it succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and support of the men of other religions and races appears to me to be the fact that it avoided the narrowness and formalism connected with orthodox Christianity, and at the same time it held true to the fundamental principles of Christianity, such as love, service, etc. It did not attempt to promote evangelism and thereby create, in the minds of men of other religions, a sense of fear. By the adoption of this policy, it has won the support and co-operation of young men of other religions, and has helped them to appreciate Christ better. I am thankful to the Y.M.C.A. for the very great services it has rendered to men like myself, and for forgiving whatever ingratitude they may have shown toward the Association.

"All religions, in their pure essence, may not differ in their spirit or tendencies, but the teachings of Christ are within easy grasp of an average man, who often lacks the acumen to predicate his God and the value of his life through the intricate rituals and doctrines that abound in some other religions, such as Hinduism. To him the Y.M.C.A. is a source of healthy influence, inasmuch as Christ's ideals are made familiar to him without direct preaching or propaganda. The frank and genial atmosphere of the Association, created and maintained by successive secretaries with an earnestness to be of real service to humanity, wins many to sobriety of purpose and ways of service. It is no mean privilege for anybody to be associated with the work of the Y.M.C.A., which is the one and only institution in the city that affords opportunities for cordial and effective service. They that do not utilize the institution, but by preference or habit spend their evenings in several clubs, whose tendencies are not always commendable, are to be pitied.

"The Y.M.C.A. may not have achieved anything very spectacular, but it has achieved a thing of solid worth and value. It has helped tremendously to create an atmosphere which makes it possible for leaders of thought, in the different religions, to come together on a footing of perfect equality and intelligent and sympathetic understanding, to discuss

seriously without rancour and animosity questions of the ultimate values in religious experience. Free from the obsession of denominationalism and the prejudices of sectarianism, it has succeeded in providing a thoroughly cosmopolitan platform, where serious-minded persons belonging to any religion, who possess spiritual experience of value, may discourse on the great issues of life. This, to my mind, is the best contribution of the Y.M.C.A. in this country.

“Christian literature here thirty or forty years ago was very hostile, almost bellicose, in its attitude towards the great religions of India. Now there is a great change in the angle of vision, there is more sympathetic understanding and intelligent appreciation. This change is due to a great extent to the influence of the Y.M.C.A. movement.”

The second question asked in the group interviews had to do with the main criticisms brought against the local Associations. The answers were as follows :—

Question No. 2 : “ *What is the chief criticism brought against the Y.M.C.A. in your community ?* ”

Answers received in the leading port cities :

The big buildings are too expensive ..	6
The lack of ethical freedom	5
The hostels are merely cheap rooming houses	5
The Y.M.C.A. yields to race prejudice ..	4
The religious work is neglected ..	3
There is no objective	2
It has lost the European community ..	2
It restricts political discussion ..	1
The boys' work is neglected	1
The controlling board is out of touch with the members	1

Answers received in the cities of the second group :

The big buildings are too expensive ..	2
The leadership is too transient ..	2
It encourages the formation of expensive habits	1
It is restricted in political activity ..	1
It violates distinctions of taste ..	1
It has lost the European community ..	1
Too much work for 'natives'	1

Answers received in the Mofussil towns :

The Y.M.C.A. is controlled only by Christians	2
It encourages the formation of expensive and idle habits	1
It depends too much on the personality of the secretary	1
It mixes in politics	1
It restricts discussion on industrial and political problems	1
The Y.M.C.A. is too expensive ..	1

Answers received in rural Travancore :

The big buildings are too expensive ..	2
Inadequate attention given to rural work	1
The programme has become stale ..	1
It fosters expensive habits	1
It neglects the religious work	1
It does not reach out into the country ..	1

It will be seen, in the first place, that there was more criticism in the leading port cities than anywhere else. The criticisms brought against the movement everywhere, furthermore, fall into two general categories : those that are obviously the complaints of partisans and that, consequently, may be regarded to some extent as indirect testimony to the reconciling activity of the work, and those that question the value of the big buildings and their tendency to foster expensive habits.

Several questions were asked in these group discussions that had to do with the functioning of the Association's machinery. Since matters of this sort have a direct bearing on the work an organization is doing, the answers will be introduced at this point. It will be of interest in this connection to bear in mind the detailed discussions in the foregoing chapters.

Question No. 3 : "*What is the matter with the Secretaryship as a Profession ?*"

Answers received in the leading port cities :

The discrimination in salaries between European and Indian secretaries ..	5
The lack of equipment for the Indian staff	3
There is little fellowship between Secretaries	3

Specialists are not allowed to do their work	2
There is no security for the Indian staff ..	1
The Indian secretaries are not trained ..	1

Answers received in the cities of the second group :

There is no security for the Indian staff.	5
The prestige of the white secretaries in the community is harmful to the Indians	3
The hours are too long ; insufficient recreation	3
There is little security for the European staff	1
Specialists are not allowed to do their work	1
There is not enough good fellowship ..	1

Answers received in the Mofussil towns :

The Indian staff is at a disadvantage because it has to depend on local subscriptions for its salary	1
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Answers received in rural Travancore :

Specialists are not allowed to do their work	1
The Indian secretaries are not trained ..	1
The Indian secretaries are subordinated to the foreign secretaries	1
The use of honorary secretaries is inadvisable	1
European secretaries are still needed ..	1

Question No. 4 : “ *What obstacles are preventing the Y.M.C.A. from becoming Indian or from taking root in the country ?* ”

Answers received in the leading port cities :

The high salaries of the secretariat ..	1
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Answers received in the cities of the second group :

The high salaries of the secretariat ..	1
The Indian lack of initiative	1

No answers were received in the Mofussil towns.

Answers received in rural Travancore :

The inability of the Indians to support it.	3
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The big buildings	3
The general public is not aware of it ..	1
The people are not educated up to its ideals	1

Question No. 5: "*What changes would you advocate in the organization of the Y.M.C.A.?*"

Answers received in the leading port cities :

Decentralization of the National Council.	4
More Indians on the boards of directors .	2
Making the National Council function more in local communities	1
Abandon the European work	1

Answers received in the cities of the second group :

Decentralization of the National Council .	3
Make the National Council function in the local community	3
(Maintain the National Council as it is)	2
More Indians on the boards of directors .	2
Decentralization of the local Associations.	1

Answers received in the Mofussil towns :

Decentralization of the National Council .	1
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Answers received in rural Travancore :

Decentralization of the National Council .	1
Make the National Council function in the local community	1

Question No. 6: "*What are the special financial problems of the Y.M.C.A.?*"

Answers received in the leading port cities :

The inability of the Indians to raise money	1
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Answers received in the cities of the second group :

The unwillingness of the Indians to raise money	2
The inability of the Indians to get money	1
The Y.M.C.A. is not supported enough by its members	1

No answers were received in the Mofussil towns.

Answers received in rural Travancore :

The unwillingness of the Indians to raise money	1
There is no Indian secretary for finance	1
The failure to study Indian methods of financing	1
Indian Christians support a large number of other causes	1
(Western financial aid is justified because of the existence of Western exploitation)	1

C. OBSERVATION AND APPRAISAL OF THE FOURFOLD PROGRAMME BY THE SURVEY STAFF.

The following brief comments are based on visits, extensive conversations, and the returns from questionnaires to members. They are not offered as thorough-going studies but simply as suggestions, for what they may be worth.

The so-called four-fold programme still appears to be the conscious policy of most local Associations, but there is evidence that enthusiasm for it is on the decline. The real driving force appears to be elsewhere. This is particularly the case, perhaps, in the Associations of the second group—in Madras, Colombo and Lahore—where the four-fold work is in a more flourishing condition and is more extensively patronized than in most Associations, but where the vitality of the organization is increasingly finding expression in the new emphasis on education through the experience of group reconciliation and associated living. Brief statements on the several aspects of the programme will be in order at this point.

Educational Work.—Programmes in this field are of two kinds. There are formal classes in commercial and related subjects, which are a source of income to the Association, and which are apparently meeting a real need of the community. In addition, the average Association offers to its members the opportunity to hear speakers, often distinguished visitors from abroad, lecture on various topics usually of an inspirational or cultural nature. These lectures seem to be very much appreciated especially by older men. But there is room for more informal education of this kind on a more systematic basis. At present, lectures are seldom arranged in series nor are forum discussions much encouraged. The choice of topics is often rather opportunistic and determined,

more than anything else, by the chance availability in the city of men whose names have publicity value. The suggestion is offered that, in this field of informal education by well-planned lectures and discussions, the Association has a real opportunity and one more closely related to the fellowship aspect of the movement, to its function as an agent of reconciliation, than are the formal classes of a vocational nature.

Physical Work.—It will be recalled that this department came in for considerable favourable comment in the group discussions. It is perhaps the most popular aspect of the whole programme, as far as the membership is concerned. Towards evening, in almost every local Association, the courts are full of young men taking part in games of one sort or another. Most of the Associations were found to be well equipped for indoor exercises, but many have no secretaries in charge of the work. There are physical directors at Bangalore, Calcutta, Coimbatore, Colombo, Madras and Rangoon, but their activities are largely confined to the general community and very little, if anything, is done for the members at the buildings.

Religious Work.—The programme under this head consists of Bible study circles, discussion groups, Sunday meetings, and special lectures. The latter have already been commented upon under the head of educational work, and are the only popular items on the list. The other activities are not well attended. Some secretaries report that they have given up Bible classes and religious programmes because of the indifference of the members.

Social Activities.—This is a popular and very important part of the Association programme. By means of picnics, dinner parties, dramatics and other pleasant social occasions, individuals of differing races and religions can be, and often are, brought together in good fellowship. Members and other volunteers are offered opportunities for social service through the Association's programme of night schools, evening classes, and lantern lectures in outlying villages, or through hospital visitation and similar activities.

PART III

THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

INTRODUCTION TO PART III.

The major projects now being conducted by the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon are in physical education, rural reconstruction and social welfare work. There are in addition departments dealing with literature and publications and with lectures, in India, and the important work for Indian students in London. In the following chapters are presented reports by experts on the programmes in physical education and social welfare. A similar report on the project in rural reconstruction was necessarily too extensive for inclusion here. It accompanies this report in a separate volume. Less formal accounts of the remaining activities of the National Council will be found after the report on the work in social welfare.

It will be of interest to introduce, at this point, the remarks of a distinguished friend of the Indian movement. Sir Ewart Greaves, member of the British delegation to the League of Nations, former president of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A., and generally prominent in the affairs of Calcutta, observed that, in his opinion, the greatest achievement of the Indian Y.M.C.A.'s consisted in their technical ability in developing recreation for the individual through Association activities and through civic playgrounds. When the city of Calcutta planned its system of public playgrounds, it had been obliged to turn to the Y.M.C.A. for an outline because no other organization knew how to do such work. The training school in Madras was the key to the further development of Association activity in this field. A second line of successful endeavour, according to Sir Ewart, was the project in rural reconstruction. "Cities in India are an excrescence," he observed; "the basic life of India is in the villages." The government's educational system had helped people get out of the villages but had not helped the villages themselves. In attempting to meet this problem, under the leadership of Mr. K. T. Paul, Sir Ewart felt that the Y.M.C.A. had embarked upon an enterprise which deserved every encouragement, and to the possibilities of which there were no limits.

CHAPTER 11.

THE PROGRAMME IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

A Y.M.C.A. LEADER'S EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAMME IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

With reference to the Indian Y.M.C.A.'s work in physical education, it must be said that only those local Associations have done anything worth while in this field that have had foreign physical directors on their staffs. We are just making a beginning with Indian physical directors. At present I would say that Madras, Calcutta, Rangoon, Lahore, Colombo, Bangalore and Coimbatore are the only Associations doing real work in physical education. Of these, Calcutta, Colombo and Bangalore now have Indian physical directors; Rangoon has a foreign physical director; Madras has both an Indian and a foreigner on its staff for this work; and at Coimbatore the Indian general secretary has also been trained as a physical director. In any case, whether the Associations now have, or have had, either type of leadership, the major portion of the work has been for the community at large and very little, if any, exclusively for Y.M.C.A. members. As a matter of fact, if both types of work are to be done, and they should be, the local Associations will be obliged to employ two men, one for developing a programme in the building, and another for community service.

The greatest contributions which the Y.M.C.A. has made in the field of physical education, in India, have been in the service rendered to the several governments in developing programmes in schools and colleges throughout entire provinces; in introducing the idea of public playgrounds and getting them started in various cities; in training indigenous leadership to carry on these various activities; in launching the Olympics and giving an impetus to the "play for everybody" programme; in establishing scientific physical education in the country; in improving the standard of performance and of sportsmanship; in giving dignity to the profession of physical education; and in placing a Christian emphasis on competitive activities.

Our mistake has been, and still is, in depending too much upon foreign personnel. Our local Associations must come to a realization of the value of strengthening the physical work for their members. This they must do both by employing Indian

physical directors and by raising the necessary funds for it. Community service must also be continued but likewise under Indian leadership, paid for by the Y.M.C.A. with the assistance of liberal grants from municipal and provincial governments. The school of physical education at Madras must be continued to meet the growing demand for trained leadership throughout this large country, but it must be improved to such an extent that it will no longer be necessary for Indians to go abroad in order to prepare for work as physical directors.

The physical work of the Y.M.C.A. in India has, from its inception, held a prominent place in the Association's development. The assumption back of the work from the start was that the great mission to India, in this field, lay in trying to present the Christian interpretation of the body to non-Christian Indians, rather than in simply building a department into the Association movement and thus completing the triangle. It has therefore never been restricted by the usual departmental regulations or by membership limitations. Physical directors have always aimed at the interpretation of their ideals, and at the exploitation and advancement of them, in the widest possible field. From the first, they have always enjoyed official or semi-official contacts with the government, through the departments of education and other departments, and have found through this means a wide and fertile field for the exemplification of their ideas and the demonstration of their methods. By making demonstrations in schools, by training teachers, by writing text-books, by planning programmes, by advice and guidance in official circles, as well as by developing and conducting physical education programmes in the buildings of local Associations, we believe that we have had a real part in awakening India to a partial realization of her physical needs, and in pointing the way to a programme for national physical regeneration which carries with it an additional value in building character, and which is a really new thing in Indian life as we found it.

This consideration of the work will be divided into three sections, dealing with the pioneering stage of 1908-1919, with the period of stabilization between 1920 and 1929, and with some suggestions to govern future policy.

1. *The Period of Pioneering (1908-1919).*

The first ten years were frankly experimental years and the work was promotional in character. To say that we were eminently successful would not be beyond the bounds of modesty.

To watch a work develop from a single demonstration in a local Association to a city-wide programme, to a province-wide programme, to a nation-wide programme, has been something that falls to the lot of few men. To meet the crest of this rising wave of expansion came the World War with all its attendant upheaval. For a time it had no restraining effect on the work but rather stimulated it. In the year 1918, the Association had more men in the field, was covering more territory, was receiving more money in government grants for its physical activities (some Rs. 50,000), than at any time in its history before or since. In this development the local Associations kept pace fairly well; they were assisted by the respective provincial physical directors and every effort was made to see that men related to the local governments as advisors were also loyal to the Association and its programme.

After the war the period of demonstration and promotion was about complete. India had taken to physical education. The work was a going concern. But the rapid development had also created problems. In some ways, the physical work had out-stripped the other phases of the Association programme so that there was some tendency to separate it from the movement and to develop it as an enterprise by itself. Furthermore, the movement was often embarrassed by the fact that a desire for the physical programme was expressed at points where no local Associations existed, and that the beginnings of the organization of a centre were undertaken that could not be followed up. It also became evident that the work as carried on by the North Americans was so very unusual, from the Indian viewpoint, both in scope and in the demands made on the directors that it would not be possible to transfer it on the existing basis to Indian leadership. Clearly a period had been reached when a change in leadership and a new emphasis were called for.

2. *The Period of Stabilization (1920-1929).*

From what I can gather, in the absence of written records, the department of physical education went through the same changes that characterized the whole movement, at this time, but in less drastic fashion. The special war work leadership was demobilized, there was a retrenchment on the Indian staff, and the general programme was consequently reduced. Aside from an annual all-India competition in physical activities, which was subsequently abandoned, there was little in the way of inter-Association programme that might bind the local centres together.

The programme in the local Associations appears to have emphasized revenue-producing features, at this time, such as tournaments and other entertainments. There has been a certain revival, recently, in a few places of interest in activities between groups in the same city. The provincial organization for the Olympics is still in Association hands, in most cases. Government contacts have often been lost or materially weakened, due generally to the fact that a government wanted more service than the Association secretaries were free to give. Political changes also affected relationships, and the old basis of 'adviser to government in physical education' came, generally speaking, to an end.

In the country itself, however, important changes with regard to physical work took place during these years. India nationally espoused the cause of physical education when it included such work as a necessary item in its platform of reform. Physical exercise is now regarded as basic to proper living by all in India. Demands have been made in most states and provinces for compulsory physical education in the schools and colleges, and the municipalities have realized the value of public playgrounds. There has also arisen a most encouraging demand for trained Indian leadership of high grade. In other words, the movement for modern physical education has advanced by leaps and bounds. The limited Association staff has endeavoured as best it could to cope with this advance, but the old leadership of the Y.M.C.A. is being challenged at various points.

Several important activities in this field are still in operation and call for mention at this point. The Indian Olympic Association was originally organized by the Y.M.C.A. and is still active. Through the hasty action of one of its secretaries, however, the movement has lost some of its prestige in this enterprise. The city-wide programmes of the Calcutta and Hyderabad Associations have placed physical education on a sound basis and in an advantageous position in these cities. Through its magazine "Vyayam," the Y.M.C.A. is able to make itself felt in many quarters and is provided with a good medium for talks on physical education. The organization and successful administration of the school of physical education, in Madras, represents an undertaking that bids fair to have wider influence than any other single thing the Y.M.C.A. has done. It represents the best contribution to physical education the movement has made and the one which most aptly expresses the spirit of the Y.M.C.A.

3. *Suggestions to govern Future Developments.*

With regard to foreign leadership in physical education, it is suggested that only a limited number shall be recruited in future and for specialized pieces of work. The policy of supplying Y.M.C.A. secretaries to provincial or other state governments should in general be discouraged, and no attempt should be made to enter relationships with additional governments on the basis developed in the past. The National Council needs a regular staff of five physical directors from abroad to undertake the general administration and promotion of the work, throughout the movement, and to conduct the school of physical education in Madras.

With regard to Indian leadership in this field, it is suggested that indigenous staffs be encouraged everywhere. To this end, it is necessary to raise the standards of the school to the highest potential, from the professional viewpoint, so that men may be turned out that are the equals of any trained abroad.

In the matter of programme, it is urged that the local Associations continue the broad attitude of the past and make the services of their staffs available to the general community as well as to the building membership. It is further suggested that no attempt be made to standardize the programmes in all of the local centres, but rather to encourage each Association to work out a programme for itself in consultation with the representatives of the national staff. The entire movement should back the school of physical education wholeheartedly as the best single expression of its ideals and services to India, in this field. Other projects worthy of the consideration and support of the movement are the further development and administration of athletics, sports and games generally in India; the development of a national stadium in Delhi; and the promotion of a state-wide programme in such a state as Mysore. All means that further the cause of physical education in India, and the best good of the Indian people are to be commended for support to the Young Men's Christian Association.

THE NATIONAL Y.M.C.A. SCHOOL OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

The following data on the school of physical education in Madras were secured by the survey staff in consultation with those most familiar with the work. In an appeal to the Government of Madras, in 1929, the officers of the school recounted the growth of the institution in these terms:—

"In 1920 we had five students, in 1929-1930 we have seventy-five. These were selected from a list of 125 applications, many of those refused being well qualified to take the course but (having to be)...barred because we had not the facilities to accommodate them, thus delaying for two years the starting of the work in the colleges and schools from which they were deputed."

The school claims as its field of service the training of men for professional activities in the line of health education, individual and public recreation, public sanitation, the physiology of exercise, and the physical side of the Association's fourfold programme. It expects to find a place for its graduates in local Y.M.C.A.'s, missions, and schools of all grades and types such as corporation schools, district boards, government and private schools. Most of the students in training at the time of the survey were deputed to the school on stipends from educational institutions. The officers expected the number of independent students to increase in the future, however. Additional fields open to the graduates were given as municipal or corporation (especially railroad) playgrounds, colleges and universities. Men were being trained for playground work in Calcutta, Colombo, Bombay and Madras. The universities of India are gradually introducing compulsory physical education. The University of Madras requested the principal of the Y.M.C.A. school to make a survey of the situation with regard to physical activities among the constituent colleges. As a result of this study, the university substituted compulsory physical education for compulsory military training. In 1929 the requirement was that each college have a full time physical director, of the grade of college professor, on its staff by June 1930. These are to be men with B.A. degrees and likewise with diplomas from the Y.M.C.A. school. There were at the time of the survey fifty students in the school preparing for work at the university.

The officers of the school feel that more work is crowded into the one school year, on the present basis, than is consistent with thoroughness. The health instruction, for instance, they considered to be only about a quarter of what it ought to be. This was due to the meagre equipment, however, as much as to the crowded schedule. The existing facilities are too primitive even for demonstration purposes. It is impossible for the students to be neat or to carry out the principles of hygiene they are taught in the lectures. The housing and eating arrangements are hard on morale. In one year, students develop skill as players

but are not adequately trained to be good teachers and coaches. The period is too short for normal practice and for proper reading and study.

With better equipment, a larger staff, and a longer period of study the school could not only do its present work more thoroughly, in the opinion of those actually conducting it, but could also enlarge its scope. The lectures on sex hygiene might be expanded to include some treatment of the problems of population increase. Indigenous activities and resources for recreational programmes could be investigated and more adequately drawn on. The school is still too largely built on American standards and ideals. On the other hand, the school has developed the only eclectic programme in physical education in India, having chosen the best from all other existing systems. The officers claim to be working in behalf of physical education itself rather than of any system of physical education.

CHAPTER 12.

THE PROJECTS IN SOCIAL WELFARE.

[*Omitted.*]

CHAPTER 13.

LITERATURE AND LECTURES.

The National Council maintains two departments that concern themselves with the subject of informal public education. The department of literature and publication has sought, among other things, to provide the more thoughtful element of the Christian community in India with valuable religious literature, and the department of lectures has aimed to spread information by means of carefully prepared series of lantern slides. The salient information on these two departments is brought together in the following brief statements.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE AND PUBLICATION.

Seldom has the characteristic Y.M.C.A. policy of giving free rein to strong men been more thoroughly justified than in the case of this department. Dr. J. N. Farquhar's achievement, represented particularly in his *Religious Quest of India* series of books, will long be remembered as an outstanding event in the religious development of India.

The department was founded in 1911 under the leadership of Dr. Farquhar. An idea of its growth between 1912 and 1919 will be conveyed by the following table :—

Growth of the Department of Literature and Publication.

			Titles.	Copies.
1912	..	..	6	13,000
1913	..	..	9	15,000
1914	..	..	12	18,000
1915	..	..	9	23,000
1916	..	..	25	67,000
1917	..	..	35	173,000
1918	..	..	31	161,000
1919	..	..	42	220,000

The marked increase in the latter years was largely due to the fact that, during the war, the department furnished considerable literature for the Y.M.C.A. army work, all over the country and even abroad. Many books were imported, at the same time, and for the same purpose. Between October 1918 and September 1919, a total of 324,276 books, magazines and pamphlets,

both in English and the vernacular, to the value of Rs. 1,07,934-2-9 were supplied to army centres in India and overseas.

At the present time, the department has achieved self-support. Of the total sales during the months of May, June, October and November, 1929, which amounted to Rs. 17,705 including both cash and credit sales, roughly 17 per cent were made to the Young Men's Christian Association and roughly 63 per cent were made to the various missions.

CHAPTER 14.

THE INDIAN STUDENTS' UNION AND HOSTEL IN LONDON.

[*Omitted.*]

CHAPTER 15.

THE DISTINCTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF THE Y.M.C.A. TO INDIA.

In the preceding chapters of this whole report, the various aspects of the programme and functioning of the Young Men's Christian Association have been discussed in considerable detail. In concluding this part, and before taking up the general conclusions and evaluations of the survey, it will be of interest to indicate briefly the special place which the Association movement has occupied in the life of India. This will be done in two ways: First will be presented a short appreciation, by an Indian member of the survey staff, of the outstanding contributions to India made by the Y.M.C.A. Following this statement, notes will be introduced for purposes of comparison with regard to the main features of the leading indigenous societies of India, engaged in similar work.

A. AN APPRECIATION OF THE Y.M.C.A. MOVEMENT BY A MEMBER OF THE SURVEY STAFF.

The preceding chapters have dealt with the several aspects of the work of the Y.M.C.A. in India. Such an analysis, like the dissection of a flower, destroys the general impression of beauty. It is desirable in that it helps discover the strength and weakness of a given organization, but if subsequently no glance at the whole is taken, the very life of the organization will be missed. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to indicate the chief areas in which the Y.M.C.A. movement has made a definite contribution to the life and thought of India.

The Y.M.C.A. came to India at a time when the country was just beginning to recover from the tragic experiences of the Indian Mutiny. Some of the most important local religious organizations were founded during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Arya Samaj was established in 1875, the Theosophical Society in 1875, the Deva Samaj in 1887, and the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897. All these organizations attempted to revive ancient Hinduism. During this same period, the small Y.M.C.A.'s scattered over the country were consolidated into a national movement (1891) with a distinctively Christian message. While the other societies preached renunciation, the Y.M.C.A. presented the Christian ideal of personality. Its characteristic

fourfold programme emphasized the potential value of the whole man. Thus, at a time when Hinduism was seeking afresh the truths of its own religion, Christianity was able to supplement these through the Y.M.C.A. in a way which the missions did not.

Together with this increased religious interest, there developed in India an increased national and social consciousness. The first expression of this second movement was in the Indian National Congress of 1885. Definite organizations to embody and further its ideals subsequently arose, one after the other, from the beginning of the twentieth century down to the present day. Rabindranath Tagore developed his father's *ashram* (religious retreat) into an educational institution in 1901; G. K. Gokhale founded the Servants of India Society in 1905; Behramji Malabari and Dayaram Gidurnal started the Seva Sadan in 1908; Lala Lajpat Rai founded the precursor of the Servants of the People Society in 1920; and Mahatma Gandhi organized the All-India Spinners' Association in 1925.

When many of the above organizations, in response to the widespread popular interest in the victory of Japan over Russia and to the public indignation over the partition of Bengal, followed the path of intense nationalism, the Y.M.C.A. proclaimed in India its message of the universal Kingdom of God. This message of the Kingdom has had two aspects; it has been concerned with improving conditions here on earth, and also with developing the spirit of brotherliness.

With respect to the first aspect, the Y.M.C.A. has made common cause with all organizations in India that stood for the social and material welfare of the people. In this attempt to further the Kingdom, the movement not only strengthened the work it had previously engaged in, but discovered new fields of endeavour as well. After the war, the project in rural reconstruction was started—a work that affects the lives of some 200,000 people. The literature department presented a new approach to Hinduism and opened up a fresh avenue for the study of comparative religion. The lecture department, with its stereopticon slides, has carried on its educative work for social betterment in many parts of India. Physical and health education have developed tremendously in India through the Y.M.C.A. Projects in social welfare among industrial workers have been started, and the importance of work with boys, as well as with young men, has been stressed.

In its work the Y.M.C.A. has not only joined forces with the indigenous organizations, but it has also been a pioneer in guiding

others into paths of useful service. Its hostels and various undertakings, the most important of which have been indicated, have been reproduced by other organizations. Mrs. Annie Besant, before starting the Young Men's Indian Association, visited the Y.M.C.A. and closely studied its methods. In a recent memorandum submitted by the Madras representatives of this later movement to the local government, the Y.M.C.A. is pointed to as the model they wish to follow. The Y.M.C.A. has introduced new methods of adult education that have found ready acceptance in many parts of India.

But, as already indicated, the Kingdom of God posits not only the social and economic welfare of a nation, but also the spirit of brotherliness and fellowship among its people in their relationships with each other and with other peoples. The children of the earth are to live as members of one family. In proclaiming this ideal, the Y.M.C.A. has made one of its most notable contributions to India. The movement may be regarded as perhaps the greatest apostle of reconciliation in the country. Where the Christian church is divided, the Y.M.C.A. stands as a healer of divisions. In Travancore, it is the only organization that has any chance of bringing the different Christian communities together. Where Brahman conflicts with non-Brahman, where Hindu clashes with Mahomedan, the Y.M.C.A. offers to all a platform where they can meet. Local Associations, like those in Madras and Lahore, have become great community centres where every group is given the chance to hold meetings, and where various elements of the population—Hindu, Mahomedan, European, and Anglo-Indian—are brought together socially.

The Y.M.C.A. has, furthermore, definitely contributed to the up-building of the Indian Christian church. While non-Christians had opportunities for self-expression and leadership in their own organizations, no such field was open to Indian Christians in their denominational activities, since responsible positions were filled by Western missionaries. The Y.M.C.A. was almost the first organization to advocate the development of indigenous leadership in Christian institutions. In accordance with this principle, when Mr. E. C. Carter retired from the national general secretaryship in 1913, the Y.M.C.A. invited an Indian—Mr. K. T. Paul—to succeed him. Mr. Paul guided the affairs of the movement from 1913 to 1930, when he was succeeded by another Indian general secretary, Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram, who had rendered distinguished service as the chief executive of the Lahore Association. Closely associated with Mr. Paul, furthermore,

was Dr. S. K. Datta ; under the leadership of these two gentlemen most of the activities outlined above were inaugurated and developed.

The Y.M.C.A. has been of assistance to the Indian Christian church in another way as well. There are serious young men within the church who have come under the influence of modern ideas and who feel the need of discussing the implications for their spiritual life. These young men have frequently found a sympathetic friend in the Y.M.C.A., where they were given the opportunity of sharing their thoughts with others of the same type of mind, and of hearing notable speakers discuss some of their problems.

B. NOTES ON THE LEADING SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS OF INDIA.

1. *The Young Men's Indian Association.*

This organization was founded by Mrs. Annie Besant and is carrying on a work very similar to that of the Y.M.C.A. in Madras. It has a membership of 666 and is able to collect annually some Rs. 3,000 in public subscriptions. The income from all sources amounted, in 1929, to Rs. 62,813-8-2 and the expenditure to Rs. 48,453-10-5.

2. *The Servants of India Society.*

This society was started in 1905 by G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., for the purpose of recruiting and training men who would dedicate their lives to the cause of the country, and of promoting by all constitutional means the national interests of the Indian people. The organization is managed by a president, or "first member," assisted by a vice-president and a general council. Ordinary members are required to serve for five years under training before they attain full status. Members in training are classified as "associates," "attaches" and "probationers".

Every member in training is granted an allowance of Rs. 65 a month for the first two years, and of Rs. 75 a month for the remaining three years. Every full member is granted an allowance of Rs. 90 a month for the first five years of service, of Rs. 110 a month for the next five years, and of Rs. 125 a month thereafter. Small allowances for rent and medical attention are likewise made, and the life of each member is insured for Rs. 3,000. In addition to their regular political and social work, the members act as promoters for various other organizations in their vicinity. There were, in 1929, twenty-one full members in the society,

two "associates" in training, one "attache", three "probationers", and two permanent assistants. The total amount expended for salaries and allowances, in 1929, amounted to Rs. 30,538. The main sources of income are given below :—

Income of the Servants of India Society (1929).

	Rs.
Contributions from Individuals ..	13,142
Public Collections	6,000
Fire Fund Collections	28,289
Members' Earnings	7,623
	<hr/>
Permanent Income ..	55,054
Additional Income ..	33,472
	<hr/>
Grand Total ..	88,526
	<hr/>

3. The Servants of the People Society.

This society was formally opened in October 1921, by Mahatma Gandhi. Its constitution is modelled on that of the Servants of India Society, the chief difference between the two being their attitude towards the present political situation. While the Servants of the People is extreme in its views, the Servants of India is liberal. In December, 1920, a Tilak school of politics had been opened by Lala Lajput Rai; two years later its activities were stopped when the National College was founded to carry on the same work. When, in turn, the college was closed a few years later, its activities were transferred to the Servants of the People.

The "probationers" of this society are given a monthly allowance of Rs. 50. Members in training receive the same amount during the first year, and Rs. 60 a month during the remaining two years of the training period. An additional allowance of Rs. 10 a month is given to married men. After the period of training, the monthly allowance for single men is Rs. 75 for the first five years, Rs. 90 for the next five years, and Rs. 100 thereafter. Married men are given an additional Rs. 10 a month for each child up to a family of four, and, if quarters are not available on the premises, a monthly rent allowance of Rs. 25 to Rs. 40. The total income, in 1929, amounted to Rs. 22,635-5-0 of which Rs. 16,334 was derived from endowments. The total

expenditure was Rs. 23,282-14-4 of which Rs. 13,404-10-9 was spent for salaries and allowances.

4. *The All-India Spinners' Association.*

This organization was founded in 1925 by Mahatma Gandhi. It is an integral part of the national congress organization, but exists as an entity in itself with full power to administer its funds and follow its own policies. The association is managed by a central office which supervises and advances funds to the twelve provincial centres that cover a field of 2,655 villages. The general policy is to run only such centres as are likely to become self-supporting. There are, in addition to the provincial centres, some private centres to which loans are advanced from headquarters.

Membership in the association is open to all men, eighteen years of age and over, who habitually wear *khaddar* (home-spun and home-woven cloth), and who deposit regularly every month with the treasurer, or any duly appointed agent, 1,000 yards of self-spun yarn, well twisted and even. In 1929, the membership—exclusive of the “associate” and “life associate” classes—totalled 2,011. During the same year there were 642 workers employed by the association, who received an average salary of Rs. 25 a month. The total amount spent for salaries and allowances was Rs. 1,91,022-1-2. The main sources of income were as follows :—

Income of the All-India Spinners' Association (1929).

		Rs.
Public Subscriptions	..	1,26,892
Individual Gift	..	66,501
		<hr/>
Total Donations	..	1,93,393
Additional Income	..	7,733
		<hr/>
Grand Total	..	2,01,126
		<hr/>

5. *The Seva Sadan.*

The Seva Sadan is a non-sectarian welfare organization founded by Behramji Malabari and Dayaram Gidurnal, in 1908. Several Indian ladies were also associated with the work from the beginning. The society is managed by a committee elected by the members. About 170 is the estimated figure for the total membership in 1929. The total income, in the same year, was Rs. 43,549-11-8 of which Rs. 5,770-7-3 was spent for general administration.

The work of the Seva Sadan includes welfare projects of various kinds. Classes for teachers in primary schools were started and eventually developed into a regular training college, with courses preparing up to the examination for the final certificate granted by the Poona Government Training College. Classes in domestic education are provided for married women and older girls who are prevented from attending the ordinary schools by social barriers and other difficulties. Subjects taught include English, the vernacular languages, singing, home nursing, and hygiene. In order to equip very poor and illiterate women with some means of supplementing the meagre family income, an industrial department is maintained to give instruction in sewing, laundry work, cane weaving, knitting, and other home industries. Finally, there is a home for sheltering absolutely destitute women and children.

6. *The Arya Samaj.*

This society may be defined as a reformed, liberal movement within Hinduism. It was founded in 1875 by a Gujarati Brahman named Dayanand Saraswati. In 1892, the *Samaj* split into two factions known as the college (or cultured) party, and the vegetarian (or Mahatma Gandhi's) party. The work is managed by a system of local centres and provincial assemblies that culminate in an all-India assembly. Representatives to the various units are elected by the members. All members must be eighteen years of age or over and are expected to contribute at least one per cent of their income to the funds of the society.

The work maintained is extensive and varied; it includes religious, educational, social and political activities. This programme is carried out by missionaries and preachers, some of whom are on salary and some of whom work as volunteers. Most of the employed workers were originally Hindu *pandits* (learned Brahmans) and most of the volunteers have had an English education. Lala Lajput Rai said of one of their colleges:—

“The Principal is honorary (*i.e.*, a volunteer) and has held the post with remarkable success. On the staff are several of its alumni, working in a missionary spirit on mere subsistence allowances.”

7. *The Brahma Samaj.*

This society is another religious organization that, like the Arya Samaj, represents a liberal, reformed development from ancient Hinduism. It was founded in 1828 by Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, and has undergone several sub-divisions in the

course of its history. In 1842, the movement divided into two sections under the leadership respectively of Devendranath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen. Another split occurred in 1878, when a third organization—the Sadarana Brahma Samaj—came into being. This last society commands the greatest following and is the best organized of the three.

There are about 200 local centres in all, of which about 20 belong to the original movement (known now as the Adi Brahma Samaj), about 40 to Chunder Sen's party, and about 140 to the Sadarana Brahma Samaj. In the case of the third movement, each centre is managed by a committee elected by the members, and each governing committee appoints the local staff, not all of whom are on salary. The whole *Samaj* is controlled by a general committee of 100 members elected both from Calcutta, the headquarters of the movement and from the provinces. This body appoints and supervises the "missionaries" of the movement. The latter are paid from Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 a month. Support for the work is derived from public collections, individual donations and endowments.

8. *Santiniketan and Sriniketan.*

In 1863, Devendranath Tagore acquired a plot of ground in Bolepur and founded an *ashram* (religious retreat) there which he called Santiniketan. His son, Rabindranath Tagore, started a school at this place in 1901. It developed into a college by 1914, a school of arts was added in 1918, and a research institute in 1921. For some of the village people, Tagore has developed another institution in the same vicinity, known as Sriniketan, where there are a demonstration farm, a rural school, and activities in mass education. Workers from Sriniketan go out into the villages in order to assist the people with their economic problems and to give instruction in general subjects and health education.

A life of simplicity is insisted on for the workers in both institutions. The whole enterprise has the status of a registered body with a regular membership and a constitution. Members are of three classes: "ordinary", "life" and "honorary". The assets of the institution amount to Rs. 7,03,884-8-3.

9. *The Deva Samaj.*

This *Samaj* is an organization for religious, social and educational work and was founded in 1887 by Bagawan Deva Atma. Its affairs are administered by an executive council elected by the 32 members of the "representative body", which is in turn elected by the general membership. In 1929, there were 69

workers carrying on the business of the organization, of whom 17 are classified as "whole time" workers. This designation is given to those who have consecrated their entire lives to the *Samaj*, either as volunteers or on a nominal salary fixed by the administration. The amount received in subscriptions, in 1928, totalled Rs. 1,00,128 and the total expenditure was Rs. 81,803.

10. *The Ramakrishna Mission.*

Sri Ramakrishna (1834-1886) was a Hindu saint who, through his piety and devotion, attracted a large number of young men. Among his followers was a young man named Swami Vivekananda, who founded the Ramakrishna Order of Sanyasins (ascetics) and the Ramakrishna Mission, in 1897. The object of the mission is to spread the truths of the *Vedas* through the *sanyasis* and to co-operate with the public in the service of humanity.

The Order of Sanyasins is a monastic institution with several branches both in India and abroad, which are known as *mutts* and *ashrams*. In a good many centres, the *mutt* and the mission branch are housed in the same building and make use of the same personnel. There are now in all 64 organizations in the movement, of which seven are in the United States of America and one is in the Malay States. The management of the central organization is vested in the board of trustees "for the time being of the Indenture of Trust"; this body appoints the local committees and has the right of supervision over them.

The funds for the work are derived from private donations from friends and devotees of the order and from the general public. The private donations are designated for the maintenance of worship services, for the celebration of sacred festivals, and for the sustenance of monks undergoing spiritual discipline. The gifts from the general public are used for permanent philanthropic and educational institutions, for a provident relief fund to meet sudden emergencies, for a poor fund with which to alleviate individual distress, and for a general fund to defray the general expenses of administration. Money raised in a given centre is used only for that centre. In 1925, the total income was some Rs. 30,000.

Membership in the organization is open to all followers of Ramakrishna, whether lay or monastic, subject to election at a meeting or to appointment by the governing body. Associate membership, subject to the same conditions, is open to all persons,

irrespective of colour, creed or caste, who sympathize with all or any of the objects of the movement. Monastic members are not required to pay any admission fee or regular subscription. Lay and associate members are charged an admission fee of Rs. 5 and an annual subscription fee of the same amount. The latter may be commuted by the payment of Rs. 100.

11. *The Theosophical Society.*

This society was founded in New York City, U.S.A., in 1875. Henry Steele Olcott was its first president and Mme. H. P. Blavatsky its first secretary. After Colonel Olcott's death in 1879, Mrs. Annie Besant became president and has since that time been the leading figure in the movement.

The organization is now a world-wide enterprise with headquarters in India. Its objects are the promotion of universal human brotherhood, of the study of comparative religion and philosophy, and of systematic investigation into what is usually termed "occultism". There are branch units in forty-seven countries, at the present time, and responsibility for sanctioning these "national societies" rests with the president of the world organization. National societies are authorized in countries where there are not less than seven lodges, or basic units, which in turn must consist of not less than seven members who accept the ideals of the society. Each lodge or national society has the power to make its own rules, but these do not become valid until they have been confirmed by the president of the world organization. The world organization consists of a president, vice-president, treasurer, recording secretary, and the general secretaries of the national societies. It meets annually in India. A world congress of the movement must be held every seven years outside of India.

The expenses of the headquarters in 1929 amounted to Rs. 71,219 and the income to Rs. 92,887, leaving a balance of Rs. 21,668. The amount spent on wages and salaries was only Rs. 8,373. The organization's secretary said that most workers were self-supporting volunteers.

* * * *

From this brief review of the Indian organizations engaged in activities similar to those of the Y.M.C.A., certain facts stand out very clearly.

Generally speaking, these societies are able to collect large sums of money, with greater or less difficulty, from the public for their current expenses. This clearly indicates that there

are plenty of resources in India waiting to be tapped. India has its wealthy men in the local princes, *chetties* (shopkeepers, especially in South India), *baniyas* (merchants, especially in foreign trade), and *tatas* (village chiefs). How far these resources are open to the Y.M.C.A. is of course doubtful. Much depends on the policy to be adopted. If the Y.M.C.A. should publicly declare itself as an inter-religious, or as a non-religious, organization, and should ally itself with a progressive political party, then it might secure more Indian support. If it adheres to its original ideal of a fellowship with a Christian body of control, it will not be able to draw much on the wealth of India.

Another striking thing about the organizations reviewed is the fact that only very small proportions of the budget are spent in salaries for the workers. There are large numbers of volunteers in most instances, who discharge their duties faithfully and well. The small amounts required to meet the needs of the employed staff are often derived from endowments. The endowment system is an old one in India and is adhered to by modern organizations.

The objectives of these societies are clear and easily defined. Welfare organizations like the Seva Sadan do not engage in political or religious activities. The circumstance that the founders of many of these movements are still alive, and that the memory of those who have died is still fresh, may account to some extent for this clarity of purpose.

In conclusion, mention must be made of an interesting and significant circumstance in connection with these indigenous societies, which has not been indicated in the preceding notes. Most of them have received, or are now receiving, assistance from Europeans in the form of funds or personnel. The founder of the Ramakrishna Mission had as his assistant Miss Margaret Noble, known as Sister Nivedita, and at the headquarters in Bellur to-day there lives a Western woman. Tagore's enterprise at Sriniketan is largely supported by an American lady. Mrs. Annie Besant is a British woman. When Mahatma Gandhi started on his non-violent political campaign, he entrusted the administration of his *ashram* to a Miss Slade, and the assistant editorship of his paper *Young India* to a young Englishman. It will be seen that India still feels that Western people have their contribution to make and is eager for their help; the only objection is to any concomitant assumption of authority and arrogance.

PART IV

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATIONS

CHAPTER 16.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS OF PARTS I AND II.

1. *Main Trends in the Historical Development of the Y.M.C.A.*

Important dates in the history of the Young Men's Christian Association, suggestive of the three characteristic phases of its development, are :

- 1875 : The founding of the Bombay Association, a religious fellowship.
- 1890 : The coming of David McConaughy, inaugurating the period of the "fourfold" programme.
- 1914 : The outbreak of the World War, introducing the phase when the Y.M.C.A. functioned as a service agency on a large scale.

While other religions entered India by land, Christianity came by water along with the commercial European population. The Association was first planted in the port cities and its strength is still in these centres. Social conditions that have proved favourable to the growth of strong Associations include : a large Christian population, a large European population, widespread literacy in English, a large number of students and business employees, and a population movement of incoming Christians.

2. *The Y.M.C.A. in Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon.*

From the standpoint of material investment, membership and paid leadership, the Y.M.C.A. is strongest in the leading port cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon. These cities are the product of foreign commerce and inland trade. They are likewise the nerve centres of British rule and consequently the focal points of the European population. The class distinctions of English social life have been transferred to these Indian cities and, in some cases, have been even more strictly drawn than in England.

These cities, furthermore, attract large numbers of people of all kinds that increasingly tend to organize in communal groups. The great cities of India are, at present, places where both Indians and Europeans go to make a living but not to establish homes. The consequence is a predominance of males in the population as a whole, and a general state of transiency throughout the life of the city. The two sexes are roughly equal in distribution,

however, among the Anglo-Indians, an element of the population that is essentially the product of urban life. Racially they represent the inter-marriage of Indians and Europeans. While essentially European in manner of life and loyalties, Anglo-Indians do not enjoy a very high place in the European social scale. Recent population movements have brought to these large port cities certain vigorous Indian Christian groups, notably from South India, that have been a significant factor in the development of Indian branches of the Y.M.C.A. in these centres.

The Y.M.C.A. movement originated in the European communities of the large cities. The work was almost entirely for English or Anglo-Indian young men. The Association was essentially a religious fellowship of young Europeans of good social standing. For about the first twenty years the work was carried on with unpaid leadership and with small equipment. The membership was predominantly of the "active" class. The programme was essentially religious.

The following thirty years brought the increasing use of paid leadership, the acquisition of buildings, the decline in significance of "active" membership, and the multiplication of "associate" members, or privilege buyers. Early during this period there arrived the foreign employed secretary; in contrast with the situation in the other cities and towns of India, this officer has usually been British in Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon.

At the present time, the European community has deserted the Association as a fellowship and prefers its own exclusive social clubs. It continues to sponsor the work, however, as a charity for lower class Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and as a mission for Indians. The central buildings, representing the administrative headquarters of the Association, are reserved for non-Indian service. The control of these metropolitan Associations is in the hands of the commercial European community, and over sixty per cent of the general membership consists of business employees and students. These Associations have always enjoyed a large proportion of the services of the foreign secretariat in India. The programme is almost entirely institutional; the most significant community service is represented by the work of the physical directors in developing city playgrounds and promoting community athletics and sports. Financial support is derived chiefly from membership fees and dues, and from public contributions; the latter have been markedly decreasing since 1925. Exclusive of the subsidy represented by foreign personnel, which is indeed a substantial amount, these Associations are largely self-supporting.

3. *The Y.M.C.A. in Colombo, Lahore and Madras.*

These three cities are more advanced in industrialization than the Mofussil towns but less so than Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon. Under the stimulus of modern commerce and industry Colombo, Lahore and Madras have developed new cities alongside of the ancient Indian centres. This is especially true of Lahore. In their present development, all three are the product of British influence. Madras came into prominence as the first foothold of British occupation; Colombo grew in importance when a new harbour was built; the modern business city of Lahore is almost entirely distinct from the old walled city.

The Y.M.C.A. in these cities has attained an advanced stage of Indian control as a result of several considerations. In the first place, there was a relatively small foreign community on which to draw; then, the interest of the local, comparatively strong missionary group was in the direction of developing indigenous leadership; and finally, the secretaries sent from abroad to these centres have been likewise in favour of indigenous control. On the other hand, the advanced stage of "Europeanization" of the local Indian or Ceylonese populations has made it easy for the Y.M.C.A. to become established on its own terms rather than in accord with primarily indigenous patterns.

The local Associations in these cities rank high in the esteem of the general public. Since Lahore, Madras and Colombo are still essentially "one centre" cities, the community can be served from one central building more easily than is the case in Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon. Personal leadership has its best opportunity in the cities here under consideration; it is confronted with neither the conservatism of the villages nor the impersonal relationships of the great cities. It is possible to establish the nucleus of a real fellowship. Generally speaking, American foreign secretaries have gone to these cities rather than to the port cities in the first group. These Americans have, however, not usually held the chief administrative positions. The programme in these centres is relatively strong with respect to general education and religious work, but very little is being done in physical education. Summer camps are maintained by the Associations of Lahore and Madras, and the former centre is likewise noted for its programme in adult education.

Financial support in the shape of public contributions is derived from the European and the indigenous populations in about equal proportions. In Colombo, Ceylonese secretaries

find it possible to solicit both groups. All three centres derive the bulk of their necessary funds from membership dues and fees. The Lahore Association secures additional income from shop rentals, and the Colombo Association is at an advantage on account of its recently erected building.

4. *The Y.M.C.A. in the Mofussil Towns.*

The Y.M.C.A. is limited in the Mofussil towns by the following environmental conditions; there is only a small industrial community and a small European population; there is also only a relatively small body of business employees and students; and the rate of literacy in English is lower. In addition, these Associations have received less help for the maintenance of their work than have the six leading centres from the Indian National Council and from abroad. They were planned according to the pattern of the city Associations, but in a setting that could not furnish the requisite financial support.

The Y.M.C.A. in these towns offers a service as a community centre which is much appreciated. The buildings were erected largely with North American money and before the Associations had attained self-consciousness as a fellowship. The consequence has been that the Associations have been badly handicapped financially by top-heavy equipment.

5. *The Y.M.C.A. in Travancore and Cochin.*

If an indigenous Association is to be defined as one in which indigenous leadership can secure indigenous support for a programme interesting to the indigenous population, then the rural Associations of Travancore and Cochin (together with some of the smaller centres in Ceylon) are the only ones in the Indian movement that can lay claim to the title. The Y.M.C.A. has its best opportunity for work in rural reconstruction in Travancore, because the welfare programme can be rooted in the religious will to live as expressed in the village Associations, and in the widespread literacy promoted and maintained by the Christian church.

6. *Organization and Administration.*

The theory of organization among the Associations of India is that of local autonomy. That is to say, while subscribing to certain common general principles as to purpose and membership basis, the local centres manage their internal affairs themselves and develop their programmes according to individual ability and the needs of the membership groups. In theory, control is vested in the "active" membership. The actual executive

control is, in the larger centres, in the hands of the local boards of directors ; the personnel of these boards is markedly European and dominantly so in Calcutta and Bombay. In Colombo the directors are predominantly indigenous and the trend is apparently moving in the same direction in Madras and Lahore. The smaller Associations are to a large extent controlled by the National Council as a result of their financial condition. The Council erected buildings for them with foreign money, now holds their property in trust, and determines the annual cash subsidies to be granted.

The theory of the national organization is that the local Associations, through their representatives at the national conventions, elect a National Council to look after the work in its national aspects. In theory a smaller group, called the executive committee, is derived from the Council to carry on the routine business. In practice the National Council, as such, seldom meets and the executive committee has little first-hand knowledge of many important issues that come up for decision. Since 1922 there has been functioning a group, known as the revenue commission, composed virtually only of secretaries, which has exercised considerable influence and indirect control. The power of the revenue commission has however recently been considerably reduced.

In the past various schemes of district or regional organization have been discussed and sometimes attempted. But, with the possible exception of the area organization in Travancore and Cochin, they have never succeeded very well. This failure may be attributed to the fact that these regional units had no real power as compared with the national organization. The constant emphasis on the necessity of building up the "national movement" has retarded the development of district or regional organization.

As already noted, the boards of directors in the large centres are composed largely of Europeans. The Indian branches, on the other hand, are run by committees of management that are almost entirely Indian in personnel. Ultimate control is, however, vested in the board. Europeans are in the minority, both on the boards of directors and on the branch committees, in most of the Mofussil Associations.

7. *Questions of Finance.*

The expenses of the early Associations in India were met wholly from membership dues and the gifts of local friends. The

amounts involved were not great. The acquisition of extensive buildings and equipment precipitated financial problems that caused the Association to look outside its own membership to the community for aid.

The building of Association equipment started in the large cities and then spread out to the smaller cities, towns and villages. The buildings of Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon were nearly all put up before the war (1915). In the case of the Associations in the second group, the bulk of the equipment was secured between 1916 and 1925. The buildings in the Mofussil towns were put up chiefly during two periods: between 1911 and 1920, and again since 1926. The war years represent the most active construction period for the movement as a whole.

The funds with which the buildings were erected came from the following sources: 23.2 per cent from local contributions; 11.5 per cent from government subsidies in India; 35.8 per cent from the International Committee of the North American Associations; 6.4 per cent from the English National Council; 4.4 per cent from the Indian National Council; and 19.7 per cent from other sources. The total investment has been distributed among the entire number of local Associations in the following proportions: 43.8 per cent to Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon; 26.0 per cent to Colombo, Karachi, Lahore and Madras; 18.0 per cent to the twenty-five Mofussil Associations; 4.0 per cent to twenty-one of the village Associations; and 8.2 per cent to the four army centres.

The contributions from the English National Council have been used exclusively for buildings in the leading port cities. The International Committee has contributed over one quarter of the necessary funds for the buildings of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon; over two-fifths in the case of the Associations in the second group; and nearly two-thirds in the case of the Mofussil Associations. The gifts of the English National Council for buildings had practically ceased by 1915, while those from the International Committee have nearly all been made since that date. The tendency has been definitely towards a decrease in the proportion of local contributions secured for Association buildings. This is particularly true in the Mofussil towns where only a fraction of the cost has been borne by the local community.

In 1929, the Indian National Council derived 57.2 per cent of its required income from foreign Associations, 10.0 per cent from government grants, 19.1 per cent from areas in which there

were no local Associations, 7.8 per cent from the strong local Associations, and 5.9 per cent from investments. The grants from foreign Associations cover the Administration expenses and the requirements of the rural, lecture and publication departments. The government subsidies are designated for the student work. The gifts from the "unoccupied" areas meet the requirements of the army work, and the contributions of the strong Associations cover the grants made to the weaker centres.

The National Council retains nearly a third of the foreign secretariat for its own service. The rest go almost entirely to the six leading Associations. Cash subsidies are made to the Mofussil Associations.

The income from public contributions to the National Council and to some of the larger centres is seriously on the decrease. The total number of Indian donors to the work is largest in the Mofussil towns, and this number is also increasing. However, the actual amounts received in contributions are larger in the National Council and the leading Associations than in the Mofussil towns. The income derived from earnings in the shape of rentals and service fees is on the increase almost everywhere with the notable exception of the Bombay Association. Membership fees as such, on the other hand, are decreasing in Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon, but usually increasing in the other centres. The local Associations decreased their annual contributions to the National Council between 1922 and 1927, but have remained fairly constant since that date.

8. *The Indian Secretaryship.*

There is a widespread feeling of insecurity among the Indian secretaries attributable to several causes. For instance, local boards have shown a preference for foreign personnel, among other reasons, because their salaries are paid from abroad rather than from local resources. Then, Indian secretaries have little prestige in government circles. Consequently, when retrenchment becomes necessary, the tendency is to start at the Indian secretary's end of the work. Conditions in India call for permanency of tenure more than is the case in Western countries, because professional efficiency ends at a comparatively early age, as far as Association work is concerned, and no alternate occupations present themselves for older men. The problem of maintenance during old age is thus not provided for. Moreover, the possibility of promotion within the Association is seriously

limited at present by the fact that foreign secretaries are retained to supervise the work.

The morale of the Indian Secretariat also suffers from the practice of outside promotional agencies of exalting certain outstanding individuals for publicity purposes. The difference in the salary scale, allowances and equipment, is another source of difficulty. The predominance of European influence in the larger Associations, expressed on the boards and through the public contributions, limits the Indian secretary in the expression of his convictions on social problems. The immediate requirements of the work itself are so heavy that the Indian secretaries find little time for self-improvement, nor do they receive much guidance from their superiors in this regard.

In general, the "senior secretary" is thought of as representing foreign movements rather than the secretarial force of the Indian Y.M.C.A. The increased use of paid leadership during the war lost to the Association the practice of enlisting honorary secretaries for carrying on its work.

9. *Membership.*

The total membership of the Indian Associations has not increased substantially during the last decade. During the half century of Y.M.C.A. history to date, the "active" membership has sunk into insignificance; the control once exercised by this group and the programme devised in its interest have likewise lost their original importance.

10. *The Work of the Local Associations.*

The programme of the Indian Associations has passed through three stages. At first, the Associations were religious fellowships and the work was designed to give inspiration and spiritual discipline to the active membership. Then followed the period of the fourfold programme, which was a religiously motivated educational approach to the individual in all phases of his being. Since the war, the Association has become known and has increasingly functioned as a service agency. The programme is now designed to interest the public.

The religious programme has become very small as compared with the other activities. While the educational work is apparently meeting a real need, it is rather opportunistic in nature. The formal classes in vocational subjects are in general fulfilling the purpose for which they were offered, but the possibilities in informal adult education are as yet largely unrealized by the

movement. The programme in social service, as far as the local Associations are concerned, is largely entrusted to men who are poorly equipped for the task. The same is, on the other hand, distinctly not the case with respect to the promotion of community athletics and playgrounds carried on by the Association's trained physical directors. The National Council is doing notable work in its several undertakings, namely, in physical education, rural reconstruction, industrial welfare work, literature and publications, and stereopticon lectures. The only question about them is as to how far the movement can afford to maintain such work for a constituency primarily and very largely outside the Association buildings.

CHAPTER 17.

PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION GROWING OUT OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

A. IMPLICATIONS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ASSOCIATION MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

Christianity entered India in two ways ; it came as a missionary movement carried by men like William Carey and his friends and successors, and it came as the religion of the European population. The entrance of this latter type was at the port centres. These port centres are the product of European occupation and commercial development and here the European population planted the institutions with which it was familiar. The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations were among the number.

This twofold origin created certain problems of administration for the Christian Associations which it is necessary to understand. Because the Associations entered with the Europeans at the port centres, they are widely scattered geographically. If the local language were employed, there are not two of these centres which would carry on in the same tongue. They are not naturally a unit of administration. Each one is more provincial than national in its consciousness.

Furthermore, the fact that the movements came in two ways created two types of Association which are marked in their differences. Those which were planted as missionary undertakings passed easily into indigenous control. Of such the rural Y.M.C.A.'s in Travancore and Jaffna are examples. Those which came in with the European population have carried on in two ways. Some have passed after a transition period, and sometimes after a struggle, into Indian hands. Others have carried on as European Associations and have administered certain projects for Anglo-Indians and Indians. Of such undertakings the Proctor Branch in Bombay is a good example for the Y.M.C.A.

In the Y.W.C.A., the missionary Associations were those formerly classified under the vernacular department. In 1919 there were 40 such Y.W.C.A.'s with a combined membership of 1,478 ; work was carried on among Indian women in six languages. Of the second type were those Associations organized in the city

department which in 1919 numbered 54 with a combined membership of 5,049. The object of this department, in the words of the annual report for 1917, was :—

“ To work for the welfare of all girls and young women not more suitably cared for by the vernacular and student departments. In practice this comes to mean that the city department works mainly among Europeans and Anglo-Indians.”

By one of the strange chances of history this city department, together with the college department, became practically the whole Young Women's Christian Association in India. Two events brought this about. The first was the visit of representatives of the World's Committee and the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. of the United States, shortly after the war. On this occasion, it was recommended that:—

“ Work be not organized so that Indian and non-Indian work become separate departments, valuing the importance of fostering intercourse between the two and the fact that there were so many Indians in present City Branches.”

The second event was the “ retrenchment without warning ” order which came from New York in 1924. Under pressure of retrenchment, the vernacular department was dropped and the Young Women's Christian Association became co-extensive with what had been the student and city departments in 1919. The Y.W.C.A. thus became, with the exception of the college work, practically identified with the non-Indian group of young women in India.

But both Associations, as their work becomes more thoroughly indigenous, will have to adapt themselves to the language and customs of the differing areas, and will find themselves confronted with an increasingly difficult problem of central administration. The survey finds in this circumstance good reason for the systems of provincial control advocated from time to time by the Young Men's Christian Association.

B. DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE ASSOCIATIONS.

1. *Literacy in English.*

Classifying the total number of literates according to sex, a heavy preponderance appears in favour of the men.

Turning to the question of literacy in English, the same general trends are to be noted but the proportions are much

smaller. Literacy in English is confined quite largely to urban areas and more especially to port cities. In the total population, 160 males and 18 females per ten thousand are literate in English.

One is impressed with the limitations which are imposed on the Young Women's Christian Association because of the comparatively small number of Indian women who are literate in English in the cities in which the Association is located.

2. *The European and Anglo-Indian Communities.* [Omitted.]

3. *The Christian Community.*

A map showing the distribution of the Christian population and the Christian Associations would indicate a close relationship between the two. The Christian community seems to furnish a large share of the people who are predisposed towards the Association and a large supply of voluntary workers. The Travancore centres, for instance, carry on a large proportion of their work with honorary secretaries and this state has a higher proportion of Christians in the total population than any other in India. A large Christian population carries with it a high percentage of literacy in English and this has in turn worked to the advantage of the Associations, since they have carried on their activities in English. The Associations appear to be very dependent on the Christian church to create the soil in which they can grow.

4. *Present-day Internal Movements of the Population.*

The distribution of the major communal groups in India indicates that their present geographic outlines follow approximately the contours of the great racial thrusts which from time to time have penetrated India. It is not true that religions always coincide with race, but in general outline the distribution of Mahomedanism represents the projection for the central Asiatic Aryan thrust into India from the north-west; while the Hindus hold the great central plains of India and are flanked by Mahomedanism on the one side and by Buddhism on the other. The latter evidently represents a backwash from Mongolian territory.

In present times there are two population movements which are worthy of the attention of Christian statesmen; one is the movement to the industrial centres and the other is a movement with a similar motive to the tea plantations of India, Burma and Ceylon. Both are having a marked effect on the religious distribution of the population.

Under the influence of these modern movements a new dispersion of Christian forces is taking place. There is a record of 2,264 Christians from a single place, Ahmednagar, moving to Bombay. The migration to the tea plantations of Ceylon has taken 25,000 South Indian Christians to Ceylon. The migration of Madrassi Christians to Calcutta and Rangoon has furnished the nuclei of two Y.M.C.A. branches in those cities. The migration of Travancore Christians to Bombay has established two groups of Malayalam-speaking Christians there.

In the following table are recorded those Y.M.C.A. branches in India in which migrants from the Madras Presidency constitute a significant group :—

Y.M.C.A. Membership Groups from the Madras Presidency.
(1929)

Student Hostel in London	..	144	out of	548
Bhowanipore Branch, Calcutta	..	99	„	141
College Branch, Calcutta	..	33	„	566
Trivandrum Y.M.C.A.	..	23	„	341
Town Branch, Rangoon	..	16	„	361
Byculla Branch, Bombay	..	10	„	36
Hostel, Colombo	..	4	„	39

It will be seen that Associations are likely to be benefited when they are situated in the course of the natural flow of population from South India.

In other places the population migration offers a challenge to the Associations which is as yet unmet. In 1921 the migration from South India to Ceylon was 460,760, to Burma 270,993 and to Mysore 269,675 and in each case the group was made up of plantation labour. Much has been done by the government to take the hazard for the workers out of such migration but since the Christian church does so much of its work among the depressed classes, which constitute the great bulk of this migratory population, the question may well be asked whether this is not a field in which Christian forces should seek to co-operate. Why work for migratory labour in North America and neglect it in India? Of this opportunity, Mr. F. E. James, Secretary of the United Tea Planters' Association, and a former secretary of the Y.M.C.A., has said :

“A new field is open to the Association which it is not accepting. There is an opportunity for service in connection with the large migration of workers to the tea plantations.

The companies have offered to finance welfare workers if the Association will furnish them."

A third aspect of the present-day internal migrations is the change being brought about in the religious statistics of the large cities like Bombay and Calcutta. These are rapidly becoming Hindu strongholds. At the time of the 1921 census the Hindus constituted 71 per cent of the population of Calcutta. This fact in itself might have been expected, but the surprising thing is that during the previous twenty years, while the city increased by 14.7 per cent, the Hindu population increased by 23.9 per cent. The Mahomedans who represented, in 1921, 24.5 per cent of the population actually lost ground, during the same period, both in percentage and in total numbers. The Christians gained only by 5.8 per cent or at a rate of just a little more than one-third as fast as that of the city itself. The Hindus are increasing almost twice as fast as the city. The explanation of this fact is not to be found in accessions by conversion from other faiths, but in the nature of the population movement which is flowing into the city to supply Calcutta and its mills with labour. Of the 1,327,547 inhabitants of the city in 1921, 75.13 per cent were born elsewhere. Of this number one in every five, or twenty per cent, came from Bihar and Orissa where there were eight Hindus to every Mahomedan.

5. *The Natural Constituency of the Associations.*

A vocational analysis of the Y.M.C.A. memberships in eleven leading cities brought out the fact that, of the total number in 1929, 35.4 per cent were business employees and 20.6 per cent were students. An additional 15.0 per cent was made up of business executives. A similar analysis of the memberships of five Y.W.C.A. centres indicated that, of the total number, 26.5 per cent were students and 21.6 per cent were business girls. The largest single group in the women memberships—37.1 per cent of the total—was made up of "professionals," presumably for the most part teachers.

The conclusion seems clear that the natural constituency of the Associations, so far as the general membership is concerned, is the business and student population. It should be borne in mind that the Student Associations of the Y.M.C.A. were not included in this study, and that the students referred to above were discovered in the regular city memberships.

CHAPTER 18.

[Omitted.]

CHAPTER 19.

LINES OF CLEAVAGE IN Y.M.C.A. POLICY.

A. PROBLEMS OF FUNCTION AND FIELD.

It is useless to try to hide from the friends of the Association the strain which the organization is under because of conflicting stages of programme development which are out of harmony with the original plan and purpose of the Association. In the outline of the three stages of Y.M.C.A. work given below there is an attempt to make clear these conflicting theories. The scheme is doubtless open to the criticism that certain lines have been over-emphasized. If so, it has been with the purpose of making clear the fact that the Association has moved from one stage to another and has not taken the trouble either to reconstruct its original theories in accordance with its present practice or to change the structure of the Association in accordance with the need of its present ideals.

SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF Y.M.C.A. DEVELOPMENT.

The Religious Fellowship Stage : 1875-1900.

Basis of Association	..	Common belief and shared religious experience.
Motive for joining	..	Sense of responsibility for increasing the body of believers.
Control	..	By the active membership ; secretaries chiefly honorary.
Purpose of programme	..	To give members religious discipline and to make new converts.
Financial support	..	Contributions chiefly from members.

The Stage of Institutional Education : 1900-1920.

Basis of Association	..	Student-teacher relationship.
Motive for joining	..	Teaching in the case of a few, learning in the case of the majority.

Control	By the staff faculty and the boards of directors; active members have practically no control.
Purpose of programme ..	To educate the public and to serve privilege buyers.
Financial support	Public contributions, endowments, membership dues and fees, government grants.

The Service Agency Stage : 1920-1930.

Basis of Association ..	Giver-receiver relationship.
Motive for joining ..	Giving service in the case of a few, receiving service in the case of many.
Control	By social service experts and the boards of directors; persons being served cannot be given much control.
Purpose of programme ..	Service to the needy (hostel members, under-privileged childhood and youth) and public service; only slight service to the active membership.
Financial support	Public contributions (the Association is regarded as a charity), endowments, fees, government grants, and foreign subsidies.

The strain in the present structure appears in the following ways. With regard to the basis of association, the original fellowship relationship is in conflict with the latter giver-receiver relationship. With respect to motive for joining, neither giving nor receiving service possesses sufficient dynamic to create a movement such as originally existed. The original democratic theory of control is out of harmony with the highly centralized control which appears to be inherent in the administration of concerns on a large scale. The active membership, having become insignificant, can no longer be called upon for collective acting and thinking. The original purpose of the programme to discipline the active membership by means of Bible study, prayer

meetings, and the like, is in conflict with the purpose developed later to educate and interest the public. The movement which was originally financed on a democratic basis is now forced to depend on the gifts of wealthy friends, European and Indian, on government grants, fees for services, and foreign assistance.

1. *The Programme of Reconciliation.*

The programme, objective and a structure of the Y.M.C.A. are inextricably intertwined. The objective of the Association, stated in general terms, is to lead the members of the fellowship in a continuous experience of reconciliation between God and man, and between man and other men. This experience is dependent on the structure and programme of the Association and constitutes the criterion by which both must be evaluated. The structure of the Association is important because through this means men are being given an experience in associated living; the nature of the association either furthers the individual's experience of brotherhood or thwarts it. In the same way the programme is to be judged by its capacity to develop the experience of fellowship between God and man, and between man and other men. It is at this point that the fourfold programme is inadequate for the following reasons.

The philosophy of the fourfold work was based on the experience of the individual. It was something a man could, to a large extent, have by himself. It was a statement in terms of the character development of an isolated person, but the true Christian statement is richer in social content than this. Those who were committed to the fourfold programme were unconscious of too many group relationships which complicate the development of personality. Personality is more of a group product than they were able to recognize. A poorly conceived Association relationship thwarted even the social outlook of the fourfold programme. A programme more socially conscious would have faced the necessity of dealing with these conditions.

While recognizing that the fourfold programme for the education of the individual still has elements of validity, there is evidence that new fields are opening up which are likely to overshadow the former emphasis. Wherever the survey staff went in its investigations, it asked the question, "What is the best work the Y.M.C.A. has done in your community?" With certain variations that only emphasize the essential agreement, the answers have been everywhere the same. They have all centred around the one word "reconciliation". In Travancore it was

said that the Association has been a force for inter-denominational reconciliation ; in the Mofussil towns the Association seemed to be taking its place as a community centre ; in Madras, Lahore and Colombo it was a force for inter-communal reconciliation ; and in the leading port cities, which seemed almost too much for the Association, the people interviewed at least felt that the Y.M.C.A. was responsible to some extent for overcoming race prejudice and in promoting inter-communal understanding. This, then, seems to be the field which the public is assigning to the Association. The fourfold programme is still maintained, but it is no longer in the front windows. The Y.M.C.A. is publicly recognized as having a mission of reconciliation in India.

But an organization cannot teach what it cannot exemplify. If the Association is to send people out to recommend a certain good life to other social entities such as villages, industries, and the like, it must first have achieved in itself that which it would recommend to others. The fellowship groups of the Association become then the test of whether it can expound the fellowship message to the world. The failure of the Association, when such there is, lies in the moral neutrality of the membership. If it is to integrate a great city, that integration must take place first of all within the groups which the Association calls together in its institutes and hostels. Here are its first responsibilities. It is the major objective of all its marching and counter-marching, and if it fails here it fails completely.

2. *The Field of the Association.*

In its interviews with various Association groups in India, the survey staff found a great deal of diversity of opinion as to what is the proper field of Association work. In its original manifestos the Y.M.C.A. declares itself to be an association of Christian young men for such service as it can render to young men. If this is its function the Association might be looked upon as a flying squadron, operating on a particular sector for the church, a sector represented by young men. But the Association in India does not seem to have confined itself to this sector. It is rather like a flying squadron commissioned to operate on all fronts : rural life, industrial work, literature, and physical education. Perhaps this general commission to operate on all fronts can be justified because the Y.M.C.A. is in missionary territory where relief and welfare agencies are not as numerous as in the West. But the fact that the Association in India has carried on this widespread activity must be recognized. It has often

been the Red Cross of India in times of flood and community suffering. It is entirely possible that as Western institutions multiply in India the Y.M.C.A. will be compelled to divide with other agencies the territory which it has hitherto occupied largely alone.

The distinctive characteristic of the Y.M.C.A. is not found in its philosophy, its theology, its ethics nor its methods of work. All of these can be found in other Christian organizations. In fact it seems everywhere to be something of a register of the rising and falling tides of the more liberal Christian element in a given community. Its distinctive characteristic is that it is a man's organization working for men and boys.

3. *The Religious Emphasis of the Association.*

A great many reasons have been given for the loss of religious emphasis in the Association programme. With the point of view which finds religious values in all useful activities the survey staff is in sympathy. The loss of interest in the distinctively religious is not something peculiar to the Association. The situation is a general one and affects the church as well as all other religious agencies. This situation can be roughly characterized as follows: Religious people have lost courage for their cause. They have courage only when they are conferring some kind of secular benefit on society. They have courage when they are building colleges, promoting better agriculture and offering people the benefits of a comfortable hospital. The church knows how to create crises in the minds of people which send them to these places. It says to a small boy, "You emaciated little rascal, why don't you develop some muscle?" and the small boy runs to a gymnasium. It says to another, "Your ignorance is colossal," and the boy hurries to a college. All religious institutions to-day seek to live by serving men in these secular needs to which the church calls attention. But neither the church nor the Association knows how to create a crisis which sends men to religion and the church.

This is nothing short of calamitous for religion and religious programmes. The remedy is not an easy one. Some day there will be a rediscovery of the individual in religion and with that event will take place a discovery of the crisis in human living which sends men to religion and religious ministry. Until that time comes we may expect that men will go on trying to rationalize non-religious programmes as religious. When evangelism was the major enthusiasm of the Christian church the Association was

evangelistic. The Y.M.C.A. followed the humanitarian movement into social service. Now that the humanitarian movement is rediscovering the individual we may expect to see this movement also reflected in the Association.

The Association is not the church and is not to be compared with the church. It belongs to that group of "middle organizations" which have been generated by the church for dealing with specific problems in society. Other organizations of a similar character are the Christian colleges, the Anti-Saloon League, the Christian neighbourhood houses, the American Sunday School Union and similar organizations. The Association was devised to deal with problems in a specific area which required certain special types of equipment. By the same token the Association ought not to be set over against the church. It is probably true that the Association does work which the church does not do. It would be meaningless if it did not.

A good deal of unnecessary friction grows out of the relationship between the church and the Association. The Association leaders claim to believe in the church, but their declarations indicate that the kind of church in which they believe is one which is so weak that it needs an Association alongside to help it. The reverse is however true, for the Association is very dependent on the church. If one compares the distribution of Associations in India, with the distribution of the Christian population one is impressed with the degree to which they coincide. The church seems to furnish the Association with conditions favourable to its growth, as indicated in the preceding chapter and Part I of this report. On the other hand, the Association has had the right of way, and has developed the skill, in work among men and boys which the church could not claim. It has been, furthermore, a meeting place for all churches. This service in a very real way strengthens the church as a whole. When either the church or the Association enter into a competitive relationship there results a fragmentation of the cultural process which is most unfortunate.

4. *The Association Movement and Its Hostels.*

A psychologist or a biologist would say that it is impossible to draw a distinction between an organism and its activities, but some degree of separation is sometimes necessary for the preservation of the organism. It appears to be necessary to the integrity of the Association movement, and to its freedom of action, to separate it out from the midst of the good things which it does.

The Association, for instance, conducts hostels, but the movement is hampered when the ordinary residents in a hostel are regarded as members of the Association. Many of them have little interest in its activities outside of a desire for an inexpensive room. As one hostel group said to its secretary:—

“The trouble with the management of this place is that you assume that we are interested in the activities of the Association, whereas we are interested in getting a room as cheaply as possible. Whenever you include us in the Association it irritates us.”

This attitude, so frankly expressed, is apparently not an unusual one.

There are four possible ways of regarding the work of the hostels:—

- (1) They are a source of revenue and provide income ;
- (2) They are a contribution to the housing opportunities for people of inadequate income and ought not to be looked upon as income producing features ;
- (3) They are a place of residence for a small group of people who assume special voluntary responsibilities, along with the secretaries, in the Association work.
- (4) They are places where young men have a successful experience in social living and are to be valued from the standpoint of social and cultural training.

Probably all of the hostels have some features which might classify under each of the four heads mentioned above. The survey staff has been impressed with the fact that if the hostel work is to rise to the best level, its highest possibilities must be taken seriously, and there must be more adequate personnel for this type of work. It might help to clarify the issue if the non-student hostels were called hotels conducted by the Association, and were thus disentangled from the Association movement proper.

5. *The Training School and Physical Education.*

The Young Men's Christian Association occupies a recognized place in India as a leader in physical education. The work which it first did in civic centres and for the Government is gradually being absorbed by the city and other Government agencies. But the training school has been recognized as a centre of all these interests. Here men come for the more thorough-going training that is not yet available in other places. It would appear that a school

which has for a number of years been running with scarcely any equipment and has acquired a standing before the Indian public such that the 1928 Indian Year Book published by the Government calls it "the leading venture of its kind in India" might well be put on a more substantial financial foundation. Funds placed at the disposal of the present leaders in this enterprise could be wisely used. The enthusiasm of the survey staff for the school is unqualified.

6. *Active Membership and Control.*

The development of the Association from an early religious fellowship has been traced elsewhere in this report. The growth of buildings and equipment, and of paid personnel has also been indicated. But the most important of all the changes has been the shift that has taken place in the meaning of Association membership. The significance of active membership in the Association has been consistently reduced.

The active membership was once called upon for collective planning and thinking, and was the real life of the whole movement. It elected officers and directed policies. It was a fellowship of men and boys held together by a certain ideal of life. Buildings and equipment were accessories but rather unimportant accessories. Trained employed secretaries were useful but the Association carried on for years without them. In the development of the Association the importance of this fellowship of active members suffered gradual displacement. With the multiplication of equipment there came to the forefront those who could use equipment and those who wished to take advantage of services such as hostels, gymnasia, and the like. The importance of a Christian fellowship group as the centre of the Association declined; control of the Association, nominally still vested in the active membership, passed to a paid secretary and to a board of directors chosen from prominent people in the community to administer the institution. The programme once designed to discipline the membership came to be something to interest the public. It shifted as the public shifted. The Association lost faith in its real genius and began to define itself as something which could only be realized with large equipment and large funds. It became not a common man's religious fellowship but in many cases a rich man's charity.

As a by-product of this development, the Association found itself not something which the Indians, with their genius for religious fellowship, could administer but something very much dependent on European and North American benevolence. In

times of transition like the present this becomes a great source of embarrassment. There grew up the fiction that a building could grow a fellowship in place of the experienced fact that a fellowship could grow a building.

It is the belief of the survey staff that there is need first of all for disentangling the real Association from the good things it does and for releasing it for a career in accordance with its genius, expressed in terms and under circumstances in harmony with Indian life. It is not thought that this calls for a return to any one of the three phases through which the Association in India has passed, it is rather thought that each one of these phases made some contribution to the life of the Association and that the Association is richer because of each.

From the first stage comes the idea of the Association as a fellowship which can be called upon for collective action and thinking; from the fourfold programme comes the idea of the well-rounded individual; and from the post-war period the thought of the social environment as the object of redemption along with the fourfold development of the individual. From all of these, there are contributing factors to a common ideal of a religious fellowship united in the search for the "good way" of personal and social life using such equipment as is available for the accomplishment of the task.

It is not to be denied that the historic equipment of hostel, gymnasium and social rooms have been tools with which the real Association has enriched its ministry, but the attainment of the essential goal is not dependent on these and is in many cases realizable without them. It is not the identifying of the Association programme with some conventional kind of expensive equipment that has hindered the Association in its development in India. All around the Y.M.C.A. are movements which are offering to Indians the chance to join in sacrificial service; they are rallying men by slogans which call for Indians to assume responsibility in programmes of national welfare. They are compelling in their opportunities for sacrificial living. In this field lies the real genius of the Association and in many places it exemplifies it splendidly. In these cases the active membership gathers together a group of men to assume collective responsibility in self-discipline and in public service. Such membership groups were found in the village Y.M.C.A.'s in Travancore, in some of the student groups, and also in some of the city Associations. These fellowships of men constitute the real Association and their numbers should be multiplied. These groups can use equipment

but they are not dependent on it. In fact the heavy overhead involved in equipment was often found to obscure the goal and limit the freedom of the group.

It is the belief of the survey staff that the essence of the Association consists in a group of men who are together experiencing reconciliation with God and man, that this fellowship is the heart and core of the Association and should be in control of it, and that any tendency which obscures this fact sooner or later deflects the Association into unfortunate channels. It is the belief of the staff that the Association in India needs evangelists who can dramatize before Indian youth the call for self-development and national service under the historic banner of the Christian way of life. This call can be heard alike by men in great poverty and in great wealth. It can move in buildings and out of them. It can make use of churches and schools, it can thrive in the great out-of-doors. Its benefits will be the old historic benefits of a new status and fellowship in service. Such a movement can make use of all the equipment there is in India and more, but without this movement the present equipment will continue to disintegrate because there are not those who can bear the burden of its upkeep.

The Association faces the necessity of understanding itself in the light of its avowed purpose to be a movement for ethical and spiritual leadership among young men. This objective should be conceived as in contrast to: (a) an Association built upon secretarial leadership; this is a modified type of clericalism; (b) social service activities performed by a paid secretariat and using Western funds; activities like playgrounds, rural centres, the Association Press and others, are admittedly good but are in no way the product of, or a substitute for, a more basic Indian development; (c) the identification of the Association movement with a membership gathered together by the desire to be served, in short with privilege buyers; (d) the benevolent activity of a supporting constituency to whom the Association means very little as a fellowship but rather an outlet for charity.

B. PROBLEMS OF FREEDOM.

It cannot be denied that religious organizations are under a great strain during a time of political upheaval such as that now going on in India. In the first place, there is the demand from the British Government that those organizations which have received Government grants should support it and fight the Indian National Congress movement. In addition to this, there is the unofficial demand of the supporters of the Y.M.C.A., such as that

made by the European Association in Calcutta. There is also the pressure from the British members on the boards of directors. From the other side, there is the pressure from Indian groups as illustrated by the attitude of the Indian students in London and recorded in Chapter 14.

The Association has defined its task to include education for citizenship. It has sought to avoid partisan politics; it is however hard to define the discussion of British and Indian viewpoints as engaging in partisan politics. There appears to be little doubt that fear of trouble has kept the Y.M.C.A. silent and inactive, in India, even in ordinary matters that would not arouse suspicion. The committee of management of the London hostel, on the other hand, has tried to draw a line that will allow considerable freedom of discussion but will, at the same time, not permit members to use the name of the Y.M.C.A. for propaganda. This appears to be the course of wisdom.

In such situations there is a certain obligation on both sides. The Association is manifestly under the obligation of keeping to its historic function as a religious organization. On the other side, there is an ethical obligation on the part of the Government not to require of the Association a political loyalty which violates the conscience of individual members.

The Y.M.C.A. of India, Burma and Ceylon is faced with the necessity of thinking through its future in the face of possible exigencies in its social environment. If things continue much as at present the North American and British support will go on diminishing and the present small Indian support will have to grow larger. In this case, the organization should employ an Indian finance secretary who will accept responsibility for cultivating an Indian constituency. It should further give attention to the acquisition of buildings that will produce income by means of shop rentals or room rentals. Endowments should be raised for some of the special programme features such as the industrial work, the publication department, the training school, and the rural work. Simpler types of programme should also be developed that will have value without being expensive. Finally, more of the burden of self-support should be put upon the six leading local Associations.

Some of the outstanding problems of institutional freedom and its relation to control and financial support will be discussed in the following sections:—

1. *Religious Freedom and Religious Institutions.*

Religious institutions are governed by the following elements : (1) the formal and informal control exercised by the group that projects them ; (2) the recognized leaders, either elected or self-appointed, who serve the institution ; (3) the people who give money and so furnish the support ; (4) the prevalent public opinion that surrounds the institution ; and (5) the participants in the privileges of the institution.

The question of control is generally discussed in terms of numbers one and two and there is a failure to recognize how much three, four and five enter into the modification of the ideas of those who are nominally at the head. Very frequently leaders break with the authority of number one by encouraging the authority of three, four, and five. If the above analysis is accepted, a point of view is developed by which to establish the futility of any discussion of the question as to whether or not a foreign cultural or religious movement has really taken root in a country, which takes into consideration only one kind of control.

This question of indigenouness is generally discussed upon the promise that the chief hindrance is Western Christianity represented in some form of denominational control or, as is the case with the Y.M.C.A., in the form of the dominance of the American idea or the North American movements. But there are other kinds of control no less insidious.

An investigation of some of the organizations which most loudly proclaim their freedom from the control of Western Christianity indicates that they are very much under the influence of the European community which furnishes most of the members of the local committees of control and the bulk of the financial support. Sometimes it is a Government subsidy which provides the funds, and Governments often have ways of dictating terms to those to whom they give. It is an interesting fact that the Missouri Lutherans in South India have been one of the first of the missionary bodies to forego Government funds in their schools because they would not accept the terms which the Government imposed. Furthermore, an investigation of the forces of control might well indicate that although Western influences had been abandoned an institution had become so sensitive to general public opinion, and especially to that of the non-Christian element, that a very subtle but real non-Christian control had been established.

Now the fact that any agency is a possible source of control means also that it is a possible source of power, and the question

of *swaraj* (self-government) in religion is a problem of the fusion of these forces and influences. The problem stated in terms of an educational institution is this: Can a faculty, governing boards and a body of students, be enlisted in a venture in which teaching and learning may have right of way? In a religious institution it is a question whether or not a present religious fellowship is an end in itself, and its traditions, building equipment, governing boards, and institutional programmes its servants. It is a question whether the members are a group of privilege-buyers who exercise rights, or a fellowship of men who have assumed obligations.

Is it not often seen that just in proportion as an institution over-emphasizes one side of its work, it complicates the problem of freedom? Mr. Grugg, in a book entitled "*The Economics of Khaddar*," points out that if India tries to build her industry out of the power which is in machines, she will probably fail, but if India realizes the power which she has in men, she will probably succeed. There is a hint there which may be of value for *swaraj* in religion. Large buildings and heavy equipment are a rich man's game. If poor people try to play it, they land in slavery. On the other hand, brotherly fellowship, personal helpfulness is a game which the poor can play. In such material India is rich. *Swaraj* in religion and *swaraj* in economics may be made successful by the discovery of new kinds of energy and a new principle of organization.

2. *Institutional Organization and the Experience of Freedom.*

The people of India are committed to the cause of national freedom—in objective, organization and programme. As at present visualized, the organization is not complete and the programme is not complete. For the religious and welfare agencies this means an opportunity to provide them with a knowledge of the experience of freedom in associated living. Stated in another way, the missionary institutions are under obligation to give those in whom they are interested an experience which increases their power of self-government.

Inconsistent with this objective is an experience of dependence on charity or an institutional life so large that any kind of self-determination on the part of those being helped is impossible. This is illustrated by Calvert's remarks about the British Government to the effect that it had become so perfect that the Indians could not take it over. Miller said that his schools at Madura were beyond the Indians' ability to manage for another hundred

years. The maintenance of the Young Men's Christian Association, which is the product of North American and European benevolence, is in some places entirely beyond the reach of Indians and keeps them ever at the feet of the European community.

The conclusion, therefore, is that institutions which are local administrative agencies must give some experience of democratic control to those whom they seek to help. This principle is inconsistent with control by administrative agencies from abroad, with control by benevolent providers of funds inside the country (whether they be Europeans or any other people to whom the Association means nothing as a fellowship), and with exclusive control by secretaries or boards of directors. It means a fusion of the five determining sources of control with the emphasis on the authority of the people of the country.

In regard to programme, this ideal means that the kind of help which is given shall be such as can be appropriated by those for whom the experience in self-government is desired. It demands that that help must be given which will be really helpful to some one who is to be made increasingly free. This necessarily raises the question of the value of institutional missions and such programmes as require large equipment.

Benevolent missions have been going through a period in which the emphasis has been on the giving of material equipment. Without doubt the large schools, hospitals and central Y.M.C.A. buildings have been acceptable, but their deficiencies are beginning to be apparent in times when the emphasis is on freedom. Most of the large equipment is simply non-transferable. Its maintenance perpetuates an experience of dependence. Another criticism of it is that it accumulates a constituency who are not interested in an experience of freedom but are content with dependence. This condemns all missionary venture of this type to mediocrity. Control of a spiritual movement cannot be transferred to a group of privilege buyers.

Viewed from the standpoint of the givers, the institutional mission is something which the rich can give to the poor. Are we not ready for a revaluation of missions from the standpoint of freedom? Will not such revaluation bring to the forefront a new appreciation of the rare experience derived from giving a man that very intangible reality—a Christian vocation?

Briefly stated from this standpoint, the following types of missionary work will recede into the background: Social welfare

institutions and settlements, medical missions, agricultural missions, educational missions and the large institutions of the Christian Associations. Many of these organizations become the basis for a disbelief in the Oriental's capacity for self-government. Consequently he is on the defence against them.

On the positive side, the new evaluation of missions from the standpoint of freedom would bring to the forefront that missionary appeal which holds out the allurements of the Christian vocation of the assumption of responsibility in the pursuit of the universal community, and of fellowship with Christ in seeking the kingdom of righteousness. This experience can be transferred by the use of the simplest symbols. Large institutional life may be an encumbrance.

Gandhi's whole programme which is a mighty challenge to his people to join with him in a great spiritual venture successfully scorns large equipment. It relies most on the appeal of the heroic. It speaks the language of symbols. It invites its members to spiritual discipline in prayer, meditation, clear thinking, and personal sacrifice. Missions under similar conditions would deal not with cultural deficiencies but with those old revolutionizing realities such as personal dignity, self-respect, freedom and the sense of mission in society.

There is room for a transition period in which an attempt should be made to salvage the products of the period of institutional missions by raising endowments for those institutions which have been established ; by seeking to make the large institutions as democratic as possible through encouraging members and privilege users to participate in management ; by gradually disentangling the religious movements from the institutional agencies, and organizing them under separate boards of directors, and the like ; and by demonstration work in certain fields where social work is still in its infancy. This latter should, however, be temporary in nature. A beginning can be made in the organization of free religious and social fellowships which will form the nuclei of the larger religious fellowships of the future.

3. *The Relative Merits of various kinds of Support from the Standpoint of Freedom.*

The chief sources of financial support for private institutions dedicated to religious, social and educational ends may be enumerated as follows : Government subsidies, subscriptions from abroad, public contributions inside the country, subsidies from business corporations, and membership fees and donations. The

relative advantages and disadvantages of each will be enumerated below :

(a) *Government Subsidies.*—The advantage consists in the availability of large amounts of money for expensive projects ; in fact, where the practice of private benevolence is undeveloped, Government grants are the only possible source of income. This method of financing welfare work is commonly accepted in countries under British rule.

The disadvantages, however, are serious. Without a doubt the practice accentuates the communal struggle. The British Government augments communal feeling by making grants to communal institutions, and then uses the existence of the communal problem to justify its continuance in India. Similarly, the missions and Y.M.C.A.'s participate in the system which accentuates the struggle and then, in turn, justify their existence in India because of the communal problem. Furthermore, a State-supported religious or educational body never acquires the right to criticise the State. Whenever it permits itself such discussion it is accused of political tendencies. Finally, the possibility of acquiring large funds for buildings tends to emphasize the equipment side of the work to the detriment of other sides, as may be illustrated, for instance, by the overdevelopment of the hostel work in the Y.M.C.A.

(b) *Subscriptions from Abroad.*—Among the advantages must be mentioned the circumstance that the sharing of wealth by Christians in one part of the world with Christians in other parts does make possible the development of institutions and the extension of projects which would otherwise not be undertaken at all. Furthermore, this sharing of goods becomes the channel through which spiritual gifts may be shared to the benefit of both parties. Money given in this way relieves institutions from the necessity of applying to the Government for subsidies. The promotion of institutional growth in anticipation of future spiritual development appears to be a fairly well-recognized procedure in all missionary enterprise.

The most significant disadvantage lies in the danger that the case with which such funds can be secured from abroad may warp the development of a religious movement in a given country. This may take place in the following ways : A type of leadership may be developed that spends its time cultivating contacts abroad rather than in developing resources, both spiritual and financial, at home. Since most of the money is administered through the

national headquarters, undue power may be lodged in this body and democratic development be thwarted. Foreign subsidies are often spent for the projects of special interest to the individual securing them, rather than for the basic needs of the movement as a whole. The development of the movement may be determined by the wishes of the foreign donors more than by the needs of the indigenous population. Another disadvantage to be pointed out lies in the danger that such foreign subsidies may come to be the basis for buying entrance into a country in an economic or political sense.

(c) *Public Contributions inside the Country.*—This type of support is one stage nearer free, indigenous support than either Government grants or foreign subsidies. It represents the voluntary interest of people that know the movement. Moreover, it is a source of income that can be developed and that grows as the movement grows. The practice also serves to educate in public-mindedness those from whom donations are solicited. Causes that seek such support shoulder, to some extent, the burden of public education in that they create public opinion intelligent as to their work.

Among the disadvantages must be mentioned the fact that too great a reliance on public support may lodge real control outside the movement. The tendency is developed to live for the general public rather than according to the true genius of the movement. A spiritual and social fellowship tends towards institutionalism and may become a public charity. One way to make religion conservative is to load it down with institutions that can only be supported by the general public and more especially by the business world.

(d) *Subsidies from Business Corporations.*—The advantages of such subsidies for welfare projects consist in the fact that large amounts are secured for expensive undertakings and that the skill and techniques of an organization like the Y.M.C.A. are put at the disposal of workers who need help. The disadvantages lie in the circumstance that the corporations control the funds and that consequently very little freedom is possible in developing the work. A sudden change of policy may terminate the enterprise at any time and leave the equipment and working staff without function.

(e) *Membership Fees and Donations.*—This source of income contains the only real basis for *swaraj*. A movement so financed can be free in its relations to the State and to society. Control is lodged inside the movement and true self-determination is

possible. If self-support is substantial it is still possible to secure additional income from shop rentals, endowments, or similar sources, without lodging control outside the movement. The movement which has won its freedom can ask others to co-operate on its own terms. For these reasons, this source of income is to be preferred to all others.

The disadvantage of support from membership sources lies in the fact that poverty is always the price of freedom in religion. A movement so financed will probably have to manage with small equipment, particularly in the early stages. Furthermore, a heavy burden is put on the leaders of the movement. Unless men of real ability and devotion are developed, a movement will not progress very far without the accessories which money can provide.

In presenting the above considerations, no suggestion is intended that the Association confine itself to any one source of financial support. The purpose was rather to assess the advantages and disadvantages of each so that the Association might be in a position to evaluate their relative values in the light of its own best interest. The Y.M.C.A. shares with all institutions and private individuals the obligation to consider the source of its support with reference to the effect of such support on its own soul as well as on its own body, especially in times of crisis.

C. PROBLEMS OF CO-OPERATION WITH NORTH AMERICA.

Systematically from one end of India to the other, the survey staff asked the question: Has the Y.M.C.A. taken root in India? This question was interpreted to mean: If foreign support were withdrawn has the Association developed enough momentum to carry on with such Indian resources as it can command? While the answers indicated a very widespread goodwill toward the Y.M.C.A., among Christians and non-Christians, the conviction appeared to be very definite that the withdrawal of foreign support would substantially reduce the effectiveness of the Association although it would not kill it. The Y.M.C.A. is established in the Europeanized sections of the country. It is most securely launched in the indigenous population in the southern part of India. The great weakness in the present situation lies in the fact that Indians have thought of the Y.M.C.A. as a rich organization which did not need their small gifts and which was so far beyond the reach of indigenous support that they have developed no sacrificial attitude toward it. Buildings, equipment and salary scales have been approved on so high a level

that, with the exception of some of the small places in South India, public support of the Association has not been seriously contemplated by the Indian population.

As one reviews the development of the Indian Y.M.C.A., one is impressed with the progress that has been made toward indigenous control. The appointment of Indian national secretaries and the gradual increase in the number of Indian secretaries in the local Associations are all milestones on the road of progress. But one is also impressed with the fact that there has been no similar progress in indigenous support. Control and support are so clearly associated that this becomes a very serious matter. As will be recalled from the discussion in Chapter 7, there has been in recent years a decrease in subsidies from abroad and also a decrease in contributions from Europeans in India, with no corresponding increase in amounts secured from Indian donors. The maintenance of the present plant and programme appears to be beyond the capacity of the Indian constituency. If this continues to be true, the Association in India will be faced, and increasingly so, with a very critical problem. If truly indigenous control is desired, the difficulty cannot be met by attempting to finance the movement by means of large gifts from America.

1. *The Problem of Buildings.*

Of all the contributions received for Association buildings in India, 35.8 per cent has come from North America and only 23.2 per cent from local donors. These buildings are not modern, in 1930, and some are entering a stage of disrepair. Local funds are not forthcoming with which to restore them.

There is no wisdom in bemoaning the size of a building. Size is a relative matter. A building with ample dormitory space might be self-supporting. A large building with an adequate supporting constituency might be much more economical than a small one. But there is wisdom in declaring that the size of a building ought to bear some relation to the extent of the available financial support. One cannot escape the conviction that the Y.M.C.A. has not faced the fact that the efficiency of a building must finally be tested by the ability of the Indian community to maintain it. Judged on this basis, the building programme in India has far out-distanced available resources.

In the local Associations, there seems to be a widespread difference of opinion as to the relative merits of one central building and of many small buildings. Opinion is also divided as to

whether a large building helps or hinders the work. There does not seem to be any doubt that large equipment is an importation from the West and represents Western benevolence. Nothing appears to embarrass the Indian public quite so much as the fact that here is something they can neither reproduce nor support. Furthermore, as already indicated, many of the present buildings are showing signs of age. The survey staff is inclined to believe that a simpler, less expensive type of work which makes larger use of human resources and lays less emphasis on equipment, is essential to the success of the Y.M.C.A. movement in India.

The survey staff is quite clear in its judgment that the North American movement is under obligation to assist the Indian movement in reconstructing and simplifying its equipment. In some cities it will be possible to effect economy by combining the work of several branches in one centre. With a small amount of outside help, one modern building could be erected with the receipts from the sale of several out-dated buildings now in existence. In other places endowments might be secured in the form of shops or offices to be rented. There are still other cases where it will be better to sell the equipment and start work without any building in place of the present programme. All such measures will be constructive, however, only as a new type of work is visualized which is less dependent than the present programme on physical equipment.

2. *North American Participation in the Indian Movement.*

North American participation in the affairs of the Indian Y.M.C.A. has taken the form of contributions in funds and personnel. The extent of such contributions has been set forth in the preceding chapters of this report. It is the judgment of the survey staff that this participation has been of great value, and that it has in each period of development been justified by the special circumstances. The question to be considered now is the kind of participation that will be of most value in the future.

There has been in operation, during recent years, a general policy of North American assistance known as the "light house" policy. According to this plan certain outstanding enterprises have been launched in India with liberal aid from North America; sometimes it was a city Association, sometimes a rural welfare centre, or something of the kind. While the survey staff is convinced of the value of such "demonstration" projects, it believes them open to the following criticism: They are maintained chiefly

by large foreign subsidies and, like any venture similarly financed, do not "demonstrate" anything permanent. What they do make clear is simply that unusual people can do unusual things if they have unusual means with which to do them. Whatever may once have been the justification for such demonstrations, what is needed at the present time is the development of plans that rely more heavily on Indian resources in funds and leadership. North American donors to work in India should scrutinize their experiments from the standpoint of the amount of self-reliance developed by them among Indians. Projects that further this end, even though they exhibit many imperfections, may rightly be classed as pertaining to a new "light house" policy.

In addition to launching projects that develop self-reliance and to assisting in the process of salvaging the present building equipment, probably the most useful form which North American participation can take is in the field of leadership training. To this end the training school in Madras deserves every encouragement. A policy of "training on the job" should also be encouraged and may be counted on for good results.

The role of the foreign secretary in India will, in future, be less and less that of captain of the team and increasingly that of coach and team strategist. In other words, the general secretaryship—both national and local—will be reserved for Indians. Of course, no Indian should be put in such a position just because he is an Indian. The task is to find and train Indians capable of doing the necessary work.

The foreign secretary is at present the necessary go-between for the Association and the European community in India. He also introduces the international element and prevents the movement from becoming exclusively Indian. On the other hand, he is a liability in that his salary and standard of living are so high above the Indian standard that he conveys to the public the impression that little sacrificial living prevails in the Association and that Indian support is not needed. His standards of living are unconsciously absorbed, to some extent, by the Indian secretaries and they also tend to live above the scale of other Indians similarly employed.

D. PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATION.

An issue very much to the forefront at the present time is that of the relationship between the local Associations and the National Council. The arguments in favour of a strong, centralized national organization are as follows: There are certain

kinds of work that cannot be handled by local Associations, such as the rural reconstruction project or the Association Press. Then there are certain relationships that can only be maintained through a central headquarters. Foreign missionaries or the Government must have some agency through which to address the Y.M.C.A. of India.

Those who press for decentralization, on the other hand, argue that the National Council is of no great service to the local Associations and withholds from them funds which they could better use. With more responsibility and power vested in the local situation, more ability would be released that is now locked up. The strength of the Y.M.C.A. is now concentrated in eight cities which differ among each other in language, customs and local loyalties. Some kind of provincial administration could deal better with this situation than the National Council. If there is to be a national organization, however, it should represent the different areas and be responsible to them. At present there is no check on the central committees through any kind of provincial election. Finally, it is claimed that the Y.M.C.A. of India will be judged in the long run by the vitality of its local Associations and not by the work of its National Council. For this reason nothing should be allowed to hide from Association leaders the importance of perfecting the work in the local committees.

The survey staff agrees with those persons who point out that these two points of view are not mutually exclusive. It is of the opinion that a more thoroughgoing attempt should be made in the future than has been made in the past to create responsible provincial units that will elect representatives to the central organization, which, in turn, will speak for all of the Associations in India.

CHAPTER 20.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXTENSION.

A. THE PORT CITY AS THE CENTRE OF CULTURAL CONFLICT IN THE ORIENT.

Some of us went to the Orient thinking that the term "cultural conflict" connoted a rather academic dispute between Western theological convictions and Oriental standards in ethics and religion. Gradually it dawns upon one that cultural conflict is as widespread as the activities of human beings and that it is a clash not only of the intellect but also of all the competing interests in society. This struggle comes to a focus in the port cities of the Orient. It might better be called a conflict due to lack of culture rather than a cultural conflict.

In the port city, which is the product of the sea-trader economy of the West and the old agricultural economies of the Orient, we find not only a diversity of ethical views but also competition for business success. We find racial conflict. We find a struggle of nationalisms. And finally, and sometimes most bitter of all, there is the struggle of labour for the meagre opportunities to gain a living. Here East and West are often in deadly conflict. The interpreter has a function to perform. He is already at work seeking to win favourable public opinion for chambers of commerce. He mixes in the gossip of the social club. He finds a voice in the editorial of the daily press. If the Christian Associations have anywhere in the world an opportunity to perform a work of interpretation and reconciliation, it is in these port cities of the Orient. A certain amount of good work has been done, but the task has never been approached with the seriousness which it should command. If it was worthwhile for the Association Press in India to outline a programme of research and publication, interpreting the great religious faiths of India to each other, it might be still more worthwhile to direct the work of the Association Press toward the task of interpreting these social conflicts which come to a focus in the port city. A field exists here which has as yet been unclaimed and if the Association Press was right in undertaking the work it did under Mr. Farquhar, it would be equally justified in entering this field. It would require something of a research staff, but this was also required for the previous enterprise. The whole realm of communal and racial conflict exists in India as it exists in few other places so that India

might be regarded as a natural laboratory for the world in the investigation of such problems. Another line of attack in behalf of reconciliation presents itself in the hostel work. If it is worthwhile to put up an international house alongside of a great university in America, it might be a great deal more worthwhile to equip institutions prepared to do similar work in the gateways to the Orient.

B. THE RURAL FIELD AS THE KEY TO INDIAN LIFE.

Somewhere in the world it was met that there be staged a fight for the life, the dignity and the worth of the small community. There are reasons why this fight should be made in India. Out of a total of 316 million recorded by the 1921 census, 283 million were classified as rural people living in 700,000 villages. The annual increase of the total population is about one and a quarter million, but the urban population increases at a rate sufficient to appropriate most of the industrial opportunities created by urban life, with the result that the rural population, year after year, maintains about the same proportion to the whole.

There is an increase of population in centres like Bombay and Calcutta, but it is apparently recruited from the smaller cities. While the population of Bombay is growing, it is at the expense of the market towns which have not kept up proportionately with the increase in the country as a whole. Furthermore there seems to be a lack of permanency in India's urban population. A surprisingly large number of the immigrants to the city are urban by concession rather than conviction and leave their families at home. In both Bombay and Calcutta there were in 1921 about two males to one female. The ratio of females among the immigrants to Bombay from the Punjab is 199 per thousand. In many of the industrial towns the workers in the factories live in the villages and either walk or come in to work by bus. The Indian thinks of the village as home. He makes a living in the city, but he goes to the village to make a life. This predisposition toward the village will be to the advantage of any movement that aims to preserve the dignity and worth of village life.

But not only is India committed to village life in fact and by preference, but her present culture bears the indelible stamp of village-mindedness. A new comer in India is impressed with a certain preference for a personal face-to-face way of getting things done. The Indian personalizes causes and movements. He conducts his business in a small but personal way. His land and his shops are divided up into small units. The small shop-keeper may be seen to do homage as he locks his account book in

his safe at night and the *ryot* to worship the little clod of earth at the corner of the field as he begins to plough for the new crop. Even cities like Bombay and Calcutta, with cows sleeping in the post office and on the sidewalk in front of the most exclusive hotels, show a friendliness for animal life which was born in the villages.

But all this might be the survival of a never-to-be-revived past and unless there are movements which express the vitality of present village life our thesis cannot be maintained. Such movements, however, do exist. Any far-reaching policy of reconstruction must deal with the economic side of life. Business is a matter of needs and the chance to satisfy them. A stable nation is one in which people want what they ought to want and can get what they want. In India the approach to village life is manifold. There are the forces of the Government which promote village welfare by means of schemes for education, sanitation, better crop production, better credit, and better marketing. Closely associated with the Government are voluntary organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association which enlist the people in co-operative effort for self-betterment.

India is unique at present in that a widespread effort is being made to revive a village form of government. There is a tradition of self-government in the Indian village. Village headmen have felt a sense of social responsibility and the village dweller a sense of loyalty. The latter has historically looked to the leaders for guidance. The *panchayet* movement is an attempt to carry *swaraj* to the basic community in Indian life. It is a form of self-government that means accepting responsibility for all phases of village life. The encouraging fact about this movement is that the people seem to be grasping it as a part of a general programme of *swaraj*. In the Indian State of Mysore over 8,000 villages have organized their *panchayets* since the movement started. If the tendency increases the time may well come when political power and experience may return to the smaller communities.

But no social renaissance advances very far without leaders and a social philosophy of life. Here India is not lacking. To a Westerner the two best known names in this field are those of Gandhi and Tagore. Gandhi, of course, is interested in the freedom of all of India, but again and again he comes back to the statement that he wants *swaraj* for the villager more than for any one else. He wants to see the *ryot* free from his burden of debt. On one side Gandhi has all the hatred of the money-lenders, which William Jennings Bryan had of Wall Street. There is a certain

similarity between the authority exercised by Bryan among the farmers of the West and that of Gandhi among the villagers of India. It is a moral authority, linked on the one hand to religion and on the other to a Benjamin-Franklin doctrine of: work hard, be frugal, take care of your health, and discipline your passions—a doctrine which “Poor Richard’s Almanac” carried to the rural populations of America in an earlier period. Gandhi claims that the only person who ever beats this modern game is the person who makes himself independent of it. He is the leader of a revolt of the smaller community against the tyranny of a big city.

Tagore also sees in the life of the village the hope of India’s regeneration. He deplores the decadence which has come, a decadence due to the forces which have robbed the village of its significance. In his programme of education carried on at Santiniketan he has made a large place for village reconstruction. He writes of the village as follows :—

“Villages are like women. In their keeping is the cradle of the race. They are nearer to nature than towns, and are therefore in closer touch with the fountain of life. They have the atmosphere which possesses a natural power of healing. It is the function of the village, like that of woman, to provide people with their elemental needs, with food and joy, with the simple poetry of life, and with those ceremonies of beauty which the village spontaneously produces and in which she finds delight. But when constant strain is put upon her through the extortionate claim of ambition, when her resources are exploited through the excessive stimulus of temptation, then she becomes poor in life ; her mind becomes dull and inactive and from her time-honoured position of the wedded partner of the city she is degraded to that of maid-servant. While in its turn the city, in its intense egotism and pride, remains unconscious of the devastation it constantly works upon the very source of its life and health and joy.” (*City and Village.*)

But Tagore sees what Gandhi does not appear to see—that the village needs the city to complement its own development. The village cannot bear the burden of population which it produces. A certain amount of social drainage from the villages is wholesome. The village needs the city to consume its products, to stimulate its outlook.

“The very factory of which I was complaining, though it has been the instrument of much wrong-doing, is not a thing

of which we may say we would be rid. The machine is also an organ of our vital force; it is man's very own. If we have caused our hands to commit robbery, the remedy does not lie in cutting them off. They must be purged of their sin. To try to improve ourselves by crippling ourselves is a counsel of cowardice. All the powers of man seek development and expansion; we have not the right to ignore any of them. From the earliest times man has sought to make tools. No sooner has he discovered any new secret of nature than he has tried to capture it with the help of some machine and make it his own, whereby his civilization has entered on each successive stage." (*Ibid.*)

Thus the moral and social forces of India are mobilizing for an attack on a problem of world-wide significance. Even the Protestant churches, which since the days of John Calvin have been sitting at the feet of urban gods, have just imported from America a rural leader of international reputation to guide them in their service to the villages. If they can join hands with the Indian leaders in this great cause, *swaraj* in the village may become a fact.

The Y.M.C.A. has not only pioneered in this field, as indicated in the special report on the rural work, but it has adopted a certain unique philosophy of education in its attempt to place knowledge at the disposal of the Indian village leaders. This education of key people who are subsequently able to accomplish the uplift of the community as a whole, is something rather unique in educational practice.

Conventional education places knowledge at the disposal of people who want to escape from the community in which they are living. As a result our conventionally educated people are afflicted with the "climbing disease". The bad effects of this are not so apparent in a land which has a big frontier to which the "climbers" may go. But in a country like India the climbers accumulate. In some way a new chapter in educational practice must be written. Not only must people be educated to want what they ought to want, but communities must be built in which people who want what they ought to want can get what they want. In the village of Ramanathapuram the Y.M.C.A. has a man trying to write this chapter. His name is Jayakaran, and he is placing knowledge at the disposal of people who intend to live in the communities in which they now are.

The Rajah Naidu is president of the village board at Ramanathapuram. His fathers and he have been "head men" of these

villages for generations. He himself owns about forty acres of land which he rents out to tenants at the rate of about Rs. 400 per acre. The Rajah Naidu is a well set-up, intelligent man, who would pass for a leader in a rural group almost anywhere in the world. He has built a new home on a part of his land which he hopes will be the beginning of a model village. Across the road from the house he has set aside five acres and built there a travellers' rest house, a Hindu temple, and a community hall in one. The income from the five acres is used for the upkeep of the hall. It is a beautiful spot, well planted with fruit-bearing trees and shrubbery. The local board has supervision over the schools, roads, street lighting, and sanitation. Streets are lighted when there is no moon. One gets the impression that these villages are far above the average in general development.

The Rajah Naidu and Jayakaran are great friends. They smoke and hold long conversations about the welfare of the village; they are guarding the community will to live. The survey staff asked the Rajah Naidu and his relatives about the contribution which Jayakaran has made to the village. Briefly stated, they enumerated the following: All agreed that the coming of this leader had advanced the village peace. Controversies over land were less frequent. All agreed that Jayakaran had enlarged the range of the villagers' interests. New industries, better streets, and contacts with the outside world had thrown into the background certain controversies which used to be in the forefront. These things had done much to lessen the importance of caste distinctions. Although the depressed classes were still educated in a separate school, there was a different attitude on the part of the village as a whole. The Rajah Naidu had become so liberal in his own disregard of caste lines that he was looked upon with suspicion by some of the old villagers.

C. THE Y.M.C.A. AND THE PROBLEM OF OVER-POPULATION.

It is the belief of the survey staff that the Y.M.C.A., working through its departments of physical education and rural work, is in a position to make a distinct contribution to the problem of over-population in India. Before presenting the suggestion in detail, however, it will be in order to analyse the problem itself.

A map of India on which the density of population is indicated would establish the fact that the greatest concentration per square mile occurs in the Ganges valley and in the coastal area of the south. This immediately recalls to mind, however, that

over-population is simply the reverse side of the economic situation; in a famine area ten people might conceivably constitute over-population. Famine areas accordingly are produced when both over-population and under-production are present. But social customs, political laws and religious sanctions all play their part in producing economic conditions even as they do in increasing the population. Since over-population is a matter of the balance between available resources for food and other necessities of life, on the one hand, and the people dependent on these on the other, anything that unduly contributes to an increase of the population may be regarded as a factor in over-population. The following discussion falls naturally into two parts: an enumeration of the causes which decrease the national food supply, and an enumeration of the factors that increase the population dependent on this supply.

On examining into the forces that increase or decrease the national food supply, one is immediately impressed with the small number that can be classified as purely natural. The American Indian walked over the same rich soil as the American white man, and the larger returns collected by the latter may be attributed to the economic, social, moral and religious resources which the white man brought to bear upon the situation. Therefore, in enumerating the forces that determine the food supply in India, one must consider first of all the natural factors, such as: the extent and quality of the food-producing soil, the climate, the native plant and animal stocks, and the mountain and river systems. But it immediately becomes evident that what these signify is determined by economic and social factors, such as: the prevalent system of property holding; available types of machinery for farming; the system of barter, exchange or credit; the labour supply; and the organization of capital. These economic and social factors cannot be separated, however, from certain factors of a political kind, such as: the security of person and property, governmental co-operation with private enterprise, and governmental control of credit, tariffs and transportation.

After enumerating the natural, economic and political factors, one becomes immediately aware of the fact that they all root in a complex of human attitudes that can only be classified as moral and spiritual. Under this head are such matters as: habits of work and thrift; scientific knowledge of the laws of nature; capacity for self-criticism and social evaluation; freedom from inhibiting superstitions; the co-operative mind that makes for collective action; social imagination that can visualize better ways

of doing things and can state objectives, devise policies and formulate programmes ; awareness of spiritual, moral and intellectual issues ; and sincerity and purity of heart. In the light of such enumerations, the old saying that there is more in the men than there is in the land takes on increased meaning ; what there is in the man is that total equipment, personal and social, with which he confronts nature. Therefore, whatever increases this equipment thereby increases the available food supply in a given area.

Turning now to the factors that increase or decrease the population, one is again impressed with the relatively small part played by forces classifiable as purely natural. Such factors include : the proportion of women of child-bearing age, the physical urge of both men and women, and such climatic and other natural conditions that are favourable to child bearing. But these conditions are all modified by certain social and economic factors of greater importance in the situation, such as : the prevalent family system (joint or single families), the approved age for marrying for girls, the existence of concubinage, and the participation of women in activities outside the home. Additional modifying factors are to be found in the political arrangements of the country. Conditions of war or peace determined the carrying out of the functions of married life. The State establishes the legal age for marriage, as for instance through the Sarda Act. The State punishes violations of the marital code. The State co-operates in protecting the health of women and children.

But the more one studies the functions of home life, the more one is impressed with the fact that most of its activities are carried on in a realm which is more intimately personal than either business or politics. The real control roots in the intellectual, moral and spiritual equipment which human beings bring to this experience. Under this head such considerations are to be classified as : religious sanctions and customs, moral standards as to sex relations among the unmarried, social imagination that visualizes experiences beyond those of the moment, the ability to exercise self-restraint and to organize one's life with reference to socially valuable ends, scientific knowledge of the laws of health and sanitation, ideals as to types which control in the world of sentiment, competing desires that struggle for supremacy with the desire for sex gratification, and ideals of physical fitness or of discipline of the body.

If this analysis is approximately correct, then it may be asserted that a high birth-rate is not something naturally inherent

in any racial group so much as a product of social, economic and cultural factors, all of which it is possible to modify. It is especially true that religious ideas and sanctions can influence the available food supply and also the population dependent on it. The approach of religion and ethics to the problem, then, is through the modification of those religious ideas that are an integral part of the whole process whereby over-population is brought about.

What, more in detail, is then to be the contribution of religion in bringing about an adjustment of the population to available resources? First of all, there should be a clear-cut recognition of the fact that the problem is a religious one and of concern to religious people. There should take place a revival of the doctrine of the sanctity of the soil and its resources. Other religions are probably more sensitive than Christianity to feelings of this kind. Both Chinese and Indians have a feeling for land, water and animals which the Christians have largely lost. The ideal of a productive life, as over against lazy, wasteful living, must be made alluring and desirable. Communities must be developed and their resources explored, in which people have the chance to live not in luxury but with the satisfactions that come from having enough, along with the chance to enjoy fellowship in wholesome tasks. The possibilities of the continent life must be explored, in contrast to the life of sensual sexual enjoyment. If there are satisfactions and resources in life beyond sexual enjoyment, then these satisfactions must be made real to people.

Turning to a somewhat wider field, the will of God must be presented as made manifest in co-operative social planning. The adequate organization of society must be made a matter of religious enthusiasm. The communist enthusiasm for the reign of the engineer is worthy of a wider acceptance. The socially fit should be encouraged to become the bearers of racial stock. There must be a scientific attack on the problem of social drainage which will include: (a) the training of people for fields of service in which skill and intelligence are required; (b) making available to Indians access to other parts of Asia where the population is not so concentrated; and (c) increasing population mobility and removing the hazards involved by social safeguards. Finally, whatever there is of value in birth control should be made a matter of common knowledge.

It is not necessary to point out that the programme here visualized calls for the co-operative attack of all social forces, private

and public, on the problem under consideration. It may be well to indicate, however, that such an institution as the Young Men's Christian Association, with its publicly acclaimed reputation in physical welfare and rural reconstruction, is in somewhat of a unique position to furnish leaders who will think constructively along the lines of eugenics and the improvement of the natural food supply. It is entirely possible that an enlargement of the programme of the Y.M.C.A. in this direction would be the spearhead thrust for larger national efforts.