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OF

MISSIONARY INFORMATION.

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GOOD TIDINGS, THAT PUBLISHETH PEACE."—*NAHUM* I. 15.

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THE HAVANA—MOUTH OF THE HARBOR.

Church Missionary Intelligencer.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

It may be considered by some, that the view which we have given, in our last Number, of the state of society in Cuba, more particularly with reference to the condition of the slave, is exaggerated, and presented in more sombre colours than the truth requires. We are aware that it has been otherwise depicted; and that some travellers have had their credulity so wrought upon, as to believe that the owner inflicts no wrong, and the slave is a stranger to oppression. Slavery in Cuba is so divested of its horrors, as, under the magic wand of these enchanters, to be transformed into a mild paternity, from which the slave, even when he has the means, has no desire to free himself; where the sound of the lash is rarely heard; and the negroes are all healthy and happy-looking. These florid paintings are generally the productions of *artists* who have been the guests of the sugar-*aristocracy* of the island, and who have been carefully conducted to those points of view from whence the social life of Cuba might be seen to most advantage. They have fulfilled the office of the portrait-painter who has been indulgently and liberally dealt with, in the expectation that the picture, when completed, will be more flattering than truthful. "The traveller in a slave country will find his love of luxury, and courtesy, and generous ease, appealed to on every hand." There is said to be a "strange narcotic influence in the atmosphere of the island, more especially inland, where the visitor is partially or wholly removed from the winds that usually blow from the gulf in the after part of the day;" so much so, that by some it has been thought to be "the effect of some powerful plant that might abound upon the plantations;" but inquiry showed "that this dreamy somnolence, this delightful sense of ease, and soft luxuriance of feeling, was solely attributable to the natural effect of the soft climate of Cuba. By gently yielding to this influence, one seems to dream while waking; and while the sense of hearing is diminished, that of the olfactories appears to be increased, and pleasurable odours float upon every passing zephyr. One feels at peace with all human nature, and a sense of voluptuous ease overspreads the body." We apprehend that Cuban society has not unfrequently exercised the same influence upon the moral principle, which Cuban climate produces upon the physical frame; and

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men, too enervated and luxuriously languid to look beneath the surface, have willingly acquiesced in a state of society, which, during their brief sojourn, yields them many and luscious fruits.

We confess ourselves unprepared to transfer the glowing encomiums, which may with truth be pronounced on the physical, to the moral aspect of the island. The one is God's creation, beautiful from His hand; the other, a disturbed admixture of subverted right and triumphant wrong, thrown up by the forcible action of human interest and passion, in defiance of the monitions of conscience and the will of God. The beauty of the one only brings out more forcibly the deformity of the other. All writers on Cuba are eloquent in the praise of Cuban scenery and climate. "On treading the fertile soil, and on beholding the clustering fruits offered on all sides—the delicious oranges, the perfumed pine-apples, the luscious bananas, the cooling cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, for which our language has no name, we are struck with the thought of how much Providence, and how little man, has done for this Eden of the Gulf. . . . Nowhere on the face of the globe would intelligent labour meet with a richer reward; nowhere on the face of the globe would repose from labour be so sweet. The hour of rest here sinks upon the face of nature with a peculiar charm; the night breeze comes with its gentle wing to fan the weary frame, and no danger lurks in its career. It has free scope through the unglazed windows. Beautifully blue are the heavens, and festally bright the stars, of a tropical night. Pre-eminent in brilliancy among the constellations is the Southern Cross, a galaxy of stars that never greets us in the north. At midnight its glittering framework stands erect: that solemn hour passed, the cross declines."* "A high temperature, moderated by great evaporation, which pours through the atmosphere a continuous torrent of watery vapours, presents most favourable conditions for the development of an admirable vegetation, which again contributes, on its part, to maintain the humidity of the atmosphere—soul of its exuberant life. Thus it is, that, through all seasons of the year, the fields and forests of Cuba preserve their verdure: but it

* Ballou's "History of Cuba," p. 128.

is principally at the beginning of summer, during the rainy season, that all nature there seems to be transformed to flowers."* Yet here human cruelty has offered up to human avarice hecatombs of human victims. The extinct nations, whose traces are to be found in the ruined cities of Yucatan and Honduras, offered on the stone altars, which stood before their colossal idols, human sacrifices. The Spaniard has exceeded them, although the idol to which he has sacrificed outpourings of human life, devoid of any sensible representation, has had its shrine within his heart.' Where is the aboriginal race of Cuba? That island, when subjugated by the Spaniards, contained a considerable population, probably some 300,000 or 400,000 Indians. They were enslaved, overworked, and, before the expiration of half a century, had become extinct. The destructive causes are obvious—"the cruelty of the conquerors, the brutality of the governors, the too severe labours of the gold-washings, the ravages of the small-pox, and the frequency of suicide.' Soon after the conquest commenced that course of cruel action towards the Indians which resulted in their utter extermination. The archives of Seville have borne testimony on this subject. The revolting atrocities committed by Vasco Porcallie, in 1521, are cited by Sagra in his "Historia Fisica, Politica, y Natural;" and as early as 1534 the Cuban officials, in their letters to the emperor, asked for 7000 negroes, that they might become inured to labour before the Indians had died out. So grievous were their sufferings that suicide became a mania amongst them. One native chief, Hatuey, took up arms in defence of his tribe and territory. It was a futile effort. He fell into the hands of Velasquez, the Spanish governor, and, by his command, was burned alive. Is it surprising, that, amidst the intensity of his suffering, he should exclaim, "Prefiero el infierno al cielo si en cielo ha Españoles." What an advent was that of the so-called Christians to the shores of this heathen race! Yet the records of Spanish conquest throughout America are stained with similar atrocities. Have the Creoles of Cuba unlearned the cruelty of their ancestors? Let the tens of thousands of Africans, who have prematurely perished in the service of the planter, answer that question.

"The same terrible system of cruelty is going on this day in the Spanish colonies—the same terrible evils are silently in operation. Change the term Indians for negroes, the word mines for plantations, and in every other

respect the same bloody tragedy is acting over again—the same frightful work of extermination, the same cruel mockery of staying the evil by laws without enforcement, *cédulas* without a hope being entertained of their being carried into effect, is now practising in New Spain; and the awful waste of human life, that in the time of the Indians was for a limited period made up by the ravages of the man-robbers on the coast of the New World, has now for three centuries been filled up, in Cuba alone, by an annual importation that has now reached to the amount of 25,000 stolen men from the shores of Africa."*

There are writers of another class, under the influence of pro-slavery principles, who diligently labour to extenuate the evils of the system, and to impart to it an expression of benignity which is most foreign to its character. We regret to find that Humboldt's valuable work, "Essai Politique sur l'Isle de Cuba," has been recently presented to the American public, by a translator, in pro-slavery fittings. Notes and a preliminary essay have been appended to it, from the latter of which we introduce the following passage—"The two unmixed races exist in Cuba, under a social organization in which the inferior is subject to the superior race, to the manifest material and moral advantage of both. The material condition of the inferior, or slave race, is not that degraded and suffering state of deprivation which the reasoners upon the abstract question of slavery assume it to be. On the contrary, the relation of master and slave is one of mutual dependence, and creates ties between them which do not exist in countries where the two races live in a state of civil equality. The feelings of affection incident to an intimate and continued intercourse from the cradle to the grave, are not interfered with or broken by the existence of separate interests. Though the slave is bound to reside with and labour for his master, this does not infer that his whole time and strength is consumed in bringing profit to his owner. It is true, the general direction of his labours lies with his master, yet the slave in America is able to devote a much larger portion of his time and strength to his own individual comfort and pleasure, than is the manufacturing or agricultural labourer, who is not a freeholder, in those countries where slavery does not exist. Not only are his present wants supplied, in return for his labour, but he has no future of age and poverty to provide for or to fear. His material condition is thus one of comparative

* Sagra, "Historia Fisica, Politica, y Natural."

† Madden's "Island of Cuba," pp. 120, 121. [Written July 1849.]

happiness, and all happiness is comparative; and this is further improved by the instigations of interest with his master, and by that friendly sentiment towards all who are dependent upon us, or upon whom we have conferred a favour, which is innate in the human heart. The possession of power or control by the slaveholder over the labour of his slaves does not make him a tyrant; but rather does it give him a feeling of stronger affinity with them, apart from that of interest, and creates in his breast those friendly ties which every human bosom experiences for its dependants.

"The moral condition of the slave is also benefited by his relation with his master. Every individual is brought into an intimate connexion with a better society and example than is afforded him by his own class exclusively; and the faculty of imitation, which is much stronger in the negro than that of origination, stimulates him to imitate his superior rather than his equal. At the same time, the exercise of the control of a superior intelligence over his social intercourse and moral deportment, are productive of a state of morals which will compare most favourably with that of the lower classes under a different social organization. A respect for the laws, and for the rights of others, is thereby inculcated, and the religious sentiment is developed to a degree never found in the free negro, and seldom in the same relative class in other communities. Pauperism never exists amongst slaves, and great crimes are much more rare among them than among the lower classes in free States.*"

How great disadvantages, then, the inhabitants of free countries labour under! how serious a defect it is in our social system, that our upper classes are not slave-owners, and the operative and agricultural classes their slaves! How astonishing the power of delusion, which so confuses the moral sense, that men call evil good and good evil, put darkness for light and light for darkness, put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter! Whose property is man, and who has over him the right of ownership? God is the proprietor. "Behold, all souls are mine;" and justly, for they are the souls which he has made. In that sense all men are equal: they are under a common Head and Lord. How can the original equality of fellow-servants be so altered, as that one shall become the property of another? How did it come to pass that the one was so unduly elevated, and the other

so unduly depressed? Has God vested His original and undeniable right in the person of the slaveholder? Where, then, is the deed of transfer? Let it be specified. Has God voided His own right in favour of the slave-owner, and vacated all further control over the slave so far as this life is concerned? That will scarcely be pretended. How, then, shall the double proprietorship be reconciled in action? and when the will of the divine Lord and of the human lord divaricate, which is to be obeyed? Is the human lord to stand between the man and the divine Lord, and say, "My will is your law, and there is no appeal from it?" That is slavery! Or is the will of an earthly superior only binding so far as it be not repugnant to the will of God? That is free service; for the exercise of earthly power is checked and moderated by a reference to a common superior, before whom both are equal, although they stand to one another in the relationship of master and servant. This is our first grand objection to slavery—that it makes the slave-owner, so far as this life is concerned, the god of the slave. The will of the master overbears that of the slave, and determines, irrespectively of his own personal inclinations, the place of his dwelling, the employment of his energies, the social relations which he is permitted to contract, their cessation or continuance. He may not learn to read, because his master's prohibition interferes, and thus he is shut out from the consolation of perusing for himself the scriptures of God, which were written for the bond as well as for the free. The slave has no rights, because the master, by reason of his imaginary ownership, has absorbed them into his own person, and interferes at his pleasure, not only in the temporal concerns of his slave, but even in those which have an intimate connexion with his welfare in eternity. Slavery is the usurpation of God's prerogative over man.

Moreover, He who is the great proprietor has no slaves, neither coerces to obedience. He redeems from slavery, in order that He may have a willing service, a free service of the man's own choice and determination, which is alone effective and of value. The forced service, which is rendered because the man cannot help it, is an eye service, reluctantly discharged, and poor in its results. Slavery cannot be of God, because the influence by which it is pervaded, that of coercion, is one which he has condemned, and ejected from the service which is to be yielded to Him. Free service affords room for the exercise of kindly affections: what is willingly rendered is graciously acknowledged, and munificently

* Preliminary Essay to Humboldt's "Island of Cuba," by J. S. Thrasher, pp. 53—55.

recompensed. Slave service is prompted by no gratitude, and recompensed by no encouragement.

But how did the slave come originally into bondage? It was not by the consignment of God, nor was it by the volition of the individual himself, even if he had a right so to dispose of himself, which cannot be admitted. It was originally by an act of theft. Now we have the expression of God's mind with reference to this crime clearly enunciated, even in the Old Testament, as in Ex. xxi. 16, 'He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.'

"As the stealing of men is the foundation of slavery in most cases, and especially of modern slavery, this statute condemns it as sinful, intrinsically, absolutely. The stealing, the selling, the holding of a man in slavery, is death: either form of the crime shall be so punished. Whether the kidnapper keep or sell his victim, the crime is death. But the purchaser, with knowledge of the theft, is equally guilty, and would be treated as conspirator and principal in the same crime. This law, in connexion with the other provisions in the Hebrew system, would render slavery impossible. The limitation of legal servitude to six years, and the law of universal freedom on the recurrence of the Jubilee, would alone prevent it; but the law against man-stealing made it as criminal a system as an organized system of murder would have been. The stealing a man is the stealing him from himself; the buying of him is the receiving of stolen property; the enslaving of his children is the stealing of them both from themselves and from him, so that the crime is exasperated in its descent: by transmission, the crime is at once increased in extent and undiminished as to the original iniquity.

"This law must effectually and for ever have prevented any traffic in human beings. It denies the principle of property in man: the selling is the assumption of property in the stolen person, and the selling is punishable by death. The stealing alone, if the thief did not sell, might not be the assertion of property, or of the *principle* of property in man; but the *selling* of him *would* be; and either stealing and holding, or stealing and selling, the crime is put on a level with murder. The stealing of human beings *as* property, and the converting of them *into* property, is worse than the stealing *of* property; as much worse as murder is than stealing. Such is the distinction which God makes between this and a common theft, between the stealing of a *man* and the stealing of *property*. The theft of property was

punished by fine; but the stealing of a man by death. 'If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep' (Ex. xxii. 1). 'If the theft be certainly found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall restore double' (xxii. 4). Comp. xxii. 9.'"*

He who buys a slave assumes the responsibility of the original wrong, by which the individual became such, and is himself virtually a man-stealer. The payment of a sum of money, in a Transatlantic market, does not ignore all antecedents, and constitute a new title, in virtue of which the purchaser holds the slave as his legitimate property. It is the original title which has been transferred to him, and that is an unsound one, for it is the appropriation of the property of another, without consent on his part. The purchaser, therefore, possesses himself of that to which he has no right, and which, in *foro conscientie*, he is bound to restore.

Thus slavery is an act of unwarrantable interference with God's dominion over His creature man, as well as of gross injustice toward the injured party. It robs God of His prerogative, and man of his liberty; and, usurping that administrative power which God never surrendered, compels the slave to submit himself to an authority which has no foundation, save in wrong. The true type of slave action is to be found, not in the divine procedure, but in the acts of Satan, the archetypal slave-dealer, who first of all, by fraud, possessing himself of that dominion over the creature which belongs to God, uses it to the degradation and destruction of the divine workmanship, and refuses to let the captive free until constrained by the coercive power of One stronger than himself.

But slavery, we are informed, exercises a beneficial influence on the respective parties whom it has brought into the relationship of master and slave, and is to "the manifest and material advantage of both." Our objection is to the principle. It is difficult to understand how that which is evil in principle can, in a true sense, be productive of beneficial consequence. If such, however, were the fact, still we cannot slur over a defect in principle because of advantages to be secured by its adoption, or decide to do evil that good may come. Men are too prone to look beyond the action to its issue, and take their decision from thence, rather than to the essential element which constitutes it, from its first conception, right or wrong. Hence men. to

* "Bibliotheca Sacra, and American Biblical Repository," Jan. 1856, pp. 43, 44.

secure uncertainties, commit themselves to a wilful violation of the moral principle, and often make shipwreck of that principle without attaining the advantages which they had expected.

This being premised, we have no objection to submit the above assertion to the test of facts, and so arrive at a proper estimate of its value. It will be found that truth lies directly the other way, and that slaveholding is to the manifest material injury, as well of owner as of slave: nay, more, we think that the evidence of this, without going further, may be collected from the admissions of the advocate of slavery to whom we have already referred. It would be too wide a range for us to argue out the question generally, and we must confine ourselves to the particular field before us—Cuba. In that selection we place our opponents, according to their own showing, at no disadvantage; nay, on the contrary, if they credit their own assertions, we give them the advantage of the very best specimen of slaveholding which could be selected. A cotemporary informs us, "All native Cuban authors, as well as travellers and residents in the island, with one prominent exception, to be afterwards noticed (Mr. Madden), unite in asserting that slavery in Cuba assumes its mildest form, and has been divested of most of the horrors which surround it in the other slaveholding countries."* It would be so if the laws which have respect to the social condition of the slave were faithfully carried out; but the cases are very exceptional where they are not inoperative; so much so, that you have only to ascertain what the law is on a particular point, in order to find the practice at the opposite point of the compass. The advocates of slavery have indicated Cuba as presenting the most favourable specimen of the practical working of the system, and their assertions have been believed, and dealt with as verities. Thus, in the report presented by Mons. A. de Tocqueville to the Chamber of Deputies, on the 23d July 1839, in the name of the Commission charged with the examination of the proposition relative to the slaves of the French colonies, the following passage occurs—"It is of public notoriety in the New World that slavery has always had, with the Spaniards, a peculiar character of mildness. One can convince himself of this in reading over the ordinances made by the kings of Spain, at an epoch when, amongst the other nations of Europe, the laws for the government of the slaves were strongly tinctured with barbarity.

The Spaniards, who showed themselves so cruel towards the Indians, have always ruled their slaves with a singular humanity. In their colonies the distinctions between blacks and whites was less than in all the others, and the authority of the owner resembled more that of a father of a family than of a master. The slave, better treated in these colonies, sighed less after liberty, which ought to be preceded by arduous exertion: hence the legislator accorded him a right which he very seldom wished to avail himself of." Well, we can have no objection to try the general issue on this particular case. If slaveholding is capable of yielding beneficial results to mankind, they must be found concentrated in an island, with reference to which the question is asked, "What other nation, or human society, can give so favourable an account of the results of this unfortunate trade?" Our American friend appears to have no doubt upon the subject, and asserts confidently that the condition of the negro in Cuba, both morally and physically, "is vastly superior to that of his own race in the free islands."† We repeat, that we place the proslavery partisan at no disadvantage; and now let us try the issue.

The rate of mortality is a just criterion of the physical condition of a population. Where it is so great as to overbear the increase by births, we at once see that very disastrous influences must be at work. We shall proceed to prove, that such has been the rate of mortality in the slave population of Cuba, that long since it would have become extinct but for the importations of new victims from the coast of Africa. In our investigations we shall use, so far as any dependence can be placed upon them, the statistics of the American writer to whom we have referred.

In the year 1811 there was in Cuba, according to statistics to be found in Humboldt's work, a slave population of 211,700; to which, during the six years which elapsed from 1811 to 1817, there were added, by importation, 67,700 negroes from Africa, as well as its own reproductive increase, the rate of which, in the abnormal state of slaves in that island, it is difficult to calculate. We have thus, without taking into consideration the item of natural increase, a grand total of 279,400 to be accounted for. At the end of the six years there were only 225,000 slaves in the island; that is, only 13,300 more than the total of 1811. The mortality had eaten up all the increase by reproduction, and 54,400 of the imported slaves.

* "London Quarterly Review," Oct. 1856, p. 111.

† Thrasher, in Humboldt, p. 231.

Let us make an average distribution of the importations and deaths throughout the six years. There were imported each year 11,283 slaves, and there perished each year 9066 slaves, besides all the increase by reproduction. Importations, then, of 11,000 and upwards of slaves a year just so far sustained the slave population as to allow of a slight increase. What, then, would have been the result, if, from 1817, all importations had been suspended, and the same rate of mortality had continued? Less than twenty-five years would have sufficed for the extermination of the slave population from Cuba.

Again referring to 1811, the mass of free coloured and slaves, mulattos and blacks, numbered in that year 326,000. During the fourteen years from 1811 to 1825, there were added by importation, according to Humboldt's statistics, 185,000 new negroes, besides the natural increase, which must have been much more in proportion than when the slave population is separately considered. Leaving out the reproductive increase, we have a grand total of 511,000 to be accounted for. At the end of the fourteen years, *i. e.* in 1825, there were not more than 390,000 of the mixed mass above mentioned in the island; that is, only 64,000 more than the total of 1811. The mortality had eaten up all the increase by reproduction, and, besides, 121,000 of the imported slaves. Had the coloured population of 1825 equalled that of 1811 + the importations, that is, 511,000, still death would have destroyed the reproductive increase. That would have been a conclusion sufficiently awful. But the result is far more terrible; for death destroyed, besides the reproductive increase, 121,000 slaves. Shall we again distribute the importations and deaths throughout the fourteen years. The account then stands thus—the addition by importation each year, to the mixed class, about 13,200; the diminution by deaths each year, about 8600, besides all the increase by reproduction. But let us take the slave items by themselves. The slave population of 1811 amounted to 212,000. The additions by importation, in the course of fourteen years, are estimated at 185,000 negroes from the coast of Africa; making a grand total of 397,000 slaves to be accounted for. In 1825 the slave population stood no higher than 260,000, being an increase on that of 1811 of 48,000 slaves. The difference, 137,000, had been absorbed by death, besides the increase by reproduction, *i. e.* at the rate of 9780 each year. We have, therefore, a yearly importation of 13,200 slaves, and deaths each year to the amount of 9780. This rate of mortality, as we had pre-

viously ascertained, between 9000 and 10,000 annually, would assign a little more than twenty-six years for the extermination of the slave population from Cuba. Not without reason, therefore, does Humboldt, writing in 1825, say, "The slave population of Cuba would have diminished with great rapidity since 1820, had it not been for the fraudulent continuance of the slave-trade with Africa. If this infamous traffic should cease entirely, through the advance of civilization, and the energetic will of the new states of free America, the servile population would diminish largely for some time, because of the existing disproportion between the sexes, and because many would continue to attain their liberty. This decrease would not cease until the relative proportion of births and deaths should compensate even for the slaves freed." The traffic has not ceased. Slavery in Cuba is as a vast machinery, fed by the slave-dealer from the African coast with the human material, which is broken and crushed by its revolutions, that the planter and his accomplices may have their gold.

But, calamitous as these results are, we fear they must be considered as far below the realities of the case. We must endeavour, therefore, to attain a closer approximation to the truth. There are on record three distinct censuses of population in Cuba, taken in the years 1827, 1841, and 1846. The first feature in these returns to which we shall refer is the disparity between the sexes. It stands thus in the census of 1827, being much greater in that of 1841, and slightly less in that of 1846—

Male	183,290
Female	103,652.

A writer, from personal observation well acquainted with the subject, here observes—"However great this discrepancy between the sexes may appear, it is, in point of fact, not nearly so great as that which is borne out by my own personal observation and researches. In fact, I have very little confidence in this department of the official returns, as, among the many estates which I visited, I had not the good fortune to meet with one where the proportion between the sexes was so favourable as that given in the census of 1827. It is notorious that there are individual estates in the island with 600 or 700 negroes upon them, from which the softer sex is entirely excluded. In this respect I am bound to say that the Creole proprietors evince much more regard for the laws of humanity than the emigrant planters from Spain and the United States. It is, in fact, but justice to others to signalize the case of a certain

Mr. Baker, who has established himself in the neighbourhood of Cienfuegos, on an estate where he has congregated no less than 700 male negroes, to the exclusion of a single female, locking up the men, during the short period allowed for needful rest, in a building called a barracoon, which is, in fact, to all intents and purposes, a prison.*

Let us now look at the totals of these returns, and, by comparing them with each other, endeavour to ascertain the rate of mortality amongst the slave population of Cuba.

And first, if we compare the census of 1827 with that of 1841, we find the slave population in the former year rated at 286,942, and in the latter at 436,495, being an excess of the latter over the former number of 149,553. It would appear, therefore, from these figures, that there had been an increase at the rate of 3·7 per cent. yearly, and this conclusion is referred to as bearing favourable evidence to the practical working of the system. Can we ascertain any thing of the amount of importations during this period? That it had been a period marked by an active prosecution of the slave-trade is evident, from the official statements of the British Consul at Havana, and the efforts made by Great Britain to conclude with Spain a new convention, which, by giving increased powers to the Mixed Court of Justice at that city, might cripple the action of the slave-trade, and eventually lead to its abandonment.

In the American work to which we have referred there are estimates given of the yearly importations, from which it would appear, that, from 1828 to 1841 inclusive, there have been introduced into Cuba 172,907 slaves, being an average of 12,350 and upwards for fourteen years. We cannot, however, accept these estimates, believing them to be underrated. This may be concluded from the fact, that in 1837, according to official returns, 81 slave-ships reached Cuba, disembarking, on a very low average, 300 slaves each, and presenting a total of 24,000 instead of 15,200 + one-fifth, as given in the estimates.

We have other documents available as a reference—the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Slave-trade, 1848. The evidence that we shall especially refer to is that of James Bandinel, Esq., who for thirty years had charge of that department of the Foreign Office which is connected with the suppression of the slave-trade—a period dating from the very commencement of the slave-

trade treaties between Great Britain and other nations. In his evidence† it is expressly stated that the average number of slaves imported into Cuba in each year, from 1817 to 1821, was 39,000; and from 1822 to 1837, 40,000; while the period 1837 to 1841 furnished 79,857. We have, then, the following numbers—

From 1828 to 1837 inclusive . . .	400,000
1838	28,000
1839	25,000
1840	15,000
1841	11,837
	479,837

Such is the result—an importation into Cuba, during the period 1828 to 1841, of no less than 479,837 slaves. Let us, from these data, collect the true rate of mortality. The census of 1827 presented a total of 286,942: if to this we add the importations of 1827 to 1841, the figures will stand thus—

Census of 1827	286,942
Importations, 1827 to 1841 . . .	479,837
	766,779

We have thus a total of 766,779 slaves to be accounted for. Let us now deduct the census of 1841, exhibiting, as it does, the slave population then in existence: the figures will stand thus—

	766,779
Census of 1841	436,495
	330,284

This is an enormous deficit. Is it all mortality? It may be thought that some allowance ought to be made on account of the transfer of individuals from a slave state to a free. We believe them to be very few in number. Mr. Tolmé, the British Consul at the Havana in the year 1839, has left it upon record, as the result of his experience, that within the previous twelve years there had been no great increase in the number of free negroes or of the free people of colour, and that the coartados were, in the aggregate, so numerically insignificant, as [not sensibly to affect the total amount of the black and coloured population.‡ Let us, however, deduct the excess of free coloured in the census of 1841, when compared with that of 1827. We shall thus be attributing the entire of that surplus to acts of manumission, without taking at all into consideration the increase by birth. That excess amounts to 46,344.

Total to be accounted for . . .	766,779
Deduct, according to the	
census of 1841—	
Slave-population	436,495
Excess of free coloured, 46,344	482,839
	283,940

† Minutes of Com. Slave-trade, 3441—3456.

‡ Turnbull, pp. 147, 148.

* Turnbull's "Cuba," p. 146.

Thus, by this palpably underrated statement, there appears to have been, during the period 1827 to 1841, a mortality to the amount of 283,940, which, if distributed throughout the years, gives an annual mortality of 20,000 and upwards, without taking into consideration the reproductive increase. This, continued, without accessions by importations, would have exterminated the slave population of 1841 in little more than twenty-one years.

We now proceed to compare the census of 1841 with that of 1846. The former year gave a slave population of 486,495; the latter of 323,759—presenting a decrease of 112,736.

The slave-trade during these years was suffering under a very remarkable depression, arising from a combination of causes. The price of sugar had fallen, and there was commercial embarrassment; Valdez, who became Captain-General in 1841, adopted energetic measures to prevent the introduction of Bozals into Cuba; the failure of the coffee estates rendered 100,000 slaves available for other labour, and the wants of the sugar estates were supplied from this source instead of by importation; insurrections of the slaves occurred in 1843, which were not put down without much bloodshed, and there was a fear of increasing their numbers by fresh importations. We find, therefore, throughout these years, a great diminution in the landings.

1842	3150
1843	8000
1844	10,000
1845	1350
1846	2000
	<u>24,500</u>

Let this be added to the slave population of 1841: we have then 460,995 to be accounted for. Deducting the slave population of 1846, namely, 323,759, it leaves the deficit of mortality in five years 187,236, averaging 27,000 and upwards per annum; a rate of decrease so rapid, that less than twelve years would have sufficed to exterminate the slave population of 1846 from Cuba. Nor let this be considered exaggerated. Turnbull, in one of his calculations, which exhibited a loss of 13 per cent. on ten years, immediately adds—"This loss, however, is very far indeed from being equivalent to the average loss admitted by the managers or mayorals on the numerous estates which I made it my business to visit. On sugar properties that average amounted to the appalling proportion of 10 per cent. per annum, or cent. per cent. per decade, thus inferring the necessity of a total renewal of the numbers by importation in the course of ten years."*

* P. 150.

Let us now endeavour to take a summary of the statistics, and, according to the Minutes of Evidence already referred to, there were introduced into Cuba of Bozals—

From 1818 to 1821 inclusive, 39,000 × 4=	156,000
1822 to 1837 ditto	40,000 × 16= 640,000
1838 to 1841 ditto	79,857
1842 to 1846 ditto	24,500
	<u>900,357</u>

To these we have to add the slave population of 1817, according to the census of that year 225,000: we have then a grand total of 1,125,357, of which there remained at the census of 1846, 323,759. The figures will then stand thus—

Grand total	1,125,357
Remaining in 1846	323,759
Deficit	<u>801,598</u>

It will be observed that we have not at all taken into account increase by birth: we dispose of that element by supposing that the number of slaves manumitted were equal to the number of infants born during the period, and we have then, in thirty years, a deficit to the amount of 801,598.

Mr. Thrasher, the American writer whose annotations to Humboldt's valuable work have attracted our attention, on certain data assumed by him estimates the total number of negroes introduced into Cuba, from 1521 to 1853, at 644,108. According to his estimate, there were only 644,108 slaves imported in three centuries. According to the estimates which we have placed before the reader, there were 900,357 slaves imported in less than three decades. Of upwards of a million to be accounted for, 323,759 alone survived at the end of thirty years. Or, to view the subject in another light—In 1817 the Africans in the island, free coloured and slaves, amounted to 340,952, to which were added, by importation, 900,357 slaves, making a grand total of 1,241,309. There remained of this host, in 1846, 472,985. The deficit, 768,324, must be considered as the mortality in the mixed class since 1817—upwards of 700,000 of human beings in thirty years; an average, year by year, of 25,600 souls. Some writers cannot comprehend the possibility of 300,000 or 400,000 Indians becoming entirely extinct in thirty or forty years; but here we have nearly 800,000 of a much hardier race exterminated in the briefer period. From 1818 to 1846 inclusive, upwards of 900,000 negroes had been imported into Cuba; and yet, in 1846, the Africans, slave and free, exceeded the total of 1817 only by 132,033. Let it be remembered, also, that to the mortality must be added the reproductive increase, whatever it might have been.

We cannot, surely, be surprised at any amount of mortality in an island where, as

Humboldt informs us, "he has heard discussed with the greatest coolness the question, whether it was better for the proprietor not to overwork his slaves, and consequently have to replace them with less frequency, or whether he should get all he could out of them in a few years, and thus have to purchase newly-imported Africans more frequently."*

Let us look a little into the management of estates in Cuba. The proprietor is generally an absentee, living at the Havana or in the minor cities, such as Santiago and Matanzas. Premising this, let the reader peruse the following extract from Turnbull's work—

"As the experience of years had taught me to believe that the Spaniards are a kind and warm-hearted race, and as I had frequently been told that the slave-owners of the Havana were the most indulgent masters in the world, I was not a little surprised to find, as the result of personal inquiry and minute observation, that in this last particular I had been most miserably deceived, and that in no quarter, unless, perhaps, in the Brazils, which I have not visited, is the state of slavery so desperately wretched as it is at this moment on the sugar-plantations of the queen of the Indies, the far-famed island of Cuba.

"The error I had fallen into is so universal among people who have never visited the island, and so common even with those who have made some stay at the Havana, but have never proceeded into the interior, that, when I discovered it, I felt that it deserved some little investigation. When a stranger visits the town residence of a Cuba proprietor, he finds the family surrounded by a little colony of slaves of every variety of complexion from ebony to alabaster. Most of them have been born in the house, have grown with the growth of the family, and are, perhaps, the foster brothers or foster sisters of the master or his children. In such circumstances, it would be surprising if an uncivilized barbarian were to treat them harshly; and for a Spanish, and much more for a Creole master to do so, imbued as he is with all the warmth of the social affections, is totally out of the question. These long retinues of domestics are kept up by some from an idle love of pageantry, but, by others, from the more honourable desire of not parting with those born under their roof, and, for that reason, bearing their name; as it is the practice in Cuba, and in other slave countries into which Africans are imported, for the first proprietor, whether his title be acquired by purchase or inheritance, to bestow his own patronymic, to-

gether with a Christian name, on his slave, whether an imported Bozal or an infant Creole, at the time when the indispensable ceremony of baptism is performed.

"The distinction of ranks among the various classes of society is as carefully kept up in Cuba as in the most aristocratical countries of the Old World. The first includes the resident grantees of Spain, of whom there are about thirty, the Titulos of Castile, resembling as nearly as possible the anomalous rank of Baronet in England, and the Hacendados, or landed gentry, of the island. Next after them come the Empleados, or civil functionaries in the public offices, of whom, at the Havana alone, there are said to be 1000; and on the same level with these gentlemen may be placed the officers of the army and navy. The merchants, Spanish, Creole, or foreign, hold only the third place in the order of precedence. After them come their clerks, French, English, North-American, or German; such of them as come from Spain being chiefly Gaditanos. Retail merchants and shopkeepers hold a still lower station: they come in general from the Canaries, Catalonia, Biscay, or North America. The Gallegos, like our own Irish labourers, occupy the lowest place in the social scale, the coloured and negro race being tabooed altogether. The emigrants from Old Spain and the Canaries, but especially the Catalans and Gallegos, with their descendants, may be considered a permanent addition to the population; but foreigners, who generally come as clerks and depart as merchants, take root but rarely.

"It has often been remarked that even hired servants have an interest directly opposed to that of their masters. How much more true is the old Latin proverb, '*Quot servi, tot hostes*,' when applied to the owner of a long retinue of slaves? In the course of time the numbers of the domestic colony increase so much, that it becomes necessary to employ them in other than household duties; so that, in one of the great houses of the Havana, you may generally find a tailor and a shoemaker, and perhaps a mantua-maker or a milliner, attached to the establishment. When, in the course of years, the number of the domestic slaves has increased beyond all bounds, the surplus are allowed to hire themselves out as tradesmen or household servants, on the condition of their bringing home to their owner a fixed sum weekly or monthly from the amount of their earnings; and, in justice to the slave-masters of the Havana, it is but fair to add, that the exaction thus made is, in general, not so exorbitant but that a

* P. 228, Thrasher's Translation.

prudent and industrious slave might be able in a few years, from his surplus earnings, to purchase his entire emancipation from bondage, step by step, according to the gradual system prescribed by the Spanish colonial code.

“When we get into the country, and visit the coffee, and especially the sugar-plantations, where I propose by and by to carry the reader, if he has the patience or the heart to accompany me through the revolting details, we shall see how very differently the unhappy field negro is treated. It is there we verify the words of the poet—

‘Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.’

In fact, the most dreadful of all threats with which one of the wealthy inhabitants of the Havana contrives to terrify a delinquent domestic from the errors to which he is prone, is to hint at the necessity of sending him to rusticate for a season, under the charge of the mayoral, on his master’s estate in the country.

“In our own sugar colonies, during the prevalence of slavery, there was the same tendency to an unreasonable increase of the planter’s domestic establishment; but as ‘the great house’ was probably situated within sight of the sugar-mill, so that the master became acquainted with the persons and characters of his field negroes and their families, by daily observation and intercourse, it was not unusual to make exchanges from the house to the field, or *vice versa*. These changes, although still a punishment sufficiently severe for the one party, had nothing so terrible in their aspect as the banishment, from a life of pampered luxury and ease in the Havana, to that worst of penal settlements, a Cuba sugar-plantation. Under the tender mercies of the mayoral, he knows well, before leaving the Havana, that he has nothing to expect in the plantation but a wretched existence of over labour and starvation, accompanied by the application, or at least the constant terror, of the lash, as an incentive, relieved only by the hope of that dissolution, which sleepless nights and incessant toils are so speedily and so surely to accomplish. . . .

“To those who are not wilfully blindfold, there are not wanting, even at the Havana, not to speak of the sugar or even of the coffee-plantations, a thousand palpable indications of the misery which attends the curse of slavery, independent altogether of the superior horrors of the slave-trade. . . .

“Those visitors at the Havana who are accustomed to speak in terms of inconsiderate

satisfaction of the comforts and indulgences of the slaves, sometimes sneeringly comparing them with the privations to which an English or an Irish labourer is exposed, have probably never heard of those family arrangements by which the spirit of a slave, who has first been spoiled by over-indulgence, is to be systematically and periodically broken. The mistress of many a great family in the Havana will not scruple to tell you that such is the proneness of her people to vice and idleness, she finds it necessary to send one or more of them once a month to the whipping-post, not so much on account of any positive delinquency, as because, without these periodical advertisements, the whole family would become unmanageable, and the master and mistress would lose their authority.”*

Such, then, is a verisimilitude of the condition of the slave in Cuba. We have gone largely into the subject, and have been constrained to conduct our reader into a labyrinth of statistics; but such is the incredulity which exists upon the subject, that general assertions, without these, would have no weight at all; and with respect to the figures themselves even, if, in the opinion of some, the averages taken are too large, enough remains to authenticate the assertion of Madden, “that slavery in Cuba is more destructive to human life, more pernicious to society, degrading to the slave, and debasing to the master, more fatal to health and happiness, than in any other slaveholding country on the face of the habitable globe.”

Messrs. Turnbull and Madden visited the sugar estates during their residence in Cuba. The following paragraph, from the writings of the former gentleman, will serve to show that the impressions left on his mind, as the result of personal observation, were identical with those which we have endeavoured to convey to our readers—

“On all the estates I have visited the most tender point with the mayoral is his bill of mortality. Not that he affects any morbid sensibility on the subject as an abstract question of humanity, but because his own character as an economist, in the humblest sense of the term, is seriously involved in it. This I found remarkably the case at an estate near Bejucal, the property of Don Joaquin de Cardenas, where the mayoral, whom I met in the field, armed to the teeth with pistols, a cutlass, and a still more awe-inspiring weapon, a tremendous cart-whip, would not allow himself to acknowledge any mortality whatever. It is true that his gang of 100, containing 39 females, had not a single coun-

* Pp. 48—54.

terbalancing birth to exhibit, so that, according to his authority, his master Don Joaquin was in the enviable position of enjoying an estate producing 600 boxes of sugar, with no useless mouths to feed, and no vacancies to be supplied by the purchase of Bozals.

"Of all the tortures inflicted on the poor negro, the smallness of the medicum of sleep allowed him was what puzzled me the most at the commencement of my inquiries, and, in the end, excited the most painful emotions."*

The description by Mr. Madden of one estate we shall introduce, as it will enable our readers to realize the circumstances under which the sugar is grown that now finds a place at our breakfast-tables, and has become a recognised accessory to our English domestic life.

"We visited two sugar estates within a league of Guines, the first called Olanda, Senhor Montalvo, proprietor. We were permitted to enter without any employer of the estate, which was desirable for the purpose of making inquiries of those we found on the spot. On going into the mill-house we found three persons in a dark corner, in the stocks—two negroes and one mulatto boy—all nearly naked, having nothing on but tattered shirts. We asked them how long they had been in the stocks. They said, 'Two months.' They were not constantly kept there, however, but were taken out to work in the day; and at meal-time, and during the night, they were kept in the stocks. The crime of the two negro men was vagrancy—wandering at night beyond the precincts of the slave pen—that of the boy, stealing eggs. The latter belonged to a doctor at Guines, who sent him to the overseer of the Olanda estate, to have him punished there. The nights at this time were not only cool, but extremely cold; and in this damp, dismal place, in the depth of winter, every night, for two months, had these unfortunate wretches been kept in the stocks, without a rug to cover them. We had brought a negro servant with us from Guines, and the poor boy in the stocks begged the former, in the most piteous terms, to intercede with his master for him.

"We next visited the mayoral. He told us the estate was in *pleito* (the subject of law): the management and receipts had passed from the hands of the owner to that of the money-lenders of the Havana. There were now ninety-six slaves on the estate, and forty only fit for hard work. They made 1000 boxes of sugar a year. The soil was a good

deal worn out. I spoke to him about the people in the stocks. He said, 'Two of them are runaways; the other is a thief.' I said, two months' confinement in the stocks every night, in that cold, damp place, in winter, without a blanket to put round them, or even straw under them, was a hard punishment. 'The sooner they were let out the better it would be for the estate,' I did not venture to say for them, for I might as well have spoken to a savage of New Zealand of humanity, as to that Spanish mayoral of any interests that were likely to be served by abridging the sufferings of a slave. He was an unreasoning, unfeeling man, of a brutal mind, and yet he was remarkably good looking, had fine, delicately-formed, nobly-outlined Spanish features, with something of softness in them, and his manners were courteous—naturally so—and pleasing, when he was communicating with us white men. But an awful change I observed come over his countenance and whole demeanour, when once or twice he had occasion to give some orders to the slaves as we passed along. I could not help thinking how thankful men should be who are not thrown into bad circumstances, surrounded by evils, out of the influence of all that is good, with no example of it, no encouragement for it, no faith in it on the part of those who are above them, or fear of violating it in respect to those who are below them.

"The Spanish mayoral, I have little doubt, had been brutalized by his calling—had no energy of character, nor sense of religion, nor enlightenment, to resist the debasing influence of slavery. Had he been placed in a more fortunate position, he might have been a harmless and good-natured, and perhaps even disposed to be a good man.

"The time of sleep in the crop time, the mayoral told us, was about four hours, a little more or less.† Those who worked at night in the boiling-house worked also next day in the field. They had two meals a day. They had *tassajo* (sun-dried beef of the Brazils, with very little nutritious matter in it, extremely hard, ill-flavoured, and worse scented) for one meal, and six plantains and some Indian corn for the other. . . .

"On our return, our negro guide told us 'that Ingenio (sugar estate) was a very bad one. They were very bad to the negroes there.

† In the month of July 1839 a friend of mine visited this estate, the Olanda: the total number of negroes on the property had been then reduced to eighty, and still the working gang was forty!! The time of sleep, in crop time, the same mayoral told him, was from three to four hours.

* Pp. 238, 289.

Four months ago the mayoral had a man flogged, and the flogging went on till the poor slave died.' He further informed us that the authorities at Guines made a judicial investigation, ordered the body of the murdered negro to be disinterred, and examined by medical men—the planters' doctors of the district—who found, of course, no traces of injury to any vital organ from the scourging under which the slave died, and no further proceedings, consequently, were taken against the mayoral. It was only one more murder of a slave, committed with impunity, to be added to the long list of Spanish atrocities registered elsewhere, and, as surely as the sun shines at noon-day, destined to bring down the wrath of heaven on the nation whose Government suffers and sanctions such violations of all law, divine and human.

"On the estate of Olanda crop time lasted four months: it began in January and ended in May. The mill was moved by water-power. The proprietor was an absentee—like most of his class, an embarrassed man; the property was mortgaged: involved in law proceedings, the produce went chiefly to the lawyers: the management was bad, the treatment of the slaves inhuman, the sole object of the *administrador* being to get the utmost amount of labour in a given time out of the greatest number of slaves that could be worked day and night, without reference to their health or strength, age or sex, or to the future interests of the possessor of the property.

"The appearance of the negroes on this estate was wretched in the extreme: they looked jaded to death, listless, stupified, haggard, and emaciated. How different from the looks of the pampered, petted, well-fed, idle, domestic slaves of the Dons of the Havana! The clothing of the Olanda negroes was old and ragged—of the coarsest sacking stuff. They lived here in huts, near the Ingenio, but very miserable places, unfit for the habitation of wild beasts that it might be thought desirable to keep in health or comfort."*

We must confine ourselves to one more feature of Cuban slaveholding, the use of the blood-hound—

"The Cuban blood-hound, of which we hear so much, is not a native of the island, but belongs to an imported breed, resembling the English mastiff, though with longer nose and limbs. He is naturally a fierce, blood-thirsty animal, but the particular qualities which fit him for tracing the runaway slaves are wholly acquired by careful and

expert training. This training of the hounds to fit them for following and securing the runaway negroes is generally entrusted to a class of men who go about from one plantation to another, and who are usually Monteros or French overseers out of employment. Each plantation keeps more or less of these dogs, more as a precautionary measure, however, than for actual use; for so certain is the slave that he will be instantly followed as soon as he is missed, and easily traced by the hounds, of whose instinct he is fully aware, that he rarely attempts to escape from his master. In one respect this acts as a positive advantage to the negroes themselves; for the master, feeling a confidence relative to their possession and faithfulness, and well knowing the ease with which they can at once be secured should they run away, is thus enabled to leave them comparatively free to roam about the plantation, and they undergo no surveillance except during working hours, when an overseer is of course always somewhere about, looking after them, and prompting those that are indolent.

"The blood-hounds are taken when quite young, tied up securely, and a negro boy is placed to tease and annoy them, occasionally administering a slight castigation upon the animals, taking care to keep out of the reach of their teeth. This whipping is generally administered under the direction of the trainer, who takes good care that it shall not be sufficiently severe to really hurt the dogs or crush their spirit of resistance. As the dogs grow older, negro men, in place of boys, are placed to fret and irritate them, occasionally administering, as before, slight castigations upon the dogs, but under the same restrictions; and they also resort to the most ingenious modes of vexing the animals to the utmost, until the very sight of a negro will make them howl. Finally, after a slave has worried them to the last degree, he is given a good start, and the ground is marked beforehand, a tree being selected, when the dogs are let loose after him. Of course they pursue him with open jaws and the speed of the wind; but the slave climbs the tree, and is secure from the vengeance of the animals.

"This is the exact position in which the master desires them to place his runaway slave—'tree him,' and then set up a howl that soon brings up the hunters. They are never set upon the slaves to bite or injure them, but only placed upon their track to follow and hunt them. So perfect of scent are these animals, that the master, when he is about to pursue a runaway, will find some clothing, however slight, which the missing

* Pp. 157—161.

slave has left behind him, and, giving it to the hounds to smell, can then rely upon them to follow the slave through whole plantations of his class, none of whom they will molest, but, with their noses to the ground, will lead straight to the woods, or wherever the slave has sought shelter. On the plantations these dogs are always kept chained when not in actual use, the negroes not being permitted to feed or to play with them; they are scrupulously fed by the overseer or master, and thus constitute the animal police of the plantation. In no wise can they be brought to attack a white man, and it would be difficult for such to provoke them to an expression of rage or anger, while their early and systematic training makes them feel a natural enmity to the blacks, which is, of course, most heartily reciprocated.*

Mr. Thrasher, in his prefatory essay to Humboldt's work, expresses his conviction that "the social organization, in which the inferior is subject to the superior race," is "to the manifest material and moral advantage of both." We have submitted this startling assertion to the criterion of a few facts, and, so far at least as the slave is concerned, our readers will be far from admitting that his "material condition is one of comparative happiness." Indeed, we know not where to find a human being so wretched as to justify a comparison. True, "he has no future of age or poverty to provide for:" a premature grave is all that awaits him on the shores of Cuba. Had this poor child of tribulation even the advantage of Christian teaching, there would be one bright ray of sunshine from above to cheer him, with the prospect of a home and rest beyond the grave. But, alas! there is no gospel in Cuba: all is dark. There is nothing besides a tarnished Romanism, dark in its apostasy from God, and mean in its servility to man. The church has been impoverished by the Government. The priests, with few exceptions, are poor, and ignorant, and lax in life. The Creole population is without opportunity, and sunk in utter worldliness.

"It is sad to have to confess, if there is in any province of the Spanish monarchy an evangelical effort to be made to arrest the progress of impiety and disoluteness of morals, it is in Cuba, and principally in the rural districts, where there are very few who believe in the existence of God and in the immortality of the soul. Many are the causes which have reduced this people to a similar condition of moral degradation: the principal cause is the

want of instruction, lay and spiritual, which they have suffered, from the earliest period of Spanish rule. *Our clergy are not wont to preach the gospel to their flocks, neither by word nor work.* It is not surprising that brutal men, surrounded by slaves, without good counsel or example, become emboldened in vice, evil-minded, impious and besotted, and given to all kinds of excesses.

"There are many men and many women in the island of Cuba, who, since they were baptized, have never entered a church until they went there to get married; and thousands who, even for this rite, are strangers to a place of worship, but who live all their lives in scandalous concubinage, denying with insolent audacity the necessity of consecrating the union they have made by any religious ceremony." †

In proof of the correctness of this statement it may suffice to mention, according to statistics to be found in Ballou's work, ‡ that nearly half the births are illegitimate.

The Sunday worship is a pageant, attended chiefly by females; its impressions transitory, and soon obliterated by the gay excitement of the world. "The influence of fifteen minutes in the church, if salutary, seems soon dissipated by business and amusements without its walls. The shops are open; the cock-pit," the favourite gambling excitement of the Cubans, "fuller than on busier days of the week; and the streets thronged with volantes, the theatres and ball-rooms crowded, and the city devoted to pleasure." § In such a state of society, who is to concern himself about the poor slave? Who has either capability or inclination, or permission from the authorities, so to innovate? Madden found only two estates on which chaplains were located. In other cases, if there was a town near in which there was a church, the slaves might go there on a Sunday, but not out of crop time. The slaves are all baptized, and then the church concerns herself no more about them, until she renders to them those rites of sepulture which their baptism has secured.

But let us consider whether the system has wrought to the manifest moral and material advantage of the superior race. We have very decided opinions to the contrary. We believe that, injurious and degrading as slavery is to the serf, it is still more so to the owner. It shall, therefore, surprise us much, if, in

† Quoted by Madden, from a statement drawn up by S. Domingo Delmonte, a Cuban lawyer. *Vide* Madden, p. 105.

‡ P. 204.

§ Rev. A. Abbot's Letters.

* Ballou, pp. 177—180.

Cuba, facts prove to be the reverse of this. How can men be engaged in the purchase and sale of human beings, and not be deteriorated in their moral nature? In degrading his fellow, the man degrades himself: in disregarding the social relations into which his people may have entered, and separating husband and wife, parents and children, as his caprice or interest may dictate, he is impairing the influence which like relations were intended to exercise over him, and learns to regard them as ties of an incidental character, from which he may disembarass himself as it is his pleasure so to do. His will is supreme among his serfs. Their comforts, health, life, are at his disposal. How can he be otherwise than imperious and overbearing, and disposed to exact from others the same abject deference which is yielded him by his slave? The sinews of others are at his disposal, and they labour for him. To touch labour is slave-like, and he is a man of ease and self-indulgence. The character of the slaveowner is easily defined from the position which he occupies, and the influences to which he is exposed. But let us look at the general character of the Creole population, so far as we can collect it. As a class, the landed proprietors of Cuba are borrowers of money, for which they pay a high per-centage. "The extraordinary expenditures required by large sugar-plantations, and the frequent domestic misfortunes caused by play, luxury, and other evils, place the landed proprietors in a state of absolute dependence upon the merchants. The most frequent loans are those made to the planters, upon condition of repayment from his crop of sugar or coffee, at prices, two rials per arrobe of the first, and two dollars per quintal of the last, less than the current rates of the market. Thus, a crop of one thousand boxes of sugar is sold, in anticipation, at a loss of four thousand dollars. The demand for money for business transactions, and the scarcity of coin, is so great, that the Government, at times, is forced to borrow at ten per cent., and individuals at even twelve and sixteen per cent. interest. The great profits made in the African slave-trade, sometimes amounting on a single voyage, in Cuba, to one hundred or one hundred and twenty-five per cent., have contributed to increase the rate of interest; for many parties hire money at eighteen or twenty per cent. for the purpose of following this infamous trade. The traffic is not only barbarous in itself, but it is also unreasonable, as it does not attain the object it proposes; for, like a stream of water brought from a long distance, more than one half of it, even in the colonies themselves, is

turned aside from the cultivation of the land, for which it was destined."*

In all immoral schemes of obtaining wealth there is a spirit of gambling, of hazardous risk, involved, which the adventurer imbibes into his system in the same proportion precisely as his schemes are successful. This is the penalty upon his profits; and thus, with his gains, he acquires a ruinous tendency, which prompts him to dissipate those gains. The spirit of gaming largely pervades all slave-trading transactions, and appears from thence to have communicated itself on an extensive scale to social life in Cuba. The Government sets the example by employing the lottery as a means of raising revenue.

"There is a monthly lottery in Havana, with prizes amounting to one hundred and ten thousand dollars, and sometimes as high as one hundred and eighty thousand dollars, under the immediate direction and control of the authorities, and which is freely patronised by the first mercantile houses, who have their names registered for a certain number of tickets each month. The poorer classes too, by clubbing together, become purchasers of tickets, including slaves and free negroes; and it is but a few years since that some slaves, who had thus united and purchased a ticket, drew the first prize of sixty thousand dollars, which was honestly paid to them, and themselves liberated by the purchase of their freedom from their masters. Honestly and strictly conducted as these lotteries are, yet their very stability, and the just payment of all prizes, but makes them the more beneficial and dangerous in their influence upon the populace. Though, now and then, a poor man becomes rich through their means, yet thousands are impoverished in their mad zeal to purchase tickets, though it cost them their last medio. The Government thus countenances and fosters a taste for gambling, while any one, acquainted at all with the Spanish character, must know that the people need no prompting in a vice to which they seem to take intuitively."†

To this may be added, as an illustration of the national tendencies, the cock-pit, one of the royal sports of Cuba which enriches the Spanish treasury.

"In all Cuban towns, villages, and even small hamlets, there is a spacious cock-pit, where the inhabitants indulge in the sport of cock-fighting—an absorbing passion with the humble, and oftentimes with the better classes.

* Humboldt, pp. 230, 281. Thrasher's Translation.

† Ballou, pp. 116, 117.

. . . . The amount of money lost and won by this cruel mode of gambling is very large daily. Ladies frequently attend these exhibitions, the upper seats being reserved for them; and they may, 'not unfrequently, be seen entering fully into the excitement of the sport.'*

The indolence and inertness to effort by which the Creole population is characterized is another resilience from the slave-trade. "It is the presence of slavery, which, in the island of Cuba, as in every other country where it exists, throws every sort of personal exertion into discredit. Because labour is the lot of slavery, the pride of the free man is alarmed lest the line of demarcation should not be broad enough between him and the slave, and he therefore abstains from working altogether."† "It seems to be an acknowledged principle," amongst the white freemen, "never to do that for themselves which a slave can do for them; a fact that is very plainly demonstrated by the style of the volante, where the little horse is made not only to draw after him the vehicle and its contents, but also to carry on his back a heavy negro, weighed down with jack-boots and livery, as a driver, when a pair of reins, extending from the bridle to the volante, would obviate all necessity for the negro's presence at all. But a Creole or a Spaniard would think it demeaning to drive his own volante: the thing is never seen on the island."‡

The wasteful husbandry on the sugar estates, and the consequent exhaustion of the land, is another certain result of slave-labour, which is not wanting in Cuba, where both the industrial agent, and the soil he tills, under a reckless system which regards only immediate profit, wear out together. "To apply manure to the soil, or to follow a rational alternation or rotation of crops, is very rarely thought of. The richest virgin soil, under such a system, cannot fail to be worked out, and exhausted, by the constant return, year after year, of so scourging a crop as the sugar-cane. The annual diminution of the produce, on a given quantity of land, proceeds in a ratio, the rapidity of which is perfectly understood by the intelligent planters of Barbadoes or St. Vincent, Santa Cruz or Martinique.

"In Cuba, on the contrary, such a calculation is seldom thought of. Ratoons after ratoons are raised and cut down, until their value has approached so nearly to zero that it is no longer the interest of the proprietor to

prosecute this branch of industry. If there happen to be other land on his plantation still in a state of nature, he causes it to be cleared and planted with canes, at the immediate charge of moving the sugar-mill, or the constantly-recurring expense of carrying the sugar-canes from a greater distance than before. The introduction of coffee cultivation was, in this sense, a God-send to the sugar-planter of former times. The land, long exhausted by incessant crops of sugar-cane, and fit for nothing but the feeding of cattle, became, in the hands of the French emigrants from St. Domingo, a new source of wealth and prosperity. The coffee-tree thrived where the cane could no longer raise its head, and thus became the means of saving the proprietor of the soil from ruin."§

We will mention another result of the system of slave-labour which prevails in Cuba, that, notwithstanding its amazing richness and productive power, it is dependent for the means of subsistence on those countries where the soil is cultivated by free-labour. The total number of acres is 14,993,024: of these, some 13,000,000 remained, in 1830, uncultivated. So generous is the soil, that it will yield, in ordinary seasons, two, and sometimes three crops. It is capable of supporting a population of almost any density, and yet the largest estimate gives only a million and a half of inhabitants.

"The virgin soil of Cuba is so rich, that a touch of the hoe prepares it for the plant. . . . So fertile a soil is not known to exist in any other portion of the globe. . . . The consequence is, that the Monteros have little more to do than merely to gather the produce they daily carry to market, and which also forms so large a portion of their own healthful and palatable food. The profusion of its flora, and the variety of its forests, are unsurpassed, while the multitude of its climbing shrubs gives a luxuriant richness to its scenery, which contributes to make it one of the most fascinating countries in the world. Nowhere are the necessities of life so easily supplied, or man so delicately nurtured."||

Sugar, coffee, and tobacco are the three products of greatest importance: the more vital branches of colonial industry, cotton and cereals, are but slightly developed.

In 1852, Cuba exported of sugar, her principal product, 20,153,002 dols.; the total of

§ Turnbull, pp. 83, 84. [Since the above was written, the raising of coffee in Cuba has proved to be a failure.]

|| Ballou, p. 195.

* Ballou, p. 124. † Turnbull, p. 266.

‡ Ballou, pp. 139, 140.

exports for that year being 27,453,937 dols. For the year 1837 the total of exports amounted to 20,346,407 dols. Her importations for domestic consumption, 1852, reached so high as 29,780,242 dols. The following are the most important of the imports, all which might be yielded from her own inexhaustible stores of fertility, if she were removed from under the blighting influence of slavery, and her population were benefited by the corrective and energizing influence of pure Christianity.

Cotton goods . .	dols. 2,661,568
Wines and liquors . .	2,563,303
Flour	4,084,286
Rice	1,046,604
Meats*	1,909,394
Other provisions . .	1,400,000
	<hr/>
	13,665,155

“The importations of provisions and liquors at Havana seem to me worthy the attention of those who wish to ascertain the true social state of those communities called the *sugar colonies*. Such is the composition of society in those communities, inhabiting the most fertile soil that Nature has offered to the use of man, such the direction of agricultural labour and industry in the Antilles, that in the beneficent climate of the tropics the people would fail to obtain subsistence, if it were not for the freedom and activity of their foreign commerce.

“This absence of the means of subsistence characterizes that part of the tropical regions where the unwise activity of the European has inverted the order of nature. It will diminish as the inhabitants become better aware of their true interests, and disheartened at the low prices of colonial products; and they will then vary the staples of their production, and give an impulse to all the branches of rural economy.

“Though the slave-trade should cease, and the slaves pass slowly to the condition of free men, and society attain the power of self-government, without being exposed to the violent fluctuations of civil commotion, it would continue upon the path marked out by nature for every numerous and intelligent community. The cultivation of sugar and coffee would not, therefore, be abandoned, but, like that of cochineal in Mexico, of indigo in Guatemala, and of cocoa in Venezuela, it would cease to be the principal basis of national existence. An intelligent and free agricultural people would succeed a slave

population that is without foresight or industry.”†

“In the hands of a thrifty population, Cuba would blossom like a rose:” at present “it is a garden growing wild, cultivated here and there in patches, but capable of supporting with ease a population of ten times its present density.”‡

We shall close for the present with a few observations, which will enable our readers to understand in some measure the peculiar policy of the Spanish Government.

There exists among the Creoles of Cuba considerable disaffection towards the yoke of the mother country, as much so as is compatible with their listless and unenergetic character. They are excluded from all political privileges, and are placed under the despotism of the Captain-General. They are subjected to a heavy taxation. “The consuming population of Cuba amounts to about 800,000 souls, and the total amount of taxes and contributions of various forms is more than twenty-three millions of dollars, in specie, per annum. It is hardly conceivable that such a sum can be extorted from a population whose wealth is precarious, and whose living is so costly.”§ To check this spirit of independence amongst the Creoles, and yet afford them the means of meeting this high taxation, are vital points in Spanish policy. The encouragement of the slave-trade is the resource. Lord Palmerston, in a Despatch to Lord Howden, dated December 1852, throws light upon this dark feature of administrative subtlety, and exhibits the secret reasons which influence the Spanish Government to disregard their engagements with this country, and favour the slave-trade—“First, in order to afford income to a number of ill-paid public officers, or to appointed favourites, by means of bribes given by slave-traders; and, secondly, for the purpose of retaining a hold upon the island, because it is thought at Madrid, that so long as there is in Cuba a large number of negroes, the white population will cling to the mother country for protection against the black race. But both these motives are founded in error; for it can never be the interest of a Government to demoralize its own officers, and to accustom them to violate the law; and a mother country will have but a feeble hold on a colony, if the strongest tie which connects them is a fear on the part of the planter of an insurrection of the negroes.”

* This item includes the *tasa*jo or jerked beef, so necessary for the support of the slaves.

† Humboldt. Thrasher's Translation, pp. 304—307.

‡ Ballou, p. 153.

§ *Ibid.* p. 41.

Turnbull coincides in this view—

“It is the policy of the Court of Madrid to keep the island of Cuba in her dependence; and this, it is supposed, can only be done effectually by the salutary terror inspired by the presence of a numerous, half-savage negro population. The existence of such a population seems at once to justify and require the presence of a Peninsular army, which, under the command of a Captain-General enjoying the confidence of the Court, and zealously aided by a numerous train of public functionaries and *empleados*, produces such a pressure on Creole interests as to have hitherto deterred the native inhabitants from any open attempt to assert their independence. These public functionaries, with scarcely an exception, are Europeans by birth, and therefore decidedly opposed to a separation which would instantly deprive them of all their emoluments.”*

But again, but for the cheapness of labour afforded by slave importation, it would be impossible for the planters to meet the exorbitancy of taxation, extending as it does to all imports and exports, with very limited exceptions, to the transfer of estates and slaves, to meats consumed—there being a tax per head on all beef cattle, for each sheep and goat, &c., killed for consumption—on the produce of haciendas, potreros, &c.† But the profit on slave labour enables him to cover all. Ballou asserts that “the average yield of a sugar-plantation affords a profit of about fifteen per cent. on the capital invested: a more moderate computation given by Thrasher rates it at 6½ per cent. But this was also Humboldt’s calculation in 1825; and since then the use of steam power, and the introduction of mechanical appliances, have permitted the application of a much larger proportion of hands from the mills to field labour, and the increase of the breadth of land in cane, as well as the improvement of the quality of the sugar. Yet there is one ominous evil in the distance, which, as negro importation is unsparingly resorted to, casts disquietude on the Creoles—the dread of a servile insurrection. St. Domingo, and its tragic history, are before their eyes; so much so, that many of the more enlightened proprietors would gladly witness the suppression of the slave-trade, if they might be, at the same time, relieved of the

* P. 171.

† The haciendas and potreros are cattle farms. The first are often two or three leagues in diameter, without fences, where half-wild cattle are pastured. The potreros are smaller cattle farms, fenced, and frequently having some land planted in maize, plantain, &c.

heavy taxation to which they are at present subjected. We cannot but consider that the main guilt of the whole-sale piracy and murder, which render the beautiful isle of Cuba one of the most blood-stained spots to be met with on the face of our earth, is to be attributed to the central Government at Madrid. Uninstructed by the experience of the past, she still pursues the heartless system which hesitates not to sacrifice man to schemes of territorial aggrandisement or augmented revenue, and dooms him, in hundreds of thousands, to unpitied suffering, unrequited labour, and premature death. The soil on which she raised the stately fabric of her Transatlantic empire was first saturated with the blood of the aboriginal nations. But there is a God in heaven, who says, “Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord,” and the stroke of retributive justice has fallen upon her. Her own children have risen against her, and she has been despoiled. Of all her vast domains on the new continent, Cuba alone remains; and yet is she pursuing the same policy, and preparing for herself a final loss. “One by one her ill-gotten possessions have escaped the grasp of the mother country; and now, in her old age, poor, and enfeebled, and worn out, she clings, with the death-gripe of a plundered and expiring miser, to her last earthly possession in the New World.” Truly, we would advise consideration and amendment; yet what hope of this, if the dispensations of God have not availed to teach wisdom?

Yet, let it be remembered that our own hands are not clean in this matter. We do not tranship or sell the slave, but we buy the produce of the labour that is wrung from him, and are we not so far *particeps criminis*? He who purchases contraband encourages the smuggler. We, who admit to our markets what the planter grows by slave-labour, countenance him in his proceedings, and encourage him to procure more slaves and grow more largely. If the planter knows there is an open market where he can sell, if he can only grow, his produce, *per fas et nefas* he will obtain the slaves. He can afford to pay well for them, and money will command all the appliances he needs. American ships, and British manufactured goods, and money in advance, will be at his service, and that with a distinct understanding of his object; for we have reached a period in the history of mankind, when too frequently conscience is nothing if lucre be in question. Is it Christian, humane, lawful? these, with many, are not the decisive considerations, but, Is it profitable? The planter will not lack the intermediate agents: he will have the slaves, and

he will furnish forth the sugar ; but the British gold he gets for it enables him to go on and prosper in his career of inhumanity. Before the Slave Committee of 1848, warning voices were raised as to the consequences of that unhappy measure of 1846. Capt. Denman stated that an increased number of vessels on the coast of Africa would be necessary in consequence of the equalization of the sugar duties. Subsequent experience has verified his correctness. Instead of an increased, we have had a less number of vessels, and the transshipment of wretched negroes is going forward prosperously, and the noble fraternity of slave-dealers, slave-shippers, and slave purchasers, congratulate each other on their successful issues. No sooner had the news reached the Havana that Great Britain had resolved to permit the importation of slave-grown sugar, than the price of estates and sugar rose upwards of 15 per cent. ; and the price of slaves rose from 15 to 20 per cent.* At that time the slave-trade might be said to have ceased in Cuba, the importations for 1846 being less than 2000, and for 1847 about 1000. In the latter year vessels began to be fitted out with a view to its revival—preparations which would have been made sooner, but for the 100,000 slaves which had been transferred from the cultivation of coffee to that of the cane. In the year 1849 we find the Cuban slave-trade in renewed activity, and it continues so at the present moment, with every prospect of increase. To show the alteration which the Act of 1846 effected in the prospects of Cuban sugar planters, we shall refer to two circulars published by the house of Drake Brothers and Co., of the Havana, one in 1844, the other in 1848. In the first they state “that they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market opened to the produce of the island, where, if this could be effected at a rate of even 50 per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they could then obtain.” The wishes of these gentlemen appeared to have met with a prompt gratification, the measure of 1846 affording them opportunities above all they could have anticipated ; and their circular of 1848 describes their improved prospects—“The production of 1847 has far exceeded that of any previous year ; and the prices obtained by planters have been so good and remunerative, that they are enabled to adopt every means for the further extension of their crops. During the past

* Minutes of Evidence. Slave-trade Com. Commander Matson. 1690.

year, the prices of sugar in our markets were supported at high rates, with but slight and temporary fluctuations, notwithstanding the large crop. This was mainly owing to the unprecedentedly heavy shipments to the United States and Great Britain, aided by a well-sustained inquiry for Spain, with a fair demand for other parts. The shipments for British ports comprised about 167,000 boxes from hence and Matanzas, with an addition of some importance from other parts of the island. The bulk of the exports went first in the early part of the season, when there was not only a stimulus created by the admission of our sugar for English consumption, but also a general expectation that a large quantity would be required for the use of breweries and distilleries.”†

Of the unhappy stimulus given by the measure of 1846 to the slave-trade there can be no doubt. As a national act it was an immoral one ; a retrograde movement of the most painful character, which renders doubtful, in the eyes of other nations, the sincerity of our motives, when, by our cruisers, we are attempting to suppress the very trade which, by our legislation, we are feeding. Mr. Turnbull, when addressing a caution to some English capitalists who had advanced money to the Colonial Government of the island for the construction of railways, thus expressed himself—“Every shilling of English capital laid out in the island, either in the extension of cultivation or the cheapening of produce, serves to fetter some poor negro in the interior of Africa, or to rivet the chains of those now toiling in the cane-fields or the sugar-houses of Cuba.” Is not this equally true of every shilling of English capital laid out on the produce of the island ? In what an unhappy position does not this place us ? We would not wait until the free-labour element in our colonies, obtained by emancipation, had recovered itself from the excitement caused by the abrupt transition to which it had been unwisely subjected, and had come round into working order. We were impatient for cheap sugar, and invited the slave-owner to frequent our markets ; and, lo, we have the cheap sugar ; but while we use it we have to remember at what a cost of human sorrow, and at what an expenditure of human life, it has been provided. We shall then wish it was less cheap, if so be our use of it might be exempted from such unhappy associations. And now we must either abandon the cause of the African altogether, and let the vultures undisturbed descend upon their prey, or else

† Minutes of Evidence. Com. on Slave-trade, M. J. Higgins, Esq. 6541.

we must be prepared to expend far more than the difference in price in maintaining preventive squadrons on the coast of Africa; and, even then, with the unhappy consciousness in our minds that our national conduct is far

otherwise than manly and straightforward. We blame the Americans for lending themselves to the transhipment of the slave, but it is in their power to remind us that we are consumers of the produce.

VALEDICTORY DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES FOR THE YORUBA MISSION.

THE Committee and their friends met on October 10th last to take leave of the Rev. H. and Mrs. Townsend, and five Catechists—Messrs. Carter, Hollinhead, Meakin, Smith, and Buckley. It is a feature of special interest in their case, that these five are all drawn from one locality, and have been induced to offer themselves for Africa by their pastor, the Rev. T. Green, of Friezland, near Manchester—an illustration of the vast help which the parochial clergy might lend to the holy cause of Missions, would they only seek in earnest to provide the Society with labourers. Mr. Green, at the conclusion of his address to them, given below, refers to a pleasing incident connected with a Burmese youth. This youth, whose name is Shwattai (the Golden Hammer), was sent by Mr. Woodrow, then Secretary to the Council of Education at Calcutta, to be educated, with eight other lads from Burmah, at the Government expense, in the Society's Mission School at Mirzapur. The Rev. W. Knight baptized him there in March 1855. He has since come to England, at his own desire, with a view to his further improvement, that he may be the better qualified to return as a teacher to his own land. He was lately brought into contact with one of the Secretaries of that admirable Institution, "The Strangers' Home for Asiatics," who entrusted him to Mr. Green's care.

The Committee's Instructions were as follows—

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD—When the Committee have met, in past years, to take leave of Missionaries proceeding to Western Africa, they were sometimes saddened by the thought of sending out a scanty supply for places left vacant by death: often they have addressed a company in which no one had yet had experience or knowledge of Africa: and it might be that men were appointed to that scene of labour who never would have chosen it for themselves.

How different is the present day! We have no vacant posts to fill in the Yoruba

Mission. We are sending out a goodly company for the enlargement of that Mission. The leader of this company takes leave of us for the fifth time, and returns to Africa, after twenty years' labour, with "his bow still abiding in strength;" and the rest of you have offered yourselves for Missionary work, not on the contingency of being selected for some favoured climate, but you have limited your offer to the oft-shunned west coast of Africa.

It is impossible not to see and adore, under these circumstances, the good hand of the Lord with us in this Mission, and to lift up to Him, at the commencement of our proceedings this day, the hearty ascription of praise and thanksgiving for the answer to many prayers, for the recompense of many tears, for the fruit of labours in past years—years which were darkened by sickness, and shortened by death. Now, as we humbly hope, the Lord's "time to favour Africa, yea, the set time, is come."

The Committee will touch upon some of the evident tokens of Divine favour which mark the present era of the Mission.

1. Foremost amongst these advantages the Committee thankfully acknowledge the fact that *Christianity has the field to itself*. It has not to contend against the evil influence of ungodly settlers. In Yoruba, Christianity is the precursor of civilization. It might have been altogether different. Traders in the slave-trade interest reached Abbeokuta before the Missionaries, and made tempting commercial offers, and slandered the Mission. But, in the good providence of God, their own liberated countrymen had spread a true report; and the efforts of the squadron on the coast, and the visits of naval officers to Abbeokuta, showed to the heathen chiefs who would be their true friends, and broke up that nest of slave-traders at Lagos, which otherwise would have effectually counteracted the influence of Missionaries in the Yoruba nation. In such a manifest divine interposition, opening the country to Missionary effort, we recognise a strong call to en-

large the Mission, and make a full improvement of the golden opportunity put into our hands.

2. Another striking manifestation of the good hand of the Lord with us is *the favour which our Missionaries have found with the native chiefs*. An intimate knowledge of the history of Missions will show that God recognises and honours "the powers that be," even though heathen or Mahomedan: that the Government of the country may be either an insuperable hindrance, or a shelter and encouragement, to the progress of the gospel. Beyond many second causes which might be alleged for the favour hitherto shown to the Missionaries by the Egba chiefs, manifested especially in the very remarkable letter lately sent to the Committee by the Alaki and chiefs of Abbeokuta, it is impossible not to recognise the fulfilment of that precious Missionary promise in the Psalms, "Ask of me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance." "Be wise now, ye kings of the earth. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye perish from the way." The Committee cordially approve of the wise and respectful deference which has been shown by the Missionaries to the authority of the native chiefs, and they enjoin a like conduct upon all who enter the Mission. Many of the modes of exercising authority may appear at first, in the eyes of a European, absurd. Some of their governmental institutions are connected with idolatry: nevertheless, they are the framework of society; and, till they are replaced by a more enlightened system, they must be respected. This respect need not involve any compromise of the great principles of justice and humanity, or of the personal independence of the Missionary. Many are the occasions to which the Committee might refer, in which the Missionaries have happily combined the apparently opposite duties of remonstrating against the injustice and idolatry of acts of government, and yet of showing due respect to constituted authorities. May the Lord give all who join the Mission "the wisdom profitable to direct" them in this matter!

3. A third providential facility for the extension of the Yoruba Mission consists in *the opening of access into the country beyond the Mission*, and the progress made in the study of African languages, and in the geography of hitherto unknown regions. How marvellous has been the concurrence of different agencies in preparing an extension of this Mission! While a few faithful ministers of Christ were waiting in patience at Badagry, year after year, for permission to move

forward; while afterwards, for several years, they were engaged in securing a position among the Egba tribes, in reducing the language to writing, and printing translations of Scripture; an expedition was devised by the statesmen of Europe for opening a communication for commercial purposes with the centre of Africa, through the north; and the enterprising traveller attached to this expedition, Dr. Barth, explored an untrodden region, encircling, though at some distance, the Yoruba tribes. A second expedition was sent by Government up the Niger, to meet and assist the former. Crowther accompanied this expedition, which reached the same region by a route from the south. Thus the two expeditions have completed a survey of regions beyond our present Mission, and have furnished a large amount of geographical and ethnological information. Between this newly-explored region and the Yoruba Mission there is a belt of intervening country inhabited by various tribes. And now, mark the providential facilities for passing this intervening belt. Liberated Africans are scattered over it; they have carried the news of the residence of white men in the powerful Yoruba towns; more distant kings have heard and wondered at the report; messengers pass from king to king; caravans spread the intelligence; and so, ere the white man is ready to move forward, his way is prepared. Another crowning providence remains to be told. Throughout the encircling belt of which we have spoken, the Hausa language prevails as a language of intercommunication; and it now appears that, sixteen years ago, in the first Niger expedition, the Missionary Schön had studied and compiled a grammar of the Hausa language. It had lain ever since unused on the shelf; but the scientific traveller, Dr. Barth, tests the accuracy of that grammar in the Hausa country, and certifies its correctness. He brings back with him two Mahomedan native servants, who speak the language fluently. These natives are transferred to the care of the Missionary Schön, residing in England, and here the translation of the Scriptures into Hausa, under this native assistance, and the printing of it by the British and Foreign Bible Society, are rapidly proceeding; so that, as soon as the Missionary from the Yoruba country can enter upon the next stage of progress, and penetrate the belt of outlying new tribes, he will have in his hands the Hausa Primer, and the word of God, in the language which is the recognised medium of communication amongst men of twenty or thirty different tongues.

The laying of these and other considerations together had long since impressed the Committee with a sense of the importance of the opportunity, and the urgency of the call to send a large accession of fresh labourers into so promising a field. But the Committee was straitened in all its operations for want of men. India and China plead for large accessions. The question was asked, Who can be spared for Africa? God had preserved Townsend, and Gollmer, and Smith, and had given them strength, and the heart, to return. But the Committee had not a single new Missionary to send with them. It was at such a crisis as this that the Lord unexpectedly brought to the Committee the five willing labourers who are now before them. Before the Committee had heard of their purpose, their zealous pastor had informed them of the wants of Africa. He had told them how he had offered himself for the Missionary work once and again, but providential hindrances had stood in the way, and he set before them the privilege of being permitted to go.

You then offered yourselves for West Africa, and the Committee have been fully satisfied, by personal examination, of your fitness. They accepted your offer to go as soon as the season of the year should permit, and they requested your beloved and zealous pastor to undertake your further preparation for the Missionary work. The Committee can adopt the words of the Apostle as very appropriate to your case—"You first gave your own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God. Inasmuch that we desired your pastor, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace." (2 Cor. viii. 5, 6.)

The Committee must now address a special word to you, brother Townsend. They say unfeignedly that they praise the Lord on your behalf for all that is past, and they trust Him on your behalf for all that is to come. They have no instructions to give you on your general Missionary duties. They pray that you may endure unto the end; that you may still "fight manfully under Christ's banner against the world, the flesh, and the devil; and continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto your life's end."

The Committee think it best that you should return to your old station at Aké, as the Alaki has expressed his earnest wish that you should do. But still, upon your return you must regard yourself as specially charged with the commission to open out the country to the north-east of Abbeokuta, by occasional residences in the chief towns, by placing Christian visitors where sufficient encouragement is given, and by making explo-

ratory tours where there is a prospect of their being serviceable to the future extension of the Mission. In all these measures the Committee sanction your acting upon your own judgment, though you will, of course, consult with your brethren upon each new step of your progress.

This liberty of action is to be regarded as a special concession to such of their Missionaries as, after long experience, the Committee feel themselves able to entrust with so much personal responsibility.

When Mr. Gollmer is able to return to Africa, they are prepared to make a similar concession to his experience and fidelity.

The Committee would wish to associate with you at Aké an European Missionary, able to minister in the native language; but the recent changes in the Mission may render this inexpedient. If so, you must avail yourself of such native ministerial help at Aké as will set you at full liberty to travel.

During the expected visit of the Bishop to the Yoruba Mission, these and other such details may be arranged.

The Committee now address a few special words to the five new Missionary labourers before them; three of whom go, if the Lord will, by the next mail, with Mr. Townsend, to Abbeokuta, and two will remain and accompany Mr. Gollmer about three months hence.

You, brethren, must regard yourselves as placed wholly under the direction of the Missionary with whom you may be associated. His object will be to give you the best facilities for learning the language, and gradually to inure you to the peculiarities of the country in respect of labour, exposure, diet, and habits of life, such as are suitable to the climate, and as his experience can best suggest. You may thus be preserved, by God's blessing, against many fatal mistakes, which young and ardent Missionary labourers have too often fallen into. In all these respects the Committee trust that you will submit to them, while they will watch over your best interests; so that it may be said of you as Paul said of Timothy, that you have laboured with them as sons in the gospel of Christ.

The Committee have only two other special words of advice, for you will be soon addressed by your beloved pastor upon your general Christian duties. Their two words are—Ever bear in mind your *Mission* to the heathen, and your *position* in the church of Christ.

1. Your *Mission to the heathen* is, to be witnesses for Christ. Time would fail to unfold the full meaning of those words. Witnesses for Christ—witnesses of the power of

His grace in transforming you from your natural state of alienation from God, and misery, to a state of reconciliation, of righteousness, and goodness, and peace. Let your tongues, your life and temper, your conversation, your looks, your actions, all witness for Christ. You will be placed in a land where, to multitudes, His name is not known: to many it has been announced, and their curiosity is excited to know more of Christ, and what manner of men Christians are. Let them hear, let them see, these things all the day long. Your prayer must be incessantly that of Paul, "That Christ may be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death." And oh, may it be said of you when any do inquire of you, as it was said of the fellow-helpers of the gospel of old, "They are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ!"

But, for this end, live close to Christ. You have been enjoined to place yourselves under the direction, in certain respects, of the senior Missionaries. In all spiritual matters place yourselves under the direction of the great Missionary and Head of the church. Believe that He is as near as any earthly friend, aye, far nearer; as easy of access, yea, far more accessible. His presence is as real, but infinitely more sure: doors cannot exclude it; a throng cannot intercept it; sickness cannot separate. Labour to keep up upon your mind the sense of the real presence of the Saviour in every ordinance, in every act of life, in every season of trial, in every hour of time. This is the privilege of faith—to bring us, to keep us, near to Christ, and Christ to us. This is a special privilege of the faithful Missionary when he lives where Satan's seat is. When shut out from Christian converse—when surrounded with special temptations—then, at such times, he can use, in their plainest sense, words which other Christians are too apt to explain away as orientalisms—"To me to live is Christ." "Not I, but Christ liveth in me."

This exercise of faith must be cultivated before the hour of trial arrives: the habit must be formed, the exercise learned on the parade, before you mingle in action. Live the life of faith on the Son of God, and you will find Him very near to you in the season of your extremity.

2. The second word is—Ever bear in mind your *position in the church of Christ*. You have offered yourselves willingly to go out as catechists. As witnesses for Christ, you stand on the same level with prelates and priests; as officers of the church, you are subordinate to them—they are your superintendants.

Illustrate and magnify the grace of Christ, by exhibiting the beauty of Christian subordination in the secular and external relations of the church of Christ. It has been lately reported by the Yoruba Missionaries, that the native catechists are, in some instances, apt to mistake their position, and to rise against their superiors. It may be that the Lord is sending you out to correct this error, by the exhibition of Christian subordination amongst Europeans.

The authority of those placed over you in the Lord is not an irresponsible authority. The Parent Committee is the ultimate authority in all the relations of the Missionary body. The relation of catechist and superintending Missionary is not new in our Missions: much of the work in West Africa was thus done by catechists in former days.

You have nobly resolved to offer yourselves without any view to ordination. In preaching to the heathen there are, strictly speaking, no holy orders. The motto of the primitive laymen was, "They went everywhere, preaching Christ." Holy orders belong rather to the pastorate of Christian congregations. The Lord, in His providence, will direct your future course. He may call you, as He has called others, into the ministry. But leave every thing in His hands, while you live to His glory.

The Rev. Henry Townsend, in the course of his reply to the Committee's Instructions, said—

"With regard to the chiefs, men sometimes think it singular that a heathen should have a personal regard towards Christians, and actually favour the gospel, while he lives in direct opposition to it. I cannot explain the matter: I only know it is a fact, for I see it daily. I see that a heathen chief worships his gods, and falls down before them with all the feelings of a heathen chief, and that he puts a certain amount of trust in them, and thinks it is his duty to do so; but, nevertheless, he holds out to us the right hand, and says to us, 'We wish you God-speed: we desire to see you spread your work: we are fully convinced you will spread it, and that the whole country will become Christian.' And yet he remains a heathen. These chiefs do really desire to further our work. It is not a mere compliment, but the genuine expression of their feelings: they desire our success, they have a personal affection for us. The native character is such as to form very strong personal attachments. They will become so attached to an individual, that they will do any thing rather than have that person

separated from them. They have learned to form a personal attachment to the Missionaries, both as a body and as individuals. We hope much from their help and good will, and the confidence they repose in us, and the assistance they give us. If I want to travel into the interior, I take with me a messenger and servant of the king. He goes with me to show the natives of the interior that I have the sympathy, support, protection, and countenance of their masters. Should they not respect me as a white man, they will do so for the sake of the king. This kind of assistance is very valuable to us. We do hope that the gospel will be spread in the far interior of Africa.

"We go with these favourable impressions first produced, and the result is, that, wherever we go, natives say, 'Come, white man: when are you coming to us?'"

"There has been great progress in civilization. There was once no lawful *foreign* commerce in Africa—there was always lawful *home* commerce; but it was not foreign, it did not extend beyond their own intercourse with their own tribes. What is it now? No less than 400 tons of palm-oil were sent down by one man in the course of one month! That is an immense increase. In 1851 there was nothing. In Africa will be produced the very commodities that are produced in America, and competition will lessen the value of the produce of slave labour on the other side of the water. I expect great things from the African. He is not mean by nature; he was made so by man: he is capable of becoming as good a Christian as we are, and as good a citizen. Indeed, the African in every way is a man that contains a good deal of solid material; and Africa will become great, not only to itself, but to us ultimately. We have great hopes of the extension of trade, commerce, and civilization. I believe the result—I cannot say when it will be accomplished—but I do hope and trust, ere long, that great results will come of our efforts to bless the country with the knowledge of Jesus Christ."

The Rev. T. Green said, in the course of his remarks to the departing Missionaries—

"When you think of difficulties and dangers, forget not the words of the Apostle, 'None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.' The Apostle reminds us, on more than one occasion, of the tears he had shed.

He tells us of his deep and bitter grief of heart on account of his beloved countrymen; he was ready to be 'anathema' for their sakes; he tells us of those tears which he wept on account of men who walked unworthily; but I know not that he ever shed tears which proved that a heart was ready to break, more clearly than those tears which he shed when men would have exhorted him to avoid persecution. It was then that he exclaimed, 'What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus.'

"Allusion has been made in the Instructions to the measure of success which has been already vouchsafed. You have been told how different the circumstances are under which you go forth, from those under which some have gone forth: Instructions of a far less cheering character have again and again been delivered within these walls. God's gracious favour to us in times past may well encourage your hearts when you follow it into the future. This very Mission, how wonderfully has it been blessed of God! Ten short years have passed, and how mighty, how marvellous the results! We can scarcely point to any other Mission field where the blessing has been so sudden and so large. Contrast this with the state of things forty years ago. It is just forty years since that honoured servant of God, Edward Bickersteth, went forth on his mission of love to Western Africa, and he, as you are well aware, was the honoured instrument of receiving the first six converts in connexion with this Society. 'The little one'—has it not become 'a thousand?' 'The feeble one a great nation?' Instead of six communicants connected with Western Africa, we have now thousands: and, if we look at the whole Mission field, well nigh 20,000 faithful and devoted servants of the Lord

"I must, before sitting down, speak a few words in reference to your duties. I have spoken of the prayers of others, and have assured you that these prayers will be thankfully offered up. Oh, let me entreat you never to neglect the duty of prayer—private prayer—and social prayer so far as opportunities of social prayer may be allowed you. It is a trite remark, but worth repeating, 'Prayer moves the arm that moves the universe.' God will be inquired of for this, as for every other thing. No mighty achievements have ever been accomplished in the church of God without prayer. Look at the Acts of the Apostles: it is when prayer is offered by the disciples that the house shakes, and the whole place is filled with the Spirit of God: it is then that Peter is re-

leased from prison, when prayer, the continual prayers of the church of God, have been lifted up on his behalf. And so it is with ourselves: if you would prosper in your own souls, if you would prosper in the Mission, be much in prayer. Moreover, 'not only read the word of God: meditate upon it, that you may 'bring forth from your treasure things new and old.' Let the gospel be undiluted in your hands: let it be just what it is as it flows forth from the fountain of holy Scripture. Mingle no traditions of men, no human devices, no earthly philosophies. Alas! we have too much in the present day. Let us hold by the standard of the word of God, and He will bless the word we seek to make known. Then, I would say, be sober-minded, guard against pride: your situation here has been comparatively humble. You may, hereafter, be put in important positions. If it should be so, never forget what you have been, what you are. Look to the 'rock whence ye are hewn, and the hole of the pit whence ye are digged.' You may be caressed and flattered by Christian converts. Never, if it be so, forget to lie low at the foot of the cross; but remember that he who grows in humility grows in every other Christian grace, and the more he grows in humility the more he becomes like that blessed Lord and Master, who came 'not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'

"One word more as to my dear young friends. I need not say with what interest I have regarded their course. If others will be interested in their progress, and from time to time will look with an anxious eye over the 'Missionary Record,' to see if the hopes which have been entertained have been realized, I shall look to that 'Record' with still greater anxiety; and if there is any thing to cheer others it will cheer me in a tenfold degree; or if there is any thing which can possibly grieve others, oh, how will it pierce my heart! I know the love and affection you bear to me personally—that you would not willingly occasion me the slightest grief; but I do not appeal to you on the ground of your affection to me. I bid you think of that adorable Saviour who loved us; and if at any time you are tempted to sin and dishonour Him, oh, recall the scenes of Gethsemane; listen to the groans which issued from His sacred lips; listen to His cry as he expired on the cross. Think of this, and dare to dishonour such a Lord and Master!

"It has long been the desire of my heart, as our valued friend, the Hon. Clerical Secre-

tary, has stated, to offer myself for such a work as this. On three several occasions the door to Missionary labour has seemed to open. I have sought, I trust in simplicity and sincerity of heart, to enter that door, and it has been manifestly closed when I sought to enter. But here I behold in you the granting that desire which has been denied to myself personally. In you I feel that I am going forth to Africa, and, so far as my heart can go, it will go with you; and feeling as I do that the Lord has granted this desire in a way I could least have expected it, I can only regard myself as in the position of David, who desired to build the house of the Lord, but it was not permitted him. He might collect materials from which that house would be built. It has been given me, though not to build the house, yet to collect these stones. I am persuaded that these living stones are children of Abraham, and the Lord will go with them and bless them.

"There is one other allusion of a personal nature I may be permitted to make before sitting down. Four months ago I was permitted to bring up these young men, that, if found suitable by the Committee, they might be commissioned to go forth. I was then requested by a member of the Committee to take the charge of a young Burmese youth, who, a short time previously, had arrived in London, and who engaged the lively sympathies of that Christian member of Committee. I very thankfully undertook the duty; but oh, how little did I anticipate what God designed through that youth. He came to me, he continued with me week after week, is still, I am thankful to say, with me. See how God brings His purposes about. Two of my own dear children were rescued from a watery grave through that Burmese youth. Humanly speaking, two out of the three children God has graciously given me would have been in their graves at this moment but for the instrumentality of that youth. I cannot enter into detail; but I mention the fact, to encourage every friend of the Missionary cause here present. Obed-edom welcomed the ark of God into his house, and the Lord blessed the house of Obed-edom for its sake. Dear is the Missionary ark to my heart. I have welcomed it to my house, and I feel that the Lord has blessed me because I have done so."

The proceedings terminated by singing the hymn "Let there be light," and a commendatory prayer by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, vicar of Islington.



WAI ANIWANIWA (WATER RAINBOW)—FALL ON THE KIRIKIRI, NEW ZEALAND.

In the Cave behind this Fall (the Cave represented in the Engraving), three hundred Wangaros natives were killed and eaten in one of Hongi's fights.

MISSIONARY CENTRES.

WHEN a General has an arduous duty before him—the subjugation of a difficult country, and that with forces numerically disproportionate to the work which is to be done—it is of first importance that he be skilful in the disposition of them, and address himself to the occupation of commanding points, from whence, as from so many centres, he may advance to further conquests. It is just so in Missionary work. Missionary work is a grand strategical operation. The object at which it aims is arduous—the subjugation of the world to its rightful Lord; a world pre-occupied by antagonistic elements, and full of obstructions. Moreover, the forces in hand are few indeed; in the judgment of man so utterly disproportionate, that, by the wise of this world, the whole undertaking is regarded as preposterous, and as the promptings of a vain enthusiasm. The servants of the Lord have been exposed to the same sarcastic missiles which fell so thickly on the Jews in Nehemiah's time—"What do these feeble Jews." Well, we are ready to admit, that, if the degree of effectiveness were to be calculated by the mere element of number, our Missionary agency is wholly inadequate; as much so as Jonathan and his armour-bearer, when they went forth against the garrison of the Philistines. But the work in which we are engaged is the work of God; and it is not so much the instrument that is to be regarded, as the hand that wields it. The instrument may be unsuitable. So was the jawbone of an ass, when Samson took it up; but the power of the hand which wielded it more than compensated for its incongruity. We serve One who often has accomplished the most astonishing results by means altogether unlikely; and, as we look from our own weakness to His omnipotence, we may say, "It may be that the Lord will work for us: for there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few."

At the same time, when the agency is so limited, its wise disposition is of primary importance. The positions occupied ought to be such as shall command influence, and introduce us to further conquests. It is desirable that our initiative and primary operations should be directed, not to points of a terminable nature, on the attainment of which, after much expenditure of valuable elements, we find our further advance in no wise facilitated, but to such as shall prove doors of access to the countries beyond.

It is remarkable that the initiative advance of Christianity, as detailed in the Acts of the Apostles, was characterized by this distinc-

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tive feature, the occupation of leading points. Jerusalem was the first great centre; and, like the victorious army of Joshua, when it advanced from Jericho to Makkedah, Libnah, &c., so the gospel occupied Samaria, and secured thence a position from whence to influence the Samaritans as well as the Jews. It thence reached forth to a new and grand centre, Antioch, where it was free to act for Gentiles as well as Jews. There the first mixed congregation appears to have been gathered together, and a new collective name given them: "the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." From Antioch, as from an advanced post of primary importance, the gospel extended itself, until the platform of Asia Minor became occupied, and congregations of converted Jews and heathen had been raised up in its principal cities.

Now, the selection of these points was not the result of forethought on the part of the church. There was no deliberative body at Jerusalem, with the map of the world spread out before it, engaged in considering the best routes for the first evangelists to pursue, and the localities most eligible to be selected as their first scenes of labour. On the part of the agents themselves, their action appeared to be incidental, and the result of circumstances rather than of deliberation. The persecution that arose because of Stephen scattered abroad the first Christians—otherwise they appeared disposed to centralize at Jerusalem—and they "went everywhere preaching the word." Philip went down to the city of Samaria. Others of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, came to Antioch, preaching the Lord Jesus. It was the blessing which rested upon their labours, for "a great number believed, and turned to the Lord," and the need of help, that brought this effort before the notice of the brethren at Jerusalem. It is true, that, in all these proceedings, there were supervision and direction, but they were of the Holy Ghost. It is this which renders the Acts of the Apostles so peculiarly interesting, that it is not merely a history of the Missionary action of the early church, but an exposition of the Spirit's superintendence, as the great administrator of the church, and as guiding and directing it in all its aggressive action. Nor are the gospels more a narrative of the personal ministrations of the Saviour, than the Acts of the Apostles are of the personal ministrations of the Holy Ghost, and of His action in that position of high supremacy, which, on His advent at Pentecost, He formally and officially assumed, and in which the apostle recognises

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Him when he writes, "But all these work-eth that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will." In this respect this inspired book presents to us a deeply-interesting record of Missionary effort; of doors opened and doors shut; of the wonderful operations of the Holy Spirit on men's minds, stirring them up to go forth on this work of evangelization; by various providential circumstances, not unfrequently of a very minute kind, directing them in the way they should pursue, affording to them opportunities, and blessing them in the use of them: the whole record bearing testimony to the importance attached by the Lord to Missionary effort; that, however men may despise it, and deem it worthless, it is not contemned of Him who is Head over all things to His church, and who, through the mystical body of His faithful people, works by His Spirit to the extension of His truth.

With respect to the character of the Divine superintendence, we may observe, that, in particular instances, it co-operated with the full consciousness of the agent; as in the case of Philip, when he went into the desert to meet the Ethiopian eunuch; and in that of Peter, when he unfolded the gospel message to Cornelius and his household. At other times, the path to be pursued remained to be collected from providential circumstances. As an illustration of this, we may refer to the manner in which Paul and his companions were led to transfer their labours from Asia Minor to Europe. But we cannot now enter minutely on these points. The Spirit's superintendence of Missionary work, as exhibited for our encouragement in the Acts of the Apostles, is too large a subject to be dealt with indirectly, and may well claim from us, when opportunity serves, a separate consideration. On the present occasion we desire only to indicate the fact, that the guidance vouchsafed led to the occupation of influential points, from whence opportunity might be afforded for new advances. Thus it was, in the regions of Macedonia, that Paul met a certain Jew, Aquila, and his wife Priscilla, expelled from Rome by the anti-Judaic decree of Claudius, and thus led into the very city where Paul was carrying on the work of evangelization. The probability is that they were already in the faith; but their intercourse with the apostle so completely disembarrassed them of all Jewish prejudices, that they became energetic fellow-labourers with him in the conversion of the Gentiles, and no doubt, on their return to Rome, helped much the work of the Lord in that city (Rom. xvi. 3—5). On this commanding height, the light, once kindled, soon shed its

radiance over the western regions of Europe, extending its influence even so far as our own islands, which are now the centre of modern evangelization.

To that modern work let us now refer. Let us spread out before us the world's map; and, on tracing the localities of the leading Missions, we shall find that, in this recent work, a guidance and direction, similar to that which superintended the Missionary efforts of the early church, has so prevailed, that the various Missionary agencies, unconsciously on their part, have been led to occupy leading and commanding points, of that description which it is desirable should be secured, with a view to more extended operations. Our observations on so large a subject must be necessarily brief, and yet they may be suggestive to our readers of much which they may think out for themselves.

The Sandwich Islands, an evangelized Mission field, present one of these commanding positions. They constitute a grand centre, from whence Missionary operations may be directed throughout the myriad isles of the Pacific. Native agents, under European superintendence, may go forth from thence, and impart to various sea-girt tribes and nations the knowledge of the truth.

To the extension of Christianity beyond the limits of primary occupation, the preferable instrumentality to be employed at present, until the infantile churches which have been raised up become more matured and consolidated, is that which we have just specified, native agency under European direction, care being taken that the latter element be so duly proportioned, as not to cramp, while it guides, the native effort. There are two modes of evangelization advocated at the present time; the one, that to which we have just referred—native evangelists under proper guidance, advancing from a centre, and, according to the measure of ability given them, going forth amongst those who are of the same race and group of nations with themselves, although, it may be, with incidental differences as to dialect and customs; the other, the bringing in of natives, from various points in the as yet unevangelized field, to the central Mission, and there retaining them under Christian instruction, until, evangelized themselves, they return as teachers to their homes and friends. Unless this latter mode be carried out on a very large scale, such as Sierra Leone presents, we fear it will eventually disappoint the expectations of those engaged in it. It is important that *élevés* should not be denationalized; that, while brought under Christian influence, the various individuals should re-

tain their national distinctiveness; otherwise, on their return, they will be less acceptable to their countrymen than Missionary agents from a foreign race, in whom they will endure that dissimilitude which they will not tolerate when engrafted on one from amongst themselves. Moreover, the experience of Missionary work dissuades from attempting to train unconverted elements for spiritual work. Let the labours of the Missionaries, and the preaching of the gospel, be directed to the whole body of the people, and as the gospel exercises its converting power, and promising individuals present themselves, let these converted materials be used for the formation of the necessary agency.

There is a further objection to this mode of proceeding—that it is one in the highest degree injurious to the native church at the central locality, which requires, in order to its healthfulness and growth in grace, to have its energies employed in Missionary action. It is upon this principle our American brethren are proceeding. They are using the native church in the Sandwich Islands as the instrumentality by which they are operating for the extension of the gospel throughout the Pacific, and we are persuaded that this healthful employment of Christian energies will prove, under God, a powerful means of conserving that native church from the dangers attendant on the transition state from barbarism to civilization.

It was under the strong conviction that Missionary action is essential to the healthfulness of the Sandwich-Island Christians, that the American Board decided on the extension of their operations to *Micronesia*, as the numerous groups of islands are called which lie in a south-westward direction around the equator, and which are known as the Kingsmill, the Scarborough, the Radick, and Ralick chain, or Marshall's group, and the Caroline islands. The Hawaiian Missionary Society was formed in May 1851, and, on the arrival from Boston of the first Missionaries for Micronesia, in the beginning of 1852, great interest was excited among the native Christians. A general meeting was convened, and a resolution recorded, that the agency of the new Society should be employed in carrying forward the Micronesian Mission. Pecuniary means were promptly and liberally contributed, so that, before May 1st of that year, 5000 dollars had come into the treasury from Hawaiian sources. The first church in Honolulu, besides supporting their own pastor, building their own meeting houses, &c., raised, within a few months, nearly 1000 dollars for foreign Missions.

Two native helpers, with their wives, were selected to go out with the Mission, while the king, as an evidence of his interest, addressed the following letter of commendation to the authorities in the Micronesian group—

“Kamehameha III., of the Hawaiian Islands, Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Lanai, Oahu, Kauai, and Niihau, King, sends greeting to all chiefs of the islands in this great ocean to the westward, called Caroline Islands, Kingsmill group, &c. Peace and happiness to you all, now and for ever.

“Here is my friendly message to you. There are about to sail for your islands some teachers of the Most High God, Jehovah, to make known unto you His word for your eternal salvation. A part of them are white men from the United States of America; and a part of them belong to my islands. . . .

“I therefore take the liberty to commend these good teachers to your care and friendship, to exhort you to listen to their instructions, and to seek their acquaintance. I have seen the value of such teachers. We here, on my islands, once lived in ignorance and idolatry. We were given to war, and we were very poor. Now my people are enlightened. We live in peace, and some have acquired property. Our condition is very greatly improved on what it once was; and the word of God has been the great cause of our improvement. Many of my people regard the word of God Jehovah, and pray to Him; and He has greatly blessed us. I advise you to throw away your idols, take the Lord Jehovah for your God, worship and love Him, and He will bless and save you. May He make these new teachers a great blessing to you and your people, and withhold from you no good thing!

“KAMEHAMEHA.”

The Missionary company sailed from Honolulu, July 15th, 1852, in a vessel purchased for the service of the Mission, half the cost of which was met by the contributions of the native churches. They first reached Pitt's island, one of the Kingsmill group, lat. 3° 20' N., and long. 172° 57' E. These islands being of low coral formation, it was thought preferable to select one of the high islands, and they proceeded to Strong's island, 600 miles north of west from Pitt's island. This, with Bonabe, or Ascension island, 300 miles distant, lat. 7° N., was first occupied.

As these new points of Missionary labour are scarcely known, a brief description of them may not be unacceptable. The Kingsmill group, lying on both sides of the equator, “consists of fifteen principal islands, all coral, densely covered with cocoa-nut groves, with a population of about 50,000, having one origin

language, faith, &c. They are governed by independent kings, have a limited intercourse with each other, are resorted to by whalers, and are occupied by a company of English traders, who export annually more than 1200 barrels of cocoa-nut oil from Pitt's island alone. The natives are of medium size, dark complexion, inquiring minds, showing more than ordinary skill and perseverance in the structure of their houses, boats, &c., and they are generally mild and peaceable."

Strong's island designates another group, called by the natives Kusaia, the largest island being named Chalau, and the one on which the king resides, Leia. This latter island contains a population of 1400 or 1700 natives. The harbours are commodious, the soil rich and fertile, and the mountains, well wooded to their tops, rise to the height of 2000 feet. The population of Ascension island is estimated by some at 3000, by others at 6000. Besides these, the M'Askil islands, three in number, lying midway between Strong Island and Ascension Island, have been visited. The American Board, in their report, observe—"It may be thought, perhaps, that the population in Strong's Island and Ascension Island is insufficient to justify the employment of a larger Missionary force. But it should be remembered that these brethren are commencing operations for all Micronesia. The points which they now occupy, we trust, are to become centres of light and hope for that island world."

At this commencement of a new and important work, the Missionaries are conflicting, as is usually the case, with many trials and discouragements. They "have literally taken their lives in their hands, that they may win over the imbruted people to the cross. When the annual report shall soon tell, through the press, the story of their toils, their loneliness, their discouragements, their labour of love, their work of faith and patience of hope, during the past year, the narrative, we think, will not be read without strong and tender interest, or without prompting the most earnest supplications, that He who has sent them forth will continue to guard and comfort them, and that He will give to them, from time to time, the souls of these poor islanders as their reward, until the midnight darkness shall be lost in the millennial light."*

From the verge of their work the brethren are anxious to press onward. Micronesia, they say, is waiting for the gospel; and throughout Micronesia there is scattered at least a po-

population of 100,000 souls. Westward lies the Caroline group, containing not less than 60,000 souls: and in that direction are to be found the largest number of high or volcanic islands, as yet unvisited by ships, except to a small extent. It is full time that the gospel of Christ should begin to penetrate these insulated homes of suffering man. There has, however, existed one great obstacle—the difficulty of finding the means of transit. On this point the brethren have felt and pleaded strongly.

"It is difficult to find a whale-ship—and these are about all we have to do with here—willing to aid us to the extent we wish. Such vessels will only make a straight course, stopping at such islands as may come in the way. And then, too, in case of a repulse, though I should not fear this, we have but little opportunity to reach a place of safety. The captain with whom I had partially agreed to go would only engage to take me to the Hogoleu †, and from there to Jap, and from there to the Pelews, in case I should need to reach some other island. . . .

"Suffer me to call your attention to the manifest want of a Missionary vessel among us. You see how we are cramped. You see how difficult it is to reach islands at the west, only some fifteen hundred miles from us. You see how we must stand, as it were, upon our own shore, and, looking but a little way across the waters, see many people beckoning us to bring them the Bible. But, alas! we cannot, because we cannot cross the deep waters which separate us. Their petitions for help may be sounding in our ears, but we must turn away, unable to offer help. I must confess my own heart feels much as it would should I see a wrecked sailor on some vast rock, around which the angry sea was dashing furiously, when I had no means to reach him. They who are crying to us awaken very tender feelings in our hearts; but those feelings must be smothered." ‡

This appeal has been heard and answered. The children of the United States have subscribed 14,000 dollars to supply the need. "The children, when appealed to for benevolence, move strong and quickly. All agents of Benevolent Societies would find their work, which now such a task and burden proves, comparatively easy if the children had the

† Hogoleu is the largest of the Carolines, situated towards the eastern extremity of the chain, about 90 miles long and 40 broad. The next is Jap, at the west end, nearly 20 degrees from the former.

‡ "The Missionary Herald" (Boston, U. S.) Dec. 1856, p. 377.

* Report at Annual Meeting of the Board, Oct. 31, 1856.

Lord's money to give."* The funds subscribed being sufficient, not only to buy such a vessel as is required for the service of the Mission, but to keep her in repair for some time, a brig has been purchased, the "Morning Star." Interesting details concerning it will be found in the following extract—

"Services were held last evening in Park-street church, in reference to the departure of Rev. Mr. Bingham and wife as Missionaries to the Micronesian islands, in the new children's ship, the 'Morning Star,' that is now on the eve of its departure. The meeting was addressed by Rev. Dr. Anderson, senior Secretary of the Board, by Rev. Mr. Bingham, father of the newly-appointed Missionary, and by Rev. N. Adams, D.D., of this city. Dr. Adams said the 'Morning Star' was twenty-seven tons lighter than the 'Mayflower' of the Pilgrims. It was made so small, not because the children were not able and willing to build a larger vessel, but owing to the coral reefs in the Pacific, that would obstruct a large ship. . . .

"The 'Morning Star' (how interesting the name, as one given repeatedly to Christ in the Bible), as we saw her at India wharf, is an extremely fine little ship, built after the clipper style, and as neat a vessel as ever touched the waters. There are several state rooms, and she seems eminently adapted to the purposes of her mission. It was a coincidence, that a very large ship, named also the 'Morning Star,' was found lying immediately at her side. The one is in quick pursuit of the gold of earth, the other is to be ever devoted to the gathering of the finer gold of heaven." †

New Zealand is as commanding a position for the south, as the Sandwich Islands are for the north Pacific. The natives are professedly Christianized, and many of them, no doubt, are such in reality. They are an enterprising people, fond of maritime action, and latterly, in consequence of the ready sale for their agricultural produce in the Australian market, possessing considerable pecuniary means. They have already shown much liberality in grants of land for educational and Missionary purposes, and have proved themselves not destitute of the Missionary spirit, if only it be wisely and carefully led forth into action. They exhibit great aptness for teaching, and many of the catechists are eloquent in their addresses, and powerful in the application of the truth to

the consciences of their hearers. Moreover, their language is in affinity with those of the various groups of eastern Polynesia.

The Rev. R. Taylor, after tracing out the identity between the New Zealanders and inhabitants of the Tonga isles, proceeds to remark—"The resemblance between the New Zealanders and the natives of the Society and Sandwich Islands is still more remarkable; and, perhaps, of all islands, the little one of Waiho, or Easter Island, is the most perfect. It appears highly probable that some of its inhabitants found their way to New Zealand; and remarkable, that the spot which they would be the most likely to make by the prevailing current in reaching New Zealand should be called Waiho, † the name of their isle. Easter Island also seems to have become the abode of the progenitors of the Polynesian race, before it had lost some of its original knowledge of the arts. The large stone monuments still existing there speak of a bygone skill, and perhaps of acquaintance with the use of iron. The form, too, of the covering of the heads of those figures bears a remarkable resemblance to those seen in Egyptian hieroglyphics, especially of that supposed to refer to Shishak's victory over Rehoboam." ‡

The native church of New Zealand, however, has not yet commenced to use its commanding position for the extension of the gospel to other lands. In this respect it is behind its sister church in the Sandwich Islands. The Missionary effort which is being attempted from the shores of New Zealand does not propose to operate through the native church. It is conducted upon the principle of gathering natives from other islands to an educational institution at New Zealand, from whence the expectation is entertained that, in due time, they will go forth as evangelists. The native church is thus displaced from the true position which it should occupy; and its energies, diverted from that legitimate channel, by which they might break forth into healthful and useful action, are re-acting upon the church, and degenerating into a worldly spirit. Much of the evils that we have had to mourn over in New Zealand, must be ascribed to the youthful Christianity of that country not having been promptly and decidedly led forth into Missionary action. New Zealand has been designated a terminable Mission. There is no reason why it should be such. On the contrary, the evangelization of the island ought

* "Journal of Commerce," New York, December 10, 1856.

† Ibid. Dec. 3, 1856.

‡ Waiho, also a name of one of the Sandwich Islands, signifying to leave or abandon.

‡ "New Zealand and its Inhabitants," p. 189.

to be considered as having furnished us with an important position, from whence the gospel of Christ might go forward to new conquests.

New-Zealand Christianity at the present moment needs to be specially cared for. It has been exposed, while yet in childhood, to peculiar dangers, and has suffered proportionably. The change in the circumstances of the Maori has been marvellous and rapid. The once isolated home of the fierce cannibal was selected as peculiarly favourable to colonization. Christianity had gone before and humanized the native. Europeans, arriving in considerable numbers, formed new settlements on his shores. They brought with them their civilization and their vices. They carried with them some beneficial, and other injurious, influences; and the question was, whether the Christianity of the native was sufficiently confirmed to enable him to resist the one and yet benefit by the other. It was of first importance, that, at such a crisis, it should have every advantage; that it should be cherished, nurtured, and led on to the full exercise of all its energies. It was just then that, most seasonably, the episcopate was given to New Zealand, in order that such development might be, as much as possible, facilitated; that the Missionaries, under the pressure of various duties, might have every possible help afforded them; and native ministers be raised up quickly and efficiently, to supply the wants of the numerous and scattered congregations.

But the dangers were not confined to an ordinary process of colonization. In the penal settlements of Australia gold fields were discovered, so rich as to compete successfully with those of California. The remote antipodes became a centre of attraction, and the lonely tracts which had been left to the shepherd, and his flocks and herds, became the thronged route of eager multitudes, pushing forward to disinter riches from the earth. The agricultural yield of New Zealand became indispensable to these hosts of gold-diggers, and land and its produce rose in price. For his land the Maori obtained large sums. He became himself a cultivator on an extensive scale. He became a ship-owner, and transhipped his harvests to Auckland and elsewhere. New objects of attraction, new temptations, have been presented to him, and he has had in hand the means of gratifying his impulses. He has been exposed to great temptations. Has Christian effort on his behalf *increased* with increasing temptations, and furnished forth all needful applications and means of grace to sustain him?

We are constrained to answer, No! Our own Missionary force has been crippled in its action. Catechists, who had served with fidelity for a long period, men conversant with the vernacular, whose efforts have been blessed of God to the conversion of many, have been allowed to remain unordained. After long delay, when they have grown old, and their best of labour past, a few have been admitted to deacons' orders, and, in some instances, no further; and there are cases now of large districts, where the population is entirely Christian, in charge of men, who, as deacons, are not qualified to administer the Lord's supper. Once a year, on a visit of a Missionary in full orders, the opportunity is afforded, and no more; and this ordinance of the church, instead of being brought near to the doors of the people, is remote, and, at distant intervals. We believe the Lord's supper to be a powerful means of grace; that the season of its administration affords opportunity for a close and searching application of gospel truths and responsibilities to the conscience; and that, to those who receive it worthily, it is the strengthening and refreshing of their souls. In what disadvantageous circumstances would not a home pastor be placed, if, in the midst of a responsible charge, he found himself without the power to administer the communion! and how much greater injury must have been inflicted on newly-converted natives, placed in circumstances of no ordinary temptation! Moreover, the difficulties of obtaining ordination have discouraged the preparation of native candidates for the ministry. Yet have they proved a noble band, these New-Zealand catechists. Without educational advantages, untaught, save by the Spirit of God, conversant only with their well-read Maori Testament, without pay, without prospect of admission to the pastorate, they have been faithful in their work, and still, with some exceptions, persevere, in despite of formidable difficulties. Amongst the great body of the natives there has been a powerful reaction; nor can we wonder at it: it would have been a miracle had it been otherwise. Our beautiful work in New Zealand is under a cloud. New efforts have become necessary. All energies must be concentrated on its revival. And yet the position of our own Society in this respect is painful. Its proper work as a Missionary Society is done. Having been successful in bringing the natives to a profession of Christianity, it ought to be free now to withdraw to other lands still in heathen darkness. And yet, in the present circumstances of the native church, how can this be done? In what a

denuded state would not Maori Christianity be left were the Society to retire! What is there to supply its place? Native pastorate there is none, two natives only having been as yet admitted to holy orders. The Missionaries are, many of them, growing old, and, from various causes, diminishing in number. What course shall the Society pursue? This is indeed a case for solemn and prayerful consideration.

A beam of bright intelligence has reached us from this distant Mission. The translation of the whole Bible into the Maori language has been completed. Our indefatigable Missionary, the Rev. R. Maunsell, has been privileged to behold this consummation of his labours. He has had great trials. Thirteen years back, at a time of much domestic affliction, his house took fire, and his books and manuscripts were burned. Still he persevered; and now he has been enabled, not only to revise the New Testament and Prayer-book in the Maori, but to give to the native church the entire volume of inspiration in its own vernacular.

The Karen Mission in further India presents an additional illustration of our subject. There appears to have been among that people a remarkable preparedness for the reception of the gospel. They groaned beneath the yoke of the Burmans, and longed for some friendly hand to raise them up. Their traditions pointed to the white man, and the white man brought them the gospel, and freedom to embrace it. That message of reconciliation and of peace has progressed among them with rapid and salutary action. The ramifications of this people are numerous, and extending far into the interior; and there is every prospect that Christianity, recommended to the more distant tribes by the example and teaching of those whom they recognise as of the same stock, and partakers of the same tribulations with themselves, will penetrate as far as the race lies, perhaps within the limits of the Chinese empire. What sphere of usefulness awaits them, when they become a Christian people, is known only to God; but we anticipate that they will prove a shining light amidst the darkness of the surrounding nations.

A few facts connected with this Mission, designed to convey to our readers some idea of its rapid progress and importance, may be appropriately introduced. It was not until after the conclusion of the first war with Burmah, that the Karens attracted the attention of the American Missionaries, their efforts having been previously bestowed on the Burmese. Ko-Tha-byu, the first Karen convert,

and afterwards the blessed instrument of communicating to numbers of his countrymen those glad tidings of great joy which he had found to be so precious to his own soul, was baptized subsequently to the occupation of Tavoy as a Missionary station in 1828. The Mission, therefore, amongst the Karens is not yet thirty years old. According to the statistics published by the Missionary Press at Rangoon, there were, in the year 1856, between 11,000 and 12,000 members of the various Karen churches scattered throughout the Tenasserim provinces and Pegu; the converts to Christianity, taken *en masse*, are said to be not less than 100,000.

The manner in which the providence of God has opened a way for the introduction of the gospel among this people is one of marked significance. The results of the first war between the Burmese and English, in the cession of the provinces of Arracan, Maulmein, and Mergui, together with a part of Martaban, to England, afforded opportunity for the formation of the first Christian churches amongst these people, and numbers of them, within the ceded districts, released from the oppression of the Burmese, received with joy the instructions of the Missionaries. Within the limits, however, of Burmah Proper there remained tens of thousands groaning beneath the yoke of the Burmese Pharaoh, longing for Christian light and truth, and yet grievously persecuted in their efforts to obtain them. In the year 1840 the Missionary Abbott repaired to Sandoway, near the frontier of Arracan and Burmah, in order that he might be enabled more freely to communicate with the native churches and pastors, and numerous inquirers beyond.

“He soon contrived to send information of his residence to the people on the other side of the mountain ridge which separates the two countries; and though the passes were constantly guarded by jealous Burman officers, the eager Karens found their way in great numbers across the mountains to Mr. Abbott, some asking for baptism, others seeking books for their countrymen at home, and others still desiring to remain and study with the Missionary. They came from the districts of Maubee and Pantaceau, and even from the vicinity of Rangoon, telling him of the progress of the gospel among their countrymen. Through a wide extent of country, village after village received the gospel; and within the first year of his residence at Sandoway Mr. Abbott baptized nearly 200 of those interesting and simple-hearted people. He made occasional visits to the Burman frontier, and entered the territory of the

king, always finding scores of converts awaiting his coming, and desiring to be baptized. In one of these excursions, in which he was absent thirty-one days, he visited all the churches along the frontier, received reports from all the native pastors and preachers, and administered the ordinance of baptism to 279 persons who professed their faith in Christ. During the year 1844, the number of persons baptized by Mr. Abbott and his assistants, through the regions here referred to, was upwards of 2000; and the whole number thus baptized within five years after his arrival at Sandoway was considerably more than 3000—a number larger than had at that time been baptized in all the other Missions of the American Baptist Board taken together. But these numbers but imperfectly indicate the extent to which the gospel began to exert its influence on the Karens of that district. Multitudes more were instructed in its doctrines, and became obedient to its precepts, though they never presented themselves to the Missionary for baptism. An entire change came over the population of the district. They assumed an aspect of higher civilization; they became honest and industrious; the vices common to their race disappeared, and they were eager for knowledge, and for every kind of personal and social improvement. In 1843, the persecution of the Christian Karens, which for a time had been intermitted, was renewed with increased violence, and these poor people were subjected to cruel and vengeful sufferings, inflicted on them by their Burman oppressors. Large numbers of them were seized and chained together, and marched away in companies to distant prisons, from which they were liberated only by the payment of a ransom which exhausted their entire wealth. They bore these persecutions with heroic Christian fortitude. They refused to abandon the faith which they had embraced, and maintained it with a firmness which commanded the respect even of their persecutors, and commended the gospel still more widely to the people around them. So frequent and violent were these persecutions, that the Karens in large companies abandoned their homes and their country, and fled across the mountains to Arracan. In the course of a single season Mr. Abbott received upwards of 200 families at Sandoway. Many others went to other regions, and many perished by the way from the ravages of the cholera; but the emigration of these humble martyrs for conscience sake still went on, till the districts to which they belonged were well nigh depopulated: they awakened the sympathy not

only of the Missionaries, but also of the resident English, who made contributions for their comfort and support. The pages of Missionary history do not record a more signal display of divine grace than was seen among these simple dwellers among the mountains of Arracan. With but little instruction from human lips, they seem to have been largely taught of the Holy Ghost. With no outward aids or encouragements, they clung to their faith with a tenacity that nothing could subdue, and, in the day of frightful persecution, they literally gave up all for Christ.*

“Of these several Missions, that at Sandoway probably extended its labours over the widest sphere, for it was designed for the persecuted Karens who dwell in the neighbouring districts of Burmah Proper, and who, beneath the severe oppressions of a cruel Government, evinced the most extraordinary readiness to receive the gospel of Christ. Though each of the Missions were, to some extent, supported by contributions gathered from its own churches, yet this was true of the Sandoway Mission more fully than of any other. The efforts and sacrifices of these humble Christians to secure the blessings of the gospel, and to maintain its institutions in their villages, afford the noblest proof of the sincerity of their faith, and fervour of their piety. Several churches erected chapels at their own expense; others supported native pastors; while all contributed, in some way or other, to the pecuniary maintenance of the Mission. Mr. Abbott repeatedly attempted to obtain a permanent footing for the Mission in Burmah Proper, where so many of its converts were found. But, though he occasionally visited Bassein and the neighbouring districts, he was wholly unsuccessful in securing the toleration of the Government, or even permission for permanent residence. He, however, was accustomed, as frequently as practicable, to meet the native pastors and preachers of these districts, for the purpose of becoming familiar with their labours, and advising in their prosecution; and at these interviews he would often administer the rite of baptism to a large number of converts whom the assistants brought to him for that purpose. At these, and other similar meetings in all the Missions, the Missionaries were accustomed to impart instruction, and give advice, to the assistants and the converts, on all subjects which might require their attention; whether relating to the doctrines and duties of the gospel, or their own interests and prosperity as a people.”†

* Newcomb's "Cyclopedia of Missions," p. 205.

† Ibid. p. 209.

The reign of Burmese oppression was, however, fast drawing to its close, and, like the Egyptian persecutor of old, the Burmese monarch rushed blindly forward to his own destruction. A new war between England and Burmah, wantonly provoked by the faithlessness of the Burmese Government, and its reckless encroachments on the interests and rights of the East-India Company, commenced in February 1852; and before the termination of the year, on December 20th, "the entire southern portion of the kingdom of Burmah, including the ancient province of Pegu, was incorporated with the territories of British India. This district embraces the whole of Burmah, lying between the Salwen river on the east, the Yoma mountains on the west, and the Bay of Bengal on the south, and extending north to the nineteenth parallel of north latitude, about fifty miles above the city of Prome. It embraces an area of about 45,000 square miles, and a population of 2,500,000 Burmans, Karens, Peguans, and other races common in Burmah."*

Obstructions being thus providentially removed, the Missionary outposts were advanced, and new Missions formed at Rangoon, in the district of Pegu; at Bassein, in the district of Bassein; at Shwaygyeen, in the district of Amherst; at Prome, in the district of Prome; and at Toungoo, in the district of Toungoo.

"Bassein, in the new territory, embraces many of the churches and Christian villages of Burmah, formerly connected with the Mission at Sandoway, in Arracan." It is situated on a river of the same name, one of the outlets of the Irrawaddy, about sixty miles from its mouth; and around the principal station are fifty-six churches, with over 5000 members, fifty native pastors, and several assistants labouring in new fields, and all supported by the churches. Rangoon numbers thirty-six Karen churches, with 2044 members. Seventeen old churches support their own pastors, and nineteen new churches support their pastors in part. The additions in this district to the churches, since the war, have exceeded the number converted to Christianity during the whole preceding period; at the end of 1852 there having been about 1000 Karen disciples, and since then 1200 having been baptized, and nineteen new churches formed. The Prome Mission is chiefly Burman. At Shwaygyeen, a large town at the junction of the Shwaygyeen and Sitang rivers, about 100 miles northward from Rangoon, there have been raised,

since the commencement of the station in 1853, eleven churches, with 1010 members, thirteen native pastors and assistants being mostly supported by the churches. Toungoo is a large walled city, the chief town of the district of the same name, about 100 miles above Shwaygyeen, with a Burmese population, and the centre of a region in which Burmese, Karen, and Shan villages abound. It is also, to the Karens, the common centre of all their traditions. They profess to have gone out hence into all parts of the country, and probably a larger number of distinct dialects of their language are spoken in this vicinity, than in any other equal portion of Burman territory. The amount of Karen population is not definitely known, but, to all appearance, must be considerable. "It would appear to have been formerly much greater than it is now, requiring the exercise of a vigorous and severe policy to prevent them at times from throwing off the Burmese yoke. Thousands have been slain in these *emeutes*, but neither they nor their oppressors are able to forget a tradition held by them in common, that they would one day become independent, and predominate over the Burmans."

The native pastor, Sau Quala, of whose character and labours some account has been given in the pages of the "Church Missionary Gleaner" for 1856, had for some years entertained an ardent desire to proceed to Toungoo, and there preach the gospel. It had been awakened in his mind by a man from that district, who had strayed to the Tenasserim coast, and reached a Christian village of the Tavoy Mission. There he was converted, and the accounts he gave of his native country drew forth the sympathy of Sau Quala. He would have proceeded thither so soon as the war broke out, but was restrained for a season by his American brethren. In September 1853, the Missionary Mason proceeded on a preliminary visit, accompanied by two or three native helpers. "He was rowed up a tributary of the Salwen, and across the flooded tracts of rice-land, it being the height of the rains, till he struck the Sitang. Along his whole course he passed native towns and villages, encountered numerous boats, and preached at intervals to companies that gathered about him." Reaching Toungoo, he was visited by many Burmans. The Karens, too, "were soon aware of his coming, and began to visit the town in considerable companies. They yielded an immediate assent to the truth as he announced it, and professed their resolution to obey." Their interest, simplicity, and earnestness, exceeded any thing he ever before had witnessed, and

* Ibid. p. 211.

“more than realized all that the most romantic Missionary ever dreamed he would witness before leaving his native land.” Sau Quala soon followed. The churches in the southern province, unwilling to part with him, in vain endeavoured to detain him. “A memorial, signed by every assistant south of Tavoy, and by their churches, remonstrating in affecting terms against the departure of one whose instructions and counsels were so much valued by them, was presented to the Association. ‘What was to be done?’ writes the American Missionary, Thomas. ‘Here was a man who, under various circumstances, had been under the eye of the Missionaries from boyhood. He had been for a long time pastor of the most important church in his vicinity, and had frequently visited other churches in the Missionaries’ stead, to settle difficulties, and administer the ordinances of the Lord’s house, and had never been guilty of any thing requiring discipline. This man, for more than a year, had desired to visit a distant region—a region never yet visited by a minister of the gospel—there to plant the standard of the cross. We looked at the subject carefully; we spoke, we wept, we prayed; and all—the very men who had signed the adverse memorial—arose, with tears, and voted to approve his going.’”*

Accompanied by two assistants, qualified to be common school teachers, Sau Quala reached Toungoo in December 1853. The first baptisms took place in the following January. “The ordinance was administered by Sau Quala, in the presence of more than fifty Burmans, whom he addressed in a most judicious and eloquent manner. The colonel, and one or two other pious officers of the fifth regiment of native infantry, were present, and were much gratified with the fearlessness, dignity, and propriety of demeanour, exhibited by the administrator.” Before the close of the year the number of converts was 741, who were associated in nine churches. In May 1856 they had increased to thirty churches, with an aggregate of 2124 members, all of whom had been baptized within two years, and more than 2000 of them by one man.

This position, Toungoo, appears to be one of primary importance, and admirably fitted to become a great influential centre, from whence the gospel may be spread abroad. Not only are there Burmans, Shans, Khyens, and Toungthoos, among the hearers, but in

* Fortieth Annual Report of the American Baptist Missionary Union, p. 268.

the vicinity are various tribes of Karens, “two or three of which were before unknown, though as distinct from Pwos and Sgaus,” among whom the Missionaries had been previously labouring, as “Pwos and Sgaus are distinct from each other. This is emphatically the station for a Karen Missionary, and one which must ultimately take precedence of all others. For, what no other city in Burmah does, Toungoo stands in the centre of the Karen nation, taken as a whole, and impinges on all the tribes into which it is divided. Pegu and Martaban, on the south boundary, have the principal body of the Pwos. The mountains on the west, which separate the valley of the Irrawadi from that of the Sitang, are peopled through their whole length by Sgaus, who speak the same dialect that is spoken in the provinces. A lofty mountain range forms the eastern boundary, and on its lower declivities are numerous Sgau settlements, speaking a dialect differing, but not widely, from that spoken in the provinces; while the higher mountains, which look down upon us eight thousand feet high, are covered with an independent tribe of Karens, who not only have never worshipped idols, but who have never paid taxes. This tribe is known to the Burmese only as ‘the wild Karens,’ but they call themselves Pÿyà, and are a section of the Red Karens, famous for kidnapping Burmans, and selling them to the Shans for slaves. North and north-east of the city is another distinct tribe, which the Burmese call Taubya Karens; but they call themselves Kàrai, better known, however, as ‘the dog-eating Karens.’ That they eat dogs they do not deny, and are a very inferior-looking race, remarkable for their diminutive size. Still, their language, though quite a distinct dialect, assimilates them with the Sgaus. The Pÿyà dialect, too, is related to the Sgau, but is further removed than the Pwo is from the Sgau. Their dress, too, differs from that of the other Karen tribes, who all wear tunics; but the Pÿyà are clothed in short white pants, bound with red, and decorated with red lines at their bottom, radiating as from a centre; which gives them, sometimes, the name of Red Karens. But the kidnapping clan, while they wear similar pants, have the red lines running down perpendicularly the whole length of the garment. This latter tribe lives directly east of us, on the other side of the mountains, and northward for two degrees of latitude. None of this tribe have yet visited us; but we have had companies of each of the others at the house, repeatedly. The dialects of both the Pÿyà and Kàrai differ so much from the other Karen dialects, that the assis-

tants usually prefer talking with them in Burman; though on ordinary subjects, involving simple sentences; and their traditions, we can usually understand them, especially the Kárai.*

Thus God has introduced His truth into the heart of further India, and there it is putting forth its saving energy. Well may one from among the Missionary body exclaim—

“Since the fall of Rangoon in April 1852, the long-pent-up fires in the Karen heart have burst forth. The last gun from the warships had not been fired on Shway-du-gong,† when a deputation of three Karens was hanging about the outskirts of the town, ready, as soon as the Burmese army had fled, to rush in and find the teacher. They did rush in; and amidst wide ruin, and amidst ten thousand foreigners, sought for the teacher, and found him. Why this urgency? The churches had sent them, and night and day followed them with their prayers. . . . ‘Let us arise and build!’ was the cry of this long-oppressed and enslaved, but now emancipated people. The records of every month, from the 1st of May 1852 up to the present time, are enough to awaken songs of praise to the God of Missions in the bosom of the most slumbering church.”

India is a world in itself, and would repay a separate investigation. It would be found that the points which the church of Christ has been led to occupy throughout its various kingdoms and diversified populations, from Cape Comorin to Assam on the north-east, and the Punjab on the north-west, and thence, between these two extremes, throughout the valley of the Ganges, have been, on the whole, the most eligible with a view to further operations. We cannot, however, venture into that vast field, with all its variety of detail, except so far as to refer to the positions which our own Society has been led to occupy at no great distance from the course of the Indus, as well in *Sindh* as in the *Punjab*. There, at Karachí, Hyderabad, Shikarpúr, Múltan, and Peshawar, are our Missionary outposts, where we are face to face with the Mahommedanism that has so long rested with blighting influence on the interior kingdoms of the Asiatic continent. *Sindh* is an admirable exercising-ground, where our Missionaries, inured to controversy with Mahommedans, may become skillful to detect their subtleties, and, with the sword of the Spirit

putting them aside, to bring close the gospel, with power of application to the conscience. Nowhere is Mahommedanism more bigoted, or more prepared with the defence of a subtle disputation. Indeed, so strong is the fanatical spirit, that its champions, in the heat of their advocacy, would soon be accelerated from arguments to violence, but for the restraint of British power, which secures freedom of action to the messengers of the gospel, so long as they deport themselves with becoming discretion and forbearance. *Sindh* may be considered one of the strongest outposts of the Mahommedanism of Central Asia; and any discomfiture which it may suffer there must be felt throughout Belúchistan and other kingdoms of the interior. Some extracts from recent communications of our Missionary at Hyderabad, the Rev. Andrew Burn, will afford to our readers specimens of the character of our work in that province.

“*May 8, 1856*—Went into the bazaar, by appointment, to meet a gosain, but found he was elsewhere. The old shiráf, who has all along been anxious we should meet his spiritual guide in discussion, made a fresh appointment for to-morrow evening. Matchett took occasion to speak to him and the bystanders on our object, which was not to gain, as they suppose, a name, and supremacy for our religion over theirs, but to contend for and establish truth. Several Mussulmans spoke in defence of their creed, advancing legendary wonders, and challenging us to meet their learned men; an offer freely accepted, and met with a counter invitation to all or any to come to us and discuss.

“*May 9*—Went to the bazaar according to appointment, to the shop of the old shiráf, who was to conduct us to his gosain. We found a syud and akúnd sitting in his shop, to be present at the discussion in the Mussulman interest, and some five or six standing round who had been present at the discussion and appointment of the last evening, all waiting our arrival. On repairing to the gosain's a crowd of twenty or thirty were collected. A charpoi (bedstead) was put for us, two chairs for the two Mussulmans, and a low four-legged platform for the gosain to squat cross-legged on. The latter was requested to open the business, and did so by asking an answer to the question, how a man might find pardon. Some other rather desultory questions followed, and advanced the question in dispute but little; but the general interest excited, and the willingness to attend and debate in any way, was encouraging. It was agreed that questions and their answers should be committed to writing, and exchanged by all concerned, and so we sepa-

* Dr. Mason, Nov. 7, 1853, in “The Missionary Magazine” (Boston, U. S.) for June 1854, p. 166.

† The name of the great pagoda of Rangoon, meaning, “The royal sword sheathed.”

rated. It was encouraging to see the young men sitting round, and volunteering as interpreters between the old gosain, who did not speak very intelligibly, and ourselves.

"May 22—Long discussion in the bazaar. Declaration that Christ was the Son of God roused objection, as is almost always the case; yet some evidently object seriously, as a respectable, staid man did to-day, as to something irreconcilable with proper views of God, and on such a calm explanation is not thrown away. The cazi mentioned before, who speaks Sindhi so fast and impetuously, came at last, and asked for the answer to his former proof of Mahommedanism, that the holy city—Jerusalem—according to a prophecy in the Psalms quoted in the Korán, was in the hands of the Mussulmans. That the last prophet, in establishing his own mission, repeals the enactment of all preceding ones, is an objection brought forward with every conceivable variety of illustration. So this evening, one collector sahib succeeds another, and lays down new rules. Matchett answered, though the collectors replace one another, yet the Company's book of regulations, given into the hands of each, is one and the same, and remains unaltered.

"June 7—Went by agreement to the baker's, and got there by half-past four P.M., taking with us a múnshí to write down question and answer, as, by past experience, we knew without such precaution we should be talked down.

"After a while, the molwí mentioned May 26th came, with his hands full of books. We sat in a little raised and open shop by the street side, and a good number stood down below in the street, as many as could crowding round. Matchett proposed they should write a question. The molwí objected, and required a written engagement on our part, that, if proved in the wrong, we would become Mussulmans, they proving themselves right. This we prepared. Then nothing would serve but it must be signed by the collector and bazaar master. This we objected to as useless, and begged the discussion might proceed. But no, there they stuck; and, after trying to provoke a discussion, by denying Mahommed's mission, and telling those around that, as their molwis would not discuss, it was vain to stay, we got up and went. It is trying to have such opportunities lost by such wrong-headedness.

"Going home, some Hindús overtook us, and showed us some extracts from the writings of the gúrú of the Sikhs, 'Nanak Shah,' and asked us to go in to see one of their gúrús hard by. We went, and found, as we usually do when we drop on them unawares,

gúrú sahib seated amidst ten or twelve disciples round, all drinking a preparation of bhang, the office of the gúrú being to dispense a potion to all. So they live, 'blind leaders of the blind,' sunk in earthliness and sensualism; and apparently the only use of a spiritual guide is to weave a few subtle, or too often obvious, sophistries, by which to divorce faith and practice, to keep the realities of the world and the flesh, and remove religion to the clouds. It was not likely we should find earnest seekers for truth there, and little of interest occurred.

"June 19—Went out to Yusif-ka-Tanda, where some of the mírs are living, and some of the wives of the mírs. Began to speak in the bazaar near the masjid: people very inattentive; and soon some of the mírs' retainers came and warned the people away, under the pretence of clearing the ground, but evidently to prevent the crowd from listening. We moved on, protesting, at the same time, against such underhand ways of silencing us, and for a few minutes got a few to listen; but the molwis' agents followed and dispersed these; and as we left the town the boys hooted, and flung a few stones, which struck us in the back. It is only noticeable as a manifestation of the spirit actuating them, and, from the timid Sindhis, showed more than from others. The place is chiefly filled by the retainers of the mírs, and it only shows how much we owe the general toleration, and even attention, we receive, to the country's being under British rule, or we should probably find it soon too hot for us."

The importance of the Punjáb as a Missionary field cannot be over-estimated. The late census of January 1, 1855, has shown how greatly its population exceeds all previous conjectures on the subject. That census is now before us—a condensed document, presenting in a limited space a store of most valuable information. We propose, in an early Number, to deal with it separately. It may suffice on the present occasion to observe, that the Punjáb territories, exclusive of native states under political superintendence, contain a population of nearly thirteen millions of souls; and that we have entered on our labours at a most interesting crisis, when the breaking-down of the Sikh military organization has set free a considerable portion of the population, to be absorbed into other systems. The towns which are occupied as Missionary stations are Múltan, Amritsar, Kangra, and Peshawur. The first of these, Múltan, has 24,973 inhabitants within the walls: if we include the extensive suburbs and cantonments, we have a total of 55,999. This town promises to be-

come a great *entrepôt*, and one of the first cities in northern India.

Our Missionary, the Rev. T. H. Fitzpatrick, thus speaks—in a letter dated Múltan, Nov. 2, 1856—of Missionary work at that place after a few months' residence—

“I cannot tell you of converts, or hopeful inquirers, or of any striking signs of general awakening. How thankful would I be to cheer you thus, if I could: but yet I can say that a very hopeful beginning has been made. The Mission has been established without any expense to the Society, and without drawing on the resources of any other Mission. I preached all the way here from Amritsar; and when I arrived I found every thing ready; my house in order; and I had nothing to do but change positions only, and, instead of the bazaars of Amritsar, stand up in those of Múltan, and proclaim the gospel of the Redeemer.

“The effect of bazaar-preaching has not been, as yet, that which we long for. As I have already said, we have no converts, or even satisfactory inquirers; but I have had more frequent and satisfactory conversations, in the midst of large groups of a hundred or so, with learned natives, than I ever had at Amritsar, or elsewhere. We have not given away any books gratuitously, but sold a few. There are Mahommedans in the town who have been studying the Bible (after purchasing it) very earnestly; and one has also had a Hindústani Prayer-book for some months, to try and refute the Athanasian Creed and our Articles of Religion. But more than this I cannot say. Doubts and fears have been created in perhaps many minds, and the gospel is now generally understood by many thousands in its leading doctrines; but I have not seen any spiritual concern awakened, so far, at least, as to lead men not to rest until they find salvation in God. We have an open door, and many adversaries. The difficulties are greater here than at any place I have seen in the Punjáb.”

The population of Amritsar ranges so high as 122,184 souls. “It has, of course, lost much of its religious and political importance since annexation, but its commercial importance is fully sustained.” Peshawur has 53,294 inhabitants: it is flourishing, both politically and commercially, and is likely to increase.” Abutting as it does on those countries of Asia which as yet are untouched by Missionary efforts, its occupation is of first importance. It is a post of observation, from whence, as, in the providence of God, opportunity presents itself, the soldiers of the cross may be enabled to push forward. We

know not how soon such an opening may present itself. A British expedition is operating in the Persian gulf, and British forces are ready to advance to the help of Dost Mahommed of Cabul, now threatened by the Persians, who have occupied Furráh,* a large town between Herat and Candahar. War is one of the scourges of our sin-wrecked world: its outbreak can never be otherwise than painful to the humane mind. Still, the hindrances which attend it are often subversive of obstructions to the advance of gospel teaching, and open a way for its introduction into countries which had been shut up in a proud and bigoted isolation. Ample pecuniary means are not wanting for a forward movement. A Missionary from Peshawur writes—“Preaching, school work, translations, may all be carried on here, without let or hindrance. There is every opportunity before us. The money is also ready, and lying idle for want of use. We are, comparatively speaking, at a standstill with respect to the opportunities before us, simply and only for the want of men. . . . Can it be, that, in His secret plans, the Lord is shortly about to cause a sudden and large extension of Missionary labour from Peshawur into the midst of Central Asia? We cannot answer. We can only wait and see His ways, and abide His time.” Another Missionary at the same place gives expression to like thoughts. “The large amount of support our Mission has met with, should be considered as a strong inducement to raise the Mission to its full efficiency, and to add, as soon as possible, besides the schoolmaster, one or two Missionaries to the station. Though the country is not open for travelling, in the same sense as other parts of India, still, in some directions, even now Missionary tours might be made if we had but the men; and the new relation of active friendship into which now Afghanistan has been brought with this country, by the support lately given to Dost Mahommed by the Indian Government, makes it quite probable that, a few years hence, Cabúl might be visited, and an unmarried Missionary may spend the summer there, and make Cabúl his sanatorium. We therefore trust, and will take the abundant means now vouchsafed as a pledge from the Lord, that the men and labourers will soon be sent.”

One extract from the daily press will serve to show the rising importance of these coun-

* The town of Furráh is, in a military point of view, of great importance. . . . Whoever holds it has one foot in Kandahar and the other in Herat, and commands the northern entrance to Seistan.—Ferrier's “Caravan Journeys,” p. 396.

tries, and the closeness of connexion into which our Sindh and Punjáb Missions will soon be brought.

“The prospectus has been issued of the Punjáb Railway Company, with a capital of 2,500,000*l.* in 20*l.* shares, two-fifths of which are to be allotted to the proprietors of the Sindh Railway Company. The line will run from Múltan, on the Indus, to Lahore, the political capital of the Punjáb, and thence to Amritsar, its commercial emporium, a total distance of 230 miles. The surface of the country is described to be unusually favourable, while the traffic in merchandise is extraordinary, and constantly increasing. This line will connect with Karachí by steam communication down the Indus to Hydrabad, whence the Sindh railway runs to that port. A staff of engineers left England on the 4th of September last, with the sanction of the East-India Company, to make the necessary surveys.”*

Another and important status, secured for scriptural Christianity, is to be found in the reformation so happily advancing among the *Armenians of Turkey*. It is assuming more and more the appearance of a national work, and a testimony in favour of the pure gospel, as contradistinguished from the corruptions which have proved so grievous a stumbling-block to the Mahomedan mind, is being universalized throughout the Turkish empire. This Mission having been reviewed at some length in the pages of our last volume, we only notice one station, Aintab, the chief Missionary centre of northern Syria. The Protestant community numbers 203 families, with 849 persons. The usual congregation is 600 or 700. “Intemperance, once a prevailing vice, is excluded from this community. The extravagant expenses of marriages, entailing debt and misery on families, are shut out by rule. It is becoming more and more evident that Protestantism is favourable to intelligence, honesty, and thrift. Great pains have been used, and successfully, I should think, to preserve the church pure. Considering its number, intelligence, and property, it is one of the most efficient of churches. Five of its members are nearly or quite prepared for ordination as pastors; and a score of preaching members have been employed the past year in Aintab, Marash, Adana, Killis, Bitias, Antioch, Kessab, Aleppo, Oorfa, and Birijik. And this in a church so lately gathered out of the deepest spiritual darkness. Two half-days in the week were devoted to an examination of

five of the more advanced theological students for licensure as preachers of the gospel. It was virtually an examination of candidates for the pastoral office, each being really in view for some particular church. We all took much delight in this, for some of those churches are even now suffering for want of pastors. Each man seemed raised up by providence for his particular post. None of us doubted that the Holy Ghost required them to be separated for the work of the ministry.

“The city of Antioch, once numbering its hundreds of thousands, was long one of the grand centres of the Christian world. For ages past, Aleppo has been the prominent city of northern Syria; but the present Christian centre of this part of Syria is Aintab. For this section of the country it is the Antioch of our day.”†

We now turn to *Africa* and its Missions, and there we find abundant proofs of the guidance which we have been speaking of, and of the providential manner in which Missionary action has been directed to influential centres. There is no Mission in which the co-operation of God’s providence with human effort is more strongly marked than in that of Western Africa. *Sierra Leone* was not primarily selected as the basis of operation: it was rather that to which the Society was constrained by the force of circumstances. The preference had been given to localities beyond the limits of the colony; and it was only when compelled to abandon them by the antagonism of the slave-trade, that our Missionaries retreated within the Sierra-Leone frontier—a position of unexpected usefulness; for here were convened England’s emancipados, the liberated Africans, victims of the slave-trader’s cruelty, yet happily rescued from his grasp, and, under the protecting flag of Britain, restored to the freedom, although not to the homes, which they had lost. In their own persons they exhibited unequivocal evidences of the barbarity with which they had been treated, and, in their numerous languages and dialects, showed how extensively Africa was a sufferer from the scourge of that inhuman traffic. Amidst much suffering on the part of the Missionary agents, and scenes of sorrow and bereavement never to be forgotten, the work of God amongst this mingled people has greatly prospered. They are now an evangelized and professedly Christian people. In the good providence of God, a native church has been

* “Times,” January 8th, 1857.

† Extracts of letter from Dr. Anderson. *Vide* “Missionary Herald,” February 1856, pp. 39—41.

raised up on the dark coast of Western Africa. The living stones of which it is constructed were once widely separated from each other; so much so, that, could we have seen them in that original state of separation, we should have concluded that it was impossible they could ever be brought together. Yet have they been astonishingly concentrated from widely-separated portions of the great African continent, from remote regions where the foot of the white man has never trodden. They remind us of those erratic blocks which arrest the attention, and excite the interest of geologists, by the force of powerful convulsions transferred, from the mountain group to which they originally belonged, to some far-off lowland country, gulfs and arms of the sea intervening between their past and present *locales*. So in Africa there have been great social convulsions, political earthquakes, disruptions of nations; and thus fragments of various tribes, dislocated from the parent stocks, have been transferred to a distant point, and that point one where Christian Missionaries have had free access to them, and have been enabled to fashion them into living stones, to be builded into the Lord's temple. In this we recognise the finger of God. The Society, on the commencement of its labours in Africa, contemplated the evangelization of some of the coast tribes, from whence it was hoped the light might spread. They had no idea that their Missionaries would be placed in the midst of representatives of nations. The slave, when torn from his birthplace, the chain of bondage on his neck, thought not that he was being led where, under new influences, he was to become a new man, and learn, by experience, the blessedness of true freedom. The slave-dealer, as he shipped him for Cuba or Brazil, never contemplated the possibility of his return. And even the British Government, in his humane rescue, realized not the full benefits which were thus conferred on Africa. But so it is—the most untoward events have been made to work for good: occurrences which, to human judgment, appeared to be most obstructive, in a wonderful manner have been overruled for the furtherance of God's gracious intentions on behalf of Africa. Her greatest evils have been constrained to yield the very elements which shall eventually prove to be corrective of those evils. Africa's tribulations have won her sympathy; Africa's wounds have brought relief; and the bondage of Africa's children has led to their liberation. Had the work been merely human, such have been the

difficulties, the discouragements, the deaths, in the service of the Mission, that it must have been abandoned long ago; but it has advanced and prospered, because, although the instrumentality be human, the energy which wrought by it has been of God.

In reviewing those Missions of our world, which, from their measure of advancement and position, promise to become centres of future evangelization, we have placed the work of our American brethren side by side with our own, and have endeavoured to bear testimony to its value and importance. It is pleasing to find that we are only reciprocating a similar courtesy on their part. The following testimony from an American brother to the value of the results attained in Sierra Leone will be read with interest—

“ We have, in the present condition of this colony, regarding it as made up chiefly of the aboriginal element, one of the best illustrations to be found anywhere, not only of the capacity of the negro for a high degree of civilization, but likewise of the value of Christian Missions in developing those capabilities.

“ This population has been placed, by the providence of God, just in that position which seems best adapted to its improvement and elevation.

“ In the first place, these people were suddenly severed from all the scenes and associations of superstition in which they had been brought up. They were placed in new and unfamiliar circumstances, with little to remind them of what they had been accustomed to in their earlier life. They were compelled to mingle freely with others of diverse views and feelings. Life had to be begun over again, and a different style of living, as well as a new mode of labour, had to be adopted, in order to obtain the means of subsistence. They were placed under the control and guardianship of a wise and humane government. Had they been thrown together, and left to themselves, nothing but disorder, confusion, and starvation would have followed. But the reins of government were held by steadier hands: all the civil offices were filled by men competent to the discharge of their duties; and for a good many years the commerce of the place was conducted by white men, who were furnishing an example of the manner in which it could be managed to the greatest advantage.

“ But all this, of itself, could have been of no avail. A heathen people are not to be lured into the arts and usages of civilized life by the mere exhibition of these things. Before they can make any upward progress, their moral and intellectual nature must be called

into life—must be cultivated and developed. This want was provided for by the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies, from the very earliest periods of the colony. The same was done, to some considerable extent, by the Government also. Schools were established; and almost the whole of the youthful population were gathered into them, and received a thorough training, both moral and intellectual. At the same time the gospel was faithfully and earnestly preached; and its influence was soon seen, in elevating the character of the people generally. Every year the standard of intelligence, morality, and industry has been raised, until these people have attained to a position of unquestionable respectability and civilization.

“The foreign control and supervision, which was so necessary in the earlier periods of their history, is now being superseded. Most of the civil offices are filled by persons from among themselves, or by educated coloured men from the British West Indies. The commerce of the country, which, at first, was almost wholly engrossed by white men, is rapidly passing into the hands of educated recaptives, who manage it with remarkable efficiency. The soil is cultivated, and the market of Freetown is well supplied both with meat and vegetables. Many of these recaptives have amassed handsome little fortunes, and live in circumstances of great respectability and comfort.

“Equally as much progress has been made in mental and moral improvement. It would be difficult to find larger or better-managed schools anywhere than in Sierra Leone. One high school is maintained, in which there are children of recaptives, whose parents pay as much as sixty dollars for their tuition, when those parents themselves, not more than twenty-five years ago, were set down at Sierra Leone penniless and naked savages. At the same time there is a collegiate institution here, established by the Church Missionary Society, in which there are fifteen or twenty young men, studying Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and most of the higher branches of the natural sciences. Many of the educated colonists are engaged as teachers; some of them are preachers of decided respectability; and there are native merchants in Sierra Leone whose credit with mercantile houses in London is good any time for three or four thousand pounds sterling.

“During a short visit which I made to this place in 1852, on my way to this country, there were as many as fifteen vessels lying at anchor in the harbour, of which twelve were there for the purpose of trade.

“Now, when we take into account the circumstances under which this colony was founded, the materials of which it was composed, the reverses which it has experienced from time to time, and compare all these with the actual improvement which has been made, it may be seriously questioned whether any other community in the world has ever made more rapid strides in the march of improvement. It is true, that the circumstances in which they were placed were decidedly favourable to this result, but this does not detract one iota from their capacity for improvement. There is another fact connected with the state and prospects of this colony that should not be overlooked. We refer to its influence upon the country at large. The native population of Sierra Leone is composed of companies of persons from almost every district in Western and Central Africa. These people, having received an education, and accumulated a little property, are beginning to return to their native country, and many of them with the view of carrying with them the blessings of Christianity and civilization.

“It was in this way, to some considerable extent at least, that the foundation was laid for the spread of Christianity in Yoruba: similar expeditions are feeling their way back to other portions of the continent, and no one can tell to how great an extent the slave-trade, the bane of Africa, may be overruled, in the providence of God, to her highest good.”

To this encouraging testimony we may add, that the transfer of this native church to the care of the native pastorate is rapidly progressing. We have, at present, not more than five European Missionaries in the colony, two of the number being engaged in educational work. Thus nearly all the Missionary parishes throughout the colony are in charge of native pastors. The episcopate is rendering, in this respect, valuable service, by a free impartation of holy orders to duly-qualified persons from amongst the natives. “This,” writes the Rev. J. Beale, June 8th, 1856, “is a great day for Africa: the cathedral has seldom presented such a spectacle. Thousands were present to witness the ordination of eight native catechists, the first-fruits of the pastorate in Sierra Leone. May God endow the candidates with gifts and grace for the great and blessed work to which they have been dedicated! Our eyes see the fruit for which former Missionaries laboured.” Collaterally with this, and no doubt, in some measure, the result of it, is the development of the self-supporting principle. Satisfactory proofs are

being afforded us, that the Africans are by no means insensible to the duty of liberally contributing to the maintenance of Christian ordinances. They are gradually taking upon themselves the support of all primary schools throughout the various parishes, and, during the past year, subscribed nearly 800*l.* to this purpose. It is interesting to mark the *pari passu* advance of the great leading Missions of our world, although in different countries, and under diverse superintendence. The Karen Mission, the Tinnevely Tamil Mission—which was largely reviewed in a previous Number*—the Armenian and Sandwich-Islands Missions, the New-Zealand Mission—as manifested in extensive grants of land by natives for various Christian objects, and the gratuitous supply of a large body of native catechists—and, lastly, the Sierra-Leone Mission; in all these we discover the same indications of growth towards self-supporting and independent action—the maturity at which they shall not fail to attain, unless dwarfed and stunted by some unhappy circumstances.

As we view the gradual procedure which is thus going forward in so many different directions, we are reminded of the coral formations, raised by a feeble agency, yet so strong as to remain immovable amidst the roar of waters. There are seen the trophies of an insect's toil, the reef, the key of loose remnants heaped by the waves upon its summit, where the sea birds congregate, and sea plants take root, and a soil begins to be formed. Then, a "cocoa-nut, or the drupe of a pandanus, is thrown on shore; land birds visit it, and deposit the seeds of shrubs and trees; every high tide, and, still more, every gale, adds something to the bank; the form of an island is gradually assumed; and, last of all, man comes to take possession." How incredible, had not experience corrected our judgment, that such an agency should produce such a consummation! In the higher departments of God's work, and more intimately connected with the well-being of man, why doubt as to results because the agency is feeble?

"Each wrought alone, yet all together wrought,
Unconscious, not unworthy instruments,
By which a hand invisible was rearing
A new creation in the secret deep.
Omnipotence wrought in them, with them, by them:
Hence, what Omnipotence alone could do
Worms did. I saw the living pile ascend,
The mausoleum of its architects,
Still dying upwards as their labours closed:

* * * * *

Frail were their frames, ephemeral their lives,
Their masonry imperishable."

* August 1856.

It is evident that Sierra Leone is peculiarly adapted to become the seed-plot of African evangelization. The numerous languages which are spoken by its Christian population, at once indicate its relation of usefulness to a large portion of the great African continent. A glance at Koelle's "Polyglotta Africana," and the annexed map, will elucidate this. This gift of languages is a most important qualification. The men of this world, in the prosecution of their plans, are conscious of its value. Russia, in the cultivation of the multilingual faculty, is preparing herself for the realization of her dream of universal conquest. "There is not a country possessing a grammar, in any diplomatic relation with St. Petersburg, which has not the acquisition of its native tongue provided for in or near the Russian capital. At the imperial gymnasium, Novo-Tcherskask, in the country of the Don Cossacks, military interpreters and translators for the Caucasian invasions are taught Arabic, Tartaric, Avarian, and Tscherskessian; at Storopol, Tartaric and Tscherskessian form part of the educational system; and throughout the land young and able students are diligently trained to carry on free intercourse with foreign nations." The true conquest is with Christ. His shall be the universal kingdom. In order to the establishment of His rule, languages must be enlisted in His service, and the church, in this respect, emulate the policy of the world. Wherever we find a confluence of languages, there is a central and commanding point, which ought to be duly appreciated, and strongly occupied. Peshawur, and our various stations on the Indus, where meet the Pushtú and the Persian, the Punjabi and Hindústání, the Sindhi and Guzerati, are in this respect important. Sierra Leone pre-eminently constitutes a great lingual centre, for there our native Christians possess, as a natural qualification, that gift of tongues which was conferred supernaturally on the day of Pentecost. A multilingual agency is thus ready prepared for extensive usefulness. It only waits the impulse of God's providence, and they shall return as evangelists to the countries from whence they were deported. Already a commencement has been made, and the first home-migration of liberated Africans has introduced us into the *Yoruba Country*. In extending our operations thitherward, we merely followed the leadings of Providence. We were led into this new Mission field by the force of circumstances, without any foreknowledge of its peculiar capabilities. We were introduced into the midst of a people predisposed in our favour.

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English benevolence, without money and without price, had restored to them those precious things which the slave trade had wrested from them, their sons and daughters, and they needed no stronger argument to assure them that we sought their good.

The following paper, drawn up by our native Missionary, the Rev. S. Crowther, and communicated to T. J. Hutchinson, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po, will be found to contain many points of very interesting information respecting the Yoruba territory, its commercial capabilities, and the superstitions of its inhabitants.

"This part of the country, of which Lagos, in the Bight of Benin, is the seaport, is generally known by the name of the Yoruba country, extending from this bight to within two or three days' journey of the bank of the Niger. This country comprises many tribes, governed by their own chiefs, and having their own law. At one time they were all tributary to one sovereign, the king of Yoruba, including Benin on the east, and Dahomey on the west, but are now independent.

"The principal tribes into which this kingdom is divided are as follows—The Egbados: this division, includes the Otta and Lagos, near the sea-coast, forming a belt of country on the bank of the lagoon in the forest, to Ketu, on the border of Dahomey. The next division is Ketu and Shabe, on the border of Dahomey, on the west: then the Ijebu on the east, on the border of Benin; then the Egbas of the forest, now known by the name of Egba of Abbeokuta; then comes Yoruba Proper, northward in the plain, Ife, Ijesha, Ijamo, Efon, Ondo, Idoko, Igbomna, and Ado, near the bank of the Niger, from which a creek or streams, a little below Idda, is called Do or Ido river.

"Water facility, for conveyance of goods and produce from the interior, is rather rare in the Yoruba country; but there are some streams which, if properly surveyed, would prove of immense advantage to commerce.

"I would first mention the rivers Iyewa and Opara, both of which fall into the lagoon, the former a few miles above Badagry, which was partly navigated by the Landers, when they started from Badagry on their journey to the Yoruba country and to the Niger. If explored, this river might be navigable for boats and canoes to some distance inland towards the industrious Egbado tribe, through whose district it runs, at the back of one of their villages called Ijaka Oke, where it is crossed as one goes to Ketu: it was about three feet deep in the dry season, when I crossed it. The Opara runs between Ketu

and Dahomey, and is navigable for canoes and boats to some distance inland westward. From all I could gather by information, it runs through a country abounding with palm-trees, by which hundreds of tons of palm-oil and other produce might be floated down the coast, instead of slaves, as it is now used by the king of Dahomey.

"Besides the Ogun river, on which hundreds of tons of palm-oil, cotton, and other produce, are floated down to Lagos, there is a similar river eastward of Lagos, in the Ijebu country, known, at the entrance into the lagoon, as the Palma river: it is crossed in the Yoruba country, where it is called Oshun, and, if explored, might prove as valuable a facility from Yoruba Proper, through the Ijebu country, as the Ogun river is through the Egba country. It is said the natives, through superstition, never navigate this water lengthwise, but crosswise, which necessity compels them to do. Judging from the point it is crossed in the interior, on the way to Ilorin, upwards of a hundred miles above its mouth, this river, which has been wasting its waters into the lagoon undisturbed, enshrouded in the bosom of thick forest, through which it runs to the coast, if explored, might give a new impetus to commerce in this bight.

"The advantage of exploring this river has of late engaged the attention of some enterprising persons, if encouraged to carry it out.

"The people, away from slave-trading influence on the coast, are very industrious: their chief occupation is farming and trading. The male population attend to the former, and the female to the latter; but a large portion of men give part of their time to trading also, and others pursue it altogether as their chief work. They have no means of carrying their produce to the coast except on the head, and that from a distance of one to two hundred miles from the interior. Since the opening of the Ogun river from Abbeokuta to Lagos, this drawback to conveyance of goods has been removed in a great measure, and great impetus has been given to the palm-oil trade through that channel. If the Palma river can be made use of in like manner, what an increase of trade would be encouraged in this bight from the interior!

"For want of better means of conveyance than men's heads, immense tusks, unportable by human strength, have been cut into pieces, to facilitate their carriage to the coast from the interior. There are a great many horses in the country, which cost only, at an average, 10*l.* to 15*l.* each. With a small outlay, cart and waggon roads can very easily be

made from one principal trading town to another; and we may infer, from the readiness the people load canoes with oil and other produce, from Abbeokuta to Lagos, that a cart or waggon company would very readily recover their outlay, and make a handsome profit on such an enterprise. The facility with which carriage roads can be made in this country is another inducement: the country is undulating, which makes a few small bridges necessary, and this among forests of timber-trees; but to a very great distance the road runs through level plains: nothing is wanting but to widen the path, and the cart-road is made. In this way one might travel with facility from Abbeokuta to the bank of the Niger in a few days, and thus a chain of connexion will be formed both by land and by the river Niger, making Rabba the upper trading establishment, in addition to that at the confluence of the Kowara and Tshadda rivers below.

“Thus a highway would be opened in this country, by land, from Abbeokuta, through Ijaye, Ago, Ogbomoso, Ilorin, to Rabba, a distance of about 160 miles.

“From the great interest the native chiefs take in trade, if employed, they will expedite the work, and consider it a great favour to be thus employed. Jealousy, and fear of each other, prevent their moving to do any thing of themselves, however desirable they may see the thing to be. The present time is most favourable: since they have the Missionaries to back them in making peace with one another, those who had such a disposition, but dared not come forward for fear of others, have been emboldened, through them, to put to practice what otherwise they would have been afraid to speak of. So it is in the case of road-improvement: Abbeokuta would not do it, Ijaye would not do it; but no sooner was it proposed by the Missionaries, and some remuneration promised to the labourers, than it was at once agreed upon by the chiefs of both places. How much more, when the subject is proposed to them by higher influence, and shown to them that it is for their own interest.

“To draw out the resources of this country, this is what I conceive the best way, to the advantage of commerce—the exploration of those streams leading to the interior, and the improvement of the roads for traffic to the bank of the river Niger, making Rabba the upper establishment, in addition to that of the Confluence.”

The following extract from another communication of Mr. Crowther's, explaining the importance of Lagos as the port of inter-

course with the Niger and its affluents, may be here appropriately introduced—

“The latter move of the friends of Africa to petition Government to keep a regular steam communication up the Niger is very encouraging. Though Fernando Po, for the present, is the best locality to be selected for a dépôt in connexion with the Niger, yet I think a better knowledge of this lagoon to the Benin branch of the Niger will, in course of time, give Lagos the preference. Facilities through these lagoons are not yet known. When that is the case, how very easy it will be for the natives to start from Lagos in canoes and boats to the Niger, through the Benin branch, as the Brass and Bonny traders, in their canoes, to the Ibo country by the Nun branch. It is very singular that Mr. Consul Campbell should have suggested Lagos as an appropriate situation for starting for the Niger through the Benin branch, which he had partially ascended in H. M. steamer ‘Bloodhound,’ in March last, a few months before the memorials were presented to H. M. Government. By his permission I quote the paragraph relating to the subject.

“The whole lagoon from Godomey, within fifteen miles of Whydah, is navigable, for such a vessel as recommended, to the Benin river and the lagoons; and creeks from that river into that part of the Niger running through the Ibo country are also navigable, the late Mr. Becroft having, in the ‘Ethiophe,’ some years since, entered the Niger from the Benin river by the same route taken by H.M. steam-vessel ‘Bloodhound’ in March last, the ‘Bloodhound’ drawing nine feet water.”

“I would with all deference recommend that the steamer should once a year proceed as far as Godomey, and twice a year through the lagoon and the Benin river, and the lagoons from which the trade of the river is drawn; and in the event of some of the Ibo people at Sierra Leone desiring to return to their country, and of the Church Missionary Society carrying out its wish to form a station in the Ibo and other countries on the Niger, to accomplish their benevolent and Christian views, the steamer could periodically convoy the Ibo people in their canoes and boats to their country, and keep up a communication between the agents of the Society here and those that may be sent to the countries on the Niger, and by her visits and presence impart a feeling of security to the establishments that may there be formed.

“Be what it may, yet one thing is certain, this is an important time for Africa. East and west are being more known; and the

travels of the enterprising Dr. Livingston have unfolded deep mysteries of southern and central countries.”*

We now resume the paper forwarded to H. M. Consul.

“The chief produce of this country is red palm-oil, made from the red pulp of the palm-nuts; the palm-nut oil, made from the kernel; shea butter, from nuts of shea trees; ground-nuts, beniseed, and cotton in abundance, and ivory: all these are readily procured for the European market.

“The religion of the country is heathenism, but Mahomedanism has been making rapid progress among the people since the kingdom has been split into independent states through slave wars. A portion of the Yoruba country is governed by Mahomedans, and subject to the Sultan of Sokoto: their principal town and capital is Ilorin, whence they travel into different parts of the country making proselytes, at the same time carrying on active slave-wars, and slave-trade, all about the country.

“The idolatrous worship of the heathen is similar throughout the country. There is an established religion connected with government, which is the worship of the dead, or their deceased ancestors, the secret of which every male population is a member, and is bound to keep the female ignorant of it, on pain of death on its being revealed to the weaker sex: thus it has become a law sacred to be observed by all the male population throughout the land. Notwithstanding their national enmity against each other, yet this religious law is observed inviolate during those times of bitter rancour and revenge at the time of the slave wars which depopulated the Yoruba country.

“The people are very superstitious. Besides the worship of their deceased ancestors, they

* It will be to our readers a subject-matter of sincere gratification, and thankfulness to Almighty God, to be informed that the Government has contracted with Macgregor Laird, Esq, for an annual expedition up the Niger, for five successive years. Opportunities of a settled character will thus be afforded to Africans from Sierra Leone, or elsewhere, to reach the Confluence, for commercial or other purposes, by regular steam communication; and beyond that, we believe, the effort will be made to reach Sokatu, and other places in the interior. The details, no doubt, will soon be before the public. At a glance, however, our readers will perceive that here is a glorious opportunity afforded for the extension of Missionary operations amongst the Niger tribes, and an open door into the very heart of Africa. The Committee of the Church Missionary Society is already engaged in making such arrangements as so important a crisis demands.

worship the gods of thunder and lightning, the devil, snakes, rivers, some particular trees, the white ant-hills, and rocks with caves, in which they suppose the spirits of the gods dwell. To these objects of worship sacrifices of bullocks, goats and sheep, fowls and pigeons, are made, and sometimes human beings also. Since the last ten years Christian Missionaries have directed their efforts to the conversion of the heathen population, which has been attended with encouraging success.

“The present seat of the king of Yoruba is Ago, otherwise called Oyo, after the name of the old capital, which was visited by Clapperton and the Landers.

“A king is acknowledged, and his person held sacred, and his wives and children are highly respected: any attempt of violence against the king’s person or any of the royal family, or any act of wantonness with the wives of the king, is punished with death. There are no written laws, but such laws and customs which have been handed from their ancestors, especially those respecting relative duties, have become established laws.

“The right to the throne is hereditary, but exclusively to the male line, or to the male issue of the king’s daughter.

“The government is absolute, but it has been much modified since the kingdom has been divided into many independent states, by slave wars—into what may be called a limited monarchy, as the king is assisted in making laws and deciding matters by the elders, of whom six are the principal leading men, called *iweffa*. The same is observed in all nearly the petty states.

“The building of the king’s palace is thrown upon the nation, who yearly contribute materials for this purpose. The king is not supported by any fixed or standing revenue, but on fees, custom, and tribute, paid by his subjects. It was the king’s prerogative, in old time, to raise war, and that every third year, and a certain portion of the slaves and spoils taken in such wars was due to him. He employs some of his people in trade, and others in agriculture.

“Murder is punished with death: manslaughter, if well witnessed as accident, may escape with heavy fine.

“Serious theft is punished with death; petty thefts with whipping and fine; and, if it becomes habitual, the thief is liable to be sold away out of the country—something like banishment.

“Unchaste young women are branded with disgrace, and their characters suffer for ever: adultery is fined with a heavy sum of cowries.

"Parents are respected by their children, by whom they are cared for and provided in their old age: they think their duty towards their parents is not completed till they can give them honourable burial after their death.

"The system of pawning is prevalent in the country. In case of distress for cowries, one or more members of the family is pawned for a certain sum, from 20,000 to 60,000 cowries, according to the age and ability of the person pawned to work his time as the interest for that sum; or by fixing the interest, if paid in cowries, at 200 cowries every fifth day, 400 every ninth, or 800 cowries every seventeenth day, for every sum of 20,000 cowries principal on loan: when the principal advanced is paid, the interest by labour or cowries ceases.

"During the time of pawn service, the person so pawned, though he may reside in the house of his pawnee if a young person, yet he is not looked upon as the property of the lender of the money: in the time of sickness, or if he commits any crime, he is sent over to his relatives, who are responsible for the money due, and who also must bear the consequences of the state of his health and of his bad conduct. This makes a great difference between a slave and a pawn.

"The system of pawn, as it is practised in this country, has proved beneficial to thousands of families since slave-wars broke out with unbounded fury. It is very often the case, that, after war has destroyed a town, not only the property is lost, but a large portion of a family is also taken captive, to be sold into foreign slavery: those who fortunately escaped being caught having nothing remaining to ransom their captured relatives, have no other resource but this expedient, to pawn a certain number of the family for as many cowries as they need, to ransom their captured relatives from going into foreign slavery: thus thousands have been kept back from being removed out of the country. By conjoint persevering labour, they will soon pay the loan, and free themselves from their debts. Hence originated that significant proverb among the Yorubas, under the word *Ete*, in my Yoruba Vocabulary, second edition, which runs thus: *Aimete aimero ni imu enia meffa isingba egbaffa*—'Want of consideration and forethought made six persons pawn themselves for six dollars;' whereas, instead of taking six loans of one dollar each, if one of them had been put in pawn to work the interest of the loan of six dollars, the remaining five persons would have put their energy together to work out and soon pay the principal.

"The system of saving clubs is universal in

the Yoruba Country: the cowries so saved are not hoarded up, but put into immediate use. For instance, if there is a club of fifty persons, each member has to contribute at the rate of ten strings, or 400 cowries, every seventeenth day, at which time 500 strings or 20,000 cowries are collected: this sum is at once delivered to a member of the club who is most needy, to make use of as he desires. Thus it is continued till all the members have taken their share, and the round of fifty is wound up. This is a great inducement to industry, and is preventive of waste and unfrugality. Sometimes the members may consist of men and women, but most commonly each sex forms separate clubs of themselves.

"Since Lagos has ceased to be a slave-port trade has greatly increased; larger farms have been cultivated; many persons have become much better circumstanced than they were during the time the slave-trade prevailed in the country. Were the coercive measures adopted since 1851, to put an end to the trade on this coast, followed up, nothing more would have been heard of it now in the Bight; but it still exists, and is carried on at Porto Novo, Whydah, and Little Popo, westward of Lagos. Those chiefs with whom treaties have been made by Her Majesty's Government are not faithful to their engagement: they consider the papers they signed as if they were mere waste papers. Hence the slave-trading portion of the inhabitants of this country are using every possible means to unsettle the minds of those who have given it up through the influence of the British Government. Not long ago, the king of Dahomey sent large presents of slaves and other things to the Yoruba of Ijaye, Ago, and Ilorin, to ask their combination with him against the destruction of Abbeokuta, because it was through that place the white men have got a footing in the country, and the progress of their slave traffic has been obstructed: therefore the destruction of Abbeokuta would ensure again the revival of the slave-trade, which they now so much miss. This was the substance of his wicked message, but the people of Ilorin, being of better mind, betrayed the message and the messengers to the king of Abbeokuta.

"If those slave-ports above mentioned had been effectually stopped, the insinuation of the king of Dahomey would be less heeded in the interior: in fact, he would have no room for such insinuations to poison the minds of the better part of this country."

In the language of the Yoruba there is much that is of an interesting character. We refer such of our readers as may be desirous of information on this subject, to the very able Introductory Remarks prefaced by the late

Jamented Bishop Vidal to Crowther's Yoruba Vocabulary. We can only advert to the rich and abundant profusion of its proverbial sayings. This subject has been touched upon in previous articles,* and therefore we shall not now dilate upon it, although fully persuaded that it would well repay a renewed investigation. The national aphorisms are curious and interesting in themselves, from their pithy and pointed character. They are still more so, as exhibiting, not only the intelligence and discernment of the people, but "a degree of moral light," "presenting a lively comment on the words of St. Paul concerning the Gentiles, 'which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another.'" There is a recognition of God in His supremacy and watchful providence, as in the proverb, "Leave the battle to God, and rest your head upon your hand." And again, "God made different creatures differently;" and the salutation, "May God give you long life!" Thus the verb *grà*, "to take," "admit," "deliver," "save," "rescue," followed by *adurà*, "prayer," in Crowther's Vocabulary is marked, "to pray to God; not applicable to false gods." And again, "Behind and before the butterfly praises God, though when touched it crumbles into dust like a cinder." A reference to Mr. Crowther's paper, already introduced into this article, and the superstitions of the Yorubans, as there detailed, will show how grievously they have departed from this recognition of God, and have worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator. So, likewise, in these proverbs there will be found references to the mutual relation existing between man and man, and the reciprocal duties consequent on this, the excellence of truthfulness, and other social virtues; but this code of morality is not influential on the conduct of the people, and opposite practices prevail, as they themselves admit. Paul's delineation of heathen character, as given in Rom. i. 29—31, appeared to them so truthful, and exactly descriptive of their own state, that it was difficult to convince them that it had not been penned with a specific reference to themselves. One passage we insert from the Introductory Remarks to Crowther's Yoruba Grammar—"It is not uncommon among the Yorubas, under some injury, vexation, or disappointment, to commit suicide; either by taking some poisonous draught, sticking themselves with a poisoned arrow, or cutting their throats or bellies with sword or razor. Such are

generally looked upon as acts of bravery." We have here a people, like other heathen, "having no hope"—no such hope as will sustain in the hour of adversity—no "anchor of the soul, sure and stedfast, entering into that within the veil," and preventing man, when the tempest is high, from being wrecked on the rocks of despair: and why "no hope?" Because "without God in the world."

To bring them to the knowledge of that God, as revealed to sinners in His Son Jesus Christ, is the object of those labours which our Missionaries, for the last ten years, have been carrying forward in that country. We have thankfully to record that they have not been in vain; nay, that, when compared with the slow progress of other Missions during the first ten years of their existence, the results which have been yielded in this land have been "marvellous in our eyes." Settled congregations have been raised up in different directions.

At *Lagos*, where, in 1852, the British squadron met with so determined a resistance, the peaceful operations of the Missionary are satisfactorily progressing. The school, which was commenced in September 1852, under a beautiful shady tree, with twelve regular attendants, now contains 170 children, of whom 80 are country-born, 71 from Sierra Leone, 8 from the Brazils, and 9 children of the Plymouth Emancipados: so that in this school there is a mixture of Spanish, Brazilian, and Sierra-Leone emigrants, as well as native children, receiving instruction in English and Yoruba. Amongst other youths, there are two sons of Tapa, an attached war chief of Kosoke at Epè. Thus Lagos promises "in a few years, if properly attended to, to become another nursery, like the colony of Sierra Leone, from which the interior may be supplied with cultivated shoots from the old trees."

Amongst the adult population, also, there is a movement. In August last, after searching inquiry and strict examination, Mr. Crowther baptized forty adults, nine of them being liberated emigrants from Sierra Leone, and thirty-one native converts. The baptism took place during the afternoon service in Yoruba, before a crowded congregation, "all being brought together," writes Mr. Crowther, "to witness the solemn sight. I doubt not that many, as yet undecided, returned home with deep impressions on their minds. Among the baptized candidates were three persons, who were at one time proselytes to Mahomedanism." Bishop Weeks, we rejoice to say, in good health and spirits, reached this port, on his first visit to the Yoruba Missions, in the latter end of November; and, on the

* Vol. iii. pp. 115—120.

Lord's-day following his arrival, preached to a congregation of between 300 and 400 hearers. "Thus, by persevering labour, through God's blessing, Lagos may become a garden planted and watered by the Spirit of our Lord."

The heart of our work is at *Abbeokuta*. There, four distinct congregations assemble together on the Lord's-day, to unite in Christian worship with their brethren throughout the world. Our schools and churches are in full operation, and the work of conversion is going forward as rapidly as consists with genuineness. We have now before us the statistics of one of these congregations—the average attendance, morning and evening, 350; the communicants, 216. Our recent letters from Lagos inform us that the Rev. H. Townsend, accompanied by three European candidates, had left for *Abbeokuta*, and was to be followed immediately by the Bishop and the Rev. C. T. Frey, of *Sierra Leone*. We hope soon, therefore, to have stirring accounts to place before our readers.

The arrival of J. B. Dasalu at *Abbeokuta*, after his long captivity, had caused a great sensation. "He reached this town on the 13th November, and came at once up to *Aké*, accompanied by a great multitude of people, who were rejoicing, and firing guns. After he had taken some refreshment with us, and Messrs. King and Macaulay had come over from their stations, we went over to the king, and presented to him Dasalu, his son—*omo**—as having been taken captive by the king of *Dahomey*, but restored to him by the exertions and benevolence of the British Government, the Church Missionary Society, and Christian friends in England. Dasalu spoke then to the king, a great audience surrounding him. I hope to be able to give an abstract of his speech in my next journal."†

Of this station, and the work which is going forward there, the Rev. J. T. Wilson, in his history of *Western Africa*, remarks, "Perhaps there is no spot in the whole heathen world where the cause of Christianity and civilization has made more rapid progress than here during the last twelve or fifteen years."

Beyond *Abbeokuta*, the large towns *Ibadan* and *Ijaye* have been occupied by European Missionaries, and results have been yielded, as yet on a small scale, but in the face of hindrances of no ordinary magnitude.

Further in the interior, our out-posts have been pushed forward to various large towns, and native teachers placed there as preparatory to the advance of Europeans — *Awaye*,

Isein, a town of 20,000 people, and *Shaki*, of which details will be found in our Number for January 1856. Again, *Oyo*, or *Ago Oja*, the residence of *Atiba*, the present king of *Yoruba*. The Rev. D. Hinderer visited this place in May last, and was most kindly received by the king. Mr. Hinderer says—"On the first day we particularly introduced to him G. Williams, as the man who was to talk in his town until the white man should come to live there. He welcomed him very warmly, and knew him again as the messenger whom Mr. Gollmer once sent to him from *Lagos*. Williams spoke very much to the purpose about white man's teaching the word of God, the English people's kindness in liberating so many of his countrymen like himself, and the king was very much pleased with him. On another day, as the king was conversing with us, he observed a man sitting behind me, with European clothes on: he was an *Ijaye* man, with the name of James William, a *Sierra-Leone* emigrant, who had accompanied us from *Ijaye* to see his father, who is living in the farms near *Ago*. The king asked him to come forward, and to give an account of himself. James William then related the story of his being captured when his native town was destroyed, of his being sold, shipped by the Portuguese, captured and set free by the English. He spoke of all the English did for him, and so many of his countrymen, in *Sierra Leone*. The king was quite overcome at this narrative; and, turning ever so many times to his bashorun and other principal men about him, exclaimed, 'Now, listen! the word which the white man brings to us is good. Whoever will oppose it, ought to be killed, or driven from his country.' But when James William mentioned the name of his father in connexion with the destruction of his town, he exclaimed, 'Oh, I know him, and all the circumstances. Oh, war, war!' and he hid his face and wept. It was quite an affecting sight. Everybody was solemn, until the king broke silence again by asking me if I would allow him to make the man a little present. He then ordered half a head of cowries to be given him, after which our assembly broke up. Our last day's interview with him was equally encouraging. Once, after asking his elders around him if they did not entirely agree with him in wishing white people to come with the word of God into his town, and their usual reply, 'We wish all that the king wishes,' he looked at me, half smiling, and said, 'But you must not expect that all things will go right always, without any trouble, for there are many, very many big eyes;' implying that there must be opposition sometimes, when heathen and hea-

* "*Omo*—child, offspring, servant."

† Rev. J. A. Maser, November 27th, 1856.

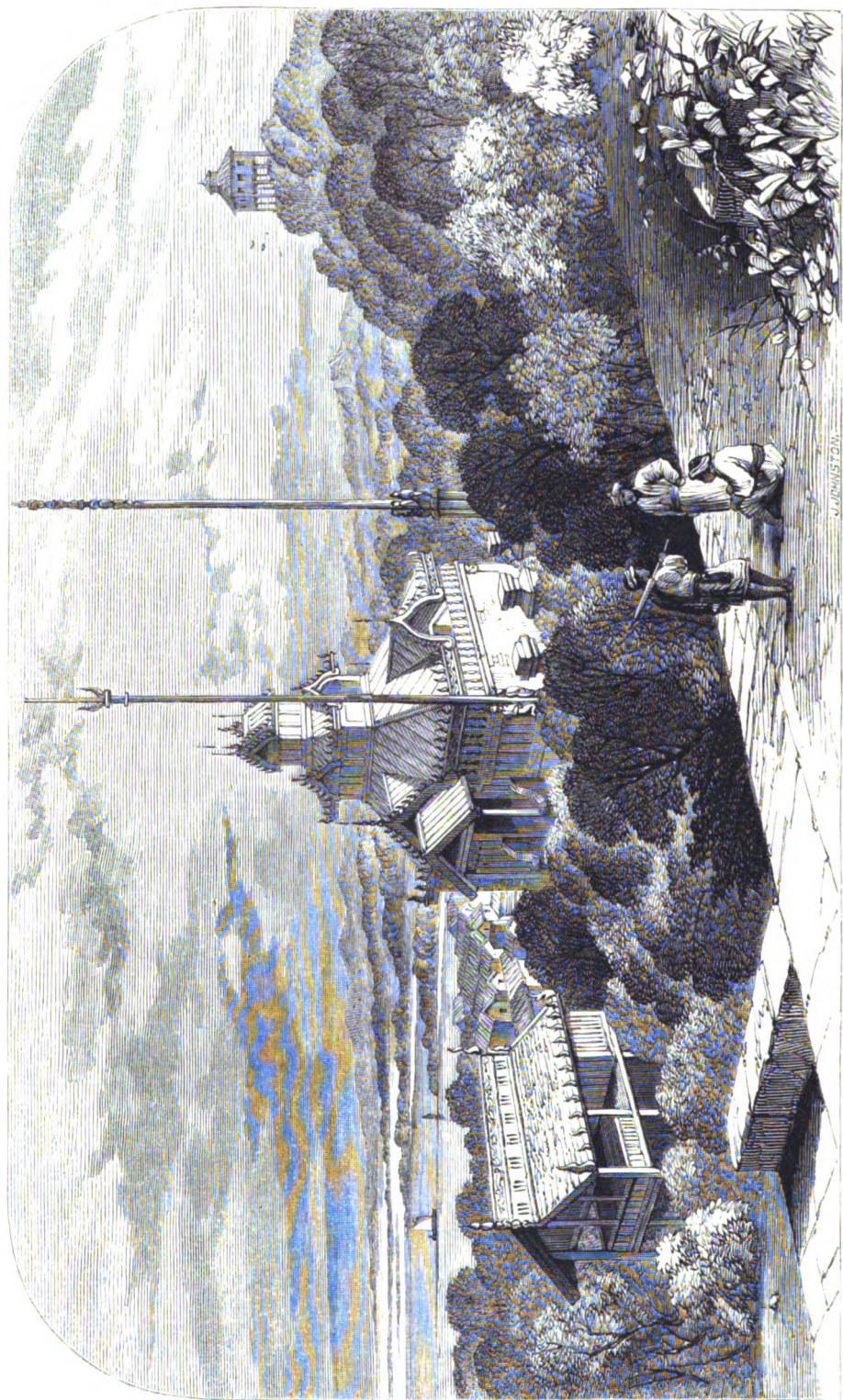
then priests' interests are at stake. In fact, our injuring the priestcraft is so well known and understood, wherever any thing of our teaching is known, that it is often a subject of conversation among a party of gossippers; and more than once have I heard them enjoying the joke. When, at last, we bade him good bye, he seemed scarcely to be able to bring his mind to the last adieu; which feeling was quite reciprocal, for we quite minded the parting after all his kindness and heartiness. He has also treated us most kindly, in supplying not only all our wants in food and cowries, both to us and to our people, servant and carriers, but made his messenger go with us to take home for us two sheep; besides, which he gave Mrs. Hinderer two very handsome and expensive country cloths, whereas we had only a piece of white damask to leave with him as a remembrance. He was much pleased with it though, but said our visit was more to him than any present."

More remotely, towards the Niger, *Ilorin* has been visited, and there we strike the great caravan routes into the interior. Our Missionary, Mann, met there with native merchants from Hausa, and Timbuctu; nay, even from Africa's northern coast, across the desert, an Arab trader had reached so far as Ilorin; and although, swayed by Mahomedan influence, the king declined to admit as yet the residence of the white man, yet we entertain no doubt of soon finding an entrance, if only the labourers be available, and we have the right men to put in the right place. Looking across the map from Ilorin towards the sea-coast, the *Ijesha Country* containing a population of between 100,000 and 200,000, has opened communication with the Missionaries, and in the *Ijebu* stations have been formed. Thus the whole country, as far as the extent of the ancient Yoruba kingdom, is rapidly opening, and the character of the Mission is that of advance. The national mind is being directed, with increasing attention, to the work and testimony for God which is being raised up in the midst of this heathen land. One indication of this, of a deeply-interesting character, occurs in the journal of our catechist at Otta, between Lagos and Abeokuta.

"Aug. 18, 1856—Two men, of the Egba tribe, came from one of the farming villages of Abeokuta, inquiring after me. Mrs. White told them I was not at home, and asked what was the matter. They replied, 'We have purposely come to hear God's word.' Mrs. White told them she was sorry they came a little too late, and that I had just gone out to speak the word of God. They replied, 'Cannot you speak a little to us?' She replied, that, as

she cannot speak the language well, she was afraid she might not be sufficiently understood. They earnestly continued, 'Do tell us a little about the word of God, for we are intensely athirst after it, and we have nobody to speak of it to us in the farm where we live.' She then directed them to one of our people, who but partially satisfied their real want, for they were very anxious to know when it would be the Lord's-day, that they might stay to hear more of these sacred truths. They, moreover, promised to make time to come always, and in a larger body. Here is an appeal! These men, with thousand others, are living a great many miles from Abeokuta, beyond the reach of the gospel. Might not provision be made, that these poor men, who are hungry and thirsty after the bread and waters of life, may be satisfied? Hundreds of other villages are about us, yet groping in darkness, and have never heard of the name of Jesus."

Our limits are exhausted. Other Missions there are which might with advantage have been mentioned, had space permitted. But this is impossible. Even our summary of the subject must be brief. Let our readers cast their eye over a map of the world, and regard these several Missions which we have specified—some in the eastern, some in the western hemisphere; some to the north, and some to the south, of the equator; some insular and some continental. Are they not of a central and influential character, commanding points, from which the gospel of Christ has already commenced to extend itself? Is it not remarkable that they are so widely separated, and thus constitute centres of operation for so many different portions of the globe? There was nothing of preconcert on the part of those who originated these Missions; and yet, as the initiatives of a grand general plan of operations affecting the whole world, are they not the very best which could have been selected? That there has been a selection we are persuaded; but it has been from a source higher than the intellect and discernment of man. We trace, throughout the whole arrangement, that supreme administration to which we adverted at the beginning of this article. In carrying out the grand procedure man has been but the instrument, and we doubt not, as the work expands and opens out from the obscurity in which every infantile work is involved, it will become more and more apparent to every contemplative mind, that the administrative action of the Holy Ghost is unmistakably discernible in the modern as well as the early Missions of the Church of Christ.



SCENE IN BURMAH—THIEN, OR SACRED TEMPLE, AND ZAYAT.

The Thien, in which are deposited Burmese deities, is in the centre, with its sacred posts. The Zayat is on the left. It is used as a caravanserai; and from it, also, the priests harangue their congregations.

RUPERT'S-LAND MISSION.

In our recent review of the leading Missions of our world there is one, which, from want of room, we were constrained to omit, remote in situation, yet eminently distinguished by the measure of blessing which has been bestowed on it, and the large evidence it affords of the restorative power of the gospel, even when brought to bear on the most deteriorated portions of the human race. The Mission to which we refer is that of Rupert's Land. Very ungracious it would be to withhold from it a prominent position in our pages, more especially in the presence of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, now in this country, whose prayers and energies have been so unsparingly expended on the Mission, and who, by his wise decision in admitting to ordination, without unnecessary delay, all suitable candidates, whether native or European, has in so important a manner contributed to the enlargement of the work. We postpone, therefore, other subjects, which would have claimed a prior attention, that we may introduce the Rupert's-Land Mission into that place which belongs to it amongst the leading and important Missions of the world.

In that region, sin and the gospel—in the results of which they are respectively productive—stand out in remarkable contrast with each other; the one as the bane of man, the other as the antidote; the one inflicting misery, curtailing life, degrading man individually and collectively, consigning individuals to an early grave, and nations to a sure extinction, unless its blighting influence be counteracted; the other, not despairing of men, even when reduced to the extreme of wretchedness, faithfully reproving, yet administering divine restoratives, and unweariedly persevering in its mission of benevolence, until they who had been the slaves of sin are raised to the honourable position of Christ's freemen, and the feeble vitality of degraded races, revived and invigorated, resumes its suspended action, and covers the old stock once more with leaves and fruit. In the marvellous details of such a history, "we have revealed the Saviour and the enemy of man in that antagonism which shall not terminate until 'the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.'"

In no part of the world has the ruinous influence of sin been more clearly marked than amongst the aboriginal races of the American continent. The vices of the white man became grafted on their own; and with augmented virulence the destructive element preyed upon them, until whole races became

extinct, and others rapidly diminishing, like withered leaves falling thickly before the chill blasts of approaching winter, foreboded that, at no distant period, the land of their inheritance would be occupied by the graves, instead of by the homes, of men. No sooner does the gospel obtain influence amongst a people, than it begins to act against that depopulating process, and finally arrests it. It has wrought this miracle—one only inferior to the raising of the dead to life—amongst other sections of the aborigines, within the limits of the United States. It is now accomplishing the same glorious results among the Crees of Rupert's Land. The Bishop's testimony on this point, as given to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, is decided and satisfactory, and we desire to thank God and take courage. Our mission of benevolence is no uncertain one. We are dispensing the true specific, that which God has provided, and which is pervaded by His power—"the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth"—that which can save souls, revive nations, and upraise a suffering world from the depth of misery in which sin has plunged it. The Missionary agencies in action throughout the earth are fulfilling an office analogous to that of John, the Lord's forerunner—they are preparing a way for the Lord, and making straight in the desert a highway for our God. Blessed results are attendant on their ministry, moral ameliorations expressed in the symbolical language, "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain," preparatory to the revelation of His glory, in whom all nations shall be blessed.

No more discouraging elements could have been selected to test the recuperative power of the gospel, than the aboriginal Indians of Rupert's Land. The inhabitants of a wintry climate, where the supplies of food are precarious, and where providence and persevering diligence are needed to husband every available resource, they were deficient in the very qualities which, in their circumstances, were indispensable. Needy wanderers over vast tracts, on which, even in those more favoured spots which would have yielded a return, no cultivation was bestowed; dependent on the uncertain supplies of fishing and the chase; now surfeited with abundance, and now suffering from positive starvation; with no better shelter during the intense winter cold than the tent, which afforded a pleasant home only

so long as summer lasted; without fixed dwelling or resources; their spiritual state a gloomy night of ignorance, full, as they believed it to be, of evil spirits, the objects of their superstitious dread; without the knowledge of God to cheer them amidst the tribulations of this life, and all beyond the grave a dark unknown—they presented a most pitiable spectacle. Their unsettled habits interfered with their instruction; for how was the Missionary to follow them, dispersed as they were, in little groups, over the face of a vast wilderness? To induce them to build houses, and, by the cultivation of the ground, furnish themselves with more permanent supplies than the casual results of venery, was the first step needful to be attempted; preliminary, indeed, to every other effort which might be made for their improvement. To accomplish this was an arduous undertaking: how much so, they can best testify who first attempted it. Our oldest Missionary in Rupert's Land, Archdeacon Cockran, in the following paper, has given us the results of his experience in the formation of the Indian settlement at the Red River—

“It is now twenty-four years since the attempt was first made to civilize and evangelize Indians on the banks of the Red River. The plan was projected and executed on principles of universal benevolence. It took no retrospective view of a man's character. He might, at some previous part of his history, have gone without food, through necessity, till he imagined some of the members of his family the wild beasts of the forest; and may, while in a state of delirium, have arisen and destroyed and devoured the objects of his affections as his prey. At other times he may have had his fears so harrowed up by superstition, as to mistake an aged relative for a bear, or some other animal, and, by a sudden impulse, taken a life, which he ought to, and would in other circumstances, have preserved. The catalogue of a man's vices was never taken into the account, when he offered himself as a candidate for reformation of manners and religion: all these were left to the gospel of Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, whether Jew or Greek, barbarian or Scythian. It was enough to answer our purpose that he was a man, possessed of our common nature, a rational being, with an immortal soul, and one for whom the Saviour died. And as such we treated him when he entered on a new mode of life. If pressed with hunger, he was fed gratuitously: if pinched with cold for want of clothing, his industry was directed into that channel which

would produce it at the least loss to his benefactor.

“When the erratic man of the forest made up his mind to change his habits, for the benefit of himself and rising progeny, he was assisted to build his house. He often began with his red body shining in the rays of the sun, and finished with it covered in the European form. In his first attempt to ‘trouble the ground,’ and make his honest and faithful mother support him, his axe and hoe for grubbing up roots, the fence to enclose the patch which he cleared, the ploughing of it, and seed to sow it, were all furnished as free as that gospel which was daily offered to him, without money and without price.

“If either the parents, or any member of the family, seemed to possess those social and provident qualities necessary for the preservation of a domestic animal, an ox or cow was given to them. If their destructive propensities raised our suspicions, they had the loan of them for an unlimited time. This precaution was often necessary, for we, more than once, had to rescue our offerings from the very horns of their festive altar. Also an ox, or cow-calf, would be given to the boys and girls who were likely to preserve them.

“The most important implement, and that which involved the most serious consideration, was the plough. This article could not be obtained at a less cost than five pounds sterling in cash. Nevertheless, the obstacle was surmounted. The share was purchased at one time, the coulter at another, and the iron for mounting the plough at a third. The last and great impediment was the blacksmith, and his ‘fire-gun.’ His ‘fire-gun’ never puffed for any sum less than one shilling. Often, when the Indian carried his iron to the forge, there it would lie untouched by the son of Vulcan till he had some better security for the reward of his toil than that which the red man could give.

“Notwithstanding all the obstacles which the profligacy, improvidence, and indolence of the Indian presented to oppose this scheme of true philanthropy and mercy, yet God has been so near to it, and so protected and preserved the good which was in it, that from year to year it has increased in numbers, in property, in knowledge, and in piety. The blessings of God which rested upon Israel, in the reign of one who governed them according to the will of the Lord, have rested upon this new settlement. Our cattle have increased and multiplied, and been strong to labour; plough after plough, and acre after acre, have been added to the stock of the Indian village. As the means of life have in-

creased, so also has our population. In the year 1832, the first attempt to cultivate the soil and locate the Indians was made. Three families were induced to make a feeble effort. In the year 1840, forty-seven Christian families, consisting of 256 individuals, were found worshippers of the true God, the creator of heaven and earth, the God of love, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and many of them walking in all His commandments and ordinances blameless. In the present year, 1856, when the census was taken in May, the population of this parish, and its dependencies, amounted to 125 families, consisting of 600 individuals; but these statistics do not exhibit the whole benefit conferred on the human family, by planting the standard of Christianity and civilization here. Many families have migrated from this place: some have gone on hunting excursions, and are now settled elsewhere; many of our young men have entered the Hudson's-Bay Company's service; some have migrated to the United States, and others to Oregon.

"The communicants of this station are 149; the greatest number present at one time, 140. Total number of baptisms administered in this parish in fifteen years, 545; total of deaths in the same time, 308: balance in favour of the increase of the human family, 237. When the Bishop of Rupert's Land administered the sacred rite of confirmation, seventy-two persons made a public confession of their faith before the church of God. There are also three day-schools in connexion with this parish, which communicate a large amount of useful and scriptural knowledge, particularly during the winter months, to 123 children. In the summer the attendance is irregular, owing to the various agricultural operations, in which the children act an important part.

"This is a brief survey of the beneficial effects of united efforts for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indian race. When both are applied in their proper place, God crowns them with His blessing. The perceptible good which accrues to the body of the untutored barbarian is like the wine and oil which the good Samaritan poured into the wounds of the half-dead man: it weakens his prejudices against the white man, his religion, and his God. And when his stern, insensible, and selfish feelings have been softened, and quickened into life, by disinterested benevolence, he feels his soul the subject of new and strange emotions, which change his opinion of nature and of nature's God. He finds no difficulty in believing that the man who is good, and does good, serves a

good God. He will naturally conclude that it is the goodness of the God which has somewhat changed the character of the man. The barbarian cannot examine the evidence of history, of prophecy, and of miracles, to convince him of the excellency of the Divine nature, and the truth of the Christian religion. The life of the Missionary is the only evidence which, at first, will have weight with the heathen in favour of Christianity. When the heathen daily experience disinterested kindness, they have new thoughts of man, of God, and religion. They discover that they are not what they ought to be. They perceive, that if a rational being, partaking of the same nature as themselves, can be so moved by some invisible power as to seek after their happiness disinterestedly, the Master of Life may have had thoughts of pity and compassion for them, and provided a remedy for their misery before they were aware of their danger.

"When they are led by the Spirit of God to reflect upon their past history, they are convinced of sin. When they attempt the work of reformation, they soon discover, by their frequent lapses, that man requires supernatural aid to deliver him from this condition of imperfection and misery in which he lies. Hence they discover the need of the blood of Christ to cleanse their souls from sin; the necessity of being born again from above, that they may be made partakers of a divine nature, whereby they may obtain a new disposition, and be able to love God and love man. The number of families drawn together, by the Spirit of God working with the means which He has appointed, clearly prove that God has not forgotten to be gracious to His church. The success is sufficiently encouraging to excite us to perseverance. Godliness, fairly exhibited by a patient continuance in well-doing, conquers the apathy and prejudice of the heathen, and leads to inquiries which end in their reformation, and perfect surrender of their souls and bodies into the hands of that Saviour who has redeemed them, with the price of His blood, from the power of sin, from death, and hell. The gradual increase of population shows that the doom of the red race is not so desperate as is sometimes supposed. We admit that the annual waste of life of the red man, in his natural state, is fearful, but it springs from natural causes. We need not call in the secret purposes of the Governor of the universe to help us to solve the difficulty. He dies from the same cause under which the Irish perished in 1847. And I believe every Englishman in the world would perish if sub-

jected to the same experiments. The Indian is such a wild-ass man as I think you could scarcely have found upon the earth in the days of Job. He subsists principally upon animal food. Yet in hundreds of miles of territory the Indian has killed all the large animals which served him for food. He is barbarous, he is ignorant, he is poor. He cannot locate or civilize himself. He cannot stay by a potato or corn-field in summer, that he may eat the fruits in winter. No, hunger drives him away.

"I have often thought that the destiny of the human family in this country more resembles that of the wild animals of the forest, than that of rational beings. In seasons when certain districts are flooded, then the musk rats multiply amazingly. A few years of drought gradually diminish the depth of water in the swamps. When these are reduced to three feet of water, they freeze to the bottom, and then whole families of musk rats perish. In other districts, where there is abundance of long grass, the mice increase with astonishing rapidity. They being the principal food of the foxes and martens, these now multiply, and appear numerous as long as their food is abundant. When floods or fires destroy the nestling-places of the mice, the foxes and martens become few in number. Some seasons are propitious to the rabbits. The prolific powers of these are known to every one. When they occupy a district in great numbers, the lynx follows in succession. The wild man preys upon all the different tribes which people the earth. He is the great master of prey, but subject to the same law as all the inferior animals. When he finds food in abundance he gathers it, and his race increase and multiply. But they soon overtake the quantity which nature provides. They pine, droop, sicken, and die. It was never the intention of the benevolent Creator of the universe that man should degenerate into a wild beast; but if he voluntarily chooses this state, it is the decree of God that he shall never multiply, and replenish the earth. He shall be under the same law as the beasts of prey—few in number, solitary, and miserable. If the red race were placed in the nursery of Christianity and disinterested civilization, they would double their number in thirty-eight years."

By Archdeacon Cockran's persevering exertions, the Indian Settlement was thus formed in the year 1832. Eight years subsequently, when the first experiment, having survived the trials and discouragements to which it was exposed, might be considered as having taken root, a new attempt was made at Cum-

berland. From this, as from a centre, Missionary action has branched out in different directions; in a north-westerly direction, to the English river, the border line between Crees and Chepewyans; in a south-westerly direction, to the Nepowewin, in the direction of the plains; and in a north-easterly direction, to Moose Lake. Besides these, in a north-westerly direction from the Red River, Fairford, on the western shore of the Manitoba lake, was formed, and a commencement made at Fort Pelly, on the route from the Red River to Fort Carlton. On the canoe line to Moose Fort, James' Bay, Fort Alexander, and Lac Seul, have been occupied; while Moose Fort itself and York Factory, on the western shore of Hudson's Bay, have become important centres for their respective districts, from whence branch stations are being formed in different directions. The country is thus becoming gradually covered with a net-work of Missionary operations. The more advanced settlements constitute so many oases in the desert, on which the mind rests with satisfaction, and where the Indian may be found altogether different from his former self—a new man, actuated by new principles, and, in despite of the difficulties connected with old habits and associations, exhibiting more and more, in his daily walk, the bearing and deportment of a Christian man.

Let us glance at these points *seriatim*. And, first, the Grand Rapids station, at the Red River. Here the Missionary in charge, Archdeacon Hunter, ministers to a mixed congregation of settlers and half-breeds, besides some of pure Indian blood, in a noble stone church, well filled every Lord's-day with attentive and devout worshippers, where the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance. Around the Lord's table nearly 200 communicants assemble to celebrate the dying love of their Lord and Saviour. The services are occasionally in Cree, for the benefit of those to whom that language is familiar. The district, or parish, consists of a continuous line of houses for nearly ten or twelve miles along the bank of the Red River, the number of the inhabitants being over a thousand. There is an admirably-appointed school at the Grand Rapids church, which may be considered, from its effectiveness, a model school for the whole Mission.

A new settlement, which may be regarded as an offshoot from the Grand Rapids, has been formed at a place called Portage la Prairie. It has been the work of Archdeacon Cockran, and the mode pursued has been similar to that adopted by him some twenty-

five years ago at the Indian Settlement. Year after year a few families have been settled, and an interesting flock has been gathered in the wilderness. La Prairie was visited by the Archdeacon in May of last year. He found there eighteen Indian families who "had just arrived, with the intention of gradually changing their mode of life. They offered themselves candidates for civilization. They were unanimous in the opinion that an attempt of this kind was necessary for the preservation of themselves and families, owing to the great difficulty of obtaining a sufficient quantity of food. They proposed to locate, and learn the art of agriculture, and such other arts as were necessary for their preservation. They solicited axes, hoes, ploughs, seed of all kinds, and to be assisted in building their houses. Here was a noble work of humanity, of disinterested benevolence, presented to us. And the injunction of our blessed Lord was not forgotten, 'Do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again.' The citizens of La Prairie are all poor, all half-breeds and Indians; yet this work of charity was promptly and thankfully undertaken. Twenty bushels of wheat were furnished, and sown gratuitously, for the benefit of the Indians, by different individuals, who came forward and gave cultivated land in their fields for the purpose. Some gave the sowing of one bushel, and others of two, according to their ability. About sixty bushels of potatoes were distributed among them, and planted in the same manner. Many of these families look with a propitious eye upon Christianity. I hope that, at some future period, they will understand and be led to embrace it. Others have strong prejudices. The powers of darkness have firmly persuaded large numbers, that if they forsake the customs and gods of their ancestors they will die. But, through the tender mercies of our God, some cast off this evil influence, break loose from the fetters of barbarism and the fears of superstition, and offer themselves as worshippers and followers 'of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world.'" Three families from amongst the number soon offered themselves as candidates for baptism, and were received on the occasion of the Bishop's visit in June last. "Thus we have another Christian church springing into life in the wilderness. How cheering is the sound of the church-going bell, when it sounds forth its notes to invite the people to present themselves in the presence of Him who hears and answers prayer! Our little flock consists of thirty families, amounting to 198 individuals, who have built houses, and cultivate land, and above twenty

erratic families, many of whom, in course of time, will join themselves unto the people of God, and become joint heirs of the heavenly inheritance."*

At Cumberland "the Indians are induced to build more houses every summer, to meet the increase of population. The church is well filled every Lord's-day when the Indians are all at home, and not employed in hunting, trapping, &c. The services on Sundays, as well as on the week-days, are conducted in the native language, and have been well attended. The Cree language is now reduced to writing, and most of the Prayer-book translated and printed. The young men and the young women leaving the schools are able to read the English and the Cree too; and join in the responses of the church, which makes them doubly interesting. The duties of the station assume more of a parochial aspect. No heathen rites, no sound of drum, are to be heard in the neighbourhood: that, we trust, has died away for ever here, and the more peaceful sounds of prayer and praise have occupied its place."† The number of communicants at this station, when the Indians are all at home, amounts to upwards of 100.

Our native Missionary here, the Rev. H. Budd, during the year which has just elapsed, has been called to pass through the deep waters of domestic tribulation, those times of bereavement by which the Christian is exercised, weaned from the world, and prepared for a happier inheritance. After lingering illness, a daughter, to whom he was much attached, a child of meek and Christian spirit, was taken from him. A father's heart, still smarting under the stroke, thus breathes forth its sorrows—"It is now just a month this day since my little girl went to heaven. Every thing connected with her removal is still fresh on my mind. I find I cannot soon forget, and I do not wish to forget her. It makes me think often of where she is, and makes me long to be with her. There is indeed a secret in the ways of God with His own children which none others know. Oh! the hand which has so deeply wounded alone can heal; that love which has seen it needful in very faithfulness to afflict so sorely, alone can comfort. The language of my heart would be, I will go down to the grave to my child, mourning. Comfort I would not wish for, so much as that this bereavement may be sanctified to me. I feel that I have been too long, much too long, looking for comfort and enjoyment here. When driven from one idol

* Archdeacon Cockran.

† Rev. H. Budd.

I have turned to another, still longing for something earthly to take pleasure in. I pray that God may bless this affliction to me by weaning my affections from these idols, which cannot profit in the day of trial."

Thus disciplined himself, he is the better fitted to minister consolation to others. It is interesting, in the perusal of Mr. Budd's journal, to accompany him on his visits to the sick and afflicted, and to behold manifestations of Christian faith and patience not inferior to those we meet at home: in one house a sufferer long under the chastening hand of God, yet submissive and trustful in that Saviour of whom she said, "He is every thing to me;" in another house, one recovering from dangerous illness, with a heart full of gratitude for the sparing mercy of Almighty God; and in another, parents bending over a child hopelessly smitten with sickness, yet resigned to the will and pleasure of the Lord. Special mention is made of the demise of one decided Christian, the first who received the gospel on the commencement of the station by Mr. Budd in 1840. Having a numerous family, he at once brought them with him to attend the opportunities afforded for instruction, both on the Lord's-days and week-days, so that the Missionary was helped to maintain his ground against those who would have hindered him. He had persevered in a Christian profession during fifteen years, and, supported in the hour of death by faith in his Redeemer, he was found at the last calm and tranquil. Very exemplary is the patience and humble resignation of these poor Christians under various phases of affliction, and justly may their pastor exclaim, "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting."

This is a wintry land. The summer suns are brief, and soon exhausted, and then stern winter resumes his sway. In the beginning of October the indications of his approach are accelerated—a strong wind, cold and bleak, blows from the north. The ground becomes white with snow, and all hands are occupied in taking up the potato crop before the frost has spoiled it. Yet on the Sabbath there is rest, and the Indians gather together to unite in prayer, and receive instruction from God's holy word, "here a little and there a little" of His most precious truth, "precept upon precept, line upon line," not in an unknown tongue, which they cannot understand, but in the familiar language of their homes. At this period of the year the Mission fall boat is expected, which brings with it letters from distant friends, and supplies from England. There is many a look out for it, as the wea-

ther grows more cold, and the Indians gather in to the station from their hunting and fishing grounds. At last the loud cry is heard, "The boat, the boat!" and letters from Christian friends in England cheer the heart of the lone Missionary, and cause him to exclaim, "I thank God who has put into the hearts of those dear friends to take such interest in me and in my work. It was quite overwhelming to think that these dear servants of God, who, because they loved God, loved us also, and who, although we have never seen them in the flesh, yet love us, do all they can to help us and further our work, by sending us their liberal contributions to relieve our wants, and the wants of our poor people. May the Lord abundantly bless and reward them, both here and hereafter!"

Occasional visits are made to the out-stations, and this when winter is falling thickly round. The weather is cold, and the sky threatens to pour down a shower of snow. The men have to paddle hard to keep warm, and, putting ashore as daylight fails, set up the tent and kindle a large fire. The steersman pitches his canoe by means of a lighted torch, and, after supper, the day and its toils are closed in prayer. No prolonged slumbers refresh them. The severe night cold wakes them early: by the light of a large fire the canoe is launched, and progress made before the dawn of day. But new obstacles arise. The river is found to have taken, and is fast with ice. The voyagers have to travel through the woods, each taking a part of the cargo; and at length, after much fatigue, their destination is gained. Then there is compensation: instead of wintry influences, sealing up the circulation of nature, the invigorating influences of Christianity are liberating men's hearts from the icy selfishness which hardens them towards God and towards man. Such a promising spot is Moose Lake, under the charge of an Indian catechist, John Umferville. Notwithstanding great discouragement from their heathen relatives, five families have boldly professed Christ, and persevere in diligent attendance on the means of grace. As an evidence of permanent occupation, a strong framework Mission-house has been erected. Its commencement is thus described by Mr. Budd, July 14, 1856—"All hands to the wood this morning. We selected a nice point of rocks, which commands a fine view of the lake and surrounding objects. A few yards from the spot stands a large Mittawin tent, devoted to the service of the devil. I set my own two men to dig the place for the foundation to the very rock, so that it will be, literally

speaking, a house built on a rock. The place is a beautiful spot, and, with the Mittawin tent close by, the house will form a considerable contrast."

Passing over the minor stations, on which time will not permit us to dwell, we transfer our readers to Moose Fort, on the southern shore of James' Bay. At this spot the congregation of Christian natives is considerable, when they are assembled at the station; but there are periods of several weeks when the greater number of them are absent at their hunting grounds. The use of the syllabic characters has proved a great blessing to our Christian natives here and elsewhere in Rupert's Land, enabling them to carry into the far-off wilderness portions of God's word, which taste the more sweet to hungry souls who are separated from other means of grace. In order to facilitate the supply of books to the Indians, we forwarded to our Missionary at this station, the Rev. J. Horden, a printing press. One day, in the early part of the year, as he was in his printing room, the Indians came to bid him farewell. "It was the first time they had seen me at work, and their surprise was very great at seeing me take up the types and arrange them in my composing stick. They being intelligent men and good readers, we had a long conversation on printing, and its advantages to mankind, and of the love borne towards them by friends in England, who had sent out all they saw for their good. I exhorted them to endeavour to build each other up, and to do all the good that lay in their power to their relatives and countrymen."

Separating after Christmas, the Indians do not assemble again in large numbers until Easter. Then the services become well attended, and the congregations large and interesting. We shall introduce, from Mr. Horden's journal, the passages which refer to this season of the year. "*Thursday, March 20th*—I met the Indians to-day in church, and was glad to see a tolerably large number. I called on one of them to address God in prayer, which he did in a very feeling manner, thanking God for enabling him to see the church once more, and requesting help that he might be enabled to live more and more to His glory. He was very fervent, expressed himself very intelligently, and, I trust he will receive the blessings he so much longs for. *Friday, March 21st*—The day of our Saviour's crucifixion. Held three services, which were well attended. Many Indians had come in, and their earnest attention evinced how deeply they considered the event, the commemoration of which had brought them

together. The darkness, the rending of the rocks, the earthquake, the cry of our Lord in His last agony, might well fix their attention, if they reflected that it was all for them. *Saturday, March 22d*—I met the Indians at the church again to-day, and spent much happy time with them. I was glad to observe a growing in grace in several of them, certain acts having been recommended to them on a former occasion, which, having followed, they now testify how beneficial they had proved. *Sunday, March 23d*—I had exceedingly well-attended services, at both English and Indian, the church being nearly full. Only one Indian at the place was absent, and he, poor fellow, was too ill to move. Fifty-three gathered around the table of the Lord. In the evening I visited the poor sick man, conversing with him on what was celebrated that day, and read to him such portions of Scripture as were calculated to raise his spirits, and fill his mind with joy and thankfulness on account of what had been accomplished for him as on this day."

From this station two distant points are regularly visited, Rupert's House to the northeast, and Albany to the north-by-west. At both places there are occasionally many Indians, more particularly at the latter. After eight days' sojourn there, Mr. Horden thus recapitulates the results of his labours—"I found a large number of Indians assembled at Albany, many of whom are Roman Catholics, and attend on the ministrations of their priests. The greater number of my Indians were here, and I met them in the cooper's shop, which was placed at my disposal. As a body, I have found improvement in them, and have been unable to discover, as on a former occasion, a jealousy existing among them as to who shall be considered chief. Most of my people have been very attentive to the word of truth, and have evinced an earnest desire to increase in knowledge and spirituality, and have been constant in the services I have held for them. My services were numerous, and had for their aim the benefit of four different classes, the Indians of Albany, the Saulteaux from the inland posts, Osnaburgh and Lac Seul, the children of the establishment, the servants at Albany and their families, together with the servants of the inland posts just mentioned. I occasionally visited the Lac Seul Indians at their encampment. During these interviews I had a little insight into the fears of this body of men. I saw one man with a book in his hand. I endeavoured to show him its use, and proposed writing his name for him in the syllabic characters. The proposition startled him:

he turned exceedingly pale, and would not tell me what it was. Then, fearing that a young boy who was with me would tell me, he requested him not to do so. He was afraid his reputation, perhaps his life, would be endangered, if the minister knew his name and wrote it down! Such, I presume, were his ideas. I then wrote my own name; but that had not the effect of subduing his fear. I feel much for those Indians, for they are an interesting race. Of all the Indians I have seen, and they are many, those of Lac Seul are by far the finest. They are tall, well-proportioned, with fine, regular features, and speaking what is considered the pure Saulteaux in a calm and highly-dignified manner, without the slightest hesitation or hurry, leading one to believe that they are very intelligent. If they could but be led to cast off their superstitious fears, and to embrace the gospel, what a delightful body of Christians they would become!"

We must now look to that portion of these cold tracts known by the name of East Main, intervening between the eastern shore of Hudson's Bay and Labrador, and direct the attention and sympathy of our readers to a valuable Missionary brother, his wife and child, who, for the last four years, have been stationed at one of the Company's posts, called Fort George, with a view to usefulness amongst the Indians and Esquimaux of those regions. Certainly, amidst the wide range of the Society's operations, we know of no Missionary who has been placed in such cheerless circumstances. If a dreary and barren land, so niggardly in its supplies of food that, both to Europeans and natives, partridges and rabbits form the main winter support, so that, if these prove scarce, as was the case last winter, starvation scourges the wild wanderers of the wilderness, and occasions dreadful acts of cannibalism; if opportunities of usefulness so peculiarly contracted, that for many successive Sabbaths during the long winter three or four persons, two of whom are children, are all the natives available for instruction, and which never expand beyond a congregation of eighty as the maximum, and that only for three Sundays in the year; if the places of rendezvous, where the Indians assemble in larger numbers at certain seasons, are some 240 miles distant, and, when his heart is set upon this journey, the Missionary finds himself, from want of provisions, unable to go forward; if the Indians who do visit the Fort remain a fortnight, and then disappear for an entire year, so that, on their return, the instructions previously given are found to be nearly obli-

terated, and scarcely a trace of them left; if, in all this, we have a picture of Missionary labour, and its attendant difficulties, at Fort George, then have we before us one of the most cheerless positions to be found throughout the Missionary field. The more we have to admire the patience, perseverance, and cheerfulness of effort, which have distinguished our brother and sister at this lonely and far-off place, where communication with their nearest neighbours at Moose Fort occurs no more than three or four times in a year. Let our clerical friends throughout the country peruse the following entry in Mr. Watkins' journal, and compare it with their own sphere of usefulness at home—"For many weeks in succession not a single Indian pays a visit to the Fort; and as the number constantly resident here consists only of a young woman and a girl, all efforts for the spiritual welfare of this scattered race must be confined to these two individuals, unless excursions can be taken to the neighbouring tents, which is a matter of considerable difficulty, especially when, as during the past winter, there is so great a scarcity of country provisions." But side by side with this let us place the record of his Christian experience, and perhaps we may find ourselves as inferior to him in contentedness, and patient waiting upon the Lord, as in advantages of position we are placed far above him. "We are here deprived of many comforts and enjoyments which more civilized parts of the world afford, but yet our God graciously imparts much happiness, and enables us not only to be reconciled to our lot, but also to think but little of the more favoured portion of many of our brethren in the Mission field. Hardships and trials of one sort or another are of such frequent occurrence, that we begin to regard them as a matter of course, and it is our wisdom to make as little as possible of them: besides, time has so accustomed us to many of the *roughs* of this country, that they are endured without contrasting them for a moment with the luxuries of our native land." A flower—crocus or snowdrop—blooming in the midst of snow, is a pleasing contrast, on which the eye rests with a peculiar feeling. Here we have the reality which it symbolizes—dreary circumstances indeed, yet, in the midst of them, godliness with contentment, which is great gain. If the opportunities of usefulness have been few, they have been the more prized and diligently improved. The following extract exemplifies this—"April 5th—Two inland Indians came to the post this afternoon. They are the first whom we have seen since the winter set in, more than five months ago. When avail-

ing myself this evening of the opportunity of instructing them, I was grieved, though not surprised, to find how lamentably ignorant they were of the precious truths of our holy religion. They had also forgotten the little they ever knew of the syllabic characters. As they were suffering slightly from snow-blindness, I could only occupy about a quarter of an hour in teaching them to read, and then devoted the time to the explanation and enforcing of some of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. I feel it to be of the utmost importance that every lecture to these poor creatures should exhibit as its most prominent feature the grand truth, 'that God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself;' and I hope it may be said in truthfulness, that no Indian is ever present, even for one evening's instruction, without hearing this saving message declared. Many moral and relative duties may be, and necessarily must be, passed over in silence, during the short and rare opportunities that I enjoy of teaching these wanderers; but if they be told of the power and willingness of Christ to save all that trust in Him, I know that they bear sufficient of God's truth to result in their eternal salvation, if only the message be effectually applied to their hearts by the influences of the Holy Spirit." This is true. The grand gospel truth referred to above is the seed: let this be planted in the heart, and, germinating there, it will not fail to bear fruit. It would be well if all who are placed in spheres of ministerial usefulness were as fully convinced that this is the regenerating principle, whose reception into the heart must initiate all true improvement in the character of man—"Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." It is what all need, whether the civilized and affluent at home, or the friendless wanderer over the wildernesses of our world, in order that the tribulations of earth may open out into a glorious immortality. How many waste time and opportunity in effecting, with inferior instrumentalities, superficial changes in the condition of human nature, which leave it in its natural ignorance of God, and estrangement from Him!

If the extreme of destitution constitute a claim for compassionate interference, we cannot wonder that the hearts of our Missionaries yearn over these poor destitutes, with so much privation in this world, and no hope as to the next. "April 15th—An Indian woman has been at the Fort to obtain a small

supply of provisions for herself and family, as they are reduced almost to a state of starvation. She left her husband and three children with nothing whatever for their day's subsistence but one squirrel. She stated that many of the Indians are in great distress, through the failure of scanty provisions this winter." And again. "April 22d—This morning an aged Indian, with two of his sons, arrived at the post, in hope of obtaining some provisions, as they are in great want. I instructed them this evening, and was pleased to find that something had been remembered that they had heard on former visits. They gave distressing accounts of their scarcity of food during the winter, and said that yesterday, on leaving their tent, all that they had for a family of six persons to subsist upon during their absence was two small fishes."

It was principally with a view to usefulness among the Esquimaux that our Missionary was located at this advanced station. The opportunities of intercourse with them are, however, much fewer than was expected. They do not visit this post in any considerable numbers; and the great scarcity of provisions which so frequently prevails interferes with visits to the Little Whale River, where, early in the spring of the year, they are accustomed to assemble. Our Mission at East Fort appears like a detached outpost pushed forward too far in advance, cut off from supplies, and, so far from being in a position to prepare the way for new efforts, unable to maintain itself. It would be better to fall back upon a more certain basis of operation, Rupert's House, for example, where, although the distance by which the Esquimaux are separated from us would be increased, yet the supplies requisite for a journey could be procured, and, during the summer, visits might be paid to the East Main and the two Whale Rivers, the parties being well equipped for the undertaking. A commencement of usefulness has been made by Mr. Watkins, in his having secured the services of the Esquimaux youth, Peter, who, as an interpreter, is most useful, and through whom our Missionary is attaining a knowledge of the language. As, therefore, the measure of our line has stretched so far as to touch this people, it is to be hoped that we shall not let them go. We must be satisfied to commence with small beginnings. Our initiative may be as the feeble spark with which a fire is first ignited, yet, weak and languid as it is in the first instance, it may be cherished until it becomes strong. A few of this people, brought under Christian influence and instruction, might commence an

itinerating Mission amongst their countrymen: one object of which should be, to introduce amongst them the knowledge of the syllabic characters, and, when they had learned to read, leave with them lithographed portions of the Scripture in that character. The facility with which the system is acquired, and its adaptation to the necessities of a Mission where the opportunities of affording instruction are so brief, indicate its serviceableness, and the desirableness of furnishing the different stations with the necessary apparatus, so that full advantage may be taken of it. We consider Rupert's House, York Factory—of which we shall speak presently—and Church-Missionary Point, English River, as the furthest advanced points of permanent occupation. Beyond these, as well amongst the Esquimaux as amongst the Chepewyans, northward of the Missinippi, the work must be done by colportage, and, through the syllabic characters, the faculty of reading and writing, and all its great advantages, be extended far as the shores of the Polar Sea. The Indians in Mr. Watkins's district are becoming so conversant with the syllabic characters, that epistolary correspondence has commenced among them. "Jan. 8, 1856—This morning an Indian young man arrived from a tent about eighty miles distant to the south, and brought me a packet of no fewer than six letters, written by his father and other persons in the tent. They were all very short, except two, and were not written very correctly. Still, the effort which has been made is pleasing. The knowledge of the syllabic characters which many of the Indians have acquired has introduced them to a new and interesting employment, that of correspondence. Their epistles are, as yet, but crude and infantile productions; but the very fact of their existence is a proof of some advance towards civilization having been made by these wanderers."

The Esquimaux, in intelligence, contrast favourably with the Indians of East Main. "There is a striking difference between this race and their neighbours, the Indians. These latter never venture to make any remark, and very rarely go so far as to testify their assent by a grunt; and when a question is asked, it is with difficulty that so much as a 'Yes' or 'No' answer can be elicited; whilst the Esquimaux, with their characteristic vivacity, frequently cause a moment's interruption by making some statements of their own; and, at the close of almost every sentence they hear, make use of some of their numerous ejaculatory expressions to signify their emotions of joy, sorrow, or surprise. 'Illah!' 'Ounah!'

'Arksook!' are terms with which an English ear becomes familiar in a few moments' intercourse, and which, by their peculiarly forcible utterance, never fail afterwards to be intimately associated in the mind with the smiling face of a fur-clad Esquimaux."

The few opportunities of conveying instruction to the Esquimaux were marked with so much interest, that, in perusing a few notices from Mr. Watkins's papers, our readers, we doubt not, will find themselves uniting with our Missionary in sympathy for this people, and in earnest longings that, by some means or other, in the good providence of God, the gospel may reach forth to them. "Jan. 19, 1856—This morning I spent an hour and a half with an Esquimaux youth, who has come, on the Company's business, from Little Whale River. I have never seen him before, so that the message of redeeming love, which it was my privilege to convey, was entirely new to him. He listened with deep and fixed attention, and repeatedly gave his assent, or indicated his surprise, by the use of some of the expressions by which his race show that they understand the remarks which are made. He seemed very anxious to acquire a knowledge of the syllabic characters; but, as his stay will be but for a few days, I fear he will not make very great advances in the art of reading, as he has never till now seen a word written in his own language." Again. "Jan. 22—This afternoon two parties of Esquimaux arrived at the Fort. After a short rest, they commenced the usual work of erecting their ingeniously-contrived igloes at a little distance from our stockades, whilst most of the members of our little community performed the 'looking-on-part,' feeling much interested in the proceedings of these original builders—original both in the material they use and the method they adopt. This evening I had the party assembled for the purpose of giving them instruction. One of the families I have seen before on several occasions, as they always remain on the coast, and have visited this post three or four times since my arrival in 1852. I was much pleased to find that both the man and the woman could tell me the name of our Saviour, and could repeat very accurately a short prayer which they learned on former visits. The man, who, on account of having lost one of his eyes, is known amongst the European residents by the name of 'One-eye,' possesses a remarkably quiet disposition; and, indeed, both he and his wife exhibit so many pleasing traits of character, that they are regarded as especial favourites by all the settlers. I cannot but hope that the good seed may

take deep root in their hearts, and, in due time, bear fruit to the glory of God. They manifest much anxiety to learn, and seem to take great pleasure in listening to the wondrous narrative of our Saviour's boundless love." Once more. "*Feb. 16*—A little incident, which occurred before the Esquimaux took their departure this morning, showed the deep sense of gratitude which, generally speaking, this race entertain. One of the women, entirely unsolicited, had been at the trouble of making a very neat pair of seal-skin shoes, as a present for my little boy, which was intended as a return for a little food she had received a time or two. Shoes or boots of seal-skin are as valuable an article for European wear as any that these people make, and, being waterproof, are very useful during the spring of the year, when the melting snow neither suits an Indian moccasin nor an English boot." Mr. Watkins mentions

having received from Moose some selections from the Gospels, prepared by him for the use of the Esquimaux, and printed in the syllabic character.

We are accustomed to read Missionary despatches from various quarters of our globe, some from densely-populated countries, where the seed is sown amongst multitudes; but we never remember to have read one which has so deeply impressed us as this journal from Fort George, which we have just reviewed. The anxiety to benefit a few souls is here as intense as, in crowded localities, to benefit the many. The grand object of the true Missionary, "to seek and to save that which is lost," stands forth in its true magnitude; and we are reminded of the value of one soul, and the Missionary's conviction of it.

Our station at York Fort must be deferred to our next Number.

MISSIONS IN BURMAH.

IN our review, last month, of the leading Missions of our world, a place was given to the Karen Mission. Our notice of it was of necessity brief, yet enough to awaken a desire for more information. That wish we have now the opportunity of gratifying; for while the previous matter was in the press, there reached us, from our valued friend, M. Wylie, Esq., of Calcutta, a series of papers, containing details of the work which is going forward among both Karens and Burmans, introduced by some prefatory remarks of his own. They consist of letters from the American brethren themselves, and from various parts of the field, Rangoon, Prome, Bassein, &c. They have not been thrown into a continued narrative, but are given to us in their original form of letters; and we have concluded it preferable to introduce them as they are, believing that the want of connexion will be more than compensated for by the truthfulness and reality which characterize the testimony of eye-witnesses.

It will be necessary that our readers should bear in mind the dismemberments to which the Burman kingdom has been subjected in consequence of collisions with the British power, the cessions of territory which have concluded each war, and the proportionate enlargement of opportunity for the preaching of the gospel. The Treaty of Yandaboo, in February 1826, ceded the coast provinces of Arracan and Tenasserim, leaving Rangoon and the embouchure of the Irrawaddy, and the coast northward as far as the southern frontier of Arracan, in possession of the Burmans. Moulmein, a new town on the Salwen

river, about twenty-five miles from its mouth, became the capital of British Burmah. About 150 miles south of Moulmein is Tavoy, one of the principal strongholds of Buddhism in British Burmah, and celebrated for the magnificence of its temples, the number of its priests, and the splendour of its idolatry. These two places, with Mergui, became, for several years, the chief stations of the Mission. "These were the permanent homes of the Missionaries, and the seats of their principal councils and labours. Around these cities, in the neighbouring jungle, were also soon established numerous out-stations, or places of preaching and instruction, which became at length the seats of Christian churches and congregations."* At Tavoy, in 1828, the first Karen was baptized, the converted slave, Ko-Thah-byu, by whose efforts numbers of his countrymen were brought to the Missionary for instruction. It was then that the *deified book* was discovered among them. "It had been left in one of their villages some twelve years before by a travelling Mussulman, who was understood to have told the people it was to be worshipped as sacred. Though entirely ignorant of its contents, the person with whom it was left carefully preserved it, and, in virtue of possessing it, became a kind of sorcerer, of great importance among the people. It was brought one day to Mr. Boardman, and, on being unrolled from the coverings with which it was enveloped, it proved to be the "Book of Common Prayer and the Psalms,"

* Newcomb's Cyclopedia of Missions, p. 201.

printed at Oxford. From that period Mr. Boardman gave himself exclusively to labours among the Karens. On his demise, in 1830, the Mission to this people was taken up by the Rev. W. Mason. The language was alphabetized by the Missionary Wade, and the printing of the Karen New Testament followed closely the completion of the Burman Bible. The latter was Dr. Judson's great work, committed by him to the press in October 1840, twenty-seven years after his first attempt at learning the language. The New Testament in Karen was completed in 1843. Since then the entire Bible has been rendered into the Sgau Karen, and considerable progress made in the Pwo version.

After the conclusion of the first Burmese war, and the re-adjustment of the Mission to its enlarged opportunities, the work continued to be diligently prosecuted. Within the limits of the British provinces no political difficulties existed, and the work prospered, and rapidly extended itself; but in Burmah Proper there were many adversaries. Still, at Rangoon, and, for short intervals, at Prome and Ava, stations were maintained. "In the districts round each of the central stations there were numerous villages designated as out-stations, at which zayats for preaching were maintained, and in some of which schools were established, and churches were organized. At some of the villages Missionaries and teachers resided during as much of the year as the climate would allow; while to others they made only occasional visits, the preaching being performed principally by the ordained native assistants, who had now become quite numerous, both among Burmans and Karens. In 1840 the Missionaries were obliged to abandon their stations in Burmah Proper, and, retreating into Arracan, located themselves at Sandoway, near the Burman frontier, for the purpose of "keeping up communication with the native churches and pastors, and the numerous inquirers whom they had left under the cruel sway of the Burman king." The persecutions to which these poor Christians were subjected have been referred to in our last Number. After an absence of three years in America, the Missionary Abbot met at Ong-Kyoung, in January 1848, the native assistants of the various congregations in Arracan, and, across the mountains, in Burmah Proper. Their reports evinced the remarkable progress of the Mission during the interval of three years. "Mr. Abbot had left twenty native assistants, who were preachers, but not ordained to the ministry. Of them, two had died, and one had been suspended by his associates, while

sixteen others had been added to the number;" the thirty-three native preachers reporting "1200 converts in their several districts, who were waiting to be baptized, and received into the churches." In 1851 broke out the second Burmese war, terminating, in December 1852, in the cession to England of the ancient province of Pegu. This new territory has been subdivided into five districts, Pegu, including Rangoon, Toungoo, Henthada, Prome, and Bassein, and in each of these Missionary labours were forthwith commenced.

It is to the more recent aspect of Missionary work in several of these districts that the annexed letters refer, addressed to a friend in Calcutta by the late Rev. Lovell Ingolls and his widow. A brief notice of this devoted Missionary may be permitted, as a desirable introduction to his letters. He joined the Mission in February 1836. After a brief sojourn at Bassein and Rangoon, he removed to Mergui, dividing his labours between zayat preaching and tours in the jungle and among the villages. On the death of his first wife, in 1845, he offered himself for the work in Arracan. "If," he said, "there be no better man to go, 'here am I: send me.' The present generation of four or five millions of Burmans are fast going down to death; and another generation, and another, come on the stage to follow in their footsteps; not because precious blood has not flowed for them, nor for want of a command to go and preach the gospel to each one of them, and not for want of an Agent to attend that preaching with life and power. In the name of God and of Christ, let me ask, On whose garments will the blood of so many souls be found?"

To Akyab, in Arracan, he was accordingly transferred in April 1846, and continued to prosecute his labours with all energy, until the beginning of the year 1850, when he revisited his native land, but with no intention of remaining there. "This delightful land cannot charm me, when so many of our race sit in darkness, and Christ's last command remains unfulfilled. I still feel that Burmah is my home, and I shall, when recruited, return to my post with more pleasure than I left it. I feel like a stranger when surrounded by the warmest friends." In December 1851 he resumed his labours in Arracan, and, on the annexation of Pegu, was appointed to the important station of Rangoon. Here, amidst abundant encouragement, the pressure of toil was incessant. "The duties of twenty men," he said, "devolve on one. Did our churches know the toil in the foreign field, they would feel as enthusiastic as do the Britons for their countrymen in the Crimea." The over-

wrought system, as might have been anticipated, gave way, and a change became necessary. America or Penang were advised; but, unwilling to press upon the funds at home, already unequal to the necessities of the work, he decided for Bengal, his wife remaining behind to help in the Burman department, of which there was no one to take charge. She was soon summoned, in consequence of his rapidly increasing illness, to follow him to Calcutta. Again the voyage to Penang was recommended; but the station was alone, and he could not bear to be so long detained from it. He resolved to return thither. When warned that his doing so would accelerate his death, he said, "The churches at home, the students, and many of the pastors, are forgetting the wants of the heathen; and if I can go and work a few months more, I must go, though it may be to the altar of sacrifice." Before the Burmese coast was reached he had entered into rest, March 12th, 1856. Medical examination proved that he ought to have been relieved a year before. He was aware that he needed rest, but he said, "I cannot leave until some brother is willing to come and care for these souls as I have done. Christians at home are giving their twenty-five and forty cents for the conversion of the heathen, and this mere farthing not without a score of agents to press them. While we are pouring out our very life-blood for the heathen, they are living on the luxuries of life, in a congenial clime, among friends and relatives, laying up their bags of gold and silver, forgetting to pray for the heathen, and many, of late, for the poor Missionary." We now introduce the remarks of Mr. Wylie, as introductory to the letters.

Those who have read the life of Dr. Judson, and the interesting publications of the Tract Society relative to Burman Missions—"The Life of Mr. Boardman," and "The Karen Apostle"—will need no introduction to the following letters. That the Burman Missions are at present amongst the most prosperous in the world will probably be admitted. Their influence may not, indeed, be so important as some others; though this we cannot tell, for it is not unlikely that the fervent Karen preachers will spread the truth far beyond the limits of the Burman empire, and that the example of the American Missionaries among them may be felt—as the influence of Mrs. Judson already has been—far beyond the scenes of their faithful labours; but it is at least certain, that, as illustrations of the working of the gracious Spirit of God, through the simple preaching and reading of

the word, these Missions are now among the most important in the world. Nay, more, it may well be doubted if the whole history of Missions since Apostolic days exhibits any more interesting and affecting manifestations of the divine energy of that word, or more lovely and delightful fruits of the Spirit in newly-converted disciples. We see here "the grace of God bringing salvation;" the gospel "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds;" "the foolishness of preaching" made effectual to the renewal of souls; the Scriptures giving "understanding to the simple;" and the sovereignty of God, in choosing an unknown race as the favoured subjects of these glorious and blessed changes.

It may be well, therefore, to look for a while at the internal every-day operations of these Missions, and to discover, if we can, not the results only, but the processes of their working. And this our readers may do in the following letters. They were written to a Christian gentleman in Calcutta, Mr. R. S. Mourcief, who had resided for a time in the newly-acquired province of Pegu, and, while there—like all true Christians who go there—had been led to wonder and to rejoice at the wonderful works of God in the Missions. He endeavoured to secure help for the Missionary brethren he had known, and he sent it to them through the Rev. L. Ingolls, of Rangoon. That good man and his wife had become his affectionate friends, and, in their letters, spoke freely of their labours and their hopes. After a time Mr. Ingolls entered into rest; but his faithful fellow-labourer, constrained by the love of Christ, and supported by the Husband of the widow, went forward alone, to fulfil the promise Mr. Ingolls had made of visiting the eager inquirers in the jungles and villages of the interior. Of this visit, and of former ones, these letters speak; and accompanying them are other letters from Mr. and Mrs. Kincaid, and Mr. Van Meter. They are not ordinary records. They tell us plainly that "the Lord is there;" and they ought to animate us to fervent prayer, not only that His mercy may be more and more conspicuous in Burmah, but also that showers of blessing may descend on other fields of Missions, and that the cold doubts of unbelief may be for ever silenced and put to shame by unquestionable evidences of the Lord's coming in the hearts of His beloved chosen people—many of them, it may be, as little known as the Karens were twenty years ago; and that thus all who desire His glory may be stirred up to more devoted personal labour, and the surrender of themselves wholly, with a single eye, to His service.

From Mrs. Ingolls.

"Rangoon. July 1855.

"The work among the Karens at Toungoo is most wonderful. The establishment of the English Government at Toungoo, and the arrival of a Missionary, was the dawn of a new era to the Red Karens. News of an eternal God, through the Karens, reached them in their wild homes; and when the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. O'Reilly, visited them, they requested him to send them teachers, that they might hear about the eternal God. Teachers were sent, and the gospel faithfully preached, and more than 1300 have been admitted to the church since I last wrote to you about their existence, December 1854. Major Phayre, on his recent visit to Toungoo, received a visit from 200 to 300 of these Christian Karens. We hope the work has but just commenced. The Red Karens are very numerous, and manifest a very great desire to hear the gospel. Some of the young men are now studying with Mr. Vinton, who is reducing their language to writing, and Mrs. Vinton is composing Christian hymns, which will, ere long, be chanted in the distant jungles, to the praise of the eternal God. Thus the work is advancing onwards towards the Shan principalities, Siam, and China; so that, from the rivers to the end of the earth, the tidings of salvation will, like a river, roll from pole to pole.

"I hope you sing a hymn which is a great favourite with us—

• The morning light is breaking,
The darkness disappears.
The sons of earth are waking
To penitential tears.
Each cry, to heaven going,
Abundant answers brings,
And heavenly gales are blowing,
With peace upon their wings.

"The work among the Burmans is marked with less results; but we who understand the system of the Burman religion see the great, the very great, blasts which have fallen upon their proud system. The Burmans have filled the land with idol gods, pagodas, and temples, with their numerous yellow-robed priests. Buddhism, which they received from India, has for ages exhibited all its fascinating forms, and interwoven itself with political and civil life. Being exclusive, it long resisted the entrance of the gospel. The recent war, however—as you have seen with your own eyes—seemed to have aimed its most heavy blows against this long-established religion. Pagodas were opened for concealed treasures, temples desecrated, and idols broken; the streets of Rangoon are now covered with the brick and stone of the

former pagodas; and the 'Golden Dragon,' the proudest monument in Burmah, if not in the world, now affords a fine location for a fort, and our morning gun is heard from its lofty terrace. To assail such a system would have been like attempting to overthrow the solid pagoda itself. But Buddhism has quailed before the cross, and some 200 or 300 Burmans have lately put on Christ, and, from this number, some are now devoted preachers, and successful in winning souls to Christ. But the work is not done yet: the gospel must still be preached, trials endured, and fervent prayers offered, before the land become Immanuel's land. It must yet render entire obedience to Heaven's King; and from our late experience, and the promises of God, we take courage.

"Among the Burman converts gathered in, some have been called to join the church above: one case, recently, has affected us very much. He first heard the gospel in his old age, when we first came to Rangoon, as his sun was going down. After he had tasted of the waters of salvation, he came every day to our house, where we had preaching, and the joyful countenance of the aged man made more than one poor heathen, as he looked upon his smiling face, exclaim, 'There must be something true in this religion: I will search, and see.' After his public profession, he gave us the best evidence of his faith in God. Though living at a distance, he was always the first at our chapel, and always at those times overflowing with smiles and tears at the thought of God's mercy in bringing him into the church of Christ at that advanced age. His illness was long, but borne with pious resignation; and when his body was racked with pain, he would say, with eyes upward to heaven, 'Within, all is peace and joy!' On the night of his death he called his pagan son and relatives, and said to them, 'I love the eternal God and His dear Son. I am a Christian, and am now dying. Go in the morning, and tell the teacher, and have me buried as the Christians are!' And then he passed to his rest without a struggle. He lived in a heathen village, and was greatly esteemed. The people all attended at his grave, and his pagan son came to Mr. Ingolls with the Bible and tracts his father had often read, and wished to return them. We received them as a memento from the departed saint; and a few days ago that pagan son came, and said he must worship the God of his father. He is now seeking for the divine favour.

"Another man came to our place, heard the gospel, took books to his distant home, and,

after a few days, his wife was taken very ill. He told his wife about the new religion, said he believed it, and should become a Christian. He read these books to his wife, and she died, rejoicing in the love and mercy of Jesus. This little fact would be interesting to your Missionary Society. The husband came and told us of his wife, was baptized, has sent and brought three others of his friends; and now he says, 'I am building a chapel: you must send me books and a preacher: a church of the living God must be planted in my large town.'

"Mr. Ingolls and myself intend to visit that place next month, if the rains are not too heavy. A few days ago this man came for a large Bible, and we sent it with joy. He said that from all the people there was heard one cry, 'Send us your books and men.'

"These calls come often to us, and can we refuse? We believe the hearts of Christians will be awakened, and we shall yet send forth books and men to these large towns.

"You ask about the Burman preachers: the situation of these men is very different from the Karens. The Karens reside in the jungles: they are unlearned, have no written language or established religion, and dispute not at all; while the Burman preachers have to contend with the state religion, skilful reasonings, the pride of the people, and many other things too numerous to mention.

"Our Burman preachers are learned men, and, considering all their trials, we think have a faith and zeal that would shame the ministry of a Christian land. The pastor of the Burman church at Rangoon has been a Christian more than thirty years. During the Burmese government he was twice imprisoned for preaching the gospel, was fined a large sum, and obliged to pay it by making roads. Still he did not fall, and to-day he tells me he has baptized over 300 Burmans and Karens. Another of our pastors has been a preacher seventeen years. After Mr. Ingolls left Mergui he followed him to preach the gospel in Arracan, and sent for his wife and eight children. Just as the ship reached the shore at Akyab it went down, with his dear ones; but he did not murmur against God's doings, but consecrated himself more entirely to the cause of Christ, and now often the midnight hour finds him in his little room instructing the repenting sinner, or pouring out his petitions to the God of mercy. Another of our preachers has shown his love for the cause of Christ in many ways. In 1844, Mr. Ingolls, who was then at Moulmein, decided to remove to Rangoon. The king was not friendly to the gospel, but Mr. Ingolls concluded to

run the danger, and remove, with books, to this place. He laid the case before the church at Moulmein, and asked if there was not one who was willing to lay himself upon God's altar. They might expect trials, persecution, and perhaps death, but God would not forsake them. In the morning, this man, who was not then a preacher, came, and said he had spent the whole night in prayer, and he now wished to go with the teacher. Another of our preachers wore the yellow robe, *i.e.* the priest's, when we first came to Rangoon, but left it and his friends, and is now one of our most industrious and faithful men. So I might go on to speak of others, if I had room.

"In the province of Pegu we have baptized over 300 Burman Christians since the war.

"As nearly as we can now ascertain, we have ten thousand Burman and Karen Christians. This is making the lowest estimate—I mean in the province of Pegu. Some four thousand of these have been baptized since the last war. We have more than 100 churches, and above 100 preachers. The preachers are not all ordained men. Among the Burmans we have five ordained preachers. I cannot now give you the number of schools, but I should fancy some fifty among the Karens. Mr. Vinton has about 100 scholars at Kemendine, about half of whom are engaged in the study of trigonometry, in the English language. Some of the churches support their pastors, and I think we might say more than half do. The Home Mission Society at Bassein have sent out five or six Missionaries to the Red Karens at Toungoo.

"I cannot tell you now how many separate congregations there are. I will try and ascertain definitely. I have answered your inquiries to the best of my knowledge, but will try and give you more information on these points hereafter. I cannot now tell you how many sustain their own school teachers, but I should say most of them do so."

From Mrs. Kincaid.

"Prome, July 11, 1855.

"In 1854 we came to this city, and at that time there was but one man who professed to be a Christian, who had come from Rangoon. We brought with us two or three native assistants, who have been employed in going from house to house preaching the things of the kingdom: besides this, we had our public worship on the Sabbath. We soon began to have inquirers, and from that time we have scarcely known a week that we have not had applicants for baptism. The church now numbers upwards of 140 members, some of whom,

I hesitate not to say, would be considered ornaments in our churches at home.

“A remarkable feature in this little band is the great proportion who have a desire to teach, and bring others to a knowledge of the truth. They have shown much fortitude in the manner in which they have borne the opposition of friends. Some have been called to give up brothers and sisters, and, in one or two cases, wives have forsaken their husbands, because they have become Christians. One poor woman, who was baptized, when she returned home found all her clothing, bed, &c., put out into the street, and this was done by her own son. She found a home with her daughter, and, by her consistent walk, has commanded their respect. I could mention numberless instances of both men and women who give the strongest evidences that their conversion is genuine. How often have we been asked by English people if we thought they were really Christians. Many, I fear, in Christian lands, would scarcely be able to bear the severe tests that some of these have done. The spirit of inquiry is still going on, and is not confined to this city alone. In many parts of the surrounding country, at a distance of twenty and thirty miles, our native assistants have visited many of the villages, even into the recesses in the mountains where the Karens live. One church has been formed already in a Burman village, and two small ones among the Karens. There are several other groups of Christians in different parts, and we hope soon to see churches there. The Burman church above mentioned have shown some energy in building themselves a neat little chapel, and have commenced a school. I should have said before that the church in the city are now making arrangements for building a good, substantial chapel. Our congregations are large, averaging over a hundred, besides the Christians. We are often compelled to admire the goodness and mercy of God in seeing once-benighted heathen now actively engaged in the service of Christ. I have made several attempts to obtain girls for instruction, but they seem so entirely indifferent that I am almost discouraged. The boys are both Burman and Karen, and are about twenty in number. I have consented to teach them English, as they have so great a desire for it, but still they study their respective languages.

“We are daily more and more convinced that the Scripture method is the best for evangelizing the world; to follow the example of the blessed Saviour and His disciples, depending on the simple preaching of the way of salvation through a crucified Saviour. If we en-

joy any success more than others, I think it is by restricting ourselves to this plan” . . .

In the following letter Mrs. Ingolls gives an account of a journey which she took with Mrs. Vinton, and a native preacher and his wife, with the view of gaining access to the females in the villages. It illustrates, in a most remarkable manner, the facilities for Missionary labour in Pegu, and the frank character of the people.

From Mrs. Ingolls.

“Rangoon, July 1855.

“You ask me how the people receive the gospel in the jungles. I wish you could go with us in some of our trips. I expect you would be compelled to leave your present home if you could see with what eagerness they listen to the gospel. . . .

“My husband was so overwhelmed with the care of the Mission in town, and the superintendence of the Mission House, he could not go into the jungles. The Karen Christians had begged, with tears, that some one would come and preach to their Burmese friends; and, as Mrs. Vinton was going among the Karens, I asked to accompany her, and visit the Burman towns and villages. Mr. Ingolls consented to my going, and gave a native preacher. I will condense a few notes which I took for Mr. Ingolls, and copy them for you, so that you can understand a little about the feelings of the people.

“We left Kemendine at twelve o'clock, in a boat rowed by the Burmese and Karens. On the way we saw beautiful groves, broad rice fields, and some small streams, which seemed to be bordered with small villages. After dusk, reached a town. The men went ashore and found a place to cook, and a kind of wharf, which was a long log with cuts here and there. As we had never visited the place before, the men asked the people of a house if we might go ashore, and, on their consenting, I immediately went, while Mrs. Vinton, like a good mother, gave out some food for our supper. The men of the house had no light, but ran immediately to borrow one; so by the time Mrs. Vinton had landed we had a light, and the men, women, and children came flocking in, felt our hands, looked at our combs, asked us if we were painted, and if we were men or women, as they had never seen white faces before. We did not find a Karen church and *zayat* here, as Mrs. Vinton expected, but were told by some one we would reach it in seven days by carts: some said one, and a few said half a day. They asked us what we had come for, and, fearing we might alarm them if we told

them the whole story, we merely said we came to make their acquaintance—as sisters we came to them; but when we mentioned the name of the Karen preacher at the inland village they looked wild, and asked if we were Jesus Christ's people. We told them that we professed to be, and that we would tell them in the morning all about this Jesus Christ whom they now despised. As the tide was turning fast, we were obliged to go into our boat, the house being too small for all of us.

*“Two o'clock—*Some of our people are sleeping in the house, and we, for the want of something to do, are scratching these notes by our dim light. We have been to sleep once, but the friendly mosquitos will not allow us to sleep any more. We have scarcely room in our boat to move, and we are looking anxiously for the morning light. The fog, too, is dreadful; but, if God will bless our efforts among the people, we shall be amply rewarded for all our discomforts.

*“Wednesday morning—*I took my Burmans, and went to report myself to the (native) magistrate, after the Burman custom. We told them we were not dacoits—robbers—but friends, who had come to pay them a visit. We found the magistrate had three wives, and, after a friendly reception and a little chat, we returned to the boats. Some people took Mrs. Vinton to the Karen village, and we remained in the Burman town. The magistrate came after breakfast, and invited us to the other part of the village, where his ‘great wife’ resided. He took us first to the house of a learned man, where they had clean mats spread for us; and, to our great joy, we found the man inclined to leave the religion of his fathers for the worship of the eternal God. He had been to our house with some Karen Christians, had heard of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, had brought away some books, and was really seeking for the way to heaven. He had a most interesting family, and we felt that our going to that place had been ordered by our heavenly Father. The magistrate soon came for us, and invited us to his place, where he had made a nice little room for us. His wife was a very lady-like, modest, pretty woman, and they all listened with great attention to our words. After spending a few hours there, we were taken to a house which had been prepared for us: it was vacant, quite open, but very large and clean. The people came in such crowds that we became quite exhausted, and sent them away, telling them they might all come in the evening. The magistrate and his wife listened very attentively, and we hoped for a pleasant time in the evening.

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*“Wednesday, twelve o'clock at night—*God seemed to be with us this afternoon, and the kingdom of darkness was near being shaken; but Satan, the king, would not let his people go without making an effort to retain them in his chains.

“The two wives of the magistrate had a most dreadful quarrel before dark, which called out and excited the whole place. One of the preachers was very sad. He had been praying, and expecting an outpouring of the Holy Spirit that evening. He had thought the wife of the magistrate a very hopeful case; and when he saw the excitement he came asking me what I thought it all meant. I, too, felt sad; but I told him I thought it was all an invention of the devil to get the people's minds from what we had said to them in the day, and keep them away from us in the evening. After a little time, the magistrate came with extra lamps, and we had more than 100 people, besides the children. The friends of the magistrate did not come, as they were all excited still. The magistrate asked for a hymn-book, and looked at the words we sang. One of the preachers preached. We sang, read, prayed, and talked very much to the people. They broke the floors of our house with their weight, but were not rude or noisy in the least. They asked us very reasonable questions, and begged for books. They asked much about the creation of the world: they believe it came into existence without a creator. We gave them a book containing the first chapter of Genesis.

*“Thursday night—*The people have been coming and going through the day: we think some 200 have visited us. Some have, doubtless, remained out of mere curiosity, but many have manifested a deep interest.

*“Friday night—*We have been to a Karen village about two miles from here. They received us very kindly, and brought a few Burman friends, who remained all the day. They asked us to send them a Burman preacher, and sent us back in a cart. We could not eat our supper to-night, our house was so filled up with people. They remained very late, and only went when we promised to remain a few days more.

*“Saturday night—*This morning a large company of Karens came from a distant village to hear about the living God. We talked to them in Burmese, and then sent them off to Mrs. Vinton. At noon the magistrate conducted us through the town, and we had a pleasant time with the people in many of their houses. They said they had never heard a word before about our God; but what we said seemed so reasonable, that it must be true,

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and they were determined to investigate it. We told them about our Sabbath, and they invited us to spend the afternoon at their houses. As we returned, one man and woman pressed us so much, that we promised to visit their place, when they said they would call in all their friends. This evening the people have not come in very much, but it has been by far our most pleasant time. The few who have been with us say they have had their eyes opened, and now only wish to be told what they must do to find acceptance with God. We have explained, talked, and prayed with these until we are all hoarse.

"Sunday night — We were aroused from our slumbers this morning by the voice of a man reading one of our books. When we were all dressed he came in, and said we must send them a preacher—'they must learn this sweet law of God.' Many of the people came and spent the forenoon with us, and some of them ordered their people to lay aside their work. In the afternoon we went to the place where we were invited yesterday; but they had the small-pox, and we did not go in. We called to see some sick, and had a pleasant time. All said, 'Come again, give us books, send us a preacher.' This evening we have had a great assembly, and again talked till we all fell sick.

"Monday — We have been to see Mrs. Vinton, some four miles from this. Had a pleasant reception from the Christian Karens: saw a few Burmans, and gave books. They asked us for a school teacher, and sent us home in a cart with a band of music, and some forty Christians. We did not like this display, but we could not persuade them to be more quiet.

"Tuesday night — We have been to a Burman village about two miles from here. The people listened very well; but we found them very ignorant, and but few of them able to read. This afternoon the house has been filled with females. Some of them wept bitterly as the thought struck them that many of their friends had died without hope. The little girls have asked to go home with me, and learn to read and sew. This evening some very learned men came from a distant village, and, after hearing of the perfect law of God, they said theirs was very foolish.

"Wednesday morning — We have been to visit some Burman priests, and gave them books. The preachers then went about the town, and I remained with my women to talk with those who came to call. To-morrow we must leave this town, and of this we have told the people, and they have asked us to send them a preacher, and said they would build a house for him.

We shall do what we can for them when we return.

"Thursday night — We are now at the house of a magistrate, and have been talking until two o'clock. We left our former town at daylight this morning, and reached Manbee at 10 o'clock. We went to a large house, and asked permission to read and talk to them. After a few moments the owner of the house asked to call in his friends, and we had some several hundred in and about the house: we talked till we were quite exhausted, and then gave away very many books, but only to those who could read, and who promised they would do so. The man invited us to spend the night at his house, where he would make an awning for the accommodation of the people. We promised to do so, and went to our boat for rest and food, but the wind changed, and the boatmen felt determined to go. We sent a man to tell the owner of the house where we were so kindly received of our decision, and instantly the shore was crowded with the people, who begged we would stop and tell them more. They asked one of the preachers to stay, but I could not do without him, so we left books, and promised to bring Mr. Ingolls next year. We had been invited some time ago by the magistrate of this place to pay him a visit, but were a little surprised to find him on the bank, ready to receive us. He took us to his house, which is very large, and in a few moments had a fine room, hung with fancy silk curtains, and clean mats, with fruits, good water, and many pretty flowers. He sent his man out to call the people, and until this late hour we have been conversing with the people. One old man said, 'If this physician is true, why have you not come before to tell us of joy?' One old woman, while the tears trickled down her cheeks, put her withered hand upon my shoulder, and asked me if my father and mother worshipped and believed on this God. When I told her they did, 'Then,' said she, 'why did they not hasten to tell us of these things?' This evening has been a solemn time. In this place they have many learned men, and, almost at a glance, they seemed to comprehend the wonderful love of God. I never witnessed such rapt attention in an English audience as I saw here. At the close, one of the preachers prayed; and, as he concluded, one of the wise men turned to him, and said, 'Man did not teach you those eloquent words.'

"Friday night — We are now on our way home. Early this morning the magistrate of the former place asked us to visit some of his friends at another town, and, at his urgent request, we went with him. He took quite a

number of the wise men, who were here last evening, into his boat, and we all went to the town. The people received us kindly, and, to our surprise, the wise men became witnesses for the eternal God, and hesitated not to tell the people of their false system. When we went into our boat they all thanked us for coming, said we must come next year, bring Mr. Ingolls, and send some one to explain our books. We do not think many of these people whom we have visited understand thoroughly the plan of salvation, but their eyes are opened; and when they are again visited they will have reflected on our words, and read the books, and will then be able to receive or reject the Son of God.

“You will excuse this hasty, condensed scribbling. It will, however, give you a little idea of the state of the people, and their eagerness to hear the gospel. In not one of these places did they dispute our words, but said, ‘Tell us more.’ I promised to go quite far up the river; but I was obliged to get another boat, and separate from Mrs. Vinton, the Karens being so far from the large Burman towns; and, as it was rather expensive, I concluded to return, hoping Mr. Ingolls could go with me soon. Since I returned, a man from the river has come down, and been baptized, and says the people at his place suspended work, and watched three days for us. The people also come from the places where we visited; and, if we had means to sustain them, we feel confident we should have churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in every one of these places. The Burmese lost so much during the war, that they are not able to spend all their time; but they only ask for food and plain clothing, and they are then willing to go with the gospel wherever the Lord directs. It seems very clear to me that God has opened the hearts of the people, for formerly they disputed with the Missionaries very bitterly. It is not the custom of the Burmans to pay very great deference to the words of a female; but on my trip I was often obliged to tell the men that I came to visit the females, and that they must listen to the preachers.”

From the same.

“Rangoon, December 4, 1855.

“Agreeably to the promise I made you last mail, I will try and tell you of our last tour. We left Rangoon, Tuesday the 13th, and at sunset reached the village of Sike gu. We went ashore, and the first street led us to the idol-temple, or worship-place. ‘There,’ said an aged man, pointing to a small marble idol under a canopy of yellow and red paper, ‘there is our God.’ We asked

him if that image could save them when they presented their offerings, or asked to be saved from hell, or perhaps become gods. He seemed startled at the question, and said he had never thought of it before; but his fathers had worshipped these gods, and he must not forsake their customs. Mr. Ingolls told him of the God who made the heaven and earth, and all therein, and the way of salvation through Jesus Christ. He gave the most respectful attention, and followed us on to a crowd of people who gathered themselves around us, while we told the men, women, and children, of Him who alone could save them from hell. At dark we went to our boat, and left a preacher on shore to explain more fully the way of salvation. As Mr. Ingolls was not well, I went ashore, and found a house spread with mats, and a basket for my seat. The man of the house had read some of our books, and his eyes seemed to be opened to its truths. The preacher I left on shore, and at midnight I still heard his voice at the house. Left early in the morning, and reached a village called The lu. The shore was so muddy that the men went above their knees in getting ashore, so we did not venture into the village. The preacher gave a few books, and talked with the people, and in the evening we left for the mouth of the river. We came to a large stream on our left, and, as the tide turned, we entered it, and called at a large town named Th’co’pein — meaning, the place where the robbers used to assemble and repair, &c. We found the people all engaged in boat-racing, and, as the tide was against us, we were obliged to remain. The preacher climbed up the bank, and found only two grown persons in the place, the rest being at the river, attending the racing. The racing was near us, and divided into two parties, who separated, one on the right and the other on the left bank, and, as the men rowed, each party cheered them on by music and dancing, and the waving of flags from the young ladies. Forty rupees was the stimulus, and when the boat gained the reward, that party sent up loud cheers, and the boat returned, the rowers singing and dancing until they were received, after which the company separated. As the winners passed by our boat we found that they were many of them Karens. Soon other boats came, and when they found who we were, they strongly urged that we should visit their place. We had felt somewhat sad about our reaching this place at this very time; but we had committed our ways to God, knowing that He would guide us in the way we should go; and when this warm invi-

tation came, we concluded to go to the Karen village, and return to Th'co'pein in the morning, when we hoped the people would regain their usual occupations, and be ready to receive us.

"We therefore left; and, at sun-down, entered the stream leading to the Karen village. At first it was broad, but, after a few rods, it became very narrow, and, as it was getting dark, we found we were obliged to go on, or remain where we were, for return we could not, the stream was so narrow. After a long and toilsome time of cutting down trees and large bushes that obstructed our way, and nearly ruined our boat, we arrived at the first village, called Co doung. The mosquitos came in by thousands, and, Mr. Ingolls not being well, we had a most dreadful night. Daylight came, and we found we must go out of the stream, or remain another day for the tide, which we could not do and carry out our plans; besides, it was a most dreadful place for one in feeble health. Our time being short, we went ashore, and found that most of the people here were Burmans, the Karens living a long distance beyond. Some aged men came, and said they wished to hear about the God who we said made the world. Mr. Ingolls told them of man's fall, and the story of redemption through Jesus Christ. Smiles and tears were mingled together as they listened. They asked how they must pray to God; and when Mr. Ingolls told them, they listened as though their life depended upon those words. 'But,' said one of the old men with sorrow, 'I fear we cannot remember those words.' We told them that the book we had given them would teach them, and they clasped it even as some precious treasure. They said they should come to see us, and we expect to see them, for we believe their hearts have been touched. Some Karen girls came to see me, and when they saw Mr. Ingolls they ran under the house, fearing, they said, Mr. Ingolls had come to steal them. Mr. Ingolls told them that I was his wife, and one of the girls looked into my face, and said, 'O yes; she has a white face: he will not want us.' After a few words of explanation they came about us, and listened well. They understood Burmese very well, and told me there was one Christian in their part of the village. We had a pleasant time at this place, and left, followed to our boat by very many, and, better than all, by the grateful blessings of the aged men. We felt deeply interested in them; for they were so sincere in all their questions, and seemed to feel their god could not save them. We had a hard time in getting to them; but we left, thank-

ing God that we had been permitted to tell these aged men of the way of salvation.

"At noon we returned to Th'co'pein, and found the people of that place, and hundreds from other villages, engaged in making offerings to the priests, and consecrating a dress for them. Two boats were fastened together, and over them a canopy of paper, cut and painted in fantastic forms, and the sides hung and looped with yellow satin, made from the sacred cloth. Some half dozen priests seated themselves under this canopy, and read from their Pali books, while the people sat in their boats around them, after which a man went to the priests and presented the sacred dress, and a few others followed with fruit and flowers, and the scene closed. We felt cast down when we came to this place and found the people all engaged in their forms; but before we left we thanked God for sending us at this very time; for while they were consecrating the sacred dress our boat was completely surrounded by large boats, filled with respectable men from other villages, who listened to us with deep interest, and many of them confessed they had no confidence in their religion. We gave some choice books, and told them what they must do to be saved. When we left, we felt that we were shortsighted creatures, and that God knew how to order all things well. Hundreds had come to that place to worship things of man's invention; but God had looked with compassion upon them in the midst of their sins, and opened a door of mercy for them. God is truly a Being of mercy and long-suffering. We received a warm invitation to visit the homes of some, which we hope to do at some future day.

"At sun-down left this place, and came to another village, and before morning left for Rangoon. This has been a kind of exploring tour, and, as we cannot revisit them ourselves, we shall try and send preachers to those places. We have presented the cup of salvation to many hundreds, and it has universally been received with gladness. But they must have 'line upon line,' to enable them to understand all of God's will. After getting our mail, and attending to home affairs, replenishing our stores a little, we left in the evening, for a trip up the Irrawadi and Bassein River.

"At midnight reached the village of Tet thit, and at eight in the morning, after a chat with the people, left, and at noon reached the village of Cot tu yoh, a large flourishing town, where the river forks, and large towns are built upon the banks, numbering some five thousand people. We went ashore, and found the

headman was an old friend of ours, who had often attended our Sabbath service, and had given fifteen rupees towards the Burman chapel. He received us most cordially, and we concluded to spend the Sabbath at his place. He told us we might have our service in his audience hall, and in the evening, as we went through the town, we heard the streets resounding with the call of the runner, warning them to come and hear of the God who made the world. Sunday they rung the native bell, and we went to the house of the ruler, where we found two chairs for us, and mats spread for the people in his hall. The people soon came, and hundreds heard, for the first time, of Him who alone is able to save them from hell. Many of them were the builders of the temple, and the strong men of the priest. They, too, listened with the most rapt attention: they came, no doubt, with an eye of curiosity, but they soon became deeply interested, and the truth seemed to sink deep into their hearts. Not only was the large hall filled, but the house was surrounded with men, women, and children, who were so eager to hear, that the ruler gave them permission to tear off the front of the house. As Mr. Ingolls stopped a moment in his remarks, we could not but call to mind God's mercy to Burmah. How changed the scenes!

"We left Cot tu yoh on Monday, at daylight, and reached the village of Soh-me louk at noon. Went ashore, and saw the headman, whose wife was a friend of ours, talked much with the people, gave some books, and the preacher went with me to the temple. We asked the priest how they could give merit to the people, when they were seeking for it themselves; and many other things we asked, which they could not answer to their satisfaction, if we might judge from their hesitancy. They asked us to stay longer, and said they would come and see us when they came to town.

"We left for Pantonau, and, at dark, reached the village of Poh-lay. Most of the people were Tohin 'g Karens, and, though they understood Burman very well, they seemed too careless to reply to much that we said. In the morning we left, and, in the afternoon, reached a large town, called Neoung Done. We went ashore, and asked the distance to Pantonau, and, as we had spent some time on the way, we did not talk much with the people, but gave a few choice books, and promised to visit them again. We reached the city of Pantonau, and found a Karen village, that we wished to visit, beyond, so we passed on. Before dark we called at a village,

and cooked our rice, and talked with the people, who had not even heard the name of the eternal God; and then we left for the Karen village, which we reached with great trouble at midnight. The Karen preacher was delighted to see us, and brought us eggs and rice. They had a fine little chapel, and their church numbered 190 members; but they were scattered over rice fields, and beyond large marshes, so we did not see half of them. The preacher took us all about the place, and told us of his plans, &c. It was pleasant to see a temple for the living God, after visiting so many places where His name had not been praised. We thanked God, and bade them adieu, and started for our return to Rangoon. We called at a village near the city of Pantonau, and I went ashore, while Mr. Ingolls talked with the men on the bank, and, as I passed through the street, an old man called me to sit in his house. After the usual salutations, and some chit-chat about the last war, &c., I asked the venerable man what God he worshipped, and, to my joy, he told me he worshipped the same God that the Karen preacher did where we last called. I found, from what his son said, that he had thrown away his god, and that he was constantly telling the people he worshipped the Karen preacher's God. He could not even tell me the name of that Being; but when I mentioned it, he exclaimed, with great joy, 'That's the God I worship.' He seemed greatly pleased when I told him that this God was not only the Karen's God, but willing to save the whole world—every nation and kindred. Mr. Ingolls soon came and talked with the man, who told us, with tears, that we had just come in time, for he was an old man, and on the very border of the grave. His wife, too, listened well, and in a few moments she had half the village out to hear. We left, praying that God would be merciful to them, and that the truth might lead the old man to give his whole heart to God, and the singing of redeeming love.

"At dark, reached the city of Pantonau. The moon soon came out brightly, and we accepted an invitation to visit the city ruler. We found him ready to receive us. He was the most respectable Burman we have seen, and lived quite tidily. He had tried to imitate steps before his door, and some good English lamps hung from the roof. Mr. Ingolls seated himself on a writing desk, which was brought for him, and I asked for her ladyship. I was introduced into a large, spacious room, where I found her with her maids and pages. Her room was hung with gay satin curtains, fine mats covered the floor, and a mass of red

velvet curtains and cushions in the corner of the room gave it, in the evening, rather an air of luxury. She seated me on a cushion, gave me preserved tea, with onion and oil, and asked me many times if I was not painted, wished to examine my feet, &c.; but when I told her of our customs she released me. Some of the pages had read our books, and asked for more light; so we had a most interesting time with them. One man said he was convinced that our religion was the true one; and, to my surprise, her ladyship said our words had sunk deep into her heart, and we must give books for them to read to her when we left. She asked how she must pray, and seemed very thoughtful. Mr. Ingolls, too, had a most pleasant time with the ruler and his retinue, who listened well; and he said he had seldom met such bright minds. We wished to spend some days with them, and they quite insisted upon it; but we were obliged to look after the interests in town, and could not be so long absent. Before we went to our boat we walked through the city, and we found some fine streets and some tidy-looking houses. Only one thing seemed wanting here; but we hope our brethren at Bassein will make this a station, and then, with the blessing of God, joy and peace will be found in those homes. We longed to visit our friends at Bassein, for we were quite near them, but we tried to still our longings, and remember that we were servants, and must not leave our work for pleasure.

"In the morning we left this city, and, at sunset, reached Neoung Done. We met some who had read our books, and they greeted us very kindly, asking us to tell them more. We talked to them, and learned that the ruler of Cot tu yoh was about removing there, so we promised to revisit them when he had removed.

"The next day we returned to Cot tu yoh. The people greeted us very kindly, and the little children shouted our names through the streets, and soon came with garments to see us. The men said they had read our books, and they had the appearance of truth; and one man said he hoped we would remain for ever, and instruct them; and another joined in with the idea. Some, who were absent on the Sabbath, came for books, and asked us to talk with them, and we did, until our voices became hoarse, and the preacher proposed that we should go to our boat, and rest. When we went, some women came off in canoes, and asked me to talk with them, for they could not read; and one old woman, in the most

pleading tones, asked me to save her. She was very aged, so much so, she could not understand why I could not save her. I could not help weeping when I saw this woman, just on the borders of the grave, and with not, I fear, enough reasonable powers to understand the way of salvation. An old man, with silvery locks and tottering form, told us we ought to remain longer; that they were like children who had only learned their A B C. We told him we must go back, and look after our people in town, but we would send them some teachers to instruct them, and the old man wept for joy. In a moment, however, he turned, and, with the most searching look, asked us if his wife, who had never heard of this God, had gone down to the abodes of misery. I felt sad for the old man, and tried to explain to him the wisdom and justice of God, and His love to poor sinful man. He promised to receive a preacher kindly; and we hope he may yet sing God's love and mercy. Cot tu yoh is a most interesting place. The people are well dressed, housed, and intelligent; and, as we wandered through the sweet groves, saw the smiling faces of the people, and heard the joyous peals of laughter from the urchins on the water, the thought of happiness passed through our mind; but, in a moment, the idols of brick and stone, and the offering of the devotees, came before our eyes, and we saw how vain were all their hopes of happiness beyond the grave. We questioned them, as they bowed before their gods, of their hopes beyond the grave, and they told us it was all dark. As we left this beautiful village the moon shone brightly over the place, and we trust it was but an emblem of the Sun of Righteousness, who will shed light upon that country. We have been absent a fortnight, and had the pleasure of telling thousands of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, and we believe many of them will yet worship Him. Mr. Ingolls was not well, but he was able to do much; and, if the Lord spares our lives, we shall go out again in a few days.

"*Monday morning*—You will be glad to hear that the headman of Cot tu yoh came to town on Saturday evening, and yesterday came, with many of his people, to meeting. We have chosen some preachers to go to his place, and he has promised to receive them kindly. Satan will no doubt arm himself for the contest, but God's power will soon frustrate his plans. One week ago, last Sunday, a priest came in his yellow robes, and renounced idolatry; and yesterday he gave good evidence of repentance and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and was baptized. The

ruler from Cot tu yoh saw him, and said if the priest repented it was time for his disciples to do so also."

From the same.

"Rangoon, Jan. 21, 1856.

"The steamer leaves in the morning, and with it Mr. Ingolls. He has been ill the last two weeks, and is so very feeble now, that his going out to sea seems the only hope of a restoration. It is a great trial to send him thus alone, and nothing but the present state of the Mission keeps me from going with him. We had hoped to have made many trips to the jungles this season, and had got ready for a trip, when Mr. Ingolls was obliged to take to his bed. Every thing in the jungles is in a most interesting state, and at one place the spirit of investigation is wonderful. Large companies visit us; and, what is pleasing, all of them say they intend to worship the living God. They say thus—'The teacher has never yet been to our homes: we are waiting for him to come, when we and all our friends intend to forsake idolatry.' During Mr. Ingolls' present illness they have come around him, and pleaded for instruction, and I have been obliged to shut them out. I try to talk all I can, but I cannot always leave my dear husband; and when I do, the absence from the wonted seat brings sadness to my heart, for it seems a shadow of dark, dark events. . . . But I am dwelling too much upon self, and must tell you about the native preachers. They have made two or three trips since I wrote to you, and some have professed hope in Christ, and we expect two here soon. After Mr. Ingolls leaves I shall send them out again. On their last trip, two of the preachers just escaped with their lives. They were chased by wild elephants, and escaped by throwing all their clothes among them, and then sought a large tree, which protected them during the night. They had great trouble in reaching the town; but we believe God had a work for them to do there, and the trip will not have been in vain. Last Sabbath a most interesting man was baptized. He has kept the Lord's-day holy for one year, and seems to be strong in the Lord. His deep devotion, as he arose from the waters at the baptism, brought tears to many eyes. He raised his hands, according to the Burman custom—you will remember—he looked into the heavens, and blessed God for the joys of salvation. The pastor waited with extended hands to lead him from the waters, and the scene was one not to be forgotten. The Dagon pagoda reared its gilded form not far from us; and it was beautiful to see that man

turn his back upon those false gods, and avow allegiance to the God who is not made by hands. But I will not write more: if Mr. Ingolls is better he will have a long chat with you, and tell you more than I have time for."

From the same.

"Rangoon, March 20, 1856.

"Before this reaches you, you will have received my letter, telling you of our sad bereavement. . . . Last Sabbath we had the joy of rejoicing over another soul, redeemed, we trust, by the blood of Christ. He has heard, and been instructed in, the truths of the gospel, through the generosity of you and the people of Bengal. This man is a very respectable Burman, and we hope he will be a bright light in that place. Two others came for baptism from that place while I was gone to Bengal, and yesterday they came, and I have promised to visit their town with the preachers next month."

From the same.

"Rangoon, June 2, 1856.

"I thought I should tell you the particulars of my trip to the jungle, but I did not keep any journal, and I have not time to remember or recall the incidents of each day. My first introduction to one place was rather a strange one. We reached the city of Ling, and found that the large town we wished to visit was some miles inland. In the morning one of the Christians went to the town, to tell them we had come, and in the evening the Christians, and other of the people, came in carts for us. They brought six carts, and the one for Amelia and me was covered very nicely, and the cattle quite covered with bells and ornaments; but as I learned the distance was only two miles and a half, and the shaking in the carts being so bad, I decided to go on foot. We left just before sundown, and only reached the town at ten o'clock. I had many people with me, and when I got fatigued they wished to carry me, but I would not allow them. When I got to the door of our house I felt quite exhausted, and told them my feet were as hot as fire. They helped me to get off my stockings and shoes, and, behold, my poor feet were in complete blisters. When I looked at my watch and learned the time, I began to consider the distance, and found out that a Burman mile was two English miles, so I had gone over five miles. I felt very ill, but with plenty of cold water and some hundred people about, I managed to sit up for a couple of hours. I forgot my chair, but they made me a basket seat, and cooked me two or three quarts of

rice, which they said I must eat, or I would get ill. Amelia had gone another way in a cart, and got to the place quite safe, so she had to be my feet for three days.

"In the morning, a large company of people, who knew my dear husband, came to pay their respects, and two of them brought books that he had given them. 'These,' said they, 'shall go with us to the grave.' I tried to tell them that they must not worship the teacher or the book, but the God that he and the book told of. They thought it strange that I could leave my home so soon after Mr. Ingolls' death, and said they could not do so. God was with me, and I had the pleasure of telling those poor souls of God's strength, that had been given me in that time of trial. I compared my feelings with theirs. With them the grave was clothed in dark, dark uncertainty: the fate of their friends was all unknown. My beloved one, through the merits of Christ, was now singing the song of redeeming love in the presence of the eternal God. And, though my home was dear to me, at the request of their dear teacher I had come to show them this blessed way. They said they would not work while we were there; and for four days and nights we had nothing to do but repeat the story of the cross.

"We then went to a town, about four miles distant, where they had built a chapel for us. There, too, we found all in readiness for us, and the chapel was so completely filled with people that we were obliged to ask them to go away until we got our things put up. Here we had seven Christians, and two of them converted through the travels of the men sent out from your fund. No Missionary had ever visited this place, and many came to see a white face, and listen to a new story; but after the first three days the listeners began to show their true characters. We had some fifty persons who remained all the day—save when they went for their rice—and till three o'clock in the night, so great was their interest. And they asked, too, how they must pray. It was a melting sight to see these high men bowing themselves while we taught them to say, 'Lord, teach us Thy way; forgive our many sins, and save us for Christ's sake.' One fine woman came every day to see us, and never failed to ask us how she must pray. The last time she came, she said, 'I have lost all confidence in idols and pagodas, and I do feel that I love the eternal God. Our god,' said she, turning to another female, 'has done nothing for us, while this God has given us every thing, and this, too, while we have never once thanked Him. And,' said she, continuing, 'if I fed and

clothed you only one month, and you thanked another person for the favours I had bestowed, I should get very angry, and kill you.' Her husband heard that she was renouncing idolatry, and came just then, and said she had friends at the house, and she was called away. As she went, she said, 'My husband is very angry. I have no friends at the house.' We thought and prayed for this woman; but her husband called her away to another town, and she could not come to our place again. As we passed through that place when we left, we saw her in the street, and she said to me, in a low whisper, 'Your way is right, but I cannot come to you: I understand most all that you have said to me, but the old man talks very bad to me, and I fear I shall forget.' Just then the old man saw her, and made her leave me. I tried to speak with him, but he would not look at me, and told the people I had bewitched his wife, and he feared he might be the same. Poor man! he did not know that the Spirit was God's Spirit working in the heart of his wife. As he passed into the house she pointed to heaven, and was gone.

"We visited four Karen villages, two of them Christian villages. Here we spent pleasant hours with the Christians, who were weak in numbers and in knowledge. They drank the instructions we gave, and followed us in carts some miles. This day was a very happy day to them, as a Missionary had never visited them, and many of the females had never seen a mamma, as they call me. One man had become weak in faith; but when we left he said, in the language of the prodigal son, 'I will arise, &c.' The old Burman preacher, who went with me, seemed to feel that this man was his particular object that day; and, when silent for a moment, his lips were constantly moving in prayer for this one. We visited some twelve villages, and the people at one place came and rowed us home, a distance of three days. Some of them are with me still, reading the Scriptures, &c.

"It was a trip of joy and sadness mingled together; joy for the prospect of souls redeemed through the blood of Christ, and sorrow for the loss of my dear husband, who would have rejoiced over these repenting ones, who would have loved to point them to the Lamb of God; and not a few were the tears I shed when returning to my home. I had much to tell of God's mercy to those people; but he who was wont to sympathize with me in these duties was not there to greet me, and I almost wished that my frail bark would not convey me to my deserted home.

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

Four years and upwards have elapsed since we directed the attention of our readers to the opium traffic, and the multiplied evils which the sale of that drug was inflicting on the millions of the Chinese empire. At that time the subject was comparatively new to many, and had attracted but little consideration. Our remoteness from the scene of action appeared to relieve us of responsibility, and the question was put aside as one with which we had no immediate concernment. If incidentally referred to, while admitted to be an evil, it was pronounced to be one for which no remedy could be devised; and so men dismissed it from their thoughts, and the fiscal policy pursued with reference to opium continued to yield an increasing revenue to the government of India, but at the costly price, to China, of rapid demoralization and augmenting misery. We rejoice to find that, at the present moment, the position of this great question, one in which the character of this country is so deeply involved, is very different. The conscience of the nation is being awakened, and the conviction is gaining ground that our position with reference to this traffic is one which places us under the heavy responsibility of inflicting, for the sake of revenue, the most serious evils on a nation, which, immersed as it is in heathen darkness, ought to be to us an object of Christian sympathy and compassion, and to be receiving good, and not evil, at our hands. Various pamphlets and able articles have been put forward; a Society has been formed with a view to the suppression of the contraband trade, and the disentanglement of our country from the disgraceful position in which too long it has been suffered to remain; the Legislature itself is about to be moved in relation to this question; and we trust that the whole subject will at length receive that full and searching investigation which its importance requires. It is our national position that needs to be vindicated. If it were disgraceful to England to have shared in the iniquitous gains of the slave-traffic on the coast of Africa, and gifted men, jealous for the honour of their country, and solicitous to diminish the evils under the pressure of which humanity is suffering, rested not until the slave-trade was pronounced piracy, and the soil of our country became so free that to touch it suffices to give liberty to the slave; so, with respect to the opium, in its growth and sale, we trust that

the men who have taken up this subject will never rest, until the governmental growth of the poppy has been utterly eradicated, and the retailer who brings the drug to the coast of China be no longer suffered to carry on his traffic in armed vessels. This is the object to be compassed—nationally to disconnect us from a position into which we have been inconsiderately led, but in which it is impossible for us to persevere without national dishonour, and the flagrant violation of the most obvious principles of humanity. Let us consider for a moment. We have here two countries, England and China: the one, the leading Protestant nation of the world, pre-eminent in religious advantages and privileges, which she has enjoyed for several hundreds of years; the other, a dark heathen land, which—a few feeble Missionary efforts at detached points along its coast excepted—is utterly devoid of all knowledge of God. These two nations, remote as to situation, have been brought into comparative vicinity by the intervention of India—India, placed, in the providence of God, under the influence of England, for wise and holy purposes; but at present, in its increasing yield of the opium, in danger of becoming a blight and pestilence to the nations of the East. There opium is raised, and smuggled into China. The Indian Government grows it, and China is the unhappy consumer. The one derives from the drug, revenue—a very desirable element if fairly and legitimately raised; the other, from the same source, derives accumulative misery.

It is impossible for those who are engaged in communicating the gospel to the Chinese to stand aloof from this question, as one in which they have no speciality of interest. A double reason prevents them from being silent: humanity, which grieves to behold a moral pestilence, of the most virulent character, smiting and destroying a multitude of people; and the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, which are disparaged and imperilled by our national *mes-alliance* with the opium.

We shall introduce ourselves and our readers to the subject by extracts from several publications and papers, explanatory of various circumstances connected with the growth and sale of the opium.

“The poppy was originally a native of Persia, but it may now be found growing as an ornamental plant in gardens throughout

the civilized world. It is cultivated somewhat extensively in Turkey, and most of the opium used for medical purposes in Europe and America is produced in that country. But India affords a far more extensive field for its cultivation. It is estimated that more than 100,000 acres of the rich plains of Central India, as well as the alluvial valley of the Ganges, are now occupied for this purpose. Formerly, these same grounds were used for the production of sugar, indigo, corn, and other grain; but these useful crops have yielded to the more profitable culture of the poppy. It appears that a mild climate, rich soil, plentiful irrigation, and diligent husbandry, are absolutely necessary for its successful cultivation. The crop is also very much dependent on the season, being easily injured by storms and winds, as well as seriously affected by the amount of moisture distilled in the form of dew. The Rev. James Peggs, an English Missionary, having resided many years at Cuttack, a province in Orissa, India, gives the following account of the cultivation of the poppy, and the manufacture of its juice for market—

“In India, many thousands of men, women, and children, are employed in poppy cultivation, which is, throughout, a simple process. The ground, in the first place, requires to be finely ploughed, and completely cleared of all weeds. The fields are then fenced in, and divided off into many squares, by means of small dikes, and thus the requisite amount of water is conveyed to every part of the plantation. The plant requires to be well weeded and irrigated even until it comes to maturity, as the cultivation is entirely carried on during the dry season. The seed is sown in November; and during a period of about six weeks, in February and March, the juice is collected.

“The falling of the flowers from the plant is the signal for making incisions, which is done by the cultivators in the cool of the evening, with hooked knives, made for the purpose, in a circular manner around the capsules. From these incisions a white milky juice exudes, which is concreted into a dark brown mass by the heat of the next day's sun; and this being scraped off every evening as the plant continues to exude, it constitutes opium in its crude state.

“The great object of those in India who prepare opium for the China market, is, so to inspissate the crude juice as to leave a very hot-drawn, watery extract, which will, being dried, possess the greatest amount of purity and strength of flavour when smoked through a pipe. The Chinese themselves estimate its value in direct proportion to the amount of

these qualities. The process of inspissation is carried on in the cool shade, and care is observed in securing a proper jelly-like consistency, without grit or sourness, both of which are readily detected by the Chinese. When ready for market it has a smell peculiar to itself, heavy and not unpleasant, and possesses an adhesiveness which keeps it from dropping from the hand for some seconds, though the hand be in an inverted position. The Chinese carry it through another process of boiling before they use it. In smoking, they always lie down, and the ordinary kind of tobacco pipe is never used for opium.

“The Bengal opium is made into balls about the size of the two fists, and covered over with a hard skin, made of the petals of the poppy, each ball having a separate apartment in the chest when sent off to market. The chest is made of mango-wood, and consists of two stories, each story containing twenty balls. In other regions of India it is made into cakes about the size of a single fist, and packed up in dried poppy leaves, having no separate apartments in the chest. For the sake of securing their contents, the chests are always covered over with hides, or coarse cloth.”*

The following statistical paper, printed for the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, 1853, places before us the position which the government of India occupies with reference to the opium.

“OPIUM.

“BENGAL — In Bengal the revenue from opium is realized by means of a government monopoly. No person within the Bengal territories is allowed to grow the poppy except on account of the Government.† Annual engagements are entered into by the cultivators, under a system of pecuniary advances, to sow a certain quantity of land with the poppy; and the whole produce, in the form of opium, is delivered to the Government at a fixed rate.‡ The engagements,§ on the part of the cultivators, are optional.

* “The Opium Trade,” &c., by Nathan Allen, M.D. Lowell (U.S.) 1853. Pp. 6—8.

† “The cultivation of the poppy was prohibited in Bengal by Reg. 6 of 1799, sec. 3; and in the North-west Provinces by Reg. 41 of 1803, sec. 2.

‡ “The importation of opium into Bengal is virtually prohibited, the duty being fixed at 24 rupees per seer of 2lb., or about double the amount of its present selling price at the Calcutta Government sales.”

§ “Three and a half rupees per seer, or about 3s. 6d. per lb.”

§ “In the month of August contracts are en-

"The ordinary consequences of monopoly, increase of price to the consumer, and restriction on the employment of capital and industry, are not wanting in the working of the opium revenue system. The free cultivation of the poppy would doubtless lead to the larger outlay of capital, and to greater economy in production. But the poppy requires the richest description of land; and its extended cultivation must therefore displace other products. The price, too, is almost wholly paid by foreign consumers, viz. Chinese, Malays, &c.;"* and in obtaining the largest returns with the smallest outlay the best interests of India would appear to be consulted.

"**BOMBAY**—Opium grown and manufactured within the territories of Bombay is held to be subject to the duty of twelve rupees per Surat seer,† imposed by Bombay Regulation 21 of 1827 upon opium 'imported or brought into any harbour, or roads, or port, or place, either by land or sea, within the Presidency of Bombay, or territories subordinate thereto;' and this duty must be paid before its removal. The object of this heavy duty is to discourage its production. The cultivation of the poppy is stated to have ceased in the district of Ahmedabad in 1839, and nearly so in those of Kaira and Candesh. In Sindh the production of opium has been prohibited. The Government purchase all that is produced in Bombay, and supply, through the licensed retailers, the quantity required for home consumption.

"**CENTRAL INDIA**—A large revenue is derived from the transit of the opium of Malwa through the British territories to Bombay, for exportation to China. Previous to the year 1831 the British Government reserved

tered into with the ryots, and an advance, without interest, of 4 rupees per beega (nearly two-thirds of an acre) granted by the Government. The sowings commence in November, when another advance is made of 3 rupees per beega. Again in January and February, when the crop arrives at maturity, a third advance of about 3 rupees per beega takes place, to assist the cultivator in gathering the produce. The crop is collected by the end of March."

"* Under the convention of 1815 the French Government of Pondicherry are supplied with 300 chests of opium annually, at the average price obtained at the Calcutta sales."

"† The Surat seer consists only of 35 tolahs: the duty on opium is therefore somewhat heavier than in Bengal."

to itself a monopoly ‡ of the article, which was purchased by the British resident at Indore, and sold by auction either at Bombay or at Calcutta. But in that year it was deemed advisable, chiefly on account of the large quantity of opium smuggled to the Portuguese settlements of Demaun, &c., on the coast, to relinquish the monopoly, to open the trade to the operations of private enterprise, and to substitute, as a source of revenue in place of the abandoned system, the grant, at a specified rate, of passes to cover the transit of opium through the Company's territories to Bombay. In determining the amount of transit duty, it was proposed to be guided by a comparison of the cost of transit direct to Bombay with that of the transmission of the drug to the coast by the cheapest of the more circuitous routes through the territories of Native States; and on the basis of such a comparison it was fixed at 175 rupees per chest of 140lb. each. In 1835, the results of the preceding official year being unfavourable, the shipments of opium from Bombay having largely declined, while those from Demaun had greatly increased, the rate was reduced to 125 rupees per chest.

"The subjugation of Sindh afforded opportunity for the levy of a higher rate. Down to the period of that event a large portion of the opium of Malwa had been conveyed through Sindh to Karachi, and thence onwards to the Portuguese ports of Diu and Demaun. That route was now closed; and it was reasonably expected that an advance might be made in the charge of passes, without risk of loss to the revenue from a diminished demand for them. The rate was accordingly increased, in October 1843, from 125 rupees to 200 rupees per chest. Upon the principle that it was desirable to fix the price at the highest amount which could be levied, without forcing the trade into other channels, a further increase was made in 1845, when it was determined that the charge should be 300 rupees per chest. Under the like views it was, in 1847, raised to 400 rupees per chest.

"Poppy-seed is sown in Malwa in November; the plants are in flower in the early part of March; and from that time till the end of April the extraction of the juice proceeds. During the hot weather in May the extracted juice is allowed to settle; and in June, and early in July, the cakes are manufactured.

"‡ By separate treaties with the native princes of Central India, and which were subsequently cancelled."

“Statement showing the receipts from the Opium Revenue from the year 1834-35.”

Year.	Net Receipts from Bengal.	Net Receipts from Bombay.	Total Company's Rupees.	Total £ sterling at 2s. the sicca rupee.
1834-35	63,26,894	14,41,711	77,68,605	728,517
1835-36	1,32,01,613	17,18,455	1,49,20,068	1,399,000
1836-37	1,33,40,968	20,08,710	1,53,49,678	1,439,031
1837-38	1,43,67,238	14,97,222	1,58,64,460	1,487,291
1838-39	69,87,990	25,43,318	95,31,308	893,560
1839-40	32,60,761	1,17,014	33,77,775	316,668
1840-41	64,96,324	22,46,452	87,42,776	819,635
1841-42	80,38,669	21,48,989	1,01,87,658	955,093
1842-43	1,32,23,434	25,42,382	1,57,65,818	1,478,044
1843-44	1,67,59,482	34,68,780	2,02,28,262	1,898,274
1844-45	1,80,83,454	37,29,431	2,18,12,885	2,044,958
1845-46	2,20,77,262	59,56,243	2,80,33,505	2,628,140
1846-47	2,27,93,347	60,68,622	2,88,62,015	2,705,813
1847-48	1,29,15,296	37,18,549	1,66,33,845	1,559,423
1848-49	1,95,82,562	68,75,066	2,64,57,628	2,607,902
1849-50	2,80,07,968	72,94,635	3,53,02,603	3,309,637

NOTE—A chest of Bengal opium containing 164lb., or 80 seers, would cost the Government, at 3.8 rupees per seer, 280 rupees, and sell at Calcutta for upwards of 900 rupees, yielding a profit of about 7s. 6d. per lb.

A chest of Malwa opium containing 140lb., upon which the transit duty of 400 rupees had been paid, would afford a revenue to Government of about 5s. 8d. per lb.

“Statement exhibiting the number of chests of Opium sold in Bengal or exported from Bombay.”

Year.	Number of Chests of 164lb. each.	Number of Chests of 140lb. each.
	Bengal.	Bombay.
1840-41	17,858	16,773
1841-42	18,827	14,681
1842-43	18,362	24,337
1843-44	15,104	13,563
1844-45	18,350	21,690
1845-46	21,437	12,635
1846-47	21,648	18,602
1847-48	30,515	15,485
1848-49	36,000	16,500*

We have introduced this paper as giving an authorized *precis* of the relation in which the Indian Government stands to the growth and sale of the opium. In a more advanced stage of our subject we shall have occasion to revert to it. At present we shall merely glance, *en passant*, at two points. The engagement on the part of the cultivator is stated to be optional. It is, no doubt, such in the first instance. It is one, however, from which, when once formed, he finds it very difficult to disentangle himself. “To the poor man the advance is the chief inducement. He takes it at first, perhaps, to obtain a sum of money when urgently wanted; and, having once become dependent

* “It is stated, that neither the price of opium, nor the extent of cultivation in Malwa, have been affected by the great enhancement of the pass duty which has taken place since 1845.”

on this assistance at a particular season of the year, as he barely ekes out enough from this laborious occupation to pay his expenses, necessity compels him to continue the cultivation.” We remark, also, the assertion—“in obtaining the largest returns with the smallest possible outlay, the best interests of India would appear to be consulted.” Now we are persuaded that it is for the true interests of India that the growth of the poppy should be as limited as possible. Any measure, therefore, which is calculated to promote its growth, and ensure large returns, is mistaken policy.

We now resume our extracts from Dr. Allen's pamphlet—

“After the arrival of the drug in China, various chemical experiments are tried upon it, in order to make it more agreeable, and increase its pleasurable effects on the nervous system. It has been found, that, by subjecting it to a process of heating, evaporation, filtering, &c., its strength is very much increased, as well as its flavour greatly improved. Dr. Williams, in his work on China, vol. ii. page 388, gives the following minute account of this process, together with a description of the pipe used in smoking—

“The utensils used in preparing the opium for smoking consist chiefly of three hemispherical brass pans, two bamboo filters, two portable furnaces, earthen pots, ladles, straining cloths, and sprinklers. The ball being cut in two, the interior is taken out, and the opium adhering to, or contained in, the leafy covering is previously simmered three several times, each time using a pint of spring water, and straining it into an earthen pot: some cold water is poured over the dregs after the third boiling, and from half a cake (weighing at first about twenty-eight pounds, and with which this process is supposed to be conducted) there will be about five pints of liquid. The interior of the cake is then boiled with this liquid for about an hour, until all is reduced to a paste, which is spread out with a spatula in two pans, and exposed to the fire for two or three minutes at a time, till the water is all driven off: during this operation it is often broken up and re-spread, and, at the last drying, cut across with a knife. It is all then spread out and covered with six pints of water, and allowed to remain several hours, or overnight, for digestion. When sufficiently soaked, a rag filter is placed on the edge of the pan, and the whole of the valuable part drips slowly through the rag into a basket lined with coarse bamboo paper, from which it falls into the other brass pan, about as much liquid going through as there was water

poured over the cake. The dregs are again soaked, and immediately filtered, till found to be nearly tasteless: this weaker part usually makes about six pints of liquid.

“The first six pints are then briskly boiled, being sprinkled with cold water to allay the heat, so as not to boil over, and removing the scum, by a feather, into a separate vessel. After boiling twenty minutes, five pints of the weak liquid are poured in and boiled with it, until the whole is evaporated to about three pints, when it is strained through a paper into another pan, and the remaining pint thrown into the pan just emptied, to wash away any portion that may remain in it, and also boiled a little while, when it is also strained into the three pints. The whole is then placed over a slow fire in the small furnace, and boiled down to a proper consistency for smoking. While it is evaporating, a ring forms around the edge, and the pan is taken off the fire at intervals to prolong the process, the mass being the while rapidly stirred with sticks and fanned, until it becomes like thick treacle, when it is taken out and put into small pots for smoking. The boxes in which it is retailed are made of buffaloes' horn, of such a size as easily to be carried about the person. The dregs containing the vegetable residuum, together with the scum and washings of the pans, are lastly strained and boiled with water, producing about six pints of thin brownish liquid, which is evaporated to a proper consistence for selling to the poor. The process of seething the crude opium is exceedingly unpleasant to those unaccustomed to it, from the overpowering narcotic fumes which arise, and this odour marks every shop where it is prepared, and every person who smokes it. The loss in weight by this mode of preparation is about one half. The Malays prepare it in much the same manner. The custom in Penang is to reduce the dry cake made on the first evaporation to a powder; and when it is digested, and again strained and evaporated, reducing it to a consistence resembling shoemakers' wax.

“The opium pipe consists of a tube of heavy wood, furnished at the head with a cup, which serves to collect the residuum or ashes left after combustion: this cup is usually a small cavity in the end of the pipe, and serves to elevate the bowl to a level with the lamp. The bowl of the pipe is made of earthenware, of an ellipsoid, and sets down upon the hole, itself having a rimmed orifice on the flat side. The opium smoker always lies down, and the singular picture given by Davis, of a “Mandarin smoking an opium-pipe,” dressed in his official robes and sitting up at a table, was

probably made to order by some artist who had never seen anybody use it. Lying along the couch, he holds the pipe, aptly called *yen tsiang*, i. e. smoking pistol, by the Chinese, so near to the lamp, that the bowl can be brought up to it without stirring himself. A little opium of the size of a pea, being taken on the end of a spoon-headed needle, is put upon the hole of the bowl, and set on fire at the lamp, and inhaled at one whiff, so that none of the smoke shall be lost. Old smokers will retain the breath a long time, filling the lungs, and exhaling the fumes through the nose. The taste of the half-fluid extract is sweetish and oily, somewhat like rich cream, but the smell of the burning drug is rather sickening. When the pipe has burned out, the smoker lies somewhat listless for a moment while the fumes are dissipating, and then repeats the process, until he has spent all his purchase, or taken his prescribed dose.’

“In many of the cities of China may be found numerous shops devoted exclusively to the sale of the drug, with accommodations fitted up expressly for smoking.* The poorer classes generally resort to these shops, but the wealthier orders do their smoking more privately in their own dwellings. Many of these shops are represented to be the most miserable and wretched places imaginable. They are kept open day and night, each being furnished with a greater or less number of bedsteads, constructed of bamboo spars, and covered with dirty mats and rattans. A narrow wooden stool is placed at the head of the bed, which answers for a pillow or bolster; and in the centre of each shop there is a small lamp, which diffuses a cheerless light through this gloomy abode of vice and misery. The shopkeeper attends on his customers, serving them with a pipe, the prepared drug, and other implements used in smoking.” (Pp. 25—28.)

“Opium is one of the oldest and most valuable articles in the *Materia Medica*. It is used in medicine, in its various preparations, under a greater variety of circumstances, and to accomplish more important results, than any other single article. Strike out this drug from the list of therapeutical remedies, and it would be very difficult for the whole class of narcotics or sedatives, or even both combined, to make good its place. The immortal Sydenham once remarked, that if he could be allowed only two weapons with which to combat disease, in its multifarious forms, opium would be his first choice. So, on the other hand, the evils growing out of its abuse,

* Vide Frontispiece of “Church Missionary Gleaner” for October 1850.

surpass, in magnitude, permanency, and extent, those of all other medicinal agents combined, unless it be that of ardent spirits.

“By a series of experiments, it has been found that opium, given in large doses, operates on the whole animal kingdom as a powerful poison, causing paralysis, convulsions, stupor, and death; and the greater the development of the nervous system, the more marked and diversified the effects of the drug. So, in reference to the different races, as well as individuals of each race, its operations are not uniform. On the Indian and Negro, who have a predominance of the sanguine, lymphatic, or muscular temperament, its effects partake more of an animal nature; but where there is a greater development and activity of the brain, together with the nervous system, it operates more directly and effectively on the mind. At the same time, its deleterious effects on the body are by no means diminished.

“Again. The effects of the opium on the human system depend very much upon the quantity and frequent use, as well as the age, temperament, habits, idiosyncrasy, &c., of the individual. Its first and most common effect is to excite the intellect, stimulate the imagination, and exalt the feelings into a state of great activity and buoyancy, producing unusual vivacity and brilliancy in conversation, and, at the same time, the most profound state of perfect self-complacency. All ideas of labour, care, and anxiety, vanish at once from the mind. Then follow a succession of gorgeous dreams, or a continued state of ecstasy, almost indescribable. Mr. Tiffany, in his late work on the ‘Canton Chinese,’ thus happily attempts to sketch this state of the opium smoker—‘The victim inhales his allotted quantity, and his senses swim around him: he feels of subtle nature, he floats from earth as if on pinions. He would leave his humble station, his honest toil, his comfortable home: he would be great. He runs with ease the paths of distinction; he distances rivals; wealth and power wait upon him; the mighty take him by the hand. His dress is costly, his fare sumptuous, his home a palace, and he revels in the pleasures he has read of and believed to be a fiction. Music sounds through his lofty halls, sages assemble to do him honour, women of the brightest beauty throng around him: he is no longer poor, lowly, and despised, but a demigod. The feast is spread, the sparkling cup filled to the brim with hot wine, and he rises to welcome one whom he has left far behind in the path of glory, to tender to him triumphant courtesy. And as he advances a step, he reels and staggers

wildly, and competitors, guests, minstrels, magnificence, all fade from his vision, and the gray, cold reality of dawn breaks upon his heated brain, and he knows that all was nought, and that he is the same nameless creature that he has ever been. A cold shudder agitates his frame; weak and worthless, he seeks the air, but finds no relief. He cannot turn his thoughts to his calling, he is unfit for exertion, his days pass in sloth and bitter remorse. And when night comes in gloom, he seeks again the sorceress into whose power he has sunk, and whose finger mocks while it beckons him on.’

“There seems to be a wonderful power in the use of this drug, to attract and captivate. It holds out a temptation far more powerful than that of any other intoxicating agent. Such is the testimony of experience as well as observation in the matter. This fascination does not arise merely from that passion in human nature for excitement—that yearning after stimulus, and that horror of *ennui* which crowd the Parisian theatre, the English gin-palace, and the American bar-room; but from having experienced or heard of that peculiar state of ecstasy which can be produced only by this drug, and which has not inappropriately, in some respects, been termed the ‘Chinese heaven.’

“A writer in the ‘Chinese Repository’ for 1836, comparing the effects of ardent spirits with opium, after enumerating several points of resemblance, concludes his remarks (p. 297) as follows—‘There is but one point more of difference between the intoxication of ardent spirits and that of opium deserving of particular attention, and that is, the *tenfold* force with which every argument against the former applies to the latter. There is no slavery on earth to be compared with the bondage into which opium casts its victim. There is scarcely one known instance of escape from its toils, when once they have fairly enveloped a man. The fact is far too notorious to be questioned for one moment, that there is in opium, when once indulged in, a *fatal fascination* which needs almost superhuman powers of self-denial, and also capacity for the endurance of pain, to overcome. The operation of opium is, on this account, far more deadly by many degrees than its less tyrannous rival.’

“It is the *after* or *secondary* effects of this drug, which have such a destructive influence on the constitution. Its continued use destroys the natural appetite—deranges the digestive organs—impedes the circulation, and vitiates the quality of the blood—depresses the spirits, and gradually weakens the power

of the involuntary nerves as well as the volitions of the mind; thereby taking away the powers of free agency, and converting the man into the brute. How expressive the remark once made by a distinguished mandarin—*It is not the man who eats opium, but it is opium that eats the man.*

“The practice of *eating* opium as a luxury has prevailed for more than a century in Persia and Turkey, but that of *smoking* it originated at a much later period, and has been confined mostly to China and its adjacent provinces. The effects of the latter practice, we believe, are far more pernicious than the former. The truth of this position is supported by two arguments; 1st, The different *mode* of receiving the drug into the system; and, 2dly, From an examination of the *facts* in the case. When opium is taken into the stomach, besides its local effects, its influence is communicated both by the sentient nerves of the stomach to the cerebro-spinal system, and thence to the whole animal economy, and by absorption into the blood, through the veins and lymphatics. But when opium is inhaled into the lungs, it comes in direct contact with a far more extended and delicate tissue, composed in a great measure of nerves, and not only enters the circulation more or less by absorption, but at the same time, by its inherent nature, contracts the air-cells of the lungs in such a manner as to prevent the *blood from receiving its due proportion of oxygen*. This radical change in the quality of the blood must have a most destructive influence. The manner of smoking opium differs materially from that of tobacco. The process consists in taking very long whiffs, thereby expanding the lungs to their utmost capacity, and communicating the influence of the drug to all the air-cells, and at the same time retaining it there as long as possible. This secret explains, in part, the almost instantaneous and powerful effect which it exerts upon the whole system. In the former case, the poison enters the system very much diluted with other ingredients; but, in the latter, it is received in a purer and more concentrated form, and its deadly effects fall more directly upon the vital organs of the system.

“Now as to the *facts* in the case. Travelers in Persia, Turkey, and other countries, where the vice of opium eating has existed for a long time, do not represent the evils to be near as great as those of opium smokers in China. The change produced by the former practice upon the physical system is not characterized by so rapid or marked progress. Its victims, too, retain a better control, as well as longer use, of their mental faculties, and are known oftener to reform. . . .

“Let us listen . . . to the testimony of the Chinese themselves on this subject. A distinguished Chinese scholar, in a memorial to the Emperor, says—‘Opium is a poisonous drug brought from foreign countries; and, when the poison takes effect, the habit becomes fixed, and the sleeping smokers are like corpses—lean and haggard as demons.’ He proceeds to illustrate in detail its effects, under these heads—*It exhausts the animal spirits—impedes the regular performance of business—wastes the flesh and blood—dissipates every kind of property—renders the person ill-favoured— . . . —discloses secrets—violates the laws—attacks the vitals, and destroys life.* Another Chinese (holding a high office in government), speaking of opium smoking, remarks, that ‘when the habit becomes inveterate, it is necessary to smoke at *certain fixed hours*. Time is consumed, men’s duties are forgotten, and they can no longer live without this poison. Its symptoms are difficulty of breathing, chalky paleness, discoloured teeth, and a withered skin. People perceive that it hurries them to destruction, but it leaves them without spirit to desist.’ Another government officer writes to Sir Henry Pottinger, that ‘opium is an article whose flowing poison spreads like flames. It is neither pulse nor grain, yet multitudes of our Chinese subjects consume it, wasting their property and destroying their lives; and the calamities arising therefrom are unutterable. How is it possible to refrain from forbidding our people to use it?’ In another state paper this evil is described, by one of the Emperor’s ministers, ‘as a fearful, desolating pestilence, pervading all classes of people, wasting their property, enfeebling their mental faculties, ruining their bodies, and shortening their lives.’ (Pp. 30—34.)

Such is opium in the intensity of the effects which it produces on the human frame. Surely, then, to speak of it as “a luxury,” a prevailing taste amongst the Chinese, destructive only to “a small percentage of its consumers,” and to the gratification of which we are just as much at liberty to minister as to any other marketable demand which manifests itself in our commercial intercourse with other nations, must be pronounced a grievous misrepresentation. Attempts are being made to place this vice on a parity with the use of stimulants in European lands. Thus we find, in a recent publication, “Smoking a little opium daily is like taking a pint or two of ale, or a few glasses of wine, daily: smoking more opium is like taking brandy as well as beer or wine, and a large allowance of these latter: smoking very much opium is like excessive brandy or gin drinking,

leading to delirium tremens, and premature death." And again—"The opium smokers are like the alcohol drinkers, whether these latter drink the alcohol in beer or wine, or in brandy, gin, or rum: the opium smoking-houses are like beer-houses and gin-palaces: the opium merchants like wine merchants, and brandy, gin, and rum importers: and the opium producers like vine and hop growers, maltsters, brewers, and distillers."* We cannot agree to this classification, nor can we consider it otherwise than incorrect to place beer, wine, alcohol obtained by distillation, and opium, in the same category. Beer is a beverage, wholesome, if duly prepared, and used in moderation; wine a restorative; opium a medicine, and, as such, to be used only in an unhealthy and abnormal state of the body, and not otherwise. If tampered with by a healthy person, it produces an unnatural excitement, and a morbid craving after the stimulant, which, as the system becomes habituated to its action, needs to be increased in quantity. We are sceptical as to the duly moderated morning whiff, of which, in a recent pamphlet, an advocate of the existing system speaks, just "sufficient to produce an exhilaration that lasts through the day." The influence exercised upon the frame is unhealthy, and therefore craving. Drawn onward by a spell which he has no power to resist, although aware it is to his ruin, the consumer increases the quantity, until the vice absorbs him, and he is lost. It were absurd to say that the man who begins with beer or wine will not rest until he exceeds in the use of spirits, and becomes a drunkard, and the victim of delirium tremens. Such cases are exceptional. Numbers find no difficulty in using beer or wine without intemperance. We believe, on the contrary, that the instances of individuals who have been enabled to restrain themselves to a moderate use of opium are the exceptional ones, the great mass of those who touch it becoming abandoned to the vice; and that even "these moderate smokers are so much the slaves of the habit, that they feel too wretched, nerveless, and imbecile, to go on with their business without the stimulus."†

This attempt to show that opium smoking in China is no worse than spirit drinking at home is a popular and easy way of getting rid of the whole question; for, much as intemperance prevails at home, it cannot be said that the nation, as such, is vitally suffering and rapidly deteriorating under the effects of it;

and therefore, if the opium in China be only in the same degree injurious, there exists no necessity for any legislative interference, and we may safely leave the vice to be dealt with by moral influences only. "After frequent consideration of the subject during thirteen years, the last two spent at home, I can only say, that, although the substances are different, I can, as to the morality of producing, selling, and consuming them, see no difference at all."‡ We regret that the moral perceptions of the writer should be so indiscriminating; but we cannot follow a dim-sighted person in the conclusion to which he comes, and take him as our guide on a plain matter-of-fact question on which every person can decide for himself. There is assuredly a wide difference. Here are two nations, and two substances. Of the substances, one is much more powerful than the other. The proof is at hand. Laudanum is a compound of spirit and opium—proof spirit mingled with opium in the proportion of nineteen parts to one: yet is the opium the prevailing element in the compound, the spirits, indeed, being little more than the medium in which the opium is exhibited; so much so, that, in estimating the effect which the compound produces, the nineteen parts of spirits are almost lost sight of, and the one-twentieth part of the more powerful ingredient almost exclusively considered. But if the two nations be compared as to moral vigour, and capability of resisting injurious influences, there exists a still greater inequality. The one is sustained by Christian truth, and is possessed of Christian vitality, and is, therefore, only partially affected by temptations to intemperance; the other is utterly helpless, in destitution of religious truth, devoid of moral strength, and open to imbibe at every pore the poison which is administered. There is, in the constitution of society at home, a resistive power, which prevents the spread of intemperance beyond a certain limit. In the constitution of Chinese society there is no such counteractive principle. Yet to the weaker constitution the more potent element of mischief is administered, and then we are told that the Chinese are placed under no more disadvantageous circumstances, with respect to opium, than society at home is with respect to alcohol. Truly, to bring opium to the Chinese is the same as to administer ardent spirits to a child. It is taking advantage of their weakness and inexperience, to inflict upon them a deadly wrong.

The dangerous adaptation of this element to the unhealthy condition of society in China,

* Meadows' "Chinese," &c., pp. 487—489.

† Williams' "Middle Kingdom," vol. ii., p. 391.

‡ Meadows, p. 487.

may be estimated from the rapidity with which the vicious habit of opium smoking is extending itself among all classes of the Chinese. Let us now glance at the condition of one of those seaboard cities, in the anchorage of which opium receiving-ships are permanized, and fed continually by swift-sailing clippers, so that the victim shall never want the poison, in his infatuated love for which he is willing to destroy himself. We shall thus be made aware how powerfully the vice is extending itself, and what fatal injuries it is inflicting on the population of China. We shall select Fuh-chau as a specimen, a city, with its suburbs, containing a population of some six hundred thousand souls, and refer to the testimony of eye-witnesses. And first, that of our own Missionary, the Rev. W. Welton, from his medical knowledge possessed of more than usual facilities of intercourse with the Chinese, and at present in this country on account of enfeebled health. In a letter received April 10, 1856, he thus expresses himself—

“The Chinese have a proverb that the opium shops—that is, for selling, retailing, and smoking—are more numerous than the rice shops. There are regular public establishments in Fuh-chau, with opium pipes and the other necessaries for smoking the drug, in all parts of the suburbs and city, attended by gambling and licentiousness. These opium dens are fitted up with couches, burning lamps, opium pipes, with small utensils for tending the pipes. In entering these places, we are accustomed to see the victims of this habit in their different stages of narcotism; some under the full influence of the drug, with a vacant expression and lifelessness; others with the glistening eye and excited expression; others in the intermediate states and stages. These places are, some for the rich, some for the poor, and are most commonly met with in the more private streets, where they are very numerous, and greatly frequented. Besides these establishments, whither large numbers, especially of the poor, resort, it is to be remembered, that in numerous families an opium pipe is kept for the use of the members of the clan or family, and it is considered a mark of politeness and hospitality. Females are not exempt from this debasing and pernicious habit, but it is more rare among the fair sex. It is a common remark with those who visit this port, ‘How wretched and meagre the generality of the male sex are.’ This fully accords with our own observation, and must be ascribed, in a great measure, if not entirely, to the habitual use of this drug among them. The Chinese

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enumerate among the evils of opium smoking the following—the whole body pervaded by aches and pains; hands and feet enfeebled; headache and colicky pains; can neither sit nor sleep; cannot travel nor work; when meal-time arrives, loathe their food; frequent and incessant discharges from the nose and eyes. These symptoms are but premonitory to others far more serious, including a diarrhœa which it is most difficult, if not impossible, to remedy. After the habit is once formed, and cannot be kept up by a needful supply of the drug, which requires increase, the preceding category of evils ensue, and are so distressing and insupportable, that the victims of it will even sell their wives and children to get a supply. This is the invariable testimony of the Chinese themselves, which I am well able, from my medical practice among them, to corroborate and confirm. I have endeavoured, and have set on foot, a means of cure and breaking off the habit, for some years past. I almost invariably inquire of the sick whether they smoke opium, but can most commonly anticipate their doing so. Formerly I insisted upon applicants for a cure depositing their opium pipe, but found that so many resorted to the public opium-smoking establishments, that I ceased to make this request, and all who apply obtain the medicine at a nominal cost. This has given me more influence among the Chinese than perhaps all my other medical practice combined. The natives themselves are most anxious to devise means to relinquish the habit, without suffering the dreadful and distressing bodily ailments and symptoms already detailed. In proof of this, at the time I write this, numerous handbills are posted in every direction in the streets, pretending to have discovered some such precious antidotes to the evil effects of the drug. Empirics, as in England and America, avail themselves of the credulity and urgent necessities of their countrymen, by advertising a nostrum for the evils of this vice, pretending to be derived from America, Spain, India, the Red-haired country, Western-Ocean country, &c. Handbills for six of these different nostrums are now to be seen in the streets and suburbs of this city; and the natives tell us Missionaries how anxious they are to be rid of this appalling vice, and ask whether these pretended nostrums, with our country's name and letters attached, are genuine. I have had the anxious, solicitous wife accompany the husband, enfeebled by the practice of opium smoking, to my house, to see him deposit the opium pipe with me, and obtain the remedy; and then leave with joy at the prospect of

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being freed from the greatest of all curses. I have seen the husband dying with incurable diarrhœa, induced by the inability to obtain the drug any longer, the poor surviving wife left to earn a scanty pittance by making baskets. Missionaries never commend themselves nor their work to the Chinese in so favourable a light as when they denounce the evil of opium smoking, and exhort them to desist from it. The interest upon such occasions is genuine, and accompanied by earnest requests whether the Missionary has medicine to aid in breaking off the habit. Missionaries find, as the Chinese declare and fully know, that those who smoke opium are useless as servants, or in business, or in any responsible situation, and cannot be trusted or depended upon. A person engaged in the sale of opium at this port, an Englishman, lately told me that he would not keep a servant, i.e. a native, whom he knew to smoke opium, as one quite unworthy of credit and confidence.

“At first the opium may be taken to alleviate some disappointment in business—some temporary affliction of mind or body; and its immediate soothing effects, transferring the user into a temporary state of bliss, is a handle adapted to the purposes of the great adversary of men’s souls effectually to get them into his net, and ruin body and soul at once. I had not been in China long, before I found out its evils, and set on foot means to counteract, and deliver men, if possible, from this destructive vice. I reasoned how the debilitating effects of this practice could be best obviated. If I entirely suspended the use of the drug at once, a delirium tremens of a frightful nature would ensue, and I should have the credit of increasing their sufferings. Thus the basis of any treatment must be a very moderate use of opium internally, to secure rest, and sustain the system; at the same time administering the most powerful tonics of steel, bitters, and stimulating astringents. Diarrhœa is the most to be dreaded of all the evil effects of opium, as it will quickly undermine and destroy the remaining powers of the system. The form of medicine I now use, as most effectual, after much experience, is a composition of camphor, steel, bitter tincture, and a small quantity of opium, in form of pills. These I issue largely, and literary men and mandarins send persons to my residence to obtain them in considerable quantities. They are taken largely into the interior, and have a considerable notoriety; the proof of which is, that Chinese empirics have attempted to imitate them, and rival each other as to how they can best beguile the unhappy victims of this habit.”

Let us add to this the experience of an American Missionary at the same city, the Rev. L. B. Peet, communicated in a letter bearing date Jan. 23, 1856.

“I will give you, with pleasure, my experience and views of the opium traffic at this port, in its moral, religious, and physical bearings, and will first mention a few cases which have come under my own personal observation.

“I came to this city with my family eight years since. One of the first individuals employed in our family was a young man of good appearance and much promise, and who had previously been in the service of R. B. Jackson, Esq., H. B. M. consul at this port. He had learned to speak English to some extent, and might now find lucrative and honourable employment, had he not fallen a victim to the use of opium, which has reduced himself and family, a widowed mother and three brothers, to a state of beggary.

“Another young lad, of activity and of business habits, had been in the employment of an English opium dealer at this port, and was afterwards employed for a time in our family; but he had become so addicted to smoking opium, that he neglected our business, and we were obliged to turn him off. He was the sole dependence of a widowed mother, who was herself a pattern of neatness and industry, for a native. She was, for a time, our nearest neighbour, and apparently in comfortable circumstances; but, through the effects of opium, she has been deprived of her quiet and comfortable home, and she and her son are now wandering beggars in the streets.

“On the opposite side of the street, our next nearest neighbour was a young widow with three children—two daughters and one son—who had been left with a comfortable patrimony from their father. The eldest daughter was betrothed to an active young lad, who, for a time, was employed in a Missionary family, till his irregular habits, and use of the drug, deprived him of his position. A few months after, he became a poor, sickly beggar, and only asked the privilege of coming to the house of his betrothed to die; but this was denied him, and he died in the street. The young widow again married, and, after committing infanticide to save the trouble and expense of rearing another female child, she herself died a miserable death. The husband, being an opium dealer and consumer himself, has since seized upon the patrimony of the orphan son and two daughters. The former of these, the son, was once connected with my school, and was then a very clever, innocent boy, but has now become a

confirmed opium smoker. The two daughters are in the house of their stepfather, which is an opium shop and a brothel.

"Several cases have occurred here, under my own observation, where men, after they had expended all their property, disposed of most of their clothing and that of their wives and children, have actually sold their wives and children to obtain money with which to secure opium. An opium smoker sold his wife to an individual who was once in a Missionary's family in this place. This individual afterwards became a victim to the use of the drug, was then forsaken by his wife, and died a beggar, deserted and alone, in a miserable hovel.

"The use of the drug, and the laxity of official interference, to prevent both its introduction and use at this port, have greatly increased since our arrival here. The shops, or dens, for smoking it, are now far more public and numerous than they were then. At that time it was officially and frequently declared to be a prohibited article. Opium vessels lay outside of the harbour, and the drug was clandestinely conveyed up the river. The owner of one of our Mission premises, being caught engaged in the traffic, was seized by the mandarins, and condemned to banishment, where he now is, for so doing. But now, opium vessels lie in the river above the other foreign shipping, openly load and unload their drug, with the British flag floating over them, and a British man-of-war alongside to protect them. Under this flag is here read, every Sabbath, the prayers of the church; and under this same flag is sold, every other day in the week, this deadly poison to body and soul, to this heathen population."

The above documents are sufficiently demonstrative of the fact that the unhappy victims of the infatuation are well aware of the misery to which they have reduced themselves, and often and vainly struggle to escape from the meshes of the net in which they are entangled. "Few, very few, however, ever emancipate themselves from the tyrannous habit which enslaves them. They are able to resist its insidious effects until the habit has become strong; and the resolution to break it off is generally delayed until their chains are forged, and deliverance felt to be hopeless. The resolution, in their case, has, alas! none of the awful motives to enforce its observance which a knowledge of the Bible would give it: the heathen dieth in his ignorance."* One instance of a successful effort to break loose

from this destructive habit came under our own observation, the details of which may suffice to show how few there are who could be expected to sustain a similar ordeal. A Chinese of the name of Wang, who, having been superintendant of a gang of Chinese coolies in the West Indies, had saved some money, was on his way homeward, and called at the Church Missionary House. In the course of conversation he mentioned that he had been an opium smoker. Finding that he was undergoing a process of rapid impoverishment and deterioration in every way, he resolved to break off the habit. He said, "From this moment I touch not opium." The sudden withdrawal of the stimulant produced the most dire results. He became completely prostrated, unable to rise from his bed, sleep left him, appetite completely failed, and the vital powers appeared to be rapidly sinking. A native doctor was called in, who at once pronounced that he was suffering from the withdrawing of the stimulant, and that, without a recurrence to its use, he must inevitably die. The man's resolution remained unaltered; and his prompt answer was, "Let the consequence be what it may, I shall never again touch opium." Unceremoniously dismissed, the doctor hastened off to the brother of his patient, and placed the case before him, urging him to use all his influence to overcome his brother's determination. But his interference proved equally futile, and the man was left to die. At the expiration of a fortnight a healthful reaction set in, and, the vital energies gradually recovering from the prostration into which they had been thrown, Wang was restored to health.

Thus, consciously suffering under a destructive vice, from which they are helpless to free themselves, the Chinese regard the English as the authors of their misery. They are well aware that the opium is grown in our Indian empire, with a view to its sale on the Chinese coast, and that our Indian authorities derive from it a considerable revenue. They are, in consequence, strongly prejudiced against us, as preparing for them a temptation, and bringing it within their reach—one so peculiar and powerful that they find themselves helpless to resist it. We have before us explicit testimony in confirmation of what we have stated. Mr. Peet thus writes—

"You ask for the views the natives take of this traffic, and how it prejudices them against foreigners generally. What they say of it in reference to the Missionary work; how great a stumbling-block it presents, &c.

"Since my arrival at this port, in 1847, two works have been published by native

* Williams, vol. ii. p. 394.

scholars, which treat of this subject. One, the celebrated Chinese geography, published by the former lieutenant-governor of this province,* treats of the subject historically. This work shows where, by whom, and for whom, opium is grown and sold; how the English Government is connected with it, and profited by it, and lays the blame of a large part of this traffic where it justly belongs, upon the shoulders of that Government.

"The other work is a collection of pieces, both in prose and poetry, from some tens of different scholars of this city, published by one of the Lin family, son of the celebrated opium commissioner Lin, who destroyed the opium at Canton previous to the war. The work was published in the first year of the present reigning Emperor of China. It is in six volumes, and entitled, 'An Arrow shot at a bad bird nested in Black Rock Hill Tower,' i. e. the British Consulate in the city. The work opens on the subject of opium in the first volume, treats of it historically, giving the statistics of the trade for a number of years, showing how the English Government is benefited by it, and how the Chinese are impoverished and ruined by the use of the drug; and then inveighs strongly against the avarice of the English in imposing upon the Chinese this poison, even by the force of arms. 'Were our hills gold, and our silver as abundant as the ocean, they would not satisfy the avarice of the English.'

"I have not looked through the work, but presume that its title-page gives us a pretty fair index of its contents.

"These two works, coming from such sources as they do, have already done much towards forming public sentiment on the opium trade here, and must continue to do so for years to come, unless, indeed, a different course is pursued by the English Government from what it has heretofore pursued on this subject."

It is this prejudice against foreigners generally, and the English more specially, which causes great difficulty to the prosecution of Missionary work in China; and—until the people have learned to discriminate between one Englishman and another, and, from personal intercourse with the Missionaries, have become convinced that they dislike the opium traffic as much as they do themselves—leads them to turn disdainfully away from a religion which, as they think, bears such bitter fruits. The testimony of the American Missionaries is decided upon this point. In a re-

port of their proceedings at Canton for the year ending December 1, 1849, they say—

"Before closing this communication, we wish to advert to the obstacles we encounter in the opium trade, and the extensive use among the Chinese of this drug. This most seductive vice is on the increase, carrying poverty and disease wherever it goes, and is rapidly impoverishing the empire. We have only a limited knowledge of the evil which this practice occasions; but what we see proves conclusively its bad effects. It is draining the country of specie at the rate of about twelve millions of dollars annually; and that, too, from a land where no national bank, or system of credit, enables the Government or people to get along with a substitute for the precious metals. The contraband trade in opium induces a disregard of all law, and leads to smuggling in other articles; while it raises up and encourages a set of miscreants and pirates along the coast, who are too ready to act against their own authorities in connexion with the foreign vessels bringing the article on the coast. It places a temptation to indulgence before a people who have confessedly but little principle to resist even what they know to be wrong, and thus does much to destroy all moral rectitude, and strengthen habits of vice. Its use, as well as its abuse, destroys property, health, intellect, and life, either partially or wholly, and has done so already in a great degree. And, lastly, its introduction constantly sets against us the best portion of the Chinese people, who associate foreigners of every name and occupation with this pernicious traffic."†

"In the Memoirs of Rev. W. M. Lowrie, who had spent several years as a Missionary in China, and was drowned in the Chinese Seas, August 1847, being thrown overboard by pirates, we find, p. 207, this statement—

'One of the very greatest difficulties in the way of Christian Missions in China arises from the prevalence of the use of opium, and it is to be feared that it will long continue in the way. When a man acquires a taste for opium there is nothing he will not do to gratify it; and its use is most deleterious. It injures his bodily health, it stupefies his mental powers, and it deadens his moral feelings; and when the habit of using it is once confirmed, it is almost impossible to abandon it. The fondness for opium is one of the strong chains in which Satan has bound this great people, and it is a heart-sickening reflection that this evil luxury is supplied to them by the merchants

* "Church Missionary Intelligencer" for April 1851, pp. 90—92.

† "The Missionary Herald" (Boston, U.S.) for June 1850, p. 187.

of the two nations which profess to be actuated by the purest Christianity.’”*

Another American Missionary, the Rev. C. C. Baldwin, of Fuh-chau, shows that, at the commencement of 1856, the same difficulty continued to be experienced.

“You request me to make some statements respecting the evils of the opium trade at this port, as they have fallen under my personal observation. I will cheerfully comply with this request, without, however, enlarging on any point; for in this matter, as it seems to me, naked facts are of more value than declamation, and such facts alone, under God’s blessing, can produce an anti-opium reform. I have been a Missionary at this port nearly eight years, during six or seven of which I have been more or less actively engaged in teaching the gospel, or preaching it, to the multitudes. The character of such a work has naturally furnished innumerable occasions for conversation, debate, and inquiry, on the part of the people, on what interested them most; and I need not say that one of the most prominent topics, if not the most prominent one, has been opium. This has often excluded many religious topics, which, to the Missionary, very naturally seem to be of transcendent importance. Even this seems a barrier to the gospel, to say nothing of far greater hindrances which are due to opium. It has often seemed to me that the people are exercised with an anxiety respecting opium as deep as can be expected from a people so lost to moral sentiment, and so reckless of evil, as the poor Chinese are; and this anxiety extends, not to the victims of opium only, but to others. It is a pleasing thought, that, as religious truth increases its influence, this concern will deepen and extend; but we trust that we shall not be compelled to look to the distant future to cure the evil. The people fully admit the magnitude of the evil, and the great sin of the whole business: its victims especially admit this. It is sometimes said they will have it (opium) in some way; and so, probably, they will, as long as it can be found: still, the fact is confirmed, by long and close observation, that they sincerely and deeply feel the curse that smites them. They charge the evil upon us to our faces, often with a triumphant air and expressions of scorn. Think of a minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ being compelled almost daily to refute such an odious charge! And when successful in disproving personal guilt, we see with pain that our influence is shorn of its strength, because candour compels us to ad-

mit that we belong to the same nation with dealers in opium. They immediately take a short turn upon us with this, or the like, ‘You must first exhort them not to bring the opium here.’ All evils seem thrown into the shade by that of the depraving effects of the trade and use of opium among the people. It is undeniable that the effect is to blunt the moral sensibilities as perhaps no similar vice ever does. The Chinese are proverbially deceitful; and opium has a large share in deepening and perpetuating this feature of the national depravity. An ordinary Chinaman cannot be trusted, at least fully and habitually, much less a confirmed opium smoker. His lies are the most unblushing of all; and worst of the worst is the awfully destructive influence of opium on the moral perception of truth and duty. Humanly speaking, the reclamation of a confirmed opium smoker is impossible. I cannot refer to particular occasions on which the above facts have been apparent, because such occasions have been very numerous. They as much form a part of my observation, as a Missionary, as any other well-known facts do.”

Our own Missionary, the Rev. W. Welton, bears similar testimony. Writing under date of February 1856, he says—“There is one part of the subject which should have its due weight in England, and that is, the unquestionable opposition and antipathy which the Chinese rulers and people have to the introduction of the drug into China, that section of the Chinese being, of course, excepted, who derive a profit and livelihood by its sale and commerce. The evidence of Missionaries on this point is decisive and uniform. In their ministrations among the people they continually come in contact with the strong feeling which exists in the national mind on this subject. The Chinese retort upon the Missionaries thus—‘Why do you Christians bring us opium in defiance of our laws? This vile drug has poisoned my son, ruined my brother, and well nigh led me to beggar my wife and children.’ When recommending gospel truth to this people, we are constantly taunted with being the introducers of this noxious drug; and when we endeavour to dissuade them from the use of it, they say, ‘You bring it to us, and yet tell us not to use it,’ venting their indignation at our apparent hypocrisy in so doing; and it is very difficult to convince them of the contrary. My colleagues, Messrs. Fearnley and M’Caw, tell me that they were walking on the city walls some days ago, and the Chinese, excited by curiosity, as is the custom, asked politely who they were; and on being told they were En-

* Allen, pp. 72, 73.

glishmen, they addressed them at once, referring to the evils of the opium traffic, and showing how much they identify the traffic with Englishmen. The Chinese themselves are the best judges of the evil of opium, morally and physically; and they testify largely to us Missionaries and medical men their abhorrence of it, considering it a moral bondage and physical slavery. The late lieutenant-governor of this city (Fuh-chau), author of a Chinese geography in five volumes, an enlightened and liberal Chinese, in treating of India, writes—'How strange it is that the same country which produced and gave us Buddhism, should also give us opium!' meaning to imply, How strange it is that good and evil should emanate from the same source! Our teachers and literary men have great horror of opium, and will not be seen or known to have any thing to do with it, and those among them who use it are regarded with distrust. I once asked my teacher if he could procure for me an order to have some opium for medical purposes. I shall never forget his stern objection to do any thing of the sort, and I think he would almost have left my service, had I urged him so to do. The better and higher classes revolt at the idea of legalizing the introduction of opium, and the Imperial Government, although hard pressed for money to carry on the defence of the dynasty, dare not sanction such a step, knowing that it would at once seal their fate as a Government."

Of the irritation caused by the opium vessels and traders on the coast previous to the breaking out of the first war with China, no doubt can be entertained. The proofs remain on record in the state papers of the period. In a Factory letter, dated Canton, Nov. 16, 1833, and signed by W. H. C. Plowden, J. F. Davis, and J. N. Daniell, the following passage occurs—"It has hitherto been our policy, as well as our interest, to profess non-interference as to what passes without the Bogue, with the quarrels and disturbances which arise between the crews of the opium ships and the natives; but we fear the time has been gradually approaching, and has now arrived, when the system of non-interference has raised up a power, and encouraged a lawless and piratical mode of procedure, which it is absolutely incumbent upon us to put down;" and yet that system of non-interference has been persevered in to this present day. The onus of suppressing the contraband traffic has been thrown on the native Government, while, at the same time, the receiving ships have been permitted to furnish themselves with such a heavy armament, as to render futile

any such attempt upon the part of the Chinese authorities. In another part of the same letter, reference is made to "the violent and oppressive acts of the opium ships in the Kumsing-moon." So disreputable at that time were the proceedings connected with the opium trade, that the Factory Committee, in an address to the Viceroy of Canton, are careful to state, "Your Excellency is doubtless aware that we are in no way connected with the operations of the opium ships carrying on their trade at Lintin and its vicinity, without molestation or interference on the part of the officers of the Canton Government, who alone are the proper authorities to put in force the laws of the Celestial Empire." And again—"We beg again to inform your Excellency that we disclaim all connexion with the operations of the opium ships, which remain outside the river, unmolested by the officers of this province. We cannot be responsible for acts of violence and affray between these ships and the Chinese. . . . We reside in Canton, conducting the trade of our country according to established regulations: is it to be supposed we can be considered in any way responsible for the opium trade at Lintin and its vicinity, conducted by ships of many nations?"

The commercial privileges of the East-India Company ceased in 1834, and the Home Government decided on the appointment of a commission of experienced men, who should be charged with the oversight of English subjects on the coast of China; and that office was successively filled by Lord Napier, Sir J. Davis, and Sir G. R. Robinson. The latter gentleman, in his communications with the Government, adverts to the scuffles between different parties of smugglers and mandarins, and admits that British ships were in the habit of committing irregularities and crimes. In 1837 took place the memorable discussion amongst the Chinese ministers at Peking, some recommending the legalization of the opium, and others as resolutely opposing such a measure. Eventually the determination of the Court was against the legalization of the traffic, and stringent orders were issued for its suppression; so that the years 1837 and 1838 were marked by a continual struggle between the officers of the Government, the native smugglers, and the foreign dealers. The position of the British functionary became more and more complicated. As the superintendent of trade, he was called upon by the provincial authorities to drive away the receiving ships from Lintin, and prohibit their return. He was constrained to acknowledge that, with referen-

to the opium traffic, he had no authority to interfere, and that his commission extended only to the regular trade. What must the native authorities have thought of the British Government, who, while sending out a representative direct from England, had omitted to give him any instruction whatever with respect to those contraband proceedings which continued to be the cause of so much exasperation between the two nations? The determination of the Chinese Government to prevent the introduction of opium and the exportation of sycee seemed to increase. Collisions between the officials and native smugglers became more frequent. At length occurred the attempted execution of Ho Lau-kin, a convicted dealer, in front of the Factories, and the riotous action of the Cantonese on the refusal of the foreigners to permit its taking place. Captain Elliot, at a general meeting of the residents, did not hesitate to express his conviction that the smuggling traffic in the river was the cause of these untoward events, and denounced it as a proceeding which was rapidly staining the British character with deep disgrace. At length Commissioner Lin arrived, and that series of events took place which terminated in war between England and China, until, after two years of active hostilities, the treaty of Nanking was concluded, August 29, 1842. It was on this occasion that Keying and Elepo, the Chinese commissioners, eagerly requested to know why we would not act fairly towards them in prohibiting the growth of the poppy in our dominions, and thus effectually stop a traffic so pernicious to the human race; and received from the English plenipotentiary the reply, "Your people must become virtuous and your officers incorruptible, and then you can stop the opium coming into your borders." With justice might they have replied, "How shall we become thus virtuous? for you refuse to help us, and we have no means to help ourselves. You, who profess to be virtuous, persist, for the sake of gain, in feeding a vicious propensity which has obtained amongst us. How, then, can we improve, when your efforts and our own unhappy propensities combine to make us increasingly vicious. Not long after the treaty had been signed, and before the British troops had left the Chinese coast, an *emeute* occurred at Canton, and the Hongs east of Hog Lane were committed to the flames. On this occasion the British merchants at Canton addressed a letter to Sir Henry Pottinger, in which, after expressing their conviction that the attack on the Factories was preconcerted, they refer to the hostility to the English

which prevailed very generally among certain orders in Canton, and request that protection might be afforded them by the naval and military commanders. Sir Henry's answer is very pointed. He does not scruple to declare, that, if exasperation and excitement existed among the Chinese, "it must have been brought about by ourselves, that is, partly by mismanagement and partly by ill-treatment; and I believe both these causes to have had a share in bringing matters to their present crisis."

From that period the Chinese appeared to have abandoned, as useless, all further attempts to put down the traffic by force. They had tried the experiment, and found it to be a costly one, too much so to be repeated. The opium traffic has continued therefore ever since to be actively prosecuted, but it has produced its results: it has thoroughly alienated from us the national mind of China. The Chinese are conscious that we are inflicting upon them a grievous injury, and that we are availing ourselves of our superior power for that purpose; and, viewing us with antipathy, they would gladly, were it possible, affect Russia and exclude us. Incidental admissions, in the official communications addressed to the Home Government, sufficiently indicate the disaffection with which the English continued to be regarded by the Chinese, and the irritating action of the opium traffic on the coast. Sir J. Davis, writing to Commissioner Keying, February 21, 1846, on the subject of some ill treatment to which a British naval officer had been subjected when taking exercise in the vicinity of Whampoa, says—"The lawful and regular traders of my country, and even the officers of Her Majesty's ships, cannot proceed on shore within the port of Canton without being attacked. On the outside of the port, however, at Namoa and Kumsing-moon, the lawless smugglers of opium have formed settlements on shore, and built houses, and made good roads. This is all by the connivance of the lower mandarins, who receive forty dollars on every chest. Thus, while lawful and regular traders within the port are maltreated, the smugglers of opium violate the treaty in going to forbidden places along the coast, where they live on shore unmolested; and, if attacked by the Chinese, they shoot and kill them at their pleasure." We at once understand why they were unmolested. They were well armed, and unscrupulous in the use of their weapons. The Chinese dare not interfere with them. But their reckless conduct brought odium on all foreigners, the English more especially; and whenever an op-

portunity presented itself, the Chinese did not hesitate to manifest their dislike, and thus the innocent suffered for the guilty." Sir J. Davis adds—"I have already declared to the outside smugglers of opium that I cannot protect them at Namoa and Kumsing-moon." But it was needless he should do so. They had taken the matter into their own hands, and were prepared to defend themselves. That the dislike towards the English did not confine itself to the neighbourhood of Canton is evident, from the language used by Consul Alcock, of Shanghai, to Sir J. Davis, March 17, 1848—"Without protection in the midst of a population which regards us generally with more or less of dislike, and often with a feeling of active hostility, there can be no security for life or property; and without prompt and full redress for injury, insult, or violence, is to be obtained, there is no protection."

In further evidence of the feelings of hostility which our opium proceedings have very generally excited in the Chinese mind, we may mention that, in August 1866, two bills were posted on one of the walls of the Foreign Settlement at Shanghai, one addressed to foreigners generally, the other to the native assistants in the employment of Missionaries and others. From the former of these we give an extract, translated.

"How ridiculous it is for barbarians to come to Shanghai, thinking by preaching to gain the hearts of the people! For us to deem this a good deed is, alas! too late. Twenty years previously they might have preached with more chance of success. But in the first place, opium, the originating cause of the evil, has ruined the minds of the people; and then, having deliberated with no good heart, soldiers came out, and, without any reason, brought desolating sorrow upon the place, reduced the city and suburbs, and slew ten thousand people. Their hearts penurious, their counsels short-sighted, formerly they erred. Now they circulate tracts; but their doctrine is not good. The people, in their hearts, hate them—aye, detest them to the very backbone. They should speedily assemble and destroy these apes. As far as I can see, truly there is no good thing about them. They would purchase what kind of reputation? In their heart they wish the people to praise them. Though they have a treaty of commerce, and say they wish to do business peaceably, yet this is only the profession of their lips; their hearts are false: the treaty is no security for their good conduct. Besides this, the imaginations of their hearts are like snakes', full of poison. They

deprive the people of their dollars, in some cases of hundreds, in others of thousands and tens of thousands. . . . It is altogether inconsistent for you foreigners to preach the way to heaven. . . . Unable to remedy your own faults, you proclaim yourselves virtuous. Your sins are so numerous that it would be impossible to punish even one in every ten thousand. How many improper things of a licentious nature are you guilty of? Yourselves sinful, you pretend to correct other men. If you would discourse concerning sin, tell of your own misdeeds, which are pre-eminent. Though every one of you were cut in twain, the punishment would be too light. Hypocritically proclaiming a foreign doctrine, you come as devils to turn every thing upside down. Corrupting the people to the very core, and praising yourselves as virtuous, you esteem a good deed."

The animus of the insurgents in the interior may not be omitted. Their position is becoming more and more defined, and confessedly important. They now exercise authority over a region equal in extent and population to some of the most powerful states of Europe, throughout the extent of which the people have discarded the Mantchu costume, and reverted to that of the Ming dynasty. In a portion, if not throughout the whole, of this extensive territory, the people pay taxes for the support of the Nanking Government. It is stated that they are at present in the receipt of the taxes from a part of Hoo-pih, a large part of An-why, and the whole of Kiangsi, excepting the department of Nan-ch'ong. A further and remarkable evidence of their improving condition may be mentioned. The system of literary examinations is one of the charters of rights of the Chinese people: they have enjoyed it for twelve centuries; and offering, as it does, the dignities and emoluments of office as the prize of talent and industry, encourages them to effort, and controls the despotic action of the sovereign; and there is no doubt that, in resorting to the sale of public offices, to which, since the war with England in 1840, their increasing financial necessities have compelled them, the Mantchu emperors have been loosening the very foundations of their throne. The insurgent leaders have adopted the system of examinations, and thus afford to the candidates the opportunity of competing for literary honours and civil office. It is said, that, at an examination held at Nanking, ten of the candidates attained the rank of Tsinsze, and that one of the themes discussed was the identity of the Heavenly Father with the Shang-te of the classics. Such being the well-consolidated position of the insurgents, it is

more than probable that the present conflict will end in a dismemberment of the empire. the provinces south of the Yang-tze-kiang falling to the share of the insurgent party. Now, of their hostility to the opium and its use no doubt exists. In their public documents the habit is unsparingly condemned. We quote from the imperial declaration of Tae-ping—

“There are those who drive on till they fall into a snare are:

Getting accustomed to opium, they become mad upon it.

In the present day many a noble son of Han Has stabbed himself with the opium dagger.”

As these people approach the coast, and occupy the sea-board cities, we must expect, if unhappily our present policy be continued, to find ourselves in collision with them on this very point.

To the catalogue of evils already enumerated as resulting from the contraband trade in opium, one more may be added of a disquieting nature, the withdrawal of specie from circulation, and the disturbance of the monetary equilibrium.

The results of legitimate trade between Great Britain and China have been such as, year by year, to leave a considerable balance in favour of the latter country. But then the opium item interposes, and not only destroys the balance in favour of China, but transfers it to our side of the account. Thus in 1847 the balance on recognised trade, in favour of China, amounted to 2,170,687*l.* But China took opium to the amount of 5,400,000*l.*; thus eventually leaving a balance against her of 3,229,313*l.*

A report, forwarded by Mr. Alcock in 1848, on the state and prospects of British trade, in reference more especially to the imports of opium and export of specie, will enable us to understand the disturbing influence which the contraband traffic has exercised on legitimate trade in China. “The imports of opium, with the consequent exports of specie, exceed in amount the recognised trade, and exercise a proportionate influence upon the development and progress of the other.” England’s imports from China at that time were double those of her exports to that kingdom. The latter stood at 10,000,000 of dollars, the former at 20,000,000; leaving thus a balance in favour of the Chinese of 10,000,000 of dollars. But British India interposed to turn the balance the other way. She exported to China 5,000,000 dollars of raw cotton, and imported thence 2,000,000 dollars of raw silk and other produce; thus reducing the balance in favour of China to 7,000,000 of dollars. But besides this, she exported that year 23,000,000 dollars

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of opium, thus leaving a balance against China, on the India trade, of 16,000,000 of dollars. This had to be diminished by 6,000,000 of dollars in favour of China on the American trade, leaving a final balance of 10,000,000 of dollars to be paid in specie by China. The increasing value of the dollar at Shanghai, even so far back as 1848, shows the increasing scarcity of silver in consequence of the large annual export of specie in payment of opium.

The Consul at Canton, in his report for 1849, also refers to the export of bullion, mostly sycee silver, to a large extent, to England, chiefly round the Cape of Good Hope; as also to the export of chopped dollars to India in large quantities, where they were melted down, and never returned to China. Thus there has been going forward a system of continuous impoverishment. We have taken from China a large amount of valuable produce in teas and silks; we have given her in return a limited proportion of manufactured goods; and the balance of the trade, which was against us, we overpaid in opium, so as to leave China in our debt to a considerable amount, which she has been obliged to pay in specie. Our long cloths and opium have been the set-off against the silks and tea of China; and if the demand for opium exceeded the equipoise, the excess had to be covered with specie.

“It is no wonder, then, at reading that the cabinet of Peking has placed it on record that they ‘were struck dumb by this oozing out of the silver;’ and here we have a great reason, if not the sole reason, why the recent and present rate of exchange has ranged as high as 7*s.* and even 8*s.* per dollar. What other nation could so long have borne such a drain of its precious metals? The resources of China in tea, silk, and other sources, must have been considerable, to bear up under this drain. Besides this immense drain of silver in diminishing the resources of China, the consumption of opium by the people tends powerfully to impoverish the empire in other ways most injuriously; for if the wealth of a nation be made up of the wealth and resources of each individual composing it; and if, as political economists have decided, the original sources of wealth be labour, land, and capital; whatever tends to lessen one or other of them must lessen the wealth and resources of that whole nation in the same degree. Capital is wont to be employed in two ways—by loan, and so producing capital, or by expending it on the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life (and many of these are afforded by foreign com-

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merce): if the former of these be small, the latter will be small also, and *vice versâ*. Capital will be increased by the lessening of expenditure, and lessened by increase of expenditure. Let us, by way of illustration, apply these established principles in political economy to the use of opium among the Chinese. We put a case. A man buys opium and smokes it, which he would well be able to dispense with. The money he pays for the drug, and the time consumed in smoking it, are a dead loss; and what aggravates the loss is, that the labour of this man, according to the testimony of all writers and medical men on and in China, becomes less productive, and the capital, of course, produced by his labour is diminished also: and so long as the opium smoker continues to buy and smoke opium, his capital and labour go on progressively diminishing, and thereby the individual becomes more and more impoverished. Such is the lamentable state and condition of many millions in China; so that it is manifest that the use of the drug is an obvious violation of every correct principle of political economy, and has greatly tended, and is still tending largely, to the impoverishment, the moral and physical degradation and wretchedness, of the people of China; rapidly diminishing all the resources of national wealth, and consequently incapacitating them, in an equal degree, to consume foreign manufactures, and the produce of western nations. This becomes the more manifest, when we consider that those who smoke opium are the male part, the great producers; and it has been estimated by competent judges, that those who smoke opium live on an average only ten or twelve years after the commencement of the practice: so that, commercially, it is sufficiently evident, we trust, that it is a great evil, and in every way calculated, like the slave-trade formerly on the African coast, to check and prevent all or any extension of legitimate commerce with foreign nations."

On a review of the whole subject, we cannot be surprised if the national mind of China be disaffected towards us. We have offered enough of provocation. We have placed ourselves in collusion with the worst members of the community, and, in despite of the known regulations of an empire with which we have formed commercial treaties, have thus introduced into the heart of the empire a pestilential drug, which is generating amongst them calamities such as, throughout their long history as a nation, they have never known. We have taught this unhappy heathen nation a new vice, and the evil fire which we have kindled we continue

perseveringly to feed. All that is respectable in China is disgusted at the position which we occupy. On every side they behold the rapidly increasing symptoms of national disorganization. A new and subtle evil is penetrating the inner and domestic life of the Chinese, and from thence ruin is going forth over the whole land. There is no doubt that the benevolence of expression which the English countenance bears on the African coast, in China is altogether wanting. To China, England appears not as a friend, but as a cold speculating calculist, who, for the sake of gain, hesitates not to injure and destroy another. It ought not to be considered strange, if, when there are abroad such elements of dissatisfaction, political complications suddenly and unexpectedly occur. The immediate cause may be comparatively trifling and incidental, having no ostensible connexion with the opium subject. But the more insignificant it may appear to be as a cause of national collision, the more strongly it exhibits the disaffected condition of the Chinese, the product of a prolonged series of wrongs and of disquietudes connected with the opium question, which, silently increasing, at length ignite and explode on the application of a spark. The Chinese, when irritated, is savage, dogged, vindictive, and persevering. Once embarked in hostility, he soon commits himself to acts of treachery and inhumanity which cannot be justified. Both in 1840 and at the present time such acts have been perpetrated. In such circumstances, the British authorities on the coast are placed in most embarrassing circumstances. They must act with vigour, for life and property are alike endangered and yet, while constrained to do so, they have the discomfort of remembering that other causes, over which they have no control, and for which they are not responsible, have generated all the bad feeling; that other men have carried off the gain of the opium traffic, and bequeathed to them its difficulties. At such times the Chinese authorities are obstinately unreasonable, overbearing, and indiscriminate in their strokes of vengeance. What shall commissioners and admirals do under such circumstances? If they yield, and endeavour to compromise, they provoke fresh insult, and place in jeopardy the lives of all for whose safety they are responsible. If they adopt decisive measures, and endeavour, by well-timed operations, directed in such a manner as to avoid as much as possible the effusion of human blood, they are subjected at home to public and legislative censure. The sins and provocation of half a century, participated in



THE FISH-MARKET, CANTON.—*Life page 91.*

by all ministers, and all shades and sections of political opinions, are forgotten; and the national irritation and antagonism which they have generated is laid at the door of those who happen at the moment to be vested with the supreme direction of affairs, and who are no more blameable for the unhappy crisis which has occurred than the most zealous of their impugners. Let us not conceal the fact from ourselves: by the opium traffic we are making enemies of the whole Chinese na-

* We have introduced an engraving of the Fish-market at Canton. It is reminiscent of an important phase of Chinese life and habits, which Sir John Bowring has thus described—

“It has been supposed that nearly a tenth of the population derive their means of support from fisheries. Hundreds and thousands of boats crowd the whole coast of China, sometimes acting in communities, sometimes independent and isolated. There is no species of craft by which a fish can be inveigled which is not practised with success in China—every variety of net, from vast seines, embracing miles, to the smallest handnet in the care of a child.

tion, and are beginning to discover the painful position to which we have reduced ourselves—that we must either retire from the coast of China, or prepare to wage an exterminating war with 360,000,000 of people, unless we would avert such a calamity by the sacrifice of a victim, namely, the immolation of the opium traffic.*

Fishing by night and fishing by day, fishing in moonlight, by torchlight, and in utter darkness, fishing in boats of all sizes, fishing by those who are stationary on the rock by the seaside, and by those who are absent for weeks on the wildest of seas, fishing by cormorants, fishing by divers, fishing with lines, with baskets, by every imaginable decoy and device. There is no river which is not staked to assist the fisherman in his craft. There is no lake, no pond, which is not crowded with fish. A piece of water is nearly as valuable as a field of fertile land. At daybreak every city is crowded with sellers of live fish, who carry their commodity in buckets of water, saving all they do not sell, to be returned to the pond or kept for another day's service.”

RUPERT'S-LAND MISSION.

(Continued from page 59.)

In our review of the Rupert's-Land Mission there was one Station unavoidably deferred, that at York Factory, the most recently occupied. In touching upon it we shall have afforded to us the opportunity of introducing an interesting narrative by the Rev. W. Mason, of a journey made by him to Churchill, a post considerably to the north of York Factory, and of his interviews there with Chepewyan Indians.

York Factory stands on the banks of Hayes River, which falls into Port Nelson, on the western shore of Hudson's Bay. It is the principal dépôt of the Hudson's-Bay Company, whence all the supplies are issued, and all the returns collected and shipped for England. The little congregation at York Factory assembles in “a good-sized room, with a small stove: a desk, placed on a square table, answers the purpose of a pulpit, and forms and chairs serve for pews. But the blessed effects produced by the word and ordinances of God are the same, whether performed in the spacious and splendid cathedral, or in the simple room.” The winter cold here is severe. We mark, in the journals of the Rev. W. Mason, the following records—

Nov. 14, 1855.	The thermometer	4°	below zero.
“ 15, “ “ “	“ “	18°	“
“ 16, “ “ “	“ “	21°	“
Dec. 19, “ “ “	“ “	37°	“
“ 22, “ “ “	“ “	41°	“

The cold at this date intense, so that parties venturing out had to run hard to keep themselves from freezing. Feb. 1, 1856, the glass varied from 20° to 30° below zero: during the preceding days, beautiful mock suns and large circles appeared around the sun. On the 24th of this month the winter so far relaxed its severity, that the thermometer rose as high as zero; but again, on March 13th, it is found at 34° below zero.

The out-stations are Severn, to the south-east, and Churchill to the north-west, both on the Hudson's-Bay coast, besides a place called Trout Lake, lying between Hudson's Bay and Lake Winnipeg. At these points there are little groups of Christian Indians, who occasionally visit York Factory, and, when at home, unite, on the Lord's-day, in prayer and praise. How intense is their thirst for Christian instruction, and how earnestly they improve to the utmost such opportunities as are placed within their reach, may be collected from the following extracts—

“July 11, 1856—The Severn and Trout-Lake boats arrived this morning before breakfast. The Christian Indians came into the school, and remained all the time, listening with great attention to the children as they repeated their lessons. I afterwards took them into my room, and had a little conversation with them. Of those who came here last spring, all but four were present. I gave them all hymn-

books, which I had got bound during the winter, and kept on purpose for them. They begged for books, and I felt happy in being able to give them Prayer-books, St. John's Gospel, and hymn-books.

"*July 12*—I was informed that 150 Indians had come to Severn, expecting to see me this spring. They are very anxious to receive instruction and to obtain baptism. All the Severn and Trout Indians came to see us today; and the entire day was taken up in speaking to them on the important subjects of the gospel. I distributed to them the books I had sewed yesterday; and their smiling countenances told plainly the joy they felt in obtaining this precious treasure.

"*July 13: Lord's-day*—The large room was quite full, and very great attention was paid to the word of life. A Cree, John Manokanepan, and his family, four souls in all, were admitted into the church by baptism. In this way does the work progress. The good Lord is doing great things for us, whereof we are glad.

"*July 14*—Thirty-three scholars present, as well as a good number of the Severn and Trout-Lake Indians, who got up and read St. John's Gospel with the first class. They appeared exceedingly interested when they heard the children repeat Watts's Catechism in Cree. They will carry back with them a good stock of sacred truth, and impart it to their less-favoured countrymen. It is most delightful to see their earnest endeavours to obtain religious instruction: they would sit and listen night and day.

"*July 15*—The same as yesterday, with demand for books in the syllabic characters, which I could not supply, having given them all I had.

"*July 16*—It became necessary to baptize the Trout-Lake Indians, who earnestly requested baptism the day they arrived, as it is likely, before next Lord's-day, they will be again on their voyage home. They were with us the whole day, and obtained all the instruction we could impart to them; and at the evening service six were admitted into the church. May they be a seed to serve the Lord!

"*July 17*—Thirty-seven scholars present, with the Severn and Trout-Lake Indians. The latter put themselves on the same footing with the children, and were quite as docile and teachable.

"*July 18*—In conversing with Donald Mamojekapoweyuk, of Severn, he told us his son had got by heart every word of the Prayer-book, and in the dark winter nights, when they had no means of obtaining a light,

he acts as a minister, in performing the services without the book. Do not such a people deserve a teacher? Is there no one will deny himself, and take up his cross, and labour for their spiritual good? Think of 150 waiting to receive the visit of a Missionary. Surely this is God's hand beckoning His servants, and God's voice calling them to go and preach His gospel to these anxious souls, already prepared by His Holy Spirit for the reception of the truth in love."

Occasional visits are made to the out-stations. We take occasion to introduce the following narrative of a journey by Mr. Mason, from York Factory to Churchill—

"*March 24, 1856*—I made my preparations for an early start to-morrow.

"Engaged Richard Māmonokojen and his brother, Pā-ah-tahs-ah-wa-tāo. The latter is a candidate for baptism, which he earnestly requested last year; so I shall have a favourable opportunity of imparting the necessary instructions to him by the way, and fully prepare him for that important ceremony.

"Mr. Mactavish, to whom I feel indebted for many acts of kindness, ordered every thing necessary to be furnished for the journey, and sent with us a trusty young man, William Grieve, who will take charge of the dogs and the other property. The cariole, though old (Mr. Hargrave's), is good enough for the coast trip, and was examined and mended by George Mowatt, an excellent man; and the attentive Mr. Robertson supplied us with every thing we required, from the stores, and selected eight of the strongest and best Esquimaux dogs, four for the cariole and four for the flat sled.

"The coast is proverbially cold, and especially when the wind blows from the north, being so much exposed on the plains, where there is no shelter. I took my deer-skin coat, buffalo robe, and a good stock of warm clothing, as a protection, which I thought, at so late a period of the winter, would be quite unnecessary, committing my dear wife and children to the care and protection of our heavenly Father.

"*March 25*—This morning I bade adieu to our kind friends, and started for Churchill. The glass was 23° below zero, but the weather was not too cold to prevent the doctor accompanying us as far as the beach of Nelson River: he would gladly have gone all the way, had he obtained permission. When he left us I felt somewhat lonely, pursuing a northward course towards a strange land, unvisited by any Missionary since the year 1823.

"When we came in sight of the river we could not see the woods on the opposite

shore, so broad is this noble stream at its mouth. I had to get out of the cariole, and scramble, as best I could, over the large piles of ice, which the wind, waves, and tide had thrown up into various forms, and in every direction. The first part of the river was rather difficult, and the men fell down every now and then. I had three falls, but none of any serious consequence. William Grieve bruised his leg, and complained a little. By half-past ten o'clock A.M. we got safely across, and took breakfast at Mr. Miles' creek.

"The Nelson is a large river, and carries an immense body of water to the sea. A great number of streams and extensive lakes pour their waters into it, having their rise and feeders as far as the Rocky Mountains to the west, and the height of land to the south-east, which separates Canada and the United States from Rupert's Land. Formerly the Company navigated this river by their inland boats, taking up supplies, and bringing down furs; but the strength of the current, the tremendous falls and rapids, proved too destructive, both to life and property; so they abandoned it for the present route—the Hill, Steel, and Hayes Rivers.

"After prayers, we pursued our course by the river-side, passing a great number of wooden traps, made by the Indians to catch foxes, which are numerous on this coast, and the quality of the fur very fine.

"We crossed Beddome and Watson's Creeks, and came in good time to Sam's Creek. On the banks of these small streams there are pine-trees here and there, thickly studded, but very small; yet they afford good shelter to the weary traveller from the terrible north-west breezes.

"At half-past four P.M. we halted, to make our encampment for the night. After clearing away the snow from a square large enough to contain us all, we collected a number of pine-trees, piled them on each other, on the three sides of the cleared spot, covered the interior with branches, on which our beds were to be made, and then lighted a large fire in our front. The camp being thus finished, beds were made for the dogs, of the same brush, and each chained separately to a tree, to keep them from running away, or stealing the provisions during the night. Our dogs were all of the Esquimaux breed, and well fitted for coast travelling. Their pugnacious qualities were soon displayed, having had several battles since leaving the Fort. Their names were characteristic. Our leader was called 'Nelson,' after the great naval hero, who first displayed that undaunted courage

which marked his glorious career in after life upon these arctic seas, when pursuing a white Polar bear upon the ice. Our second was called after 'General Jackson,' which would remind one of the disastrous attempt upon New Orleans. Whenever an opportunity occurred, these two were sure to fight. Our third was 'Rouge,' from his colour, a strong, powerful dog, who took advantage to attack whenever he saw the other two engaged. Our last, the one nearest the cariole, was called 'One-eye,' having had the other destroyed by ill usage from an Indian. They are very unmerciful to dogs; and when reproved for their cruelty to the poor dumb animal, they will sometimes reply, 'Oh, he is not human.' The distance travelled to-day was about forty miles. William Grieve had been here during the earlier part of the winter, to fetch home twenty-two deer, killed by Indians who are hunting for the York-Factory establishment.

"After taking our evening's repast, we sang and had prayers, committing ourselves to the gracious protection of our covenant God in Christ. The night was clear, and the bright constellation Orion appeared in his glory. I lay awake for some time, gazing at the unnumbered worlds of light that spangled the canopy of heaven above, until Ursa Major's progress reminded me of the night's advance.

"*March 26, 1856*—The wind rose from the north during the night, and we found it exceedingly cold this morning. After a cup of tea, we made a start; but as soon as we were fairly exposed to the drifting snow in our faces, on the open coast, we found it impossible either for ourselves or the dogs to proceed. The cold wind penetrated through all my clothes and robes, and made me tremble from head to foot, freezing my nose, and cheek, and ears. We were glad to turn into the Goose-hunt Creek, and make an encampment in the pines. Here we remained for the day. Richard and William went to hunt partridges, and, during their absence, I taught Pā-ah-tahs-ah-wa-tāo his catechism, and the other two when they returned.

At the evening service, Richard engaged in prayer, with earnestness and much simplicity. It is very pleasant to travel in this wilderness with those who are trying to serve God, and find their way to heaven.

"*March 27*—After a miserable, cold night, we felt glad in being able to leave, and proceed on our journey. We passed, yesterday, over low, flat, swampy ground, on which nothing grows but dwarf willows, and all appeared barren and dreary. We now see

stunted pines at a considerable distance to our left, and to our right lay the mighty bay, with its ice-bound coast, frozen, it is supposed, to the distance of sixty miles from land. We kept a straight course near the coast, and saw several flocks of partridges, which we did not disturb, but no other living being did we meet. Our dogs went well, keeping the men at a running pace; and we did not stop, except to rest the dogs occasionally, until mid-day. Then we made a fire, cooked, and dined. Here we discovered tracks of dogs, men, and two sleds, on their way towards York, which we rightly conjectured could be no one else than the Churchill Governor, on his way to pay his winter visit at the Factory. He would arrive, we thought, to-day. We encamped at Assinee-we-seepee—Stony River—marked on the map Rupert's River. The snow was very deep, and we were enabled to make a good nest for the night. Hundreds of partridge tracks were seen on the banks of this river, which is full of small islands. I enjoyed a good wash with snow, and felt greatly refreshed. Read the catechism to the men, and, after singing and prayer, we retired to rest, hoping for a fine day to-morrow.

"*March 28*—Started before sunrise, and soon saw deer close to our path: being alarmed at our presence, they set off at full speed towards the sea, and were very soon out of sight. These were the first living deer I had seen, although I have been living on the flesh of the beautiful animal for the last sixteen years, more or less. The sight was enlivening, and so inspired the dogs, that they went at a rapid pace over the hard frozen snow and ice, their heavy loads seeming nothing to them. Early in the day we came to Owl River, where we took our breakfast; and, at mid-day, to the commencement of extensive plains, on which herds of deer feed, both summer and winter: their tracks appeared in every direction, and we went over several places where they had removed the snow with their fore feet, to get at the moss upon which they exist. Our experienced guide, Richard, knowing that we could obtain no encampment between this and Ka-ke-mis-ta-kāyak seepee, or Broad River, advised us to go to the woods, and encamp for the night, and make an early start in the morning. We have made only twenty-five miles to-day, and about the same yesterday: on Wednesday we were detained by contrary winds. Yet we trust, by God's blessing, to reach Churchill in time to meet the Indians as they come in with their spring hunts, and to impart to

them the knowledge of salvation through a crucified Saviour.

"*March 29, 1856*—Rose at three A.M. The men had been up some time, for every thing was ready for a start, and William Grieve had made me a cup of tea, 'to keep the cold out,' as he said, for it was still severe, the wind blowing gently from the north, rendering it necessary for us to go at a quick pace, to keep the extremities of our bodies warm. As the day advanced it became warmer, and beautifully clear: not a cloud to be seen. The blue heavens above formed a contrast with the wide-spreading plains, covered with their silvery white, below. No object in sight after leaving our encampment, to guide us in the way, except the bright sun, which we kept on our right side, making as straight a course to the north as possible. Here a pocket-compass would have been useful, but we had none. There is generally a dark cloud to be seen extending all along the bay, in the eastern horizon, formed by the constant evaporation from the open sea; but to-day none was seen: all was bright and clear. Occasionally the mirage would appear, and, in the distance, we could see immense icebergs, with the sun's rays glittering upon them. The deer, with ourselves, appeared to enjoy this delightful weather, for we saw them in bands of six, twelve, and as many as twenty, far out towards the sea. When scented by the dogs they would run at full speed, and in this way we got near to some of them, at which we fired, but without success.

"We took breakfast at Kakemistakayakseepee, which is considered half way to Churchill. The country in the vicinity of this river is dry, though flat, but very much exposed. It is here, too, the trees indicate to the solitary traveller his course: all the branches growing out of the trunk point to the south, none to the north. Another guide, when neither sun nor trees are visible, is found in the form of the drift snow. Mr. Anderson assured me that a dumb Indian guided him during the night in a straight course, by now and then stooping to feel the form of the drift beneath his feet. We passed, in the afternoon, Māstamāk, or Salmon Creek, having travelled nearly thirty-five miles since we started, and we rejoiced to find ourselves once more in the woods extending to the westward. The plains are still seen extending eastward to the sea, with here and there a herd of deer grazing on the moss which abounds, and affords constant food for these beautiful animals.

"We arrived in good time at Robinson's bluff, named after a gentleman who had been

detained by a succession of storms on this very spot for fourteen days, not able to proceed. We were all thankful for so delightful a day, and that, at the termination of the week, we found ourselves so far advanced towards the object of our journey. Intending to rest on the Sabbath, we had to cut a considerable quantity of wood, and we were more particular in making our camp. Yet all was done before the shades of night came over us.

“*March 30* — Our camp took fire this morning, but, snow being at hand, we soon put it out. This would have been thought a bad omen, a little time ago, by my companions; but the reign of superstition has lost its hold on their minds. Christianity is gradually making its way, and the mind of the Indian is being enlightened by its saving and comforting truths. In the morning, at the usual hour, we held divine service in Cree. For the lessons I read the fourth chapter of St. John's gospel, and the fifth chapter of his first Epistle. The voice of praise and thanksgiving sounded delightfully in these solitary regions, rendered desolate only for the want of the human species. We have travelled 150 miles without meeting with a single human being. These people are indeed ‘scattered and peeled’ (Isa. xviii. 2.). Yet to them the divine commission must be fulfilled, ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.’ Hasten the time, O Lord, when ‘all shall know Thee.’ After service I read to my men ‘Pinnock's Catechism,’ translated by the Rev. J. Horden, of Moose, and kindly forwarded to me by the bishop. By changing the I into y and altering a few words here and there, used only at Moose, I found they understood it very well, and were highly pleased and interested with its contents. We sang a number of our hymns, at intervals through the course of the day; and, after evening service, we retired to rest.

“*March 31* — We rose about an hour before the sun, but did not leave our camp before he became visible. After the rest of yesterday, the dogs appeared anxious to be traced, and galloped along in good style for six hours.

“We had several shots at the deer to-day, but with no success. The distance is very deceiving to the eye, and an unpractised hand is sure to miss at first; but what surprised me was, the Indians missing too. We passed several extensive plains, and White Whale Lake and River, and realized our anticipations—if all should be well—of reaching the eastern woods. Our course has

been hitherto due north; now it is due west, cutting off a considerable distance by avoiding Cape Churchill altogether, which lies north-east. In the summer this part of the country must look pretty, as there is some high land interspersed with woods, and plains, and lakes, unlike the swampy region of York; yet, I am informed, even here there is very little dry land during summer. But the summer is exceedingly short here, and the greater part of the year the ground is mantled with its silver white drapery.

“We considered the distance to-day about forty miles, and that between twenty-five and thirty remained to be run before seeing Churchill. The last of the provisions was given to the dogs, anticipating to-morrow being our last day. After making our encampment, it commenced snowing. We had to make a kind of awning of the fir-trees, but this did not much mend the matter; for as the heat of the fire melted the snow, which lodged on the top boughs, it fell on our persons and clothes, making every thing wet and uncomfortable, and heavy for the dogs to drag. We, however, slept soundly, being much fatigued by our day's exertions.

April 1, 1856—The morning turned out unfavourable for travelling. The south wind brought a considerable degree of heat, which softened the snow, wetted our muskies, and caused the dogs to go at a very slow pace, sinking deep every step; but towards mid-day the wind suddenly turned to the north, and, in a very short time, every thing was again frozen. We had now arrived at the place where our guide, Richard, had lost himself some years ago. It is difficult, from the sameness which reigns all round; but we felt confident of coming to the river's bank by holding a course due west; so we cheerfully pushed forward in the direction we thought most likely to be the right one for the Fort. Shortly after, we espied three Indians at a distance. We hailed them, and they turned out to be ‘John of Churchill,’ whom the Bishop baptized in 1849,* when landing at York, his son, and nephew, though unknown to us at the time. They spoke Cree, and in a few moments John was engaged to guide us to the Fort. He informed us that we had already gone somewhat astray from the right track, it lying a good distance to our left; but we should still be able to get to the Fort by sun-setting. They have been starving, they say,

* “Church Missionary Intelligencer,” vol. i. p. 178.

for the past three days, and we certainly had a demonstration of the fact at breakfast. I found he knew several Cree families which formerly resided at Churchill, but, to hear the gospel, and enjoy the means of grace, they had removed to Norway House, a distance of 800 miles. John's family is the only Cree one now remaining. I inquired if any Indians were at the Fort. He replied, 'None.' This will be a great disappointment, after having come so great a distance. Still I hoped to see some before I returned, should I remain longer than I intended.

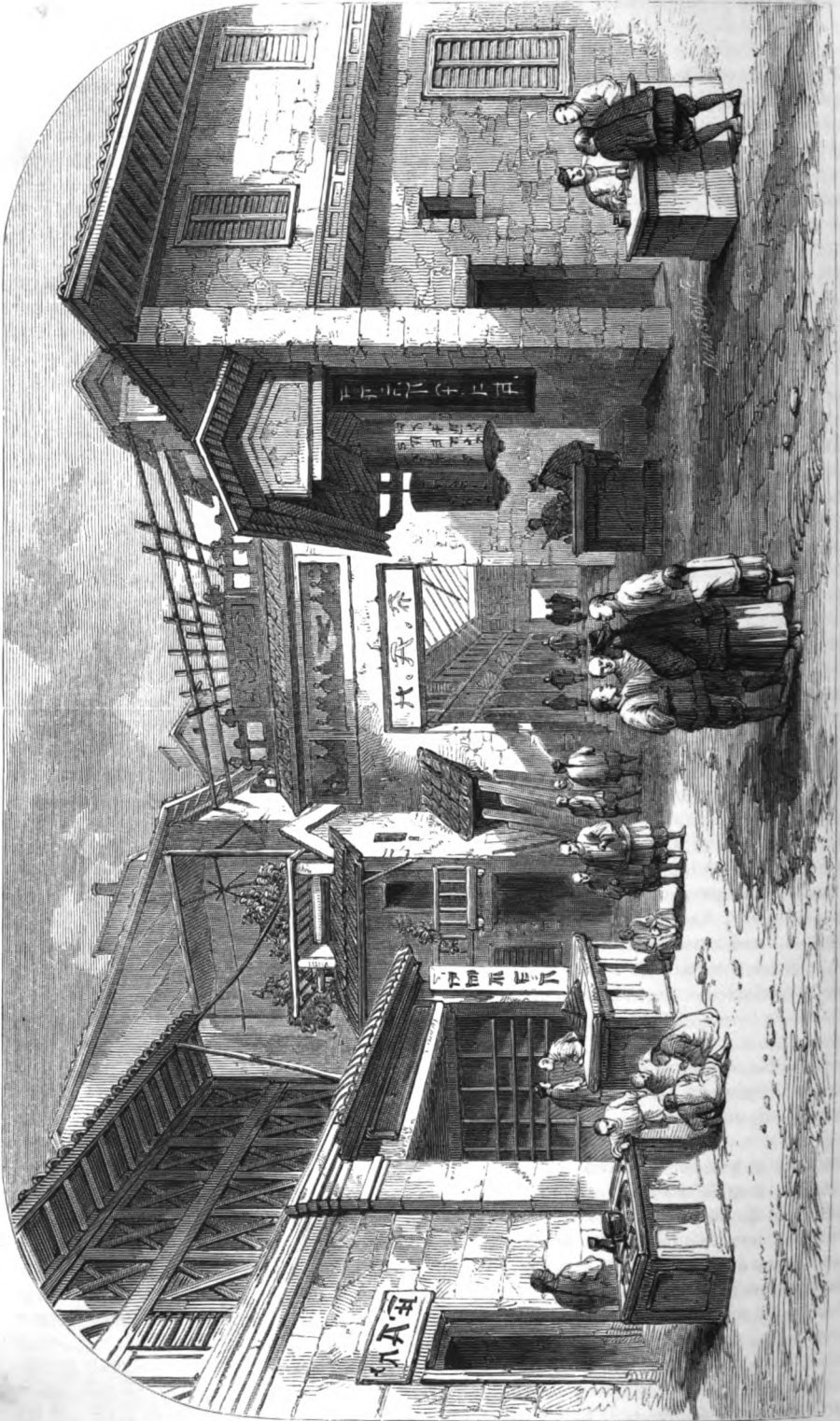
"The wind increased, and the cold became intense. The deer, however, appeared to graze in comfort. We came very close upon a herd of twelve, which remained stationary for a considerable time; and I could not help thinking the benevolent Creator surely designed these useful creatures to be tamed for the service of man; and wondered why the Indian, who is so often reduced to starvation and death in some of its appalling forms, had never made an effort to domesticate the reindeer. But to domesticate the deer requires an advance in civilization, which the aborigines here have not yet attained. The savage loves to roam, and soon forgets past suffering when slaughtering these beautiful creatures by the hundred, cutting out the tongue, and stripping off the skin, and then leaving their entire bodies to decay, and taint the air. One of the Churchill interpreters was once an eyewitness to such a scene. Such wilful waste must entail upon them great suffering. The deer we had seen were still without horns, the females with young, yet accompanied by the fawn of last year: they weigh from 100 to 200 lbs. The four quarters have been known to weigh 150 lbs. The colour of their hair is a mingled kind of grey and yellowish brown, tinged with a light red, darkest on the back, but white beneath the neck and belly: it falls off in July, and they cast their horns in December. Like the buffalo of the Saskatchewan plains, they afford the roving Indian both food and clothing, and might be still more useful to him if domesticated.

"We passed over small lakes, through bluffs of pines of stunted growth, and some large plains, until we ascended an elevated ridge, up which the dogs found it hard to drag the cariole. From the top we were gratified by the sight of the Mantäwe seepee, or Churchill River. The Fort is on the north-west side, and

we cross the river directly opposite it, four miles. We had no difficulty in getting over the blocks of ice, and by sunset we took the inmates by surprise, as we were inside the gates before they knew of our arrival. I felt truly thankful that God had graciously preserved me, and, without the slightest accident, brought me in health and safety to the most northerly Fort visited by the messengers of peace. Here, in the summer of 1823, thirty-three years ago, the Rev. J. West made known the gospel to the Esquimaux, who were then encamped near the establishment. Since then, no Missionary has ever visited it. May the set time to favour this dark abode with the light of truth and salvation speedily arrive!

"It was a source of much joy to my mind to think how opportune was my visit at this time. Two 'runners' had been sent, and had just arrived at the Fort when I did, to announce that a large party of Chepewyans were approaching. These two messengers received biscuit and tobacco for the whole party, and, while they were smoking, I spoke to them on the object of my visit, and was pleased to hear from them that some of the party would gladly listen to the gospel message. They returned to meet the party, though it was dark, stormy, and drifting. The Chepewyans arrived during the night. How providential my visit! These Indians only visit this establishment twice annually—in the spring and autumn. They are from Athabasca, and some have seen Mr. Hunt at the Church Missionary Point, English River. They came at once into my room, and remained until a late hour listening attentively to the gospel plan of salvation. I then assembled the inmates of the establishment, most of whom were unbaptized, and some not married. I expounded the 53d chapter of Isaiah, and had prayers with them.

We regret that want of space obliges us to defer the remainder of this journal to our next Number. It is one which we give *in extenso*, because it introduces us to new ground; our researches as a periodical not having, hitherto, penetrated in a northerly direction beyond York Fort. It possesses, moreover, the additional features of interest which belong to a very graphic description of winter travelling in Rupert's Land, and the opportunity of intercourse with the Chepewyans, as related in the journal.



OLD CHINA STREET, CANTON.

OPIUM TRADERS, AND TREATY-ENGAGEMENTS WITH THE CHINESE.

WE have dwelt largely on the opium traffic, and yet there is more that in conscience we are constrained to add. The importance of the subject, affecting as it does the character of Great Britain, the condition of China—and that most vitally, for good or evil, according as the traffic is abandoned or persevered in—and, above all, the introduction amongst that unhappy people of the only true restorative, the gospel of Christ, must excuse our recurrence to it. We have already placed before our readers the opium, its growth, and mode of use, as prevalent in China; the position of the Indian Government in relation to it, as exhibited in a statistical paper of recognised authority; the increasing use of the drug amongst the Chinese, and the proportionable increase of national suffering and deterioration. It is undeniable that the Chinese know that the drug is grown by the English for revenue purposes, and that advantage is taken of their moral weakness to effect its sale. We cannot be surprised, therefore, to find that there exists amongst them an increasing and wide-spread dislike to all foreigners, and more especially the English: and national antipathies, wherever they prevail, are certain, sooner or later, to produce political complications, such as we find ourselves involved in at the present moment.

May we be permitted to reason seriatim with the parties engaged in the production, sale, and importation of the drug?

From our previous remarks our readers will have perceived that there exists a chain of agencies, by which the narcotic is transferred from the rural districts of India to the opium dens of the Chinese. At either extremity of the chain are to be found the Hindú ryot and the Chinese victim. The intermediate space is occupied by the Governmental monopoly and the importer. The first of these commands an extensive body of officials, by whom the opium is gathered in. The latter works through as numerous a host of depraved Chinese, by whom the drug is taken from the receiving-ships, and dispensed amongst the retailers, who, by a minute subdivision, set it free to carry forward its work of demoralization. The entire series of agency by which the drug is conducted to its destination is pervaded by great energy, and admirable adaptation of the means employed to the end proposed to be obtained. Now it is to be noted that all these parties are more or less benefited, in a pecuniary sense, by the share which they take in

the transaction. The ryot is benefited by the advance, the Government by the revenue derived from the monopoly, the merchant by the profit made on the transfer of the drug into the hands of the Chinese contrabandists, &c. The consumer settles the account, which, as may be concluded, is a large one. Is it a profitable investment of his money? We have already answered that question. But is it not a spectacle which may well arrest our attention and excite our wonder, to behold so vast an organization, comprising so much of administrative ability and persevering energy, employed in the development of a traffic which is, without doubt, augmentative of human misery to an immense extent? Surely there exists already a sufficiency of sorrow in this sin-stricken world. So strong is the conviction of this, that Christian society is full of philanthropic designs for the purpose of mitigating the evils under which man is suffering. Enterprising individuals, who would not dishonour themselves with a sixpence obtained by inflicting pain and loss on others, are engaged in opening up branches of lawful and improving commerce, which are fitted to develop the resources of nations, and bring distant lands into beneficial intercourse with each other. Other undertakings contemplate higher objects. At great cost, the expenditure of time, and effort, and money, and valuable life, they are engaged in dispensing the leaves of the tree which are for the healing of the nations, and communicating to dark and distant lands the true panacea for all the ills under which our fallen race is suffering. All such are noble efforts, with which it is honourable to be connected. A man may inscribe his name on their roll without a blush, or a misgiving of conscience before his God. But to be engaged in administering to the vicious propensities of others, to grow and prepare for them, and bring within their reach, the very element which is most injurious to them, and to be enriched by doing so, is this honourable or praiseworthy? Is it becoming in men, whose names not infrequently stand high in the ranks of English society, distinguished, perchance, by birth, superior education, refined manners, intellectual ability, Christian profession, to participate in a speculation which is, indeed, gainful, but productive of no good result to their fellow-men—nay, of numberless calamities? Benevolent men labour to diminish evils. What shall be said of those who admit that the use

of opium is prejudicial to the Chinese, and yet labour to provide them with the largest possible supplies? Poisoned bread was distributed among the foreign residents at Hong Kong, and the Chinese baker was apprehended as guilty of the crime. If proven, it would have been an atrocious act. But let us look back on ourselves. Has there been no poison introduced by English capital and English energy amongst the dense population of the Middle Empire? Is the life of an European of value, and the life, nay, the soul of a Chinese of no value—so valueless, so worthless, that, in the opinion of some, it is preposterous, on a question of this kind, to bring such considerations into account?

But let these parties be heard in self-defence; and, first of all, the merchants on the coast. They urge, We do not force the opium on the Chinese. It is offered for sale; but they are under no necessity to purchase it. If it be injurious to them, let them refrain from doing so. Such an evasion of responsibility cannot be admitted. It reminds us of the passage—"Then Pilate . . . took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it." He was in a position to prevent the perpetration of an unjust act, but it would have been at the sacrifice of his personal interest. He therefore contented himself with a verbal protest, and appeared to think this enough to relieve him of all responsibility. So merchants and traders on the coast of China are aware that numbers of the Chinese are destroying themselves with opium. True, they say, but we do not force them. Undoubtedly not; but you might do more than this; you might refrain from providing them with the element wherewith to feed the ruinous propensity. This, however, they consider to be more than ought to be expected of them. Their pecuniary gains are large, and they are not prepared to sacrifice them, not even to secure so happy a result as a diminution of that calamitous waste of human health and life, which is the final issue of the opium traffic. Yet they indignantly repudiate the charge of inhumanity: they wash their hands, and say, I am innocent. Is there not, we would ask, a relation between man and man, and are there not corresponding duties? Suppose you have a neighbour who is the miserable slave of some moral weakness, some unhappy tendency; is it not my part, as his fellow-man, so far as I have the opportunity, to help him out of this delusion? "If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely

help with him." How much more the man himself. Here are multitudes of men lying under a burden which is crushing them to the earth. Shall we forbear to help them, nay, persist in increasing the difficulty of their position, so as to render it more hopeless for them to extricate themselves? If my neighbour be under some unhappy infatuation, and I can in no other way aid him, shall I not at least refrain from strengthening the power of the spell, and take the utmost care that, so far as my instrumentality is concerned, his vicious indulgence shall be in no wise facilitated? But suppose it be my pecuniary interest to supply him with the peculiar element which feeds his vice, and that I do so, in what position do I place myself? Simply this: to benefit myself I am injuring my neighbour, and that not under a momentary impulse and high excitement, but after calm and deliberate consideration. A man looks to his ledger: he sees what it will cost him to withdraw himself from his connexion with the opium traffic. It is out of the question. The sacrifice is too great. He closes his book and the subject too. His decision is made, and there is no more hesitancy. But there is another book which God keeps open, wherein are recorded the strugglings of conscience and the conclusions to which men come. The results of human actions are there summed up; and truly, to those who stifle the voice of conscience, and, for the sake of gain, persevere in a course which they know to be destructive to their fellow-man, there is one who says, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." We fear that it must be so; that, from the opium-tainted cities of China, a voice is heard against those who might have refrained from bringing within the reach of these deluded millions the means of indulging their besetting sin, but who would not be so persuaded. How different this from the noble sentiment to which Paul gave utterance, "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world lasteth, lest I make my brother to offend."

It is said to be a system of fair dealing, conducted in the most upright manner, and that, too, by the most wealthy and powerful mercantile firms in China. But is it really fair dealing? Fair dealing implies a fair equivalent. Now, we take from China that which is really of value to us—her teas and silk; and we give her in return our manufactured goods and opium, in the proportion of one-fourth of legal merchandize and three-fourths of opium: that is, in return for the valuable products we receive from China we give one-

fourth in value and three-fourths in that which is of no value; nay, which is not only worthless, but hurtful, and which the Chinese would be far better without. For many years, in the settlement of the annual account, there had been a balance against the Chinese, which they were obliged to pay in specie; and this caused that drain of the precious metals to which we adverted in our last Number. The balance is now against us, and we are obliged to pay the difference in specie. But it will take very many years of such a reaction to repair the waste and wrong which has been inflicted upon China. Meanwhile, opium continues to be the prominent article of traffic, that of which they receive the largest proportion in return for their teas and silks. How is it that an acute people like the Chinese are willing to make so disadvantageous an exchange? Because they are under an unhappy delusion, such as that which prevailed with the first mother of the human race, when she was credulous enough to believe that a hurtful object was one to be desired — the same delusion which has power over every human being who seeks for happiness in the appropriation of forbidden objects. Such a delusion exists among the Chinese; and men who are themselves free from it, and who are clear-sighted enough to see the snare into which that people have fallen, take advantage of it to carry on commercial transactions of this unequal character. Thus we receive from China that which conduces to health and is promotive of comfort, and we give her in return that which generates sickness, and multiplies poverty, discomfort, and death; so that the penetrative action of the opium throughout the mass of China's population may be traced as easily as the blight on the potato crop, by the blackened, withered, and ill-odoured stems of the once healthy plant. We must confess that trade prosecuted on such a system appears to us to come under the category, "that no man go beyond or defraud his brother in any matter."

Let us inquire, Do the gentlemen who are engaged in the sale of this drug make use of it themselves, or permit its use in their families? How would it not startle one of them, if suddenly he were informed that his own wife, his son, his daughter, had become fascinated by the peculiar influence of opium, and were accustomed to use it, not, indeed, by smoking, as the Chinese do, but by eating, as, beyond doubt, is done by many in this our own land? How would such an announcement startle him? What a misfortune would he not consider it? With what earnest remonstrances would he not endeavour to dissuade

the beloved but deluded one from so perilous a habit; and with what energy would he not proceed to cut off all opportunities of access to the drug? What would he think of the mischievous servant, who, under the influence of a bribe, should covertly introduce it, and so feed the destructive flame which he was so anxious to extinguish? Of what severity of punishment would he not consider him to be deserving? Yet to the opium merchant we must say—

—mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

Is there to be no commiseration for Chinese families suffering under a like infatuation? for unhappy wives and mothers beholding the wreck of husbands and sons, the utter ruin of those whom they would help, but cannot? The great commandment of reciprocity, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise," has it been expunged? Is it no longer binding? Or how shall the conduct of mercantile firms on the coast of China bear to be judged by such a standard? With what consistency can individuals persevere, despite of every remonstrance, in a course so pregnant with evil, and yet continue to indulge the hope that there is no vital defect in their profession of Christianity? We ask again, is the use of opium permitted on board the receiving ships? No, as we shall see directly, the men on board those vessels are picked men, who must be ready for any emergency. He who suffered himself to tamper with opium would be pronounced unfitted for the service, and at once dismissed. Yet is this deteriorating element transferred without compunction into the hands of the native dealers, to be by them disseminated amongst numberless households, who have no shield of true religion wherewith to protect themselves from the temptation.

But it will be urged, that, practically, the trade is almost legalized, and enjoys the dignity and importance of an established, recognised traffic. Although it were actually legalized, yet, even then, a man of high moral principle would refuse to identify himself with it. Human laws might legalize it, but, tested by the Christian standard, it never can be otherwise than an unhallowed and unlawful traffic, one which, sooner or later, must react with avenging force on those who, after warning, persist in its prosecution. But it has not been legalized. The Chinese Court has never legalized it: on the contrary, has invariably refused to do so. Nay, more than that, we hesitate not to assert that our treaty-engagements with China are against us. Let Art. 12. of the Supplementary Treaty be perused: it runs as follows—"A fair and

regular tariff of duties and other dues having now been established, it is to be hoped that the system of smuggling, which has heretofore been carried on between English and Chinese merchants—in many cases with the open connivance and collusion of the Chinese Custom-house officers—will entirely cease; and the most peremptory proclamation to all English merchants has been already issued on this subject by the British Plenipotentiary, who will also instruct the different Consuls to strictly watch over and carefully scrutinize the conduct of all persons, being British subjects, trading under his superintendence. In any positive instance of smuggling transactions coming to the Consul's knowledge, he will instantly apprise the Chinese authorities of the fact, and they will proceed to seize and confiscate all goods, whatever their value or nature, that may have been so smuggled, and will also be at liberty, if they see fit, to prohibit the ship, from which the smuggled goods were landed, from trading further, and to send her away as soon as her accounts are adjusted and paid. The Chinese Government officers will, at the same time, adopt whatever measures they may think fit with regard to the Chinese merchants and Custom-house officers, who may be discovered to be concerned in smuggling."

Assuredly this Article imposes mutual obligations. Two Governments, entering into a covenant, conjointly express their hope that a certain transaction, which had caused difficulties between them, may entirely cease. Does it not become the duty of each of these high contracting parties to restrain such of their respective subjects as, being more intent on their own personal interests than on the peace of nations, and the honour and welfare of their respective countries, should be disposed, notwithstanding the expression of such a hope, to persevere in the system of smuggling?

The connivance and collusion of the Chinese officials is condemned, and the Article very justly indicates the necessity of reformation in this respect. But does the English Government contract no responsibility? Is it left free to stand aloof, and take no part in the effort to be made? Nay, that Government is bound to action likewise—"the most peremptory proclamation to all English merchants has been already issued by the British Plenipotentiary." A proclamation! and what is that? A *brutum fulmen*, never intended to be enforced, merely got up for the occasion, to blind the Chinese? Such, we regret, it has been practically. Nevertheless, when a Government issues a proclamation it is bound

to enforce it, otherwise the English Government reduces itself to the same level of impotency with that of China; for while it blames the latter for inability to restrain its subjects from illicit trade, it occupies itself precisely the same position—with this exception, that it is the low scum of China which is insubordinate on the one side, while on the other side are to be found the merchant princes of England, carrying on, with a high hand, their contrabandist proceedings, in the teeth of a proclamation which, as the Chinese were led to understand, expressly discountenanced it. We must say, that, in the judgment of every honourable-minded person, who has not allowed his sense of uprightness to be warped by sophistry, the language of the Treaty binds England to interference.

But let us look further. British Consuls were to reside at the various free ports, and, by Treaty, the Plenipotentiary for the time being was bound to instruct these officials "strictly to watch over, and carefully scrutinize, the conduct of all persons, being British subjects, trading under his superintendence." Taken in connexion with the language of Art. 12., already referred to, it is evident that this watch and scrutiny was to have special reference to the suppression of smuggling: and what, then, was the Consul's duty if suspicious circumstances presented themselves? Let us hear. "In any positive instance of smuggling transactions coming to the Consul's knowledge, he will instantly apprise the Chinese authorities of the fact, and they will proceed to seize and confiscate all goods, whatever their value or nature, that may have been so smuggled, and will also be at liberty, if they see fit, to prohibit the ship, from which the smuggled goods were landed, from trading further, and to send her away as soon as her accounts are adjusted and paid." But what if the British ship engaged in smuggling be strongly armed, so as to bid defiance to all attempts on the part of the Chinese authorities to interfere with her? If, depending on the strength of her armament, she holds her ground, and laughs at the menaces of Chinese officials; and the British Plenipotentiary and Consuls, whose duty it is "strictly to watch over and carefully scrutinize the conduct of all British subjects," allow this to go on without any interference on their part; is not this a violation of the Treaty? Is it not the duty of the Consul to say to such traders, "Your traffic is contraband: you must not conduct it in such a way as to overbear all interference on the part of the Chinese officials. We will not allow you to bring smuggled goods, and, at the same time, assume a menacing aspect. We

will not allow you to land opium under the protection of heavy guns. If you desire to traffic on the coast, you must be open to the action of those treaty-engagements which have been made with a view to peaceful intercourse with the Chinese. We have, by Treaty, conceded to them the right to interfere in case of contraband proceedings. It is our duty to see that they have room to exercise that right. If, having conceded it in this respect, we permit you to arm yourselves so heavily as to render it impossible for them to enforce it, we are in as open connivance and collusion with you, the British smuggler, as the low grades of Chinese officials are with the Chinese smugglers—a position in every way discreditable?" Has it been so? Have the British Consuls thus fearlessly deported themselves, or, had they so acted, would the Home Government have sanctioned their having done so? It was provided by the Treaty that these officers should not be left without power to carry out their decisions. "At each of the five ports to be opened to British merchants, one English cruiser will be stationed, to enforce good order and discipline amongst the crews of merchant shipping, and to support the necessary authority of the Consul over British subjects." Has a British cruiser, by consular authority, ever interfered to stay the audacious proceedings of an opium-receiving ship? We know of one instance of interference. Captain Hope, of H.M.S. "Thalia," stopped two or three of the opium ships proceeding above Shanghai, in violation of the Treaty, which prohibits British vessels going beyond lat. 32' north. What was the result? "He was recalled from his station, and ordered to India, where he could not interfere in such a manner with the undertakings of British subjects."*

The Chinese officials, according to Treaty, were authorized to prohibit a contraband vessel from trading, and to send her away. Such mandates have been sent to vessels so engaged on different parts of the coast. The commanders have laughed at the order, and replied, "We have no intention of leaving our anchorage: drive us from it if you can. We shall defend ourselves." Has a British ship-of-war ever interfered on such occasions, and the just act of Chinese authority been countersigned by the order of the British Consul? What a dishonourable fallacy, that which concedes to the Chinese the right to seize and confiscate all contraband goods, and yet, at the same time, permits the British merchant so to arm his vessel, as to render such seizure

and confiscation impossible. What are these receiving ships, how manned, and armed? We shall describe them. The men selected for the purpose of conducting the coasting opium traffic, in the employ of the large commercial firms, are, for the most part, of superior intelligence, activity, and energy of mind and body, and in the prime of life. They enter the service generally at an early age, and serve a kind of apprenticeship in the receiving vessels along the coast, or in navigating the schooners and clippers which carry to the receiving ships the regular supplies of opium. These men gradually rise in the service, according to seniority, or good conduct and efficiency. They are generally members of respectable families in England. Their emoluments are good, averaging from 20 dollars to 100 dollars per month, according to their grade, from third officer to captain. They are most comfortably lodged, and liberally boarded on the best of provisions, wines, &c., at the expense of their employers. The crews of the receiving vessels are Manilla men, Malays, and Lascars, who are paid from 6 to 8 dollars per month, besides board of a substantial character. The strictest discipline is sustained on board these vessels. There is a regular watch at night, and the crews are disciplined to large guns and small firearms. The receiving ships are armed with ten or twelve, or even more guns, of large calibre. At night, when not stationed within port, a substantial netting is drawn around the vessel, to prevent its being taken by surprise. It is difficult to speak positively of the actual number of these receiving ships; but lists of them often appear in the Hong Kong papers, and probably there are not fewer than from twenty to twenty-five, belonging to the largest and wealthiest firms in China—English, American, Parsi—stationed along the coast. Two of them, of 300 or 400 tons, are stationed at the port of Fuh-chau. They used to lie a short distance from the mouth of the river Min, but within the last two or three years they have come up to the Pagoda anchorage, and have taken their place among the numerous tea and trading vessels within the limits of the port. They fly the English flag, and present fine specimens of vessels kept in high trim. It is reported on good authority, that when Commodore Perry, in command of the Japan expedition, at his rendezvous between Hong Kong and Canton, saw the American flag flying from the mast of some American opium ships, he ordered the captains to take it down, and, on his request not being immediately complied with, he sent another message, with an inti-

* Williams' "Middle Kingdom," vol. ii., p. 582.

mation that, if not obeyed, he would fire into them. The British flag at the mast-head of an opium receiving ship remains uninterfered with.

Besides the receiving ships, there are the opium clippers or schooners, of from 100 to 200 tons, who bring, every ten days or fortnight, a fresh supply of opium. These vessels are fine fast craft. They have able and skilful captains, and well-taught officers and crews, and are heavily armed.

Our readers will now be able to understand the value of the assertion, that the trade is almost legalized. Why is it so concluded? Because the Chinese Government acts upon the principle, "*laissez faire.*" Can we wonder at it? They are powerless as to any effective interference. Had our Government yielded them that measure of co-operation which the language of the Treaty justified them in expecting, it would have been different; but this being withheld, we cannot be surprised at their concluding it better to resign themselves to a necessity, than, by a vain resistance, involve themselves in new embarrassments. But shall this be considered a legalizing of the trade? Robbers break into my house; they are sufficiently strong to overpower all resistance; they place me sitting on a chair, with a pistol at full cock against my temple in case I attempt to move. What is to be done under such circumstances? Why, simply to remain as passive as possible; nay, if required so to do, indicate the key of a particular lock, where the depredators think money is to be obtained, and perform similar acts of very reluctant courtesy. How strange it should be if these individuals, when arraigned for the burglary, should set up the plea, that it had been done with my full permission and consent! Precisely under the same sort of constraint the Chinese Government has remained a passive spectator, while, contrary to its laws, the opium has been smuggled into China.

We are fully aware of what will be alleged in defence of such strict discipline and heavy armament. It will be said, they are indispensable as a protection against the piratical proceedings of the Chinese. That piracy exists along the coast, and with increasing force, is undeniable. But are not all mercantile vessels exposed to the same danger, and are they similarly armed, and provided with select officers, and disciplined crews? Destitute of all means of defence they may not be, in the present distracted state of the Chinese coast; but are they decidedly war-vessels, like the opium ships, armed with heavy guns, and prepared for any casualty?

Why are the opium vessels more heavily armed than other traders? First, because they must be strong enough to overawe the Chinese mandarins, and deter them from all interference with their illegal practices; and, secondly, because they are objects of special hostility, and, should an opportunity present itself, there are numbers ready to unite in an effort to surprise and destroy them. Before the receiving ships took up their anchorage in the port of Fuh-chau, this often showed itself. Boats were kept on the river, at the expense of the two firms which then enjoyed a monopoly of the opium traffic, for the express purpose of landing the drug. The distance they had to traverse was little less than twenty miles, and at the narrow passes of the river, where the Chinese have Custom-houses, there was danger of their being taken, if not by the government officers, yet by pirates and others, who would be considered by the Chinese authorities as fully justified in doing so. Conflicts have accordingly taken place between the smuggling boats and river boats, manned by the villagers on the banks. On one occasion, one of the captains, coming up the river, was beset by several armed junks full of people; but having a large deck gun, and being well prepared, he succeeded in narrowly escaping with his life. The hills and shores were crowded by villagers, in anticipation of an attack, as it was by day. On one or two occasions, the villagers and others on the banks have been raised, and led on to resist the opium traffic on the Min, by a literary *keu-jin* (second degree); and this individual graduate told one of the captains that he would put a stop to his trade. An opium vessel becalmed has not unfrequently found itself beset by a host of junks; and instances have occurred in which the attack has been a successful one. A few years back, the "*Nymph*" schooner, laden with opium, and bound from Shanghai to Fuh-chau, was so attacked, taken, and destroyed. Such enterprises are by no means unwelcome to the Imperial Government, provided they are so conducted as not to bring them into collision with foreigners.

But if opium ships find themselves exposed to special hostility, it is the reaction caused by their own lawless proceedings. Piracy, in their case, is resorted to, because other interference with them is impossible. The overbearing character of the contraband traffic has broken down the action of legitimate authority along the coast, and the guns, which were first designed to overawe the officers of the Chinese government, are now resorted to as a defence against a piratical or-

ganization, of which these opium vessels have been the first models and examples.

There are other portions of the Treaty which it is impossible to reconcile with our present proceedings. We have a tariff of duties appended to it of exports and imports; and a Chinese re-arrangement of the same tariff under classes of goods. In both documents there is an omission of opium. By the consent of both contracting parties, it was excluded from the tariff. It was, so to speak, governmentally repudiated. Yet, year by year, we find returns of trade at the various free-ports, remitted by the Consuls to the Governor of Hong Kong, and forwarded by him to the home government, including reports on the tea-trade, the silk-trade, and also on the trade in opium. The extent and disturbing character of that traffic has been continually and broadly placed before the British Government and its representatives; yet have no steps ever been taken to disown our national connexion with the sale of a drug, which, in the construction of the tariff, we nationally repudiated. True, we are told "that no opium ever went to Hong Kong." The opium is not permitted to be stored at Hong Kong, but opium schoners go in and out of the harbour, and meet with no interference from British ships of war. Our authorities desire to ignore the traffic, yet are they fully cognizant of it. Thus are we nationally compromised; for, on the drawing up of a solemn treaty, we refused opium any recognition, and gave it no place in the category of those articles to the importation of which we thus restricted ourselves, and yet individual members of the nation are permitted to import it to China, without any hindrance whatever. Practically legalized the opium undoubtedly is, so far as we are concerned. But observe the position which we hold in consequence. We stand convicted, to use the mildest term, of unseemly equivocation; so that the only defence which can be offered for our conduct is that which a legal pleader, reduced to the last extremity, interposes on behalf of his client, when, admitting that he has broken faith in a solemn engagement, he claims his acquittal on the ground that he has not directly contravened its letter. Let us glance at the proclamation issued by Sir Henry Pottinger in 1843. "Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary now publishes the export and import tariff, and the regulations of trade, which have been, after the most searching scrutiny and examination, fixed, and finally agreed upon. . . . He trusts that the provisions of the commercial treaty will be found, in practice, mutually advantageous,

beneficial, and just, as regards the interests the honour, and the future augmented prosperity, of the Governments of the two mighty contracting empires and their subjects: and His Excellency most solemnly and urgently calls upon all subjects of the British Crown, individually and collectively, by their allegiance to their Sovereign, by their duty to their country, by their own personal reputation, respect, and good name, and by the integrity and honesty which is due from them as men to the imperial rights of the Emperor of China, not only to strictly conform and act up to the said provisions of the said commercial treaty, but to spurn, decry, and make known to the world, any base, unprincipled, and traitorous overtures, which they, or their agents or *employés*, may receive from, or which may be, in any shape, made to them, by any subject of China, whether officially connected with the Government or not, towards entering into any collusion or scheme for the purpose of evading, or acting in contravention of, the said provisions of the commercial Treaty." We ask, with all solemnity, with an earnest appeal to the conscience, have British traders on the coast of China had due regard to their own personal reputation, respect and good name—or, rather, to their gain? Have they, in their conduct, recognised, as the proclamation does, that the Emperor of China has imperial rights, with respect to which they are bound, as men, to act with integrity and honesty? That he has unquestionably the right to prohibit the introduction of an article which is nationally hurtful, and that, as men, they are bound to regard that prohibition? Nay, have they not acted as though no such rights belonged to the sovereign power of the Chinese nation? Have they not placed China in this position, that she must either defend herself or submit to injury: and inasmuch as she is unable to do the one, have they not unhesitatingly inflicted the other? Has not superior force overawed the Chinese Government, and compelled it to inaction? and have not British traders, with a total disregard to the rights of the sovereign power of China, and their own obligations as men, persevered in the importation to China of opium in increasing quantities? Has there been no collusion between their agents and *employés* and subjects of China, official and otherwise, for the purpose of facilitating the sale of the contraband, and so contravening the commercial Treaty, which had for its object the extinction of smuggling, and the establishment of fair, open, and honourable intercourse? We appeal to the nation, to its appreciation of straightforward proceedings. Let the

country say whether the proclamation, and the subsequent conduct of British merchants on the coast, have not been utterly irreconcilable? Moreover, that proclamation gave the Chinese Government reason to expect, that, if a case of necessity arose, they would not fail to have the active co-operation of the British authorities. "Her Britanic Majesty's Plenipotentiary. . . is determined, by every means at his disposal, to see the provisions of the commercial treaty fulfilled by all who choose to engage in future commerce with China; and that, in any case where he may receive well-grounded representations from Her Majesty's Consuls, or from *the Chinese authorities*, that such provisions of the commercial treaty have been evaded, or attempted to be so, he will adopt the most stringent and decided measures against the offending parties; and where his present powers may not fully authorise and sanction such measures as may seem to him to be fitting, he will respectfully trust that the legislature of Great Britain will hold him indemnified for adopting them, in an emergency directly compromising the national honour, dignity, and good faith, in the estimation of the Government of China, and in the eyes of all other nations." We assert that emergency to have arisen—long since to have done so. The national honour, dignity, and good faith, have been shamefully compromised, not only in the estimation of the Government of China, but in the eyes of all other nations. Yet where is the promised interference? If existing powers have not sufficed, where has been the application to the British legislature? Sir H. Pottinger's proclamation was binding on his successors. It indicated the spirit in which they were to act, the obligations which had been incurred to the Chinese Government. Have our authorities co-operated with those of China in the suppression of that enormous contraband traffic, the continuance of which has made these solemn treaties so much waste paper, a farce and nullity before the world? We answer, No. Our authorities have been unwilling to act; the Chinese authorities have, in consequence, been unable to act; and the opium traffic has flourished luxuriantly over the ruins of Chinese society, and the degradation of the British name and character.

But let us glance at another point which occurs in the trade regulations, the third of which provides as follows—"Whenever a British vessel shall have cast anchor at any one of the above-mentioned ports" (the five ports opened to trade) "the captain will, within four-and-twenty hours after his arrival, proceed to the British Consulate, and deposit his ship's papers, bills of lading, manifest, &c., in

the hands of the Consul; failing to do which, he will subject himself to a penalty of two hundred dollars. For presenting a false manifest the penalty will be five hundred dollars. For breaking bulk and commencing to discharge before due permission shall be obtained, the penalty will be five hundred dollars, and confiscation of goods so discharged. The Consul, having taken possession of the ship's papers, will immediately send a written communication to the superintendent of customs, specifying the register tonnage of the ship, and the particulars of the cargo she has on board; all which being done in due form, permission will then be given to discharge, and the duties levied as provided for in the tariff." How, then, has this Article been met in the case of the opium clippers and receiving ships, whose lading consists mainly, if not exclusively, of opium? Has the drug been specified or suppressed in the bills of lading placed in the Consul's hands, and has he duly reported this particular of the cargo to the superintendent of customs? In either case we conceive the regulation is violated by us. If the drug be specified, then that which has no place in the tariff, and which ought to be reported and confiscated as contraband, is dealt with as a recognised article of trade: if omitted in the bills of lading, then is the trade regulation expressly violated. Either the Consul is aware that there is opium on board, or he is ignorant of it. If the latter, he has not complied with Article 12. of the Supplementary Treaty, which enjoins him "strictly to watch over and carefully scrutinize the conduct of all persons, being British subjects, trading under his superintendence." If aware of it, has he taken care "to apprise the Chinese authorities of the fact;" and, in case of heavy-armed vessels, yielded them such co-operation as was needed to ensure the due observance of the treaty? If the treaty gave to the Chinese authorities the right to seize and confiscate smuggled goods, and the trader placed himself in a position of defiance and resistance, so as to overbear the native authorities, such conduct on his part amounts to a contemptuous violation of the treaty, which called for consular interference. There is no doubt that our Consuls have painfully felt the unsatisfactory position which they have occupied on the coast, aware of the systematic violation of the Treaty, yet well aware that, if they attempted to interfere, they would be unsustained by their superiors in office, and thus sacrifice themselves without effecting any good.

Consul Layton of Amoy, in an official communication to Governor Bonham, dated Fe-

bruary 9, 1849, after complaining of the smuggling as “equally injurious to our national and commercial character,” adds—“With regard to the smuggling itself, I consider it impossible to put an end to it by any proceeding of my own, and I shall interfere with great caution upon such a subject.” He then refers to the violations of the treaty on the points to which we have referred, the bills of lading, &c. I have discovered that no less than eight foreign ships have been returned to the Haekwan by the British consignees at an untrue amount of tonnage.” By foreign ships he means American, Spanish, Dutch. Unlike the British ships, these vessels were under no consular *surveillance*, neither were they obliged to take out any landing or shipping chops. They afforded, therefore, greater facility for illegitimate transactions, and were engaged by the English and Anglo-Chinese charterers, the trade being British, although carried on in foreign ships, there being no other foreign merchants resident at Amoy. These fraudulent transactions covered not merely opium, but legitimate articles, the duty on which was thus evaded. “Amongst the goods smuggled during the past year, I have been informed of 50,000 dollars worth of wrought silk being shipped by an English house to Hong Kong by Portuguese lorchas; of 2000 piculs of sugar-candy shipped in the American ship ‘Areatus,’ of which only 500 piculs passed the Custom-house; and of some 200 chests of tea, and of ninety boxes of varnish, being seized in the smuggling boats, &c.; but of these transactions I have not positive proof.” Here are flagrant violations of treaty-engagements; and who can possibly say to what extent they may have been practised? When on one side there is a willingness to give, and on the other to receive, bribes, detection in most instances is impossible. We refer to these facts as they appear in the official reports of Consul Layton, as indicating what was going forward on the coast, and as showing that the demoralizing influences of the opium traffic had infected even the lawful trade, and interfered with its proper action. So it must ever be. A man, in some special matter in which his interests are much involved, allows himself to depart from upright and conscientious dealing. He has no intention of acting fraudulently, unless in that particular instance, which he fully purposes shall be exceptional to his general conduct. But it is in vain he would thus propose to isolate the action of the bad leaven with which unhappily he has compromised himself. Evil is diffusive. The high moral sense has been injured, and, weakened in its resistive

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power, yields with increasing facility as new temptations present themselves. It is evident, from the extracts to which we have referred, that smuggling and collusion with Chinese Custom-house officers, and defrauding the Chinese Government of its dues, have not been confined to opium, but have extended themselves to other matters likewise. Mr. Consul Layton proceeded at once, with the consent and approbation of a new Haekwan, whose hands had not yet been soiled with the rewards of dishonesty, to abolish the practice of merchants obtaining a landing or shipping-off chop at the consulate. “I have done so,” he observes, “because the foreign ships were not compelled to take out any such chops, and because I found that the amount of goods shipped or landed was untruly represented to me, in the application for the chops, and that greater numbers, and heavier weights, and goods of greater value, were shipped or landed, than I was informed of in such application.” In the discharge of his duty as a British Consul bound to sustain the character of his country for honourable dealing, he also addressed a letter to the Chinese superintendent of customs, apprising him of the fact. “I am in receipt of the copy sent by you of the statement of last year’s foreign trade at Amoy. From it I find that the amounts of tonnage therein stated, as reported by the several vessels, differ largely from the real capacities of those ships, to the loss of some 730 taels to the imperial treasury. Such public and open reporting of little for much must have arisen from neglect of duty on the part of the subordinate Custom-house officers, who must be in collusion with the merchants for the purpose of smuggling—an inference too plain to require proof.” Too plain indeed! And yet what a position for British merchants to occupy—individuals in all probability sustaining at home a high reputation for honour and integrity, yet in collusion with low Chinese Custom-house officers for smuggling purposes, and uniting with them to defraud the imperial treasury of 730 taels of silver.

Other points might be adverted to, did space permit. The supplementary treaty provided for the registration of small vessels belonging to the English nation, schooners, cutters, lorchas, &c., It was, however, increasingly manifest, that, through the instrumentality of this class of shipping, much irregularity was practised. Sir. J. Bowring, writing to Sir. G. Grey under date of March 9th, 1855, observes—“A vessel no sooner obtains a register than she escapes colonial jurisdiction; carries on her trade within the

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waters of China ; engages, probably, in every sort of fraudulent dealings ; and may never appear again to render any account of her proceedings, or to be made responsible for her illegal acts." It was with a view to the prevention of this that the Ordinance No. 4. of 1855 was prepared, requiring the bond of the owner, and two sureties to the amount of one thousand dollars each, in order to the obtaining of a register, as well as its production to the harbour-master of Hong Kong once in every six months, in order that it might be re-endorse. Such legislation had been necessitated, as the Governor expressly states, "in consequence of the multitudinous abuses which had grown up, and which were aggravated by the disordered state of China." "There had been," he observes again, "serious complaints from the naval commander-in-chief, and from the consular and Chinese authorities, of the abuse, by small craft carrying the British flag, of the treaty regulations." There is, indeed, every reason to conclude that the British flag, as carried by these lorchas, had been used to cover every sort of illegal transaction ; nor is it surprising that this particular class of vessels became invested, in the eyes of the Chinese authorities, with extreme suspicion. The prevention of opium traffic they had abandoned as hopeless ; but the smuggling of articles enumerated in the tariff, and which ought to have been objects of lawful trade, this they were de-

termined to resist. Accordingly, we find, so far back as November 1855, lorchas seized by Yeh within the fort of Canton for smuggling salt. As usual with the Chinese when they attempt to act, he overstepped the rights which the treaty gave him, and detained these vessels, instead of sending them away. They were accordingly rescued by the officer in command of the British squadron on the coast. With these data before us, we cannot be surprised that a lorcha has caused misunderstanding and collision in the Canton river. The incident points to an unwholesome state of things, which has been in existence on the coast ever since the conclusion of the last war, and to perpetuated infringements of our treaty-engagements with China, in which not only the Chinese residents at Hong Kong, but other British subjects, and English merchants, have been implicated. So long as the opium traffic is connived at, and tacitly permitted by our authorities, it must demoralize the whole trade ; nor can we expect, under such circumstances, otherwise than increasing irritation, and unexpected, painful, and sanguinary collisions.

Our observations have extended further than we had intended. In our next paper we shall pass from the coast of China, and the conduct of our authorities and merchants there, to India, and the Governmental growth and monopoly of the opium.

THE MISSIONARIES AND THEIR POSITION ALONG THE CHINESE COAST AT THE PRESENT CRISIS.

MUCH anxiety is necessarily felt with reference to the various Missionaries who are dispersed along the coast at various posts of labour. In the Canton district, and more especially on the mainland opposite Hong Kong, their position has been a very serious one ; but providentially life has been preserved, although the risk has been imminent.

At the more northerly ports, the Missionaries, when the last despatches were forwarded, remained uninterfered with ; although, so far as Fuh-chau is concerned, tidings of the events at Canton had reached the authorities, and were known to some extent among the people. Yet the Missionaries, although prepared to remove at an instant's notice, should circumstances compel them, pursued, without interruption, their usual occupations. We think that extracts from their journals, for the terminating quarter of the past year, will prove interesting to our readers at the

present crisis, and we therefore displace other matters to make room for them. Various events have combined to bring China with especial prominence before the national mind. It is a remarkable fact, that discussions connected with China, and their issues, have constrained a dissolution of Parliament, and the election of a new House of Commons. It is earnestly to be hoped that our relations with that empire will be amongst the first subjects of inquiry. We should greatly deprecate its being taken up in a party spirit, or being made a stalking-horse for political purposes. Our treaty-engagements with China, and our conduct in respect of them, should be considered in a large and comprehensive spirit, with a view to the correction of many evils and causes of disquietude which have placed us in an invidious position, and lowered us in the estimation of that people. We are too much disposed to judge of them

by the corrupt Custom-house officials and vitiated dregs of population, whose collusion and active co-operation introduces the opium into the interior; and they no doubt form their judgment of us by those British subjects along the coast, who, taking advantage of the aid afforded them by low and vicious Chinese, press forward the opium traffic with a zeal worthy of a better cause. It remains for us, by our conduct, to prove that we are not all contrabandists; that we are not all so heartless as to consider the gain which the sale of opium brings to ourselves of far more consequence than the misery which it inflicts on others. The national character remains to be vindicated on the Chinese coast. Hitherto we have been known as those who, when it is their interest so to do, can play fast and loose with treaty-engagements, and skilfully evade them. And yet, when our heathen neighbours, in the attempt to follow our example, trespass clumsily on the same engagements, we are quick in our resentment, and severe in the punishment we inflict. It is full time that all national connivance with the contrabandist should decidedly and for ever be terminated; and, while due protection be afforded to all lawful traders, the power be taken from opium vessels to cover with a heavy armament their lawless proceedings. Our treaties with that empire must be reviewed, and divested of all uncertainty, and, when re-arranged, faithfully adhered to.

For ourselves, we hesitate not to avow our deep commiseration for the Chinese, and shudder at the thought of those formidable munitions of war, which are being shipped eastward, being employed against the densely-populated cities of that empire. In the journals we now place before our readers, an insight is afforded us into the interior of these large cities. Chinese life is brought before us in its various phases. We find our Missionaries in the midst of crowded thoroughfares; and, although known to be Englishmen, not only unharmed, but treated with courtesy, and even kindness. Occasionally the opium smuggling is introduced as an objection, and indications afforded of the strong prejudice it has excited in the minds of that people against the religion of foreigners. Still, opportunities of explanation are afforded: the Missionaries are not refused a hearing; and their strong protests against the practice of their countrymen in this particular are attentively listened to. No one can read the details of intercourse with all classes of this remarkable people, without becoming deeply interested in their welfare; and it is with the hope of eliciting an increasing interest on their be-

half that we introduce these extracts from the journals of Messrs. M'Caw and Fearnley.

"Oct. 6, 1856—Not being allowed as yet the use of a preaching-house in the city, I preached my first sermon to-day in the open street, one year and nearly four months since my arrival at this city. I found the people unusually well-disposed towards me. I took my stand on the steps leading into our carpenter's shop, and had a wide street in front, not without some misgivings as to the issue of the trial. On opening Genesis, and commencing to read aloud in the colloquial dialect, the people gathered around from the neighbouring shops, and all who passed along remained to hear.

"Having told them of the existence of only one true God, who in the beginning created heaven and earth in six days, and appointed the seventh to be holy, and that God created one man and one woman, who were the ancestors of all men, immediately a voice from the crowd inquired of what He made them. Having told him, of clay, all appeared satisfied with the answer. I then told them that they ought not to worship idols, as they were dead, silly things, but that they should worship God, who, being omnipotent, could protect and save all men. One man then asked, with a degree of astonishment, whether God could protect him. On being told in the affirmative, he seemed satisfied.

"On the whole, I felt thankful and encouraged by the attention and behaviour of the crowd, meeting no annoyance from any one—unless from one silly creature, who, all the time I addressed them, never ceased inquiring why I shaved my lips but left my whiskers growing; and from another, who unceasingly inquired of what material my clothes were made. Being told the name in Chinese, he further inquired what it was called in English, which, in the excitement of the moment, I could not recall to memory; much to their amusement indeed, that I knew their language, but did not know my own.

"Fearing to obstruct the thoroughfare in this street too long, I passed on to another street, and, from the shopdoor of our printer's house I addressed another party under like favourable circumstances, no one forbidding.

"Oct. 9—After the sun had lost his scorching power, towards evening, I descended once more to preach. I had resolved to pursue this plan daily, but have been prevented by rain, and a holiday with the natives, on which occasion it is dangerous to go out, as they are more excited than usual. I occupied a position outside the carpenter's shop, and soon found a large assembly of ready listeners.

I preached on the creation, fall of man, and redemption. While speaking, a mandarin was borne past in his chair of state, accompanied with his usual retinue. For a moment, on his approach, I felt intimidated, lest, seeing the crowd, he should send a secret command to the carpenter to prevent me from preaching on a future occasion; and my first thoughts were to retreat inside the shop until he had gone past. However, on looking around and seeing no one afraid of his presence, I took no notice, but kept speaking. All appeared attentive, and particularly inquired the name of the first man and woman—Adam and Eve. Some literary men were present, and seemed to deride, but whether at the doctrines I preached, or at the barbarous tone of my speech in which I preached them, I could not tell. Received a general invitation to go again to-morrow, and take plenty of books with me. The Lord be praised for such encouragement!

"Oct. 10, 1856—I took my servant to carry books, and went down to the streets, and found the people greeting me as I passed along. While preaching, having a log of wood for my pulpit, an inferior mandarin was borne past. Soon after, the district policeman, a venerable-looking old man, came up and asked to see the book which I was preaching from, being a copy of Genesis. At first I thought he was merely a passer-by, and wished to get a book. Accordingly, I told him the books were all distributed, except the one I was using myself. He insisted upon seeing it, saying he would return it after he had seen it, which he promptly did. While lecturing on the unity of God, who was omnipresent, and saw all men and their actions, one man, who had attained a higher position than myself on the logs of timber, asked me whether God saw him at that moment. Having answered him in the affirmative, he raised his eyes to the sky, and, having looked for a minute in every direction, he turned to me in amazement, and said, 'I cannot see Him!' 'No,' I answered, 'because God is a spirit, therefore cannot be seen by the human eye.' This explanation was satisfactory, as they believe in the existence of spirits invisible.

"Oct. 13—Preached to-day at the corner of Great South Street. I stood in another of our printers' door, and addressed the people collected outside. When I entered the shop an official-looking man followed me in, and inquired whether I were going to preach to-day. I told him that such was my intention, handed to him a copy of Genesis, and then opened one myself, expecting he might have come to pre-

vent me from preaching. I spoke, as long as my strength would permit me, to a pretty large number outside, no one attempting to interrupt me. After I had given away all my books, and ended my discourse, the official-looking man, whom the printer did not know, and who stood by my side all the time, asked my name, which I did not attempt to conceal from him, and gave it in writing.

"On returning, the greater part of the people accompanied me some distance, asking questions, some of which were in reference to the subject I had preached, and about my country and manners, &c. They have evidently been sadly misrepresented to us formerly, saying they were opposed to us and our religion: on the contrary, every day's experience proves they are delighted at our going among them.

"Oct. 14—Visited the scene of a ruinous fire, which destroyed a street last night. I found many people viewing the ruins, who informed me there were no lives lost, and that the fire was occasioned by the worshipping of idols in a temple near the ruins. This announcement gave me a text; so I told them that nothing better could be expected from idols. One man then said, 'Don't you worship Jesus, who is an idol?' 'No,' I said in reply, 'Jesus is the Creator and Ruler of heaven and earth, and hates idols, and will condemn, at the last day, all those who worship them.' Their ignorance is deplorable, sunk down in misery and ruin.

"Oct. 15—A man asked me if I had any opium. In answer, I told him that no true worshippers of Jesus either traded in or used opium. They then asked me if I was an Englishman, and said, 'Did not Englishmen bring it here?' In answer, I said, 'Whoever brought it here and sold it, they were not my friends, nor the friends of Jesus;' and then I denounced it in the strongest terms, on behalf of myself and the true worshippers of Jesus. The more respectable portion of the audience said nothing on the subject, and I think none of them intended to convey an offence in what they said.

"Oct. 16—Preached at the printer's door, corner of Great South Street. When I had spoken some time, a smart-looking man asked me if I had any opium. 'No,' I said, 'I don't use it, nor do the true worshippers of Jesus use it either.' 'What countryman are you?' was his next question. 'Englishman,' I answered. 'And you do not smoke opium? Do not your countrymen bring it here?' He then turned to the crowd, with an air of triumph, raising his hand and shaking it aloft—soon enlisting all the audi-

ence on his side: and to make the scene more ludicrous—to say nothing worse of it—in the midst of all the confusion, an old woman, apparently above sixty, came forward, and, clenching her hand, shook it up at my face in desperate rage. I remained quiet for some time, until the noise abated: then I addressed them on the subject; and told them that I came here to teach them a religion which condemned all such evil drugs and practices. We parted in peace at the end; but if this day is to be repeated often, I fear we may give up our efforts to preach any longer.

“Oct. 17, 1856—Preached further up in the city to-day at another printer’s shop, and had a large audience. All listened attentively. One woman made her way through the crowd to me, and asked a book, which I gave her, remarking to all that her soul was as precious as any one present. I said so in the hearing of the people, as Chinese females are thought not to be worth educating. The audience heard my statement with apparent pleasure. No one mentioned opium; but my teacher was called away suddenly to-day to see a young man just dying from the effects of a dose which he had taken in fear of punishment from his parents for some misbehaviour. The friends came to see whether we had any medicine which would serve as an antidote, but since Mr. Welton’s departure we can do nothing in this way.

“Oct. 18—Heard to-day that the boy died in a few hours from the effects of the opium, and this has happened in the vicinity of the printer’s shop where I go to preach. Surely no one will deny that we are placed in an unpleasant position through the sale of this drug by our countrymen. It happened in the next house to my teacher’s residence, and is strictly correct.

“Oct. 22—Preached at the corner of Great South Street, at the printer’s door, to a large audience. While engaged, the district magistrate was borne past. I remained in my position, and heard one of his retinue telling him that I was distributing books. No one interrupted me. All passing remained, some a longer and some a shorter time: afterwards I gave books to all the educated classes, who were assembled from various parts.

Oct. 26: *Lord’s-day*—Attended and officiated at the consulate: afterwards held our Chinese service in my house. During the evening, a mandarin’s lady, who knew my nurse, came, accompanied by her two children and a retinue of servants. She inspected all our houses, and, on leaving, we presented her with a copy of the Scriptures and Pilgrim’s Progress, together with such other

books as we could offer, as she was leaving this province to join her husband, who had gone to execute his office elsewhere, and would take the books with her.

“Oct. 28—Preached at the printer’s to a large party: women were present. Here one man, hearing me condemn idol-worship, held up a bundle of incense-sticks, which he was on his way to burn at the idol’s shrine, and asked me my opinion. I told him such practices were useless, the images being only timber and clay. He only laughed, and said nothing. Another asked me whether heaven or God were the greater. I answered him, by asking in turn whether the table beside me, or the carpenter who made it, were the greater. All seemed satisfied with my answer. How deplorable their ignorance!

“Nov. 1—Preached to a great assembly at the printer’s far up in the city. They listened attentively for some time, but soon became clamorous for books; so much so, that, after giving away a good many, I was forced to run into the shop and send out the printer to inform them, that, if they did not become more quiet, I would leave off giving books. This announcement had the desired effect; so I was able to proceed for a little longer, until they forgot their promise, and shouted for books again. On passing out through the crowd, to return, an old gentleman, to whom I gave a book, took me by the hand and embraced me in his arms in the most friendly manner, employing the most tender style of Chinese affectionate love, his face beaming with joy, and all this without attempting to speak a word; indeed, the noise was too great to attempt to say any thing. The whole, to a bystander, must have appeared very ludicrous.

Nov. 6—As I went down to-day, a man in a shop called after me for a book; so, as a reward for the book I gave him, I made his shop-door my pulpit, and soon had an audience. All listened attentively, except one man, who laughed out in the most immoderate manner when I said the Scriptures contained the most important doctrines. When the crowd stopped up the street, which is not above twelve feet wide in very many places, I removed to another place, accompanied by the greater part of the people; and there I mounted a bench, for the convenience of the public to rest on, and, on this elevated position, kept speaking until my strength of lungs was exhausted. All were well conducted.

“Nov. 7—Preached at the printer’s up in the city. When I reached his house, he told me of a great exhibition of idols further in the city, and said I should go to see them. In reply, I told him that, as he knew I did

not believe in such things, I would not lose time to go to see them. While saying so, two hideous-looking idols were carried by, with all the pomp of worldly splendour, accompanied by a numerous retinue. I appealed to the crowd around me to look and examine with their own eyes that they were only painted wood, with grand dress outside; that they were dead, and could neither save nor protect, all of which they consented to. I then directed them to the 'God over all, blessed for ever,' who can both protect and save all mankind. They listened to all I said, but their 'foolish hearts are so hardened' by idolatry and sin, that they cannot understand a God of faith.

"Nov. 12, 1856—Preached at the carpenter's door to a large assembly. Afterwards, in company of Mr. Fearnley, visited a great display of priests and idols up in the city. There was a row of tents erected over an old canal in the centre of the street, which were decorated with the most gorgeous materials within, images being set up in various places, before which multitudes of priests made their lustrations, and chanted hymns.

"One of the figures represented an Englishman in full dress; and, on our appearance at the tent, all commenced to laugh, in which we joined, as it was the only way we could meet the difficulty. I inquired the name of the god-man, and was told it was a 'Quei,' which means a devil. This grand exhibition, I was informed, takes place once only in twelve years, and is got up for the releasing of souls out of hell, or purgatory. How very like, I thought, to the Romanists' doctrines!

"Nov. 13—Preached at the printer's near Great South Street. While speaking, a company of soldiers were marched by, commanded by an officer, who stopped his men to hear me speak. I presented him with a copy of Genesis and the New Testament: I gave also to the men. They told me that they were on their way to the next province, Kung Si, to fight against Tae Ping Wang, and appeared in high spirits: however, in their appearance and discipline they at best only resemble an irregular rabble, and, I imagine, could offer no opposition to Western troops.

"Again I wish to record that nothing can exceed the kindness and attention of these people, of all classes; every one asking the way in which they ought to worship our God, Jesus.

"Nov. 14—Preached at the other printer's door, to a great number of people, and gave books. My plan now is to speak as long as the people are willing to listen to me: then I give books to the educated present. Another party assemble, when the former

depart with books, whom I likewise address, and who wait for the second distribution.

"Nov. 17—Engaged to day in arranging my affairs, lest the unfortunate quarrel at Canton should extend to us here, and render it necessary for us to leave this place. There is a reward, we learn, at Canton, for an Englishman's head, but as yet we have not heard it mentioned by any of the natives here: our teachers or servants have not spoken regarding it, if known to them.

"Nov. 18—Preached in the open street. Soon many assembled; but two men endeavoured to interrupt me, by turning my subject into ridicule, asking me to kneel down in the dirty street, to show how I pray. After endeavouring to conciliate them with fair words, to no purpose, I took one of them by the ear, and led him out of the crowd, and dismissed him in shame before his countrymen. Afterwards, all the others were attentive, and took books gladly.

"Nov. 27—We had a visit to-day from a mandarin family, who reside near our residence. The company, strange to say, consisted of nine ladies, with nine female servants, in all eighteen females, accompanied by one or two gentlemen of the household. After they had examined our houses, and conversed on the subject of our books for some time, I presented each with either a New Testament, or the Pilgrim's Progress. I then proposed to return their visit, and received a cordial invitation to go to-morrow.

"Nov. 28—In company of Mr. Fearnley I visited the mandarin family. Before going out, we made up presents for the female portion of the house, consisting of such varieties as note-paper, steel pens, pins, needles, pictures, &c., as the Chinese custom is to make and receive presents. I sent my servant in advance to give notice of our arrival, and on entering the gate into an outer court-yard, beautifully flagged with cut stone, and interspersed with flowers, and trees growing in pots, and inclosures of raised stone-work, I found him engaged smoking at his ease at the porter's lodge inside. On rebuking him for his carelessness respecting the object of his mission, he said that the family were just now engaged with visitors, and that we must wait outside until they took their departure, as such is the Chinese etiquette, not to receive two parties of visitors together. Such was not pleasant news to me, on the threshold of paying my visit. However, we were not a minute neglected, as we were led into a reception-room, having respectable furniture laid out; and, in a minute more, tea was brought, accompanied by nearly all the servants of the household, male and female;

and, in a minute more, the elderly ladies and children arrived, all with one object, namely, to examine minutely our persons and dress.

"I held on, however, to my presents, and resolved not to present them unless we were received into the state room, where, in China, all visitors are taken; but my fears lest we should not be respectfully received were soon removed, by the announcement that we should proceed into the interior of the building. We were led around the outer court, passing an artificial pond with water, and golden-coloured fish swimming in it, the sides very artfully lined with broken fragments of sea rock, giving the whole the appearance of a small lake in a desert. A bridge over the pond led into what appeared to be a study, and here we were met by the gentlemen, consisting of the great man, and his brothers, and sons, and grandsons, besides all the elder ladies who visited us yesterday. We here presented our gifts, which so occupied the inquisitive portion of the party in their inspection, that we got a little time to converse with the elder gentleman. He told me he had been in office in the next province for many years, but has now retired from office—and, I am told, is very rich. He asked me much about astronomy, and astronomical instruments, and said he had seen, some years ago, with a foreign gentleman, somewhere, at Amoy or Canton, a remarkable instrument, which I take to be a quadrant or sextant, from the description he gave of it. I told him that I knew something of astronomy, and could show him plates on the subject, which, when he heard, he proposed to come to my house to learn it.

"I mentioned the circumstances of the rebels being in this province. He said there need be no cause for fear from them, as they were not the Tien-ha (lower heaven) rebels, meaning the Tae Ping Wang party, but merely country robbers; yet he concealed from me the fact that this same party took a city, not long since, in this province, and burned the prefect in the most barbarous method of torment.

"We were next led into the grand hall, a spacious building, open almost at one end, and having a line of tables up the centre, and the usual dais, or elevated bench, at the upper end, for state personages. Being invited by the great man, I took my seat in the chief place, for a little time. I then got up and excused myself for daring to take such a dignified place, which called forth a shower of opposite compliments, much to the amusement of the juvenile members of the family and servants.

"On taking our leave, we were followed by the head man and others to the gate, bowing all the time. The family, in all, num-

ber, besides servants, fifty gentlemen, and thirty ladies; and the house covers an area of not much less than half an English acre of ground.

"Dec. 1, 1856—Wishing to escape from the noise for a day, Mr. Fearuley and myself paid a visit to the upper bridge and harbour, taking with us two men, with two burdens of books: the distance is about nine Chinese miles outside the city gate. At the harbour we found the quay lined with troops, ready to embark to go up the country to fight the rebels. We divided from each other, and addressed the soldiers in companies along the bank of the river, and gave to them nearly all the New Testaments and Genesis we brought. They promised to read them during the voyage up, and all appeared in excellent spirits, not dreaming, poor fellows, that few of them are destined ever to return again to their own homes. We thought this an admirable opportunity of sending the books where the colporteurs dare not go, and many of which it is almost certain will fall into the hands of the rebels as trophies of war. May the Lord cause the wrath of man to praise Him!

"Dec. 3—We had a visit from our neighbour the mandarin, accompanied by many friends. He brought a few presents, and remained a long time examining all the articles of the house. I showed him books or plates on astronomy, and found the science is not altogether new to him. He also examined our Greek and Hebrew books; on which subject I introduced religion, by translating the Scriptures into Chinese in their hearing. They, however, do not think our religion to be the most interesting subject or article we possess, and rarely express wonder on hearing of Christ and His doctrines. I find Chinamen are not interested in any thing unless what seems to confer worldly happiness. However, a visit from such men is hopeful, under our peculiar circumstances.

"Dec. 9—We had a visit to-day from our mandarin friends, Ko, to meet an American lady, with her husband, a Missionary. I had promised to let them know whenever a foreign lady would visit us; and, in less than an hour from the notice, about twenty ladies, with servants, arrived, all in fine dress. I imagine they had never before seen a foreign lady; and no one, from this circumstance, will wonder at their anxiety and curiosity to hasten to behold such a rare sight. When they had gratified their propensities here, they proposed to take our friend down to see their house: so, having consented, we all went down. On our arrival, about forty or fifty ladies made their appearance—from where I cannot tell—and conducted our friend into the inner

chambers, where gentlemen cannot go. We remained in the public grand reception-hall, where we had conversation with the gentlemen, and took tea, with cakes and oranges. Our mandarin friend inquired respecting the disturbances at Canton, and seemed anxious to learn why our troops had attacked the governor's house; and, as he addressed himself to our American friend, he told him the whole truth about the origin of the dispute, of which I was glad, as the Chinese never hear from their own authorities the true account. He afterwards, at some length, explained to him and all present the Christian doctrines.

"I asked the meaning of some bundles of fancy paper on the table, and one of the ladies said it was for idol-worship, which called down a rebuke from the others for saying so; from which I am glad to see that already they are ashamed to confess their idolatry. Our preaching stations are in the neighbourhood of their house, and they know well what we are daily saying of idols.

"*Dec. 10, 1856*—Preached at the printer's door. A mandarin was borne by, who sent a servant for a book, which I hastened to give him, praying the Lord would open his eyes to behold the way. All were orderly, and many inquired particularly how to worship.

"*Dec. 11*—Preached at the carpenter's. Many appeared interested, and inquired the way to worship Jesus, and where to worship. Two of our mandarin friends paid me a visit when at breakfast, so I embraced the opportunity of having them at prayers. Each took in his hand a New Testament, and read in turn with ourselves, our usual way of conducting daily prayer. Then they kneeled down while I prayed. They inquired whether I prayed thus daily. I trust our acquaintance with this family will be a blessing to them from heaven above.

"*Dec. 18*—Sent my colporteur to-day with a New Testament in the Manchu language, neatly bound in calf, as a present to the great Tartar general, uncle to the present Emperor of China. On his arrival at the gate, the guard informed him they dare not present it. Afterwards, he found out an official servant, who took it inside, and delivered it, I trust, to the general. The colporteur has distributed a large amount of Manchu Testaments of late, all of which were cheerfully taken by them.

"*Dec. 22*—Took the colporteur in company, and went to the part of the city where the governor and officials chiefly reside. I selected a large square, a general thoroughfare of the higher classes, and commenced to read. Soon a large company assembled, and

listened attentively. One fine old-looking gentleman, wishing to pay me a compliment, addressed me, and said we fetched grand things to this side (China). I asked him what he meant. He named clocks and watches, and such things; and then asked whether Jesus taught us to make these fine things. I told him Jesus made heaven and earth, not their god Poankoo, and all things else, much greater and more valuable than clocks and watches. I then inquired where the soul went after death. He said, in reply, that it fled from the body; and then, with a sorrowful countenance, answered, he could not tell. He asked me, in turn, where the soul went after death. While I explained life and immortality brought to light by the gospel, all listened attentively, until my strength was exhausted speaking so loud in the open square. When I ordered the books to be opened for distribution, I began giving New Testaments to the more respectable present; but the rush was so great that I was driven behind a pile of timber, which all fell down about my legs, without, however, any injury to any one. The colporteur would have been almost devoured had I not got the bag of books into my own hands, from which I endeavoured to put books into the hands of the higher classes present. Then I addressed the crowd, and asked them whether such conduct was consistent with the high breeding of Chinamen. I then said, 'Build up this wood, and repair the damage you have done.' They at once commenced, and piled it up again as before. I then said that I came here to teach the way to heaven, and to give offence to no man. On my return, a fellow held up to my eyes a piece of opium, and asked me whether I used it. I denounced it, in my strongest language, as very injurious and bad; when he said, in return, 'Do not your countrymen bring it here, and sell it?' On passing our mandarin friend's house I was invited in; and, after some little conversation, one of the gentlemen—two or three of them are literary graduates, one of them having just returned from Peking—who is looking forward to office and glory, said, 'Your Jesus books are far inferior to our Confucian classics.' In reply, I said, that as yet my knowledge of the language did not allow me to judge of their books, but I had heard from others that these books were very good for regulating the business of kingdoms, and that Confucius was a good man. 'But,' said I, 'Jesus came to teach the business of, and way to, heaven; was also God, Maker of heaven and earth and all things, and therefore is greater than all men.' Nothing was said in reply to my statement, and I said no more. At their de-

sire I have consented to take them down and introduce them to our English and American friends at Nantai.

"Dec. 24, 1856—I accompanied our mandarin friends to-day to Nantai, the foreign settlement, distant from the city three miles. They were highly delighted with their reception by both English and Americans. The mandarin wore his official hat and dress, and exhibited a great appearance. Afterwards, I took him to the new American church, just finished, and which he examined minutely, inquiring all about the worship, as to whether we sit, or kneel, or stand. He went also to the pulpit, and surveyed us all in the body of the church. His sons, brothers, brothers-in-law, &c., were also of the party. After all, he went to see my son, who is now residing with, and under the care of, an American lady.

"Dec. 27—Accompanied our mandarin friends to visit our American friend, who had previously, in our company, visited them at home. Above a dozen sedan-chairs formed the company. Afterwards, accompanied both gentlemen and ladies to the shop containing English ware, where they made large purchases at a high price. Just now told of the destruction of nearly all the foreign hong of Canton by fire. I told my friend the news, which seemed to agitate him very much. When I said that I thought it would not affect us here, he shook his head, and, apparently in emotion, said, 'I fear it will extend to this place also.' Probably he knows more about the result of the former war with England than many of his neighbours here, as I expect he was in office at that time.

"Dec. 29—Preached near the white pagoda in the city. Never being in that part of the city, as a preacher, the interest was great, and the curiosity much greater. The ladies came out of their dark recesses to get a look and a laugh at the foreigner; and the doors were nearly all full of these sunless, obscure, delicate-footed creatures, just like the story of the churchyard ghosts—all white, and not a trace of blood apparently in their veins. What a wretched life these miserable creatures must lead, shut up in their inner chambers from childhood to full age, never enjoying a satisfying look of the fair face of creation, which a bountiful God created for His creatures' good! Some Manchus were present, and asked books. After they had left, I asked a man whether the Manchus were good men or not. He said, in reply, that some of them were good and some bad. 'Just like yourselves,' I said, in continuation. 'Yes, you have said the truth,' he answered; and then asked me whether we had any bad men in our country. 'Plenty of

them,' I said; which seemed to astonish him. 'Why is this,' said he, 'since you say your religion makes men good?' 'Because,' said I, 'many are not true believers, and therefore they do bad deeds.' He appeared delighted at the amount of honesty on my part in reference to our people. Had I said otherwise, what answer could I have made on the opium traffic? Let it be known, that, in bringing before the public this traffic, I have merely mentioned facts, without a comment; and if some of those engaged in it had been present on some of the occasions above mentioned, and heard the merited abuse I received, as an Englishman, and from heathen people, on a violation of a known law of the very God whom I came to preach to them, it might possibly have extracted a blush.

"Dec. 30—Addressed a small party at the printer's door, when one bold man soon came forward to question me concerning the strange doctrine. He called upon me openly to show Jesus to them, and then teach them how to worship Him. 'Jesus is now in heaven, so I cannot show Him to you; but He sees you and hears your language.' 'Will He not come here at all?' said he in reply. 'He will at the last day,' I answered. 'You say that men in your side—western countries—saw Him; but how can I believe such talk?' This he said with great emphasis, appealing to the crowd. 'Do you believe,' I said, 'that there is an emperor in China?' 'I do,' he said. 'Have you seen him, or any of these men present?' 'No, we have not,' was his reply. 'And how, then, can you believe there is an emperor?' I asked, with some emphasis. Nearly all present, without waiting for more of the controversy, turned upon him with a shout of laughter, which so upset him that he ran off, considering himself defeated. I see they are open to logic and conviction like other people.

"I now conclude this journal, having given the details almost fully, that the Committee may judge in what relation we stand to the people of this city, and how we have been received in our first effort to preach the gospel in a foreign tongue. I am rejoiced indeed that the Lord has made His way open thus far, and I believe no one can withstand His will. Yet the Lord's servants have been permitted a trial in all ages of the church, and there is no good reason why we should be exempted from the common lot of adversity. It is a very easy thing for the authorities to forbid every man to allow us the privilege of collecting a crowd at his door; and I shall not be in the least astonished should such be the case some day.

(To be concluded in our next.)

RUPERT'S-LAND MISSION.

(Continued from page 96.)

WE conclude the Rev. W. Mason's narrative of his journey from York Factory. Notices of Chep-wyans and Esquimaux, with whom he had brief opportunities of intercourse, will be found in it. The former nation are in the hands of Romish priests, who are rapidly extending and consolidating their influence over them. The latter still remain, far as the shores of the Polar Sea, without instruction. What can be done to relieve their spiritual destitution?

"April 2, 1856—Before I had time to dress the Chepewyans filled my room. To each I gave a little tobacco, and most of them said, 'Thank you.' I told them that I had important communications to make known to them, and as soon as the interpreter was at liberty I would speak to them. They are much taller than the Crees: most of them, I think, stand higher than six feet, well built, and stout in proportion to their size. From their appearance, I should consider them active, smart, though not brave. A few have handsome features, and some have intellectual countenances; others the reverse. When the gospel is brought to bear upon them they will become a fine race of men.

"There was one who, like the rest, when he came in clothed in deer skins, the fur outside, looked dirty enough; yet he had an open countenance and a very intelligent look, was one of the first to trade, and returned immediately to my room quite transformed. He had cast away his old habiliments, and came clothed with his lately-acquired wealth from the Company's store, which greatly improved his personal appearance. He spoke a little Cree, and gave me to understand that he had renounced his former heathen superstitions, thrown away the *muche-manito*, and now served, and prayed to, only the *meyo-manito*; that he did not live near, nor frequently visit this Fort, but came from a great distance to trade, the goods being cheaper here than inland. I felt much for him, and shall not soon forget the pleasant smile which constantly played upon his handsome features, his free and easy address, and his beautifully snow-white set of teeth, which a queen might envy. He was reluctant to leave me, and I felt sorry their time with us would be so short.

"My room was quite crowded, so I spoke to them—William Oman acted as interpreter—on the interests of their immortal souls, and eternity. They listened with deep attention, none objecting, or making the least noise during the whole time, and appeared to receive

the word with gladness. A few said they had never seen *ayumehāwekemaw* before, and had come a journey of twelve days to see me, and hear about the way to eternal life. May God gather, in His own good time, these outcasts into His church!

"When giving a piece of tobacco to one of the Chepewyans who had arrived to-day, he most devoutly made the sign of the cross; and when I began to read Cree from one of the books printed in the syllabic characters, I was immediately informed that some of them had books in the same characters, which were soon brought and shown to me. I perceived at once that they were our own characters, which had been adopted by the Roman-Catholic priests of Athabasca, after making a few additions to meet the sounds peculiar to the Chepewyan language. Their books contain eleven hymns, prefaced by a few remarks. They sang them very well to plaintive airs, which suited their sweet and soft voices; but the language is not so well adapted for music as the Cree, from the number of consonants it contains. I took a copy of the hymns, and found some of them are addressed to the Virgin. They have also pictures of saints, which they keep remarkably clean, having them carefully enclosed in paper envelopes; such as Christ on the cross, the Holy Family, the Virgin, Elizabeth, whom they called by mistake 'Marie,' and Xavier, &c. They prize them very highly, and esteem any they can get as powerful medicine, or charms for various purposes. One of the Chepewyans asked me, very seriously, to give him those kind of pictures that would make him successful in killing deer when he carried them with him to hunt. The interpreter, William Oman, without waiting for me to reply, said to him, 'Now you have begun to pray to Almighty God you ought to throw away all such foolish notions.' This sensible remark appeared to make an impression on the Indians, so I seized the favourable opportunity of directing their minds to the Saviour, as the only Mediator between God and man.

"One expressed his desire to have an English minister here, and said the French priests had often sent for him; but, as he had heard that what they taught was not quite right, he refused to go: neither he nor his relatives would ever join the priests. Some of them, he knew, would not listen to any one, but would hold fast to their old superstitions, for they were very headstrong. He promised

to tell me his own mind after he had done trading. His country is near Deer Lake, which lies to the south-east of Wollaston Lake, separated by the height of land which divides the waters running to the Missinippi and Churchill and those running to Athabasca Lake. It is eight years since he visited Churchill. He has a family, consisting of seven boys and three girls, whom he has left at Deer Lake. These 'far-away Chepewyans' are very irregular visitors at this Fort, and seldom remain longer than a day. Several years may elapse before they come again, for they do not take debts here, or bring their families with them, when they do come. The best way to approach them would be by the English-River station.

"Six Chepewyans, called 'home guards,' have just arrived, making, in all, forty. The small rooms of the Fort are quite full, and all are anxious to trade their deer meat and furs.

"Had a long conversation with the Indians who had done trading. Three of them spoke very freely: some were quite indifferent and unconcerned: none offered opposition. One said, 'We, who come from so great a distance, and so seldom visit this Fort, can profit but little by a minister being stationed here; but they who are near, and pay frequent visits, would derive much benefit from it.' Another said, 'I have never seen a minister before. I heard one was to come here this spring, and, although I am old and infirm, I have managed to walk this great distance to see and hear you.' A third said, 'It is very hard for us to be good. While listening to the good words you are now telling us we are very good, and feel good in our hearts; but when, far away in the woods, we hear any one say words we do not like, then we soon have bad feelings within us, and become very bad. Again, we find it very difficult to know which is the right way, or which of you to believe—you, or the priest. You tell us the priest teaches the Indians the wrong way; and the priest tells us that you teach the Indians the wrong way. Now we are very ignorant, and do not know any thing: we do not know what to do, or what to say.'

"Retired to rest between eleven and twelve, and was agreeably disturbed about two by the arrival of Mr. Hackland, who had hurried back from York on finding I had left for Churchill, performing the journey in five days. Mr. Watt, a young clerk of some promise, accompanied him, who was much disfigured by the intense cold by day and the heat of the fire by night. Mr. Hack-

land was pleased that he had arrived back again in time to see the Chepewyans.

"April 3, 1856—Had the Indians collected again this evening, after they had finished trading. Pressed upon each to embrace the religion of the Son of God, to put away entirely their superstitions, and commence to pray to God, the giver of every good and perfect gift. Andrew, one of the Chepewyan 'home guards,' said he hoped a minister might soon be sent to teach them the way to heaven. 'We are dying away, and do not know where we are going.' I was much pleased with the attention they paid to all that was said, and pray that the good seed may not be scattered in vain. The short time they remained here has been fully occupied in bringing before them the first principles of our holy religion. The interpreters were sometimes at a loss for words to express scriptural ideas, and said they regretted not being better qualified to perform the difficult office. Gowthswasah—now John Chapman—evidently wishing to impress on the minds of his countrymen his own importance, perhaps to gain some influence over them, after I had done speaking, got up, and said, 'You will now believe me, now you hear the same as I have often told you from the minister himself. You who go to the priest and listen to him, you do not do as you are told.' During the meeting, news came that Esquimaux were coming, which was true enough, for we found that Ooligbuck's mother and father-in-law had arrived. The former, when told that her son was left at York, cried like a child at the disappointment in not meeting him here as she anticipated. After my interview with the Indians, Mr. Hackland made inquiries respecting the supposed murder of an Esquimaux by some of the Chepewyans, last autumn. They all professed to know nothing at all about it, excepting that Andrew said he found the Esquimaux canoe and clothes by the side of a lake to the northward. The Esquimaux threaten to come in force, and take revenge. This unhappy affair may perhaps lead to an open rupture between the two nations, and cause the scenes of the Bloody Fall and Mackenzie River to be enacted here. Yet I hope not.

"At intervals during the day, many of the Chepewyans were engaged in writing the syllabic characters: some would write, on scraps of paper, a few sentences, to show their own ability; others would teach the syllables to those who were only beginning to learn; while some would sing a few hymns. All asked for paper, pens, and ink, but I had

none to give them. They said, 'The priest gives us a good many things, and is very kind,' &c. They joined in humming the tune when I sang, 'Wa pum Ka pem a che e wāt Ka ke chistaskwa oot.'" I got a few of the most advanced together, and tried to get the proper pronunciation of the Chepewyan from the characters, in which I succeeded very well, so that they were even surprised, until I came to the 'yath, yāth, yeth, yoth'—a strong breathing, produced from the upper part of the throat, and slightly guttural. My repeated efforts to get the true sound of these four syllables failed entirely, and created roars of laughter, so I was obliged to give it up in despair. There are more consonant sounds in this language than in Cree, yet they read it with much ease by means of the syllabics. It has sounds in common, but some have no resemblance at all—nasals, dentals, labials, gutturals, and sounds produced by the pressing of the tongue to the upper part of the mouth, which might be something like the click of the Hottentots of South Africa. Yet Roman-Catholic zeal has reduced this difficult language to form, and the priests are disseminating their peculiar dogmas through the Chepewyan tribes, by means of the syllabic characters.

"April 4, 1856—Very early this morning the 'far away' Chepewyans took their departure. I could not but feel much on their account, knowing I should never meet many of them again, until we stand together before the great white throne. I trust what they have heard may be productive of good to their immortal souls. I went out, and watched the last man as he ascended the rocks, mounted their summits, and disappeared on the other side: he was one of the few who wrote, read, and sang so well, and whose manners were much superior to the rest. John Chapman, as he shook hands, said he was sorry he had not related 'a che moo' (much more) than he had done. His manner is rather forbidding, and he shows a desire to lord it over his poor countrymen—a character often met with amongst Indians in a state of nature—yet I hope his visit to Churchill will be of benefit to him. They now go to the north, following the deer over the barren grounds to the coast towards the Esquimaux lands; never, for any length of time, stationary, moving from place to place during the whole summer, as the deer take their course.

"Soon after they had left, a small band of Chepewyan 'home guards' arrived, and paid me a visit after breakfast. They said, 'We very much wish for a minister to be stationed

here. We have been told, some time ago, that a minister was coming to Churchill, and that is the reason we are now come, to know if it be true. We have been told, also, that there is some difference between the teaching of the English and French ministers. We now tell you this, not wishing to deceive you, as if we did not desire to listen to the gospel. No, we wish for the gospel very much. We wish our children to be instructed. We are very ignorant, and are dying before we know any thing about these things. Those who were here yesterday do not care about these things; but we are not of that mind: we wish very much for a minister, and we will bring our children, that they may be taught the good way. We are dying very fast, yet we know nothing of what is to be hereafter. We wish to do what is right, but we do not know what is right. We have been waiting, and expecting a minister, for many years past, but there is none here yet. The Indians we met yesterday told us what you said to them, and we liked it very much; but our children cannot hear much, for they will only hear what we can carry to them. We will tell them all we remember, but they will be a long time before they know it properly.'

"I gave them some plain, simple petitions to make use of until further instructed, should it please God to send them a teacher. They seemed truly delighted at the thought of having a minister, though I made them no promise, only saying I would make known their earnest desires to the bishop, and the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society over the great waters. Thus are the ends of the earth waiting for the salvation of God. I exhorted them to be thankful that God had brought us together on the present occasion, and to pray that what they had now heard might be made a blessing to their souls, and prove the commencement of a bright period in their existence; that God would be pleased if they made the best use of the ray of heavenly light He now afforded them; to let nothing hinder their accepting the offers of the gospel now, for no difference of doctrine taught by the priest could justify their refusal of so inestimable a blessing, now sent them in the order of God's gracious providence. Their situation and circumstances did not differ from the Indians at York and elsewhere, who had embraced Christianity. All alike had to labour and hunt to procure food and clothing for themselves and families; yet many had taught themselves to read and write, and were now much better and happier than when in their former state of heathenism. I showed

them the printed books in the syllabic characters, which they turned over and over again, gazing at them with intense admiration. They spoke of the advantages of being able to write their thoughts, and communicate information to their distant relatives. These 'home guards,' who visit the Fort frequently, and trade nowhere else, made a favourable impression on my mind, and would soon be brought in, if brought under the saving influence of God's holy word.

"To-day I had my first interview with the Esquimaux: they were clothed entirely in deer-skins, the fur inside, neatly sewed, and very clean; but a better description of their personal appearance, their dress, and mode of living, cannot be given than may be seen in the 'Church Missionary Gleaner' for December 1854. I do sincerely hope that a strong sympathy will be felt by Christians at home on behalf of these peculiar and interesting people. Much has been done for them in Greenland and other parts of the eastern shores of the Arctic seas; but the Esquimaux of the far north-west have been left to live and die without a knowledge of the Saviour, and the blessed hope of eternal life. When we consider their number, the immense extent of country over which they roam, the intense cold they endure, the untold sufferings to which they are subject, our prayers and sympathies ought to be excited, and produce corresponding efforts for their better being.

"April 5, 1856.—The twelve Chepewyans who arrived last evening are now trading meat, skins, and furs. They were with me until eight o'clock. The Esquimaux, with his wife and her daughter, came in, and sat with us for a long time. The wife replied in English, when I had given her some tobacco, 'Thank you, sir. There no tobacco where I come from,' pointing with her finger to the north. Then, placing her hand on the cloth gown of her daughter-in-law, who was sitting by her side, said, 'Me no gown like that: me always deer-skin.'" Having an Esquimaux Testament at hand, I made an attempt to read to them several selected passages, such as John iii. 16, 1 Timothy i. 15, and the Lord's Prayer. They were much pleased when they could give in English the corresponding word to the Esquimaux. It is evident that the Esquimaux here speak the same language as those of Whale River, on the eastern shores of James' Bay, the Labrador coast, and Greenland, so that books published for the benefit of the latter would be of great service here. The Esquimaux is a fine man, with a kind heart, and a tolerable amount of good sense; though slow and deli-

berate in his speech, yet quick to comprehend; a constant smile on his face, and may be said to peep, rather than look with his eyes. I was sorry the Esquimaux interpreter was so busy to-day that I could not avail myself of his services to instruct my newly-formed acquaintance.

"Made arrangements for baptizing and marrying some of the people connected with the Fort, who have never before had the opportunity, and the services of the Sabbath. I had missed John of Churchill, who had rendered us such good service in guiding us here, and, on inquiry, found he had gone a day's journey to fetch his family, that they might be admitted into the church by the sacrament of baptism, and enjoy with him the privileges of a Christian Sabbath, and had just returned. It was not my intention, on this my first visit, to baptize any Indians; but such zeal and faithfulness manifested by John of Churchill, and hearing so good an account of him from the gentleman in charge, and he being already baptized by the bishop in 1849, and holding fast his profession, I could not resist the request. May this solitary family, like that of Bethany, be all loved by Jesus! A linguist would be required here, there being no fewer than three different languages spoken, having no affinity in sound, whatever sameness there may be in their grammatical construction, and the same number of European tongues.

April 6: *Lord's-day*—The last of the Chepewyans left before breakfast: some left yesterday, and some as early as Friday. The Sabbath for them returns in vain. Ignorant of its divine claims and sacred obligations, strangers to its inspiring hopes and hallowing employments, these restless spirits know no calm, no cessation: on this blessed day they labour, hunt, and travel, as on ordinary days. But, alas! many who bear the Christian name are quite as culpable, if not more so, in paying no regard to the fourth commandment, 'Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.'

"The sound of the church-going bell
These valleys and rocks never heard:
Never sighed at the sound of the knell,
Nor smiled when a Sabbath appeared.'

"It is, however, with pleasure I record the fact, that, at this remote post, Mr. Hackland every Sabbath reads to the inmates of the establishment the church service, as Mr. Anderson did when he was in charge. This must have a beneficial effect, and one cannot help wishing, that, at every post, the Company's regulation on this point was only carried out and the Indians invited to attend.

"The morning service at ten o'clock was well attended, and the responses made throughout the Litany. I endeavoured to be faithful in placing before them the gospel, and its great privileges, as I well knew there were present some who had never heard me before, and some who would never hear me again. My remarks were founded on Acts iii. 26. I then held the baptismal and marriage services, baptizing nineteen, and marrying three couples. In the afternoon I had another service, and baptized the family of John of Churchill, five, making the total baptized at Churchill twenty-four. Having now the services of William Oman, I had a long and interesting conversation on religion with the Esquimaux. He says that they believe there is a God, who made the world and all it contains; but they never pray to Him, nor perform any acts of worship: they only conjure and gamble. He would like very much to be a Christian, to learn to worship God aright; and thinks that the whole of his countrymen would gladly embrace the gospel. This is also the interpreter's opinion, and of others who are well acquainted with them. He meets with Esquimaux who never come to the Fort, living near Chesterfield Inlet. It took him fifteen days to come here from his iglook, where he had left two brothers, their wives and children. He has an orphan boy, that he promised to let me have to teach, and will bring him to Churchill next summer. He told us a distressing story of ten Esquimaux dying for want of food: some fell sick at the time they hunt, and lay up a stock for winter consumption: the rest could not secure enough: the stock soon failed, and the whole ten were starved to death. While I related to him the object of my visit, and unfolded the plan of mercy, as revealed to us in the gospel, he listened with deep attention; and when he spoke it was with much seriousness, and he seemed pleased that Esquimaux had got the word of God in their own language, and were living in the enjoyment of its blessings. Thus ended my Sabbath services at Churchill. May the dew of heaven rest upon the seed sown, and soon may all the ends of the earth see the salvation of God!

April 7, 1856—This morning Mr. Hackland took me over the establishment. He showed me the new house, nearly finished, intended as the residence of the gentleman in charge. It was commenced some five or six years since, so difficult is it to procure material for building so far north. The furs received here are of the finest quality, and Mr. Hackland was not a little pleased that the Indians were bringing them in greater numbers than they

had done for the past five years. A large quantity of fresh and half-dried venison is annually brought to this post: the latter is fully dried, and sent to the Factory by the schooner. Whale oil is another article of exportation, and gives employment to Indians and Esquimaux during the summer. In the meat store, an immense pile of dried venison showed there was no fear of starvation, at least just now. In the ice-house I saw eleven whole deer, beside a great heap of thighs, shoulders, saddles, &c., altogether about 12,000lb. During our stay we had venison for breakfast, venison for dinner, venison for tea, and, like the beautiful white fish, you never get tired of it.

"What I had never seen before was an Esquimaux sled. It consists of two runners about 20 to 30 feet long, 6 in. \times 2½, covered at the bottom with mud, on which water is thrown and left to freeze, forming a coat of ice on the whole length about an inch thick: these runners are bound together by strong cross bars. It is truly surprising what an immense weight the Esquimaux will drag on these sleds over hundreds of miles of ice and snow. They are also used at this Fort for hauling home firewood, and other purposes. During warm weather the runners are buried in snow, to keep the ice from melting.

"The Fort is small, consisting of a narrow dwelling-house, one end occupied by the gentleman in charge, and the other by the servants. To the left, as you enter the gates, stands the trading-room, a substantial building; opposite, the meat-store and ice-house: a large garden fronts the dwelling-house, extending from the blacksmith's shop, on one side, to a large Esquimaux store, sawing-shed, and cow-house, on the other; the whole fenced round by wooden pickets. There is a small stone magazine between the dwelling-house and the new one, nearly finished. It is well sheltered by steep rocks from the north and west, and is situated in a small bay. Without the pickets, and the first object you see when approaching, is the blubber-house, near the wharf, for the convenience of landing the whales. Right in front of the gates stands the bread oven.

"Such is Churchill in 1856: how different from what it was in 1782. I took a drive as far as the point, to see the remains of the old Fort, which was once a strongly fortified stone building. It stands on a gentle rising ground at the mouth of the river, and its bastions and ramparts once commanded the entire entrance. These are still standing: their enormous strength bade defiance to La Perouse's efforts to destroy them. The guns

are of large calibre, and, had they been well manned, La Perouse would not have taken it in 1782. The governor in charge (Hearne) did not think himself strong enough to resist, so delivered up the place without a shot in its defence. Had he only known the state of La Perouse's men, half of them in hospital, laid up by the scurvy, he would have held out. When La Perouse had landed, and saw the strength of the Fort, he is reported to have said, 'Had a single gun been fired I should not have attempted to take it.' He destroyed all the property he could not take with him, spiked the guns, and tried to blow up the place, but could not. The evil inflicted was felt more by the unoffending natives than his enemies. The snow drifts were so high and hard that we walked up to the top of the ramparts with ease, and took a view of the interior. The frames of the stone houses are still standing, and here and there lie the cannon. The governor's house must have been a fine large building; the others of middling size: they faced each other, running east and west across the whole square. Some of the fine stones have been removed, at different times, for various purposes. The large magazine at York was built of stone taken from these ruins. The remains of this ruined fortress will stand for years, and will remind future generations of the art and persevering efforts to which commercial enterprise inspires; unlike the wooden frame buildings, which, when once deserted, fall and perish, leaving not a vestige behind to tell of what once existed there. On the route from the Red River to York we pass no fewer than four spots where once stood large and important Forts, but the very spot has to be pointed out to the passing traveller, otherwise he would never know that once human beings enlivened and animated the place.

"We returned, keeping close to the shore, to avoid the large pieces of ice, which stood up from eight to ten feet, and detained us some time as we came down. This river freezes to the bottom, and ice exists all the year round in unexposed situations.

"After reaching the Fort we prepared for our departure. Ooligbuck's mother came in the evening with a parcel, and requested me to take it to York, and give it to her son, which I promised to do.

"April 8, 1856—After taking an early breakfast with Mr. Hackland, I bade farewell to all the good people who had collected about the door to see us start, and, after the usual salutations, I jumped into my cariole.

"April 10—We were now come to the open plain of thirty miles, which is never attempted to be crossed without fine weather.

We left our camp on the bank of Broad River about three A.M. The sky was everywhere clear, except towards the east, when we started. In that quarter it became darker as we proceeded, yet we hoped the day might turn out favourable. The sun rose, the dark cloud rose also, and became quite black and threatening, but there was no wind; so we kept our onward course, and lost sight of Broad River and the nearest woods. About five A.M. we heard, as it were, a sudden rush behind us. We turned, and beheld a fearful-looking snow-storm rapidly approaching us from the north. In a few seconds it overtook us, and we were fairly in the plain. To turn back and face the storm was impossible; so Richard noticed the direction of the wind, took his bearings accordingly, and gave directions to his brother to proceed. We continued to run before it for five hours, yet to me, sitting in the cariole, it seemed as if we were making a large circle. We could not see a yard before us: the sun was hidden from our view. The heat of our bodies, and the rain which fell at the commencement of the storm, wet our clothes, but the cold north wind froze them as soon; so that the men's muskiesins became stiff and hard, and their feet so cold they were afraid they would freeze: still our only safety was in exerting ourselves to the utmost, and going forward.

"We pressed on until eleven o'clock A.M., when, by the blessing of Almighty God, we came to the first woods, which gladdened our hearts. We found a covert from the stormy blast beneath the pines, and, after making a camp, and drying our frozen things, we took some refreshment, and felt quite happy in having escaped the horrors of the storm, which, had it blown from the land, might have carried us to the sea. After mid-day the sky became clearer. Richard went to ascertain our position, and found we were not a great way from Owl River, where we might find a good camp.

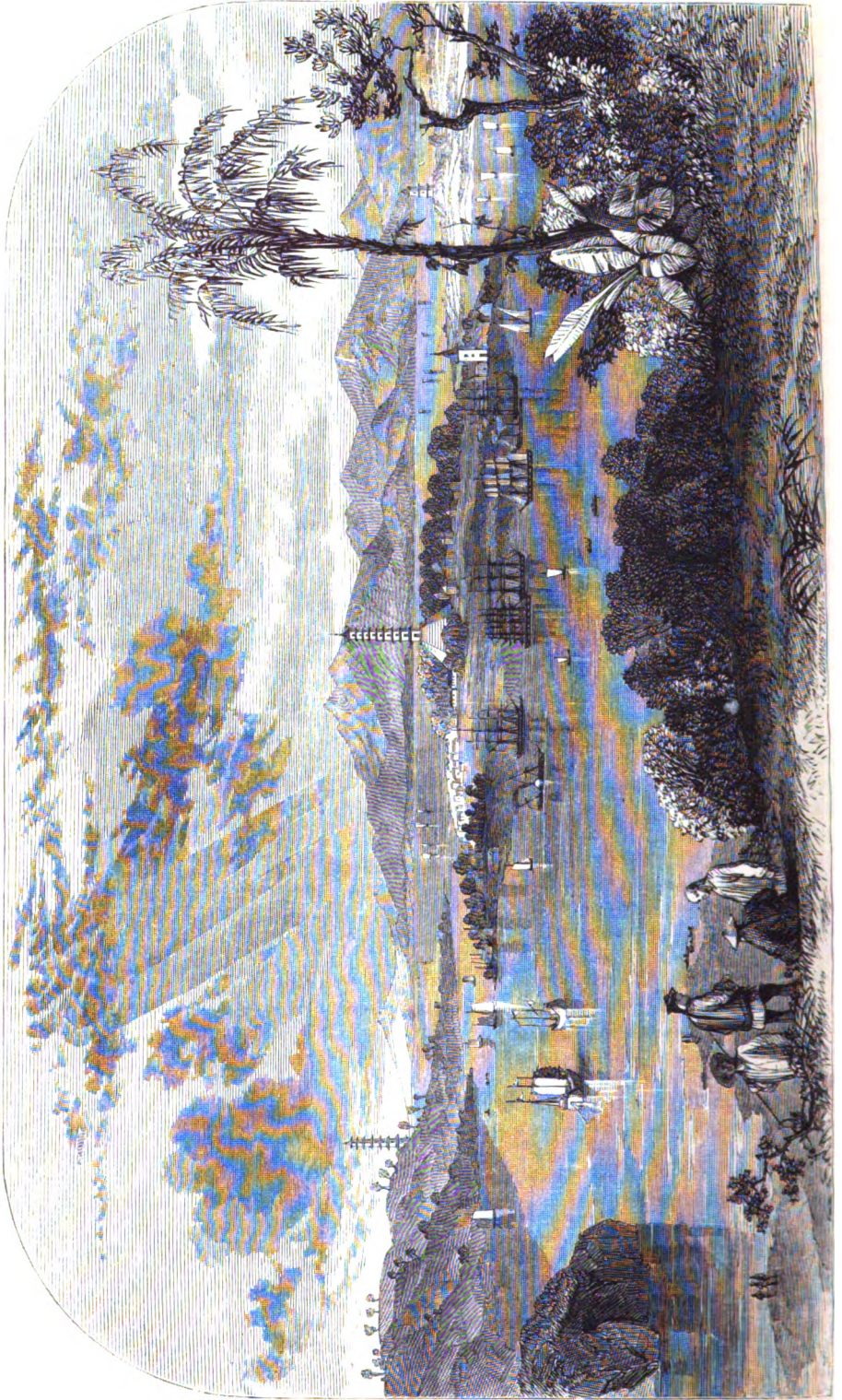
"Though it blew very hard, we set off again, and, by two P.M., came to the banks of one of its numerous branches, and encamped. As the night advanced it became very cold. I had to put on extra clothing and another flannel shirt, yet, with all my precautions, and robes, skins, and blanket, the cold pierced through the whole. The men made a large fire, and cut plenty of fine dry wood, which they continued to feed the fire with all night. Never had I been exposed to so violent a storm. And it overtook us so suddenly: we had no warning, except the dark cloud in the east. But the disappearance of the deer from the open plains the day before looked ominous. Instinct often teaches the brute

creation what man, with his superior powers, fails to attain. I often thought of the fate of Captain Franklin, and the remnant of that unfortunate expedition, who struggled with their boat over the ice and snow, until they reached the mouth of the Great Fish River, to die of starvation, though a nation put forth her efforts to save them. We returned our grateful thanks to our Heavenly Father for His merciful protection of us during the storm.

April 11, 1856—The wind continued to increase after we left the camp, and I would have gladly turned back, and remained in our camp until more favourable weather, but Richard thought we had better go on. The cold was intense, and as the sun rose the wind rose too, higher and higher. Yet we went on well as long as our way lay through the woods in the vicinity of Owl River; but when we came again to the open plains the drift was terrible, the wind blew the men off their feet, and they fell on their sides on the hard snow, and, the wind veering towards the west, it was as much as they could do to keep themselves from being carried out to sea. William Grieve first complained of the cold, said his arm was freezing, and fell behind. We stopped for him awhile, until the other two got so cold that we were obliged to go on. I asked if no place was near where we could make a camp. The reply was 'None.' By and by William came up, and Richard put his brother to the flat sled, that William might have the use of his hands to keep on his blanket. Richard's brother was the next to give in, but he rode every now and then on the flat sled, which was now quite light. Then Richard took his place, to make the dogs move on, if possible, somewhat faster, and to try to keep up more to the wind. The drift was so thick we could not see above a few yards before us, and every ten minutes or quarter of an hour we were obliged to call to William, who now went first, to ascertain his position. Often we would lose sight of one another, and then the dogs, not knowing which way to go, would howl terribly, and stop. I had hard work to keep my hands and feet from freezing. I once got out of the cariole, but was very glad to get in again. The sensation of cold depends not so much on the low state of the atmosphere, as the strength of the wind. The cold of Lake Winnipeg in

1854, when the glass was 43° below zero, was nothing compared to the intense cold of this exposed coast when the wind is from the north-west. The wind carried us, in spite of all our efforts, a considerable distance out of our track, towards the sea, and far from the mainland; and it was past mid-day when, after great exertions, we succeeded in reaching the woods. I cannot speak too highly of the calmness of mind, and persevering efforts, displayed by my three men. They kept up their spirits, and went nobly forward, and would have gone on all day had I permitted them: nay, they were only sorry they could not go on; but Richard could scarcely see out of his eyes, and William found, after a little rest, his side very painful from the cold and falls, and we found ourselves, instead of being at Stony River, eight miles beyond it. Afterwards it blew a perfect hurricane: the trees cracked and bent beneath it, and we were truly thankful we had got under the protection of a strong bluff of pines. At night I could not sleep, for the cold was too intense. I passed a restless night. We had a good encampment, and a large fire kept up, but all was of no avail: the cold wind penetrated the very marrow of my frame.

April 12—The storm has now exhausted its force, and we have the good fortune of discovering Mr. Hackland's track through the woods, which greatly facilitates our progress. Our provisions being consumed, the sled was very light, and the cariole had one dog more (one being lost in the storm yesterday), so that we went on very well. Richard's eyes were better after the lotion I applied yesterday, and the good long sleep he got in the afternoon; and William Grieve was in high spirits, as he hoped to accomplish the journey in less time than Mr. Hackland's men had done. We never stopped to cook until we arrived at Myle's Creek: here we dined, and had a beautiful afternoon to cross the Nelson River, which took us three hours; and at a little past four we safely arrived at York, and found all well. The whole journey of 200 miles was performed in five days, notwithstanding the two stormy days. Our only loss was one of the dogs, which I much regret, as they were kindly lent to me by Mr. Mactavish. If the wolves do not kill him, he may yet find his way back again to Churchill.



SAAMOA. FROM DANER ISLAND.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION OF THE HOLY GHOST IN THE WORK OF MISSIONS.

THE book of the New-Testament Scriptures, known as the Acts of the Apostles, is a beautiful and interesting record of the Missions of the early church; of efforts put forth, in obedience to the command of Christ, that His gospel should be preached in all the world. It is a history of what was done, in this respect, by the power of the Holy Ghost, and through the agency of believers; of doors opened and doors shut; of the wonderful operations of the Holy Spirit on the minds of faithful persons, prompting them to go forward in the great work of evangelization; by various providential circumstances, not unfrequently of a minute kind, directing them in the way they should go; presenting to them opportunities of usefulness, and blessing them in their improvement; the whole record bearing testimony to the supreme importance of Missionary labours—that, however men may despise them, and deem them worthless, they are not despised by Him who is Head over all things to His church; they are not disregarded by the god of this world, who, in such efforts, discerns serious danger to his kingdom.

To all who are engaged in Missionary labours, such a record is of primary importance. Its inspiration enables us to refer to it with confidence. Here Missionary principles are to be found, not put forward in an abstract form, but interwoven with a great variety of practical detail, and therefore doubly valuable, because already tested by experience, and found to be satisfactory in operation. In this record, therefore, we find a reliable exposition of Missionary principles, and of the results which, when duly applied, they may be expected to yield. We doubt whether this book of Scripture has been fully recognised in its distinctive character as a manual of Missionary principle, and as a model of Missionary action, as an exemplar of the highest authority in the matter of this great Christian duty, to communicate to man, wherever he is in ignorance of them, those blessed gospel truths, which are more necessary to him than the air he breathes, or the food by which he is sustained.

We would introduce a few thoughts on this subject, which we can only venture to classify as suggestive.

On opening the record, we find the company of believers placed under a very solemn and important responsibility—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" one, to the fulfilment of which they

were evidently inadequate. The field of effort was vast and diversified, and they were but few in number. "He was seen of above 500 brethren at once;" and this appears to have been the maximum of their numbers. Yet it was not in this that the main element of inadequacy consisted, because He who had enjoined the work is One who, by a feeble agency, has often been pleased to accomplish great results. He who strengthened Jonathan and his armour-bearer to prevail over the garrison of the Philistines, can, whensoever it be His pleasure so to do, verify the language of that devoted man, "There is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few." The Lord, who "is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working," has often been pleased, in carrying out His purposes among men, to employ the few in preference to the many, because the results produced are more manifestly wrought by His power, and thus more promotive of His glory. Thus the numerous army of Gideon was set aside, and by the remnant of 300 men the Lord decided to save Israel.

But the chief element of defectiveness lay in the low state of spiritual vitality, as evidenced in the dim and mistaken views entertained by the disciples as to the character of the Redeemer's kingdom; their timidity and fearfulness, their readiness to compromise their principles, and forsake, and even deny, their Master, in order to secure their own personal safety; and, indeed, there rested strongly on their minds a consciousness of their own insufficiency for the important mission entrusted to them. They felt how needful it was that they should receive their qualifications from above. They remembered the promise which the Saviour had made them when they were cast down and troubled in spirit at the prospect of His departure—"I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, that He may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth Him not, neither knoweth Him: but ye know Him; for He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you." They looked for the fulfilment of this promise. They waited for "the promise of the Father." They did not venture forth on their work until this had been bestowed. They did not act with the forwardness of the Israelites, who, although forewarned that the Lord would not be with them, "presumed to go up to the hill-top,"

and were discomfited before their enemies. They engaged together in prayer. They "continued with one accord in prayer and supplication." It is the position in which all faithful Christians ought to be found at the present time, earnest and continued impetration for that which we so much need, a renewed Pentecostal effusion, the out-pouring of God's Spirit on all ministers, Missionaries, churches, and congregations; on the collective body of Christ's people. We have the encouragement of the promise, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh;" a promise, the fulfilment of which was initiated in the days of Pentecost (Acts ii. 16), but which is still in process of development towards its full and final accomplishment. That promise, used in faith, fails not to yield inexhaustible supplies.

The prayer of the early church was answered. There was the advent of the Spirit (Acts ii. 1—4), grace was bestowed, energy developed. They who had been timid and fearful stood forth boldly, and confessed the Saviour before assembled multitudes. Needful gifts were imparted to them: they "began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." They were constituted a multilingual agency, capable of preaching the gospel in the many tongues, and to the many nations, of our world.

In the beginning of the gospels is to be found related the advent of the Son of God in those distinctive features with which we are familiar. In the beginning of the Acts of the Apostles we have the advent of the Holy Ghost in His divine personality, in which He has ever since abided in the Church, the collective body of true believers, be they less or more, nor has He ever withdrawn Himself from them. The Son of God entered into the humanity prepared for Him—"a body hast Thou prepared me"—"the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth." The Holy Ghost, on His advent, entered into the body prepared for Him, the Church in the sense already given, the collective body of true believers, as His temple, indwelling-place—"in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit." The entire chapter from whence this text is taken (Ephes. ii.), may be referred to with advantage, as exhibiting the original condition of such persons, the exercise of gracious power by which they had been raised up out of that state, their reconciliation by the blood of Christ (verse 13), their consolidation on the true foundation-stone, and their

union in Christ with each other, thus growing unto "an holy temple in the Lord . . . an habitation of God through the Spirit." Of the Saviour it is said, "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;" and the Godhead wrought through His humanity in wondrous acts of power and of love. The Holy Ghost dwells in the living organization of Christ's faithful people, presides over the whole body by an administrative action, and works through its various agencies and members, to the accomplishment of God's purposes on earth. It is in this administrative capacity that He is presented to us in 1 Cor. xii. There is one Head, the glorified Redeemer, and there is one body conjoined with Him in mystical union, "the blessed company of all faithful people" (Ephes. i. 22, 23), and there is one all-pervading, life-giving, power-imparting Spirit dwelling in all who are living a life of faith in the Son of God, and in such exclusively. In this the Spirit works (*ἐνεργεῖ*). He is careful to preserve continually this body in a condition available for action. When old members are removed, transferred from the church militant to the church triumphant, He raises up new members; He adjusts them to their true position in the body, assigning to some the more, to others the less honourable office; He apportions to each the work that is to be done; He gifts each with the necessary qualifications—"all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will;" He imparts to each the needful tone and vigour, and works through the living organization, in all its diversity of agencies and members, for one great purpose, the diffusion and sustained testimony of the gospel, as well by truth of doctrine as by holiness of life, and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world. It is a very serious error to confound any visible community of professing Christians with the mystical body of Christ, and designate it "the Church." If it be a true church, there will be found in its communion some of the members of Christ; but such are to be found in all Christian communities, however defective in ecclesiastical constitution, within which the "pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." The effectiveness of any community for spiritual service will be in proportion to the number of truly spiritual persons to be found in it, because in such exclusively the Spirit dwells, and through the agency of such He is pleased to work;

and thus, while we have our preferences for that ecclesiastical form and discipline with which we are connected, it may well moderate us in our prejudices towards other communities, to remember that, if testifying to the distinctive doctrines of the gospel, there are to be found dispersed throughout them our fellow-members in the living body of the true church, one as yet devoid, indeed, of visible union before men, but, in reality, one, because of its union with one Head, and its being dwelt in by one Spirit, who uses it as an effective organization for the accomplishment of His own great purposes.

Let us proceed to consider how it pleased Him to work through the infant church which occupies so prominent a position in the Acts of the Apostles, one feeble in numbers, but strong in the preponderance of the gracious element, for "they were of one heart and one soul."

So soon as the Holy Ghost had come, the great work, preaching and teaching Jesus Christ, was at once entered upon. This was the subject-matter of Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost: Christ—Christ as crucified, as risen, as ascended, as glorified. So, again, in the sermons preached on the occasion of the healing of the impotent man at the Beautiful gate of the temple, and before the council of the Jews—"This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." So Paul, in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia—"Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by Him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses;" and so throughout the entire of his arduous testimony—"I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." How his spirit was stirred within him at any attempt to interfere with purity of gospel teaching. "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him to be accursed." And the loving John is equally decisive. "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." It is an evil deed to preach another gospel, and corrupt men's minds from "the simplicity that is in Christ." It is to adulterate the medicine which God has provided for the healing and salvation

of poor sinners, and to destroy its efficacy. If it be an act of heinous criminality to poison the bread intended for the use of man, and, instead of a wholesome aliment, give him that which destroys life, what shall be said of those who mingle soul-destroying errors with the bread of life? Shall it be pleaded in apology that it is done through ignorance and misapprehension? Yet how just the outcry that is raised against the chemist who entrusts the dispensing of medicine to an un instructed youth, who knows not how to distinguish between arsenic and arrow-root. And shall they be placed in positions of responsibility, who, however versed in human learning, have not had that "anointing which teacheth of all things" (1 John ii. 27), and in the experience of their own hearts have never so learned the nature of gospel truth, as to proclaim it to others with discriminative fidelity? The Holy Ghost honours and uses the faithful testimony of Christ, the setting forth of His righteousness, His satisfaction of the law of God, inclusive as it is of propitiatory sufferings and meritorious obedience. He is the sacrifice and sin-offering. In Him is realized the great truth in which the church of God was trained up from its earliest infancy, the substitution of an innocent for the guilty party, to whom was transferred the burden and penalty of iniquity, and who suffered death under the weight of that transfer, as an expiation and atonement; so that, on the sprinkling of the blood of the sacrifice, the worshipper is permitted to go free. This is the great attractive truth—"I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me"—which meets the wants of poor sinners, and finds a response in their hearts. This is the atonement, the reconciliation, which reunites separated parties, which turns away from us that just displeasure of a holy God which our sins had provoked, and which takes away estrangement and rebellion from the heart of man. How can good be done, how can souls be converted, or wandering sinners brought into the fold, if this blessed truth be veiled, if shrouded in the mist and haze of ignorance and misapprehension? How dark that man must be who can read the Scripture, and not see this truth standing forth perspicuously in all the brightness and prominence which belongs to it? Spiritual results can only be produced as the Holy Ghost operates through our agency. He will do so, only so far as unreservedly we identify ourselves with the truth of the gospel. Let it be remembered, then, that, when the Holy Ghost moved the church to action, it entered forthwith on the ministration of the gospel, and proceeded to bring

within the reach of poor sinners the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, full, free, present salvation, salvation available on the instant to the necessities of sinners, whensoever, under the consciousness of that necessity, they desire to lay hold upon it.

Let us now proceed to review the results which were produced. And, first of all, there was accomplished a home work of great importance. On the day of Pentecost—"they that gladly received his word were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls." And then on the healing of the impotent man, and the address delivered on that occasion—"Howbeit many of them which heard the word believed; and the number of the men was about five thousand." The death of Ananias and Sapphira deterred fictitious elements—"Of the rest durst no man join himself to them: but the people magnified them. And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women." Lastly, a summary of the whole work is given (Acts vi. 7)—"And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." Let us now mark how this home work was led forth to foreign operation.

So important a movement, in the very midst of Jerusalem, the ecclesiastical centre of the world, did not fail to attract the attention of him, who, as a strong man armed, keeps his goods in peace. So serious an aggression on the integrity of his kingdom was sure to provoke on his part the energetic use of every means of resistance at his disposal. His more favourite mode is to weaken the action of the truth by the introduction of corrupt doctrines and unworthy professors, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira. But when this fails, or he finds it to be impracticable, then he has recourse to violence, and stirs up persecution. Suitable agents are never wanting. He takes advantage of the enmity which exists in the natural heart to Divine truth. The world is not indisposed to compromise matters, and to abstain from open enmity, if only the gospel will modify its testimony, and permit men, without disquietude, to pursue their own course; but if the Lord's witnesses persevere in prophesying, although clothed in sackcloth, the world becomes angry, and then ensues the outburst of bitter hatred. Thus we have the death of the proto-martyr Stephen, and the details of the first storm of persecution which fell upon the church of Christ. Such interruptions are to be found interwoven, not only with the his-

tory of the past, but with the more modern Missionary efforts of our own day. At such seasons, however, the tender work of incipient Christianity is wondrously sustained. Weak as it appears to be, it yet endures the tempestuous blast. Although cast down, it is not destroyed; although persecuted, it is not forsaken. The storm exhausts itself; the furious elements subside; there is a calm and placid season. The tender offshoot, which had been bowed down before the hurricane, revives, and springs up "as among the grass, as willows by the water-courses." When such seasons of trial supervene, it is our comfort to remember that the great work of evangelization is under the special protection of Him, whose meritorious sufferings constitute its foundation, and whose glory is the crowning point in which it shall eventually culminate. He who is Head over all things to His church can make the wrath of man to praise Him, and wondrously overrule the antagonism of His enemies to the furtherance of the gospel cause. Paul found it so. He was placed in bonds at Jerusalem, and finally transferred as a prisoner to Rome, and to the Christians of the East it appeared to be a grievous loss when this able preacher of the truth was removed from amongst them. But he was subsequently enabled to assure them, "the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places" (Phil. i. 12, 13); so much so, indeed, that at the termination of this epistle he makes mention of the saints "that are of Cæsar's household."

So in this first persecution. The numerous church which had been gathered at Jerusalem, and which, from its rapid increase, had encouraged the expectation that it would win the whole city to itself, is suddenly broken up, and so completely dispersed, that "they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." To many, no doubt, this appeared to be a sad reverse, a hindrance of no ordinary character. Yet He, who "is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working," overruled all for the wider dissemination of His truth.

If the constituent portions of a material fire be separated from each other, it soon dies out. But true Christianity, as it lives in the renewed heart, is an unextinguishable principle. Although separated from each other, these dispersed disciples were not separated from their Head. The principle of love to Him had lost nothing of its earnestness. It burned as brightly in the heart of each as

when they were together at Jerusalem exhorting one another, and provoking one another to love and good works. "They that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word." The horizon of evangelistic operation rapidly expanded. "Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them:" he baptizes the eunuch: he is found at Azotus, and, passing through, preached in all the cities as far as Cæsarea. Others penetrate as far as Damascus, and are pursued by the persecuting Saul, who, on his arrival there, preaches the faith he had so recently laboured to destroy. In another direction the message of reconciliation progresses to Antioch, and there a work of great importance is commenced. These early Christians were zealous for their Lord, and full of compassion for souls. They spake out of the abundance of the heart. They could say, "We having the same spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak." As fire lays hold on the various objects around, and thus rapidly extends its action, so, with the energy of Christian love, did they apprehend the various opportunities of usefulness which presented themselves. Thus the flame of gospel light and truth increased by the very procedure which had been intended to extinguish it. The enemy, in scattering it abroad from one place, caused it to be lighted up in many places. Instead of being assailed in one direction, he found his kingdom endangered in many and unexpected quarters.

It will be interesting to indicate some instances of the administrative action of the Holy Ghost in this onward movement, premising that in some cases this direction is immediate, and the services undertaken are by His express command; in other cases it is secret and imperceptible, as though the service rendered originated with the agent, all outward indications of His presence and interference being withheld. The mode by which He acts now upon His servants and agents is of this latter kind. By a secret movement on the hearts and affections of His people, they are graciously yet powerfully constrained to the services in which it is His pleasure they should be engaged; nor is this direction less real or effectual, than when He spoke with an audible voice, and issued a command which the ear heard. Such guidance is more consistent with the school and discipline of faith in which His people are being trained. But of the direct and discernible interference many instances are afforded

in this record for our encouragement, to show us how it is that He acts, and moves, and wonderfully directs and superintends His people in all the works and services which He accomplishes through their instrumentality.

An instance presents itself in Acts viii. 26, &c. Philip had been engaged in the city of Samaria, where great encouragement had been vouchsafed him. Yet from this prosperous work was he unexpectedly called to separate himself, to transfer his sphere of labour from the city to the desert; and there, instead of a multitude, to confer with a single individual. The eunuch, returning from Jerusalem, was sitting in his chariot, reading Esaias the prophet—"Then the Spirit said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot." The Holy Ghost would thus teach us that we are not to lose sight of man's individuality in a crowd. It is not enough to preach to large and overflowing congregations, and see them bowed and moved by the power of the word. We must be willing to follow the individual into his retirement, to separate ourselves from the throng, and seek him out when he is alone. He would teach us that some of the most important results accomplished by ministerial agency have been brought about in the quietude of intercourse between man and man—"warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

In Acts x. we have another instance of this direct interference, when we find the Spirit removing the prejudices of Peter, and breaking down that exclusiveness which prevented the communication of the gospel message to the Gentiles. All narrownesses and caste prejudices are impediments, especially when they exist, not merely in the world without, but in the spiritual agency itself. A caste prejudice lingering in the mind of a converted Hindú, or a sectional prejudice in the heart of a British Christian, places them in a position similar to that of Peter. The Holy Ghost, at the present time, appears to be specially operating to the removal of those narrow illiberalities which have prevented concord and co-operation among the people of God, and is thus preparing the way for a more enlarged and comprehensive effort to meet the destitution of the world than has been yet attempted.

In consequence of the press of matter connected with China, we are compelled to hold back the remainder of this article for our next number.

REVIEW OF AFFAIRS ON THE CHINESE COAST.

WE have already dealt largely with the opium question, and shall feel glad when, having discharged our duty with respect to it, we are enabled to dismiss it from our pages. On a subject of such vital importance, affecting as it does the honour of England and the welfare of China, it were unfaithfulness to be silent.

One important branch of the question still remains to be reviewed—the position occupied by our Indian Government as the grower, manufacturer, and wholesale merchant of the drug; but previously to entering upon this, the state of things on the coast demands some further consideration.

Let us, then, disembarass ourselves of the narrownesses which must necessarily adhere to every special question, and prepare to take a large view of the existing condition of that vast and ancient empire. In all the pride of an imaginary superiority, China has refused to descend to equality of intercourse with the western nations; and, in permitting the outside barbarians to stand on its doorstep, appears to think that more than they are worthy of has been conceded to them. This supercilious contempt of every thing which is not according to their own peculiarity of type is more rigid and unbending in some classes of the community, and in some places, than in others. The literati appear everywhere to constitute the stronghold of this prejudice. Our Missionaries, in maintaining their position within the city proper of Fuh-chau, which, at the commencement of their labours, they had been successful in acquiring, have met their chief obstructions from that peculiar class. The determination not to open to frank and confidential intercourse with the foreigner appears to be most unbending at Canton. This, however, is not surprising, when it is remembered, that, to their countrymen of other cities and provinces, the Cantonese are so imperious and overbearing as to be excessively disliked by them. One fact will illustrate this, and the retribution which they occasionally bring upon themselves. As a Cantonese, employed in the service of one of the European firms at Fuh-chau, was passing through the streets, he was roughly, although accidentally, jostled by a Fuh-chauan. He instantly grasped the man, and inflicted upon him injuries of so severe a nature that the man died. Popular indignation was aroused. The city mob gathered in great force, and, in despite of the efforts made to screen him, seized the murderer, bore him off in triumph, and, binding him to a post, constrained the widow to

avenge her husband's death by piercing his eye-balls. They are Cantonese who have spread themselves southward through the straits to Singapore and Borneo; and the proceedings of Sarawak are just such as might be expected from their lawless character.

It is impossible adequately to conceive the extent to which China has been a sufferer by this system of exclusion. She has shut out all that would have been healthful and improving, and has engendered all those contraband and illicit proceedings which we so much deplore. Europeans have been tempted to meet her injustice and exclusiveness by devices and clever expedients which cannot be justified. Fair dealing has been such a difficulty, that men, gradually yielding themselves to the prevailing mode of lax procedure, have compromised themselves with all those low practices of smuggling, and bribery and corruption, which are like the scum cast by the restless tide upon the shore. There has been one evil of the most serious magnitude, which China by her obstinacy has inflicted on herself. She has shut out the gospel; and while the poison of injurious influences has been imbibed at every pore, she has put away from her, so far as it was practicable to do so, the only antidote. Natural tendencies and inclinations have afforded an easy transit to deteriorating practices; and the cities on the seaboard have communicated to the outskirts of the vast interior population the knowledge of the opium vice, and the means of indulging it. On the other hand, the few straggling beams of Christian light which have penetrated into the dark interior, have passed through a refracting medium, and, falling with an oblique action upon the eye of the observer, have conveyed to him far otherwise than correct images of the great realities themselves. Hence the strange medley of truth and error, of piety and blasphemy, which is to be found in the religious notions of the patriots; of the moral law glittering like a sword unsheathed in the severity of Sinai, instead of being tempered and recommended by the grace and mercy of the gospel; of the Christian Scriptures printed and circulated with one hand, while with the other human blood is shed and life destroyed unsparingly. Christianity, hindered and obstructed by State jealousy, has yielded, in the interior, a twilight so feeble, that men, mistaking their own phantasies and delusions for the revelations of God, have generated a strange and gloomy fanaticism, which effects good incidentally, but in its direct action may be found to

be more obstructive than otherwise to the truth of the gospel.

Thus, in various ways, the state policy of the Mantchu dynasty has been most prejudicial to the Chinese people; and we believe that, in just judgment, its days are numbered. The emperor and his Nui Koh, or privy council of four chief ministers—consisting of Yuching, a Mantchu, Kia ching, a Chinese of Shangtung, Wanking, a Mantchu, and Yeh Mingchin, a Chinese of Hupeh, and now the notorious governor-general of Kwangtung—when last assembled in deliberation, might have seen mysterious fingers writing upon the palace wall the doom of the imperial Mantchus. The time appears to have arrived when Chinese isolation is to cease, the barriers broken down, and the swarming myriads of the vast interior opened to free and unrestricted intercourse with their fellow-men; when the magnificent river-road of the Yang-tze-kiang shall welcome on its waters the fair dealer, who, with a well-assorted cargo of lawful merchandise, directs his course towards the great emporiums of the central provinces. Give lawful commerce fair play, let it be freed from the necessity of transacting business through the low officials who line the coast, and we doubt not its capability of successfully competing with the opium traffic, and eventually, with the aid of higher influences, driving it from the market. Above all, let the pure gospel be free to enter. We have been much amused with the purport of an article in "The Edinburgh Review" for April last. Great Britain and the United States are concluded to have but one object. "What do we want with China?" is the question asked; and the answer given is, "Commerce." But England has interfered with the prosperous development of this by connecting with it, first, a Missionary object, which is pronounced to be "singularly inimical to our pacific relations with China;" and, secondly, the sale of opium; and these are placed side by side with one another, as amongst the most prominent of those grievances which the Chinese can bring against us. Strange classification—combination of two elements which war against each other, and are mutually expulsive; as much so as Christianity and the slave-trade upon the coast of Africa. Is the opium vice an evil, an injury to the Chinese? It is admitted to be so by the writer. How shall the plague-spread be arrested? By indisposing the Chinese to the use of it. How shall that be done? By those healthful influences which pure Christianity, if permitted free circulation, introduces into the bosom of a nation. What has extinguished the cannibal appetite in New

Zealand? It was powerfully strong, as may be found in the repulsive details of New-Zealand history. We could present our reviewer with some choice *morceaux* of this nature, should he be disposed to investigate the moral geology of New Zealand. What has terminated the practice of infanticide in the Sandwich Isles and other groups of the Pacific? The answer is to be found in the fact, that, where they are still heathen, parents continue to destroy the infant spark of life to which they have given birth; and that, where the light of evangelism has superseded the darkness of heathenism, it is more practised in polished England than amongst these new denizens of our common Christianity. What is indisposing the African to the slave-trade, of which he was once enamoured, so that one nation has enacted laws which brand it as a crime of a dye so deep as to be punishable with death? We answer, Christianity, introduced by the so-much-reprobated Missionary action. This, in the conversion of some, beneficially affects all, and raises the tone and standard of morality throughout a land. But if the opium traffic be a grievance, then how shall the very element which is most powerfully destructive of it be classified as a grievance also? "Commerce and religious propagandism are, in a great degree, incompatible objects in China." We cannot admit the truth of that assertion. If the commerce be legitimate and fair, and Christianity be of the right kind, unadulterated, and discreetly introduced, they are not incompatible. They are hand in hand upon the coast of Africa: united as chosen friends, they are about to ascend the Niger. Why should elements which fuse so amicably on the coast of Africa be found so utterly incompatible on the coast of China? But commerce and the opium trade are also irreconcilable. "Trading in opium, while Chinese laws and public opinion in that country continue what they are, is fatal to any improvement in our relations, political or commercial." In that position we fully concur. Here are indeed two antagonistic elements. If Christianity be introduced between them, by which of them shall it be attracted? with which of them shall it fuse? It cannot be alike affected, or be alike repelled, by these extremes; for then they have a common medium, and it were a mistake to consider them antagonistic to each other. This the reviewer appears to feel, and therefore he has pronounced Christianity, in its Missionary action, to be incompatible with lawful commerce, and classed it with the opium-traffic as a grievance. We certainly are disposed to marvel at the strangeness of this conclusion.

In other quarters of the globe, Christianity and commerce are found to be quite compatible. Those kingdoms of our world which have the purest Christianity have the most extended commerce. We should have been disposed to think that England's Christianity develops the energies of man, and thus promotes commercial enterprise, and, by doing so, prepares the way for its own extension. On the coast of Africa, moreover, as the Missionary area expands, lawful commerce springs up and gathers strength. But either we have been wholly mistaken on this subject, or else on the coast of China the circumstances are so peculiar, that these two elements, which thrive together in other places, cannot co-exist there. In that part of the world we now learn that Christianity is as incompatible with commerce as the opium-traffic itself. Missionary action, therefore, and the opium traffic, cannot be so adverse to each other as is usually supposed, for they alike disaffect and injure commerce. We must ask the reviewer to reconcile these irreconcilables. In our simplicity, we have always regarded Missionary action as adverse to the opium traffic, and destructive of it just in proportion as it proves successful; but if, as the writer admits, the opium traffic be incompatible with commerce, then Missionary action, which is destructive of this adverse tendency, so far from being incompatible with, must be promotive of, the interests of commerce, and, as such, ought to be encouraged and protected. Lawful commerce is as the growing crop, on which are concentrated the expectations of the husbandman; the opium traffic, and its sequences of evil, as the multitudinous insects which prey upon and threaten to destroy it; and the results of Missionary action are as the feathered tribes which come to waste and kill the destroyer, and set the crop free. The writer is clear-sighted enough to see the incompatibility between the harvest and the caterpillars, but he has not discovered the utility of the birds, and, regarding them as an additional calamity, arms himself with his gun to shoot them down. Only expel, as he would recommend, the Missionary labours of pure Christianity from the coast of China, and then, indeed, the caterpillars will be left unmoled to complete the destruction of the crop.

But confounding, as the writer does, the Missionary action of pure Christianity with "religious propagandism," and apparently unable to discriminate between its objects and mode of operation, and those which characterize Romish Missions, we cannot be surprised at the strange conclusions to which his article has drifted. We must help him to see

less dimly. The object of pure Christianity is to convert the heart to God; of Romish Missions, to proselyte to a system, incorporation with which is esteemed to be identical with salvation. The one would make man the subject of Him who has declared, "My kingdom is not of this world," and the recognition of whom as supreme Lord is perfectly compatible with allegiance to an earthly king. The other would bind him in slavish submission to the earthly head of a professedly religious, but, in reality, secular and political, system, and place him in a position wholly incompatible with true loyalty to any other king or head.

We must ask our readers to suffer the introduction of a paragraph from the article in question.

"M. Huc has said, and we believe quite rightly, that the Chinese emperors are not intolerant as to religious creeds. He adds, however, the important restrictive words—'save in so far as they interfere with temporal things,' and among these, as chief and first, their own political rule. He alludes to a proclamation of Taoukwang, the late emperor, in which he passed in review all the religions of which the Chinese had any knowledge, and came finally to the conclusion that they were all equally false, and that his subjects would do well to despise them altogether. This so far corresponds with the best information possessed by foreigners on the subject, that we believe it may be very safely assumed to be true. A Chinese may please his fancy with whatever religion he prefers, *provided* it is not one connected with *secret societies* or *political objects*. 'Unfortunately,' observes M. Huc, 'the Chinese Government has placed Christianity in this category, and it is very difficult to correct this error, and introduce more just ideas.' Very difficult indeed, we agree with the Abbé, and we should have agreed with him if he had declared it to be simply impossible. What is government, considered from the Chinese point of view? Is it not absolute and undisputed empire—undivided control over their subjects exercised by the occupant of the throne at the time—the Son of Heaven? Is it an error then to place Christianity in this category? Let us listen to what the emperor Young-tching thought on the subject; he who in 1724 proscribed the Christian religion, and who graciously condescended to state his views to three Jesuit priests who petitioned him when the decree against them was fulminated—

" 'Certain Europeans* in the province of

* Spanish Dominicans settled in the province of Fokien."

Fokien have been endeavouring to defy our laws and trouble our people. The great men of the province have applied to me, and I must repress this disorder. It is the business of the Government with which I am charged, and I neither can nor ought to act now as I did when I was a private prince.'

"You say that your law is not a false law; and I believe it. But what would you say if I were to send a troop of Bonzes and Lamas into your country to preach their law in it? How would you receive them? You wish to make the Chinese Christians, and this is what your law demands, I know very well. *But what in that case would become of us?—THE SUBJECTS OF YOUR KINGS. The Christians whom you make recognise no authority but you:* in times of trouble they would listen to no other voice. I know well enough that there is nothing to fear at present; but when your ships shall be coming by thousands and tens of thousands, then indeed we may have some disturbances.'—(Abbè Huc.)

"Must we not confess that this, upon the whole, was a very natural, and not an irrational view, for the despotic head of a great pagan empire to hold? Can we feel surprised, if a universal opinion, shared by the emperor and the whole class of authorities and literati, should prevail, that the political elements of disturbance are thickly sown with the Christian creed, unsettling the minds of the people, and subverting the national creed of absolute submission to the emperor and his authority? Can we doubt that such a feeling must form one of the greatest obstacles at the present moment to any successful negotiations with the Chinese Government for commercial objects, and to proposals for additional facilities of access to the inland marts and producing districts?" (Pp. 534—536.)

Now we challenge the writer of this article to the inquiry—Does the Christianity of the Bible interfere with temporal things, and chiefly and especially with political rule? We are not now speaking of Rome and its propagandism. It may be very convenient, yet far from just, to confound these with Protestantism and its Missions. But we ask the question with reference to that pure religion which inculcates, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God." "A Chinese may please his fancy with whatever religion he prefers, provided it is not one connected with secret societies or political objects." Have the Missionary operations of Protestant Christianity any thing to do "with secret societies or political objects?" "Unfortunately," observes M. Huc,

'the Chinese Government has placed Christianity in this category, and it is very difficult to correct this error, and introduce more just ideas.'" And then the reviewer adds—"Very difficult indeed, we agree with the Abbè, and, we should have agreed with him if he had declared it to be simply impossible." And so should we, too, if M. Huc is to be considered as speaking of what he considers to be, not only Christianity *par excellence*, but Christianity *per se*, namely, Romanism.

But what has this to do with the Christianity of Protestant Churches, which, in the judgment of all genuine children of the Church of Rome, differs so widely from their own, that they refuse to recognise it as Christianity at all? We are very thankful to be so excluded, for there is much in the creed, and much in the doings, of the Church of Rome, with which, we should exceedingly dislike to be identified. And on this, as amongst other points in which we differ *toto cælo* from Romanism, we desire it to be very clearly understood that true Christianity has no connexion whatever "with secret societies or political objects."

But why does it please the writer to confuse Romanism and Protestantism under the common appellation of Christianity, and thus pursue a course which is alike distasteful to both parties? Why consider them to be so identical, that what is true of the one may be safely attributed to the other? It may be very true of the Spanish Dominicans in 1724, that "they endeavoured to defy the laws and trouble the people," and we doubt not that the emperor Young-tching was perfectly justified in fulminating his edict against them. Such things have not been unheard of in the history of Romish Missions. The Jesuits in particular have always had a *penchant* for political complications, and have brought down retribution, on more than one memorable occasion, on their own heads; but it is a libel to apply to Protestant Missionaries the words which Young-tching used to the Dominicans—"the Christians whom you make recognise no authority but you." Let the Missionary action of pure Christianity in China only be permitted room to vindicate its character, and by the results that it produces it will not fail to show, that, so far from "sowing thickly the political elements of disturbance," it inculcates patience and submission, even under circumstances of extreme provocation. Let the reviewer read—"Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted

for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God." If, therefore, as we are told, "such a feeling must form one of the greatest obstacles at the present moment to any successful negotiations with the Chinese Government for commercial objects, and to proposals for additional facilities of access to the inland marts and producing districts," let not the innocent be confounded with the guilty, and Protestant Missionaries be made to suffer for that which exclusively belongs to the Missions of the See of Rome.

But we must refer, we trust without wearying our readers, to another paragraph.

"Is it not in effect to introduce into a kingdom or state where another rule exists, a new *primum mobile*, to use the words of Bacon, 'that ravisheth all the spheres of government;' a new principle of action and dominion, with which the law it finds established has no affinity or possible bond of connexion? That is, in this instance, a principle threatening to ravish from the heathen rule all control over their own people by the adoption of principles subversive of the established policy. Such has never been the policy of this country in India or in the other parts of Asia which we have visited or subdued. It is a policy calculated to defeat its own object, and to rouse against us all the fury of religious fanaticism; and whilst we respect the opinions of the Missionary leaders in China, we are persuaded that their exertions are often injudicious and premature." (P. 536.)

What is the writer speaking of, for we are at a loss to find the antecedent? Is it "Christianity?" or "the Christian Creed?" Why content himself with the relative pronoun at the beginning of an important paragraph? Did he write the word "Christianity?" and was he ashamed of the position in which his hand had placed it, so as to feel constrained to veil it behind the pronoun? We should not wonder. We have seldom read any thing more libellous of Christianity. We would persuade ourselves to the charitable conclusion, that, confounding, as he does, Protestantism and Romanism, as though they possessed common essentialities, and differed only in form and name, he has been imperfectly informed on the subject to which he has committed himself; but the assertions themselves we cannot spare, because they are untrue and mischievous. Is it correct to assert, that to impart Christianity to a nation is to introduce "a new principle of action and dominion, with which the law it finds established has no affinity or possible bond of connexion?"

Wherever Christianity finds law, it recognises it and sustains it. The changes it produces are conservative of law and order: instead of subverting, they healthfully modify and strengthen the relations which exist between ruler and subject. Christianity is not revolutionary in its action: it is ameliorative. It is as an alterative medicine introduced into the human system: the operation is not sudden and violent: it is a gradual gaining upon the constitution, so as to change the humours from a state of distemperature into health. The gospel aims directly at men's hearts and characters, first in their relation to God, and then with reference to their fellow-men around. It is with these, not with political entanglements, that it has to do. Within the heart it effects great changes, which improve the man, and qualify him to exercise a beneficial influence within his circle of opportunity. As individual character improves, the tone of society is ameliorated: vice is discountenanced, virtue encouraged. The type of character that is generated is of the meek and patient kind, that desires usefulness, but unobtrusively. True Christian grace is a modest flower that loves the shade; it is retiring, and conceals itself behind the foliage which screens it from the sun. The most lovely specimens of it must be looked for. They shrink from praise or notoriety; but, in the quietude of an unpretending life, they shed around sweet fragrance. As such men multiply throughout the land, they become influential, and their truthfulness of principle, and their just discrimination of right and wrong, insensibly affect the mass. The spirit and temper of a people are thus improved: then, by general consent, and by a judicious and temperate action, emendations are effected in the framework of society. We repeat, then, Christianity does not subvert, it conserves, by introducing wholesome ameliorations, without which subversion must have taken place. As in the case of the individual man, it does not force him to an unwilling separation from his vices, but it so changes him, that of his own will he renounces that which otherwise must have destroyed him. Is it true, then, that Christianity in China is "a principle threatening to ravish from the heathen rule all control over their own people by the adoption of principles subversive of the established policy." Then according to the principles inculcated in this article, the heathen polity of China ought to be the best secured, for it has most carefully excluded this disquieting element of Christianity, nor has it ever conceded to it more than a *locus standi* on the shore. We might expect to find

it, therefore, in the most perfect state of preservation. But we should be disappointed. It is all but subverted, tottering on the brink of ruin. Christianity, in our sense, true Christianity, has not done this. Romanism has been long disguised in the interior, sometimes disdained, at other times sought out and persecuted: we have not been. Christianity, as destructive, it appears, of national law and order as the opium is of the health of the individual, has been prohibited from that freedom of action which the drug has enjoyed; and yet Chinese society is in a fearful state of disorganization. The Chinese emperors have shut out Christianity, and the reviewer approves of their having done so; yet the means they have employed have not conserved their authority over their subjects. The exclusion of Christianity has not averted the catastrophe which they dreaded; nay, it has precipitated that catastrophe. Yet, in the face of such formidable facts, the writer upholds his theory—"Such has never been the policy of this country in India or in the other parts of Asia which we have visited or subdued. It is a policy calculated to defeat its own object, and to rouse against us all the fury of religious fanaticism." What does the writer mean? that Missionaries are excluded from our Indian territories lest they should arouse the fury of religious fanaticism? True, some fifty years ago such notions did confuse the perceptions of high officials in India. In 1807 the Rev. D. Brown was constrained to write—"All our governments of India have opposed the diffusion of the knowledge of Christianity among the natives." At length, in 1812, after a long correspondence with the American Missionaries, the authorities decided to dismiss them from the country; no doubt under the erroneous impression, that the attempt to introduce Christianity among the natives was "calculated to defeat its own object, and to rouse against us all the fury of religious fanaticism." But now, men high in office have learned to regard the wise introduction of pure Christianity among the natives of India as a sedative and tranquillizing, instead of a disturbing element. The rebellious Santhals have been handed over by the Indian Government to the charge of a Missionary Society. They were long left in heathen ignorance; and it was discovered, that, while they continued heathen, their submission to law and order could not be depended upon; that they were liable to rise in fierce exasperation, like a river when it suddenly floods, and, overflowing its banks, spreads around desolation and death. It was felt that some new and powerful influence

was needed to bind them to good order and patient industry; and the grand acknowledgment has been made by the Indian Government, that Christianity alone can exercise such an influence. Therefore the Church Missionary Society has been entrusted with the high duty of opening among the Santhals vernacular Christian schools, and introducing this aboriginal tribe to the knowledge of the gospel, the Government providing the necessary funds. We had hoped, therefore, that such prejudices as are put forth in the paper before us had become so antiquated as to be withdrawn from circulation, and that, like a Queen-Anne's farthing, although even less valuable, they were to be found only in the museums of the curious, arranged side by side with the preserved head of a New Zealander. But it seems there are yet some living representatives to be found, who occasionally venture forth from their retirement, and, by their old-fashioned peculiarities, excite the wonder and astonishment of modern society.

One more paragraph yet remains to be noticed—

"It is in a political aspect that the proselytising labours of all Missionaries are indiscriminately regarded with the strongest feelings of alarm and hostility, and before we go back to an earlier period for evidence of an authentic character on this subject, we may remark that no series of events could possibly have taken place more calculated to operate injuriously against *all* Missionary efforts than the formidable insurrection which was hailed in England and America with a perfect diapason of joy and triumph. These insurrectionary movements have for these five years past spread desolation far and wide, shaken the throne of the present Tartar monarch, and watered with the blood of thousands and of hundreds of thousands the fairest and wealthiest provinces of China—the insurgents claiming affiliation with Christianity, and putting forward, as the ostensible objects of the rebellion the inauguration of that religion, and the extermination of the Tartars—an ominous conjunction for European interests! This is the view taken of the rebellion at Peking, as set forth in a memorial to the emperor, printed in the 'Peking Gazette,' and circulated throughout the empire.

"The names of the robbers have all been sought out (the rebel chiefs are here enumerated) who all evidently joined the sect at Kin-tein. The Protestant sect (Shangti) is only another designation of the Roman Catholics, *but originating with the barbarians, and flowing in poisonous streams through the*

middle kingdom, dyeing the customs of the country, and deluding the people; damaging the manners, and wounding the hearts of the age." (P. 534.)

Now, in reply to that paragraph, we do not hesitate to state, that the "perfect diapason of joy and triumph," which is described as, in England and America, hailing the progress of the insurrection, has never had any reality of existence. With interest, no doubt, the movement has been observed; with earnest desire that the Christianity which it bore inscribed upon its banner might be such as would soften the asperity of war; and with deep sorrow, as, in the sanguinary deeds which have marked its course, we have been unable to discern other than the workings of a severe fanaticism. Where there has been any thing hopeful, such as the printing of the vernacular Scriptures, we have rejoiced over it: where its utterances have been blasphemous and its deeds evil, we have not forbore to testify against them. Four years ago, when writing from Hong Kong to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Victoria thus expressed himself—"We must use great caution, lest we unduly identify Protestant Missionaries with a movement of which the whole character has not yet been developed." We believe that caution has been observed. For ourselves, in the pages of this periodical, we have always endeavoured to view it with impartiality, neither magnifying what seemed hopeful in it, nor suppressing its defects; and it has been always a subject of deep regret to us that a nascent Christianity should have been blended with a military organization and movement, in which, when occasion serves, the sword is used with unsparing cruelty. One passage, in self-defence, we may be permitted to quote. "To recognise the system in its present state as identical with Protestant Christianity, is impossible. We dare not do so. The gospel of Christ has nothing to do with special revelations, revolutionary movements, the use of carnal weapons, and the extermination of religious or political antagonists."* When that paragraph was penned, nearly three years ago, we very clearly perceived that any want of caution on our part would expose us to the missiles of those who are hostile to Missionary operations, and afford them occasion to assert that we recognise, as Christian brethren, men who are "watering with the blood of thousands and of hundreds of thousands the fairest and wealthiest provinces of China."

But, passing from this article in "The Edin-

burgh Review," which has detained us longer than we had intended, let us recur to China; and in whatever direction we look—to Mantchu or Taeping, to the city or the plain—the numbers who are being victimized by the opium, or the numbers slain by the sword—we are constrained to the acknowledgment of the solemn fact, that the judgments of God are heavy upon the land. It is not one calamity, but a concurrence of them—a mighty host of tribulations—which has invaded that vast empire. Let the following recapitulation of them be perused—

"In the annals of China, the sixth in the reign of H. I. M. HIENFUNG will be marked a calamitous year.

"Misery, distress, and wretchedness, in many forms and full measure, have come upon the nation; and the prospect, in every quarter, is at this moment darker and more portentous than ever before, during the whole long supremacy of the Manchu race.

"In the first place, the judgments of the Almighty have been abroad in the land. During the last annual revolution of the sun, the course of nature—rather, we ought to say, the Divine Providence—here has been ominous of evil, as if to admonish magistrates and people of the presence of an overruling Power, on whom all alike, the high and the low, the weak and the strong, are equally dependent. At the north, in some places, as well as in the 'wide provinces' of the south, there have been very destructive inundations, deluging extensive tracts of country, carrying away the homes of the inhabitants, and forcing some of them 'to wander among the immortals.' In the low and central provinces, and in Honan, drought has prevailed, in some places to such a degree that whole families have perished for lack of water and rice. The ancient domain of the Manchus has experienced repeated shocks of earthquake, demolishing the houses of the people, and filling the hearts of the rulers with anxiety. Over the capital of the Tatsing empire, and far east and west on either side of Peking, flights of locusts darkened the heavens for successive days, and in their course southward, along the banks of the great rivers, devoured in many regions almost every green thing.

"In the second place, the financial condition of the realm has been, and is, exceedingly embarrassed; the metropolitan and the provincial treasuries long ago were severely drained, and now seem quite exhausted; while nearly all the ordinary sources of income, where they had not already been cut off or become extinct, are being dried up.

"In the third place, the public works, on

* "C. M. Intelligencer," July 1854, p. 168.

the rivers and canals, on the courts and palaces, the halls for examining literary and military candidates for honours and service in the state, and the temples dedicated to the gods or to the manes of the dead, are reported, in various quarters, 'fast going to ruins;' and the public granaries, for supplying rations to the soldiers, and sustenance to the poor, in times of extremity, exist, one half of them at least, 'only in name.'

"Moreover, in the army and navy the deficiencies are in similar proportion. The lists, the rolls, the inventories, are there: they exist 'on record;' but the men and the munitions are wanting in cases not a few—nay, not always 'on the record,' for the vacancies that appear in the pages of the Red Book look strange, and odd, and ominous.

"To all these calamities there must be added, as last in our brief review of the Chinese Empire, but not as least calamitous, the scourge of *war*. From Canton to the Great Wall, from the shores of the Pacific to the mountains of Thibet, there are no provinces where there have not been disorders; while in most there is now open rebellion. Not only have the Barbarians, native mountaineers and men from far, become disobedient to the 'Son of Heaven,' but millions of the black-haired race have thrown off all allegiance to his supremacy. Other lords have risen up, and, in deadly strife, are contending for sovereignty. Time would fail us to recount the cities that have fallen, or that have been recaptured and captured again; and the heart of the reader would sicken ere we could tell of the half of the thousands and tens of thousands that have been killed in battle, decapitated at the appointed places of public execution, or slaughtered on the highways, in the fields, or in their own homes.

"Amidst all these disorders, near or remote, this one thing is consolatory,—'Surely the wrath of man shall praise Jehovah; the remainder of wrath He will restrain.'"*

An extract or two from the "North-China Herald" will afford us glimpses of what is passing in the interior. In the number for November 8, 1856, we read—"Rice is rising in price; and, from all accounts which have reached us, we are apprehensive much distress will be experienced by the mass of the Chinese inhabiting the plain of the Yang-tze during the coming winter, from the effects of the drought, and the locusts having destroyed the rice crops this year. We have also been informed that the Chinese agriculturists, who are called upon annually to pay grain taxes,

will this year be unable to do so from the scarcity of their crops. This must also cause no small inconvenience and uneasiness in the north of China, whither the grain in question was every year transported for consumption." Accordingly, the "Peking Gazette," of November 21, contains a memorial on the subject, from which the following is an extract—

"TSAU TANG-YUNG, H.I.M.'s minister and censor, charged with the duty of inspecting the regions of country comprising the provinces of Húpeh and Húnán humbly memorializes the throne, concerning the calamitous condition of the provinces, and the ways and means that ought speedily to be devised in order to afford succour, and requests that the appropriate Board may be instructed to fix a definite period within which the condition of the people and the means for their relief shall be post-haste reported; and, looking up, he prays that the Holy Emperor will bestow a glance upon this memorial.

"In your minister's opinion, there is required greater urgency to save from famine than from fire, and greater haste to rescue from starving than from drowning. During the current year (1856), drought and locusts have joined issue in the provinces of Kíángsú, Chehkiáng, Honán, Chihli, Shántung, Húpeh, Shánsi, and Shensi, where the harvests have been short; during the month of May these provinces were visited by inundations; subsequently, Fungtien fú experienced successive shocks of earthquake; while the price of rice has been high in the provinces of Kwángtung, Kwángsi, and Fuhkien.

"At my native city, Kwángchau, in the province of Honán, the price of rice rose to one thousand cash per tau; and, during the month of September, water was eight cash per catty. Among the people, water and rice were in fact not to be had, so that whole families destroyed themselves. From these statements the condition of other places may be inferred."†

To these calamities must be added the sanguinary results of civil strife, not merely between Insurgents and Imperialists, but between the Nanking Kings and their respective followers. The following letter from Dr. Bridgman, an American Missionary at Shanghai, details some of the horrors which are being enacted in that city—

"The epistolary form will be the best method, perhaps, for laying before your readers some additional facts relating to men and things at Nanking, supplementary to the 'Miscellaneous Notices' recently published

* "North-China Herald," January 3, 1857.

† *Ibid.* January 17, 1857.

in successive numbers of your journal. Those gave us a fragmentary history of the Insurgents there, from the capture of the city, in March 1853, till the spring of 1855; these, about to be given, will supply important details for the sequel down to the middle of last month, December 1856, and clear away some of the obscurity in which all the reports from that quarter during the last year and a half have been involved. We know now that both the eastern and western kings have been slaughtered, and that all this has been done by the orders of Hung Siútsuen, who so late as the 12th ult. was still alive and high in station, though yet concealed as heretofore.

"The authority on which the following statements rest is that of three eye-witnesses, who have been with the Insurgents in Nanking, Chinkiang, Wúhú, and other places in Ngánhwui; were often at the palaces of some of the chiefs; and two of them (both foreigners) were lodging not many yards from Yáng's on the night of his death, which was about the end of July last.

"The reader may here be advertised, that, one of these informants being an illiterate native, and the others quite unacquainted with the Chinese language, it has been impossible for me to obtain the exact dates of occurrences, or to identify, in all instances, the names of the persons and places to which these three men have referred in their conversations. But aside from dates and names, however, I have seen no reason to question the accuracy of their narratives, though far more fragmentary and scanty than one could wish. The native youth, though with the insurgents for more than a year, was a mere bearer of burdens; and the foreigners, though often 'gentlemen at large,' brought away with them nothing in the shape of records, except what were impressed on their memories. They were, at first, I know not by whose agency, inveigled into the service of the Imperialists; but when there, having no pay in hand nor in prospect, they found ways and means to pass over to the opposite lines. This was in the spring of last year; and there they continued, till, those chiefs to whom they had been attached being cut off, they thought best to retire. Coming down from Nanking by way of Chinkiang and Tántú, they reached Shanghai about ten days ago.

"One thing more may here be mentioned in advance: the only other foreigners with the Insurgents, besides these two, and known to them, were five Manillamen, one Italian, and a negro: the latter one had been killed. The Italian was in Ngánhwui, and had not been seen by these two.

"Of all the bloody tragedies in which the eastern king had been prime instigator, during his bold and impious career, none equalled that one in which, at length, he himself was to be chief victim. He had revelled in blood; he had fattened on the spoils, and sported with the agonies, of many; he had filled his palace with luxuries and dainties; the choicest wines, the most refined qualities of the drug, and some foreign instruments of music, were there: in short, whatever his heart desired, in that he indulged, if it were within 'the dominions of the Tapings.' He seldom, if ever, went beyond the gates of the city, and over its inhabitants he had assumed nearly all the authority. The readers of the 'North-China Herald' will remember the blasphemous titles he had, years ago, arrogated to himself, and how, on one occasion, he contrived to have Hung Siútsuen subjected to flagellation. At length, as it appears, he had nearly completed arrangements for his destruction, and, with him, all his immediate adherents.

"One of the generals, in whom Yáng had confided, for reasons that do not appear, saw fit to make known the plot to Hung, who lost no time in concerting with his right trusty royal brother Wei Chánghwui, the northern king (then absent in Ngánhwui) to interpose his valorous arm, at once both for the protection of his own person and the slaughter of his rival. At the summons of the celestial king, Wei acted promptly. On reaching the gates of Nanking, in the dead of night, both he and his followers were admitted without suspicion. In a few short hours every man was at the post that had been assigned him; all the avenues to Yáng's palace were occupied by the invaders; the decisive blow came like a thunderbolt; and, by dawn of day, the eastern king and hundreds of his officers and people—men, and women, and children—were weltering in their own blood. Some had been decapitated; others speared; but not one allowed to escape.

"It was a bright, clear morning; and as the sun rose, after the noise and confusion of the first shock had subsided, the stillness of the grave prevailed; all the outer gates and inner barriers of the city were fast closed; and no one allowed to move abroad.

"The total number of Yáng's adherents—his ministers and his troops, with their servants and followers of all grades—was estimated at from twenty to thirty thousand. Of these there were thousands not yet in custody, and a very singular stratagem was devised to entrap them.

"Loud shouts of rejoicing were heard,

mingled with deep lamentations of sorrow. The wicked design of Yáng, to destroy the celestial king, had now been divulged. At the announcement of this, coupled with the certified report of what had just transpired—the summary death of the wicked designer—multitudes raised the voice of praise: ‘Tsán-mi, tsán-mi!’ was joyously sounded forth and re-echoed in many quarters. But Wei and his captains had exceeded their orders—so it was heralded by royal ladies, who appeared within the balustrade on the veranda in front of Hung’s palace—and for their error in killing some who ought not to have been harmed, being innocent, a decree had already come forth that he and they should atone for it by being subjected to bastinado. On Wei, as chief offender, four hundred blows were to be inflicted; and the survivors among Yáng’s officers were summoned to attend as witnesses of this humiliating spectacle, the bare announcement of which by the heralds had drawn forth from Wei’s partisans loud groans of distress—all mock sorrow.

“The heavens, that for some weeks and months had sent down no rain, ere the first day had passed were overshadowed with clouds; and in the night, while the blood of the monster Yáng was yet fresh, genial showers began to descend. The northern king, carrying on the mockery, declared his gratitude for this favourable change, and his willingness and readiness to receive the awarded castigation.

“As the second day advanced, some of the favourites were permitted to enter and rifle the palace of the slaughtered ‘rebel.’ But the scene of greatest interest lay in another quarter. In front of Hung’s palace, in accordance with the summons of the previous day, multitudes had assembled at an early hour; and there, not many yards from the tribunal from behind which decrees were brought forth and proclaimed aloud by his female heralds, the chastisement began. Wei and his captains meekly (and cunningly) submitted.

“The sham succeeded: five or six thousand of Yáng’s troops—suspecting that nothing harder than the bamboo awaited them—allowed themselves to be deprived of their arms, and placed for safe keeping in two large buildings, on or close to their late master’s now desecrated palace. Once in, their fate was sealed; every one of them was put to death; and not only these, but other thousands also. Thus, day after day, the victims were arrested, and made to suffer. Even little children were not spared. Heaps on heaps, the corpses accumulated. For nearly three months this dreadful work was in progress,

and was then arrested in a very singular manner.

“When the eastern king’s nefarious plot was disclosed to Hung Siútsuen, the latter at once summoned to the city the assistant as well as the northern king, both then in Ngán-hwui; but for some cause or other, Shih Táhkái, the assistant king, did not receive the missive, or, if so, he could not, or would not, obey it. Moreover, some of his own relatives or friends (indeed, Yáng himself was his friend) had been killed, and it was supposed that, taking umbrage at this, he had gone over to the Imperialists.

“Such, however, was not his course. Informed of all that had been going on in Nanking, Shih Táhkái hastened to collect faithful adherents; and, when sufficiently strong and confident, sent down to Hung Siútsuen and demanded of him the head of Wei, threatening, at the same time, that, in case of a refusal, he would come, and attack and destroy Nanking. So the narrative goes. At all events, and strange to say, Wei’s head was taken off—by whose hands, and in what manner, my informants could not tell—and, having been placed in a box, it was despatched up the river to the camp of the assistant king, and there, with many other heads, was hung up and exposed to public gaze.

“This was early in November. Along with Wei, some other men of note were proscribed, especially the two who were known as number seven and number eight on the scale of rank.

“The removal of Wei, these two chiefs, and a few others, prepared the way for the assistant king to come back again to Nanking, about one month ago, or perhaps a little earlier. Of course he came not alone, nor without force. On his return it very soon became evident that a new order of things was going to be introduced, or the old much modified; and as the officers to whom my informants had attached themselves were among the aforesaid proscribed, and as a favourable opportunity occurred for them to take their departure, they did not fail to improve it. Accordingly, with their departure this narrative must close.

“Your readers are now in possession of the principal incidents, so far as they have come to my knowledge: a few collateral notices connected therewith will not be devoid of interest, especially to those who are watching the progress of events in this disturbed empire.

“After the slaughter of Yáng and his party, all their property was confiscated, and his entire palace made a pile of ruins. It seems to have been intended that no memorial should be left of him or his estate, and that every

relative and friend and follower should be exterminated, and their houses and goods destroyed.

"The far-famed Porcelain Tower, in architecture the pride of the Middle Kingdom, would seem likewise to have been levelled to the ground. Its demolition appears to have been connected with the overthrow of the northern king: 'it was blown up because there were some great guns in it.'

"In Chinkiang, last spring, and early in the summer, there was an extreme scarcity of provisions. Five hundred of the inhabitants, mostly women, were driven out at one time, 'because there was nothing in the city for them to eat;' and when succour came, as it did at length, from Nanking, the garrison was so reduced, that, even on short allowance, they did not expect to hold out more than three days longer. But, weak as they then were, they had no difficulty in keeping at bay the thousands of Imperialists that were hovering round them on all sides.

"The little band that brought relief, reopening communication between that city and Nanking, having been strengthened by men from the garrison, sallied forth and gave battle in the open field, and drove the emperor's forces from several of their well-chosen positions, heavily armed and strongly manned. Nor was all this done without a good deal of carnage. It was in one of those pitched battles that our late governor fell, the redoubtable hero Ki.

"At Nanking, however, provisions all the while were seemingly abundant, and, previously to the slaughter of the two kings, 'trade brisk.' There were 'plenty of arms,' 'plenty of gunpowder,' and also some revolvers and foreign muskets. The best powder was manufactured at Chinkiang, 'the sulphur got out of pounded bricks.'

"With regard to the dominions of the insurgents, their military strength, their policy, the relations in which the only surviving kings now stand to each other, as well as to how this 'central body of the Tapings' is likely to contest the matter of universal sovereignty with 'the Tatsings,' the old Manchu house, your readers, my dear Sir, must be left each one to form his own opinions, and to indulge in his own speculations.

"Before closing this long letter, I may further state, however, that, both in regard to extent and strength, former reports are, for the most part, confirmed; that of the thirteen prefectures of Kiángsi, nine are held by the insurgents, who have nearly all the province of Ngánhwui, and 'large countries up the river,' with a great many forts along its

banks. The Canton fleet, that came up from the south last year, was still lying off Nanking, close to the opposite shore, full two miles from the walls; but upon the land, on this side of the river, no Imperialists were to be found within 'fifty miles' of the city: 'they do not love to fight.' But not so the insurgents: 'they walk right into it,' especially the 'youngsters,' and they 'must get the best of it.' Time, however, will prove the safest expounder of all these strange doings.

"On the whole, it does not appear, even in Nanking, after the slaughter of 30,000, more or less, in the short period of three or four months, that the numbers of the insurgents were diminished, or their power weakened, very much, if at all; for large forces, and brave men, had come in with Shih Táhkái, who seemed to be acting the dictator; and, down at Tántú, on this side of Chinkiang, only a few days ago, the insurgents were 'going it' strong against 'the Mandarins,' determined to conquer.

"The reader of this letter will not have failed to observe that the character and position of the celestial king are still involved in no small degree of obscurity; and certainly his relations to the assistant king are, or were, not at all what his admirers might wish. It was, to say the least, suspected by some, when our reporters left Nanking, that within three days a design against the life of Hung Sü-tsüen was to be attempted; and they say, too, that, on their way down, and when not a great distance off from the city, much loud cannonading was heard in that direction."^a

The aboriginal tribes called the Miáu i, never subdued by the Manchus, which are numerous in the provinces of Sz'chuen, Kweichau, Yunnan, and Kwángsi, are in open rebellion. "These independent mountaineers are numerous, and in all probability they are identical, as well in origin and character, as in name, with the Karens, who inhabit regions further south and west, where the word Karen means aboriginal."

Thus in various directions the work of mutual destruction goes forward, and the land is defiled with blood. "Many a place has been made an 'aceldama' since the insurrection broke out in 1849. In an edict dated September 28th, after instructing his officers in the provinces of Shántung and Honán how to clear away the locusts and all their progeny, the emperor says—

"With regard to the battle-fields, [in those provinces] let orders be given to the local officers immediately to collect and inter the scat-

* "North-China Herald," January 3, 1857.

tered bones, now exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and sending forth noxious vapours. And also, let orders be given to the proper metropolitan officers, that the heads of criminals which have been long exposed, in our capital and its vicinity, be taken away and buried up, so that the noxious exhalations may be removed, and genial influences brought in to give health and prosperity.”*

Can any thing more be added to the catalogue of China's calamities? Yes. It appears, from memorials addressed to the emperor by Kangchang, the governor-general of the rivers of Kiangnan, that the receipts for the public works on the Yellow River last year have not been one-third of what they had been in former times. After stating, that instead of 800,000 taels, only 400,000 had been received, he proceeds to say—

“For this very great deficiency in the quota of funds received from the respective provinces to maintain these works, the excuse is, that, as the military operations are still in progress, the appropriations are kept back, to provide rations for the army. Moreover, as the contributions for the public service, taken up on the south side of the river, are inadequate to supply the army with provisions, no aid from that quarter can be had for the works on the Yellow River. Thus it is that the sums still due to the aforesaid [two-and-twenty] officers is very great—a state of things this that must, in case of inundations, greatly embarrass the public works, and lead to manifold distresses.”†

Is it, then, to a deficiency in the needful repairs that we are to attribute the drying-up of the Yellow River? If we have not worn out the attention of our readers by the strange commingling of various items to be found in this paper, we shall introduce the following “Notes and Queries on the drying-up of the Yellow River, by D. J. Macgowan, M.D.

“We are accustomed to attach more importance to records of physical phenomena contained in the annals of this land than most students of Chinese; yet we have never been able to give full credence to accounts of the temporary drying-up of large rivers. The recent disappearance, however, of a great part of the Hwang must be regarded as explanatory, if not confirmatory, of those fluvial vicissitudes.

“From beyond Süchau to its *embouchure*, a distance of more than 200 miles, the Yellow River has been dry for several years!

“On referring to records of similar phenomena, we find the following—

“In the year 1766 B.C. the I and Loh (tri-

butaries of the Hwang) became dry. At or about the same time the Tai mountain, 200 miles distant, in Shantung, fell. A seven-years' drought occurred soon after.

“About the year 1154 the Hwang, or Yellow River, itself became dry.

“In 778 B.C. an earthquake affected the basins of the King Loh and Wei (affluents of the Hwang) when these rivers dried up. The fall of a mountain, or a landslip, accompanied this convulsion also.

“In the year 310 of our era the Yellow River was fordable at Hwanan, as were also the Loh and adjacent streams.

“At the close of the Sung dynasty, 1278 A.D., the Tsientang was so nearly dry at Hangchau as to be fordable. The opportunity it presented of crossing was embraced by the Mongols, who were in pursuit of the last of the Sung emperors. The absence of tides for three days is assigned as the cause of this remarkable state of that river; an explanation which is obviously insufficient, even though the tidal wave had failed to rise.

“Further research would probably extend this list. In history, these records are distinguished from those that relate to the shifting of channels, overflowing of banks, and other obstructions to which rivers are subjected.

“Come we now to our own days.

“In the latter part of 1852 the people of Hwaingan found the river fordable: in the spring of the ensuing year travellers crossed it dry shod; since which time it has been, to use the Chinese term applied to it, ‘as dry as dust.’ We have in our employ the former Secretary of the Commissioner of the grand canal, who resided in Hwaingan from February to September 1853. Nearly the whole of the following year he spent further up the river, at Süchau. The dryness of the channel at the former place attracted his attention, but he found prevailing such a superstitious dread of the subject, that people avoided conversing about it: it was believed that even politics might be discussed with less danger, the fear being, that, if not let alone altogether, the dangerous stream might re-appear, and with greater power. At Süchau, says our informant, a few puddles might be seen, and a rivulet which a child could ford. From various sources we learn, that as high up as Kai-fung there is so little water, that boats can no longer approach the city. The subject is seldom referred to in the ‘Gazette.’ In May last the Commissioner having charge of the lower portion of the Hwang reported, that out of the twenty-two *ting* under his jurisdiction nine were entirely dry. Last May the emperor, in a sentential document enumerating the calamitous occurrences of his short reign

* “North-China Herald,” November 8, 1856.

† *Ibid.* December 20.

says, 'The river does not flow as hitherto,' evidently regarding that as an evil omen. A careful search of the 'Gazette' of the past four years would perhaps throw more light on the subject: the above is all that we have noted.

"It will be remembered that an earthquake was felt in the maritime portion of the plain on the 16th December 1852. Did the earthquake precede, was it synchronous with, or did it follow, the fluvial phenomenon?"

"In the following year earthquakes occurred over this same region, April 15th, 24th, and 25th. A newly-formed part of the coast north of the Yangtz disappeared in one of those shocks. About the same time, for fifteen successive days, destructive shocks were experienced in Kansuh. In 1854 several slight earthquakes were felt in the south of China, and in the China Sea; and in 1855 occurred the great earthquake at Simoda, which caused an elevation of the inland waters of the south-east corner of the plain.

"In the spring of the present year earthquakes were of frequent occurrence in Manchuria. In fine, the whole of south-east Asia has, within the past few years, been disturbed by an extraordinary number of earthquakes. It is for dynamic geology, with which we are in no wise conversant, to inform us if there is any connexion between these subterranean forces and the change which has come over the Yellow River. Although no proper geodetical survey has been made, we know that a portion of the lower part of the Hwang is higher than the adjacent plain. A very slight elevation of that region of country would suffice to turn the waters into their ancient channels. We have, indeed, received verbal accounts from travellers, to the effect that the stream now passes through the prefecture of Tsauchau, in the south-west part of Shantung, and thence as of old, in what particular way is not stated, to the Gulf of Pechela. On the other hand, the above-named Secretary states, that in his journey from Peking to Hwaingan, made in February 1853, he found, from Tientsing to that point on the canal where it receives the waters of the Yunho, less water than usual, and from thence, where the current turned in his favour, the quantity of water in the canal became less and less, until he reached its junction with the Yellow River, where it also was dry. Moreover, the waters were nowhere less pellucid than ordinary. From various other sources we have received similar accounts, which, like this, palpably contradict the statements which represent the Hwang as having taken a north-east course. How could that vast sheet of water find its way into the gulf, without imparting its hue

to the streams it invaded? Again, how could the river find exit in the manner indicated, without overflowing rivers, the level of which, in some places, is above that of the adjacent country, having dykes scarcely adequate to sustain their normal pressure? Yet no change is recorded in the condition of the streams emptying into the Gulf of Pechela—no floods: it seems as if 'Chinese sorrow' were assuaged by some wand unseen. There is confessedly much about that river which we do not know. We do know, however, that in by-gone centuries it was a sad vagrant, and that ever since the palmy days of the patriarchal Emperor Yu, the first, if not greatest of civil engineers, it has been an unconscionable spendthrift. No good, therefore, could be expected to come of it; yet for it to terminate so mysteriously, that to find its end one is obliged to rush into print, is what we never did expect. Has the earth opened and swallowed up this trouble of China? that is to say, did the earthquake, which appears to have elevated the seaward part of its bed, leave parallel chasms, into which the waters descend through the alluvial bottom? If so, what then? It could not reach the sea through any underland route. Is it finding its way into the nether molten regions? If this conjecture is calculated to impair the confidence of any in the stability of this part of the earthy crust, relief may be found in another, namely, that the gases thus generated find vent through those subterranean and subaërial volcanoes which gird the continent. This, however, supposes a prodigious waste of steam, which, in these piping times, cannot be contemplated with indifference. It is incumbent on those who dwell nearest to the late bed of the missing one to procure information, not forgetting dates, for those who wish to keep posted up in geography; and it is with the view of inducing some of the denizens of Shanghae to investigate the matter, that we pen these crude notes and queries regarding what we consider to be one of the greatest physical changes which has occurred within the historic period."*

China, at the present time, is passing through a peculiar ordeal of suffering. We are not without a precedent, even in our own day. Ireland has been similarly dealt with. Such severe chastisements are not permitted without a cause; nor, we may be assured of it, does a merciful God ever dispense tribulations to man, either individually or collectively, except when the position to which he has reduced himself is such, that it becomes more merciful to inflict than to withhold them. Meanwhile, at this special crisis, Europe, by a peculiar

* "North-China Herald," January 3, 1857.

necessity, has been forced to think of China, to feel her need of intercourse with that great empire; and yet that very commercial intercourse to which the western nations find themselves necessitated, from the existing inequality between imports and exports, is re-acting upon them with no inconsiderable amount of inconvenience. The silk crop of 1856 failed in almost all the producing countries of Europe, and that in consequence of either a vegetable or animal disease, symptoms of which had manifested themselves during the previous two or three years. Five years before, the vine-disease appeared. Man, and certain staple productions which are necessary to him, have been thus mysteriously visited. The cholera has affected human life; the potato blight smote a staff of sustenance, and famine and pestilence followed; the vine next became unhealthy, and the high price of wine in consequence has rendered it, to most people, an article of luxury; now the silkworm is suffering. It is supposed that there is disease in the mulberry, although not yet fully developed, and that the silkworm, which feeds upon its leaf, contracts the germs of disorganization, which leads to non-production, or the bad culture of the greater part of the eggs. Thus, in France, the crop last year was not more than one quarter of an average; in Italy, with the exception of the Roman districts, where it was magnificent, only one half; and in Spain, none at all. Hence, Europe has been compelled to look to Asia to supply her lack of the raw material, and enable her to sustain in action this branch of industry. Now the average annual silk-crop of Europe amounts to 386,200,000 fr. value; while that of Asia amounts to 702,800,000 fr. value. "Of this immense production, British India supplies 120,000,000 fr.; Japan 80,000,000 fr.; and China 425,000,000 fr. It is a fact that these magnificent countries are above all the natural ones for the production of silk. There the mulberry is developed under a congenial sky; there the phases of the rearing of the worm are accomplished without too many atmospherical accidents." As might be expected, the demand for silk in the Chinese ports during the past year has been of an unprecedented character. Take one port as a specimen—Shanghai. Previous to 1853, the largest export in any one season did not exceed 21,500 bales; for the year 1855 they had increased to 54,838 bales; and in 1856 to 90,050 bales. Already this year, up to March 20th, a large amount of business had been done in silk, the total amount of arrivals being 80,000 bales, of which 77,000 had been settled.* The possibility of obtaining so large a

supply is ascribed to the smaller quantity that has been manufactured in the country since the breaking out of political troubles.

But while Europe thus takes so greatly an increased quantity of China's produce, that country diminishes instead of increasing her purchase of European articles. She sells us far more, she takes much less, than she was wont to do in return. Such is the anarchy and confusion in the interior, and the consequent insecurity for life and property, that the native demand for foreign produce has been checked. "The Russian fur trade, the European general trade, the Anglo-Indian opium trade, have alike declined." Hence the inequality in the exchange of goods, which is enormously against us, is made up in specie. "Hence the increasing drain of silver, which, through the medium of the London money-market, has been steadily transferring the treasures of the Andes to the great emporia of the east." "It is only within a few years that China has steadily imported silver. For a long period prior to the year 1853 she was obliged to *export* a large amount of silver annually, in order to pay for the excess of her imports over her other exports." Now her exports considerably exceed her imports, and we have to pay the difference in specie. It is the general persuasion that money is hoarded in the interior; and such we are disposed to think is the case. In November last the insurgents "moved against the market town of Teh-chwáng — at no very great distance from Kintán. On first entering the place, they seized a rich pawnbroker, compelled him to give them supplies of food, and then carried away all his treasure — money, and jewels, and gems. From the pawnbroker's they proceeded to enter the houses of all the rich, demanding their treasure, &c. If any opposed them, such were instantly killed.

"They came at length to a rice merchant, in the south part of the town, known to be very rich, and to have buried up some of his silver and gold. For a long time he persisted in denying that he had any treasure; but, wearied out by torture, he declared in detail where it was hid, and thirteen thousand dollars in silver, and twelve bars of gold, were recovered."

A curious circumstance recently occurred at Shanghai, showing, that when a necessity arises the dollars are forthcoming. "The Chinese of that vicinity, and, indeed, throughout the central provinces, had for a long period been accustomed to the use of the Spanish coin known as the Carolus dollar; so much so, that it is supposed that China has absorbed the entire issues of that coin by the

* "Times," Friday, May 15th, 1857.

Spanish mints." The coin became scarce, insufficient for the ordinary purposes of trade, yet the Chinese refused to do business with any other. Various remedies were suggested—the use of Sycee, or rough shoes of nearly pure silver; but this is merchandise, not money, and must be weighed and valued like other merchandise. Then the Mexican or Republican dollar was attempted to be introduced, but without success, simply because the Chinese did not like it, and, notwithstanding the commands of the mandarins, would not take it.

"Business, then, after China New-year, recommenced with the Carolus dollar . . . and as better accounts of the European silk markets reached us month after month, its value gradually advanced, until, instead of 6s. 2d., it was worth 7s. 8d. in sterling; while Sycee, during the same period, declined about 20 per cent. When it reached this point, when 7m. 2c. of coined silver in the shape of a Carolus dollar, notoriously about 11 per cent of inferior purity to Sycee, could purchase 1 tael of the pure metal, the Chinese mind seemed to awake to the absurdity of the matter, and a stream of dollars began to pour into Shanghai for investment in silver, which has continued uninterrupted to the present time. The natural consequence has been, that exchange has declined, silver advanced, until actual rates are again at about the starting-point of the year.

"But during this process, which has been going on chiefly during the last three months, a remarkable change has come over the minds of the Chinese as to the Carolus dollar. While, formerly, all transactions (unless under special agreement) required to be settled in dollars, now, in every case, the Chinese prefer silver; and at the present moment there are many lacs of dollars in Shanghai (*tempora mutantur*) that are almost useless as a medium for the interchange of commodities.

"While every thing, however, continues to be quoted in dollars and paid for in silver, and the Chinese bankers, for their own purposes, change the relative values of the two sometimes as much as 5 per cent in 24 hours, the port is now in the predicament of having no standard of value for business transactions; and, whether in buying or selling, we do not know what we shall receive, or what we shall have to pay. Such is the barbarous position of money matters in which the year closes; and so serious is the inconvenience to trade in general, that some remedy must speedily be devised for the present state of affairs. As to what that ought to be, we offer no opinion. We think, however, that foreigners are almost helpless in the matter; and believe that the

system that is to remedy the present inconvenience must come from the Chinese themselves. The impression seems gaining ground that the Shanghai tael of Shanghai Sycee will be adopted as the standard, to which, although not the beau ideal of a currency, we do not know that any valid objection in principle can be offered."*

Just at this moment, when the drain of specie to China had caused many anxious eyes to be turned in that direction, the collision occurred between Yeh and the British authorities at Hong Kong. There was a time when other nations of the west would never have troubled themselves about it; but now in a short time, not only the war ships of England, but those of France, Spain, Sardinia, as well as those of America, will be found in the Chinese waters.

We may well pause to inquire the object which has concentrated ships of war from so many European kingdoms on the coast of China. With the exception of England and France, they have no pretext for hostile proceedings. The "Times" suggests that it is the flight of the eagles to the prey; and that when the stronger foe has brought down the quarry, they hope to share the spoil. Is China, then, to be as the Meriah victim amongst the Khunds, from whose quivering flesh each one of the tribe struggles to bear away a fragment with which to fertilize his fields? The teas and silks of China have now become necessities of life to Europe; nor are these the only articles deported from those densely-populated shores. Within these few years, Chinese coolies have become much sought after. British vessels, we regret to say, ship them in large cargoes, and, under the flag of Britain, hundreds are borne away to hopeless and suffering servitude in Cuba and Peru. Spain is apprehensive that she cannot long be permitted to violate with impunity her treaty-engagements respecting the African slave-trade, and is anxious, under the flimsy disguise of a pretended free emigration system, to initiate a new slave-trade on the Chinese coast. We trust that the subordinate actors in the scene will be constrained to stand aside, and permitted neither to take part in the proceedings, nor to appropriate any of the results.

France is prepared to come into collision with China on account of the persecutions to which Romish emissaries and their proselytes have been subjected, and more especially the recent murder, under very atrocious circumstances, of a French Missionary. We have no wish that the propagandist efforts of the

* "North-China Herald," January 3, 1857.

Papal See should be successful: such modes of resistance, however, are atrocious, and all civilized nations are bound to protest against them. As to the measures which may be thought necessary, France is quite competent to manage her own affairs, and we are very anxious that our proceedings may be kept quite distinct from those which she may think proper to initiate. Her objects and ours are quite distinct. There is no room for any concurrent action.

With respect to ourselves, we do trust that our operations may be as much as possible of a restrained and temperate character. The Cantonese have exhibited much arrogance and cruelty. Still we are bound to inquire whether we have given no provocation. Our conduct in regard to our treaty-engagements with China has been far from loyal. We have given ample proofs of this in our last article. We now add one more—an extract from the Colonial Treasurer's Memorandum on Estimates—"If any thing has been, and will be, pre-eminently beneficial to this colony (Hong Kong) it is that system of granting colonial registers, particularly to respectable Chinese settled here, or, as the ordinance says, 'Chinese crown lessees, entitled to hold colonial registers,' since it has already added to, and still tends to increase, the coasting trade in goods, the manufacture of Great Britain or the produce of India, such as cotton, *opium*, &c." Here there is an unequivocal recognition, on the part of the British authorities, of the opium traffic. A certain measure is recommended, because conducive to its increase. Our Government has endeavoured to evade responsibility, and to place the opium traffic entirely to the account of private merchants, with whom our authorities allege they are not bound to interfere. But here we have our Government adopting measures avowedly calculated to encourage and increase a traffic which contravenes the laws of a friendly power, with whom at the time we were at peace. Is there in this no provocation? The Chinese are truculent, overbearing. Be it so: but if a man wantonly disturbs a hornet's nest, and gets stung in consequence, has he not brought

it on himself? Our bearing on the Chinese coast has not been throughout just and conciliatory. Let it be remembered, then, that we share the guilt of the present complications, and let us beware lest we be vindictive in our proceedings and exacting in our demands. Let it be remembered, "Verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth."

Above all, let us be careful not to confound other cities of China with Canton, and other sections of its population with the Cantonese. Because Canton has offended, let us not bombard Fuh-chau or other cities along the sea-board or river courses. They have done us no injury, and have no sympathy with Canton. If the Mandarin Government identify itself with Yeh, still let us not confound the people with their rulers, and punish the innocent for the guilty.

Amidst all these confused and threatening appearances, we desire to realize the presence and power of God, and entertain the hope that He will not fail to overrule all for good.

We appear to be on the eve of a great crisis. We encourage the hope that the issue will be the breaking-down of those barriers which have hitherto shut us out, and facility of access be afforded to the thronging multitudes of the vast interior, so as to enable us to bring the full gospel as well to the insurgent as the Imperialist, to prince and peasant, to the high mandarin and the Chinese beggar. It is this which China needs, now, promptly, extensively, throughout the length and breadth of this woe-stricken land. The world is under the administration of One, who out of evil wondrously educes good; and we doubt not it will be so in this present instance. China within is full of tribulation. Perhaps through this new complication will be discovered a hope. The issues are with God. We wait for the uplifting of His arm. "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art thou not it which hath cut Rabab, and wounded the dragon? Art thou not it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep; that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over?"

MISSIONS IN BURMAH.

(Concluded from page 72.)

Our readers will remember the interesting papers which we published some short time back on the subject of the Karen Missions. A fragment still remains in our hands, which we now introduce. It contains a summary—by the Rev. H. Vanmeter—of

Missionary work at Bassein, a town situated on a river of the same name, one of the outlets of the Irrawaddy, about sixty miles from its mouth; a letter from Mrs. Ingolls; some concluding remarks by Mr. Wylie; and statistics, by the Rev. E. Kincaid.

“This Society [Bassein Home Mission] was formed in 1851, at the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Abbott, and is entirely sustained by contributions from the churches in the district. Reports are made regularly at our Quarterly Meetings, Missionaries appointed, &c. The proceedings of this Society form one of the most interesting features of the Meeting. The number of Missionaries kept in the field would average, I think, about six. The most distant field to which they have been sent is Toungoo. They have many strange things to tell of those fierce tribes of Karens inhabiting the mountainous district that lies away off on the frontier of the newly-acquired Pegu provinces. I wished to give the full statistics of our churches for 1855, and this has been one principal cause of this long delay in my reply. The Committee appointed at our last Annual Meeting to prepare the minutes for last year could not get full information from all the churches sooner, and I have had at last to take the matter in hand myself. A report from the churches north of Bassein, which I had expected would be in by this time, has not come. What hindrances we have had by fire, death, and sickness, you well know. All the Mission records were lost in the fire. I will mention a few facts of interest now, and that is all I can do this mail.

“The Rev. Mr. Abbott began labouring in this region about the year 1837. Converts were multiplied, so that in one year, I think 1842, Mr. Abbott baptized some 1400 with his own hands. In the following year, 1843, the first preachers were ordained. Four other men were ordained at the close of the year 1850; one of them from the Toliang Karen, and one from the Burman Karen. In 1854 two more were ordained. All of these men are still living, and sustain a good reputation. The number of churches is over fifty. The memberships range from 25 to 300. The whole number of members is about 5000. Schools were sustained in 30 villages last year, containing each from 12 to 130 scholars. Besides, some 50 of the more advanced, and such as are preparing for preachers or teachers, went to Dr. Wade's school at Maulmein, and a few to the Mission school at Rangoon. Their contributions to the fund of the Home-Mission Society last year, according to the Treasurer's report, was 721 rupees. Besides this, they gave largely for the support of their pastors and schools, and not a small sum for the erection of chapels. I hope soon to give you the full amount of all their contributions. There are sixty preachers here, some of whom act as principals in the high schools. Although so many have been gathered into the fold of

Christ from among the Karens, there are still thousands in darkness—not to speak of the Burmans, Toliangs and Shans all through to this region.”

The following letter from Mrs. Ingolls has just been received by another friend in Calcutta—

“Rangoon, Nov. 8, 1856.

“Your very kind letter of August last came safe, and I have to thank you for your kindness. I was then deciding about my return to America; and I thought I should call upon you as I passed through Calcutta, and therefore did not reply. It seemed my duty to go home with my little girl, and I had some fears regarding the work of a single lady in Burmah. I packed my trunk, and was ready to go by the return steamer, but the woes of the heathen, and the tears of the Christians, have come before me with so much power, I dare not go yet. My fatherless child is left with but few relatives, and none of this world's goods, and I felt it my duty to seek for her a home, and see that she was decently educated, so that she might care for herself, if God called me away; but I feel the claims of these people so strong upon me, that I must remain a little longer, and trust God in regard to the future. I have therefore decided to remain another year. It has been a bitter struggle of duty; but if I can see my heavenly Father is guiding, then I shall not fear to remain. I shall leave my present home in the city, and go to some part of the town called Remindie. It is a new Burma field, and we may have some obstacles to obstruct us; but if God is with us we shall not work in vain. I shall have two or three Burman preachers, with their wives, some Burman schools, and shall go out into the jungle in the dry season. I thank you for the interest you have manifested towards me, and also your dear husband; and now I ask, as a favour, that you will pray for a blessing to rest upon my work here. I have led a happy life in this country. We have had our clouds; but I think we have had more of the sunshine. My dear husband loved the people, and they loved him: so that we have always been surrounded by dear Christians and heathen who were listening to the words of our blessed gospel. My dear husband always wished me to spend my time among the people; so I have always been with him in his work, and heretofore have had but little time for sorrow. At times now I feel that my cup of sorrow is too bitter for me, but at other times God does not forsake me, and I see His love in all that He has done. My dear one was ripe for heaven, and God knew when to take him. Every day some-

thing comes up to remind me of my loss, and the struggle is a hard one. Companies of Burmans come in. They inquire for the teacher. It is a bitter task to try and tell them that he is gone, gone; and it is not an easy thing for me to compose myself to tell them of his peaceful end, and remind them of his exhortations to them, and his prayers on their behalf. These are bitter trials; but God has blessed some of these meetings, and I know He will not leave me. My confidence in my heavenly Father was never so firm as now. And then, too, the Christians are most kind to me, and even the heathen seem to wish to do something to cheer me. A large company came to see me a few days ago, having heard that I was going to America. One said, if I would stay he would do any thing for me. One said he would give me the posts for a house; another, the boards for the floor; another, the material for enclosing; and one poor man, who had nothing to give, held up his hands, and said, 'Here, Mamma, is my gift: they are strong, and can help make the house, if you will only stay;' another, that he would bring a boat, and convey me to his place. So you will understand I do not feel alone with these poor Christians and heathen. My health, too, is good, and that of my little girl was never better; so I have blessings with all my trials. I hope to go to my new place soon, and then I will write to you freely of the people and my work, and give you an account of the customs, &c. It is interesting to hear that Lady Canning is so much interested in schools, &c. Do you think she would feel interested in the schools for Burman girls? They have not a taste for education, and we must create one. I shall make a little beginning. I have now ten girls who are learning to read their own language, and we are also teaching them plain sewing."

Mr. Wylie's concluding remarks are as follows—

After reading papers like these, our brethren in other lands may exclaim, in the bitterness of disappointed hope, "Who hath believed *our* report?" The gospel is certainly preached in many other places as faithfully as in Burmah; yet in how few places are the same fruits seen! But we must be still, and murmur not. We hear of an Eliot or a Brainerd, and the Lord working wondrously by them in North America; of a Johnson, and the blessing on his labours in Sierra Leone; and in these present days we have the tidings before us of what was graciously done in Madeira under the ministry of Kelley and Hewitson. On the other hand,

Henry Martyn may be raised up apparently only as a witness and a translator, and no fruits may follow from his personal ministry; or Dr. Judson may come to India to preach the gospel, and his design may be frustrated, and he may be driven from the country: but in the end we find the records of Martyn's experience, and the bright light of his example, blessed to the attraction of many to the work of Missions; and Judson is expelled from India, and led, by a way that he knew not, to commence those very Missions in Burmah which now are yielding so rich a harvest of joy and praise. Therefore, as to the fruits of labour, "let us judge nothing before the time." Labours "in the Lord" certainly will not be in vain. It is not discouragement we are to derive from these letters, but exactly the reverse. The blessings in Burmah are evidences to us of the faithfulness of the Lord's promises, and tokens of His power, and earnest, and foretastes, and first-fruits, of the coming glory. The very same blessing will, in the Lord's good time, attend other Missions; the very same graces will adorn the converts in other lands. Only let us be faithful and prayerful, "stedfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord," and the promised day will surely come, and the sighs of creation will be silenced. "I will hear, saith the Lord, I will hear the heavens, and they shall hear the earth; and the earth shall hear the corn, and the wine, and the oil; and they shall hear Jezreel. And I will sow her unto me in the earth: and I will have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy; and I will say to them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say, Thou art my God." (Hosea ii. 21—23.) All this, and much more, the Lord says, "SHALL come to pass;" and at last, they who sowed and they who reap shall rejoice together.

Statistics of Missions in the Tenasserim and Pegu Provinces. From the Rev. E. Kincaid.

"*Maulmein**—Burman churches 2, with 150 communicants, and 1 native pastor, supported by the church; 24 assistants, and 2 schools. Karen churches 15, with 893 communicants; 15 native pastors, mostly supported by the churches; number of village schools, and the number of pupils, not known: probably 15 schools, with from 200 to 300 pupils.

"*Tavoy*†—Burman church 1, with 22

* On the Salwen, twenty-five miles from its mouth: the radiating Missionary centre of an extensive region.

† One hundred and fifty miles south of Maulmein.

communicants; 20 native pastors. Karen churches 22, with 1040 communicants and 22 pastors, mostly supported by the churches; 19 village schools, self-supporting, and containing 241 pupils; 189 rupees for benevolent purposes.

"*Rangoon* *—Burman churches 4, with 160 communicants, 2 pastors, and 2 assistants; 1 small school. Karen churches 36, with 2044 communicants and 36 pastors, 17 supported by the churches, and 19 supported in part; 36 village schools, with 600 pupils. These schools are self-supporting. During the past year these churches have paid into the treasury of the Home-Mission Society over 600 rupees; also 200 rupees towards supporting the Karen high school, and 2887 rupees to aid in the erection of their brick chapel at Kemendine. P.S. Over 1200 of the members of these churches have been baptized since the fall of Rangoon in 1852.

"*Bassein* †—Karen churches 56, with more than 5000 communicants; 36 village schools, with about 900 pupils; 50 pastors, and 7 assistant preachers. All the pastors and schools are supported by the churches.

"*Prome* ‡—Burman churches 4, with about 100 communicants, 1 pastor, and 4 assistant preachers; 2 small schools of 23 pupils. Karen churches 2, with over 40 members; 2 small village schools of 20 pupils; 1 Burman and 1 Karen school, self-supporting. P.S. These churches have been raised up within the past two years.

* With a population of 70,000. The out-stations, Kambet, a beautiful rural village; Kemendine, a town three miles north-west of the city, in a pleasant and salubrious situation, containing from four to five thousand houses; Pa-zoondoung, a village of the same size, a mile and a half below the city.

† In importance Bassein is second only to Rangoon, as the gateway into a populous and inviting region, and affording the best facilities for labouring extensively in the Burmese, as well as in the Karen language.

‡ On the Irrawaddy, the centre of the district of the same name, the most northerly of the districts in the annexed territory. The Mission is established at Shwaydoug, a chief seat of Burman education, eight miles distant from Prome. This city, with the towns of Shwaydoug and Padoung, offers to a Mission a population of from 70,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. The population of towns and villages that can be visited at all seasons of the year amounts to nearly as many more; and beyond lies the interior, with its villages and hamlets.

"*Shwaygeen* §—Karen churches 11, with 1010 communicants, 2 pastors, and 11 assistant preachers, supported by the churches; nearly 200 pupils in school, and supported by the churches.

"*Toungoo* ||—Karen churches 18, with 1500 communicants; also over 30 congregations, where there is regular public worship, but churches not yet organized; number of schools and pupils not known: the churches are self-supporting; 3 pastors and 15 assistant preachers, supported by the churches.

"*Henthada* ¶—Karen churches 3, with 90 communicants; 5 assistant preachers; 50 pupils in school.

"*Ava*—Burman church 1, with 7 communicants. P.S. Burman and Karen churches, 176
 Communicants 11,966
 Pupils in schools . . . over 2500
 and this includes 197 pupils in the high school at Kemendine, near Rangoon.

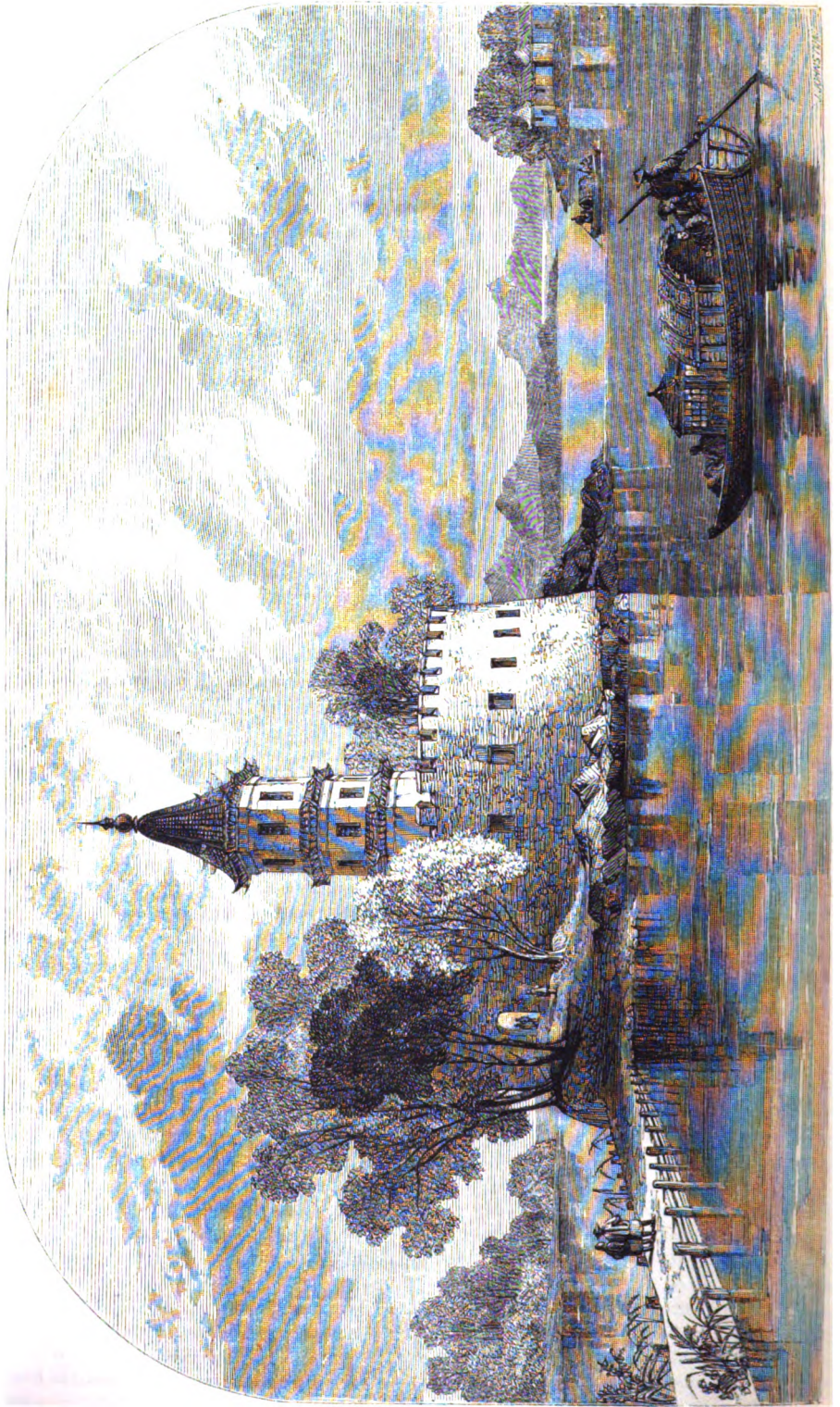
"Native pastors and preachers 174; and, besides, there are about 80 pursuing studies preparatory to the work of the ministry. There must be a Christian population of about 100,000.

"I have taken much pains to collect these statistics, and they are below, rather than above, the mark. What we most need is education for a native ministry and for school teachers, especially in the Karen department of the Mission. The Lord alone can raise up labourers; but then means must be used to render them efficient labourers in the Lord's vineyard. Karen chiefs, on the mountain east of Prome, are often coming to me, and begging for teachers; and I have only been able to furnish three men, as we have no funds to educate them. "The harvest is great, but the labourers are few." Some thousands of Karens, just at our doors, are waiting to be taught. In a few days I intend going to many of their villages, to preach the gospel, and baptize some twenty-five, who give evidence of faith in Christ."

§ At the junction of Shwaygeen river with the Sitang, with 9000 inhabitants. About forty miles southward, and about half-way to Rangoon, lies the ancient city of Pegu, containing, with the adjoining district, 50,000 souls.

|| A large walled city, about 100 miles above Shwaygeen, with a Burmese population, and the centre of a region where Burmese, Karen, and Shan villages abound. It is to the Karens the common centre of their traditions.

¶ On the Irrawaddy, at the point where that stream branches into the Bassein and Rangoon rivers. The district embraces the fertile and populous deltas lying between these rivers.



THE TAI-WANG-KAU, OR YELLOW PAGODA FORT, CANTON RIVER.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION OF THE HOLY GHOST IN THE WORK OF MISSIONS.

(Concluded from page 125.)

IN the Acts of the Apostles we are graciously provided with a document of primary importance. We have there recorded the advent of the Holy Ghost, as an indwelling Spirit descending into the collective body of Christ's people, and operating, through their instrumentality, for the accomplishment of one great object, the extended communication of the gospel message and the salvation of souls. We have thus opened out to us, for our instruction, the administrative action of that Spirit in the great Missionary work—His powerful influence on the hearts of God's people moving them to undertake that work, and the guidance and blessing which He vouchsafes to their efforts; and we are thus furnished with a manual of Missionary principle, and a model of Missionary effort, of supreme value.

Some instances of this administrative action have been specified; more particularly the dispersion of the church at Jerusalem, and the wider spread of Missionary action. There is no doubt that a strong tendency existed amongst the members of that church to hold together at that great centre. The Lord's intention was, not that they should centralize, but scatter, so as to become light-bearers to the benighted districts around. A heavy persecution was therefore permitted to fall upon them, and the Lord's purpose respecting them was accomplished—"They were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria, except the apostles." The adversary had instigated this persecution, in the hope of crushing at once this new organization, from which he was apprehensive of so much danger. His device was overruled for good, and made to work for the furtherance of the truth.

Another instructive lesson presents itself in connexion with this first expansive movement—that the Holy Ghost recognises and makes use of voluntary and incidental efforts. This militates against a theory to which expression has been given in our own day, and which, by some, is considered to be very weighty and important—that Missionary undertakings ought not to be instituted, except by the authoritative action of all the members of a church acting simultaneously and in concert. Now every community of professing Christians is of necessity a mixed body. Like Abraham's tent, there are to be found within its enclosure the son of the bond woman and the son of the free woman: the one who is born after the flesh, and the one who is by

promise. Moreover, the children of promise, as things are now, are usually in the minority. If, therefore, the right of separate action be denied them, and it be ruled that they may not act at all until they can secure the concurrence of their formal brethren, spiritual service may be indefinitely postponed, and all possibility of Missionary action be irretrievably hindered: the living are chained to the dead, and the one may not move because the others cannot. Or if the influence of the spiritually-minded be sufficiently weighty to secure the formal concurrence of the whole body, yet the character of the work will inevitably be injured by the mixed parties that are engaged in it. But is there any thing in Scripture to sustain such a theory? Nay, is it not disproved by that portion of the inspired narrative which is under consideration? Who authorized these men to go forth evangelizing? Had they been designated to the work by a solemn conference held at Jerusalem? Had they received a licence for a certain locality specially assigned to them? No, their authorization was simply that which belongs to all who have tasted that the Lord is gracious, freely to communicate to others that which they have proved to be so full of blessing to themselves. Some, moreover, are of opinion, that, when Missions are sent out, they ought to be in the integrity of ecclesiastical organization, and that, *ab initio*, the episcopate ought to be conjoined with the presbytery. They pronounce the sending forth of lay-agents, to prepare the way, to be so irregular a proceeding, that no satisfactory results can be expected to follow it. But who were these men? Were there no laymen amongst them? All that we know of them is, that they were dispersed members of the Christian body. We have not the slightest ground for supposing that they had been invested with any clerical function, or that they were otherwise than a purely lay element. Were they divinely recognised? Did the Holy Ghost vouchsafe to employ their agency? Further information will be found respecting them in Acts xi. 19, &c.—"Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only. And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus." We know nothing of these men

except that they were some of the dispersed disciples. Their names even are not given us. They appear not only to have travelled further than their brethren, but to have initiated a new effort, and to have brought the gospel to bear upon a pure Gentile element. Yet this irregular effort, as some theorists would pronounce it, so confessedly devoid of every thing like ecclesiastical organization, the unbidden act of a few obscure persons, scintillæ of the main body, advancing to a distant place without the knowledge of the church at Jerusalem, was largely blessed—"The hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord:" so much so, that the magnitude of these results attracted the attention of the apostles, and Barnabas, a man of reputation, was sent down to afford the necessary aid.

This remote point, taken up incidentally, and, as some at the present time would perhaps be disposed to think, after an irregular fashion, and without any direct authorization from those who were regarded as pillars, became a new and important centre. The gospel had acquired there a commanding position. Placed on the frontier line between Jew and Gentile, and disembarassed of that exclusive spirit which had crippled it at Jerusalem, it possessed more freedom of action, and prepared itself for more extended conquests. A numerous and flourishing church was soon raised up, the first mixed congregation of Jew and Gentile; and therefore a new appellation was found which might be comprehensive of both, "and the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." Among its members were some gifted individuals, peculiarly fitted for eminent usefulness. Such the Holy Ghost was pleased to select as His agents in new labours about to be commenced. "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them." It may be observed here, that this new work was in the mind of the Spirit before thought of by the church; that He purposed it, and selected the agents by whom it was to be executed. He moved the church to consider, and finally to decide upon, this new service; to look out for suitable persons to whom it might be entrusted, and then to make choice of the very individuals whom He Himself had prepared. Are we to suppose that He does not now as powerfully guide and direct the minds of the Lord's people, as well with reference to the undertakings to be entered upon, as to the agents most suitable for such service? Are we not justified in concluding that He does preside over the deliberations of faithful persons, who meet together

for the purpose of giving extension to the gospel? Would not the belief of this cause Societies and Committees to use prayer more earnestly, that in all their councils they may be kept so powerfully under the administrative action of the Holy Ghost as to be preserved from deciding otherwise than according to His purpose; and that their plans may be in conformity with the model which has place in His mind, as it was enjoined on Moses, "See that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount." May we not also be encouraged by the conviction, that He will never permit any service which is according to His will to remain undone for want of suitable instruments: that He has Himself already made the necessary selection, and will not fail, in due time, to lead forth the proper men to the consideration and acceptance of the church? Are we not authorized to look to Him to provide us with the supply of suitable agents; and, when candidates for Missionary work, and their qualifications, are under consideration, so to guide the minds of those to whom so serious a responsibility is entrusted, as that the decision may be conformable to His own purpose and arrangement? Is there enthusiasm in this? Why should it be so classified? Is not the Holy Ghost, in His administrative action, really present with the church? Is the realization of His presence otherwise than the sober faith which becomes a Christian man who believes His Saviour's words, "He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." True, our rule of faith and practice is the written word: it is by this the Spirit guides. God's people need, therefore, to have that word dwelling in them richly in all wisdom; to have their understandings and hearts thoroughly imbued with its doctrines and precepts. In proportion as this is the case, the believer is in a position to be "led by the Spirit." To expect that guidance while we neglect the written word were indeed enthusiasm. Let the Scriptures of truth be honoured and consulted by every Society that is organized for the promotion of spiritual service; let a place be assigned them on the tables of Committees, and in the hearts of their members, as the grand spiritual directory to which reference needs to be continually made; and then prayer may be offered, in the assured faith and expectation that through the monitions of that book, and the interposition of Providence, the Spirit will preserve from all dangerous mistakes, and guide in the right way. May we never be tempted to approach any question affecting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom in a prayerless, secular

spirit, as though our own intellectual power and wisdom were sufficient to decide it.

We are permitted, also, to discern in this portion of the record what are the duties and responsibilities of a congregation which enjoys gospel privileges and ordinances: that such a congregation ought to be a transparent medium, through which the light, kindled in the midst of it, may shine forth in various ministrations of zeal and love for the illumination of those who are yet blind to the value of the truth: that its duties are far more than the mere assemblage of its members for spiritual exercises: that there ought to be organization. The minister is bound to acknowledge, by a peculiar recognition, the spiritually-minded members of his flock, invite them to co-operation with himself, and assign them various spiritual services and duties, more or less extensive, as they have time at command for the discharge of them; in which they may be occupied, not less to their own benefit, than for the improvement of the ignorant and un-instructed. Every congregation ought to resolve itself into a church, that is, a spiritual body, actively communicative of its own light and privileges to a dark world around, and effective in proportion to the vitality of its members; and so far as it is spiritual, when duly admonished, it will do so. Such is the *status* which it ought to occupy, and, as a church, it needs to be Missionary in its action, having its specific home duties, and co-operating with other churches and congregations in the communication of the gospel to distant lands: thus shall it best promote its own growth, and subserve the great purposes for which the Christian body is designed, to give light and illumination to the world.

Throughout the entire of those details which have reference to the mission of Paul and Barnabas, the administrative action of the Holy Ghost is beautifully exemplified. The church at Antioch, under His guidance, selects and sends forth the agents whom He Himself had prepared and designated to the work which it was His purpose should be done. In the dismissal to this service the entire congregation co-operates, and they go forth with the prayers and sympathies of all. "When they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away." We are reminded here that the valedictory dismissals of Missionaries ought to be seasons of enlarged prayer. It is true that there is a special assemblage of members of Committees, and other friends; but it would be well if congregations throughout the country, who are interested in the work, and give expression to that interest by punctually-remitted

contributions, should be made aware of what is going to take place, and their co-operation invited. The ministers of such congregations would then have the opportunity of convening their people, to unite with them on the same day and hour in prayer for the departing Missionaries. It is but right that men, who go forth as the representatives of the entire organization, should have as much as possible of the prayers of all; and then, in fulfilling the duties of so solemn a season, the Committee would have many helpers. As in all the details of the individual Christian life, so in all that appertains to the prosecution of Missionary service, we need "in every thing by prayer and supplication" to make our requests known to the Lord.

Paul and Barnabas go forth on their mission. Let us consider after what mode the work was prosecuted. It was not centralizing, but itinerant. They did not select a particular spot wherein to centralize themselves, bringing all their efforts to a focus at that place, in the expectation of accomplishing some marked result there, before they ventured to enlarge the circuit of their labours. These apostolic Missionaries moved from place to place, yet upon a certain system, so as to revisit within a reasonable time the cities where encouraging appearances had presented themselves, before such impressions had been obliterated by the ceaseless action of secular things. It is worthy of observation, however, that their attention was chiefly directed to the centres of population, where the human family was to be found in considerable density; convinced that, in so disposing the leaven, the best provision was being made for its extension throughout the more thinly-peopled districts. The results produced may be briefly stated: first, individual instances of conversion; then the grouping together of congregations in the different cities; then the providing of a native ministry for these new churches. "They returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed." Thus the 13th and 14th chapters of the Acts comprise the details of the first organized Mission to the Gentiles, promoted from Antioch as a centre over the important provinces of Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia.

On their return to Antioch, their first care was to assemble the members of the church,

and place before them an account of the work in which they had been engaged. "When they were come, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how He had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles"—a model this of our great religious anniversaries, when all who are interested in the work, and whose circumstances permit them so to do, assemble from various parts of the land, to have their hearts cheered by reports of what has been accomplished throughout the year. "Let none talk of these Meetings as though they contributed to nothing more than useless religious excitement. We come here to meet face to face those who are doing God's work in distant lands, and we cannot doubt that, when they return to their labours, the recollection of the kind friends they met here, and the welcome they received, will be present with them to cheer them on amidst the pressure of their onerous and trying duties."* Nay, not only are they to the great encouragement of the Missionary Bishop and the Missionary pastor, but they re-act with most healthful influence on the home work, and all engaged in it. "People may sneer at these Meetings; the world may scoff, and make Exeter Hall a by-word and a proverb; but we can tell them that this Hall, filled as it is at this season of the year, day after day, and week after week, by Christian men and women of all denominations, drawn together from different parts of the world, and assembled for the true, simple object of doing good, stirring up Christian feelings, and giving forth Christian feeling, however it may be disowned and condemned by man, shall be owned and blessed by God. How solemn, on these occasions, are the minutes allotted to each speaker! How many humble and pious Christians travel up many and many a long mile from the remote provinces, to be present at these gatherings, in the hope of having their souls refreshed and stirred up to God's work. There are those, too, who have sought, by earnest prayer in their secret chambers, for days previous, that God's blessing might rest upon us and our proceedings. . . . At these great anniversaries we strike the key-note for the year, and the chord we touch vibrates through the world. Those who are not here in person are here in spirit: they read our speeches, and if a spiritual tone, a lively tone, an animated tone, a prayerful tone, pervade them, our feeble voices, speaking to a handful of men—for such in truth is this vast assembly,

compared with the multitudes without—feeble though they be, yet, if it be true that the Spirit of God speaks within us, shall vibrate amid the wilds of New Zealand, the snows of North America, and the burning plains of Africa, and come back to us, laden with blessing from the throne of God.†

After the first Missionary tour there appears to have been, for a time, so far as Paul and Barnabas were concerned, a cessation of such labours. "There"—at Antioch—"they abode long time with the disciples" (Acts xiv. 28). Here again we perceive the administrative action of the Holy Ghost. They were needed at Antioch, where a dangerous attempt was about to be made to disquiet the church, which had commenced with so much earnestness to spread abroad the knowledge of God's truth. Certain men from Judea sought to introduce erroneous views respecting justification. They taught that the righteousness of Christ, alone, and in separation from all human works, did not suffice for the justification of the sinner. They taught, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved." Throughout the whole history of the church, from this early period to the present day, the same error has been impinging on the integrity of the truth; the necessity of some human element, something which man has to do, being conjoined with the work of Christ in order to justification; and that, in default of this upon the sinner's part, he cannot be saved. These innovators from Judea insisted upon circumcision as the essential pre-requisite. In our own day the error appears under a different form. Protean in the aspects it has assumed, the error has always been the same. "Being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus"—here we have the truth of Scripture. Nay, not so freely, man would add, but that a pre-requisite is necessary: the sinner must do something, become invested with something, which shall exempt him from the general condition of men as sinners, before he is warranted to apply himself to the work of Christ. Men are told they must join a certain church, comply with a certain form, undergo a certain process of reformation and amendment, before they may venture to Christ: he who is "without strength" must help himself before he can approach that Mighty One on whom his help is laid.

The attempt to introduce this evil leaven greatly disquieted the church at Antioch. Paul and Barnabas withstood it. Paul

* Bishop of London, at Anniversary Meeting of the Church Missionary Society, May 5, 1857.

† Dean of Carlisle, at the same Meeting.

never failed to do so on such occasions. He was jealous for the integrity of truth. We find him, in his Epistle to the Galatians, contending against this very error, and, in the plainest and most unequivocal language, stating that the attempt upon the sinner's part to conjoin something of his own with the righteousness of Christ, in order to qualify himself for the reception of that which can only be received by faith—that is, as a free gift of which we are undeserving—is to exclude himself from the action of grace, and bring him under the pressure of the law, which demands, under pain of condemnation, a full compliance with all its requisitions. "Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace" (Gal. v. 2—4).

In order to the settlement of this question, the conference narrated in Acts xv. was held at Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas went up from Antioch as the representatives of the aggrieved Gentile converts. On their arrival there, and their reception by the church, and the apostles and elders, "they declared all things that God had done with them," their evangelistic labours and results, and the principle on which they had been carried on. But to the mode of proceeding adopted by them certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed objected, and urged that they had been wrong in not submitting the Gentile converts to circumcision. They said, "It was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses. And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter." Peter's address, on this occasion, remains on record. Reminding all who were present that Cornelius and his company, although uncircumcised, yet, believing, had been received and dealt with as heirs of the same promise (v. 8, 9), he remonstrated against this attempt to "put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear." He was effectively sustained by Barnabas and Paul, who recounted all that the Lord had wrought by their ministry; that although they had not insisted on any such pre-requisite, but set forth the salvation in Christ as free to all, whether bond or free, circumcised or otherwise, who desired to lay hold upon it, yet had they been crowned with a large and abundant blessing from the Lord. James closed the conference, and the attempted innovation was rejected.

The point to be indicated is, *that here the Missionary element, in a remarkable manner, re-acted beneficially on the church at home.* No doubt Paul's experience in the Missionary field helped to the right decision of this question. Home Christianity, where lies the heart of the foreign efforts, is being continually practised upon by the subtlety of Satan. Errors of various kinds are attempted, from time to time, to be foisted in, and that more or less successfully. We suffer under animosities and divisions. We doubt not, as the foreign work matures, such evils will be best met, and such dangers most rapidly dissipated, by the healthful reaction from the field of foreign operation. There already our narrownesses and sectarianism—so strong at home, that, when Christians of various denominations meet together for a great common object, they cannot as yet agree to pray together*—stand rebuked before the Conference of all Protestant Missionaries at Calcutta, and the large-heartedness which prevails abroad. In the Mission field we find that God does not confine His blessing to this or that section, but that wherever the gospel is preached with fidelity, there the blessing is bestowed. In the presence of this fact, the heat of parties amongst ourselves may well be moderated.

Judas and Silas were selected to communicate the happy result of the conference to the church at Antioch, and accompanied Paul and Barnabas to that city; and there Silas, becoming deeply interested in the work, decided to remain. The reason for such a decision soon became evident. Paul desired to resume his Missionary itinerancy, but an unexpected difficulty presented itself. A difference of opinion arose between him and Barnabas respecting Mark. On the previous journey Mark had left them (Acts xiii. 13). It was natural that Barnabas, knowing more accurately than Paul what had passed in his nephew's mind, should desire to afford him another opportunity of usefulness. It was natural that Paul, remembering his previous inconstancy, should feel indisposed to take him. It was to be lamented that the contention between them should be so sharp, and that these Christian friends and companions, who had shared together so many dangers, should, for such a cause, separate from that companionship. Nothing can be more painful than such disruptions. Alas! how often they occur, through the infirmity of the best of

* It is with great gratification we observe the decision of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society to commence their meetings with prayer.

men. But even this untoward event, by the administrative action of the Holy Ghost, was overruled for good; for instead of one Missionary deputation there were two: Barnabas took Mark, and Paul chose Silas. So now, we have as many Missionary organizations as there are sectional distinctions, and the points of occupation are thus multiplied.

On the commencement of his new itinerancy, our attention is directed to a remarkable proceeding on the part of Paul. He "took and circumcised" Timothy. Had he been of pure Gentile extraction he would not have done so, but his mother being a Jewess he did not hesitate. His object was to enlarge Timothy's usefulness, and render him acceptable to Jew as well as Gentile. Observe, so long as circumcision was insisted upon as a vital point, he opposed it: when reduced to its proper level, as in some cases desirable, although in no one case necessary, he did not hesitate to use it. He acted upon his own principle—"Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ) that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. And this I do for the gospel's sake," &c. May we not be too rigid in matters which do not affect the vitality of truth? Might we not sometimes, without compromise, yield our own preferences to those of our brethren? Is it not a sign of weakness of Christian character when we will not forego, but stickle with as much tenacity for, some incidental, as we would for some essentiality, of faith? Is he not the strong Christian who, rather than break union, stoops, in such cases, to the weakness of his brother, and yields to him in that which he deems so important, simply because, in his estimation, it is as nothing when compared with the prosperous action of the gospel and the salvation of souls. Some contend for a written prayer, some for one delivered extemporaneously. If the churchman be so constricted by his preference that he will not forego it, can the nonconformist bend nothing to meet him? If the nonconformist be so tenacious of his preference that he cannot concede, shall the churchman relax nothing of his rigidity? Shall both stand stiffly aloof, and refuse to pray together, because neither will concede that which after all is not

vital to the effectiveness of prayer? Which, by concession, shall prove himself the stronger Christian? Had Paul's just discrimination between a practice, when insisted upon as an essential, and yielded out of deference to the peculiarities of a weak brother, been followed, how much of division and unhappy separation would have been precluded?

We now pass on to another series of facts, in which we are permitted to discern the administrative action of the Holy Ghost in the selection of localities. Paul and Barnabas had met with great encouragement in the countries of Asia Minor. It was natural, therefore, they should desire to prosecute their labours in the same region. They had gone throughout the great central provinces of Phrygia and Galatia, as well as throughout Cilicia and Pamphylia; and they proposed to penetrate into those portions of the peninsula which remained unvisited. Pro-consular Asia, lying westward along the Ægean Sea, including Ionia, Æolia, and Lydia, first attracted their attention; but they "were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia." Entering Mysia, on the Propontis, from whence there was most facility of access to the continent of Europe, they were about to pass through it, in order to reach Bithynia on the north-east, and lying along the Euxine, but again there was a hindrance. "They assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not."

When the agency employed is numerically feeble, in comparison with the work to be accomplished, a wise disposition of it is of first importance. An experienced leader, by the skilful arrangement of limited forces, and the occupation of commanding points, can accomplish much more than an incompetent one with large masses at his disposal. In Missionary operations, when compared with the vastness of the field, and the difficulties attendant on such a warfare, the agency is small indeed. There is the more need that we should be guided in the selection of localities; that He who directed the steps of the apostles should continue providentially to lead us in the right way; that, when disposed to go forward in a direction which is not the preferable one, by providential interferences He may prevent us doing so, and thus, hedging us up on the right hand and on the left, conduct us to the locality which He has himself selected. We recal the attention of our readers to an article in our Number for February last, in proof that such a gracious superintendence has not been wanting to modern Missionary work. Here we can only refer to one instance. The first Missionaries to Western

Africa were instructed to "branch out." They went, therefore, beyond the limits of Sierra Leone, and formed stations in the heart of outlying tribes. Such a selection appeared to them better adapted to extend the gospel throughout the interior, than to locate themselves within the colony. In this, however, human judgment was at fault. The true field of usefulness was designed to be within the peninsula. There, in consequence of treaty engagements with Spain, rescued slaves commenced to be landed, and, concurrently, the Missionaries found themselves constrained to fall back from the advanced stations before the hostility of the slave-traders, and shelter themselves beneath the flag of Britain in the colony. Thus the evangelists, and the materials they were to act upon, were providentially brought together.

In like manner Paul and his companion were directed. Hitherto evangelistic efforts had been confined to Asia Minor, and there, as we have seen, much had been accomplished. Not only had native churches been raised up in many of its provinces, but the attempt to Judaize those churches had been successfully resisted. The work accomplished there might therefore be regarded as consolidated and matured. Provision had been made for the self-supporting and so far independent action of the various congregations; "and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." The time had arrived for the extension of Missionary work to the European continent, the first of the great portions of our world to be brought to a profession of Christianity, where the gospel has been corrupted, persecuted, buried under a heap of human inventions and traditions, but where, amidst all, it has survived. Here, in the darkest times, it has found a home in some hearts, and the faithful disciples of the Saviour some refuge and hiding-place. Here the lost treasure of God's truth has been recovered and brought to light, and the message of mercy in Christ Jesus, released from the obscurity of an unknown tongue, has made glad the hearts of sinners. Here, too, it is still to be found retentive of the vigour of its early youth, and going forth in Missionary efforts to illuminate the dark regions of our earth.

To Europe, therefore, their path was made plain. Passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas, the point of embarkation to Europe; and there Paul saw in a vision a man of Macedonia, who "prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us"—*Βοηθησον ημιν*—an emphatic expression, brief, yet urgent—the cry of one who is in imminent danger, and who calls for help, which, to be

effective, must be promptly rendered. Europe then sued help from Asia. How circumstances are reversed! Asia, throughout its vast extent, its decayed churches, its senile Mahommedanism, its densely-populated heathen kingdoms, sues help from Europe. Nay, not only Asia: Africa, with its sable tribes, now beginning to be agitated, as the leaves of dark-tinged forests moved by the passing breeze—America, in its extreme north and south—and, beyond, groups of islands, numberless and wondrously diversified—appear to crowd around, not Europe, but England, and from every region and quarter the cry is heard, "Come over, and help us." Vast multitudes are now, as Europe was when Paul embarked at Troas, ignorant of that which man most needs to know, how the soul is to be saved, and needing instant help, for they are living and dying in sin. May that cry be heard, coming to our hearts and homes with such poignancy of distress, that the churches of Britain may haste to yield these multitudes, powerfully and promptly, the help they so much need!

A few remarks more, and we must pass from this rich record of inspiration, from which we have gleaned a few lessons and no more. If the evangelists were prevented from advancing into Pro-consular Asia, it was not because there existed any intention to exclude that particular region from the beneficent action of the gospel message, but because its introduction was to be accomplished by a mode different from that which Barnabas and Paul contemplated. Philippi was the first city of Europe where the work of evangelization was commenced. It was a colony. A large proportion of the inhabitants were Romans, and the government was vested in the hands of Roman magistrates. There appeared to be, at first, but little prospect of usefulness. There was no synagogue of the Jews, to which, according to their custom, they might resort, nor were there any to afford them a kindly reception. A small oratory stood outside the city walls, a place where prayer was wont to be made, and where a few women were in the habit of resorting on the Sabbath-day. Thither they proceeded. They did not despise the opportunity because it was a small one. To do so is great folly, as well as great unfaithfulness; great unfaithfulness, for it is to distrust the power of God; great folly, for the most astonishing results have often originated in very weak beginnings. It is remarkable that the first convert, the woman Lydia, should have proved to be a native of that very portion of Asia Minor where Paul had been forbidden of the

Holy Ghost to preach. She was "a seller of purple." She lived at Philippi, where the Roman colony afforded facilities for the disposal of her purple cloths and fringes: she maintained her intercourse with her native city, for from thence she obtained the purple-dye. "Even at present, Thyatira is famous for dyeing. The cloths which are dyed scarlet here are considered superior to any other furnished in Asia Minor, and large quantities are sent weekly to Smyrna for the purpose of commerce."* Thus Lydia resided at Philippi, but maintained continued intercourse with Thyatira, from whence she procured the materials for her trade; nor can we doubt that this zealous convert—who, so soon as she had opened her heart to the message of mercy, opened the doors of her house to the bearers of the message, and constrained Paul and his companions to abide there—embraced the earliest opportunity of communicating to her kindred and connexions her new-found treasure, more precious than the most lucrative traffic, "for the merchandize of it is better than the merchandize of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold." Thus from Philippi the gospel was soon reflected back on Thyatira and its vicinity.

During his labours in these regions, the desire to visit Rome appears to have been much strengthened in the mind of Paul. Several incidents conduced to this—the respect shown him by the magistrates at Philippi, so soon as they ascertained that he was a Roman citizen, and especially his intercourse with the converted Jew, Aquila, and Priscilla his wife, recently arrived from Italy, who communicated to him interesting particulars respecting the brethren at Rome, where Christianity, even at this early period, had penetrated, and won disciples. The effect produced on his mind is evident from the expressions used respecting him, when, on his return from Antioch, he revisited Ephesus—"After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome;" and on reaching Achaia, according to his intention, he addressed his memorable epistle to the Christians in that city, in which he expresses his purpose of visiting them on his way to new Missionary labours in the far west—"Whosoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you."

Thus, in various ways, by direct and incidental action, by the agency, now of Apostles,

and now of private persons, sometimes by one whose praise was in all the churches, and sometimes by one like Apollos, converted, we know not how, to the faith of Christ, the gospel, under the administrative action of the Holy Ghost, was spread abroad, until it had reached the utmost limits of the then known world—"which is come unto you, as it is in all the world." (Col. i. 6.)

It remains for us, as briefly as may be, to indicate the very close analogy existing between that development of Missionary labour detailed in the Acts of the Apostles, and the more modern efforts of our own day. In the middle of the last century we find the reformed churches of this country charged with a very heavy responsibility, to the fulfilment of which they were incompetent. The duty was the same which we found resting on the early church at the commencement of the Acts, and which abides on every individual and body of men, who possess Christian privileges, not to intercept, but with increasing power communicate, the light of truth to others. The low condition of spiritual life, the ignorance which prevailed respecting the distinctive doctrines of the gospel, unfitted them for its due performance. But there came a season of revival, times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Earnest men were raised up, remarkably and concurrently, in different parts of the country, who, having recovered the hidden treasure of the gospel, set it forth by a faithful ministration, although exposed, in consequence, to much obloquy and persecution. A home work of great importance was diligently prosecuted, until, having attained a certain maturity, it was led forth to foreign operation. The pressure put upon a home work, in order to elicit efforts for the illumination of the unevangelized, is not always of the same character. Sometimes, as in the Acts of the Apostles, and as in the history of the Vaudois churches, there is the pressure of persecution. Sometimes, through the frequency of commercial intercourse, the destitution of distant lands is so powerfully realized, as to draw forth the sympathies of Christians, and excite to action. The latter has been the case with the British churches, and so far at least the more stern constraint of suffering has not been laid upon us. May it not be rendered necessary by tardiness and hesitation in the work! Thus the deplorable sufferings of the African race, under the sanguinary stroke of the slave-dealer, moved our own Society to direct our first Missionaries to those unhappy shores. The efforts made were purely of a voluntary character. No compulsion, no authority,

* Aiton's "Lands of the Messiah," p. 408.

either ecclesiastical or secular, forced on the movement. The organizations were entirely the result of spontaneous action. The same principle of loving obedience to the mandate of their Lord, and the same earnest commiseration for perishing sinners, which influenced the scattered members of the Pentecostal church to evangelize wherever they went, moved men amongst ourselves, who knew, in their own experience, the redeeming power of that Saviour in whom they had believed; to unite themselves into Societies, in whose constitution there exists no law of necessity, but only one of godly choice. The efforts put forth for the dissemination of the pure gospel throughout the world have been as truly voluntary, as those incidental efforts which have attracted our attention in the pages of the Acts. That which was attempted in the one case by individuals, is carried out amongst ourselves by numbers of Christian men and women, grouped together in Societies, and thus invested, in their collective capacity, with an individual character; and, in both cases, voluntary efforts have been alike used and blessed, recognised and approved of, by the Holy Spirit of God. Thus, from the parent stock of our home Christianity budded forth those various organizations which are now actively engaged in communicating to the ignorant and destitute, whether of our own population or to distant lands, the knowledge of God's saving truth. The first attempts were feeble indeed. Like Him in whose service they were rendered, they appeared as a root out of a dry ground. A few catechists sent to some remote locality, where, few as they were, they could with difficulty find, in the first instance, room enough on which to land, gloomy superstitions and great discouragements rising above, like the rugged cliffs of an inhospitable shore, forbidding all entrance, and frowning them back to the home from whence they had come—such was the first phase of the Missionary undertaking. The world scorned it, and pronounced it sheer enthusiasm. They went forth, indeed, unknown men, the deputed messengers of earnest Christians at home, who had united their prayers, and efforts, and contributions, to send them out. It seemed to be a Quixotic enterprise, although it was, in truth, what the world could not understand, the enterprise of faith. Nor was the aspect of the work, in the first instance, otherwise than discouraging. New and difficult languages had to be acquired, for the miraculous gifts of Pentecost were not bestowed on these new efforts. Help and aid were doubtlessly vouchsafed, but only through the channel of human industry, and the diligent use of or-

inary means. The Missionaries brought strange things to the people amongst whom they found themselves—as strange as though they had come from another world; and these they communicated, in the first instance, with stammering words and imperfect enunciation. Year after year passed away, and no impression appeared to be made; there were none who cared to make inquiries heavenward. They sowed the seed, but it disappeared, and seemed as though it had lost the power of germination. The work was slow at the commencement. Genuine evangelization is not hasty in the production of results: fictitious work is, "They heard the word, and anon with joy received it, but dured only for a time:" "they withered away, because they had no root in themselves." Genuine work is slow, because each step of progress is made sure before a new one is attempted. Its growth is like that of the living tree: it throws out its summer shoot, and this, at first, is very tender, and susceptible of injury; but, at a certain point, the shoot is arrested, and growth is suspended for another year. Meanwhile the winter season comes, and the recent increase becomes indurated and strong, and, after a time, serves as the basis of a new development. This is the period of waiting, when patience must have her perfect work. In God's own time the desired results begin to manifest themselves." First occur individual instances of conversion, cheering the hearts of friends at home, and encouraging additional efforts by the assurance that such labours are not in vain in the Lord. As of old, the hand of the Lord is with the Missionaries, and a great number believe, and turn to the Lord. New agents are needed to sustain the work, of more note and education, and Committees seek out men like Barnabas, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. Thus, amidst persevering efforts, and many changes and re-actions from promise to discouragement, and from adverse to rejoicing circumstances, the work, in various directions, has advanced, until now these remote points, at first so feebly occupied, have become bright spots, on which we look with thankfulness and encouragement. Congregations have been raised up; native churches formed: they are scattered over an area far more extended than those which gladdened the heart of Paul. In various climes these new formations may be seen—in Rupert's-Land and New Zealand; in Western Africa and various parts of India, especially the Tamil population in the South; amongst the Armenians of Turkey, the Karens of Pegu, and in the far-off isles of the Pacific. In dark places of our earth these light-imparting fabrics have been

reared, like the lighthouses which may be seen on the shores of our own sea-girt isle. Sometimes the slender shaft springs direct, and at once, from the waste of waters, and occasionally, in tempestuous weather, the angry waves break upon it as though they would sweep it away; but it remains immovable, because its foundation is the rock beneath, and above, amidst the darkness, shines forth the welcome, warning light.

The weak things of the world have been used for the accomplishment of great results. The hand of the Lord has been with those unknown and despised men who went forth as Missionaries to distant lands. Results have been produced, like those which sprung forth at Antioch, of such acknowledged importance as to excite the wonder and interest of many who were at first incredulous as to the possibility of any measure of success. We have reached the same parallel of attainment with Paul, when he proceeded to ordain elders in every city: we are at the present moment busily engaged in providing a native pastorate for these native churches. Several of them are in the transition state from dependent to self-supporting churches, and have made, in that respect, considerable progress. We are now furnished, in the providence of God, with new centres of action in various parts of the world, commanding positions, like Antioch of old. Beyond are opening new countries and vast opportunities. From the localities where our work has become permanized we contemplate the commencement of new efforts, such as Paul entered upon when he passed from

Asia into Europe; until, by the blessing of God, the gospel shall have been preached for a testimony to all nations, and some gathered in from every tribe and nation.

Step by step may be traced this most encouraging analogy. The procedure is the same: the results such as mere human instrumentality could never have produced. There has been a guidance and direction which, at the moment, was not understood, but which, as from an advanced point we look back upon our past history, become plain and intelligible. We find the work often done more effectively by the incidental action of a native Christian, than it could have been by the personal effort of the foreign Missionary; and those efforts anticipated by sudden out-breaks of inquiry in places which he had never visited. In the new work, as well as in the old, we discern the administrative action of the Holy Ghost. We perceive Him still in-dwelling in the living organization of the Saviour's mystical body, and operating through its various agencies and members with divine wisdom, almighty power, and unwearied love, for the accomplishment of God's purposes of grace and mercy towards fallen man. Of the true Israel may we say—"The Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a king is among them. God brought them out of Egypt; he hath as it were the strength of an unicorn. Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divinations against Israel: according to this time it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel, What hath God wrought?"

DISMISSAL OF MISSIONARIES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF LABOUR.

ON Friday, June 5th, 1857, a meeting of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society was held at the Church Missionary Children's Home, Highbury, to take leave of the following Missionaries and Missionary agents—The Rev. T. Tuting, with Mrs. Tuting, proceeding to Peshawar; the Rev. T. G. Gaster, with Mrs. Gaster, to Agra; the Rev. C. G. Daeuble, with Mrs. Daeuble, to Benares; the Rev. F. N. Alexander, with Mrs. Alexander, to the Telugu Country; Miss Meredith, and Miss Stammer, the latter to Tinnevely, the former to Madras; the Rev. Alured Clarke, to Tinnevely; the Rev. John Ireland Jones, with Mrs. Jones, to Kandy, Ceylon; the Rev. T. Fleming, to Moose Fort, Hudson's Bay; and Mr. J. P. Gardiner, with Mrs. Gardiner, to York Factory, Hudson's Bay.

The Chair was taken, by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, at twelve o'clock, and, prayer having been offered, the following Instructions

of the Committee were addressed to the Missionaries by the Editorial Secretary—

"DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD—There can be no more important or interesting occasion than the one which has convened us together this day. We are reminded of a similar procedure recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, when 'the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.' It is that model of a valedictory dismissal that has inaugurated assemblages like the present. The Committee meet you as those whom they regard as inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to serve God in the work of Missions. Without such a conviction on their part, how could they venture to send you forth? Their hope and expectation that you will prove good

soldiers of Jesus Christ, not turning back in the day of battle, but enduring hardness, and continuing faithful unto death, is grounded on their belief respecting you, that you are Christ's, believing persons, who have had experience of His love, and who, under the binding sense of numberless and great obligations, have surrendered yourselves to Him, that you may be His unreservedly in spirit, soul, and body, to live or die, to do or suffer, according to His good pleasure concerning you. Entertaining that conviction, the Committee send you forth with humble confidence, persuaded that, amidst all dangers and temptations, you will be upheld, because He that is in you is greater than he that is in the world; and they have fervently desired to meet you once more before your departure, as well that they may address to you some instructions and counsel, as that they may unite with you, and such Christian friends as are present, in earnest prayer and supplication that the Spirit of the Lord may increase unto you His manifold gifts of grace, so as to render you, amongst the people to whom you may be sent, 'workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth' . . . 'examples of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.'

"You are going forth to various and widely-distant Missionary-fields—the greater part of you to India; one to its extreme north-west, to our Trans-Indus station, Peshawar, now politically annexed to India, but geographically and naturally our first station in Central Asia; some to various points along the course of the Ganges; others to the Comorandel Coast, the province of Tinnevely, and the island of Ceylon; another to a new and important centre of action, the Mauritius; while two more brethren, in proceeding to their destinations at York Factory and Moose Fort, Hudson's Bay, will be met, not by the enervating influences of the tropics, but by the rapidly-advancing footsteps of an arctic winter. You proceed to various climes, to people of various languages and nations; but, wherever you go, you will find man a sinner, bereaved of the divine image, and debased far below that holy, and happy, and dignified position which God assigned him at creation—the shattered wreck of what he once was, when he came forth from the hand of God moulded in that finite excellence and perfection which God pronounced to be very good. You will find him like Samson, with his eyes put out, bound with fetters of brass, and grinding in the prison-house; so dark as to have lost all knowledge of God, serving divers lusts and

pleasures, and bound by such a powerful infatuation as to be alike unable and unwilling to deliver himself. God alone can open these blind eyes, bring forth these prisoners out of the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house. He alone can break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free. And God has interposed. The Triune Jehovah—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—who alone can be the God of Salvation—has condescended to the deliverance of lost sinners. The Father, in surrendering His Son to suffering, promised Him that He should see of the travail of His soul. It is to this end that the gospel, the exposition of the mediatorial work of the great Peacemaker, is commanded to be made known, in order that, through its instrumentality, the Holy Ghost may gather in the elect of God from every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people. This is your work, to make known the gospel, to instruct men's understandings in the knowledge of its blessed truths, to bring it home to their hearts and consciences, and to commend it to their acceptance, that you may become the blessed instruments of turning many 'from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified.' This is your work, to preach and teach Jesus Christ. This is the divinely-appointed *panacea* for the ills of our fallen, and therefore suffering race. This alone can effectually and savingly help sinners. Efforts made irrespectively of the gospel to ameliorate the condition of man may produce superficial improvements, but vitally and essentially they leave him the same he was before, 'dead in trespasses and sins.' 'Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God'—can alone convert and save lost souls. This is the voice of Him who has said, 'The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live:' and through the instrumentality of its truths the Holy Ghost quickens the dead, and calls the things which be not as though they were. This is the leaven, which, introduced into the bosom of a nation, with such a minimum of effort in the first instance that it appears to be lost, gradually diffuses its salubrious influences so as to ameliorate the condition of the whole mass, advancing nations from barbarism to civilization, developing the energies of man, inducing industrial effort, and astonishingly improving his temporal condition. Through this gospel, results have been already produced, in our day, which fill the hearts of God's people

with gratitude and thankfulness. You go forth to join a work which the Lord has blessed, to gather in the results of other men's labours, and to sow the seed of future harvests.

"Consider, then, the gospel of Christ as your grand instrumentality. It is the rod of the Messiah's strength. With this you are to smite the hard heart, on which the providential dealings of Jehovah, the cloud and the sunshine, blessings and afflictions, have been expended, but which has remained hard in its estrangement, that, moved by mercy, it may at length yield, and the tears of godly repentance flow forth. Whatever other means or appliances you employ, use them only in subordination to this chief one, and refuse them if they do not harmonize with the spirit and action of the gospel.

"And now, in reference to the high and honourable office to which you are called, the Committee would desire to place before you some thoughts and suggestions for your prayerful consideration, which may thus conduce to godly edifying.

"1. And, first, if you would be the honoured instruments of winning souls to Christ, you must *master the vernacular language* of the people amongst whom you dwell, that they may hear every man in his own tongue the wonderful works of God. This difficulty lies at the threshold of your work: you must overcome it if you would enter in at the door of usefulness. The Holy Ghost, in His procedure with the Pentecostal Church, dealt with this qualification as of primary importance. There was not only the rushing mighty wind, the expressive symbol of His powerful yet mysterious action, but there were the 'cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them.' No true Missionary will rest satisfied with an interpreter as his mouthpiece. Until he can personally communicate with his people, he will feel himself as dumb in their presence, and he will pray and labour that he may have utterance. 'There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification. Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto men.' Precisely, therefore, according to the measure of his Missionary spirit, his love to Christ, and his love for souls, will be the earnestness and prayerful diligence with which the newly-arrived Missionary will address himself to the conquest of this first difficulty. Thus your anxiety or otherwise to come into direct communication with the heathen, through the medium of their own

language, will afford to you a test wherewith to try your Missionary spirit at the commencement of your work. The Committee feel persuaded that the cases are very rare indeed in which prayerful diligence, and the honest application of the mind to the rolling away of this stone, do not prove successful. It is a work in which the Missionary may expect to be intellectually aided. The Holy Ghost still remains the great administrator of the church, and continues to dispense the necessary gifts and qualifications, just as surely and fully, although not after the same mode of action, as on the day of Pentecost. He divideth 'to every man severally as He will.'

"2. But again, there is another point most needful, in order that you may effectually commend the gospel to the acceptance of those to whom you may be sent; namely, that you be yourselves, in your lives and conversation, *the exponents of those truths which you teach and preach*. You must so live as to convince those around you that you are wrought upon by an influence to which they feel themselves to be strangers. You must make it manifest that the doctrines which you enunciate are not mere opinions, barren notions, speculative dogmas, concerning which men may contend very earnestly, but which carry with them no sanctifying power, and which are utterly inefficacious to sanctify the heart and life: you must prove to them, by your example, that they are life-giving, power-imparting, renovating principles, which enable you to that which they find to be an impossibility, the control and subjugation of the various evil tendencies of our corrupt nature, so as no longer to follow nor be led by them. The adversary is never so maliciously triumphant as when our teaching and actions are at variance. The world, whether it be the heathen world abroad, or the professing world at home, naturally and necessarily observes the lives of those who teach Christian truth, in order to ascertain whether they be themselves consistently affected thereby, and whether the power ascribed to it, of renewing the human character, be exemplified in the conduct of its advocates. Where the doctrine and the practice are at variance, and the former, instead of being confirmed, is contradicted by the latter, then is the world strengthened in its incredulity, and unhesitatingly places Christianity in the same category with the numberless pretences to religion, which, professing to cure, have left the patient no better than he was before. The more earnest a man is in pleading for the truth, the more unmistakable the con-

sistency which will be looked for in his life ; and ministers at home and Missionaries abroad need to be epistles 'known and read of all men . . . written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God ; not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart.' The enemy never works more effectually, than when pernicious errors are put into circulation by men who have a reputation for sanctity and devotedness, or when men of unsanctified character and conduct declare the Lord's statutes and take His covenant in their mouths. The spread of error is then facilitated, and that of truth grievously retarded. These are solemn considerations. They are admonitory, but not discouraging. There is no room for discouragement, for God is able to make all grace abound to His servants, that they, 'always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work.' On an occasion such as this, the Committee desire to put themselves and you in remembrance of these things, 'though ye know them, and be established in the present truth.'

"3. And in the discharge of this duty there is a third point, which, because of its great importance, they would desire to approach more closely.

"There is no feature of Christian consistency on which our divine Master lays more stress than that of *holy love and union* amongst His people. Again and again He refers to it. When, after the last supper, Judas went out—thus delivering himself over to the power of Satan—the charge which the Saviour forthwith addressed to His disciples was this—'A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another ; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' This constituted one of the most urgent of those desires which, in John xvii., He expressed on behalf of His people—'That they all may be one ; as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us : that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me.' Yet was there no point on which a greater deficiency appears to have existed among the early churches, or in connexion with which the apostles felt it necessary to put forth more earnest and vigorous remonstrances. And with reason. Satan, in his efforts against the truth, has often selected this point with advantage, and men whom he could not approach in any other way have *here* not unfrequently been found vulnerable. The temptation is craftily disguised, and men, forgetting that 'the spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy,' suffer themselves to be de-

ceived into the idea that they are doing God service, when they are, in fact, indulging the sin of their own heart. Even Barnabas and Paul—old companions, who had helped one another through many a trial—had so sharp a contention as to separate. These unhappy occurrences grieve the Holy Spirit, who is a Spirit of unity, and who, when He descended on Jesus at His baptism, did so as a dove. There are times, indeed, when a valued Christian brother must be firmly withstood, as Paul, at Antioch, withstood Peter to his face, because he was to be blamed. But it is not on great and vital questions that differences usually arise among fellow-workers, but on the minor details of Missionary labour and arrangement—on points that connect with domestic life, and that arise through infirmities of temper. Suspicions, distrusts, jealousies, are allowed to creep in. 'Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart ?' is a question that cannot at all times be satisfactorily answered. There may be no actual collision, but there is want of love, of cordiality, of mutual confidence. Each desires to work as much as possible in isolation from his brethren, and is jealous of the slightest interference with his particular department. Wherever such a spirit is permitted to prevail amongst those who are fellow-labourers in the gospel, whether in the home or foreign field, it must be to the great injury of the common cause. How can there be growth and healthy action if there be estrangement amongst the members ? There must be union between each member and the head in order to life. True, and there must also be union, hearty, unfeigned union, amongst the members, in order to efficiency. So says the apostle—'From whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body to the edifying of itself in love.' The member, therefore, that will not adjust itself to communion with the fellow-member, is a hindrance to the well-being of the whole, and, in the way of an unavoidable re-action, becomes itself grievously impoverished.

"4. One source of divisions may be referred to—that *men connect their own particular work too much with themselves and too little with Christ*. This narrowing tendency may be indulged until they see nothing beyond the circle of their own individual effort, and feel no interest in any thing beyond. Through self-partiality they invest what they do themselves with an undue importance, and, in the same proportion, undervalue the labours of their brethren. Let

all learn to take a more large, and generous, and comprehensive view of what is going forward. It is as the Lord's work we must regard it. That work is of vast extent and importance, carried on through a multitudinous agency, of which the most gifted and effective man is a fragment, and no more. Our solicitude should be for the work in its integrity, and every agent, every effort, that contributes to its prosperity and advancement, should be to the whole body a cause of unfeigned joy and rejoicing. One servant labours earnestly. Is it to magnify himself or to magnify his Lord? If it be his Lord, he will then rejoice to be excelled by others: if himself, he will not be glad of this, but rather sorry. It is thus that individuals are tempted to disparage the work of others, because they cannot endure that it should eclipse their own. Shall we not rather say, with Moses, 'Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put His Spirit upon them.' Is our brother more gifted, more successful? But just in proportion as he is so, the Lord has more service. Then let us be glad. Would we diminish the amount of our brother's service, that it may be inferior to our own? Then the Lord's cause suffers. To exalt self, shall we desire to see His work impoverished? Let such a thought be far from us.

"One passage the Committee would refer to, in which St. Paul urges the necessity of union and hearty co-operation in the details of service, where, in Rom. xv., he thus writes—'Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be likeminded one toward another according to Christ Jesus: that ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Where this likemindedness is wanting, the agents engaged in any spiritual service are like instruments of music out of tune. In a concert of sweet sounds, each attends to his own part, yet in such wise as to be attentive to the whole. Many combine to bring out one harmonious result. Each part is supplemental to the others. By itself it would be meagre and defective. So let it be in the work of God. The perfection of each individual service is, that it should be to the glory of God: it can attain to this honour only as it blends and is lost in the hallelujah chorus of the entire church. The actions which will not thus commingle and blend are those which proceed from selfishness, and these are not to the glory of God.

"Divisions and dissensions weaken the action of the body from within, and present the Lord's cause in an unamiable aspect to the

world without. Thus His cause is injured. How can we persuade ourselves that we are zealous for that cause, when, by allowing ourselves in awkward and uncomplying tempers, we misrepresent it before the world? There can be no doubt that the world is very quick-sighted in detecting rivalries and jealousies, and is by no means indisposed, from the unamiabilities of its professors, to draw conclusions to the disadvantage of the gospel.

"5. So precious a grace as that of charity, and one so specially endangered, needs that a *special effort be made for its preservation*. The Committee would suggest what this should be—united prayer; all the brethren, whose Missionary homes are sufficiently near, meeting together at stated and often-recurring seasons, say weekly at least, for this purpose. Such engagements before the mercy-seat will remind them most strongly of their brotherhood in Christ, and feelings inconsistent with that high and near relationship will become abashed and put to shame. In the remembrance of common wants and trials mutual sympathy will be strengthened. As they thus pray, the grace of unity, which the Psalmist so beautifully compares to the oil upon the head of Aaron, and the dew of Hermon, will descend upon them in plenteous and fertilizing influences, and, instead of the ill odour of contention, there will be diffused around the rich perfume of true Christian love.

"6. The Committee would earnestly enjoin upon you another and most necessary duty—the *watchfulness of love*. Conceive a family, in those times when the plague was a fearful scourge, in the midst of an infected city; how anxious the observance that would be exercised, each toward the other, by the different members, in order that the first and slightest symptom of the dreaded disease might be detected, and timely remedies be administered. Such is the watchfulness of love, and such the watchfulness that Christian brethren ought to exercise one towards another, for we live in an infected house. The plague is abroad, the plague of sin, 'the pestilence that walketh in darkness,' and 'the destruction that wasteth at noon-day.' The grace of the gospel, when vigorously pervading the moral constitution, is repellent of such influences: 'he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.' But there are seasons of spiritual decay: the blighting influence around takes advantage of such times; and there are sudden surprisals and temptations, such as overwhelmed Noah when he was drunken, and David when he defiled himself with adultery. Now there ought to be, upon the part of

Christian brethren, this watchfulness of love, lest any decline from spiritual tone and vigour, lest he lose his first love, and so become liable to the danger of infection. This is not to watch for a brother's halting, but it is to watch for his good, lest he fall into temptation and a snare. It is to fulfil that duty which Paul enjoins (Heb. iii. 13), 'Exhort one another daily, while it is called To-day; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin.' If we perceive symptoms of spiritual decay on a brother, 'grey hairs here and there upon him, and he knoweth it not,' is it love to him to be silent? nay, is it not the reverse of love? There is one remarkable passage of Scripture bearing on this subject: it occurs in Lev. xix. 17: 'Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.' That is sufficiently strong. It shows us what is our duty. It is difficult, undoubtedly; but shall we therefore decline or evade it? If tempted so to do, then let us hear another member of the verse. 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.' When we see him declining, compromising himself with evil, and yet hold our peace, because the duty is onerous and disagreeable, that is to hate our brother, to hate him in our heart, and he that 'hateth his brother is a murderer.' No; thou shalt in any wise rebuke him. 'Go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.'

"With what tenderness of spirit—with what a loving, weeping, mourning heart—ought not this duty to be discharged! With what a remembrance of oneself, one's own sins and shortcomings, 'considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted!' With what earnestness of prayer beforehand that you may have the mind of Him who wounds that He may heal, and who delights to bind up the broken-hearted! With what anxiety should you not address yourself to this duty, not as one who comes to condemn, but as one who comes to help and save; and who reproves only that his brother may become conscious that he needs help, and may be willing to accept it! And when a brother yields, and submits himself to the rebuke as from the Lord, with what gladness of heart—with what ready alacrity—will you haste to pour in the oil and wine of the gospel, lest the sufferer fall into the other and dangerous extreme of being 'swallowed up with overmuch sorrow!' How many a sad case of declension, which has wounded the hearts of the Lord's servants, and given occasion to His enemies to blaspheme, might have been, under God, arrested

by this watchfulness and faithfulness of love!

"But if the brother will not hear, and the matter be such as cannot be passed over, because it will 'eat as doth a canker,' and will 'increase unto more ungodliness,' there is then a further duty. Our Lord's rule of discipline is plain and unmistakeable—'If he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.' You will observe this delicate duty is to be approached thus tenderly and wisely. No one, in the first instance, is to be in the slightest degree cognizant of it, except your brother and yourself. When his obstinacy necessitates the communication to others of that which has been hitherto with you an inviolable secret, then let it be to as few as possible—'take with thee one or two more.' If this fail, then the reference must be of a more extended character—'And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church.' But even here there is the restriction, not to the world, to blazon abroad the evil tidings, but to the church, the company of the faithful, who will proceed to restore or remove the offender.

"In professedly Christian lands this duty is necessary. How much more in regions where there is around the deadening influences of heathenism! There, amidst the general depravity of morals, men in whom the process of spiritual declension is at work may begin to compare themselves with the prevailing corruption, instead of with the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, and so facilitate their own degeneracy, instead of being reminded to holiness. What need, then, to watch over one another for good!

"There is no doubt that the discharge of this most necessary duty is much interfered with by the want of mutual confidence. Prayer-meetings, such as the Committee have already referred to, where there might be godly conference, would greatly conduce to the growth of mutual confidence. Christian brethren, communing each with the other, would become assured of the real love and affection they bear each other, and thus be led on to confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another; 'to communicate reciprocally their conflicts, experiences, and failures, with a candid confession of those things which burden their consciences.'

"The Committee have thus reviewed your work, its responsibilities, and your dangers. Is it necessary that, after this, they should remind you of the need you have to live a life of faith upon the Son of God, in order that you may be enabled to the discharge of your ministry? One brief remark they would add on this point, and so conclude.

Jesus is the tree of life. His fruit is for meat, His leaf for medicine. In both respects you need Him. Infirmities there will be: 'the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh.' But remember, His blood was freely shed for you, and it is intended that you should freely use it, day by day, hour by hour, as you have need. 'The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin.' It cleanseth from the guilt of sin; it killeth the power of corruption in the heart. This, applied in faith, will cheer you when you are cast down, invigorate you to new efforts, and enable you to say, 'Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ!' Thus experiencing the power of a living Saviour, you will be endued with an ever-constraining motive to speak of Him to others. You can well commend that to your fellow-sinners which you find to be so

efficacious to yourself. You will be able to say with the Apostle, 'That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ.' You will speak forcibly, because you know experimentally; and there will be a power and reality in your commendation of Christ to the consciences of men, because you are dealing with that which you have 'seen with your eyes, which you have looked upon, and your hands have handled, of the Word of life.'"

The Missionaries having briefly responded to the Instructions, they were subsequently addressed by the Bishop of Rupert's Land and by other friends; the Rev. C. F. Childs commending them in earnest prayer to the protection and blessing of Almighty God.

THE MISSIONARIES AND THEIR POSITION ALONG THE CHINESE COAST AT THE PRESENT CRISIS.

(Concluded from page 113.)

THE Rev. M. Fearnley, whose journal we now publish, is one of our Missionaries at the large Chinese free port of Fuh-chau. In the perusal of it our readers will find themselves introduced into the interior of that great heathen city, and in the general urbanity and courteousness of reception which he meets from the people will find their sympathies the more powerfully elicited on behalf of China.

"Dec. 16, 1856—Went down to-day to change some silver into notes for the use of the Bible Society; *i. e.* to pay for the engraving and printing of the Holy Scriptures in Chinese. As I entered the back room of the Bank—the Government Bank, transacting, I presume, the chief monetary affairs of this Province—an elderly, well-dressed man invited me to sit, and seated himself beside me, and proceeded, as usual, to put questions to me about my dress and country; while several younger men, of various ranks, gathered round and listened. After answering his questions, I remarked that dress, and food, and a country's currency, whether of copper, or silver, or gold, were not very important; that I came over the sea to 'this side'—as they distinguish their own from Western countries, calling the latter 'that side'—to talk of more important matters than dress, or food, or money, or any such thing; that I came to speak of 'heaven's great doctrine,' and therein of Jesus, the great publisher and great subject of this doctrine. And then, in brief terms, but clearly, as I hoped, I set before them sin,

and God and man, by this sin separated, but made one by Jesus Christ bearing our sins, and wiping them away—I say, in brief terms, for I had to attend to the weighing and changing of my money. When that was done, I again resumed my discourse for a short time, presented a New Testament to an old, venerable-looking man who stood by, and left the shop.

"Returning down the South Street towards my residence—as I had come up it I had thought, 'Well, this is too noisy and too crowded: one could not preach here: it would be a very good place, an admirable place, for a chapel; but one could not preach here in the open street: the press is too great, and the cries and noises too many.' These had been my thoughts on going up the street; but, as I returned down it, a man, leaning over the counter of a wine-shop, seeing my blue bag, said, 'Have you books?' And, on my answering in the affirmative, rejoined, 'Give me a volume.' By this time I was advanced close to his counter, and said to him, 'But why do you want a volume? do you know what doctrine it teaches?' 'Yes, the doctrines of Jesus,' said he. 'Well,' I said, 'I will enunciate to you some of the doctrines of Jesus, if you are willing to hear.' And, without giving him the book immediately, I began to tell him and his fellow-shopman, and some by-standers outside, a few of the great and glorious truths, which, rightly received, are able to make men wise unto salvation. Soon I heard a feeble voice close at my left

hand, inquiring, in apparently earnest tones, whether Jesus was still alive; and, turning, found they proceeded from a very old and emaciated-looking man, who, by his pitiably-poor and age-weary look, might reasonably put himself forward as one interested in a doctrine which spoke of a place where are the riches of everlasting pleasures, and where age and decay are unknown. Of course this question gave me an admirable starting-point; and I declared to them, in no diffident terms I imagine, the eternal majesty of Him, 'who liveth and was dead, and, behold, He is alive for evermore.' O that that old man, apparently on the very brink of eternity, might have known truly, in heart, and conscience, and full affection, that great and gracious One who said, 'He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die!' Death shall be nothing to him: its sting is gone: it is but a blissful sleep, to wake in regions of eternal joy.

"After talking some time at this spot, and gradually turning away from the shop to address more audibly the now greatly-increased crowd, I acceded to the proposition of a barber, who was plying his trade at my left hand, and whose business was somewhat incommode by the numbers of my auditory, and mounted a low stone breastwork which he pointed out to me on the opposite side of the road. Hither came all my previous audience, and more added themselves besides, for their standing-place was larger. And here, in the main street of Fuh-chau, for as long a time as my voice would hold out in that open and noisy place, did I continue to address them, stimulated every now and then by some question put to me by one among the listeners, and unfolding to them, as well as my yet narrow vocabulary would permit, the fearful truths of judgment and eternity; and inviting them, while yet it was to-day, while yet the grave had not shut its mouth upon them, to seek the Saviour Christ Jesus. I gave only one book, to a well-dressed literary-looking man, at this place, besides the one, i. e., that I left in the shop where I began my discourse, for the crowd was so dense, and it was utterly beyond my power to put the books into the hands of those to whom I wished them to come, viz. the more educated-looking among them. It was very pleasing, however, to see how perfectly free they were from any inclination to violence. In the very midst of the uproar, when a hundred hands were uplifted, and a hundred voices were shouting for a volume, and man and boy were pressing forward, and almost tumbling one over the other, in their eagerness to get

the first chance of the coveted treasure, immediately I said, quietly but firmly, that I would give no book more at that place, and proceeded to step down from my eminence among the people, they at once made way: not a hand was raised to take a volume from my bag. With the exception of a few who accompanied me along the street, talking quietly and courteously to me, they dispersed, and the stream of noise, and talk, and traffic, resumed its usual current through the ever-busy South Street.

"The man to whom I had given the volume, which was the New Testament, was one of those who accompanied me, and I employed the opportunity, that his prolonged presence gave, to enforce upon him the propriety of taking the book home, and quietly and carefully perusing it, assuring him that thus he could acquaint himself more fully with the doctrines of Jesus.

"Turning out of the South Street, when a little beyond the Confucian temple, I walked leisurely on homeward, somewhat wearied and lowered in voice-power by my late exertion. But meeting several people with books in their hands, which I conjectured to have been given to them by my colleague, Mr. M'Caw, and which, on examination, I found to be really so—meeting these, I could not forbear taking a volume from the hand of a young man who held it, and, questioning him as to the doctrine it taught. This soon brought a crowd about me, and the conversation and address from me which ensued was to me the most pleasing I had been engaged in that day. The first person that markedly engaged my attention was a tall, handsome-looking, well-dressed young man, who undertook, it would appear, to roast me a little for the amusement of the bystanders. 'And this Jesus,' he began, 'if a man believes in Him he'll go to heaven, will he?' 'Yes, if he truly believes in Him, and so hates sin, which Jesus' soul hateth, trusting to His merits only, he will go to heaven.' 'Oh!' and a scornful smile played over his features the while, and I could see his side-look of ridicule to those beside him—'Oh! and what must we do, if we believe in Jesus? what must we do? What must our course of conduct be?' There, I fancy, he considered that he had puzzled me, for his laugh was peculiarly joyous, and his side-wink to the bystanders exceedingly triumphant. But I told him that I would answer him very quickly, if he would listen. 'First, I said, 'let the heart within think good thoughts. Jesus knows the thoughts, and all those who profess faith in Him must purify their thoughts. Secondly, let the mouth speak good and holy words,

no falsehood, no wicked, no reviling words. [Here the Chinese offend grievously.] Thirdly, let the hand occupy itself in good deeds, not in stealing, not in fighting, not in injuring men.' As I gave him these three divisions of the conduct to be observed by those who wished to believe in Jesus, his face became more serious. My positions were founded on principles which he himself and his countrymen could not deny to be good. He turned his head and looked behind him when I uttered the first, as if he were looking for somebody coming up in that direction; but really, if my thoughts misled me not, in a certain measure of disappointment, that my answer gave him so little handle for ridicule. I called to him to listen to me again, when he turned his head away, and gave him my second branch of Christian duty, and afterwards my third.

"Another man, apparently a tradesman, brought an argument against both the power and benevolence of Jesus, and this scornfully and mockingly. Being of humble grade, his thoughts occupied with things material, he said, 'I think that Jesus should make rice cheaper, that the people, now but scantily fed, might eat.' 'Why,' I said, 'if men were dealt with according to their deserts, it would be still dearer even than now. You say Jesus should make rice cheaper. I answer, that, if He willed, He could do so.' He had the power, I continued: the fields were His, and the seed was His, and the rain was His, and the sun was His, and the winds were His; and, if He pleased, He could increase the rice greatly. But why increase it? To give it to wicked and sinful men. Nay, I thought rather, that the mouth that had uttered wicked words to day should, by right, receive no rice into it at all to-day. 'If you were all good,' I went on, 'if all your hearts thought good thoughts, if all your mouths uttered good words, if all your hands did good actions, Jesus, who is very God, maker of heaven and earth, would make the rice more abundant, and your sufferings less.' Thus is it, then—in the back-room away from the street, on the front-shop threshold, in the open glare, and toil, and bustle of the main street, in the by-lane, in the little bay by the street side, where a wall perhaps recedes, and gives standing room, in each and every place, by God's mercy, we are permitted and privileged to preach the everlasting gospel. And may the brethren at home pray for us without ceasing, that the word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified.

"Dec. 17.—This afternoon, about 3 P.M., I went down with ten Shanghai New Testaments in my bag. First I directed my steps to the 'Au-kuang-kaing-seng,' to the shop of a

printer of the name of Sie, to whom I had to pay 30,000 cash for printing the Scriptures. When this business was concluded, coming out of his shop-door, I gave a book to a scholarly-looking man who stood by; and, holding a short conversation with him as he accompanied me along the street, I found that he was indeed a literary man, for that he was studying in a temple dedicated to literature on our own Black Stone Hill.

"I walked on up the back street to another printer's, to whom, also, I had to pay money, and also for the Bible Society, greeted everywhere by cries and inquiries for books, and repetitions of the name of Jesus. Leaving this second printer's shop, I continued on up Back Street, looking out for some convenient spot to take my stand in, and gather an audience. I turned in under a gateway, thinking the place convenient, but scarcely expecting to have any one to listen to me there, for there were no people in it at the time of my entrance. However, I had no sooner taken a book from my bag, and presented it to a grave, elderly-looking man whom I saw approaching, than, almost immediately, I found two or three more about me, eager to the highest for books. I did not give them immediately. 'Why do you want them?' I said. 'Do you know what they contain?' 'No: how can we without seeing them?' 'But perhaps they contain bad business, and then it would do you no good to read them.' 'Well, will you let us hear some of their doctrines, that we may know them?' 'Yes, most willingly.' And by this time thirty or more had gathered; so I was very willing to declare my doctrines to them, and began at once. Thus an audience is gathered, and a very rapid process it is; and very patient and polite they generally are. I spoke here at considerable length, with some few laughers, but the majority serious and attentive, and evidently, by the way in which they would repeat some of my previous words to a new comer, not having lost all my assertions. But the most difficult thing is about the books. Whenever there seems to be any movement on my part towards opening my bag, they become wild with eagerness. Here I had, with some difficulty, given three volumes to three individuals to whom I wished to give them; but eventually they almost pressed upon me, to take them by violence, so I broke up the assembly, and went to another place.

"At this second place I had a smaller but more manageable audience, to whom I gave a short address; in the course of which a man on the edge of the crowd called to me, and asked me how much silver he should get by joining this sect. Of course I told him, none; but

that, if he joined it truly, in an honest and good heart, he would obtain heaven, far better than all silver. I left them shortly after, as it was growing dark; and it was curious to observe how much interest already had been excited in this part of the city. 'Books, books,' was the cry everywhere; and I could hear one little boy repeating to a man with whom he was walking some of my remarks respecting the sin of using bad language in the streets. Many shouted, as I thought in ridicule, 'Jesus,' 'Jesus,' 'Jesus is very high.' And, in addition to our common name of 'foreign child,' I heard one person calling after me, 'Jesus's foreign child.' So that that wondrous name has already begun its progress here; now in shame and contumely, but to end, we hope, in the mouths of many at least, in glory and reverence.

"Dec. 18.—Went down to day, but not before prayer; and never may I go before prayer, never without pleading with the Almighty God, the Lord of hosts, to be with me! Moses' God, who maketh dumb and deaf, and seeing and blind, to be with my mouth, and teach me what I shall say; Jeremiah's God, to put forth His hand, and touch my mouth, and to put His words into my mouth! He knoweth Chinese, though I know it not; for all nations, tongues, and languages, are His; and He can be with my mouth, to speak this strange language, even as He was with Moses' mouth, to speak his native language. 'Not by might, nor by power,' I read yesterday, 'but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.' And I remembered him who was among those he spoke to, 'in weakness, and fear, and much trembling;' and his God, 'whose strength is made perfect in weakness.' And so I went down, my blue bag, containing New Testaments, hanging from my hand, and receiving continual salutations from each side of the street, some merely calling 'Huang kiang,' (Foreign child), or 'Sieng sang,' (Teacher), while others asked for books, and begged an exposition of doctrine. I took up a new position, that I had never occupied before, in a street turning to the right, out of Back Street. In this street itself there were not many persons passing to and fro, but they soon gathered; and from one man, to whom I first began my discourse, they soon became forty or fifty. As often happens, there was one man who undertook to make sport for the rest, interrogating me on the various points of doctrine that I enunciated, the resurrection, admission into heaven, and the omniscient quality of the God I proclaimed. On all these topics he had some half-serious, half-mocking query to put, but by no means to my regret; for we know so well whom we have believed, we are assured

so unwaveringly, that 'our God is in the heavens,' while 'their idols are silver and gold,' that opposition and mocking interrogatories only serve to nerve us to the contest. And, moreover, a man like him I have just mentioned probably only represents, plainly spoken out, the inward feelings of many of the audience; and so the occasion is most opportune of satisfying doubts, and removing objections. 'What! there is but one, you say, this Jehovah, this Jesus; and you bid us pray to Him, and seek His help, and His protection; and He, one, can hear the prayers, and attend to the wants, of these countless multitudes of men? Never!' And then, of course, I can, as far as my language extends, dwell upon the infinite wonders of our God and our Redeemer; how He compasseth our path, and our lying down, and is acquainted with all our ways: how there is not a word in our tongue, but, lo, He knoweth it altogether; how from His Spirit we cannot go, and from His presence we cannot flee. If we ascend up into heaven, He is there; if we make our bed in hell, He is there also: if we take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there His hand shall lead us, and His right hand shall hold us. 'But believers in Jesus will go to heaven, will they? and you are a believer in Jesus, and you'll go to heaven; and when will you go to heaven?' 'And let me also ask you one question. Your death-day, when will that be? Know you, or not? Neither know I when I shall go to heaven; but yet I believe, humbly trusting in the alone merits of my Saviour, and eschewing mine own wickedness, that I shall go there.' And then I tell them how it remaineth unto men once to die, and after that the judgment, when all that are in the graves shall hear His voice—His voice, the voice of that Jesus whom they know now so imperfectly, and know, many of them, only to smile at His name; and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.

"Oh, it's a piteous thought to think how, in going through this large city, with its teeming myriads, and preaching, perhaps, scarcely twice in the same place, and never twice to the same audience—to think how many of these may hear our words but once, for the first time and the last; how those faces that now look and listen for our words—the fixed, unmoving, saddened face of age, feeble, dimmed, subdued, and the bright, joyous, ever-varying gaze of smooth-cheeked youth—how they may go, and hear these things no more, and remember them only, in after years, as things to ridicule; when they shall

tell their friends how the strange-faced foreigner came and stood in their street, and how he told of one Jesus, who had been dead, but whom now he affirmed to be alive, and would come again and call all nations, even China, and their own province, and their own city, to appear before Him for judgment. I shall not easily forget the question of one bright-eyed boy, 'What! shall He come to Fuh-kien, and shall our eyes see Him?' 'Oh, yes, your eyes, your very own, shall behold Him;' and a deeper shade of sorrow came over me as I thought that eyes so bright as those that now beamed and sparkled before me should see Him, not in peace, but in wrath, and should be among the kindreds that should wail because of Him. 'Well, then, do all your own kingdom's people believe in Jesus?' And now what answer could I give to this? I would ask my countrymen, I would ask those to whom these lines may come, What answer could I honestly and fairly give to such a question as that I have just recorded above? O that they did! A Missionary would then come out armed even with new boldness: he could then, if such an inquiry were made of him, answer, 'O yes; they have all accepted this great salvation: day by day their prayers ascend to the Almighty Father, perfumed by the fragrance of Jesu's merits, and inspired by the all-helping Spirit. They live on earth, but their hearts are in heaven, whence they look for the Saviour to come and gather them thither to Him, into His eternal mansions: and nothing is heard or seen among them in discordance with the holy place their hopes look forward to; no obscene or angry language in their streets, as here; no deceit, no violence, no pride, no envy, no fornication or uncleanness. If I could have said this, how would my hearers have been transported at such a happy picture, and said, 'Oh, let us come and put our trust in this great and good God, who can thus bless His worshippers!'

"Dec. 20—To-day again went down into the streets to repeat my small attempt at preaching. Once, during the morning, before I went down, the thought came before me so vividly of my exceeding inaptitude for such a work, my yet lamentably scanty stock of words, my still scantier power of idiomatic construction of sentences, my far from perfect utterance of the tones—joined with all which, too, I reflected on the exceeding dissimilarity of the modes of thought of the people of this land and of my own land—and the result of the whole on my mind was, 'Oh, how can I go? How can I possibly stand there by a wall-side, with a hundred staring Chinamen about me, and exhibit to them all my imper-

fections, and lay before them my uncouth modes of thought? How can I do this?' But yet, with all these thoughts, I did not for a moment say, 'Shall I stay? Shall I omit to go?' We have such a strong helper. We who serve the Lord Jesus Christ, feel that there is no difficulty that, at His command—plainly given—we could not attempt. 'He girdeth me with strength,' says David, 'and maketh my way perfect. He teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight, so that a bow of steel is broken by mine hands.' And exults, saying, 'By Thee have I run through a troop, and by my God have I leaped over a wall. For who is God, save the Lord? or who is a rock, save our God?'

"So I went down at my usual time, 3 P.M., after my labours with my teacher were over. Happier than usual, I felt, as I rose from prayer previous to my leaving the house, calm, deep peace within; no exulting, but a sober, chastened joy. How light seemed the taunts and cries as I passed along in my scorned garb and with my hated foreign mien! I was the messenger of the Lord of hosts, however unworthy in myself; and the blue bag that hung from my right hand contained the precious word of life, the which, if they I went to speak to should but eat, they should live for ever. I knew not whither to bend my steps: I never know precisely where to take my stand. To my timid, carnal heart all places seem equally unfit: they all contain the haughty, supercilious man of wealth or learning, in his shining silk and satin, and the rude, noisy shopboy and artisan, with his ready word of ridicule; but, also, all, to the eye of faith, are fit.

"To-day I turned in under a narrow archway that formed the entrance to a side street, not knowing how I should commence a conversation. At first, no one seemed to come near. The street was not much frequented itself, though abutting on one of a very crowded character. When I had walked on into it about twenty yards and looked this way and that way, up and down the street, to spy whom I could address myself to, none presented themselves to my view but three young boys, who seemed much interested in my appearance, but looked afraid to approach. I came to the conclusion that, this time, I had come into too retired a locality, and began to move towards the archway, and seek again the main street; but in the archway, lingering a little, and looking about, I spied an image of a man, evidently an idol, and under it three characters written, 'Ang Ming Li,' (People's-Peace Place.) I asked, for the sake of opening a conversation, a man who entered the archway at that mo-

ment, what the three characters meant. He told me, and added, 'It is Buddh. It is he that giveth peace.' I seized the opportunity to say that I had books which spoke of peace and glad tidings; and, taking one out of my bag, I gave it to him, and pointed his attention to the title of the first section, viz. Matthew.

"The character which is used to render 'gospel' into Chinese is peculiarly dear to every Chinaman's heart, and especially, if possible, dearest to the natives of this province, and this its chief city, for it enters into the composition of the name of each. The first syllable, both in Fuh-chau and Fuh-kien, is also the first syllable in the Chinese phrase for 'gospel.' 'Gospel' is with them 'Fuh-yin;' and this character 'Fuh' is, of all characters in their language, the most frequent on the walls and doors of the houses of this city. Whether it be so in other cities I know not; but here you can walk nowhere but you see 'Fuh,' on the lintel, on the side-posts, on the lantern that hangs between, scrawled in charcoal on the plaster of the wall-tower, or graved deep in giant strokes on the huge granite masses upheaved within the city. It is an introduction, therefore, at once to the word 'gospel,' that it has this happy, fortunate character in its composition. A Chinaman's eye cannot fall on that blissful character of 'Fuh' without glistening with delight. Of course he does not know the good the gospel tells of—his good is only of this life; but to me it seems to form an admirable point of approach to a Chinaman's affections, when you can point to your book, and say, 'Look, it tells of Fuh,' bliss, good fortune, happiness; and then to tell him what is real bliss, and whence real happiness can come.

"The man to whom I gave the book—a New Testament—and to whom I did not fail to point out this attractive character on the title-page of its first section, seemed very pleased, and stayed with me almost the whole time that I was

discoursing in that place; for I did discourse, and had a large audience. They gathered just as you see a London crowd gather about some incident of unusual character: first two or three came; presently others came, attracted by the previous comers; and the street was full. Twice I moved my standing-place to admit of more approaching; and twice my hearers followed me, eager and delighted: but, on the whole, it was the most trying time I have yet had. First I was incommoded by a number of very young boys, who got in just about my legs, and, too young to be interested in the topics I was discussing, were keeping a perpetual noise with their shrill voices, quarrelling with one another about standing-room. This forced me to louder efforts, that my voice might not be altogether drowned; and I felt my lips flagging in their power of articulation, and my throat becoming dry. Again, some unlucky man started a topic on which a Chinaman is always interested to the very depths of his heart, and on which his tongue is inexhaustible in its eloquence and volubility, viz. rice, and its dearness, and the difficulty of procuring it. What his exact line of argument was I had not knowledge of the language enough to tell; but that which I have mentioned was his text, and his words found an echo in every heart. And as he was, in some measure, opposing me, though not scornfully or flippantly, I was, for a time, silenced, and could get no hearing. The bystanders nodded, and laughed, and shouted their approbation of his remarks, and more than one began to add to them, and enforce them further. The boys, taking advantage of this my temporary inability to get a hearing, clamoured for books most deafeningly; and one, when their demand was not gratified, took the opportunity of my head being turned to strike the bag out of my hand to the ground. The older people, when I spoke of this conduct as a breach of politeness, assented, and blamed the offenders.

THE BLACK-TEA DISTRICTS OF CHINA.

HITHERTO, the action of the civil war in China has not been such as very seriously to interfere with European commerce. It is now, however, advancing towards the coast, and this favourable state of things cannot be expected to continue. The western portions of Fokien are already in the hands of the insurgents, and the mountain-passes between Kiangsi and Chekeang have been occupied by them. They are thus masters of the very route by which supplies of tea are conveyed from the great tea-growing districts to the coast, and the last mail from China informs

us that the effects of this have been already felt. The remittances of treasure usually made in the earlier part of the year from Shanghai and Fuh-chau to the tea districts have been brought back to the foreign houses by the Chinese merchants, who have found it impossible, in consequence of the prevailing panic, to induce the people to trade.

A little exposition of the geographical features of this portion of China will better enable our readers to understand the precise position of affairs.

A spur of the Himalaya, entering the empire "in the western province of Yunnan, runs along the north of Kwang se and Kwan tung; then bends northward by the back of Fokien, and ultimately crosses the province of Chekeang by the city of Ningpo into the sea." The pass through the mountain barrier which affords communication between Kiangsi and Chekeang is named Chang yuh shan, deriving its name from two mountains, one in each of the two provinces, Chang-shán in Chekeang, and Yuh-shán in Kiangsi. Contiguous to these mountains are two cities of the same name. Their latitudes are as follows—

Chang-shán hien	{	lat. 28° 55' N.
	{	long. 118° 40' E.
Yuh-shán hien	{	lat. 28° 45' N.
	{	long. 118° 28' E.

"It thus appears that the distance between these cities is only ten miles in latitude, and twelve in longitude; the two mountains rising in the intermediate space, and together forming part and parcel of the long and elevated range that constitutes the line of demarcation between the two provinces." On the summit of that range is the Chang yuh shan pass.

A few miles above the city of Chekeang a river rises, and, with the usual characters of a mountain stream, runs easterly, until, about a mile above the city of Chu-chu-foo, it is joined by another river, from the south-west, which has its source on the northern side of the Fokien mountains. The united stream, still narrow and rapid, and resembling "a country river in England, with the trees and bushes dipping their branches in the stream," pursues an easterly course for ninety le, passing by a small place called Long yeou, and, after ninety le more, reaching the city Nan-che. This is described by Fortune as one of the prettiest Chinese towns which he had seen, reminding him more of an English place than a Chinese one. "The houses are generally two-storied, and have a clean and neat appearance. It is built along the bank of the river," which is covered with boats that are constantly plying between it and Yen-chow, Hang-chow, and many other towns, both to the east and west. The vale of Nan-che, through which the course of the river has hitherto lain, is said to be very beautiful. "It is surrounded by hills, dotted over with clumps of pine, cypress, and camphor-trees, traversed by a branching and winding river, and extremely fertile. The tallow-tree is cultivated in great abundance; in many places indeed the lowland is nearly covered with it." "The camphor-tree is very numerous, and attains a large size." The vale yields crops of wheat and barley; and

quantities of buckwheat, Indian corn, millet, and soy, may be seen growing in the fields. The river now flows in a north-easterly direction, the hills gradually falling back, and the lowlands becoming broader, until the old city of Yen-chow is reached, a little below which the river is joined by another stream from the north-west, which has its rise in the hills of Hwuy-chow, and the united stream, after the confluence, becomes the Green River, which falls into the sea a little below Hang-chow, and forms "the highway, or chief road from the northern parts of Fokien, as well as from Kiangsi and Hwuy-chow,* to the large towns of Hang-chow, Sú-chow, and Shanghai, on the eastern coast, nearly all the black and green teas of commerce, which are exported from northern China, coming down this way." It is navigable in boats from Chang-shán to the sea.†

The position which that city occupies invests it with considerable importance, although it has no trade of its own. Hence it is full of "hongs, inns, tea-shops, and warehouses, for the accommodation of travellers, coolies, and merchandize, the latter being chiefly the black teas of Fokien and Moning."‡

Starting from Chang-shán, let us now cross the pass into Kiangsi. The road, "well paved with granite, about twelve feet in width," indicates, by its perfect freedom from weeds, the constant traffic that prevails; and soon long trains of coolies appear, loaded with tea for Hang-chow and Shanghai, there to be sold to the English and American merchants. Some, also, are on their way back from Chang-shán, carrying into the interior foreign imports, &c. The road, gradually ascending, leads up between two hills, until the pass is barred from hill to hill by "a strong wall, not unlike the ramparts of a city," a huge stone gateway occupying the centre, with a military station on either side. Passing through this, the traveller enters Kiangsi. The ridge which divides the streams flowing eastward from those flowing westward having been surmounted, the views of the country become more extensive, until,

* The Hwuy-chow district, upwards of 200 miles inland from either of the northern ports of Shanghai or Ningpo, is the great green-tea country.

† The quotations are from Fortune's "Wanderings in China."

‡ The fine Moning districts, near the Poyang lake, are daily rising in importance on account of the superior character of their black teas. Formerly they produced green teas only. Black or green tea, according to Fortune, may be made from the same plant, the difference in colour depending on manipulation. For convenience' sake the two teas are seldom made in the same district.

after a journey of thirty miles from Chang-shán, the town of Yuk-shan is reached. This place, a walled town of considerable size, like Chang-shán, "stands at the head of a navigable river (the Kin-keang). All the merchandize of the Bohea mountains, and of the countries east of the Poyang lake, which is destined for Hang-chow, Shanghai, &c., is landed here, to be carried across to Chang-shán by coolies." Down the stream a boat conveys the traveller rapidly to Quan-sin-foo, a distance of 90 or 100 le, and thence, still in a westerly direction, about the same distance to Hokow, one of the most important inland towns in the empire, situated in latitude 29° 54' north, and in longitude 116° 18' east. "It is the great emporium of the black-tea trade. Merchants from all parts of China come here, either to buy teas, or to get them conveyed to other parts of the country. Large inns, tea-hongs, and warehouses, are met with in every part of the town, and particularly along the banks of the river. The boats moored abreast of the town are very numerous. There are small ones for single passengers, large passage-boats for the public, and mandarins' boats, gaily decorated with flags. Besides these, there are large cargo-boats, for conveying tea and other merchandize, either eastward to Yuk-shan, or westward to the Poyang lake. Hokow is to the inland countries of the west, what Shanghai and Soo-chow are to places nearer the sea."*

The importance of the Chang-yuh shan pass is evidently very great. It is now threatened by, if not in the possession of, the insurgents. They have driven the emperor's officers and soldiers from nearly all the cities of Kiangsi; and once over the ridge, and through the pass, the numerous cities, rich, but poorly fortified, scattered over Chekeang, will be completely at their mercy. It appears, from the "Pekin Gazette" of March 2d, that Tsang kwoh-fán, who in command of a division of the imperial army was charged with the defence of the Chang-yuh pass, has solicited and obtained furlough for one month, on the plea of sore eyes. Probably he has been quicksighted enough to see that his position was about to be attacked, and, having no confidence in himself or his soldiery, has thus evaded an unenviable notoriety. Commandants in China not unfrequently forget to return when their furlough is expired, if their fears or interest suggest such a course.

Between Kiangsi and the black-tea country of Fokien lies another bustling thoroughfare of the same kind as that which threads

the Chang-yuh shan pass, the route lying through the midst of the Bohea mountains, which rise to a height of 8000 or 8000 feet above the sea level. In the hill districts by which the central range is approached the tea plantations appear in great abundance, "dotted on the lower sides of all the fertile hills." The mountains themselves are described by Fortune as presenting one of the grandest sights he ever beheld, "their tops piercing through the lower clouds, and showing themselves far above. They seemed to be broken up into thousands of fragments, some of which had the most remarkable and striking outlines." "Strange rocks, like gigantic statues of men or various animals, appeared to crown the heights, and made the view most remarkable." At the foot of the central and highest range the ascent commences toward the mountain pass, "the road being about six feet wide, and paved with granite." It leads round the sides of the mountains, gradually rising higher and higher, until, on rounding one of the upper windings, "a view of the pass itself, in the highest range, is presented. This is much lower than any other part of the range, and consequently has the mountains rising high on each side of it." At last are reached "the celebrated gates or huge doors which divide the provinces of Fokien and Kiangsi. The pillars of these gates have been formed by nature, and are nothing less than the everlasting hills themselves." Beyond, on the Fokien side, "high ranges of mountains tower on the right and left;" while onward, as far as the eye can reach, the whole country seems broken up into mountains and hills of all heights, with peaks of every form." About thirty le from the pass there is reached a small town, called Ching-hu, "on the banks of a stream, which gradually swells as it glides onward, until it becomes the noble river that is seen at Fuh-chau fuh." As the descent is made from the higher districts to the hills, the great black-tea country of Fokien is reached, in the midst of which, lat. 27° 47' 38" north, the town of Tsong-gan-hien is situated, "where nearly all the teas of the district are packed and prepared for exportation." This is a great tea emporium. Merchants from all parts of China, sea coast and interior, resort hither to purchase; and here the coolies, who thread the mountain-passes in continuous numbers, receive their loads.

Forty or fifty le further on lie the far-famed Woo-e-shan, "a collection of little hills, none of which appear to be more than a thousand feet high. They have a singular appearance. Their faces are nearly all perpendicular rock. It appears as if they had been thrown up by

* Fortune's "Tea Districts of China and India," vol. ii. p. 160.

some great convulsion of nature to a certain height, and as if some other force had then drawn the tops of the whole mass slightly backwards, breaking it up into a thousand hills. By some agency of this kind it might have assumed the strange forms which were now before me.

"Woo-e-shan is considered by the Chinese to be one of the most wonderful, as well as one of the most sacred, spots in the empire. One of their manuscripts, quoted by Mr. Ball, thus describes it—"Of all the mountains of Fokien, those of Woo-e are the finest, and its water the best. They are awfully high and rugged, surrounded by water, and seem as if excavated by spirits: nothing more wonderful can be seen. From the dynasty of Csin and Han, down to the present time, a succession of hermits and priests, of the sects of Tao-cze and Fo, have here risen up like the clouds of the air and the grass of the field, too numerous to enumerate. Its chief renown, however, is derived from its productions, and of these tea is the most celebrated."*

This romantic locality is full of monasteries. "The Buddhist priesthood seem always to have selected the most beautiful spots for the erection of their temples and dwellings. Many of these places owe their chief beauty to the protection and cultivation of trees. The wood near a Buddhist temple in China is carefully protected, and hence a traveller can always distinguish their situation, even when some miles distant."† A small footpath, cut out of the rock, and leading over almost inaccessible places, is often the only approach to these sequestered abodes, up which the traveller has to scramble on his hands and knees. At length, on the hill top, is revealed a rich, luxuriant spot; a temple, a collection of temples, "situated on the sloping side of a small valley or basin," which seems "as if it had been scooped out for the purpose." At the bottom of the basin a lake is seen "glistening through the trees, and covered with the famous lien-wha, or *Nelumbium*, a plant held in high esteem and veneration by the Chinese, and always met with in the vicinity of Buddhist temples." The tea shrub holds its place on every suitable spot, an object of most careful cultivation. "In truth, the good priests seem to pay more attention to the cultivation and manufacture of tea than to the rites of their peculiar faith." Everywhere, in front of their dwellings, "bamboo framework is

erected to support the sieves, which, when filled with leaves, are exposed to the sun and air," priests and servants being all "busily employed in the manipulation of the leaf."

"These rocks consist of clay slate, in which occur, embedded in the form of beds or dykes, great masses of quartz rock, while granite of a deep black colour, owing to the mica, which is of a fine deep bluish-black, cuts through them in all directions. This granite forms the summit of most of the principal mountains in this part of the country.

"Resting on this clay slate are sandstone conglomerates, formed principally of angular masses of quartz, held together by a calcareous basis; and alternating with these conglomerates there is a fine calcareous granular sandstone, in which beds of dolomitic limestone occur. The geologist will thus see what a strange mixture forms part of these huge rocks of Woo-e-shan, and will be able to draw his own conclusions."

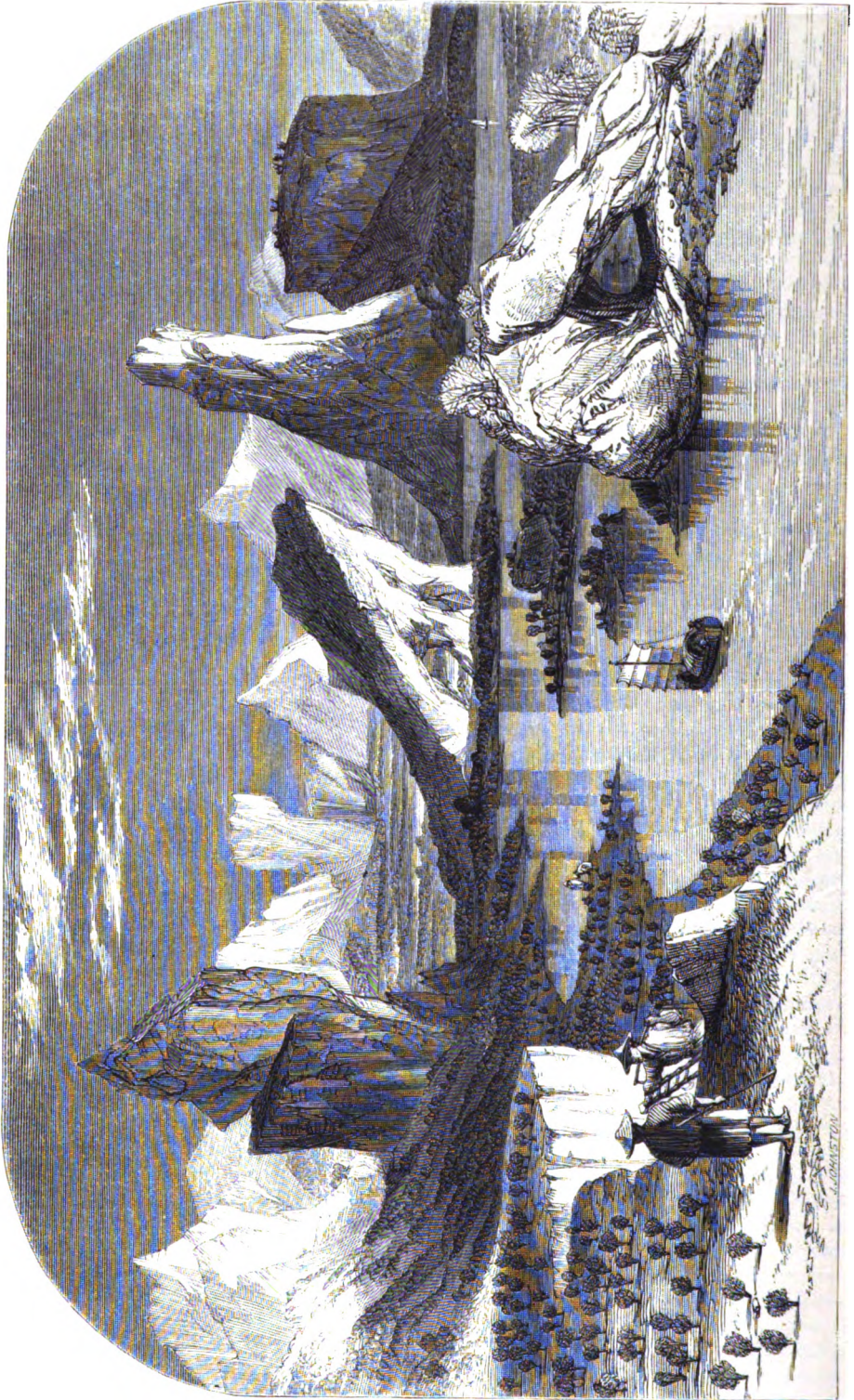
There is little doubt that these mountain passes are in the possession of the insurgents. They have broken through the defiles of the Bohea mountains, and have occupied the western portions of the Fokien province.

The Kwantung province is threatened from another direction, not from Kiangsi, but from Kwansi. The insurgents of that province are said to be of the original Taeping stock, i.e. of the Shangtekwy, or God-worshippers. Kweiling-fuh, the capital of Kwansi, noted for the strength of its fortifications, which, at the commencement of the disturbances, had been long and unsuccessfully besieged by them, has become theirs. Having thus consolidated their power in that province, they have broken into Kwantung, and have seized Fatshan, the chief emporium of the southern tea-trade. The leader, Le, who performed this exploit, encouraged by the tidings of troubles at Canton with the English, has, it is said, raised an army in Kwangsi of more than 60,000. With this overpowering force, advancing down the river, he has taken Yungluen, Tekheng, and Seuheng, all in Kwantung province, and is supposed to be making his way to Canton.

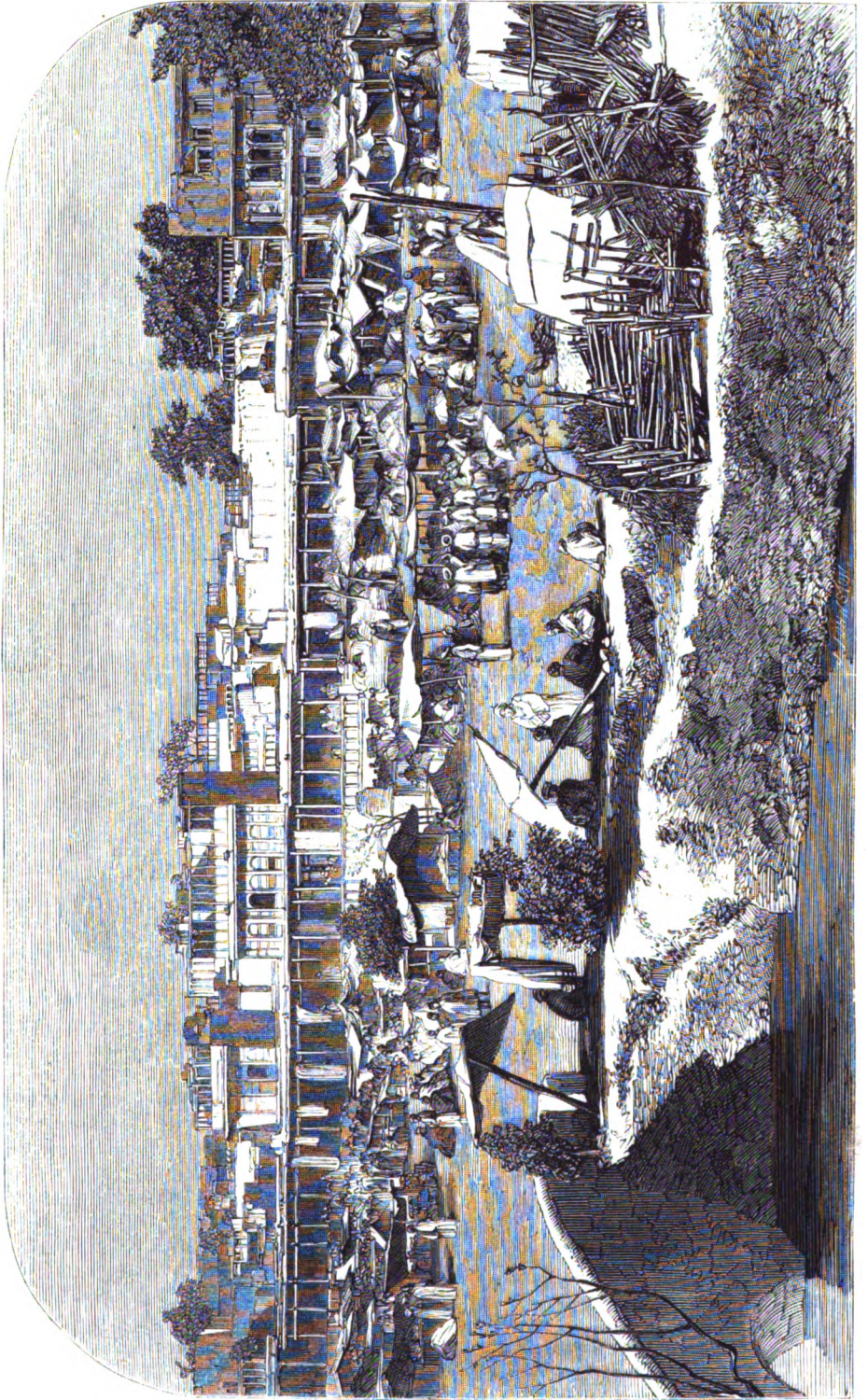
It would thus appear that the various bodies of the insurgents are now operating amidst the tea-producing districts, and, in possession of the passes, are in a position to cut off to a great extent the usual supplies from Shanghai, Ningpo, and Fuh-chau, as well as Canton. Such an interruption, it may be hoped, will not be of long duration. So valuable a traffic will soon re-organize itself, and very probably help to bring us into direct communication with the Shangtekwy.

* Fortune, vol. ii. pp. 186, 187.

† *Ibid.* p. 189.



WOO-E-SHAN, OR BOHEA HILLS, FOKIEN.



MARKET-PLACE, PESHAWAR.—From a Photograph.

MISSIONARY ADDRESS, DELIVERED AT OXFORD, BY THE REV.
R. CLARK, OF PESHAWAR, MAY 29, 1857.

I APPEAR before you, my dear friends, as a Missionary to the heathen who has lately returned from his labours abroad to his native land. The country which I have been led, in the providence of God, to minister in, has been the Punjáb and Peshawar, where I have been for the last five years, and to which I hope shortly to return. I need hardly say that I feel deeply the state of heathen and Mohammedan countries abroad, and feel also the great and peculiar claims which they have on our church at home. In thinking of it, the subject comes before me with all its momentous importance; and involves so many particulars—it seems to be so vast, and so comprehensive—that, rather than trust to memory to retain the many topics which deserve especial notice, I have preferred to depart from the customary way of an extempore address, and rather to commit to writing what I should wish to say, in the hope that it may fix a stronger impression on the mind than otherwise might be the case.

The city of Peshawar is situated in the north-west corner of our Indian possessions. It formerly belonged to Afghanistan, and the language, religion, and customs, of that country still remain in it. It lies in a large valley, almost entirely surrounded with hills, just across the river Indus; and, as a very large and influential city situated at the boundary point between the hills and the plains, and between India and the various countries beyond it, there is an importance attached to it, both commercially and religiously, which does not exist in other places. The appearance of the people is quite different from that on the opposite bank of the Indus. Their features are strongly marked, and are very similar to those of the Jewish people, and they themselves assert that they are originally of Jewish origin. Their form is manly and athletic, their character is independent and bold, and exactly opposite to the cringing character of the Hindú: at the same time they are intelligent, and many of them well read in Eastern languages, and Arabian and other philosophy. The cantonment of Peshawar is a large one, and contains 10,000 troops: it is situated between the city and the Khyber Pass, and you see the little fort of Sannud guarding that pass's mouth, a little more than twelve miles from the cantonment. The city is very populous, and, together with the cantonment, numbers nearly 90,000 inhabitants. The country is dotted with villages on every side, and both city and valley form

a centre point to which the hill people, and people also from very distant places, constantly resort. The religion of the people, I need hardly say, is Mohammedan, but there are many Hindús mixed up with the population, especially in the city itself. The language of the people generally is Pushtu: the higher and learned classes speak also Persian; and the ordinary language of the city itself is a dialect of the Hindí.

Missionary work in a country such as this can hardly, I think, be fully understood by those who have always lived in a Christian land. Difficulties there are, and great ones too; but let us see wherein the chief difficulty lies. There is a difficulty, certainly, in the acquisition of these strange languages, and in being able to communicate freely with the people in them. But that difficulty it is there, as almost everywhere else, found, can be overcome by diligent study, and most persons can preach to the people in the native languages within two years, or even often considerably less, after their arrival. There is a degree of hardship, too, to be undergone in living year by year in an ungenial climate, and exposed to the heat and great atmospheric changes of a country which is not one's own; but this hardship, too, may be borne, for it is nothing more than every Indian officer and civilian are well content to bear; and it has been proved, that, with common precautions and care, most constitutions, in most places in India, will meet with ordinary health. There is a trial, too, to be endured in the lengthened separation from home comforts, from relatives and friends, and a great and severe trial this is; but experience has proved that friends are raised up for the Missionary in almost every place: that which he has given up is, at any rate in some measure, given to him again; and he often finds those who even supply to him the place of relatives. But the real difficulty, and trial, and danger to the Missionary is distinct from all these. He is living in an enemy's country, where *all* obey him. The enemy is on his own ground: and he seems to feel and to put forth all his strength. The Missionary, too, who has gone forth to withstand him, and to set his captives free, seems to be an especial object for his attacks; and whenever he is betrayed into a want of watchfulness, this seems to be the time of the enemy's assaults. Perhaps words can hardly express the force of his piercing shafts, succeeding each other often with redoubled fury; but most people feel that they have never ex-

perienced the like in their native land. In that country, too, every thing betokens a land of sin, where men are willing bondslaves, and the enemy's strength over them seems, to the outward eye, to be almost unassailable. But even this chief of all difficulties has its good results. When the spirit faints, the Christian Missionary is driven, in perfect weakness, to seek for higher strength than that of man. It is evident that man's power can do nothing here, and he is forced to cast himself before the Lord in constant, humble prayer. The burden is then taken from his mind, and such peace and tranquillity is breathed into his soul, and such confidence and composure is given to him, that removes at once every anxiety. Such seasons are the happiest in the Missionary's career. He is again assured that the promises are true, and that God really does perform His own word; his faith is strengthened by leaning on Him alone; and he learns by experience to apply to Him again in every time of need.

This, then, is the chief difficulty in the Missionary's work. If any are emulous of a place in the Missionary ranks, they must not go forth to it in their own wisdom or strength, for they cannot for one moment stand alone. Before they undertake it, they must cast themselves into the Lord's hands; and then, when the hour of trial comes, whenever old besetting sins, or doubts, which have once acquired force by not having been at once crushed in their bud by faith, again beset the body or the mind, He will not suffer the enemy to triumph over them. They who go forth in simple confidence in Him will certainly conquer and prevail, and wrest from Satan's grasp those souls which are enthralled by his tyranny and might. The scene of their Missionary work will be a scene of continual triumph. Faith is their shield, and by it they will always overcome both sins within and enemies without. If any have faith, then no sense of weakness need hinder them from going forth on this great work. All things are possible to him that believeth, and even mountains of difficulties all become plains.

Yes, this is the true Missionary work. It is not the outward accompanying trials: they are but the accessories, the accidents, as it were, which attend the Missionary's course. The real difficulties are those which are internal and spiritual, which have to do with the invisible mighty powers which oppose him at every step. It is the wrestling with these, and the spoiling them of their prey by the power of God, where *the* difficulty lies. This is the real difficulty and trial of Missionary work. But even this need not discour-

rage him who rests for support on God. He that is with such a labourer is stronger than he that is against him. His master has undertaken to protect and assist him, and to carry him through every difficulty, and to make him more than conqueror through Him; and experience has shown that this promise is true, and that He even stands by and upholds the servant whom He Himself has chosen.

So, then, the thread on which every Missionary plan is strung, either in preparing for it or in prosecuting it—the spring which alone can make this work to prosper and advance—is faith in, and union with, Christ. Whatever is done must be done in Him. All plans, all determinations and decisions, all arrangements, all actions and labours, must, day by day, and hour by hour, be commenced and carried on in Him. This is the secret power, and wisdom, and cause of success, in all efforts to preach the gospel to the heathen.

The first duty on the Missionary's arrival at his foreign sphere of labour is, naturally, to acquire the language, and to become able to communicate his thoughts, and deliver his message, to the people. This may ordinarily be done, I have said, in a year or two years after his arrival. His actual work then commences, and he begins to mark out some plans for himself, and some sphere of action, according to the urgency of the case in his particular Mission, and the peculiar requirements of the country in which he is, or according to his own peculiar talents. And how diversified are the various kinds of Missionary labours, and what versatility of talent is required in them! The studious and contemplative character, as well as the man of action, have each here their respective fields. The plodding and the persevering man, who carries out some work already marked out, and the man of talent, who marks out new labours for himself, have each scope for their most strenuous exertions, which calls forth their every power both of body and of mind, and this, too, in a far greater degree than ordinary ministerial work at home. There are Missionary labours to be carried on in the pulpit and in the bazaar, and that both by public preaching and more private conversations. There are controversial labours in discussing with the opponent both by word of mouth and in writing, and there are experimental labours in awakening and building up the convert. There are literary labours in writing both tracts or larger volumes suited to the class of people for whom they are intended, and also in translating the word of God. There are

labours of body as well as of the mind in itinerating and in nearer or more distant travels; in passing from district to district or country to country; labours of pioneering, and opening out new countries; and labours also of repeatedly travelling over the same district, with the view of thoroughly evangelizing it, and preaching the gospel to every individual in it. There are labours of teaching in the school; labours of catechizing; labours of visiting both heathen and Christians in their own homes; labours of affecting particular individuals or even whole districts; labours, too, of influencing for good a large and most influential European community, as well as the Mohammedan and heathen natives.

We may turn to instances of different kinds of talent, which exemplify almost every branch of Missionary labour, and this will help us in realizing the requirements needed, and the variety and the high degree of talents required. Our thoughts at once turn to individual cases which have gone before, as if to show the way—for we are now no longer in the infancy of Missions, nor are we called now to unknown or to untried enterprises—and we see them, as it were, beckoning with their hands to urge us to follow in their footsteps. Thus we know what Krapf has done for Eastern Africa, and how Livingston has, in a manner, opened out Central Africa. We know how Huc penetrated to Llassa; and if an emissary of a false faith could do this, the messengers of living churches can do more. Are there no countries still remaining on which to plant the standard of the cross? countries which you may perhaps enter if you will, and have the grace given you to be the first to preach there Christ, where He never was named before. Look at Central Asia, stretched out before you, if you are emulous of such labours as these. Or perhaps the talents of some may be of a different order, and they may think it better, as some do, though still desirous of itinerating, to cultivate carefully some heathen district, marked out and made over to him for his especial labours, rather than throw broadcast the seeds of the gospel into unknown wilds. There is here an example in one who is most successfully carrying out this plan in Tinnevely, South India, Mr. Ragland, who, with his two companions, all dear to the University who sent them forth, is accomplishing there great results; and I have lately heard the testimony of the Bishop of that diocese as to the extent of the influence they are there exercising, and the greatness of the work which they are there performing. The Punjáb I would name as especially attractive, both from the character

of the people and the comparative coolness of the climate, for such a work as this; but, instead of one country, almost every heathen land seems prepared to receive evangelists to carry on their work in this manner, and they who feel called to it can have no difficulty in engaging in it in almost any part. Some, again, would desire more stationary work, and delight more in residing in some centre Mission, such as Benares, or Amritsar, or Peshawar, where they could daily preach to large assembled crowds, and often to the same individuals, and might watch daily the power of the gospel as it made for itself a way, and triumphed over error; where they might have disciples near them, taught by them daily, and brought up in the knowledge of Christ; where they might have catechists under them, and send them forth day by day to teach and to preach, and themselves train them to do so efficiently; where they might meet with their little flock gathered out of heathenism, and day after day, and Sunday after Sunday, warn, and exhort, and comfort them. In such a sphere they would combine the Missionary to the heathen with the pastor to the few Christians, perhaps weak ones, whom they had themselves been instrumental in leading to Christ; and social virtues, and the consistency of a holy life, would shine forth as exemplifying the doctrines taught daily from the word of God. We have seen this in the honoured Weitbrecht of Burdwan, and in Johnson of Sierra Leone, and a similar work may be carried on in every heathen city in every part of the world. Or perhaps the talents of some are still of a different order, and they may be fond of the seclusion of the study, and may have had power given them in the arrangement and expression of ideas; and it is to them rather a pleasure than a labour to unravel subtleties and answer objections, or to wield arguments which demolish false principles, showing wherein their error lies, and then to build up truth on solid foundations. And how necessary such literary talents, where the Christian advocate is often compelled to public discussions, or, assuming the initiative, to show the falsity of some particular form of error, either orally or in writing! Such talents are possessed by Dr. Pfander of Peshawar, and have been so well improved by him, that a great deal of the present movement amongst Mohammedans, both in India and in Persia, as far as it there exists, may be traced, to a certain degree, to his most valuable controversial works. I would refer here to the present state of the Mohammedan controversy in all Mohammedan countries, as demanding men of deep

reading and research, and men also of the highest intellectual powers, to carry on that controversy from the point where it at present rests, and with the weapons drawn from history and sound reason, and especially from revelation, to introduce the light of truth into these Mohammedan countries, where their own religion is now rapidly and everywhere losing its power.

There is then, again, another talent, which some possess, of rapidly acquiring languages, and of readily translating the Holy Scriptures and other books into them. Such had Henry Martyn, whose translations into both Persian and Hindustani are still used, and have been so great a means for spreading wide the knowledge of the word of God. There are many now in India who are using this talent, both in preparing new translations and in perfecting old ones already made; and yet there are many new languages with which we are brought into contact, as Missions advance, and there is an immense work in translations which still remains to be prepared.

There is one other kind of talent which still remains to be noticed, and which, though last mentioned, still deserves most especial attention—the talent of diffusing scriptural knowledge by means of education. It is to it that we must look for our future ministers, and native teachers, and preachers, throughout the land. There is a general movement in favour of education now pervading all classes of Indian society. The whole influence of the Indian Government is exerted in favour of it, and very liberal grants are made to promote it. It remains now that this movement in favour of schools be stamped with a Christian impress, and that every modern help and every proper influence that can be obtained be brought to bear upon it. In this way a most powerful engine will be set at work for the evangelizing of the whole people; but if the opportunity be neglected, there will probably be a barrier raised, in the establishment of schools from which the Bible is professedly excluded. We need, then, for India, at the present time, the establishment of more influential Missionary schools, and the efficient maintenance and improvement of those which have been already established. We require that, at any rate, the principal ones be presided over by men of high talent. We require, too, normal schools, to scatter Christian instruction over a thousand districts; and those Missionaries who conduct or superintend such institutions, for a greater or less time, may rest assured that their Missionary influence will be felt amongst the people

most deeply, most extensively, and most permanently. I mention this more especially, as there seems to be an impression amongst many that Missionary work consists only in preaching; but this, too, is preaching in its strictest sense. And if it be a truth that it is a higher office to instruct those who are hereafter to be the instructors of others, than it is to teach the latter people oneself, then assuredly is the work of education, as it now exists in India, one of the greatest and most fruitful fields of Missionary labours. As instances of what has been done, and what may be done, in Christian education, we may look to Dr. Duff, of Calcutta; or, confining ourselves within the limits of our own church, to Mr. French, from this University, now at Agra, and to Mr. Cobb, of the sister University, at Benares. And there are men required at this very time for positions of importance equal to either of these. To enumerate but one, I would instance the Robert-Money School at Bombay, which I have lately visited, as affording opportunities of influence which cannot readily be overrated, and for which our Society is, at this present time, earnestly seeking for a talented and efficient superintendent.

We thus observe, that in the work of Missions every order of talent may find its full scope, and may exert its highest efforts, in the heathen and Mohammedan world; and this, too, I will not hesitate to assert, more effectually, more sensibly, and with a greater amount of good, than in our native land. Be the amount of talent what it may, I most firmly believe that it will have more opportunities of making itself felt for good in the present state of India than in England. If usefulness be coveted, it is to be met with especially there. There are diversities of administration of the one and the same Spirit, giving to every one different talents severally as He will, and almost every one of these talents may be employed in the cause of Missions to their utmost extent.

Let us look at the immensity of the opportunity. The whole of India is stretched out before us—for I speak not now of other countries which I have not myself witnessed, although the reports of those who have seen them testify to the same truth respecting them, namely, that they, as well as India, are mostly accessible. But in India, from Peshawar to Cape Comorin, we may go wherever we will, in villages and cities, and nowhere in the whole country are we molested by either European or native. There is as little fear of personal injury to the European Missionary in India generally, as there is to him

when living in England.* There are opportunities for travelling about, in tents and in other ways, which we have not in England; and the respect for the European character gives us an advantage of the greatest moment in carrying on our Missionary work. We may pitch our tent wherever we will, and there, standing up publicly in the bazaars and streets, or in the city chapel, or sitting down by the wayside, we may, without molestation, proclaim the word of God as much as we will. Everywhere there are congregations met with who will listen to what you say; and although the gospel now, as ever, causes opposition when faithfully preached—although some oppose and blaspheme—yet some will generally listen favourably. The amount of scriptural instruction which may be imparted is thus measured only by physical strength, and familiarity with the language; and here, too, the native does not criticise or ridicule a stammering tongue, but rather applauds the attempt to speak in a language which is not your own. Let us remember, also, the numerical population in India, the concentration in a single country of one hundred and fifty millions of people, and the advantages and opportunities which that concentration gives as regards the amount of good which may be performed. The people are here collected together in *masses*, and the instruction which elsewhere serves for tens and hundreds, here avails equally well for thousands, thus multiplying vastly the sphere of usefulness. The European labouring amidst these masses of Indians has a double advantage of being listened to, because he is an European, and their superior in mental and social qualities, and because, also, he acts on numbers multiplied many times. The same energy, the same piety, the same efforts, will therefore be doubly productive. True, the soil of the heathen heart is doubly hard; yet, in working out the great results of turning individuals to God, and changing the ideas of whole nations, there is a greater opportunity here than is to be found elsewhere; and although the results of such efforts may appear to be at first on a small scale, yet do they possess a larger relative value than results of greater apparent magnitude in other spheres.

To this let us add the success which has been already achieved, and the certainty

* This Address was delivered before tidings of the existing disturbances, and the danger in which some of the Missionaries were placed, had reached home. We only want the next Mail to deal with this subject.

which even now appears, humanly speaking, as well as from the word of promise, that a much greater success is near. It is indeed a truth that India's religions are rapidly altering, and that religious changes are nigh at hand. This is everywhere apparent, view we it in whatever light we will. The forced confessions, both of the worldly European and the native heathen, are constrained to allow it, and these would be the last to confess that which they both are so much averse to. The English and native press affirms it, and newspaper reports, if biassed on any side, are not usually so on the side of Missionary work, and they, of all others, cannot be accused of desiring the religious reformation of India. The Christian resident in India, whether military or civilian, will enlarge on the future prospects of India, and show, from the results of personal information and personal knowledge, the change which each one severally has witnessed of late years amongst the natives. The Missionary, who has special opportunities of knowing and testing the character of the people around him, is everywhere persuaded that the day is rapidly hastening on; and the older Missionaries, who knew the difficulties in former times, are everywhere now the most full of hope. This religious change of opinion amongst the natives of India is everywhere manifest. The heathen rites are being discontinued; their temples are, many of them, falling into ruins; religious fairs are less numerously attended; caste is being destroyed; the marriage of Hindú widows has begun to be celebrated openly; the influence of priests and mullahs is being lessened. Their knowledge, both religious and secular, is being increased; schools are everywhere being established, not only with Government sanction, but with the weight of Government influence promoting them. Religious books, and especially the word of God, are being everywhere distributed and read; the statements of Scripture are discussed, and compared with those of their own books; and the people see that even their most learned men are everywhere silenced by the exhibition of truth, and they can give no answer, either in opposition to Christianity or in defence of their own opinions. Commerce is being extended; intercourse is by every means promoted, by both road and railroad; and minds, by mutual contact, have their roughnesses smoothed down. Above all, there is this general opinion, that Christianity will prevail; and as men see its daily growth and increased strength, and as they perceive the languishing, dying state of their own religions, they are constrained to

confess from this, as well as their own firm convictions and feelings, that the religion of the cross must extend, and must crush and tread down the existing superstitions. There is at the present day, throughout India, an uncertainty in religious belief, an expectation, everywhere prevalent, of a great change in religious ideas, which is believed to be almost immediately at hand. There is that restlessness now abroad in India, which has always existed on the eve of reformatations, and betokens their near approach. There is the same preparation now going on in India, and approaching its completion, as there was in the Roman empire just before Constantine embraced the religion of Jesus Christ; the same as Europe witnessed at the dawn of the Reformation. And now, at the present time, there seems, humanly speaking, only to be needed in India some native apostle to arise, some Luther, some Wickliff, to appear, and to create a stir and a religious revolution which will cause the already tottering structures to fall with a crash, and to lay amidst the people the solid foundations of truth. It is firmly believed in India, by those who have the best opportunity to judge, and are the best qualified to do so, that whenever such a reformer appears—and who can say but that he may appear almost any day?—the whole of India, or, at any rate, very large tracts of it, may at once be agitated with a religious movement which will change the religious *status* of the whole land.

But, as my own labours have been connected with the Punjáb and Peshawar, I will especially dwell on the Missions established there, and endeavour to show how the way has evidently been prepared for them, and how God's blessing evidently rests on them. This would apply equally well to other countries, for His favour appears to surround the work of Missions generally throughout the world, but I will confine myself to what I have myself seen. It is but a short time ago that the Punjáb was a sealed country, unknown to Europeans. By the providence of God, the petty chieftains were united together under one head, Runjeet Singh. Like many others of whom we have mention, in both sacred and profane history, he seems to have been raised up for this particular object. He was, at the same time, a scourge, and also the instrument made use of to collect the then scattered people of the Punjáb, in order, it would seem, to make them over as a whole, and as one great kingdom, into the hands of Christian England. Lahore, Amritsar, Múltan, Peshawar, Kashmir, Thibet, one after another, submitted to his sovereignty. All opposition in them was

removed; the whole became united; and, when difficulties were conquered, the whole land of the Punjáb was given over to us. Why? Not for our own aggrandisement and the enriching of our own country; not for the mere civilizing of half-civilized regions; but to prepare the way for the preaching of the gospel to a large portion of the race of men.

Now, let us especially notice the manner in which God seems to have prepared the way for Christian Missions in the Punjáb. The religion of the Sikhs, it is well known, is neither Hindú nor Mohammedan. It was the object of Nanac, in originating a new sect, as much as possible to amalgamate these religions, and, by adopting the best parts of Mohammedanism into Hindúism, to make the Sikh religion acceptable to both. The power of Hindúism in the Punjáb is therefore broken, and there is a freedom of thought and feeling which makes the Sikhs, as a body, particularly accessible to the Missionary. The present, too, is a time when the Sikh religion is wasting away. Its prestige is departing, for it was sustained only by its military power, The Sikhs no longer are tied down to their own religion, and are at this present time turning their thoughts in every direction in search of something better. They are daily leaving and renouncing Sikhism, and some become the converts of Mohammedanism, and many are lapsing back into Hindúism. They are now, therefore, unsettled—they have no religion; and it remains to be seen what religion, as a body, they will receive. The present, therefore, is a peculiarly favourable time to teach them Christianity, for they are now prepared, more than they have ever been before, and more than they perhaps may ever be again, to listen to it. If the present moment be seized, it is possible that, in large numbers, they may embrace it; but if the present time be neglected, and the Sikhs as a body embrace some other form, and they become again bound down by all the strong and ancient bonds of that form, it is probable that, equally with other Indian creeds, they may hereafter present as much an unfavourable soil for the work of Missions as it is now a favourable one. At present, while their religion is on the wane, together, it may be with their language; whilst their connexion with Europeans is yet of recent date, and habit has not rendered them insensible to what they may say; and the force of the evil example of Europeans of former days has not caused them to despise the religion of those whom they saw thus to live; it would seem that there is an opening for Missions in the Punjáb peculiarly providential, both in the

manner in which it has been made, and also in the present state of the country, political and religious.

The hand of God, with reference to the commencement of Missions on the Mohammedan boundaries of the Punjáb, and especially at Peshawar, is still more striking. It is well known that the Afghans are peculiarly tenacious of their own religion, and peculiarly intolerant of any other. Humanly speaking, their bigotry would not have allowed the teaching of any other religion until their power and their pride were humbled by repeated and protracted reverses. The instrument of their humiliation was the same Runjeet Singh. After getting possession of the fortress of Attock, he boldly pushed beyond the Indus, and ravaged the Peshawar valley. On his next invasion he defeated, by his own personal bravery, the army sent against him, and at once annexed the country to his own dominions. The palace of the Cabul kings at Peshawar was burnt, and the present fort erected on its site. The best of his generals, Hurree Singh, was appointed to hold the country, and he did so until he died on the field of battle near Jumrood. The French general Avitabile was made governor of the district, and by his cruelty and determination the spirit of the people was somewhat tamed. The way was thus prepared for the entrance of a Christian power. When the Punjáb was annexed, Peshawar, as part of it, fell unwillingly into our hands. I say unwillingly, because there was no desire on our part to cross the Indus, and, had it been possible, Peshawar would have been restored to Cabul. The treachery of Dost Mahommed, whose troops fought against us at Guzerat, prevented this. This, therefore, was the first mark of the hand of God: we were obliged, against our will, to occupy Peshawar; and, however much we may have desired it, we have been obliged ever since to keep it, although at a great expense of money and life. The will of the Lord was, that the gospel should enter Afghanistan, and be there preached in one of the strongholds of Mohammedanism; and, if I mistake not, His will also is, that from Peshawar it shall yet go forth into the midst of Mohammedan countries, and that, from Turkey on the west and the boundaries of India on the east, Mohammedan countries shall be evangelized. The work of evangelization has already commenced, and nothing was permitted to hinder it. There were many who would have prevented it, and sought to do so. Even Christians were opposed to the progress of the religion of Christ. It was said that Missions would foster discontent, and lead to disturb-

ances; that there was no point on which the natives were so sensitive as on the subject of their religion; and repeatedly was the warning given not to attempt it. To this it was maintained that we were more safe in performing our duty than in neglecting it. The Mission was begun, and in a wonderful manner was the hand of God manifested in its establishment. Every one who was opposed to it was removed away from Peshawar, and some in a very remarkable manner. The apprehensions which had been expressed were found to have been groundless and vain. Encouragements were met with on every side. The gospel was preached, and a Christian school was established, and nothing of any kind was allowed to check the work; and now the word of God has been proclaimed both in the city of Peshawar, and also in the neighbouring villages; and it is still being so. They who thought that this was impossible, or who saw only danger in the work, have been silenced; the timid have been encouraged; the abettors of the work have been strengthened in their faith; and all have been constrained to confess that the results have in a remarkable manner shown the favour of God resting on the work, and manifested His will that the time *has* come for preaching His word to the people of those countries. So clearly has this been made known, that none of those who, on the spot, witnessed what has there taken place, can ever, I am sure, while they live, forget it. I adduce this as an especial reason encouraging to Missionary efforts at that place, and as a stimulating motive to aid forward a work which God has begun, and which He will, therefore, assuredly carry on and complete.

I will mention one more encouragement, viz. the spirit of prayer which has there been poured out amongst English Christians. The work was one of faith, and was commenced in prayer. The desire to see a Mission established was first implanted in the hearts of some Christian officers living at Peshawar, but they saw no means of their desires being fulfilled. It was then that they were constrained to leave the matter in the hands of God, for the things which are impossible with men are possible with God. The words occurred forcibly to two of them, that, "if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven." They believed this promise, and acted on it; and these two officers met one Sunday evening to make this special request of God. Their hearts were warmed, and their supplications poured forth in faith; and when their prayer was answered they remembered how it had been made,

and the praise and glory was given, not to men, but to Him to whom it was due. The foundations were thus laid in prayer, and the structure was erected also in prayer. It was offered up without ceasing respecting the sending forth of labourers, both at the commencement of the work and in its future progress, that they might especially be chosen for it, and be blessed in it. This prayer is still continued for this especial Mission by a band of Christian men now scattered abroad, both in India and England. Can we think that it will not be still answered, when it has already so signally been so? We feel sure that it will, and must be, and that those who engage in that field of labour will inherit the blessing asked for; and that they will see and share in the triumphs of the gospel there wrought in that Mohammedan land. I doubt not that similar prayer has been, and still is, offered up for other Missions also; but I know that it has been so in a remarkable manner, both in England and in India, with respect to both the Amritsar and the Peshawar Missions, to which I have invited your notice. Whenever a spirit of prayer is called forth, it is a sign that God's presence is there. To go, therefore, to where His presence has gone before, or to help forward that work where His blessing has been especially manifested, implies a warrant of coming success. It is an encouragement to know such facts: they are amongst the most animating inducements to become personally connected with such a work.

In connexion with the spirit of prayer, has been remarkably manifested a spirit of Christian liberality in the Punjáb and Afghan Missions, thus showing, also, that He who calls forth the silver and gold, which are His, has a work to be accomplished by it. Liberal and unsolicited contributions, when given in faith, and apart from all ostentation, manifest the blessing of God. The first donation to the Amritsar Mission was an anonymous donation of 10,000 rupees, or 1000*l.*, given immediately after the appointment of the first Missionaries. The first one given to the Peshawar Mission was also an anonymous one of the same amount, and which led to that Mission being established. Each of these donations was followed by further anonymous donations of 10,000 rupees and 5000 rupees to these two Missions respectively, on the actual establishment of the Missions. A fund was raised for the Punjáb Mission immediately after the Punjáb war, which amounted to 30,000 rupees. Independently of the above, the sum of 11,000 rupees has lately been made over to that Mission by Sir Henry Lawrence, for the especial purpose of promoting female education in the

Punjáb, this sum being the amount of a public testimonial lately collected in memory of the late Lady Lawrence, who was ever foremost in every labour of love for the benefit of the people of the Punjáb. The sum total of money subscribed in the Punjáb itself, by persons who were on the spot, and saw the opportunities and the importance of this Missionary field with their own eyes, has amounted, in the two Missions of Amritsar and Peshawar, to more than 150,000 rupees, or more than 15,000*l.*, although one of these Missions has been established only little more than five years, and the other little more than two. Every local expense of building or purchasing Mission houses, and schools, and dwellings for catechists, the establishment and support of schools, and the payment of salaries for masters, and readers, and catechists, has thus been defrayed entirely by local contributions, thus setting the Society at home free to enlarge its operations in this and other parts.

I could mention, did time permit, many particular instances of remarkable liberality, which testify also to the importance of the work in the eyes of the residents in the country themselves, and also to the sympathy and ready help which are so freely bestowed. The annual subscription of one gentleman amounts to no less than 120*l.*; another to 60*l.*; and several, not to one guinea annually, but to 60*l.*, and 40*l.*, and 30*l.* The Peshawar school receives, I may add, 240*l.* annually from Government, besides a considerable grant from the local city fund. Sums of money have flowed in from every side, and there has been no want of funds, subscribed on the spot itself, for every Missionary object whatever since the Missions have been established. They have mostly been given spontaneously, and, except in annual sermons from the pulpit, without solicitation. The poor and the rich have combined together to help forward what they believe to be the work of God. The Protestant private soldiers of an English regiment, in number only about 150—for the rest were all Roman Catholics—gave once, after one sermon, no less than 13*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Several private soldiers subscribe more than a guinea a year; and one corporal made over all he had, about 15*l.*, to charitable objects, with the words, that he had trusted God already with his soul, and he did not see why he should not trust Him also with his body. A large part of this sum was given to the Peshawar Mission, and I may add, that the donor, who gave his all to God, has already been recompensed by God, for he is now a Scripture reader in Calcutta, with a salary corresponding to his new position.

Such are some of the great encouragements connected with Missions at the present time in the Panjāb and Peshawar. The field is a new one, and the whole advantage of former Missionary experience may be brought to bear on ground as yet unoccupied; and the Missionary has every opportunity of devising such plans and schemes as may seem to him the most effectual for the spread of the truth of Christianity. In this work, too, he will meet with every encouragement from every good man in the country—and, thank God, there are many such, who will give their time, and influence, and wealth, to further it. It is a new country, where the tide of liberality is not as yet divided into a number of different channels, and therefore the greater amount is bestowed on the work of Missions. There is every pecuniary means at command to carry out almost every plan for the benefit of the natives.

We have already noticed that Missionary work at Peshawar brings us especially into contact with Mohammedanism. Mohammedan countries, for the most part, as yet seem almost to have been unassailed, and this proximity of the Peshawar Mission to one of the bulwarks of Mohammedanism gives, therefore, a peculiarity to that and other similar Missions. Men are there required of power of mind able to support controversy, and able also to acquire readily more than one language. It is a frontier post, and it is from it, and from other frontier stations, that the first impressions of Christianity will be given to the countries beyond; and how important that these first impressions should be favourable! It will be from these that men will judge whether or not the advocates of the Christian religion are able or not to give sound reasons for the faith they hold, or whether, as hitherto, Christians may be despised, and their arguments treated as vain, by the learned Mohammedan men. It is a station which looks out on the immensity of the uncultivated deserts of Central Asia, and which should therefore be maintained with more than ordinary force, that its influence may penetrate those vast regions as far as possible.

For the carrying on of this, and for other similar Missions, the church looks for able, devoted, and faithful labourers, and for these, in a special manner, to her Universities. I could have wished, had time permitted, to have dwelt here more on the nature of the country and its people, and to have added facts and anecdotes illustrative of their character. I could have wished, also, to have given more especial accounts of the *details* of Missionary work, and especially of itinerations and bazaar

preaching, and of the practical working of schools; and to have adduced some of the arguments which are generally made use of by the Mohammedans, and thus to have represented their method of reasoning, and the nature of the discussions which are carried on with them. I could have wished, also, to make mention of converts who have been already baptized, and the peculiar way in which they have been led to Christ. I was in some degree prepared to do so, but the shortness of the time which still remains obliges me to turn at once to the practical bearing of Missionary work on ourselves.

There are a variety of subjects which force themselves on the mind when we begin to think of our personal duties with respect to Missions. There is the command of God, binding equally now as in days of old, to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; a command which, although uttered simultaneously with our Saviour's ascension into heaven, has never yet been in any degree properly obeyed. There is the feeling of pity stirring and quickening our callous hearts for those who, ten thousand after ten thousand, are, unprepared as they are, dropping into the grave without any real ground for hope—if, indeed, to be without God is to be without hope. There is the comparison between the insufficiency of the means used and the means required, when we view the magnitude of the field of the heathen and the Mohammedan world, which still remains with most imperfect cultivation, or without any cultivation at all. There is the consideration of the relative requirements of heathen and Mohammedan countries, with almost no teachers at all, and of that of our own land, with its vast multitude of teachers. There is the view of that large-hearted liberality which urges to give to those who can give nothing in return, and who are calling aloud for help, but who have not yet received it from those who have it in order that they may give it. There is the feeling of longing for the spread of the gospel, both because it brings glory to God, and because the mind bounds with the thought of what heathen countries would at once become, were they to become evangelized; and the imagination pictures to itself the blessings accompanying its evangelization, alike in national prosperity, and private and family happiness and peace, and, above all, the future bliss of those who believe in Christ to the salvation of their souls. There is the feeling, too, of hastening forward the coming of the Saviour's kingdom, which cannot yet be, because of the Church's inaction. Yes, we are not afraid of overdrawing a picture of this kind, for we

are sensible that it can hardly be depicted in too strong a light. Home duties have been often discussed, and the nearness from which they are viewed gives them too great an importance, when compared with what is only seen at a distance, and whose claims, on account of that distance, have never yet had a sufficient weight. But oh, when shall we, as a Christian country, in the spirit of faith rise to a view of our privileges and our vast responsibilities? When shall our Universities rise to a sense of their peculiar duties, as institutions whose duty it is to send forth their country's representatives to teach and to preach the gospel, through whom our country would fulfil her commission, and to whom it looks to do so? And when shall we, my Christian friends—selected by grace in the midst of those Universities to know the power of religion ourselves—when shall we acknowledge, by our actions, ourselves to be the special individuals called to go forth on this public duty? If it be true that the Church of England is set forth by God to shine as a beacon on the earth, through whom, if not through us, shall her rays of light proceed to lighten its dark extremities?

Let us examine clearly the trials of practical Missionary work, and we shall find, even there, almost every trial to contain a blessing within it. When the sense of weakness and the presence of danger, both spiritual and temporal, felt by the Missionary in a heathen land, compels to prayer, the being forced to wait on God is not felt to be a disadvantage, but is a source of the greatest comfort. The absence of worldly honours and wealth, which drag the soul down to earth, and encumber the traveller on his road to heaven, is not felt to be a loss to him, but rather an assistance. The distance from friends and relatives does not cause a diminution of his love to them or of theirs to him; but rather the very separation calls it forth on both sides, and remembrance is cherished by even more frequent thought than there was before, and by correspondence, and especially by prayer; and this correspondence, and this prayer, have sometimes proved more effectual for the spiritual welfare of much-loved relatives and friends than personal presence did before there was any separation. Nor does the Missionary, or even his family or friends at home, lose in honour on account of the work he has undertaken; for his name is spoken of by friends, in many instances, far oftener than if he were at home, and also by other persons whom otherwise he would not even have known. He loses nothing in influence, for the influence of his going forth often effects more than his presence or his

words could have done had he remained in his native land. He finds by experience that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and his family at home experience, in both things temporal and things spiritual, the blessings which God bestows. The church loses nothing by giving her best-cherished and most-valued sons, but every thing is repaid to her again, and she receives far more herself than ever she gave. When God's honour is sought, and His commands obeyed, experience has ever shown that God never fails to bless and honour those who seek to honour Him.

There are many persons, I am aware, at this present time, when a Missionary spirit is abroad, who are eagerly seeking for information to guide their decisions as regards their own duty respecting it, and who are weighing in their minds their own obligations or their own fitness to engage personally in it. It may be that they are long in deciding the question, and, in many cases, it is well that it should be so. No man should put his hand to the plough until he really means to labour at it without looking back, or should determine to engage in this war until he has counted the cost. It is a great comfort to all such persons to know, that, whenever there is a readiness to obey, the will of God respecting each individual case is always made clear. When the will is given to go where God would send, and to do what God would have to be done, His Spirit always directs the way: He guides the decisions made in prayer, and made in dependence on His help; He orders His providences to manifest His will; and happy, ever happy, are those who simply follow it. When the soul of man, which has been weighed down with a sense of inward guilt, has found the Saviour of sinners, and has been by Him set free from all his burden of sin; when he has been admitted himself into the happy privileges of God's own children, and participates in their joys, and his soul cries out, with confidence and willingness, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" then God's will is marked out with all the clearness of a sun-beam. It is then so distinct, that even the very slightest repugnance to obey that will is felt as something paining the conscience, rudely touching that which is so delicately sensitive and tender. And it is the more clearly manifest, because, when the repugnance is overcome, the conscience recovers its elasticity and peaceful calmness, showing that its possessor is again in the path of duty. Yes, this is often felt, and in a thousand other matters besides the one subject of Missions. May we ever seek to serve God with a pure conscience, for this is to walk at liberty and

in perfect happiness! When God's guidance is sought it is always given.

But to view the practical bearing of the above on ourselves. And here, to which subject shall we turn? We might view it with reference to the glory of God, which we might help to show forth; or with reference to the salvation of souls, which it is in our power to promote; or with reference to our own benefit, which, by our present actions, we may increase. The work of Missions! what emotions does it not call forth? what mighty ideas and actions does it not involve? The work of Missions! affecting events of the vastest importance from present time through eternity to come; connecting vessels of earth and human agencies with the spoiling of principalities and powers, which God is effecting by means of man, and wresting immortal souls from the bondage of the prince of this world, and making them the children of God. The work of Missions! the manifesting of God's almighty power, and His scorn of human or fiendish foes, when He takes one or two of His own chosen servants and places them in the midst of a heathen country, surrounded by every thing up in arms to oppose, and there maintains them in their own weakness, secure and free from harm, when, single-handed, they openly wage war against the ruling powers of both air and earth, and plunder the strong man armed of his most precious goods. How unsearchable indeed are the ways of God, conquering, and performing His will, by the most unlikely means, saying, to the furious tide of bitter and mighty enemies, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further;" "touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm;" sending one or two weak, sinful men where Satan's seat is, and there preserving them till their work is done, unscathed, immovable, imperishable, invincible; making them always to triumph, and to bear away the spoils which have been given them! How vast those conflicts in which man, leaning on God's arm, singly gains the victory! How imperishable the remembrance of them in heaven! What exhibitions of God's unutterable power, exhibiting Him as much in might superior to evil, as in purity He is opposed to evil; and choosing man, too, as the instrument through which He works; through him dashing in pieces the enemy's wrath as a potter's vessel, till, by the foolishness of preaching, the earth shall be full of the knowledge of God!

And who, then, are these enemies which we so much dread? They shall become as flax that has been burned in the fire. And what are these opposing difficulties which hinder us

from following the call of God, and, confiding in Him alone, allowing ourselves to be placed in such positions as we have referred to, as single men in the midst of heathen lands, and the powers of darkness who rule them? What though they be a thousand-fold, can they touch the servant of God in his appointed work, and in the post of duty where God has placed him, or harm him until his work is ended? What need is there of apprehension, when man has often but to stand still and see the salvation of God; when often he has no need to fight himself at all, for the battle is not his, but the Lord's? Let the servant of God but place himself where God would guide him to go, and go on in the work which He has appointed him, and then, let Satan or man plot what they will against him, he need not fear; their plots shall of themselves melt away, or, rather, become but snares to catch themselves in. When God has called any one to the Mission-field, let him not be anxious about the result: He has undertaken to support and keep him in it; and leaning on Him, therefore, let him begin and continue his work, and the walls of Jericho shall of themselves fall down at the gospel trumpet's sound; and whether he be weak or strong, simple or wise, his success and triumph is secure.

In speaking to University men, who are preparing for the work of the ministry, I venture to do so with plainness and earnestness, because it is only a few years since I was myself engaged in the same pursuits which they are following now. I can therefore enter into their feelings; for I can well remember what were my own at the same period of time, when, both before and after taking my degree, I was considering the claims of Missions with reference to my own future actions; but after once deciding to go forth as a Missionary, I need not say that I never regretted it. I never heard of any one who ever did. But whence is it, that from our Universities so few men can be found to undertake so glorious a work? I know not the number of those who have gone forth from Oxford—but those who have gone have been, and still are, amongst the very best Missionaries we have—but from my own University there are but nineteen University men engaged in the Mission-field all over the world, in connexion with the greatest Church Missionary Society in England. Let us add to these the number, whatever they be, of Missionaries from this University, and then let us, in all candour, say whether the whole number who have gone from both Universities is a fair proportion for the claims of the heathen and the Mohammedan world. Let us again remember that our country has

been called, by its influence, its immense territories in heathen countries, its wealth, its opportunities, its commerce, its possession of the word of God, to take the lead of the whole world in Missionary work. In this our country, our church is especially called upon to fulfil its country's duties. And in our church where else can we, as a church, possibly look for able and devoted Missionary labourers, except to our Universities; and yet, out of the many hundreds who, year by year, leave our Universities for ministerial work at home, there have not been found, in all successive years together, a greater number than the above, given by both our Universities, for the evangelization of the whole heathen and Mohammedan world in connexion with the greatest Missionary Society belonging to our church. What! does the Spirit of God exert so little influence in choosing, and setting apart, and sending forth, His people for His own work, that, comparatively, so little is felt of His fire and love? In former times, and in other lands, it was thought no degradation of even wealthy and noble families for their members to be enrolled in this service. Would it be a dishonour to them now to hold commissions in the spiritual armies of heaven, more than commissions which they so much covet in earthly armies? The coronets, even of noble candidates for the work of Missions, would not be bedimmed by the increasing lustre of heavenly crowns. Or, to look at the many men of talent and intellectual power around us. Is it England alone that has a claim to it? Or is it in England alone that it can meet with opportunities for its full scope and development? This power is given to the church to cope with subtle error and unravel tangled difficulties. And there is no place in England where such subtle disputants, and where error in such subtle forms, exist, as they do in India and other heathen and Mohammedan countries. India's claim has yet been unfulfilled. It is waiting for it, and calling, by the loudest of all possible calls which can come from a heathen land, for Christian men to come over, and evangelize it.

There are difficulties in this work, no doubt, and great ones too; and especially the great difficulty of standing in the midst of evil, it may be almost alone, and singly stemming and opposing that tide and flood of sin which everywhere surrounds the servant of God in this great work. But in the midst of every difficulty he stands unharmed so long as he stands on the firm, immovable rock; and whilst he depends and leans on Christ, no power of the enemy shall in anywise hurt him. He has been sent by

Christ, and He preserves, and supports, and aids him; and in preaching His word His power is manifested, and souls are enlightened and saved. Yes, dear friends, these are real victories, nobler far than those earthly victories warriors win. These are victories famed in heaven, recorded in heaven's own annals, and the wreath and crown awarded to those who gain them is ever green. These are events for real history, not that, perhaps, which is much studied by mortals on earth, but that which will be perused and remembered in heaven; exhibiting the glory and resources of the Saviour's kingdom, able to conquer such a foe, and imparting eternal glory to those who go forth in faith to that field of war, and there endure and conquer through Him who enables them; and who return from thence the honoured instruments of the humiliation of the king of sin, the establishment of rectitude and truth, the release of enslaved sufferers, and the exaltation of the Messiah. We have seen lately how the storming of an enemy's strong, well-defended fortress, on his own soil, has been considered a nobler exploit, a more coveted command, than the maintaining of any garrison at home. We have seen, too, how the heroes of that war, when their privations and dangers were ended, were greeted on their return; and we know how they are thought of now. And has the thought never occurred to us of the greeting which Christian heroes will receive on their first arrival at their home in heaven—a Martyn, a Brainerd, a Weitbrecht, a Fox, a Johnson, and many others, who are now shining forth as stars in heaven; and have we never longed to follow in the path they trod? We know, too, how the eager soldier presses on to the post of danger, which is the dearest post to him, and how animated he feels when he knows that he is marching to certain victory. We can almost see in his countenance the lurking hope that the strife may be delayed until he can personally be associated with it. And do not these feelings animate the Christian soldier too? I have seen, on the frontier of India, many a soldier whose name is distinguished and known at home as much almost as it is in India itself. I have observed that they themselves choose the frontier in preference to any other post in India, because it is the post for action; and that they there voluntarily remain, in the midst of dangers, and even in an unhealthy climate, when they might easily change their spheres for others full of ease and comfort. I have noticed how, when any officer is sent on an employment of more than ordinary difficulty and danger, he is almost universally

envied; and I have watched the eagerness with which he has accepted, and others have coveted, his honourable post. Let such examples stimulate us too, in a still nobler enterprise. The opportunity now lies before us. We may go forth to frontier fields of Missionary labour if we will, and there, under our great Leader's eye, and following the guidings of His providence, plant the standard of the gospel, and fight successfully beneath it, immortal till our work is done. There is no nobler work on earth than thus to preach the gospel; there is no higher employment which,

as far as we can conceive, even the most exalted soul of man in heaven could desire; there is no greater honour, it would seem, that even angel could aspire to, were he to dwell on earth, than thus to testify for Christ where He is yet unknown, and to declare to sinful men the reconciliation which is through faith in Him. May God grant that many of those who now hear me, if it be His will, may be called to this great work, and may have grace to obey the call, and thus to devote themselves to the service of preaching His name to those who, as yet, are ignorant of it!

CONVERSIONS IN CONNEXION WITH THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE TINNEVELLY MISSION.

No inconsiderable amount of discussion has prevailed as to the value of schools in Missionary work; whether they are to be regarded as a portion of the direct Missionary instrumentality, or as possessing only an indirect relation to the work, and that of a character so subordinate, that they might be on the whole, without much of detriment, dispensed with altogether. More especially, doubts have been entertained as to the beneficial action of English schools, and whether the results which they yield are such as conduce to the advancement of the Missionary cause. On the subject generally we have drawn up some observations, which will appear in a forthcoming Number. As to English schools, and the character of their working, we refer our readers to the facts contained in the annexed paper—a statement from the Rev. E. Sargent, the Principal of our Training Institution at Palamcotta—having reference to the conversion to Christianity of the munshi of the Institution, and two pupils of the English School. They will best vindicate the usefulness of such a department.

“On Thursday, the 26th of February, I was informed by Perianayagam Pilley, one of the teachers in the Institution, that the munshi had expressed himself to him as determined to be a Christian; and that he intended in a day or two to come to me, and place himself under my protection; and that probably one or two more would join him, viz. Dhanakody Rajah, the son-in-law of the court vakeel, and Manakavalaperumal Pilley, of Tinnevely. Perianayagam Pilley expressed himself to me as very much surprised at the change in the munshi; that, when he first came here, about two years ago, on the occasion of the former munshi becoming a Christian,* and leaving for Mengnanapuram, he was

a very proud and reserved man, and would not let a Christian even so much as touch him; that he very carefully abstained from reading any Christian books; that Pilley spoke to him after a while about reading the Bible, but he replied, ‘No, I never will read it, for that is a book which no man can read without being entangled.’ Pilley replied, ‘You are acquainted with all the statements and arguments in your own Shasters: if you believe them to be true, you need not fear to know what the Bible says.’ After some time his prejudices against the Bible seem to have weakened, and he had so read the gospels at last as to make him say, ‘I have made up my mind to be a Christian.’ The various stages by which he arrived at this conclusion will be given in their proper place. So far was what Pilley informed me as to the case when he mentioned the munshi's determination to me. Next day he called again, to say that Sunday or Monday was the day they would take the final step, but that they felt a great difficulty as to the plan to be pursued. If they could only get away from the place for a few days, they thought they could get over the difficulty and danger. I advised against such a step, urging that, in appearance, it would be better, and in the end less distressing to their own feelings, to remain here, and that they could not but expect every protection from the magistrate if they were on the spot. Next day I was told that they acceded to the plan I suggested; that they would like to see me, but, to prevent suspicion on the part of their friends, they thought it would be better not to do so until they came for good.

“On Monday, the 2d of March, between twelve and one o'clock in the day, they came to my house, and said, ‘We wish to be Christians, and place ourselves under your care. Mr. Clark happened to be in the house at the time, and he joined the party. Our first act was to seek in prayer the Divine presence. I

* “Church Missionary Record” for June 1856, pp. 131—133.

then asked the munshí what had led him to the step he now took. He replied, 'Some time ago, after coming to this place, I felt persuaded that Hindúism was an idle fable. However, I comforted myself by the idea that what was wanting in Hindúism would nevertheless be supplied by attention to moral duties: but the more I strove after this kind of relief, the deeper I found myself sinking; for the more attention I seemed to pay to moral duties, the more I found I was defective. I mentioned my distress of mind to Dhanakody'—one of the other converts—and he said, "Why don't you consider Christianity, and see what that teaches?" I replied, "There is the difficulty: I can't believe in Jesus Christ." Dhanakody replied, "Perhaps that arises from your not reading the Bible in a proper manner. We will read it together, and examine it." We did so, and I saw that there was no hope for me as a sinner anywhere else but in Jesus Christ. I saw how necessary was His atonement, and, while my own good deeds could do me no good, a simple faith in Christ could procure me all that I need to stand before a holy God. For two months past I have been greatly exercised with this conflict in my mind, and I have now determined to give myself to that Saviour, to be His true disciple.'

"I asked Dhanakody the same question, and he said that he had long been convinced of the folly of heathenism; that he had for a long while also considered Christianity as the only true religion; but that it was not till lately that he felt a concern for his soul. A few months ago he purchased at an auction in Palamcotta Pike's 'Early Piety' and James's 'Anxious Inquirer,' in English; that he read these books with the Bible; and that he was convinced that the salvation of the soul was the all-important point, and that Jesus Christ was the only Saviour of sinners; and that he determined to give himself to that Saviour.

"I asked the same question of Manikavalaperumal, and he said that he had long felt there was nothing satisfying in heathenism; that it neither taught morals nor the way of salvation; that he had for a long time examined the Bible; that the Ten Commandments were a clear statement of the will of God, to teach us what we ought to be; and Jesus Christ, he was convinced, was the only Saviour of man, and that without Him we are all lost; and he wished to be a Christian.

"I next inquired their age, and found the munshí twenty-three, Dhanakody Rajah eighteen, and Manakavalaperumal nineteen. I asked whether their coming here was of their own will. They said, 'Yes.' I endeavoured to lay before them the difficulties they would have to encounter; but their reply to

every thing of this kind was, 'We have counted the cost,' 'We have taken all this into consideration.' I then endeavoured to tell them what they must expect in their feelings after a while, the re-action, &c.; that, though they might look with apprehension on the few days of trial immediately to follow, yet the longer and severer conflict might be that inward one which was to last even to their lives' end. Their reply was, 'We have but one desire, to serve the Lord Jesus, and be saved by Him.' We then prayed together again.

"After partaking of some food dressed for them by our Christian people, they sat down with us to tea. After tea, as usual, we had family prayer, and, in the ordinary course, the portion read was Luke ix. 46—62. We all felt how appropriate to the occasion was the passage, especially verses 57—62.

"After this, a letter was brought back to Dhanakody Rajah from his uncle, with the message, that as the address did not specify his name, but only called him uncle, he sent it back as being intended for some other person. The envelope, however, had been opened, and in all probability the contents known, before returning the letter.

"After this, the brother of Manakavalaperumal Pilley was said to be in the compound, inquiring for his brother. I then took the opportunity of asking what their intention was in such cases, whether or not they wished to see their friends. They all decidedly said they wished not to see them till after some days. So I went out to the brother, and told him that his brother was with me, but did not wish to see him or any of his relatives till after some time: but he turned off in a rage, saying, 'I am determined to see him.' I gathered from this that they would perhaps assault the house, so I asked the young men whether they would like to go and sleep in one of the upper rooms of the printing-office. To this they readily assented, and betook themselves to the place, Mr. Bensley kindly assigning them a room. In an hour or two, the highway passing the front of our house was more or less occupied by the women and other friends of the young men. The women began their lamentations, knocking their heads against my gate, and the men kept up for some time a shouting of their names, some entreating them to come away, and others abusing the Christians. From the tumult that seemed gathering, I thought it my duty to write to the head assistant magistrate, informing him of what had occurred, and asking for protection. He immediately sent peons, and, upon the people being assured that we would not send the youths away to any country station till they had the opportunity

of seeing them before the magistrate, they became somewhat pacified, though many of them remained all night on the road outside my compound. One party seemed to have expected that my plan would be to send them away over night, and so get them beyond reach of their friends—as had been done in a former case, when the late munshi of the Institution became a Christian—and they calculated on thus seizing them and taking them home. Parties were posted on the main roads, and every bandy that passed was examined.

“About three o'clock in the morning I received a note from the head assistant collector, stating that some of the relatives had been to him, and wished him to get the youths into his house, and asking me if I would allow them to come. But as nothing was said about a proper escort being provided for their safe passage to his compound at that hour of the night, I declined to do so, but promised to afford every opportunity to the parties to see them in open cutcherry whenever their presence was required. At about twelve o'clock the next morning—March 3d—I received a requisition from the head assistant magistrate to present the young men in the cutcherry, he sending a body of police to guard them to the office. They went in Mr. Cruickshank's bullock-carriage, while I drove with Mr. Bensley a little before them.

“Upon arriving at the cutcherry, at thirty minutes past twelve, there was no magistrate present. The head assistant had gone into the treasury to count some cash, and the collector was not to come till one o'clock. The head assistant came into the office at ten minutes past one, and up to that time the friends of Dhanakody Rajah and Manakavalaperumal continued more or less to entreat them to return to them. I objected to this interference, but to little effect. The head collector arrived at a quarter past one. I was called into his office, and heard the uncle of Dhanakody—he is also his father-in-law, his daughter, a child of nine years old, being betrothed to him—make his complaint against me, as forcibly detaining his ward, &c. I was asked to make my statement as to what had occurred, and to answer any question the plaintiff had to ask. After this I was requested to withdraw into the head assistant's office, i.e. the room adjoining, while the magistrates should see the young man by himself. Here I can only state what occurred from hearsay.

“The collector asked him what he was. ‘A Christian.’ His age? ‘Eighteen.’ Whether he came to me voluntarily? ‘Yes.’ Whether he now wished to go to his uncle? ‘No.’

“The uncle—vakeel in the Zillah Court—

was then allowed to see him privately, and use any persuasions he pleased. He accordingly wept over him, stroked his feet, told him about his daughter betrothed to him; would he only stay with him till after his marriage, or at least for a few months; or, lastly, for only six days? Dhanakody replied, ‘Ask me any thing that I can do consistently with my being a Christian, and I will do it, but to this I cannot consent.’ In reference to something else that was said, he remarked, ‘The worst that can come is death; beyond this no further evil to my body; but what must I do for my soul?’

“A second interview of a similar kind was, I believe, allowed, before the magistrate called me in again, when he expressed himself as follows—‘Dhanakody remains fixed in his determination not to go with his uncle, but to be a Christian. As I am not yet satisfied as to the age of the young man to say decidedly whether he is a free agent or not, and as I can only decide this point to-morrow, I have but one of two courses to propose with regard to the disposal of the youth till then. He wishes to go with you, but I can only grant it on condition that his uncle have free access to him as he pleases.’

“I objected to this alternative, and said I could not undertake such a responsibility, under the present excited feelings of the friends of the youth. The magistrate then proposed that he should go and stay with the head assistant in his house, without communication being had with him by either party. I replied, that if that were the wish of the youth, I had no objection to it; in short, I would rather recommend it. Dhanakody said, Very well, he would go with the head assistant to his house; and this plan was eventually carried out, that gentleman driving him home in his own conveyance.

“Upon the settlement of Dhanakody's case for the present, the collector said, ‘There is no complaint filed in reference to the others, so I will simply call them in, and ask them a few questions.’ They appeared. ‘What are you?’ ‘We are Christians.’ ‘What is your age?’ ‘Twenty-three and nineteen.’ The father of the latter immediately cried out, as he stood by his side, ‘He is only fourteen years old;’ which at once appearing preposterous, the collector asked them where they wished to go. They said, ‘To Mr. Sargent's house.’ ‘They may go with you then, but you will be ready to appear with them again to-morrow morning at ten o'clock, by which time the father may file his complaint.’ Peons were ordered at once to get the conveyances ready, but, as I got out of the door, one of my men whispered

that the crowd had determined on carrying them off by force; so I just turned back to mention it to the collector, and he came towards the door to issue orders, when, the youths having already got outside the door, a general rush of the relatives was made upon Manikavalaperumal Pilley, and the whole multitude set up a shout. It was all that the collector, peons, Mr. Bensley, and I, could do to keep him, and eventually to get him back into the cutcherry. His clothes were very much torn, and he was quite exhausted with the pulling. Under these circumstances, and as the crowd seemed determined to exercise force, the police on the spot not being sufficient, I recommended their remaining there all night under the magistrate's protection. They consented. The magistrate gave the necessary orders about the guard, leaving it with the youths themselves to eat whatever food they pleased from any party. Under cover of this permission, the relatives one by one went into the room, begging, weeping, and entreating Manakavalaperumal not to desert their family, and bring disgrace on them; but he bore all with great patience, not wavering for a moment. The peons also forbade the other man, the munshi, from having any communication with him. About seven o'clock, the collector, I believe, called at the cutcherry to see that all was right. The youths said they would eat only what the Christians brought them: they could not eat rice, but they thought they could manage some cake, plantains, and milk, and this was taken to them.

"Next morning, March 4, I went to the cutcherry, but had my conveyance, and the conveyance intended for the party, kept in the adjoining compound, which is the property of our Catechists'-Widows' Fund, through which compound lies the shortest road from the cutcherry to the main road.

"On arriving at the collector's office, about a quarter past ten, I found that the case of Dhanakody was in hand, and the zillah surgeon giving his opinion as to the probable age of the youth. I was at once asked to proceed to the head assistant's office, where, after a long time, Dhanakody was sent to me, as adhering to his former determination, notwithstanding all the opportunity that had been allowed the uncle to produce a change of purpose, if he could accomplish it. On this occasion, I am told, the uncle in the most solemn manner promised to make over to Dhanakody all his own landed and every other kind of property, to be his, to hold and use as he pleased, to the exclusion of the uncle's own sons, and that the property for the sons

should be only that which the uncle might accumulate from this date. The uncle also fell at his feet, wept, and entreated him by every argument in his power. Poor Dhanakody could not restrain his feelings, and he wept also. But all that he could reply to these entreaties was, 'Ask me any thing, and I will do it; but in this matter I must look to the salvation of my soul.' So, all persuasion proving unavailing, the collector could do nothing but allow the youth to follow his own wishes; so he came to me in the head assistant's office.

"Proclamation was then made as to any party having a complaint to make in the case of the munshi, and, no one appearing, he was told to go where he pleased; so he said he would go to me.

"Then the usual routine was gone through in Manakavalaperumal's case as in Dhanakody Rajah's. The father complained, and stated that his son was only fifteen years of age, &c. I gave my deposition, and exhibited the school register, in which, on the entrance of the youths into school, their ages were given, viz.

"Manakavalaperumal, age 13, entered 8d April 1850. Vallalen. Father, a deputy under the Cusbah police Amin."

"Dhanakody, age 16, entered 10th December 1851. Father dead. He lives with his uncle, a vakeel in the session court."

"I was then asked to withdraw, and the friends were allowed private interviews, the women moaning most lamentably; but, as in the former case, no change could be produced, and the parties had to give up in despair. So he also was sent to me, and, after a while, I was called in, and told by the magistrate his decision, viz.

"That, with respect to one man, there was no complaint; that he was unquestionably of age to act for himself; and that he was free to do so in this case.

"That, with reference to the other two, though they were younger, and there might be doubt as to their exact age, yet he had no doubt that they had attained years of discretion, and were evidently capable of acting as free agents in such a case; that he had allowed every opportunity for ascertaining the minds of the young men; that he had seen them himself in private; that their relations had every opportunity of using every argument to induce them to go with them, but their minds remained unchanged; that he had therefore nothing left him to do but to allow them to act as they pleased; that they wished to go with me, and accordingly he handed them over to me. I said that I accepted them, and that I placed both myself and them under

his protection as magistrate, to be escorted home and protected there until the present excitement had subsided; and that the violence manifested yesterday obliged me to make this request.

"The magistrate immediately ordered the heads of the Tinnevelly and Palamcotta police to file their peons in sufficient force to conduct us to our conveyances, and accompany us to the printing-office, where a certain number of them were to remain and keep guard till further orders. We got off without obstruction, and reached our destination without any detention. As they were about to ascend the steps to their room, I took occasion, in the presence of all there, to say to each of the young men, that, if he regretted the step he had taken, he had still freedom to act for himself and go to his home; but they one and all said this was their own choice. We then met in one room, and offered up thanksgiving to God for all His goodness, and commended these dear youths to His gracious protection to guard against temporal and spiritual foes; after which I gave to each the right hand of fellowship, and left them with native-Christian friends.

"It appears that the relatives, upon seeing that the men were firm, and that they had now fairly committed themselves openly to me, went down to the river to bathe, as in the case of the death of a relative. Some of them had not eaten food since Monday night. It was a most pitiable sight on the Tuesday to see the women, five or six of them, lying prostrate on the ground before the catcherry, crying out in lamentable strains.

"To-day—March 5—a grand meeting was held in Tinnevelly, to decide upon putting a stop to the native-English school, by insisting on no children being sent, or allowed to attend. Yesterday, parties were employed on the main road to prevent the attendance of any of the boys, so that there was no school. To-day, however, several managed to evade these restrictions, and as many as forty-nine met in the school. They have determined, it seems, to petition Government that they may have a school of their own in Tinnevelly, unconnected with Missionaries.

"The general talk among the more ignorant part of the community is, that I brought out a kind of milk from England which has all these wonderful properties of persuading people to join us! To all such remarks I only say that I wish I had such milk; that, if I had it, how do they account that several heathen, who see more of me, have not been affected; but that, perhaps, in a certain sense they are right, as 'the pure milk of the word' of God is able to do wonders.

"Well, my dear Mr. Royston, little did you or I think, when, about two months ago, we were speaking to the first and second classes of the native-English school on Matt. xix., in the room near the bathing-place, that these lads, who were among the number, would so soon take the decisive step on the Lord's side. From the first moment I heard of their intention, knowing the fiery trial that would await them, I could not but say, again and again, 'If it be the Lord's work it will stand: if it is a mere idea of their own it will come to nought.' I am persuaded that nothing but the grace of God could have carried them through the trying ordeal. If you remember, I told you how seriously they used to listen to what was said, and indeed you must have seen that yourself. But they never said anything to lead me to expect that they were so near 'the kingdom of heaven.'

"Dhanakody Rajah is the first boy in the second class. He is the son of the late district moonsiff of Madura, in which he has property amounting to about 6000 rupees. He has an elder brother, but he has adopted the life of an unmarried devotee. Dhanakody has an open, frank countenance, but speaks English with some hesitation.

"Manakavalaperumal Pilley is in the first class, and in mathematics is unapproachable by any of his classmates; but his conversational powers in English are only moderate. His father has no Government employment now, but attends to the cultivation of land.

"The munshi, Mutheya Pilley, has no father, only an aged mother. He has an elder brother, who is munshi at Sawyerpúram. He is a remarkably good grammarian, and has got the students on very well in that department of their studies. He has also been teaching Mrs. Sargent about an hour and a-half every day for some months past.

"I have not referred to the part taken by Mr. Cruickshanks in reference to these youths, as he will himself be better able to state what occurred, in direct correspondence with the Committee. I had no correspondence with him about the men: they seemed to come to me unprompted; and as I had known them for several months, when, during Mr. Cruickshanks' illness, I took the Bible class, I had no hesitation in receiving them.

"I trust that this is only the beginning of greater things. O for a more praying, humble, and expecting spirit! I take it as an encouragement also to myself, with reference to the native agency around me. What I mean is this—if the teachers and the majority of the young men in the Institution had not a high tone of Christian piety, I am persuaded the munshi would never have

taken the step which he has. But as yet we can only rejoice with trembling.

“E. SARGENT.

“P.S. By a strange coincidence, the two heads of police, who had to carry out the orders of the magistrate and escort us home, were the father and uncle of Sattiyathan Pilley. Of course it would be well to let a few days pass before publishing any thing about these events. I hope, in the course of a few days, to give you in detail the account of each as to the great point, viz. how they have been led to give up all for the Saviour.”

Statement of Manakavalaperumal Pilley.

“I was admitted as a scholar in Mr. Cruickshanks’ school in the year 1850, where I was taught not only to learn the English language, but also the word of God which is contained in the Bible.

“Mr. Cruickshanks was in the habit of making exhortation in all the lessons, chiefly when we read the word of God; and, during his illness, the Rev. Mr. Sargent and Mr. Hutton continued to make practical remarks soon after we finish our reading the word of God. As the Lord blessed these means, I was enabled to look up to Jesus, the Saviour of sinners, and whose love can save perishing souls from eternal damnation; and therefore I have made up my mind, wholly depending upon God, to make an open profession of Christ as my Saviour, and hoping that He will give me His grace to endure trials and difficulties, and even give up my life, if necessary, for the sake of the Lord Jesus. But there was another difficulty in my way which prevented me from making any further steps about it, which is, caste prejudice. It appeared to me so very great, I being a Shivun, who live upon vegetables. At last, by the grace of God, I was enabled to do what God commands us in Scripture—‘What God hath cleansed, that call thou not common;’ and, beside this, I see we are descended from the same common parents, Adam and Eve. Under these convictions I was prepared to do any thing for the sake of it, and I therefore went to Mr. Cruickshanks, to inform him of my resolutions, on the 13th of January 1857. He was exceedingly glad, and admonished me to think about the trials and difficulties to which I may be exposed in making an open profession of Christianity, and advised me also to inform this to Mr. Sargent: but I was unable to do so, as he was absent owing to the vacation; and, besides, Mr. Cruickshanks asked me whether I wished to go to Mengunapuram, where the Christian munshi will be a friend and companion, and where Mr. Thomas

will receive me kindly, to which I agreed. Some time after, I went to Mr. Cruickshanks, and begged him to fix a day for my coming over to Christianity; but he bade me, ‘have patience for a little while, and then I will tell you;’ but in the mean time he told this to Perianayagam Pilley, one of the teachers of the Preparandi Institution.

“When I saw Perianayagam Pilley, he was glad to hear of my convictions, but at the same time advised me to think well before I take any further steps about it. ‘You will,’ he said, ‘have to forsake your father, mother, brothers, and sister, in fact, all of your relatives; and, if you do it for the sake of Jesus, no doubt He will be your perpetual Father both here and hereafter, and all Christians will be your brethren.’ And he read the 29th verse of the 19th chapter of St. Matthew’s Gospel, the reward of those who forsake father, &c.; and then he told me of the suffering which the Apostles and others have endured for the sake of Christ, and related to me, also, the parable of the lost sheep, and how the Lord rejoices over one sinner that repented.

“When I met him the second time, he asked me whether I had fully made up my mind; and I said, ‘Yes, I do, with the help of God;’ and then he said, 19th of February might be the fixed day of my coming over, but from other causes it failed.

“When I met him the third time, he questioned me in the same way as he did before. I fear he entertained doubts as to my sincerity, and I therefore assured him, that since I have made up my mind fully to embrace Christianity it is your delay in not fixing a day for it. He mentioned to me a striking circumstance, which he said he heard from Mr. Sargent, who mentioned, among other things, that some who professed to be the followers of Christ in Madagascar had boldly given up their lives for the gospel, and several other things which I do not remember now. To my astonishment, he told me that one of my fellow-students, named Dhankody Rajah, together with Mutthia Pilley, the munshi of the Preparandi Institution, are preparing to follow Jesus; which of course rejoiced me much, and I was unable to express my joy to him; for when I had become fully convinced of the truth of Christianity, I tried my utmost to get a companion, and spoke very often to my friends about God and religion, but all to no purpose. I pray to God on behalf of my parents and relations, to enlighten them. I humbly trust in Him that my prayers will not go in vain. He asked me to come in the evening, in order to consult other friends, and fix a day

for openly putting ourselves on the Lord's side. Accordingly, I did so, and the 2d of March was the day fixed upon.

"Monday morning I took my breakfast as usual, and came to school, where I remained till twelve o'clock, and then went to Perianayagam Pilley's house, and was glad to find the other two friends there. We three went to Mr. Sargent's room, and Mr. Sargent and Mr. Clark came to us. The former, before asking us any thing, prayed to God for His guidance, and then asked every one of us as to the state of our minds regarding the Christian religion, and we told him how we were led to care for our souls, and that we depend upon God to support us in all our trials. He concluded the meeting with prayer and a few words of exhortation. As I had taken my breakfast early in the morning, I was hungry, and Mr. Sargent kindly sent us bread and fruits, and then we had the pleasure of reading the portion of the New Testament in Tamil with Mrs. Sargent, together with Nathaniel, a Brahmin convert; and then, after our dinner, we took tea with Mr. Sargent. After evening prayer Mr. Sargent asked us whether we wish to speak to our parents if they wish to see us, but we told him we were not willing to do so, as they will naturally be angry with us.

"In the mean time, my brother made his appearance, and told Mr. Sargent that he wished to speak to me. But when he told him of my intention, he went away angrily, and we then went to Mr. Bensley's house, who kindly gave us one of his rooms to sleep in. Afterwards we appeared before the collector, who proposed several questions to me: some of them are the following—

"'Who are you?' 'I am a Christian.' 'From where did you come?' 'From Mr. Bensley's house.' 'How old are you?' 'Nineteen years old.' 'What made you to think about Christianity?' 'The knowledge of the Scriptures and the fear of God.' 'Are you not a Shivun? How will you manage your meals?' 'Yes,

I am a Shivun; but since I have given up myself to the Lord, I must do as He bids, and I therefore do not observe caste: last night I took supper with Mr. Sargent.' 'Did any one compel you to become a Christian?' 'No; but God compels me to give up my heart to Him.' 'Now go and speak with your parents.' 'I will be very glad to do so, but, as they will naturally be overwhelmed with sorrow, I do not wish to do so now.' 'No, you must talk to them.' I did so, in obedience to the collector's order; and the questions they proposed are the following—'Do not follow their cunning advice: they will say that they will do every thing for you, but at last they will disappoint you. You had better come and follow us.' I replied, 'They do not cherish me at all with any hopes of future prospects, but, on the contrary, I think they will make us to work, and perhaps, after some days, they may ask me to preach the gospel to the people, and no doubt I will gladly do any thing for Christ's sake.' 'What will you do in case you are sick?' 'Yes, I have my heavenly Father, who will take care of me, and the Christians are my brethren.' My answers irritated them much; and they observed to me, 'Oh, what a pity you were not carried away when you had illness some time ago, for we would not feel so much for you in that case as we do now.' 'Yes,' I said, 'but God was not willing that I should die as a heathen, but graciously preserved me up to this time.' I am thankful to say God strengthened me thus to make a public confession of Christ my Saviour. The collector asked me again, 'Where do you wish to go?' 'To Mr. Sargent.' 'My relatives thought that they might carry me away by force, and accordingly they used efforts to do so; but, thanks be to God! I was delivered from their hands, though with some difficulty. Thus we returned home safely. May God bless those who stood by me in all these troubles, and may He preserve them many years, that they may be useful in the vineyard of the gospel!

DESCRIPTION OF FUH-CHAU AND ITS VICINITY.

ONE of our Missionaries, for several years resident at Fuh-chau, and the first who commenced Missionary operations within the walls of that city, but now in England for the recovery of his health, has drawn up the following description of his scene of labour. Graphic statements of interior life in China, drawn up with fidelity, so as to render them deserving of confidence, are of much value at the present moment. There are many points of deep interest in the character and condi-

tion of the Chinese people, which it is desirable should be clearly indicated, so as to elicit sympathy on the part of England towards China; and that it may not be supposed, that, because Canton has offended, we are justified in desolating, by aggressive war, populous and peaceably-disposed cities which have given us no offence at all.

Che-Keang and Fokien are the two important provinces lying on the eastern coast

of China, between the Kiang-nan province, to the north, and the Quang-tung province, to the south: their united population may be estimated at about 34,000,000 or upwards. A viceroy, who resides at Fuh-chau fuh, the provincial capital of these two provinces, presides over them, and exercises summary jurisdiction, subject to the control of the emperor and his ministers, the power of life and death being placed in his hands without any appeal to Peking. The whole eighteen provinces of China are governed in a similar way. Public censors, men of high literary distinction, are located in all the provincial capitals, to report on the proceedings of the higher authorities of the provinces, and comment on their state and condition, at Peking. These provincial viceroys rule over a larger extent of territory, and more population, than many continental states in Europe. Literary examinations are annually held in these provincial capitals, and from among the successful candidates are chosen the mandarins to govern the empire; an example which might well be followed by European and professed Christian countries. Three out of the five ports conceded by treaty for foreign trade are situated in Che-keang and Fokien—Ningpo in the former, Fuh-chau fuh and Amoy in the latter province. Fokien is celebrated in the annals of the Chinese empire for having preserved its independence against the Manchow Tartars longer than any other portion of the empire. The people of this province bear a high character, as sailors, for hardihood and daring, and they were greatly succoured in their resistance to the Manchow aggression by the squadron of the celebrated Koxinga, under his son, the notorious pirate, who expelled the Dutch from the island of Formosa. Fokien sailors chiefly supply the emperor's war junks. A large proportion of the trading junks of China belong to this province. Its commerce by sea is fostered greatly by its having no canal communication with the other provinces and the grand canal; and its proximity to Formosa, an island which belongs to this province, adds to its commercial importance.* The dialect of Fokien is very peculiar, and quite unintelligible elsewhere in China, and this may be attributed very much to its long independence of the rest of the empire. Fokien is the province that supplies the celebrated black teas. Bohea derives its name from an extensive chain of mountains of that name traversing the western border of it, at the foot of which range rises the river Min, which, after descending the province to Fuh-chau fuh, the capital, falls into the sea at

about twenty-two miles below that city, at the present time—and for the last four years only—affording ready and easy transit of the produce of this great tea district. The island of Formosa, noted for its productiveness in rice, fruit, coals, sulphur, and other valuable products, is under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Fuh-chau fuh. The channel of Formosa lies between it and the Fokien province. Amoy, situated on an island in a bay on the most barren part of this coast, has numerous merchants, to whom belong a part of the capital vested in the shipping of the coast. Couriers by land make their way from the provincial capital to Amoy in three days, and to Ningpo, in the opposite direction, northwards, in about five days. Letters and merchandize, on a small scale, are safely and punctually conveyed to and fro by them at moderate charges. The sea-coast of China is probably the most rugged in the world, being studded by numerous rocks and small islands, rendering navigation near to the coast very dangerous. The river Min, from its communication with the sea, has both its banks traversed by chains of lofty perpendicular granitic mountains, sublime and romantic, and affording valuable sea-marks to mariners making the port. As we ascend the river these chains gradually diverge, leave the banks of the river, and form a rich alluvial valley of about ten or twelve miles long and eight or ten broad, in the midst of which valley is situated the populous walled city of Fuh-chau fuh, about a mile and a half from the course of the river, and about three miles from the port of Nantae, where the river divides, and forms the small island of Tung-tcheu, containing an estimated population of 20,000. Extending from the north of the river to this island is the famous granite bridge of some forty or fifty arches, formed chiefly by huge blocks of granite being simply placed upon each other. This bridge, and the shorter one from the island to the opposite, or southern, bank, are partly occupied by a row of small Chinese shops, kept open by day to exhibit their varied wares and articles of merchandize to the numerous passers over these bridges, for it is the great thronged thoroughfare, to and from the city and suburbs, to the populous port of Nantae. These sites for shops on the bridges, it is understood among the Chinese, were let out by the authorities in order to prevent the numerous robberies and murders by night which at one time were common. The tenants of these shops, for the most part, entirely live in them. There are two narrow passages of the river below the pagoda anchorage—so called from a pagoda on an eminence—where the foreign shipping anchor,

* Vide Davis's "China."

situate about twelve miles from the port of Nantae, caused by the converging of the two chains of granite mountains on each bank, before referred to, and which passes, strongly fortified, after Chinese fashion, are called Min-gan and Kin-pai passes. The river Min, at the pagoda anchorage, bifurcates. The left, as we ascend, a considerable branch, running in a north-westerly direction, joins the main branch again at about two miles above the city, where the two chains of lofty mountains encircling the plain and city again converge, and the two branches of the river, thus united, form an oblong island some ten or fifteen miles long, on the northern border of which, at Nantae, is a numerous population. This island, from its elevation, has a beautiful and commanding view of the port of Nantae and valley below, and is the spot specially chosen by the foreign community for the erection of private residences. These chains of mountains have their sides formed into terraces, wherever there is soil, which are cultivated by the industrious and frugal peasantry, yielding crops of sweet potatoes, grain, &c. On the right, or eastern chain, as we ascend the river, and a little below the port of Nantae, is the loftiest peak, well known by the name of Kosan, or Drum mountain, the summit of which, in the months of January and December, is occasionally, for a few hours, white with snow: at the foot of this lofty peak, in a dell, is situated the famed Buddhist monastery, having an abbot, and about 100 priests under him. During the hotter months of June, July, and August, the foreign residents often resort thither for a temporary residence, the temperature being about eight or ten degrees below that of the plain and city beneath. This celebrated monastery is reached, by a well-paved zig-zag granite pathway up the sides of the mountain, in about one hour. The romantic and beautiful scenery of the river Min, valley, and port of Nantae in the distance, viewed from its summit and sides, surpass description; and the site of the monastery, with its well-paved roadway and surrounding forest scenery, combined with the sublime and extensive view of the lofty peak from the monastery towering above, fully repay the labour and toil of its lofty ascent. The abbot and resident priests chant their monotonous prayers, or liturgy, in Sanskrit, night and morning at stated hours, accompanied with the sound of the drum, and a huge brass bell, and discordant musical instruments. This temple is the great sanitarium of Fuh-chau during the hotter and more unhealthy months. Here, as at the equally-celebrated Buddhist temple at Canton, we witness idolatry on a large scale. The abbot and priests welcome the

consulate officers and foreign residents to this monastery, which, with the Taouist temples and others of less magnitude, afford the advantages of inns throughout China, and the charges they make to travellers and strangers are moderate. Missionaries resorting to these temples have free access to, and hold close converse with, the priesthood, some of whom are exceedingly bigoted to their superstitions.

In consequence of the numerous sand-banks in the river Min, above the pagoda, foreign shipping over 300 tons burden do not venture as high as the inner port of Nantae, situated at the island of Tung-tcheu, and below the large granite bridge. In times of emergency and trouble, Her Majesty's smaller steam-vessels of war have got up to the bridge, and, by so doing, can overawe the authorities in times of necessity and violation of treaty engagements. H. M. screw-steamer "Reynard" made the inner port of Nantae about five years ago, and met with no disaster in so doing. Vast quantities of Chinese shipping and foreign small craft are occasionally seen moored at Nantae at one time. Along the left bank of the Min, as we ascend and approach the island of Tung-tcheu, ship and boat-building is carried on to a very considerable extent by the Chinese, the facilities for which are very considerable, in consequence of the interior of the province, along the course of the river Min, abounding with timber, large, and well adapted for that purpose. It is floated down the river in large rafts, and pays a duty to the Government prior to passing the larger bridge. Wood and tea are the two great staple exports of this port. The Chinese junks pile their decks and sides with timber to a considerable height and extent, in a surprising manner, so well arranged and compact, that they convey immense cargoes on deck, under convoy of foreign ships, fearing pirates, to the northern and other ports on the coast, but never venture out of sight of land. Wood and charcoal are almost exclusively used as fuel at this port by the Chinese, but there is a tolerable supply of mineral coals generally on hand, but mostly of a dull, slaty, and inferior quality. There is a coal mine in the interior of the province, on the banks of the Min, which supplies the coal of this description, which is, as yet, surface coal. Besides this supply, coals are brought from the island of Formosa, where there is an abundant supply of excellent coals, fit for steam purposes. These have been obtained in considerable quantities by American steamers along the coast. Coal of this better description is obtainable at Fuh-chau fuh, in quantities, at about five or six dollars per ton. Of late, a copper-mine has been discovered in one of the mountains of the Bohea range, and

specimens, I learned from a literati, have been forwarded to Peking, by order of the viceroy of Fuh-chau fuh, but I cannot learn that the Peking Government has sanctioned the working of it. Copper of excellent quality is procurable at this port, and is wrought into wire, culinary utensils, cash coinage, images, bell-metal, and other useful purposes. It is very reasonable in price, and, I believe, chiefly brought from Japan. Iron of excellent quality abounds here, cheap, and procurable in considerable quantities. It is all hammered iron, and the Chinese do not seem to use cast-iron, except for cannon, as the Jesuits taught them. The iron is all worked up by charcoal fires, which improves its quality, and thereby they are enabled to make tolerable razors and cutting instruments, of course very far inferior to the cutlery of Sheffield, both in quality and execution. Their gun-barrels are beaten into shape by the hammer, and their nails and tools are excellent. Fuh-chau is noted throughout China for fine bacon and hams, which are articles of considerable export. The pork is fine, but their good quality is dependent, I believe, on the large quantities of firwood which is burnt, the creosote of which gives a fine smoky flavour to the meat so cured, and preserves it.

Many different kinds of wood are brought from the interior, some of it very close and compact in texture, and heavy. Among them camphor-wood abounds, and is worked up, here and at other ports, into boxes, writing-desks, &c. Considerable quantities of gum-camphor is procured from the tree, and exported. A very hard, dark, heavy, brittle wood, like ebony, is met with, and used occasionally by the cabinet-makers. The bark of the casia-tree is abundant, from which the Chinese extract the oil, as they do from many flowers, fragrant plants, and shrubs. Quicksilver is procurable at this port at a reasonable cost, as well as gold and silver, and these latter are worked up into jewellery and fancy and useful articles by the Chinese, according to order. Coffins made of the more expensive woods are largely manufactured at this port, purchased, and often kept for years, by the living, in their houses, in anticipation of death, after which event the body is placed and kept in them for some time, until advised of a lucky day for interment. The export of coffins from this place is said to be considerable. A raw, intoxicating spirit is distilled from rice, and, when coloured and sweetened, is used as wine at their feasts and on social occasions. Drunkenness is not one of the prevalent vices among the Chinese. Tobacco is extensively grown around Fuh-chau: it is mild, and much smoked by both sexes, using brass hookahs and hollow

bamboo. The sugar-cane is cultivated to a considerable extent in the rich and well-irrigated valley about the city, and good white lump sugar manufactured from it and exported; but by far the largest surface of this rich valley is applied to the growth of rice, of which repeated and abundant crops are obtained from the same land in one year, when well manured, and irrigated by the chain-pump. The whole valley is intersected by numerous small canals, and studded by large pools of water, with high embankments, in which the water-lily thrives, and fish abound. The natives cook the root of the water-lily—*Nymphaea alba*—and use it as a vegetable, wherefrom, also, they extract arrow-root little inferior to the Bermuda or African arrow-root. These canals and pools supply water for the rice-fields, of which that plant has constant need. Wheat is grown to a considerable extent, but is not well manufactured into flour by the hand-mill described in Scripture, being often very gritty, or else spoiled by adulteration—to which the Chinese are much addicted—or otherwise. Barley is grown to some extent, and the process of malting it for the sake of its sweetness is known: it is used to make sweetmeats of, but they have no process for making beer or ale. Turnips, carrots, and other common vegetables, are largely grown and consumed. The sweet potato, grown on the sides of the mountains, is a delicious vegetable, and much eaten. It is often cut into thin slices, dried in the sun, or otherwise, and preserved as food. Two or three kinds of yams are met with. Sinews of animals are dried, and sold in the shops, for soups. There is an abundant supply and variety of fresh-water fish, sea-fish, and shell-fish, at moderate charges. Comparatively little animal food is eaten by the Chinese, and that chiefly of fish and fowl. Pork, beef, and kid are publicly sold in the streets, for there are no public markets at this port. The mountain chains before referred to are granitic in their nature, and this valuable material is cut and quarried on the banks of the river, thence transported to the port, and is almost universally used in the construction of public edifices, establishments, and hongs, and for paving the streets of the city and suburbs, in which the Chinese much excel. White bricks are also manufactured, of an excellent quality, and are largely used in the dwellings of the better classes, but the residences of the poor are simply of lath and plaster. These materials, as well as wood, being very cheap, and labour most abundant and cheap also, enable the Chinese and foreign residents to construct their residences and establishments at a low cost, and very substantially. The residences of the mandarins and people are on the ground

floor only, but their temples and public buildings are several stories high. The people are very superstitious in regard to lofty houses of more than a ground-floor, lest some of their imagined presiding deities and spirits be offended, and calamities ensue; and Missionaries, on first settling at this port in 1847, had much prejudice to overcome before they could erect suitable dwellings. This is now effectually accomplished, and buildings of any height, size, or construction, can be erected outside the city walls, but not in the city; and even two Canton merchants were, on a late occasion, prohibited by the mandarins from hiring and repairing hongs within the city walls: but the Cantonese resident at this port, as well as at the other ports on the coast, are, by their insolent, overbearing, if not turbulent character, regarded with great dislike by the people, and suspicion by the authorities.

The streets of this city and suburbs are, like all oriental cities, very narrow, allowing room for only two sedan chairs and passers-by to be accommodated. The central street of the city, extending from the south towards the north gate, is much more spacious, and has some fine, striking, and attractive shops. The houses, shops, and public establishments, use no glass for admitting light, but only doors and shutters. Sometimes oystershells, the more transparent of them, are used instead of glass, but are miserable substitutes. This material was used in the conversion of the Buddhist temple into a residence for the British consul within the city, soon after the treaty was made. Glass of foreign manufacture, or of the Canton manufacture, is now pretty generally used by the mandarin authorities and wealthy in their sedan chairs, which will probably, ere long, lead to its use for windows in their residences.

The route from the port of Nantae to the city, a narrow, continuous, winding street, lying through much of the very populous suburb between, is about two and a-half or three miles long, and connecting itself with the southern gate of the city, and the main and grand entrance, is the most thronged by passengers of the other four.

The city itself is a high-walled, defensive one: the basis of the wall is constructed of granite, the higher parts of it of brick. It is about twenty-five or thirty feet in height, with bastions at short intervals, with numerous embrasures in the interval of them. These mount each three guns, to defend its approaches, which rake right and left. It is nine miles in circumference, and comprises an area of about nine square miles, its length and breadth being about three miles. The city wall forms a fine paved roadway around, and about twelve feet wide. The city is intersected by canals, which

convey wood, charcoal, provisions, &c., into the heart of it, for the use of the inhabitants. The north-eastern portion of it is occupied by, and appropriated to, the use of the Tartar population, of which there are about 20,000, who are the *protégés* of the emperor, and receive from him yearly presents and payment.

The Tartar garrison is estimated at about 8000 or 10,000. Comprising the chief defence of the city, they are seldom, if ever, called to serve at any remote port. There is an extensive exercise or parade-ground outside the south gate, and in the autumn and winter seasons platoon firing, horse exercise, and military examinations, are conducted in the presence of the civil authorities, who are summoned on such occasions by their superiors. Degrees are taken by the candidates according to their proficiency in military tactics, which are of a very low standard. The use of the bow and arrow is still retained, and much practised, as well as the firing at a target with a match-lock fired by a lighted fusee of tow. The Tartar general is a person of high rank, and has an influence in some matters equal, if not superior, to the viceroy himself. There is a populous Tartar village situated on the banks of the Min, below the pagoda anchorage. The locating a body of Tartars and Tartar troops at the principal sea-port cities of Fuh-chau fuh, Hang-chau, Canton, Nanking, and other important stations of the empire, is an evidence of the cautious policy adopted by the emperor for securing his empire. These Tartars are, of course, bound to him and his dynasty by the closest ties of interest, allegiance, and origin, and, in any insurrectionary movements, will resist to the utmost in favour of the emperor. The Tartars are allowed to be the best troops, but it is supposed that they would prove now much enervated by the use of opium-smoking, which is common among them. They have far more stamina of character, and exhibit more real friendship towards foreigners, and are more free from guile, than the general body of the Chinese, among whom they live on the most friendly terms. They closely adopt the manners, customs, and sentiments of the Chinese, and can only be distinguished from them by their national features. Buddhism and Confucianism constitute their religious belief and practice.

There is a viceroy, a Chinese-born subject, presiding over this provincial capital in much dignity and state, and of late years a relative of the emperor, an uncle, held this important post. Next to him in rank is the Tartar general, residing in dignity and state in the Tartar quarter of the city. There are also a lieutenant-general, prefect, treasurer, and district magistrates, military officers downward to the con-

stable of each locality, who is held responsible for the peace of it, and liable at times to be severely dealt with and punished if not active in his duties. Every shopman and householder is also held responsible for preserving the peace of his immediate neighbourhood, and for affording protection against violence, which is frequently made available by foreigners in times of excitement and danger. Guilds of various kinds, for the protection of trade, exist, and fines are levied by them for infringement of certain trade regulations, which are expended generally in public plays, exhibited at the temples for the benefit of the public. The ranks of the several public officers are known by the number of chair-bearers, the number of attendants and lictors preceding a retinue, as well as by the colour of the button they wear, of which there are four. Business is conducted here much by credit. Paper money, bank notes of from 100 cash=3½d., up to some dollars, used to be issued by private bankers, five or six years ago; but the failures became so common, and the public discontent and riots in consequence so frequent, that the Government have latterly issued all the paper money, somewhat on the plan now adopted by the Bank of England. Foreign dollars, Sycee, is the great currency of the empire. The Spanish dollar is the most valued of all, the Mexican and North-American next. Weight, in almost every thing, is the criterion of value, and is the general standard in all mercantile transactions. A small brass coinage, of cash perforated, is the only real native metallic currency of China. Within the last three years, in consequence of the poverty of the Government, the authorities have coined iron cash, but they are at a great discount, two of them being reckoned as equal to one of the old worn-out copper cash. The adjacent province of Kiang-si is now, it appears, entirely in the possession of the Nanking insurgents; and it seems highly probable that they have passed the border, and are about besieging the cities of Kien-tchang fuh and Yen-ping fuh, in Fokien province, preparatory to a descent by the river Min and the taking of Fuh-chau fuh, whereby they will cut off a large foreign revenue duty from the imperial treasury.

The greatest natural phenomenon of Fuh-chau fuh is the hot spring situated outside the north gate of the city, enclosed by a palisade. There is obvious to the olfactory nerves, on visiting it, a large disengagement of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, which leaves no doubt that the water is impregnated with sulphur. On applying the tannin principle, I could not detect the presence of iron in it, although I suspected it to contain the salts of that

metal, from seeing that the decayed vegetation around it was black, like ink. The spring is literally boiling hot, bubbling up and emitting steam where it issues from the earth. It is capable of boiling an egg, and the hand cannot be retained in it for more than a second or two. The spring is brought to the surface at one point, and an extensive bathing establishment erected over it, of a circular form, of a depth of four or five feet, and invalids, by paying a small sum, are allowed to bathe in it. It is admirably adapted for those who are subject to cutaneous disease, which is most prevalent in China. Bucketfuls are sent to any part by paying a small sum for each. The consulate officers and foreign residents often avail themselves of it in this way for private baths. Numerous bath-houses, some of them decent and cleanly, are established near these springs, whether resort bathers for taking private baths. Tea and refreshments are supplied to the frequenters at a moderate cost. I often prescribed the use of these springs, both internally and externally, to invalids and the sick who sought medical aid and advice.

At a distance of about a mile outside the west gate of the city is the lepers' village, whither all those seriously afflicted with that loathsome malady are sent by authority, and where they are supported at the public expense. It is a village containing several hundreds, of both sexes and all ages. I repeatedly visited this village, and was always kindly received. I conversed with the wretched sufferers, and distributed among them the Chinese Scriptures and religious tracts. They are allowed to visit the city during the day, to see their friends and purchase provisions, but are forbidden permanently to reside in it. The disease assumes a great variety of character in its inveterate forms, attacking the smaller joints, and leading to permanent deformity in some. As far as I have observed, it is not contagious, but strongly hereditary; and I believe that it owes its origin, like the many other cutaneous diseases we see in China, to the want of bathing and cleansing the skin, of which the Chinese are sadly neglectful, dreading the use of cold water externally as something highly injurious. They have coarse soap made of ashes, but it is only used by the washerwomen. A few cash and paper money distributed among these poor secluded outcasts were very thankfully received, and conveyed to them the expression of our Christian sympathies in the most practical form.

There are extensive granaries in the city, for keeping a supply of food on hand against famine, so common at times in China, like the store-houses of Egypt.

THE NIGER MISSION.

ONCE more a British expedition is advancing up the great river route into the interior of Africa, the Niger, freighted with good for Africa. It was a long and dreary interval which elapsed between the expedition of 1841 and the more encouraging effort of 1864. Many of the chiefs and people along the river's banks, to whom promises had been made of teachers speedily to be located amongst them, perhaps white men, if not, certainly Christian men of their own blood and race, experienced the truth of the proverb, "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." Especially was this true of the Ibo people, a nation, in its many dialects, dispersed over the delta of the Niger, and of Obi, one of their leading chiefs, who enjoyed for a brief period the happiness of having with him a Christian Ibo from Sierra Leone; Simon Jonas, the interpreter, having been left at this spot while the expedition pursued its onward course. But on its return, sooner than was expected, pestilence and death having forbidden its further advance, Simon Jonas was removed, and Obi saw him no more. As he bade farewell to his new-found friends, whom, had it been possible, he would gladly have detained with him, his last words were expended in impressing on their recollection the promise they had made him, that he should have teachers, and pleading for its speedy fulfilment. Alas! year after year passed away, and none arrived. As the special season came round in which the white man's re-appearance was most likely, hope revived, and, day by day, the eye of eager expectation wandered along the reaches of the magnificent river, which God intended to be the medium of beneficial intercourse between man and man, but which remained so lone and desolate: and still, as each season brought its disappointment, hope grew fainter and weaker, until at last hope died out. The old man said, "The white men have forgotten me: alas! they have forgotten their promise too;" and at length he died himself. Happy indeed would it be, if it could be said of him, as of others whose lives terminated before the fulfilment of better promises made by Him, who, although He may delay, never forgets, never falsifies His declaration, "These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them." There was on his part a willingness to be instructed, but the opportunities were withheld from him, and the want of fidelity in the fulfilment of the promises made to him may have exercised on his mind a very prejudicial influence. We

cannot wonder if, during the years which intervened between the first and second expeditions, the river tribes longed for the re-appearance of the white man; not the white man who degrades himself by his participation in the slave-trade, the poor African's worst enemy, from whom he flies as the timid deer from the beast of prey, the fierce lion or the tiger, that, crouching in the jungle, prepares to spring upon him; not the Spaniard, who shares in the profits and speculations connected with the slave traffic on the shores of Cuba; not the American, who prepares the swift craft and experienced crew, which too frequently elude the vigilance of the British cruiser; not the Frenchman, who, under the pretence of free-labour emigrants, would initiate a new slave-trade between his West-India possessions and the coast of Africa, and who thus seeks to impose an old evil on the world under a new name; not these, but the Englishman, who is known on the African shore as the uncompromising foe of all slave-trading, and the friend and deliverer of the oppressed African. For his advent the nations of the Niger longed, for it was a disastrous period, marked by the depredations of the blood-thirsty Foulaha, whose desolating career of conquest might be traced south of the Tshadda's course; and much might have been done in those years, had not the reaction of disappointment been so great, and had we not, from the over-sanguine hope of being able to carry every thing before us, lapsed into the opposite extreme of conceiving ourselves unable to do any thing. We cannot wonder, that when, on the second expedition, in 1864, Obi's sons were informed that they should no longer be kept waiting, but teachers soon be placed amongst them, their reply was, "The words they had heard were too good for them to hope they would be realized, and they could not believe any thing until that which had been promised was actually done." And when the "Pleiad" left them on her return homeward, they most probably concluded that another long period would elapse, and that, before the white man came to fulfil his promise, they, like their father, might have passed away.

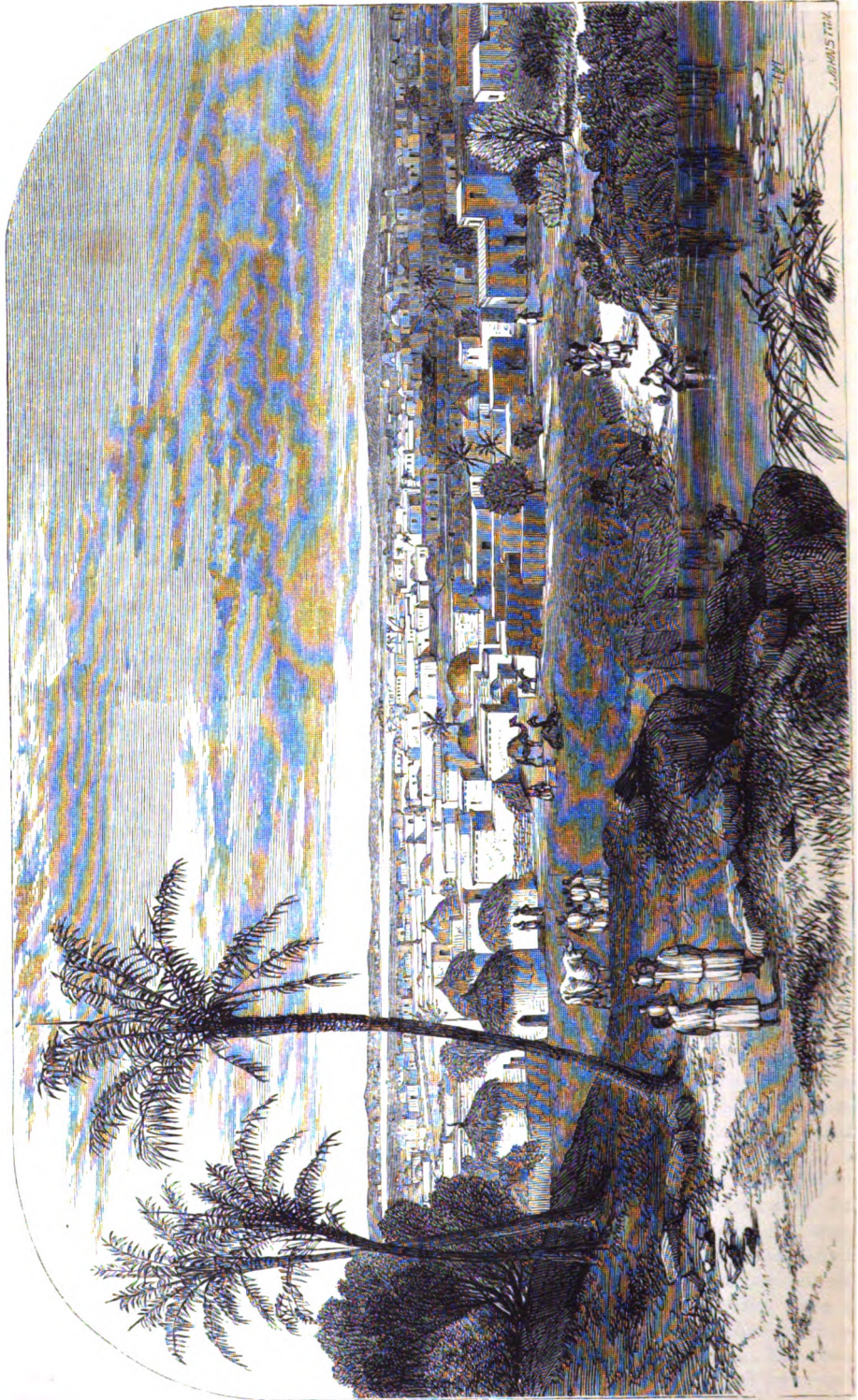
This, however, was not to be the case. The "Pleiad" expedition was too full of encouragement, and friends could no longer slumber. The records of that expedition condemned procrastination, and prompted to immediate and earnest effort. An arrangement has accordingly been made with Her Majesty's Government, by Macgregor Laird, Esq., by

which they have agreed to send an annual steamer up the river for five consecutive years, with a view to its exploration, and the opening of commercial intercourse with the river tribes. But the interval between these annual expeditions will be filled up with intermediate efforts. A schooner, laden with fuel and stores, will be towed up to the Confluence, and left there permanently as a *dépôt* and basis of operation; while an additional steamer, the property of Mr. Macgregor Laird, entering the river about the autumn, will be occupied in sustaining communication between Fernando Po and the Confluence.

The first of these expeditions is now proceeding up the river. We are anxious to enlist the sympathies of our readers on its behalf, and draw forth contributions of fervent prayers from all who desire the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom amidst the wildernesses of Central Africa, that thus the promised time may be accelerated when Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands towards God. The expedition is conjointly commercial and Missionary in its objects. The friends of Africa who are engaged therein feel how desirable it is that the vast resources of the African continent should be brought into the market of legitimate commerce. There is no portion of our earth that is capable of contributing more largely, and with a greater variety of valuable articles, to the great market of universal commerce than Africa. There is a soil rich in tropical productiveness; there is an amount of free labour, adapted to the climate, and fitted to prosecute industrial pursuits under its influence, unequalled, perhaps, in any part of the world. The West-African nations are a people fond of commercial action; so much so as to have persevered in the prosecution of such opportunities of interchange as exist between tribe and tribe, amidst difficulties and dangers sufficient to have deterred any other people, save themselves. The slave-trade has been the great difficulty, the great discouragement. It spread throughout the land such a general sense of insecurity, both as to life and property, that no man cared to sow the seed of a harvest which he might never live to reap, and which might be gathered by another, when he was either slain or a slave. The slave-dealer had a monopoly of Africa. He wished it should be so, and he misrepresented it, that his reign might be prolonged. According to his testimony, its shores were pestilential; its rivers charged with death; its people so demoralized as to be incapable of industrial effort; legitimate traffic with such nations was pronounced impossible, for they had nothing to offer in barter, except

slaves. Missionary enterprise has disproved such fallacies. European Missionaries there are, whose period of service on the West-African coast has been fully equal to the average period of Missionary labour in other tropical lands. We do not think the African climate, if suitable precautions be adopted, is much more unhealthy than that of India, or more injurious in its action to European life. And as to the natives, they are found to be the reverse of all that has been mis-stated. If the Yoruba people are to be taken as a fair specimen of African nationality—and we see not why they should not be—we may judge very favourably of it. Our Missionaries have now been in the midst of them for several years, and have found them intelligent, enterprising, and persevering, with rudiments of social organization, and a perception of moral right and social duties very remarkable indeed, when we remember the long period of bitter tribulation through which they have been made to pass. It is felt that there are in Africa valuable materials which have been long buried out of sight—treasures more valuable, more certain to enrich the nation that is privileged to draw them forth from their concealment, than the gold of California or Australia. Proofs of this are not wanting, although legitimate traffic is as yet only in its infancy. The little palm-nut yields its valuable oil, to the production and consumption of which there appears to be no assignable limit.

“Twenty-five or thirty years ago, where scarcely a gallon was produced for sale, now hundreds of tons are annually exported, and the capabilities of the soil for its production have scarcely any limit. The oil, when fresh, is of a transparent orange colour, and is extensively used in this country, and in England and France, in the manufacture of the finer kinds of soap, in candles of an excellent quality, by the apothecary for various purposes, and on the more delicate parts of steam machinery. The palm-tree yields a large number of burs in clusters. Each bur is filled with small oval nuts, black when unripe, but of a beautiful red when ready to be gathered. The nut proper is enclosed in a pulp, from which the oil is expressed in the most simple manner. The nuts, being boiled and bruised in a mortar, are thrown in a trough of clean water, and stirred for some time, when the oil, rising to the surface, is skimmed off, and placed in earthen jars for use. The kernel, being very hard, is seldom used by the natives, except in seasons of great scarcity of food. A machine has been invented in one of the European settlements for crushing it, and



KANO. — *Vide pp. 106-107.*

an oil of fine quality, and in large quantities, has been produced. Frenchmen use it in making their best pomatum. This, then, promises to be one of the largest branches of trade in the world, as the tree grows without cultivation, and yields fruit for fifty years or more. The tree itself, a beautiful growth, with its tuft of fringe-like leaves, is a striking feature in African scenery, extending, as it does, over a belt of a hundred miles along the whole coast from Senegal to Benzuela.*

At Lagos there is an active prosecution of this trade, and the beneficial influence exercised on the native mind is perceptible in the altered feelings of those who had been the strongest partisans of the slave-trade. The Rev. S. Crowther, on a recent visit to Ikorodu, on the Ijebu frontier, where, some few years back, a branch station of the Mission was formed with much difficulty, had proof of this. In his journal of March 18th, 1857, he observes—

“I went round on a visit to the head chiefs of Ikorodu, Ijebu, to sound their present state of feeling towards us, which I found to be more favourable than I had ever witnessed. The failure of Kosoko’s attempt, in October last, to attack Lagos, after all the big preparations he had made for its destruction, seems to lower him very much in the estimation of many, who, before that time, had been looking forward to his return to Lagos to re-establish the promised slave-trade. The advantage of the increase of palm-oil trade over that of the slave is so much felt by the people at large, that their head chiefs could not help confessing to me, that they—aged persons—never remembered any time of the slave-trade in which so much wealth was brought to their country as has been since the commencement of the palm-oil trade the last four years: that they were perfectly satisfied with legitimate trade, and with the proceedings of the British Government. The chiefs were very inquisitive to know more of the English—their trade, their work, and the motives of their benevolent proceedings towards Africa. I did not fail to improve the opportunity long sought to give them right understanding, particularly to the last inquiry, that the foundation of it is the influence of the religion which we desire to introduce among them.”

At other places on the coast the palm-oil trade is active. At the Kamerun river, 4° north lat., the numerous tribes on both sides of the estuary are thus occupied. “They

have a large trade in palm-oil, and the river is frequented by a considerable number of vessels, chiefly from Liverpool, for the purpose of carrying on this trade.” Cotton, also, is beginning to be diligently cultivated by the chiefs and people of Abbeokuta for export purposes. Other places, the Boneto and Gabun, furnish ivory, ebony, &c., in large quantities. Generally it may be stated that “the annual exports from Western Africa at the present time cannot be less than 2,000,000*l.*; while there is every reason to believe that it will double, if it does not treble, or even quadruple itself in the next twenty years, if it be only protected until it has struck its roots a little deeper in the soil of Africa.”

But we have as yet only touched the coast. May not the interior countries, to which the Niger and its tributaries afford access, be found far richer in productive and commercial capabilities? The caravan-trade is already prosecuted there on an extensive scale, across vast deserts, and with commodities at a computed value of several millions of pounds. “The negro caravans of the interior, which travel from one market to another, often consist of hundreds, and sometimes of 2000 or 3000 people, laden with home productions, with salt and carbonate of soda from the desert, and with numerous articles from civilized countries, which, by some long and expensive route, have reached the heart of the continent.” What opportunities offer themselves for commercial intercourse, where every town has its market, and every market its portion of European goods, and its desire for more! Dr. Barth has cast much light on the commercial capabilities of Central Negroland by his visit to Kano, and the information he has afforded us respecting that celebrated emporium.

The province of Kano, comprising “a very fertile district of considerable extent,” is computed by Dr. Barth to contain “more than 200,000 free people, besides at least an equal number of slaves; so that the whole population of the province amounts to more than half a million, though it may greatly exceed this number.” Of the town itself, the population is estimated at 30,000, “of a rather mixed character,” as might be expected in a place of great commercial resort. “The chief elements in it are Kanúri or Bornu people, Háusáwa, Fulbe or Fellani, and Nyffáwa, or Núfe: a good many Arabs also reside here, who, by their commerce and their handicraft, contribute a great deal to the importance of the place. The influx of foreigners and temporary residents is occasionally very great,

* Wilson’s “Western Africa,” pp. 120, 121.

so that the whole number of residents during the most busy time of the year, that is to say, from January to April, may often amount to 60,000. The number of domestic slaves, of course, is very considerable, but I think it hardly equals that of the free men; for while the wealthy have many slaves, the poorer class, which is far more numerous, have few or none.* "Everywhere human life, in its varied forms, the most cheerful and the most gloomy, seemed closely mixed together: every variety of national form and complexion—the olive-coloured Arab, the dark Kanúri, with his wide nostrils, the small-featured, light, and slender Ba-Fellanchi, the broad-faced Ba-Wangara (Mandingo) the stout, large-boned, and masculine-looking Núfe female, the well-proportioned and comely Ba-Haushé woman."†

Dr. Barth's description of the town, and its varied phases of human life, is graphic and interesting. "I rode for several hours round all the inhabited quarters, enjoying at my leisure, from the saddle, the manifold scenes of public and private life, of comfort and happiness, of luxury and misery, of activity and laziness, of industry and indolence, which were exhibited in the streets, the market-places, and in the interior of the court-yards. . . . Here a row of shops, filled with articles of native and foreign produce, with buyers and sellers in every variety of figure, complexion, and dress, yet all intent upon their little gain, endeavouring to cheat each other; there a large shed, like a hurdle, full of half-naked, half-starved slaves, torn from their native homes, from their wives and husbands, from their children or parents, arranged in rows like cattle, and staring desperately upon the buyers, anxiously watching into whose hands it should be their destiny to fall. In another part were to be seen all the necessaries of life; the wealthy buying the most palatable things for his table; the poor stopping and looking greedily upon a handful of grain: here a rich governor, dressed in silk and gaudy clothes, mounted upon a spirited horse, and followed by a host of idle, insolent slaves; there a poor blind man groping his way through the multitude, and fearing, at every step, to be trodden down: here a yard neatly fenced with mats of reed, and provided with all the comforts which the country affords—a clean, snug-looking cottage, the clay walls nicely polished, a shutter of reeds placed against the low, well-rounded door, and for-

bidding intrusion on the privacy of life; a cool shed for the daily household work; a fine spreading alléluba-tree, affording a pleasant shade during the hottest hours of the day, or a beautiful gónda or papaya unfolding its large feather-like leaves above a slender, smooth, and undivided stem, or the tall date-tree, waving over the whole scene: the matron, in a clean black cotton gown wound round her waist, her hair neatly dressed in 'chókoli,' or 'bejaji,' busy preparing the meal for her absent husband, or spinning cotton, and, at the same time, urging the female slaves to pound the corn; the children, naked and merry, playing about in the sand at the 'urge-n-dawakí,' or the 'da-n-chácha,' or chasing a straggling, stubborn goat; earthenware pots and wooden bowls, all cleanly washed, standing in order. . . . Now a busy 'máriná,' an open terrace of clay, with a number of dyeing pots, and people busily employed in various processes of handicraft: here a man stirring the juice and mixing with the indigo some colouring wood, in order to give it the desired tint; there another, drawing a shirt from the dye-pot, or hanging it up on a rope fastened to the trees: there two men beating a well-dyed shirt, singing the while, and keeping good time: further on a blacksmith, busy with his rude tools in making a dagger which will surprise, by the sharpness of its blade, those who feel disposed to laugh at the workman's instruments, a formidable barbed spear, or the more estimable and useful instruments of husbandry: in another place, men and women making use of an ill-frequented thoroughfare as a 'kandi tseggenábe,' to hang up along the fences their cotton thread for weaving: close by, a group of indolent loiterers lying in the sun, and idling away their hours."‡

Dr. Barth then proceeds to enumerate the various articles of commerce. "The principal commerce of Káno consists in native produce, namely, the cotton cloth woven and dyed here or in the neighbouring towns, in the forms of tobés, or rígoná—sing., *ríga*; turkedí, or the oblong piece of dress of dark-blue colour worn by the women; the zenne, or plaid of various colours; and the ráwani bakí, or black lithám.

"The great advantage of Káno is, that commerce and manufactures go hand-in-hand, and that almost every family has a share in them. There is really something grand in this kind of industry, which spreads to the north as far as Murzak, Ghat, and even Tripoli; to the west, not only to Timbuctu, but, in some degree,

* Barth's "Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa," vol. ii. pp. 124, 125.

† Ibid. pp. 110, 111.

‡ Ibid. pp. 107—110.

even as far as the shores of the Atlantic, the very inhabitants dressing in the cloth woven and dyed in Káno; to the east, all over Bornu, although there it comes in contact with the native industry of the country; and to the south it maintains a rivalry with the native industry of the I'gbera and I'gbo; while towards the south-east it invades the whole of Adamawá, and is only limited by the nakedness of the pagan *sans-culottes*, who do not wear clothing.*

The export of fine cotton cloth from Káno to Timbuctu is estimated by Dr. Barth at 300 camel-loads annually, "worth 60,000,000 kurdi in Káno—an amount which entirely remains in the country, and redounds to the benefit of the whole population, both cotton and indigo being produced and prepared in the country." Other chief articles of native industry, besides cloth, are sandals, "made with great neatness, and, like the cloth, exported to a great distance. . . . It is very curious that the shoes made here by Arab shoemakers, of Sudan leather, and called 'belgha,' are exported in great quantities to North Africa. The 'ne-sisa,' or twisted leather strap, is a celebrated article of Káno manufacture, and 'jebiras,' richly ornamented." Tanned hides and "red sheep skins, dyed with a juice extracted from the stalks of the holcus, are not unimportant, being sent in great quantities even as far as Tripoli."

Of the transit trade the principal branches are the guru, or kola-nut, an article as necessary to Africans as tea or coffee to us; natron, which, in its transmission from Bornu to Nupé, at Káno "always passes into other hands, and, in so doing, leaves a considerable profit in the place;" the salt-trade, "which is entirely an import one, the salt being almost all consumed in the province," the money received for it being expended by the importers "in buying the produce of Káno, viz. cloth and corn;" ivory in small quantities; and, lastly, to these must be added slaves. Dr. Barth writes—"It is extremely difficult to say how many of these unfortunate creatures are exported, as a greater number are carried away by small caravans to Bornu and Nupé than on the direct road to Ghát and Fezzan. Altogether, I do not think that the number of slaves annually exported from Káno exceeds 5000, but of course a considerable number are sold into domestic slavery, either to the inhabitants of the province itself, or to those of the adjoining districts."†

The Tshadda presents the natural highway

by which this and other places of commercial resort may be approached; but such has been the neglect of this great artery of communication with Central Africa, that the greatest proportion of European goods is still imported by the northern road. Dr. Barth's remarks on this point are most appropriate. "The final opening of the lower course of the Kwára has been one of the most glorious achievements of English discovery, bought with the lives of so many enterprising men. But it seems that the English are more apt to perform a great deed than to follow up its consequences. After they have opened this noble river to the knowledge of Europe, frightened by the sacrifice of a few lives, instead of using it themselves for the benefit of the natives of the interior, they have allowed it to fall into the hands of the American slave-dealers, who have opened a regular annual trade with those very regions, while the English seem not to have the slightest idea of such a traffic going on. Thus American produce, brought in large quantities to the market of Nupé, has begun to inundate Central Africa, to the great damage of the commerce and the most unqualified scandal of the Arabs, who think that the English, if they would, could easily prevent it. For this is not a legitimate commerce: it is nothing but a slave-trade on a large scale, the Americans taking nothing in return for their merchandise and their dollars but slaves, besides a small quantity of natron. On this painful subject I have repeatedly written to Her Majesty's Consul at Tripoli and to Her Majesty's Government, and I have spoken energetically about it to Lord Palmerston since my return. I principally regret, in this respect, the death of Mr. Richardson, who, in his eloquent language, would have dealt worthily with this question. But even from his unfinished journals, as they have been published, it is clear that, during his short stay in the country, before he was doomed to succumb, he became well aware of what was going on." †

It is indeed full time for us to improve this noble river, reaching as it does the very heart of Central Negroland, and bringing us into proximity with its leading marts, for the purposes God has intended it, and thus open with these industrial and enterprising tribes, who have persevered in trade amidst so many difficulties, lawful and improving commerce.

At the same time, over-sanguine expectations, which re-act in disappointment, must be guarded against. The expedition must not expect to find at once a flush of commerce.

* Barth, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126.

† Ibid. pp. 131, 132.

‡ Ibid. pp. 133—135.

Trade has its old and well-worn channels, in which it has long flowed. Tortuous and inconvenient as they may be, it will not leave them until it has been assured of the stability of the marts which the European opens along the river's course; that they are not mere experiments, to be abandoned with the first difficulty, but fed by regular communication with Europe, so that the native merchant shall feel sure of finding a supply for all his wants. Then, "before many years, the centres of trade would remove from their present locations to the banks of the river; the caravan trade across the desert and to the distant coast of Guinea would be broken up; wagon-roads would be opened; new articles of export would come into notice, and the production of old ones would be increased." For ourselves, we feel persuaded that a steadily-prosecuted and well-protected Niger traffic, from the healthful diversion which it would give to the native mind, would prove one of the most powerful counteractions to the further prosecution of the slave-trade. Just now is the opportune moment when such an effort may be made; when the slave-trade, though sufficiently active on the coast, is not strong enough openly to thwart the lawful trader, but rather shrinks away from his vicinity, and acts secretly, and on those portions of the coast which are as yet untouched by commercial and Missionary action. How important is it not to embrace the present opportunity, and, enlisting the sympathies of the native tribes in the interior on behalf of lawful commerce, enable them thus to taste the sweetness of it; so that, even if adverse circumstances should occur, and, through the indecision of our own Government, and the avaricious cruelty of other nations, the slave-trade should again break forth for a little season, and begin to domineer, the love of lawful traffic may survive the storm. It is with such objects in view that the "Day-spring" screw steamer has now entered the inner waters of the Niger. Trading stations are to be opened amongst the Ibos, and at other suitable localities along the banks, more especially at the Confluence, as fitted to become a great central emporium—a Confluence, not only of waters, but of languages and nations. Here conjoin the Igara, Igbira, Nufi, Kankanda; the Yorubas come hither to trade from the westward; the Hausa from the east. The articles exposed for sale are as various as the nations which resort thither. To facilitate still further the commercial development that is looked for, Sierra-Leone *émigrés*, of such a stamp of character as to afford security that the influence which they will exercise on their countrymen will be

for good, are offered passages to the Confluence at low rates. The Sierra-Leone emigrants are much more widely extended along the west coast than our readers probably suppose. The position which they occupy amongst the local tribes is an important one, and the influence which they exercise is beneficial or otherwise according to their character. Where they are men of Christian principle and conduct, their energies properly directed, and their example promotive of the improvement of their countrymen, they prove a most valuable element, and it is this stamp of Sierra-Leone emigrants whom we wish to attract to their parental *locales* along the Niger banks.

But there is something more contemplated. The friends of Africa who have originated this expedition, and by whose energy it has been prepared and sent forth, feel persuaded that their exertions can only be successful as they have a Christian root; that all transplants of efforts into the soil of Africa fail, which are not furnished with this root. They are aware, that, in order to the prospering of industrial and commercial undertakings, there must be improvement of native character; that no mere secular action, however well-intentioned, can accomplish this; that higher influences must be introduced, and that the evangelist must be conjoined with the trader, if lasting good is to be done to Africa. They have therefore summoned the Church Missionary Society to unite with them in the effort. Mr. Macgregor Laird, to whose able superintendence the arrangements of the expedition have been entrusted, attended a Committee Meeting of the Society, with the express object of inviting our co-operation, and offered a free passage on board the steamer to a select band of acclimatized men, whether European or native. Most thankfully was that offer accepted. It afforded the opportunity of fulfilling the promises we had made to the river tribes, and making good the obligations that had been incurred. It was decided, in prayerful dependence on the Divine blessing, to initiate a Niger Mission; and the Rev. S. Crowther, who had accompanied both the previous expeditions, was appointed to conduct the first labourers to their destination. Every thing seemed auspicious for the commencement of a Niger Mission. We had a Bishop on the coast, one long identified with the West-Africa Mission, who had known it in its time of tribulation, when it was a sickly nursling, and who was now invested with its superintendence at the interesting season of its extension, when stretching forth its boughs to the sea, and its branches to the river. His

experience was available for the selection of suitable agents from among the Christian Africans of Sierra Leone—Ibo men for the Ibo tribes, Nufis and Kakandas, &c., for the Confluence, and the admission of so many as might be desirable to holy orders.

These hopes received encouragement from the fact that the Episcopate of Bishop Weeks, although so recent in its commencement, had been already rich in native ordinations, while his own visit to the Yoruba country, in company with two experienced Missionaries from Sierra Leone, the Rev. Messrs. Beale and Frey, afforded him opportunities of conferring with Mr. Crowther, and promised to place him in full possession of all the information he might require in order to understand the wants and further the objects of the new Mission.

If there were any elements to be super-added which could serve to make the concurrence of circumstances specially hopeful, it was the appointment of Dr. Baikie to the command of the expedition, his experience of the African coast, sympathy for the native race, and due appreciation of the value of Missionary work, remarkably qualifying him for such a responsibility.

The prospect of this vigorous effort to improve the providential openings for the good of Africa, and the expression of the Committee's desire that he should accompany the expedition, elicited from Mr. Crowther the following reply, containing some valuable points of information.

Lagos, March 4, 1857.

"I received your letter of January 23d with great joy, especially on account of the simultaneous move which is being made for the exploration of Africa, East and West, North and South, but East and West in particular, which have long suffered from the iron rod of oppression and slavery, through avarice.

"I cheerfully concur in the wishes of the Committee in accepting Mr. Laird's invitation to go up with the first vessel in June, and to render every possible assistance in my power to further the objects in contemplation.

"I am thankful to learn that some native teachers from Sierra Leone are to accompany me, especially of the Ibo nation, Aboh district being the first place of importance; and, from the willingness of the chiefs to receive Christian teachers, that place claims the first attention. If a station can at once be established in the best locality in any part of Aboh district, I shall be happy to push it forward. Arrangement as to the place can better be made by conference with the chiefs on the spot, and

by using our own judgment as regards facility for easy communication with surrounding towns and villages, and as regards salubrity for resident teachers.

The Confluence of the Kowara and Tshadda is the next and most important locality: it, being a nucleus of trade, will be the centre of operations. For the beginning, it is safer to be among the people than to dwell in a detached establishment where there is no protection. The town of Gbebe is the place where a chapel or school can at once be erected for receiving Christian emigrants under the means of grace, and their children into school, so the Mission shall be commenced at once by watering the young shoots from the colony of Sierra Leone by education and Christian public worship, especially on the Lord's-day. Facility of communication between the Confluence and Rabba, and between Rabba and Ilorin, will be better ascertained as the vessel ascends: this will suggest further plans for future extension, and connection of our Yoruba Mission with the Niger.

"I have not yet heard from Mr. Townsend since I sent the mail up, what he thinks of the two native teachers to accompany me from this Mission. I am afraid we shall not be able to provide any. All our native teachers of some experience cannot be taken away from their present out-station posts, and there is such a demand for so many, that we have requested the Bishop to send us some as soon as he returns to Sierra Leone, which he kindly promised to do, as he saw our difficulty in providing our numerous out-stations with such men. I think if two consistent Christians who can read can be had from the churches in Sierra Leone, it will be far easier for us, and advantageous to the work; more so if such persons can be found among those who desire to return to their own country on the banks of the Niger; and if Mr. King is to go after my return to give them support. Should we not be able to supply two additional native teachers direct from the Yoruba Mission, I shall get the Local Committee to sanction my employing two such persons above mentioned among the emigrants whom I may find qualified to occupy the posts of Scripture readers and Christian teachers at the Confluence, according to the plan proposed by the Committee. The work should be begun, how feeble soever the attempts may be at the commencement.

"To introduce industry among the natives of the interior, if encouragement were given to them by purchasing up their produce suitable for European market, this will be inducement to increase the cultivation and

growth of such articles as cotton, beni-seed, ground-nuts, and other like produce, besides palm-oil, palm-nut oil, shea butter, and ivory, the present articles of trade amongst the people.

“For cotton, there should be sent up a few saw-gins, to teach the people how to clean cotton for European markets. A screw-press will be indispensable, or else the conveyance of cotton will not be practicable in any large quantity. Cotton, and all produce, should be bought and paid for on the spot by the agents of the trading establishments on the river, the people on the banks of the Niger not having the confidence and experience in dealing with Europeans in a far country, as the people of Sierra Leone have, and Abbeokuti people are now gaining.

“The first five years the contract has to last should be the seed-time of introducing Christianity and civilization, therefore the present plans should be framed accordingly. If the African Native-Agency Committee can employ a few persons under their pay at first, to encourage the growth of cotton up the banks of the Niger, not so much by growing cotton themselves—except a small patch as a model—but by buying up what they have already grown, I think it will be a strong stimulus to industry. Finding a market for what they have grown, or may grow, is as much as if they have received prizes to stimulate them to exertions. When trade and agriculture engage the attention of the people, and with the gentle and peaceful teaching of Christianity, the minds of the people will gradually be won from war and marauding expeditions to peaceful trade and commerce. The large increase of trade and agriculture in the Yoruba country at this time is an example of this kind.

“I have been informed that the Society entertains some fears of the probability of some European merchants of capital taking up the cotton trade, and, after the example of American planters, set up slave-labour, and the evil of slavery in America be established in Africa.

“These fears are not without good foundation; but a brief explanation of slavery as it is in this country may in some degree allay such fears. The amount of labour exacted from the slaves in America, and their treatment, is so well known, that I need not say a word about that; but a brief statement of slavery and slave-labour in West Africa will throw some light on the subject.

“First, I do not believe that Europeans can establish cotton plantations in this country by slave-labour, as they do in America,

with any success, because they cannot get more than a certain amount of labour from slaves in this country, according to the usage of the people; and, if hardly worked, they will run away into their own country in the interior. The average amount of labour a master can get from his slaves in this country in agriculture is about six hours daily, that is, about four hours in the morning and two in the afternoon, which is called morning and afternoon labour. The rest of the time belongs to the slaves, during which time many have worked and purchased their own ransom. But by free-labour, for which wages are paid, you can claim the service of the labourers for ten hours daily, which is far more advantageous than slave-labour. The slaves and master in this country live together as a family: they eat out of the same bowl, use the same dress in common, and in many instances are intimate companions; so much so, that, entering a family circle, a slave can scarcely be distinguished from a free man, unless one is told, and except the slave shows by his appearance or tribe marks to be of another country.

“If a list of self-ransomed, or ransomed by relatives, had been kept since our arrival in Abbeokuta, we could have produced hundreds for example.

“Secondly, Since the palm-oil trade, the preparation has been entirely in the hands of the natives: no Europeans have yet ever attempted the manufacture of palm-oil. I believe, from the same ground, that it will not be necessary for Europeans to make cotton plantations, as the natives will undertake to supply them largely. The natives will be jealous of Europeans establishing cotton plantations in this country while they can supply them.

“Thirdly, At Lagos it is very difficult for masters to get their slaves to serve them. As soon as they come of age, they become independent, and labour for themselves, although they own themselves as slaves to their masters. These slaves have bought slaves, from whom again they get very little service, unless occasionally, when the master's house wants building or repairs: then a certain number of bundles of grass thatch is demanded from each slave; but as soon as the house is built or covered, the service of the slaves is over for weeks, for months, and, in some instances, for a whole year. This is a fact which will bear investigation at Lagos and Badagry from any quarter, which, in order to ascertain the true state of domestic slavery in this place, ought to be inquired into for the information of those who desire to know. Many domestic slaves have become so powerful, that their

masters have actually to beg assistance of them before they have it.

"The fact is, slaves have been kept at Lagos and Badagry as a protective body to their masters in time of war—either civil, which often took place at Lagos, or in kidnapping during the prosperity of the slave-trade; but since slave-trade has been put down on this part of the coast, and slave wars have subsided—in which many of the slaves took delight to be employed, both for their own and for the interest of their masters—many have turned their attention to lawful commerce, and many others have run away into their own country in the interior. From these facts I cannot see how Europeans can establish slave-labour in this country, as they do in America, with success, if not to the ruin and destruction of their capital. I believe those who will make the experiment will find that the people will make most out of them in this country, instead of their making most out of the people, as they do in America.

"I shall be thankful if the Committee will furnish me with some useful things to remunerate any persons who may render me services during our travels in the country; or, if a certain sum be granted for such a purpose, I can select such articles from this place which I may find suitable for the people upon the banks of the Niger."

Thus far our prospects of being enabled to enter the Niger with a strong Missionary force, and proceed at once to the permanent occupation of commanding points along the river's banks, as far as the Confluence, had been most encouraging. But unexpected events of an adverse character have been interposed, such as often occur in the history of Missions, thrown in just at the most interesting and hopeful crisis, and yet of such a nature as to constrain us to recognise the hand of God. They occur, according to our poor judgment, at the moment which we would have screened from them, retarding some promising crisis just as it looked ripe for development, and checking for a season our earnest hopes. Such an event has been the death of Bishop Weeks and the two Missionaries who accompanied him to the Bight of Benin. They had obtained all the requisite information in conference with the Yoruba Missionaries, and especially Mr. Crowther. They had ascertained the objects to be aimed at, and the men that might be requisite for the commencement of the work. Acquainted with Sierra Leone and its capabilities, they were in a position to proceed at once to the selection of suitable agents; but death came,

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and removed, one by one, these connecting links between the need of the Niger and the supply at Sierra Leone. First, Mr. Beale died at Lagos—"a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," who expended the remainder of his exhausted strength in an effort to reclaim some Sierra-Leone emigrants who had fallen away from a Christian profession, and were acting unbecomingly. The Bishop reached Freetown in a state of extreme exhaustion. The Rev. F. Pocock, his chaplain, on his demise, which occurred ten days subsequently, communicated with us in the following letter, dated April 9th—

"On Monday evening, March 14th, the mail 'Candace' arrived from the coast, and as soon as I heard the gun fire I went off at once, meeting Messrs. Campbell and Quaker. We were shocked to see the dear Bishop. When I entered his cabin he greeted me most heartily, and wanted to tell me, as he then said, four or five very important matters, but was too weak to do so. It was thought better not to remove him that evening, either to Fourah Bay or to my house. Early the next morning Captain Taylor lent his boat for us, and we went out to Fourah Bay. The Bishop was so weak that I told the men not to let him attempt to get out of the hammock, but carry him at once up stairs, which they did, and the poor invalid was soon in his own quiet bed, and truly thankful to the Lord for all His mercies, even shedding tears of joy, in which we all could not help participating.

"It was found afterwards that Mr. Frey had exerted himself to do what he could for the Bishop, and he became very sick—one in one room, and the other in the other. It was most grievous.

"*March 22: Lord's-day*—Mr. Jones was to preach for me in the cathedral. He came in and told me of his great fears that the Bishop was sinking. He kindly took the whole service, which enabled me to go out to be with Mrs. Weeks and Mrs. Frey. Poor things! they could not bring their minds to think the worst. I went in to see the dear Bishop. He knew me, and looked up with a sweet smile, and said, 'Mr. Pocock, if there is a time when Christ is more especially precious, it is when we have death before us. I am very weak. Pray for me.' I could not refrain my tears, which he noticed, and spoke a cheering word to me.

"*March 24*—When I saw the dear invalid I was sure death was approaching, and was obliged to break the sad truth to Mrs. Weeks. I had sent for my mattress from Freetown, and lay down, and the poor Bishop soon became

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very much worse. About three o'clock I went up in my dressing-gown to see them, and gave him some nourishment. He knew me, and said, 'Yes, it is Mr. Pocock.' Mrs. Frey said to him, 'Do you find Christ precious now?' He could only speak a letter at a breath, so he deliberately spelt the word to her, 'P r e c i o u s.' I returned to the room, and found poor Mrs. Weeks and all quite exhausted. I made them all take some refreshment, and told them the nurse and myself would watch if they would but go and take some rest, and both, wearied and tired out, fell asleep, of which I was truly glad. I sat with the nurse watching until about five minutes to five, when his blessed and happy spirit departed to be for ever with Christ."

The Rev. C. T. Frey lingered for one month longer, when he also entered into his rest. The following notice of his death appeared in "The African, and Sierra-Leone Weekly Advertiser," of April 30—

"Died at Fourah Bay, on the night of the 23d instant, the Rev. C. T. Frey, Church Missionary at Waterloo, aged forty-six years. Mr. Frey was born at Schorndorf, in the kingdom of Wurtemberg, and arrived in this colony in the latter part of the year 1841, and has ever since been actively engaged in the service of the Church Missionary Society; first, for a brief period, at Bathurst, then at Kent, and for the last fourteen years at Waterloo. Quiet and unobtrusive in character, he was little known beyond the sphere of his own labours; but among the people of his charge he was greatly loved and esteemed. How he laboured, what earnestness and perseverance he manifested in the discharge of his various duties, is known to all connected with him in the Church Mission. He was a man of few words, but of constant activity, and the present state of the church at Waterloo and its out-stations are striking memorials of his faithful and affectionate teachings and labours. In November last he was selected by the late Bishop Weeks to accompany him in his visitation to the Yoruba country. He left this on the 13th November, and, after visiting the various Mission stations, he embarked in the steamer 'Niger' on his return homewards, and landed at Accra on the 9th February. The fatigues and hardships he endured while travelling in the Aquapim Mountains soon affected a body that was already wearied with its journeyings in Yoruba. He became so ill at Accra, from a dysenteric affection, that the Bishop contemplated leaving him to come by the next steamer. He, however, revived, and gained strength on board the steamer; so that, on his arrival here on the night of the 16th of

March, he was regarded by his friends as in improving health. On the night after his arrival he experienced another attack of dysentery, which, though it soon yielded to medical treatment, yet was followed by such extreme debility, that he finally sank under it. While his body was daily wasting away, he was in the enjoyment of perfect peace within. As a last resource, preparations had been made to send him to Teneriffe; but on the very day of the arrival of the steamer the voyage was at once abandoned, and his friends lost all hope of his continuing with them. It was most delightful to witness the calm and heavenly serenity of his dying hours. At his own request, the sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered to him the day before his death, and those who were present will not soon forget the solemnities of that scene. As it became evident that his death was near, equally evident was it that his soul was in peace. He gave an affecting token of recognition to his sorrowing wife within ten minutes of his death; and so quietly did he leave us that we hardly knew the moment when he ceased to breathe.

"Say ye to the righteous, that it shall be well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings."

Thus does it often happen. Agents are removed at the very moment when, according to human judgment, we most need them, and the selection appears to fall on those who can least be spared. The Lord thus reminds us of our dependence on Himself. It is only as our efforts for the spread of the gospel are undertaken in this spirit that they can be successful. The more our undertakings are penetrated with a profound spirit of humility, and entire reliance on the Divine blessing for success, the more extensive and important the results which may be effected. But when our plans prosper, and numerous agents are placed at our disposal, as probably would have been the case had the Bishop lived, it is difficult to prevent the confidence which derives itself from earthly sources intermingling itself with the reliance which is of faith. It appears to be a law of Missionary action, to which we do not recollect an exception, that important Missions should be initiated by a feeble agency, and amidst many difficulties and discouragements. Thus men are made the more sensible how much they need the presence and power of the Lord, and their hearts are kept in prayerful waiting upon Him who is "the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are afar off upon the sea." That expectation of aid from on high, and the willingness on our part to regard ourselves simply as an instrumentality through which it re-

mains for the Lord to work, is of far more value than a multiplied agency.

Dr. Baikie, on his arrival at Sierra Leone, the latter end of April, engaged immediately in the arrangements necessary for securing interpreters and others to accompany him up the Niger. A letter written by Mr. Crowther—Lagos, May 12th—shows that, while deeply sensible of the loss which had been sustained, he still entertained hopes that, through these efforts, the necessary agency would be procured.

“The afflictions we have been called upon again to pass through from the death of our zealous Bishop, shortly after his return from this coast to Sierra Leone, is another mysterious dispensation of God towards this Mission. We feel it deeply, this being the second who has been removed from us in the same way; and more so just about the time of this important move to the Niger, the selection of suitable persons to accompany us being committed into his hands, having seen the working and need of the Yoruba Mission. But he did not live to accomplish our wishes. Equally painful has been the intelligence of the severe sufferings of Mr. Frey from sickness. Notwithstanding these dark dispensations, the Lord reigneth. I have received a note from Dr. Baikie announcing his arrival at Sierra Leone. He was about to commence selecting suitable persons for the settlements on the Niger. He was going to visit the Missionaries when he wrote. My letter to the Bishop will no doubt be attended to, respecting those Christian teachers I have named to them. Although we may not have all we could wish under present circumstances, yet, through the help of God, I hope to make a judicious beginning in forming Missionary settlements near each trading station, by means of Christian teachers. Many things will appear to us in a much clearer light upon the spot. With the suggestion of such a person as Dr. Baikie, whose cautious steps at Sierra Leone begin to aim at permanency, and success in the undertaking, we hope to make a good beginning.”

Assuredly offers of service were not wanting, for the interest amongst the native Christians of Sierra Leone was of no ordinary character. The providential appeal, “Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?” had reached their ears and their hearts. The finger of God pointed to the Niger, and there were many to respond, “Here am I, send me.” Some from the Ibo country, or of Ibo parentage, were willing to undertake for the Delta; others, of Hausa or Kakanda parents, were willing to undertake for the Confluence. Some

of the letters written on this occasion are deeply interesting. We introduce one, addressed to the Honorary Lay-Secretary.

“It is with the greatest pleasure I now take my pen to address another letter to the Parent Committee of our beloved Society on the subject of the coming Niger expedition, the undertaking of which fills my mind with delight, for I have long ago been anxiously looking forward to the time when this would be effected.

“Difficulties and discouragements have been, till of late, repeatedly presenting themselves, so as to render it impossible for the gospel to extend into the interior of Africa.

“The attempts made at different times for the accomplishment of this desirable object have met with little success, and therefore we have been induced to look for that time to a still more distant period.

“Many persons of the Ibo tribe have been led by these considerations to infer that British Christians would no more think of doing any good, both in civilizing and Christianizing the interior of Africa; that the many valuable lives lost in the attempt previously made will tend to damp the spirits of English philanthropists, and relax the endeavours of many Christians in coming forward with their means for the benefit of perishing souls in that part of this vast continent. But the ways of Providence are indeed mysterious. He has brought it about, and that in a remarkable manner, when all hopes seem to fail, and has put it also into the hearts of the Committee of the Society to avail themselves of such an opening to further the gospel of Christ in that dark region. We trust that God’s time is now come for enlightening the interior of Africa, which, until now, is lying in ignorance, heathenism, and superstition.

“I greatly rejoice at such a wonderful opening, and I trust that soon the Committee will, as in the Yoruba country, be delighted with the good report of the gospel working mightily among the Ibos, and also have abundant cause to thank God on their behalf that this has been effected by their means.

“I am a descendant of the Ibo tribe, as also my wife, who is more fluent in the language than myself, and therefore I readily and willingly offer my services, should the Committee be pleased to approve of it, for that Mission, which I sincerely hope will soon be established. It has been my desire long ago to become a Missionary to my fatherland, and my earnest prayer, since our Mission to the Niger in the year 1853,

that I may be used as an instrument for the benefit of the souls of my countrymen. The more I consider that many of my own relatives are there perishing for lack of the gospel truth, the more my heart burns within, and I believe I can readily say, 'Here am I, send me.' I desire to declare to my heathen brethren God's love towards a sinful world, if by any means some might be brought to acknowledge the truth as it is in Jesus. Europeans have left their homes to make known this truth to us, and why should we be reluctant in showing the light, by which we have been enlightened, to our own brethren and kinsmen.

"We do not speak of accomplishing great things, for we must expect difficulties; but the work is the Lord's, who has graciously promised, 'My word shall not return unto me void;' therefore we believe, that in the Ibo country also, as in other parts, the Lord has 'much people.' I therefore wait with patience for the time it shall please Him and the Committee to appoint me also my labours in that field, which appears to be white already to harvest."

It is encouraging and satisfactory to find that there is no lack of the Missionary spirit amongst the Christian Africans of Sierra Leone. God has implanted in the African mind a powerful love for home and home associations. Years of separation, intervening seas and land, do not prevail to its extinction. It still lives on, and, with a tenacity peculiar to himself, the friendless exile retains on memory's tablet the vivid remembrance of the past, and cheers himself, amidst present tribulation, with the hope of returning to the land of his birth, and embracing once more the friends whom he had lost. When to this strength of natural feelings and affection is superadded the peculiar promptings of gospel grace on the heart, the conscious possession of a grand secret, of an inestimable treasure, the desire to share it with those we love, that they may be happy also, we can understand the earnestness of that desire which moves the Christian African to go forth as an evangelist to his countrymen. But just at this moment, the concentrative element of authority and decision, which would have brought together into arrangement and action the various desires and earnest purposes which were dispersed abroad in many a heart, was wanting. The parent church in the colony, bereaved of its Bishop and two of its leading clergy, appeared to those who remained in a bare and denuded state. It was on the point of being still further weakened by the return of another experienced pastor, in enfeebled health,

to Europe. Friends there feared to sanction the departure of so many valuable native agents. It was well to commence the Niger Mission, but not by the exhaustion of the parent stock. It was judged that one only could be spared, and the native minister, the Rev. J. C. Taylor (2), of Bathurst, left with Dr. Baikie as the alone representative of the Sierra-Leone church for the great work about to be commenced on the banks of the Niger.

From the Yoruba Mission no help had been expected. The growth of that Mission has been far beyond its years. All its resources are employed in meeting the demands consequent on its rapidity of development. Thus, at the commencement of the expedition Mr. Crowther found himself with Mr. Taylor only as his associate. Happily he has succeeded in securing the services of the experienced Christian African, Simon Jonas, who, on the last expedition, sojourned with King Obi, at Aboh, while the "Pleiad" was up the river, and these three constitute the initiatory agency of the Niger Mission. We can scarcely be surprised that feelings of disappointment were strong in the mind of Mr. Crowther. The following letter is his expression of them: it is dated Fernando Po, May 29th.

"On the 21st I embarked at Lagos, and joined the Rev. J. C. Taylor on board the 'Candace.'

"The late floods of afflictions upon the West-Africa Mission are overwhelming. The removal of our good Bishop Weeks, and that of the Rev. Mr. Frey so soon after, both just on their return from their visit to the Bight of Benin and the Gold Coast, call for prayers to, and humiliation before, our God, who is the disposer of these painful dispensations. Perhaps we have been sacrificing to the nets and the drags, instead of to Him who has said, 'Cast the net on the right side of the ship.' May our sins be forgiven and our errors corrected in judgment, and not in anger!

"These circumstances must, as may be expected, have greatly influenced a drawback on the progress of the Niger Mission. The selection of native teachers was committed to the hand of the late Bishop, and, after his death, I had fully hoped that Mr. Frey, who was fully acquainted with the whole arrangements, would have moved the Sierra-Leone Committee to execute those wishes; but he also was removed from the field of labour. The consequence is, there is no other person from Sierra Leone to accompany me but the Rev. J. C. Taylor, and none from the Yoruba Mission, because there was none to spare, as

there are loud calls for teachers around Abeokuta and Lagos, but none to be sent.

"But in Sierra Leone there were plenty of offers from suitable persons. Why they were not engaged and sent I cannot tell. The Rev. Josiah Thomas, and Jacob Coel, and Mr. George Wilhelm, catechist, Mr. Isaac Connell, schoolmaster, and Mr. John Smart, an old experienced Christian of Regent, of the Ibo nation, who has a fervent desire to spend the remainder of his life in imparting the saving knowledge of the Saviour to his benighted countrymen, have all volunteered to accompany Mr. Taylor; but none was spared with him. Also Mr. John Mason, schoolmaster of Kisey-Road Church, of Hausa parents, volunteered, and John Thomas, a Kakanda or Bunue Christian, of Wellington, who had written to me more than once on the subject of his wishes and desires to make himself useful up the Niger, who, with John Mason, would have been the most suitable persons as teachers to be left at the Confluence, have not been sent. . . .

"We are here waiting for the 'Dayspring;' but without men what can be done? However, I have secured the services of Simon Jonas permanently for the Society, to labour with Mr. Taylor till their hands are strengthened from Sierra Leone. Thus far I have arranged for the Aboh districts; but as regards the Confluence, as nobody has been sent to me, it must be left unoccupied until teachers be sent by the 'Sunbeam' in September, or it must be left so for another twelve months. If the journey to Sokoto, and the route to Illorin, had not interfered, I should have proposed remaining at the Confluence till provision is made for that place."

And here appears the suitable place in this *resumé* to refer to the specific branch of the expedition entrusted to Mr. Crowther. It is one of an arduous character, and, in his attempt to carry it out, we desire to request on his behalf the prayers of Christian friends, that he may be watched over, protected, and prospered, and finally brought back in peace to his own home, and his own Mission. Leaving the steamer at the Confluence, he is to push on to Sokoto, the centre and capital of the Phula power in Africa. We have, on previous occasions, introduced mention of this people, and their extraordinary outburst of conquest in these regions of Africa.* It may be desirable, for clearness' sake, briefly to repeat them; and we avail ourselves of the following condensed notice of the race from Koelle's "Polyglotta Africana"—

* "Church Missionary Intelligencer," July 1855, p. 148, &c.

"The original home of Fúlḃé was in Sili-bāwa, near Fúta Tórō, whose inhabitants are called Torónka, and where they had been often molested by Kafirs. To escape this molestation, they went gradually towards the east, in the capacity of nomadic shepherds, till they arrived in Hausa. This seems to have happened in the eighteenth century of the Christian era. After they had been tending their cattle a long time in these forests and grassfields, without towns, and subsisting simply on the produce of their herds, one of their priests, of the name of Fódie, had an apparition of the prophet Muhammad, which was destined to form a most signal epoch in the history of the Phula, and, indeed, in the history of the whole of Central and Western Africa. In this apparition Fódie was informed that the whole of that beautiful country around them, with all its populous towns and countless villages, belonged to the believers in the prophet, to wit, the Phula, and that it was Fódie's divine commission, with the help of the faithful, to wrest all those flowery plains, those fruitful hills and lovely valleys, from the hand of the Kafir, and then to bring all the Kafirs into subjection to the Islam, and to devote to the sword every one who refused to believe. Almost beside himself with enthusiasm, and burning with fanaticism, Fódie summoned the believing Fúlḃé from every country, to the very coast of the Atlantic, to rally round his banner, and to fight with him the battles of the prophet for the subjugation of all the Kafir tribes of Africa to the religion of God and His prophet. And, like an electric shock, this message of Fódie pervaded all the lands where the Phula were sojourning, and, with a magical power, converted the shepherds into warriors. Soon Fódie saw himself surrounded with an army convinced of its own invincibility, and thirsting for the battle. Thus commenced, at the beginning of the present century, when in France Napoleon was preparing to shake Europe, those extraordinary Púlō movements in Central Africa, which, though unrecorded on the pages of our usual 'Universal Histories,' are yet written in streams of blood on the pages of that real Universal History of our race, in which every human action records itself. On the spot where Fódie had his apparition he afterwards built the town Sókoto, which is now the great centre of Púlō power in Africa. There is also a saying, that when Muhammad came from Mecca on his camel, invisible of course, in order to appear to Fódie, he halted on the mountain Dala, near Káno, and there performed his prayers. Now on the top of the Dala there is a rock, and in that rock certain cavities, and these

cavities are the impress of the knees of Muhammad's camel when he alighted, of the calabash which he used for the usual washing before prayer, and of Muhammad's own knees, hands, and forehead, as he prostrated himself in prayer to God. But whoever has doubts on this point had better go and examine for himself."*

These notices will enable our readers to realize the character of the forward movement to Sokoto entrusted to Mr. Crowther. His object will be to have an interview with the Sultan, establish with him friendly relations, obtain permission to visit his country, and collect information which will prove of greatest value, when, by the blessing of God, our Missionary work begins, we trust at no distant period, to extend itself from the Yoruba country beyond the Niger into the Nufi and Bassa countries, and thence into Hausa.

A very needful measure of precaution has been taken by Mr. Crowther, with his usual wisdom, in reference to this forward movement. "I have thought it advisable, with a view of making favourable impressions on the minds of the Mohammedan population, through whose country we shall have to pass to Sokoto and Illorin, to engage Kosumo, a Yoruba Mohammedan and liberated African, who has been an Arabic teacher for many years, to accompany me in my travels. Kosumo has ever appreciated the benevolence of the British Government on behalf of Africa, nor less so the labours of the Church Missionary Society in converting the heathen from idolatry to the worship of the true God. Such a man will do a vast deal in softening the bigotry and prejudices of men of his persuasion. The beginning of our Missionary operations in countries under Mohammedan government should not be disputes about the truth or falsehood of one religion or another, but we should aim at toleration, to be permitted to teach their heathen subjects the religion we profess."

After completing the special objects of his visit to the Phula country, Mr. Crowther is then instructed, crossing the Niger, to endeavour to penetrate by Illorin into the Yoruba country.

Illorin has been visited by our Missionary, the Rev. A. Mann, and also by the American Baptist Missionary, the Rev. R. J. Bowen, from whose work on Central Africa, published at Charlestown, we introduce the following notices of this African city.

"Illorin once belonged to the Yoruba kingdom. About fifty years ago, the Imolle, or Yoruba Mohammedans, conspired with the

Hausas and Pulohs to subdue the heathen and erect a Mohammedan nation. For some years they were uniformly successful, owing to the Puloh and Hausa cavalry. Aw-yaw [Oyo], the capital of Yoruba, and many other cities, were destroyed, and the Pulohs boasted that they would not cease till they had subdued all the country to the sea. While this was going on, so many refugees, outlaws, and desperadoes assembled at Ibadan, on the borders of the forest country, that it grew from a small town to a large city, which felt itself able to oppose the progress of the Pulohs. A bloody battle between the armies of Ibadan and Illorin resulted in the signal defeat of the latter, and put an end to their conquests. Since that time they have been content to maintain their independence. A Puloh man, named Absalom, who was a relative of Bello of Sokoto, and of Dendo of Raba, became their king, and was succeeded by the present king Suta, whom the Yorubas call Sheeta.

"The people of Illorin are a mixture of Yorubas, Pulohs, or Fellatahs, Hausas, or Gambarees, Kanikes, or Bornueese, and Nufes, or Papas. Most of the people, of all tribes, speak the Yoruba language. (P. 201.)

"The Pulohs are the ruling people, the king himself being of that tribe, and the Yorubas are the most numerous."

Illorin lies on one of the great caravan routes by which communication is held with the interior as far as the north coast of Africa. Both Messrs. Mann and Bowen met here with Moors and Arab traders from the north coast. "There were several Moors and Arabs at Illorin, and some of the latter were as fair-skinned as myself. In fact, I suspected one of being, as his countenance indicated, neither more nor less than an American, but I afterwards supposed myself to be mistaken. One of the Moors, who professed to have been at Kassandra and Stamboul—Alexandria and Constantinople—treated me with great friendship, and appeared to be much interested in my case. On one occasion he said to all present, pointing to me, 'These people are the masters of the world.' He told me that he had seen the ships of my country in the Mediterranean."†

Mr. Bowen was not more successful than our own Missionary in obtaining the king's permission to commence Missionary operations at Illorin. We regret that he should think it consistent with the dignity of a Christian Missionary to endeavour to obtain a preference for himself by an unjust disparagement of the English Missionaries. In a conversation with the executioner, Nasamu, under whose charge

* Introductory Remarks, p. 18.

† Bowen, p. 199.

he was placed, he introduces himself as speaking thus—"Nasamu, you know I told the king that I did not want money or horses, or slaves, or ivory: only to preach the gospel. When I come I shall want to live in some retired place, that I may preach to the poor as well as to the rich. I cannot live in Fada—the aristocratic quarter. The English Missionaries will come by-and-by, and they know best how to please kings: they will live in Fada. You must let me be a poor man in Illorin." There is much of valuable information in Mr. Bowen's book, but it is spoiled by the frequent intrusion of petty narrownesses of this kind. No work, his own excepted, appears to meet with favour at his hands. One little sample we shall give: it will suffice. "Rare scenes are sometimes witnessed in the Methodist meetings on some parts of the coast. The sober Episcopalian converts are greatly delighted with the 'service.' To kneel a little and stand a little by turns, to chant the doxology, and repeat the Lord's prayer in concert, to bow the knee mechanically whenever they repeat the name of Jesus in the Creed, to exclaim 'Good Lord, deliver us,' in solemn set tones, twenty times successively, in the responses of the Litany—all this has a strong hold on the hearts of the people, because it is congenial to their natural feelings." We fear we must express our strong conviction, that, in penning such sentences there is much more of natural feelings than in the set tones of the Popo converts; and the more such natural feelings are suppressed, the more will Christ be glorified, and His gospel be commended to the world. We are the more surprised to meet with such blemishes in a work otherwise valuable, inasmuch as, by the author's own acknowledgment, all courtesy was shown him by the English Missionaries. "Finding myself detained indefinitely at Abbeokuta, I now took up my abode in a native house; but the chiefs soon objected to this, and I was obliged to remove to Mr. Townsend's compound, or Mission enclosure, where I was furnished with rooms, and boarded myself for about a year and a half, frequently making attempts to reach the interior."*

Returning from this digression, which we do the more gladly, as the points of view to which it has conducted us are not such as we prefer, we will mention the distances from the sea coast to Illorin through the intermediate points of occupation as laid down by Mr. Bowen. "The distance from Lagos to Abbeokuta by the river Ogun is about ninety miles; thence by the road to Ijaye sixty miles;

thence to Ogbomoshaw fifty miles; thence to Illorin twenty-eight miles; and thence to Ilade, on the Niger, about fifty miles." The entire distance from Lagos to the Niger by this circuitous route would be, according to the above calculation, 280 miles; by a direct route, 150 miles.

We shall watch Mr. Crowther's progress with much prayerful solicitude. May the pillar of the divine guidance and protection conduct him on his way. He refers to one circumstance connected with the politics of these interior countries. Dasaba, king of Lade, surnamed the Cruel, the same by whom the right bank of the Niger, the most densely populated in 1841, had been so harassed as to compel the population to transfer themselves to the opposite bank, where they were found in 1854, having, by his atrocities, caused a revolt amongst his own subjects, was exiled by the Sultan of Sokoto to Illorin in 1852. This man has just returned to Lade with the permission of the Sultan, and this event, by tranquillizing for a season the disquietudes of these countries, will facilitate, it is hoped, the approach of Mr. Crowther to Sokoto, as well as his return by Illorin.

There is one other point of encouragement in connexion with this commencement of the new Mission, that the most important of the languages which will be required in our new relations with the native tribes, the Ibo and the Hausa, are already at our disposal. The Ibo is the language of the tribes scattered over the delta of the Niger, amongst whom Missionary stations will be forthwith formed. In this language Mr. Crowther, assisted by the native catechist, Simon Jonas, has completed a primer and copious vocabulary, which have been printed. With respect to the Hausa, the providential manner in which we have been enabled to make progress in it is remarkable. Dr. Barth, on his returning to Europe from his African explorations, brought with him two native youths, who had been with him in the capacity of servants. After a time, it became desirable they should return home, and they were forwarded to England for this purpose, consigned to the care of the Church Missionary Society. It was found, on intercourse with them, that they were both acquainted with the Hausa language, one being a native of that country, the other from Bornu. Our attention had been for a considerable time directed to this language, with a view to future operations in the Niger countries; and the Rev. J. F. Schön, of Chatham, who had accompanied the first expedition up the Niger, during his Missionary life on the west

* Pp. 133, 134.

coast had laboured diligently in the study of it, and with considerable effect; but the elementary books he had prepared had not been printed, as he felt they needed the supervision of a native. Such an opportunity now presented itself. The youths were easily induced to remain in England for a time. They have been resident with Mr. Schön for the last seventeen months, and their intercourse with him, and opportunities of being instructed in Christianity, have been so blessed to them, that, convinced of its truth, and desirous of embracing it, they have been baptized.* There is every reason to entertain the hope that they have given their hearts to the Saviour, and that, if their lives be spared, they will prove a blessing to their countrymen. Meanwhile they have proved most valuable assistants in overcoming the difficulties of the Hausa. Elementary books, with the four gospels and Acts, have been prepared and printed in that language, and are now on board the "Dayspring" for distribution.

And now, before we conclude this article, we must be permitted to look back on Sierra Leone. Through a lengthened series of events, often of a very discouraging character, a native church has been raised up on the once dark west coast of Africa. The living stones of which it consists were once widely separated from each other; so much so, that, if we had seen them in that original state of dispersion, we should have considered it not only improbable, but utterly impossible that they should ever be brought together to form the materials of a Christian church. Yet they have been wondrously concentrated—brought together from remote and widely-separated parts of Africa, from regions which the white man has never penetrated. We regard these fragments of remote tribes and nations with feelings somewhat similar to those with which the geologist views the erratic blocks, which, by the force of extraordinary convulsions, have been transferred from the mountain groups to which they once belonged into the far-off lowland country, though seas intervene, as the Baltic between the blocks of granite, sienite, porphyry, on the plains of Northern Germany, and the parent mountains in the southern parts of Sweden, from whence they were originally rent. So there have been mighty social convulsions in Africa, political earthquakes, and disruptions of nations, and fragments dislocated from the parent stock have been wondrously transferred to a distant point. But here there is some-

* *Vide* "Recent Intelligence," appended to our July Number.

thing which surpasses the geological wonder; for from widely-separated regions they have been brought together at one point, one place of meeting, the home of the liberated African, Sierra Leone. Here we have something that arrests attention. In this we trace the finger of God.

But again, when these materials were thus strangely brought together they appeared to the eye of man unsuitable and unworthy elements, altogether unfitted to be used for so high and holy a purpose as the formation of a Christian church; so debased were they in every possible aspect in which, as men, they could be regarded—physically, intellectually, morally. As many of them had the spine so warped by their crippled position in the hold of the slave ship that they could not raise themselves up, so it seemed as if these poor sufferers were so morally stooped, that uprightness could never be recovered. Not only were the materials discouraging, but the workmen who were to operate on them, and use them for the erection of a Christian church, were few and weak, continually disabled by sickness; and, at the very moment when they had learned how to deal with the people, removed by death. Sustained labours appeared to be indispensable in order to any lasting effect being produced: instead of this were continually interrupted labours. But the apparent unsuitableness of the material, and the apparent ineffectiveness of the agency, did not prevent the accomplishment of those results which God intended. The gospel was taught, simply, faithfully: there was no reserve or compromise. Jesus was made known as the Saviour for poor perishing sinners to come to Him, as they were, wretched and miserable, so that He might supply their wants. There was no doubt, no distrust, as to whether the gospel could adapt itself to such poor and mean capacities, and no hesitation as to whether a preliminary course of instruction ought not to have been adopted before its truths were presented to such untutored minds. The Missionaries knew it was beyond their power to make these dry bones live, but not beyond the power of God; that the energy of the Spirit could accomplish it; and they knew that it is by the word of the gospel the Spirit works. They believed that He who commanded the light to shine, could shine into the dark hearts of these poor negroes, to give them light. And were they disappointed? Were their hopes visionary? Did the word of the gospel prove a quickening word? Did it quicken the dead, and call the things which be not as though they were? We answer, the native church of Sierra Leone has been

rich in Christian experience, as rich as any portion of the human race which has been brought under spiritual instruction. It has proved to be an auriferous soil, which has yielded more than an average proportion of the pure gold of divine faith. Thousands of the liberated Africans have become convinced of their own lost condition as sinners, and have learned to transfer all their hopes and expectations to Christ, and to trust themselves entirely to Him for pardon and salvation. They have diligently sought to serve Him, and have perseveringly struggled with the evil habits and associations of their unhappy early life, and with their dying breath have continued to give utterance to the name of Jesus. The Mission has yielded fruits for heaven; it has also taken root in the soil of Africa, so as to perpetuate itself as a work of God, and in due time send forth spreading branches, and produce results on a scale of great magnitude. The gospel has reached the hearts of many of these Africans, and drawn them from sin and the world unto God. It has awakened the dormant capacity, and brought into action the intellectual energies of the African. It has been found that the African, under European training and instruction, can solve the propositions of Euclid, and master of this alphabet of science, is prepared to reach forward to new acquirements; that he can become conversant with the original languages of the inspired writings; that, divinely taught, and duly trained, he becomes an effective teacher of his countrymen, and a most useful auxiliary to the European Missionary; that, while discriminating the truth of God as the grand essential element on the faithful teaching and reception of which consists the conversion and salvation of sinners, he knows how duly to appreciate those wholesome forms and proprieties with which Christian worship and service ought ever to be clothed; that his observance of the Lord's-day might serve as a model to ourselves at home; and that he is willing to contribute of his means to provide the funds which are necessary, that churches may be builded and repaired, native pastors duly maintained, and schools supported for the Christian education of his children.

As a specimen of African Christianity, and of the intelligence and affection by which it is characterized, we shall venture to introduce the following letter of sympathy from an African schoolmaster in Sierra Leone to Mrs. Frey, on the death of her husband. It is dated May 14th, 1857.

"I deeply regret the loss of your dear
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husband, once my affectionate pastor. I cannot, dear madam, express to you my feelings on hearing the melancholy intelligence, for the tidings filled me with grief, astonishment, and surprise—yea, with thoughts too melancholy to be expressed.

"I need not be told who he was, for I was once under him. As a pastor, he was agreeable, friendly, and affectionate: at times would he advise those under him, to encourage them in the path of duty. As a pastor he would gently reprove those in error, showing them the evil of their doings, and the consequences that would follow.

"He was a person of deep foresight, and his assertions, in many cases, may be said to be prophetic, for the result often turns out as he had previously declared. His advices were always short, but impressive, for he was a man of few words. Whoever slights his advice is sure to find his own error, and will at last regret his folly. This is only an imperfect sketch of the character of my dear pastor, who is now in bliss, reaping his reward. I rejoice, dear madam, to learn from the Rev. F. Bultmann of his calm and peaceful end: yes, 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours.'

"I deeply and sincerely sympathize with you, dearest madam, for the irreparable loss you have sustained, and would have paid you a visit ere you leave Waterloo; but I am sorry that I am the only person in the school, and the schoolmistress having been ill these four weeks back could not attend the school. These, dearest madam, and nothing else, prevent me from performing this last act of duty to you. But, however, you will see my dear wife, who will tell you all my circumstances, and the sorrow I felt at this sad prohibition.

"But though I am kept back by circumstances, yet my earnest prayers on your behalf are not kept back, and, by God's assistance, shall never cease on your behalf. The name of the Rev. Mr. Frey is too dear to me, and too precious, to be forgotten by me.

"But, dear madam, I humbly presume to offer you a word or two of comfort before I close. God is too gracious to err, too kind to afflict His servants but for their everlasting good. Grieve not, dearest madam, nor despair at the removal of your dearest husband, for he has gone to his rest. Which? 'The rest that remains for the people of God,' spoken of in Heb. iv. 9, 10. To this rest, dearest madam, you and I must seek to enter; for if we fall short of this rest we cannot enjoy the company of your dearest departed husband, with the rest of those, our dear friends and

relatives, who are and have been asleep in Jesus.

"But, before I close, I beg, dearest madam, to have from you a small token of remembrance to perpetuate the blessed memory of my late pastor and superintendent, who is now gone to his rest, for the name of the Rev. Mr. Frey is too dear to me: when I think of it I shed tears. Let that token comfort me; for relics of the departed are very precious to those connected or are acquainted with him.

"That the Lord may be pleased, of His infinite mercy, to comfort, preserve, and protect you in your way homewards over the mighty deep; that He may vouchsafe to restore you in health to your dear children and relatives, and pour the blessings of His Holy Spirit upon you, making your children to be a comfort and blessing to you; and in an especial manner prepare us all for that blessed and happy rest above, to which your dear husband, my pastor, is gone—to that blessed assembly which never breaks up, and where sabbaths never end, the church triumphant above, where God shall wipe away all tears from our eyes—is the hearty wish and prayerful desire of your unworthy son and servant in Christ."

A native church has been raised up on the shores of the Sierra-Leone peninsula, and the more its past history and present condition are investigated, the stronger the conviction becomes that it is well consolidated, that its growth is healthy, and that it has capacities for Christian action and Christian service, which only need to be discreetly developed—neither unduly expedited nor unduly retarded—in order to yield fruits of first importance. It is for the good of Africa that it has been raised up. It is impossible to conceive that the light which it is capable of emitting was designed to shine inward on itself alone. Its duties lie in the direction of the languages which are spoken within its limits, and its light should shine abroad, and beyond itself, for the illumination of the millions that are destitute of the gospel. When God, in His providence, opens the way by which men who have been brought under Christian teaching, perhaps trained therein from infancy, may return to their own countries or the countries of their parents, and they are willing to go forth as evangelists, let them not be thwarted. To do so must be pronounced a ruinous process. Its reaction on the native church would be one of calamitous impoverishment. Let them not be held back from the fear of weakening too much the parent stock. Let them be freely surrendered, and the few who remain will prove to be an agency more ef-

fective for good, because more largely blessed of Him who can save by many or by few. These remarks are the more necessary, inasmuch as there appears to be a disposition in some quarters to blame the Sierra-Leone church because of its alleged deficiency in Missionary action. We observe something of this in that interesting publication, Caswall's Memoir of Leacock. This devoted man, the leader of the West-India Mission to Africa, proceeded to occupy the Rio Pongas, about 140 miles to the northward of Sierra Leone. The old chief of this territory had long desired the presence of a Christian Missionary. He had written to Sierra Leone, but his applications had remained unanswered; until at length, after twenty years, in the arrival of Mr. Leacock, the Lord sent him the answer. Subsequently, in conversation, Wilkinson explained to him the extent of the country which in that direction remained to be occupied.

"I immediately replied, 'What countries' and, to my surprise and delight, he answered, without looking at the map, 'From CapeVerga to the river Scarcies, and beyond it, northeast, all the country of Páloukadú, Baléga, Sulimána, Pimásse, and Pourbrichi, and the Soosoo is the native language. Go further south, and in the Piming, North and South Bullom, and in the Sherbro countries, the Soosoo language is spoken. In Sierra Leone, too, it is spoken, though in none of these south countries is it the native language.'" (P. 185.)

Then follow these observations—

"Now this gives us an extent of country, which, if not as large as the famed Ashantee, is larger than Dahomey, with this advantage, that Missionaries need learn but one language—the Soosoo—to have access to them all; yet, strange to say, these great districts of country to which I have alluded have hitherto been entirely overlooked by Christian Societies, the Missionary current setting in strong towards the Cape of Good Hope, and now toward Ashantee and Dahomey. Why is this? Is it that the daring, chivalrous spirit of the age overlooks these poor devil-worshippers, and longs to beard the proud kings, the bloody monsters of Ashantee and Dahomey? If danger be sought for, enough may be found in the climate of the Pongas and back countries, and in the secret machinations of the poisoner and the incendiary. No open opposition may be expected to a teacher as a teacher of religion."

Now we may be permitted to reply. The first action of the Church Missionary Society was amongst the Susu-speaking tribes. But the slave-trade was then powerful and

unscrupulous; not, as now, weakened by continued strokes, and wholly unable to prevent the commencement of a Mission. Its antagonism was soon felt, and these out-stations interfered with, our school-houses burnt, our congregations dispersed, our Missionaries' lives endangered, until, at length, the Missionaries were compelled to retreat to Sierra Leone, and take shelter under the British flag. There, new and extensive materials were provided for them in the liberated slaves. The work, peculiarly difficult from the degraded condition of these poor creatures, was rendered increasingly so by the sickness and death of the Missionaries, and the retardation caused by new infusions of heathenism into the population which they were trying to improve. The Society and its Missionaries were absorbed in the difficult task of endeavouring to sustain the Mission amidst abounding discouragement; and when it had attained sufficient maturity to enable them to consider the need of other portions of the coast, the tendencies of the Mission lay southward, and not northward. The first of the liberated Africans who migrated homeward, with the intention of bearing Christianity with them as a boon to their kindred, were not Susus or Bulloms, but Egbas of the Yoruba nation, and now Ibos of the delta of the Niger. The stream of sympathy from native to native, from those who have received to those who are destitute of the gospel, has been southward, and not northward: it has been a strong and powerful tide, and it has carried the Mission with it. Nor is this to be wondered at. The Missionary current has set in strongly; not, indeed, so far south as the Cape of Good Hope, nor precisely to Ashantee and Dahomey, but towards countries which command the entrance to the Niger, because it is the divine intention that this great river should become a highway for the gospel into the very heart of Africa. We feel that the whole subject might have been more generously put, and no doubt would have been, had it been thoroughly understood. It might have been perceived why Sierra Leone had done so little northward when she had

accomplished so much southward, and the West-India Mission might have come in gracefully to supply the lack of service, without casting a reproach on those older Societies, who, for upwards of half a century, have been bearing the burden and heat of the day.

Sierra Leone has done much for Africa: she will, we doubt not, do still more. It was to assist the development of Missionary action that the Church Missionary Society so warmly interested itself in providing the Episcopate for the native church; and although the short period of service permitted to those devoted men who have been the first two Bishops of the West-African church has prevented its maturing influence from being as fully exercised as we had hoped, yet we are justified in entertaining the expectation that the vacant see will be soon occupied by one who has, in the fullest sense, the confidence of the Society and of all godly men, and under whose energetic superintendence the Sierra-Leone church will be found in active sympathy with African destitution wherever it exists, whether southward to the slave coast, eastward among the Timnehs, or north and north-east amongst the tribes of the Mandingo group of languages. We are quite conscious that the present time presents an opportunity of a peculiar character, which cannot be of long continuance.

“The people of Sierra Leone consist of recaptured slaves from almost every part of Africa; and if Missionaries were going to any point of the west, east, south, or interior of the continent, there would be an *à priori* probability that they could obtain interpreters, if not Christian schoolmasters, and other assistants, at Freetown. But this opportunity will not continue long. Of late there are few arrivals of recaptured slaves, and the children who are brought up in the colony will not be so well qualified for interpreters in every part of the continent as are their fathers. Now is the time to invade Africa with swarms of Missionaries.”*

* Bowen, p. 218.

INDIA.

In the present Number will be found a paper, entitled, “Missionary Conference at Benares.” That paper had been drawn up previously to the arrival in this country of the intelligence connected with the sepoy rebellion. Some extracts from letters published in the early part of the month will be found in a supplement which we have appended. In our next

Number we hope to deal largely with the subject. At present we have only room for one communication just received from Calcutta, dated June 30th—

“Sir Hugh Wheler is beleaguered at Cawnpur. All Oude (except Lucknow) and all Rohilcund, and much of Central India, are gone. The country there is filled with plunderers,

and the spirit of lawlessness is spreading hitherwards. The sufferings, in many cases, have been awful; the providential deliverances, in others, most marvellous. In one place (Azimgurh) a regiment mutinied, the men with the guns joined them, the gaol guard refused to help the authorities. All the Europeans took refuge on the top of a house, the last man who attempted to enter being killed. They were surrounded by the murderous soldiery, and then suddenly the whole body shouted out that they would pursue the treasure which had been sent off to Benares a few hours before. They left, every man of them, and the whole party of our countrymen got horses and carriages, and got safely away to Ghazipur. But this same regiment, the 17th, afterwards attacked and murdered helpless officers, whom the 22d had allowed to escape from Fyzabad.

"You will hear various accounts of Benares. I believe the truth to be, that the whole business was done suddenly, without any previous arrangement, because information had been received that the sepoy would rise that night, and that the Sikhs could not be relied on. This accounts for no notice having been given to the Missionaries. Dear Henry Tucker was preserved, though a man shot at him within ten yards; but at Futtehpur, his brother Robert, who of late years had been giving away most of his income under the signature of "A sinner," was murdered by a mob headed by the deputy-collector.

"I cannot dwell on the frightful reports that are prevalent. All of the truth will not be known till the earth shall disclose her dead, and no more cover her slain. The chief perpetrator of atrocities has been Nana Sait at Bithoor and Cawnpur, the adopted son of the ex-peishwah, to whom we paid a pension of 70,000*l.* for forty years.

"In the cold weather we must take the field with a vast and overwhelming demonstration of force. Till then, during the rains, little can be done.

"It seems to me that God, in His providence, has checked us hitherto, to give time to the Mohammedan power and spirit fully to become manifest; and the result, I hope, will be all the greater and more decisive overthrow."

In this grave aspect of affairs, the following invitation to united prayer has been addressed to the Christians of Calcutta, native and European—

"Recent experience has taught us, that, in the midst of the utmost confidence and security, desolation may come upon us suddenly (Isaiah xlvi. 11), and that, while free from

external enemies, our casting down may be in the midst of us (Micah vi. 14).

On the other hand, we have seen the devices of the crafty disappointed, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise (Job v. 12). While we have reason to believe that evil influences of a powerful kind have been at work among the Hindús and Mohammedans throughout the country, and that plans have been formed for sudden, combined, and simultaneous movements, we have learned how the Lord, who stilleth the tumult of the people (Psalm lxxv. 7), and whose counsel alone shall stand (Proverbs xix. 21), has, by His restraining, overruling power, caused the insurrection to be partial, fitful, and desultory, so that only a small part of the intended ruin and desolation has occurred. It is the Lord's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes (Psalm cxviii. 12). We have also seen that the triumphing of the wicked is short (Job xx. 5).

"Very remarkable, too, have been the special helps and mercies granted to us.

"The release of troops by the peace with Persia, and the expedition to China, had no reference, in the mind of the most far-sighted statesman, to the exigencies of India; and thus the very timely succour they afford us proves that the government is upon His shoulder (Isaiah ix. 6), whose right it is to reign (Ezekiel xxi. 27), and who doeth according to His will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth (Daniel iv. 35). And not less affecting have been the proofs of the Lord's providential care over individuals, in circumstances of extraordinary peril. Many cases are already known, in which special Divine protection and succour have worked the deliverance. The judgments of the Lord have been in the earth, that the inhabitants thereof might learn righteousness (Isaiah xxvi. 9).

"We have learned that concessions to Mohammedanism yield no gratitude or affection, and that its ancient spirit is entirely unchanged. We have learned, also, that concessions to Caste are encouragements to a sinful superstition, which is more powerful than self-interest and loyalty. And thus we have learned that true wisdom dictates a more fearless policy. He that walketh uprightly, walketh surely (Proverbs x. 9). In seeking strength from alliances with anti-Christian systems, we have experienced the inevitable truth, that they distress, but strengthen us not (2 Chronicles xxviii. 20).

"In the prospect of the complete restoration of British supremacy, it becomes a duty to pray, that He, by whom kings reign and

princes decree justice (Proverbs viii. 15), will so direct the hearts of our rulers, that they may no longer have respect to errors so fatal to peace; and that they may break off sins by righteousness, and iniquities by showing mercy to the poor, if it may be a lengthening of their tranquillity (Daniel iv. 27); that they may be strong and of good courage, knowing that the Lord God will be with them: He will not fail them nor forsake them (1 Chronicles xxviii. 20); and that, under a wise and faithful administration of public affairs, judgment may run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream (Amos v. 24); yea, that God, even our own God, may bless us (Psalm lxvii. 6).

“Let it be considered as to Caste in particular, that it rests on a denial of the divine record of the creation of man. It assumes that God originally created four distinct classes of mankind, with divers moral natures, and that of these classes the Brahmins are divine. It is a theory entirely false; in its character, anti-social and pernicious; in its influence, degrading to the vast majority of the people. Let it be considered, then, if there be not special cause for prayer, that it may be recognised and upheld no longer. And again, as to Mohammedanism, should not this new proof of its unmitigated hostility to Christianity and Civilization lead to prayer for its complete and final overthrow?

“We cannot declare the purposes of God, but it is probable that recent events may be used to prove to the Christian church how very little it has yet done to evangelize this country; and fervent prayer that this conviction may be attained, may lead to a new and better spirit, and to earnest efforts for the good of India. The case of India henceforth will be better understood, and her spiritual necessities may rouse the Lord’s people to more effective and prayerful sympathy and exertion.

“Among the passages of Scripture suitable for supplying food for meditation on God’s former providential dealings, on His promises to His people, on the spirit appropriate to seasons of public and private calamity, and on the prospects of His church and the world, the following may be enumerated:

CHAPTERS.

Genesis	32	Nehemiah	1
Exodus	33	Ditto	9
Leviticus	26	Psalm	2
Deuteronomy	6	Ditto	18
Ditto	8	Ditto	20
Joshua	24	Ditto	46
1 Kings	8	Ditto	51

Psalm	60	Isaiah	36 & 37
Ditto	78	Jeremiah	10
Ditto	79	Ditto	31, 32 & 33
Ditto	80	Daniel	9
Ditto	81	Hosea	14
Ditto	83	Micah	4
Ditto	91	Ditto	7
Ditto	107	Zephaniah	1, 2, 3
Ditto	108	Haggai	1
Ditto	110	Acts	4
Ditto	115	2 Cor.	4, 5
Ditto	125	1 Peter	4
Ditto	118	2 Peter	3
Ditto	144	Revelation	11
Isaiah	2	Ditto	15, 16

PASSAGES.

Genesis	XVIII.	20 to 33
Exodus	XVII.	8 to 16
Numbers	XIV.	5 to 21
Deuteronomy	XXXII.	26 to 43
Joshua	VII.	4 to 13
Judges	VI.	1 to 16
2 Kings	VI.	8 to 23
2 Chronicles	XX.	1 to 30
Ezra	IX.	5 to 15
Isaiah	XXVI.	20 & 21
Ditto	LI.	12 & 13
Jeremiah	XII.	1 to 5
Ditto	XIV.	7 to 9; 20 to 22
Nahum	I.	7
Matthew	X.	16 to 39
Ditto	XVIII.	19 & 20
Luke	XVII.	20 to 37
Ditto	XVIII.	1 to 8
Romans	XIII.	1 to 4
Colossians	III.	1 to 17
1 Thessalonians	V.	1 to 11
1 Timothy	II.	1 & 2
Hebrews	XII.	1 to 15
James	IV.	1 to 10
Ditto	V.	7 to 11

It is proposed that all who fear God should devote the time from half-past 7 to 8 A.M. daily during July for special prayer, and the following, in reference to the foregoing considerations, and portions of Scripture, are suggested as subjects—

“That the Lord would protect His people, hear their prayers, and graciously favour His own Mission cause.

“That he would comfort the wounded, afflicted, and bereaved, and sanctify their sorrows to them.

“That He would lead all who are in peril or anxiety to seek protection and guidance from Himself, and reward their confidence.

“That He would be with our countrywomen and their children, and all others in captivity; and send them speedy deliverance.

“That He would overrule these calamities for great and lasting spiritual good, in many individual cases; in the establishment of a wise and righteous public policy; in the rebuke of blasphemy; and in the overthrow of systems of error and superstition.

“That He would control and hold in check the unruly wills of sinful men, and turn the counsel of our enemies to foolishness.

“That He would create a spirit of deep humiliation for personal and national sins.

“That He would preserve our rulers from compliances with idolatrous and superstitious errors, and with the sinful anti-social system of Caste, and give to them, and to every one who is in a position of authority and responsibility, all needful courage, wisdom, and constancy, and ‘the spirit of a sound mind’ (2 Timothy i. 7).

“That He would preserve the health and encourage the hearts of our faithful troops, and enable them fully to restore order and tranquillity.

“That He would affect the hearts of the people of England, so as to create a new and deep interest in India, with fervent desires, efforts, and prayers for her conversion to the Lord.

“And, finally, that He would have mercy on the people of this land, and remember His word unto His servants, on which He has caused us to hope (Psalm cxix. 49) that His Son shall have the heathen for His inheritance (Psalm ii. 8), and that all nations shall serve Him (Psalm. lxxii. 11).

Calcutta, June 30, 1857.

We believe that this sure resource in danger, prayer, is being largely used at home, and that many intercessions for India are being addressed to the mercy-seat.

When the Missionary Conference was held at Benares, in January last, these sad events were not anticipated. We look back from the horrors and confusion in which Indian affairs are now plunged to the apparently secure moment in which this Conference was held; and, so far from being divested of interest, the proceedings seem to us more important and worthy of perusal. At Benares, where the Conference was held, the lives of Europeans have been preserved amidst a most dangerous crisis, a handful of European troops defeating and ejecting three mutinous native regiments. The Mint, where the Missionaries assembled, was the place of refuge to the Europeans during the height of the danger. This paper itself will show what was in the mind of the brethren, how full of benevolent designs for India. Had more been done in this direction—had the Missionaries been permitted free access to the native regiments, as to other classes of the natives—had opportunity been afforded them discreetly to introduce the gospel and its claims—there would have been Christians in the ranks; and had there been, this vast insurrection could never have been organized. But more of this in our next. We trust and believe that the plans of the Missionaries will be delayed only for a little while; and then more, far more, must be done for the evangelization of India than has ever yet been attempted.

MISSIONARY CONFERENCE AT BENARES.

SOME two years back a Conference of Protestant Missionaries, of various denominations, united in their attachment to the great distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, although differing as to details of ecclesiastical organization, &c., was held at Calcutta.* Such a Conference we felt to be of great importance. Engaged in the same work, and exposed to the same difficulties, it is most desirable that they should meet to sympathize and co-operate with one another, that each may be benefited by the experience of his brethren, and that such counsel and encouragement as the various members are able to impart might be cast into a common treasury for the benefit of the entire body. Very painful it would be, and detrimental to the gospel cause, if differences on points

which do not affect the delivery of the gospel message in its truthfulness should be so magnified as to prevent such communion. That such differences have too frequently interfered with harmony of action is undoubted; but in the existence and happy issue of such a Conference we recognised the action of the Holy Spirit so influencing the minds of the Lord's servants as to bring them together, in despite of such obstructions. On that occasion, Missionaries belonging to the Church, London, and Baptist Missionary Societies assembled, and the discussions which arose proved to be so interesting and valuable, that the desirableness of another Conference, on a larger scale, was universally felt.

The first week of the present year was eventually decided upon as the most convenient period for such a purpose, Benares being the selected locality, the sittings to commence on Tuesday, the 6th, to be continued during

* “Church Missionary Intelligencer,” Dec. 1855, pp. 286—288, and March 1856, pp. 57—65.

the three following days, and closing finally on Friday, the 9th, these Conferences being prefaced by a day of abstinence and prayer, to be observed on the first day of the year.

The subjects to be discussed, and on which essays were to be prepared, were thus classified—

“I. The progress and present state of Missions in the North-west Provinces, with some account of the literature and translations of the Sacred Scriptures and other books prepared for the work, together with some remarks on the use of the Roman character, as also on the extent to which books and tracts should be gratuitously distributed.

“II. A paper on Missionary deputations to this country, and their results.

“III. The character and position of native Christians—their treatment—location in villages by themselves or otherwise, and how they and Europeans may be made more available in the evangelization of the country.

“IV. Preaching to the heathen, its nature and importance—the best mode of conducting it. How far to be doctrinal, or practical? And to what extent should controversy be encouraged or avoided?

“V. On native agency, schoolmasters, catechists, preachers, and pastors, the best method of obtaining and qualifying them for their work. The amount of their salaries, whence to be obtained, &c.

“VI. What may be regarded as the chief causes of our little success? To what extent may it arise from the instrumentality employed—imperfect qualifications—neglect of due preparation—engaging unduly in secular pursuits—want of cordiality amongst Missionaries? And is there not reason to suppose that the want of a higher standard of holiness and zeal has been a greater hindrance to success than the difficulties arising from the ignorance and prejudice of the people—caste climate, &c.?

“VII. On itinerating, and whether the centralizing or diffusive system with regard to the location of Missionaries should be adopted; and whether European stations, or those where only natives reside, are preferable; also, whether stations where much pains and labour for a considerable time have been bestowed, apparently in vain, should be abandoned.

“VIII. The education of heathen and Muhammadan children. Is this a legitimate sphere of Missionary labour? and to what extent is a Missionary justified in spending his time and strength in teaching them merely secular knowledge?

“IX. The extent of native-female education in the North-west Provinces. Its diffi-

culties, and the best means of obviating them. Is the system of giving fees to the children, to induce attendance, justifiable?

“X. How far is it desirable to form and encourage the growth of orphan institutions for the children of heathen and Muhammadan parents?

“XI. What results do sacred Scripture authorise us to expect from Missionary labour?”*

The Mint, a large and commodious building, having been kindly lent by the Rajah of Benares for the occasion, there assembled there, of the Church Missionary Society, eleven Missionaries; of the London Missionary Society, six Missionaries; of the Baptist Missionary Society, three Missionaries; of the American Wesleyan-Episcopal Church, one Missionary; of the Presbyterian Society, four Missionaries; of the German Mission, four Missionaries; a total of twenty-nine Missionaries, besides two chaplains, one of Benares, the other of Chunar. There were also present the following native catechists—Mohun, Charles, Timothy, Nehemiah, and Terah.

The proceedings were introduced by a devotional meeting, at half-past seven on Tuesday morning, January 6th, the Rev. W. Smith, of the Sagra Mission, presiding. At noon the Conference assembled, and, after a brief introductory address by Mr. Smith, and a resolution expressive of gratitude to God for the goodness which had brought together so many brethren, entered on its duties. On the first subject—the progress and present state of Missions in the North-west Provinces, &c.—an essay was read by the Rev. R. C. Mather, of Mirzapur, comprehensive of a valuable body of statistics. The discussion which followed was of an animated character, more particularly on the best method of distributing books, whether by gift or sale. The general feeling appeared to be, that, however desirable it might be to part with no book or tract gratuitously, at the present time it was impracticable so to act; and that any attempt to carry out such a determination would put a complete stop to the circulation of religious tracts and books among the heathen. The experiences of Missionaries, as well as of large Tract, and Book, and Bible Societies, appeared to be coincident on this point. The Calcutta “Christian Observer,”† in its summary of the Conference, observes on this point—

“We confess that the many facts brought

* “Calcutta Christian Observer,” March 1857, pp. 116, 117.

† March 1857, p. 119.

together, with the various statements made throughout this discussion, left on our own mind a deep and painful impression. It is true that a few gleams of light relieved the darkness of the picture, but they were few, and the prevailing characteristics were gloom and despondency. Many were the narratives of almost utter failure—or of weeks of labour followed by the most paltry results; whilst in other cases, when partial success was attained, it appeared that the books were valued and sold, not for their contents, but for their bulk and appearance, the biggest and the prettiest invariably carrying the day. Indeed, so true was this felt to be, that the Conference have passed resolutions in favour of handsome covers for tracts and books, and an edition of the Bible in large character. From all this it would appear that there is a mournful lack of inquiry, and an appalling and almost universal indifference among the natives of these provinces in reference to the great truths of Christianity.”

An extract from a recent report of the Calcutta Bible Society, which we introduce, may enable our readers better to understand the peculiar aspect of this important department of the Missionary work. After adverting to the difficulties arising from the extremely small number of agents suitable to be employed in the distribution of the Scriptures, the report proceeds to say—

“But there is another grand hindrance: a small proportion only of the people can read. Of several of the villages visited lately by our agents, they report that almost every one who has learned to read comes daily to Calcutta for employment; yet there remain hundreds in their native place. For these it is obvious that the schoolmaster is first needed, and plainly that the distributor is nothing, unless he is a preacher who will with the living voice speak unto the people of the wonders of the Bible. Even those who can read require scriptural instruction, along with, and in addition to, copies of Scriptures. They are profoundly ignorant: all their language is associated with debased superstitious ideas, and it is not to be expected that without a teacher they can understand. Accordingly, every journal we receive, reports, in effect, that in all quarters the people say, ‘Why come to us once? This is quite a new revelation to us: we wish to hear more. You must come and dwell among us, or at least come again and again to explain these things;’ and whenever our agents have been stationary for a day or two, they have been visited by persons, to whom they had given a book, coming to inquire the meaning of passages, and exhibiting most forcibly the need of expounders

to go and sit down among the people, or visit from house to house, and open the mystery of the gospel.”

Where there are so few, comparatively, amongst the masses who can read, we cannot be surprised at the want of life and encouragement in the work of book distribution.

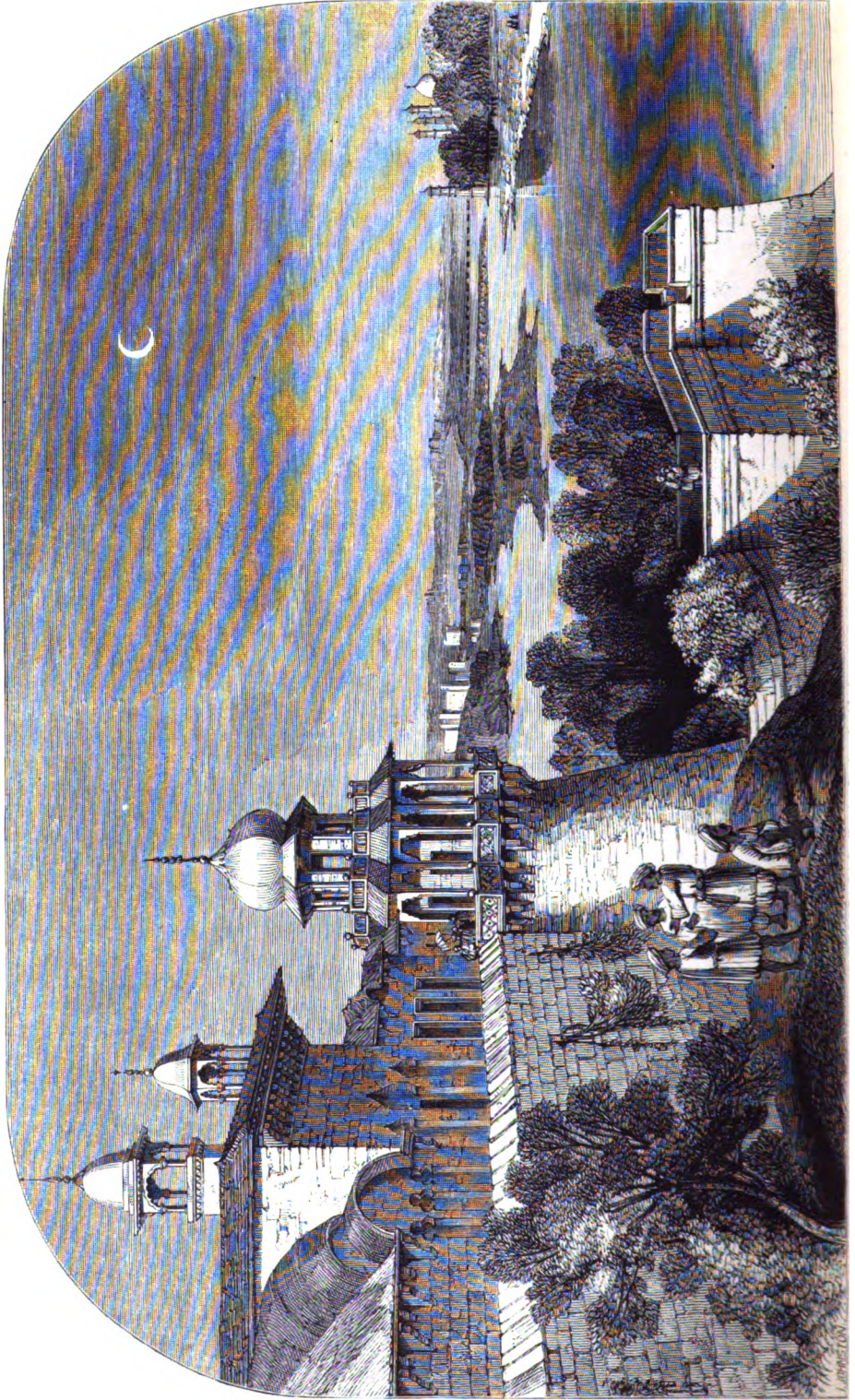
On this head of consideration the following conclusion was come to—

“On the present stage of Missionary labour.

“RESOLVED—That the Conference has listened with great interest and pleasure to the able paper presented by Rev. R. C. Mather, and would regard with feelings of devout gratitude the progress which Christian truth has made in the North-west Provinces. Whilst thankful for what has been done towards providing a literature suited to the wants of the native Christians and the Hindú and Musalman population at large, the Conference at the same time feels the importance and need of using the utmost endeavours to enlarge and improve it. The Conference is generally of opinion that it is desirable to continue the use of the Roman character, more especially for the use of the native Christians, but at present see no prospect of its supplanting the native characters in general use. They regard a change in reference to the mode of printing and binding tracts and books as eminently desirable: books and tracts illustrated with engravings, and with more ornate coverings, are needed, especially if our Christian books are to be sold. They consider that there can be but one opinion as to the extreme desirableness of promoting the sale of Christian tracts and books among the natives of this country, and are of opinion that, in some cases, injury has resulted from the profuse and indiscriminate mode in which they have been given away. At the same time, the Conference is not prepared to say that in no case should books be given. The Missionary must discriminate for himself, and in the case of apparently poor and earnest inquirers, and sometimes to poor Christians, books may be advantageously given. The Conference generally, however, is of opinion that a price should be fixed upon all tracts, and that price, with the above exceptions, rigorously exacted. The price, to ensure sale, must be low, far beneath the cost, but yet sufficiently high to prevent them from being bought for use as mere waste paper; and the price should, in every case, be printed upon the tract or book itself.”*

(To be concluded in our next).

* “Calcutta Christian Observer,” March 1857, pp. 119, 120.



VIEW FROM THE PALACE AND FORT AT AGRA.

THE SEPOY CONVERT AND THE AUTHORITIES.

THE great Sepoy Rebellion has come upon us like an earthquake. For such an event the nation in general was wholly unprepared, and the atrocities which have marked its course have filled the mind with horror and amazement. Men read of the indignities and sufferings to which the Europeans, their wives and children, have been doomed, and when, with the horrible details, the remembrance intermingles, that the perpetrators have been our own native soldiers, whom we have trained, and disciplined, and armed, indignation at their treachery becomes intense. Each newspaper has its list of deaths—men in the prime of life, or young cadets who had just joined their regiments, cut down in an instant by the merciless cruelty of their own men. The nation is at this moment suffering intensely under this heavy visitation. It is not merely the mourning which has place in the numerous families throughout the land, whose sons or near relatives have perished in the outbreak, but the whole country is oppressed by a sense of grief and strong indignation, which certainly, in our previous history, has never been surpassed.

One natural inquiry at such a crisis is, how is this to be accounted for, or what has caused, as it appears to uninformed persons, so sudden a change in the temper of the Bengal Sepoys? Are not these the men who fought our battles in the great Afghanistan campaign, and who shared with us all the disasters of that period? Were they not found side by side with our own troops in the battles on the Sutlej? Did they not sustain with us the powerful shock of the Sikh armies, and readily imperil their lives to defend the cultivated plains of Hindústán from the fiery deluge that threatened to break over them? What, then, has altered them, or how is this furious outburst to be accounted for—this hurricane of human vindictiveness, the most terrible of all tempests, the wrath of God excepted, which has fallen upon us in a moment apparently of the most complete security, when all Hindústán had become ours, and had acquiesced without a murmur in our rule? The greater the disappointment, and the more fearful the devastation which has been wrought, the greater the prevailing anxiety to discover the originating element of such a calamity, and solve the mystery; and the delinquent who, through indiscretion, incaution, neglect, or whatever

other defect, has caused the mischief, if discovered, is sure to have expended upon him no slight amount of the national indignation. At such a moment, some mischievous persons have indicated the Missionary as the incendiary. Men who, at so serious a complication of affairs, when the national mind, like the thunder-cloud, is charged with heavy indignation, undertake to identify the guilty party, assume a very serious responsibility. They should beware, lest they suffer themselves to be influenced by their prejudices. It is a well-known fact that there are individuals, to be found in all ranks and classes, who have always viewed Missionary operations with disfavour, and considered them, however discreetly conducted, as impolitic and dangerous. The Missionary has always been their aversion, the bird of ill omen, whose appearance within the limits of their government or magistracy has ever betokened, in their judgment, approaching difficulties and disquietude. At a crisis like the present such individuals have no hesitation. The old prejudice, which has long been established in their minds, suffices to convert the Sepoy rebellion, with the presence of the Missionary in the land, into proof positive of the mischievous character of his undertaking. They need no facts—they can dispense with all evidence. It is a foregone conclusion, and they unhesitatingly avow it. "There!" they exclaim, "we always knew how it would be, but you would not profit by our warnings. We always predicted that interference with the religious peculiarities of the natives would produce some disastrous result. We entreated that rash men might be withheld from so dangerous an experiment. Now you see the consequence. You might have ruled India peaceably, if only the religious feelings of the natives had been respected; but you have trespassed on this vital point, and, lo! your own army has turned against you, and your empire in that country has been shaken to its foundation."

A man is accused of being an incendiary. Before condemnation is passed upon him, let the testimony be explicit and clear. Had the insurrection broken out exclusively in the districts where Missionaries have been located, and in the immediate vicinity of their stations, there might be in the accusation some show of reason. In the bazaars of some of the great cities

they have often been, propounding Christian truth to mixed assemblages of Hindús and Mohammedans. They have itinerated in retired country districts, remote from European officials, and have been, on such occasions, entirely in the hands of the natives. They have pitched their tents in the vicinity of large towns, in the streets of which, during the day, they have been preaching and expounding. If the natives distasted their efforts, they could have driven them away; if more irritated, they could have beaten them; if still more infuriated, they could have murdered them? Has any thing of the kind occurred? Has the outbreak in India originated with the population generally, and have the Missionaries been the first victims? No such thing. The insurrection has originated with the Sepoys.

The explosive centres have been the great military stations throughout Northern India, where one or more native regiments have been cantoned. But the military and Missionary stations are not identical. On the contrary, there are very many of the military stations which have no place whatever in the catalogue of Missionary operations. It is, moreover, to be observed, that the places where the greatest enormities have been perpetrated, have been entirely devoid of Missionaries. We enumerate Hansi, Hissar, Shahjehanpúr, Moradabad, Bareilly, Azimgurh, Gwalior, Jansi, Neemuch; and to these may be added Bithúr, the rajah of which stands prominent in the list of reckless and pitiless murderers. Oude, a favourite province with the authorities, where the close-borough system of recruiting has been extensively carried out, appears to be a principal focus of disaffection, from whence the greater number of malcontents have come; and yet Oude has never been entered by the Christian Missionary. It is remarkable, that in Mr. Wylie's elaborate work, "Bengal as a field of Missions," published about three years back, most of the localities above enumerated have been specially mentioned as suffering under a total deprivation of Christian opportunity: Oude, with its three millions; Hissar, with a population of 10,000 and upwards; Hansi, with 14,000 and upwards; Moradabad, with 57,000 and upwards; Bareilly, 111,000 and upwards; Shahjehanpúr, 74,000 and upwards; Bithúr, 13,000 and upwards; Azimgurh, 13,000 and upwards. Assuredly if the Missionaries had been the cause of it, the outbreak would have been most furious where their irritating action had been felt, while those places which had been uninterfered with would have remained at peace. The contrary has been the fact. With the excep-

tion of Allahabad, Cawnpur, and Delhi, we are not aware that any of the towns where the greatest atrocities were perpetrated have been occupied as Missionary stations; and with respect to the last-mentioned city, the occupation has been quite recent. We repeat, then, before the Missionary can be convicted as the incendiary, it must be clearly shown that the disturbed places are exclusively those where he has been at work, and the accusation against him be confirmed by the strongly-contrasted fact, that in the districts and cities where he has not been, there has been no quietude. If this cannot be demonstrated; if, on the contrary, it be an indisputable fact, that the conflagration has broken out in places far beyond the narrow limits of his work—places with which he has never interfered, never even visited; then the cause of such calamities must be sought elsewhere. If, when alone and unarmed, in the midst of the native population, the Missionary has met no violence, and suffered no injury; and the Missionary stations which have been destroyed have been such as had place at the great military centres, while those of a rural character, and removed from European communities—such as our stations in the Krishnagurh district—have been unmolested; then is it undoubted that the Missionary element has not been the cause of these calamities. With more truth might they be attributed to the absence, rather than to the presence, of the Missionary.

But again, the insurrection connects almost exclusively with the Sepoys. By them it was initiated, and by them it is sustained. Of the population generally, some portions, no doubt, have been induced to join in the tumultuary proceedings which at the present time disquiet India, but they have been actuated rather by the love of plunder than by hatred of Europeans. It is, we believe, correct to say, that the mass of the people are not in sympathy with the insurgents; and when the confusion has in some measure subsided, and the conspiracy being crushed, and fearful retribution having fallen on the heads of the guilty parties, we shall have time to look around, it will be seen, we doubt not, that many from amongst the Hindús themselves have been great sufferers from the plunder of property and other lawless acts which have been perpetrated. To our countrymen, in the hour of their deep distress, great kindness has been shown on several occasions. The poor fugitives, escaping with their lives from some scene of slaughter, have been pitied and helped by the villagers, and concealed, with much risk to themselves, from the fury of

their pursuers. The present is not at all a national movement: "it is a fierce, selfish, military mutiny, which is running its own course." It is a Sepoy rebellion. But of all portions of the population, the native soldiery is that with which the Missionary has had least to do. To the Sepoys he has had but little access. They were the preserve of the authorities; special permission was needed to approach them, and the very necessity of making application for this, and the uncertainty as to the result, constituted a special discouragement to this branch of Missionary labour.

There was a time when those in authority excluded the Missionary from India; and when he came thither, as a portion of "all the world," to which, by Divine injunction, the gospel was to be preached, they ejected him, and the command of God was contravened by the command of man. But the national reverence for Christianity was too powerful to permit the maintenance of so wide a circle of exclusion, and it was gradually contracted, until the native soldiery alone remained within its limits. But from these the *tapu* has never been entirely removed. The Missionary was permitted to move in other directions, but with the Sepoys it was not always that he found himself free to interfere; and when an opportunity was conceded, it was precarious, and liable to be interrupted at any moment. The introduction of the leaven of Christianity amongst the native soldiery was by many earnestly deprecated. Whether it was for the advantage of the Sepoy that he should become a Christian or remain a heathen, that was not the question: it was the fidelity of the army that was exclusively considered; and when, to secure this, it was thought necessary there should be no Missionary interference, the claims of Christianity, and the right of the native to hear and judge for himself, were alike unhesitatingly sacrificed. It was not merely that individuals in authority, professing Christianity as their own religion, and the religion of the country to which they belonged, were indifferent as to its progress among the natives, but, so far as the Sepoys were concerned, they were often decidedly opposed to it. To the native soldier they desired to make it a prohibited element. If, by one means or another, he attained to the knowledge of it, and came under conscientious convictions, his renunciation of Hindúism or Mahomedanism was at the peril of being dismissed from the ranks. We are making no vague assertion, which we cannot authenticate. We state a fact, and are prepared to prove it.

The introduction of Missionary effort into North India, and the attempt to communicate to the natives the light and blessing of Christianity, are of recent date. Even so late as 1814, when ascending the Ganges in Lord Moira's suite, was Thomason constrained to write—"We have annihilated the political importance of the natives, stripped them of their power, and laid them prostrate, without giving them any thing in return. They possess neither learning, nor emulation, nor power. Every spring of action seems deadened. They wallow in the filth of a senseless and impure religion, without any prospect of deliverance." It was not until 1818 that our first Missionaries reached Calcutta. Gradually, as stations were formed here and there, and good men, whether chaplains or Missionaries, laboured, as they had opportunity, in communicating to the poor, dark heathen around them the knowledge of God's mercy in Christ, their hearts were cheered by instances of conversion from amongst various classes of the natives. Amongst others was a Sepoy—a Naick, or corporal. He was lying with his regiment at Meerut, and there, through the instrumentality of the chaplain, the Rev. H. Fisher, was brought to the faith of the gospel. How was this man dealt with by the authorities? It was the first case of the kind, and therefore of great importance. It was now to be decided whether the Sepoys should have the same advantages with other sections of the population, or be placed under peculiar restrictions; whether a native, under conscientious convictions, might become a Christian, and yet remain a soldier, or whether his conversion to Christianity was to be regarded as a disqualification from further service. It was a moment of serious responsibility, so far as the authorities were concerned. The prevailing idea then was, that the introduction of Christianity among the natives of India was a dangerous experiment, and more particularly among the Sepoys. We wish we could conclude that misconception exploded, but it is beyond dispute that many minds are, even at this advanced period, possessed with it. How, then, did the Government act? Did they nobly affirm, We cannot interfere with freedom of conscience in those under employ, nor can we place a stigma on a religion which we ourselves profess, and believe to be true? If any man, whether soldier or civilian, profess it before his countrymen, he shall be protected. Truly it was an anxious moment, and our readers will be curious to be made acquainted with the course that was pursued—whether the authorities sacrificed their religion to their in-

terests, or their interests to their religion. We regret to say that to subserve their interests they were prepared to sacrifice their religion. In the course which they pursued, they sacrificed as well their interests as their religion. We place before them* Mr. Fisher's narrative of the whole transaction: it is dated 1837.

"There is nothing, in my humble opinion, more remarkable than the present tone of public feeling in India upon the subject of evangelizing the natives of the land, when compared with what I well remember it to have been two or three and twenty years ago. On my first arrival in this country, I was astonished, as I believe all strangers usually are under similar circumstances, to behold the reality, the living demonstration before my eyes, of the degraded state to which ignorance and superstition can and do reduce the human mind and morals. Most of us indeed have read awful, heart-rending accounts of the state of the unevangelized portions of the world, and perhaps we have with some difficulty persuaded ourselves to believe them, imagining that such accounts must be partial and exaggerated. But when such men as Dr. Claudius Buchanan and Henry Martyn published their testimony to what their eyes had seen and their ears had heard—(most minutely and eloquently described by the former of these two distinguished characters in his 'Christian Researches')—it was impossible to withhold our implicit credence. I did myself believe! I read and inquired into many interesting particulars, and 'The Groans of India'† induced in my heart corresponding feelings of pity! I was deeply impressed. The melancholy records came over my soul with affecting power. It was as if I had 'lifted up mine eyes to behold' the dark visions of Ezekiel unfolding the abominations which were so provoking to the Lord, or (as the angel said unto the prophet) 'greater abominations than these' in the chambers of imagery, and which brought down at last the execution of the curse of God on apostate Jerusalem. People at home would hardly believe what we may see, almost every day, at our very doors, 'every form of creeping things and of abominable beasts and all the idols (of the house of Israel) portrayed upon the walls round about'—'the places wherein the nations which we possess serve their gods under every green tree.' It

so happened in the providence of God that Buchanan himself was frequently one of my home congregation, and I was therefore privileged to see much of him, and hear affecting confirmation of the authenticity of the accounts published by him, from his own lips. I readily believed in such authority, and yielded to the anxiety, which our frequent conversations induced, to visit this land of darkness, and to lend a helping hand (God enabling me so to do) to rescue from spiritual bondage and death these unhappy people. And now, after visiting and settling in the land, I am able to speak that I have known, and testify that which I have seen.

"Amongst the wonderful things which, on my arrival, first challenged my observation and amazement, I cannot forbear to mention *one* which I certainly was quite unprepared to behold. Of course I saw quite enough of the cruelty and the blood.‡ 'The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty,' and I heard more than enough of the abominations, and the filth, and the disgusting habits of the people; but I was not prepared to hear of educated and polished Christian gentlemen manifesting the most perfect indifference to the scenes around them, nay, even adverse to all attempts to bring about a change; and, apparently intimidated themselves, actually striving to intimidate others from all interference with the degrading system which prevailed. And yet so it was. There was either this unaccountable indifference and apathy in beholding the whole scene, or there was the ominous warning, 'You had better not *meddle with the prejudices of the natives*; and if you cannot join in the cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" at least be silent, or you "will be called in question for the uproar" that your interference will excite.' There was evidently a feeling prevailing, even on the minds of some of the enlightened rulers in the land, that a more dangerous means for alienating the affections of the people could scarcely be imagined, or one more likely to shake the stability of our rule, than to attempt to interfere with their reli-

"‡ Soon after my arrival, there happened to be one of the Hindoo processions marching through the streets of Calcutta. A devotee was at their head, crowned with garlands of flowers, with an iron spike thrust through his tongue, and an iron rod sharpened to a point, with which the poor wretch had pierced the fleshy part of his arm, and, as he danced along, he kept sawing the iron backwards and forwards, the blood spouting from the wound profusely. I did not follow the crowd, but doubtless he must have soon fainted, or probably died."

* Reprinting it from Wilkinson's "Sketches of Christianity in North India," pp. 248—264.

† The *Groans of India*. I allude to a small Tract published, I believe, by the late Rev. Mr. Thomason, and which I read in England.

gion, however wisely it might be done. A man, therefore, will be considered an enemy to Cæsar who shall dare to think or act for himself in this matter. So beware! I thank God heartily that those days are gone by, and, we trust, never to return. The childish and unreasonable apprehensions, which were once allowed to enfeeble and nearly paralyse every effort to do good, are now at rest. It is no longer considered perilous, and the dark forebodings are scarcely of any weight. We now may go fearlessly forward and proclaim our Eternal King, and yet not implicate our characters as enemies to the powers that be. We no longer apprehend, to use the strong language of Buchanan, 'that the poor infatuated wretches, who come to lay their bones within the precincts of Juggernaut, will mutiny, and take away our dominion. The consequence is far more likely to be, that the blessing of him that was ready to perish will rest upon us.' I believe that nearly all candid and liberal men are now convinced that they might as successfully attempt to restrain the flow of some mighty river to the ocean, or to arrest the spreading beams of the rising sun in the diffusion of daylight, as to stop the progress of evangelical truth through the world. The heaven has begun to work. The healing waters have begun to flow; already 'are the waters risen, waters to swim in, a river that cannot be passed over.' (Ezek. xlviij). Who shall say to the sun, 'stand thou still;' who shall say to the sea, 'hitherto only shall they come, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?'

"I offer these few remarks in order to introduce to your notice, and that of your readers, a narrative of some interest, from the peculiar circumstances attending it, and which is not, I believe, very generally known, as I think it ought to be. At the time of its occurrence (now above seventeen years ago) there were still found some few alarmists who anticipated that rebellion, and civil war, and misery, were likely to follow forthwith all efforts to convert the people; and when a *high-caste* Sepahee had embraced the Christian faith, the consequent discomfiture of our armies, and the overthrow of the British power in India, were prophetically foretold, as the sure consequences of so 'singular and unprecedented a circumstance.' The following narrative will illustrate the nature of these apprehensions, and, I should hope, will also tend to show how visionary and unfounded they are.

"In the month of December 1819, I was much surprised by the receipt of a letter, of which the following is an extract, from the Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Middleton—

"REV. AND DEAR SIR—You are, by this time, probably aware that some measure of public attention has been drawn to the subject of the conversion of a Brahmin, belonging to one of the regiments quartered at your station. It may be of importance that I should be fully acquainted with the particulars, and I cannot so properly apply to any one in such a case as to yourself. I shall therefore be glad to receive your statement as early as you can conveniently send it to me, &c.

"I am, Rev. and dear Sir,

"Your's, very faithfully,

"T. F. CALCUTTA.

"29th Nov. 1819."

"A few days after the receipt of this letter, which I acknowledge surprised me not a little, as I had never (previous to the Bishop's letter) heard a syllable upon the subject, I received through the brigade major (1st) a copy of a letter which had been written to Colonel Nicol (then the adjutant-general), in order that the same should be reported to the Marquis of Hastings, as commander-in-chief, and also (2d) copy of the orders which were issued in consequence of the major's report, to the following effect—

No. 1.

"To the Adjutant-General of the Army.

"May I request you will do me the honour to report to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief a most singular and unprecedented circumstance that has lately occurred in the corps under my command, viz. the conversion of a Naick named Prabhu Din Pundah, from the Hindoo to the Christian religion. He was baptized by the Rev. Mr. F—, on the evening of the 20th, and that without my privity or consent. As the 1st battalion of the 25th regiment N. I. is composed chiefly of the highest caste of Brahmins, this event has filled them with the greatest consternation; and in its consequences may prove injurious to the corps, particularly in its recruiting department, the prejudices of the natives being such, that men of high caste will be averse to enter it, under a supposition that means were to be employed to convert them. The Naick Prabhu Din Pundah was a high-caste Brahmin, and much esteemed in the corps until the late event.

"I have the honour, &c.

"M. B. Comg. 1st Bat. 25th N. I."

"With the above was received No. 2.

"To the Adjutant-General of the Army.

"SIR—I am directed by the most noble the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th

instant, transmitting a copy of a letter from, &c., respecting the conversion of Prabhu Din, a high-caste Brahmin and Naick in that corps, to the Christian religion, and his baptism by the Rev. Mr. F—, a regular military chaplain on this establishment, without any previous information having been afforded to the battalion.

“2. With reference to the feeling of consternation which Major B— describes to have been created by this occurrence among the men under his command, and to the very dangerous consequences which might be experienced were this procedure of Mr. F—’s supposed to be coupled with the official duties of the situation to which he has been appointed by Government, his Lordship in Council is disposed to view the matter in the most serious light, and feels extremely anxious to be satisfied in regard to the means which have been used to induce the individual in question to embrace the Christian faith.

“3. In order that all the circumstances of the case may be brought fully to the knowledge of the Government, the Governor-General in Council has desired me to request that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will cause a special Committee to be convened at Meerut, to investigate and report most fully upon all the circumstances referred to in Major B—’s letter, which may tend to throw light either upon the origin or progress of the conversion of Prabhu Din Pundah to Christianity.

“4. His Lordship in Council considers it also necessary that the Committee should be particularly instructed to inquire and report whether any and what measures have been adopted in that cantonment, which may in any way be considered to interfere with the religious prejudices of the native soldiery, in view to their conversion, by the employment of native or other emissaries, in frequenting the lines of corps, or residing for such purposes within the limits of the military cantonments.

“5. In conclusion, I am instructed to request that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will direct the removal of Naick Prabhu Din Pundah from the 1st battalion of the 25th N. I., causing a promotion to be made in his room, his pay and allowances to be drawn for by the brigade-major at M—, where he is to remain until the pleasure of Government, after the proceedings of the Committee, now ordered, shall be made known on this singular and unprecedented case.

“ I am, &c.

“ W. C.,

‘(True copy.)’ “ Sec. to Gov. Mil. Dept.’

“ The following is my reply to the Bishop—

“ My Lord—Having had the honour to receive your Lordship’s communication respecting the conversion and subsequent baptism of Matthew Prabhu Din, Naick, in the 25th regiment N. I., I beg leave, in cheerful compliance with your Lordship’s request for full information upon the subject, to state the following particulars. Could I, however, have imagined it possible that Major B. had written so intemperate a record of this open transaction, I must have felt it an incumbent duty to address your Lordship long ago; but as that gentleman assured me, in reply to a note of mine, written in consequence of your Lordship’s letter, that, “he had merely ‘related the fact’ in compliance with what he felt to be his duty,” and gave me no intimation of his having proffered any alarming prophetic conjectures of his own, I could not anticipate consequences of an unpleasant nature, and therefore did not think it necessary to trouble you upon the subject.

“ I believe your Lordship is already fully aware, that, since my residence at M—, I have had abundant occasion to observe a strong spirit of inquiry prevalent amongst many of the natives as to the nature of the Christian religion. Unsolicited, and, I may say, wholly unsought on my part (as my time was fully occupied by my large European flock) numbers, both of Mahomedans and Hindoos, frequently visit my house for the purpose of begging, if they cannot afford to purchase, our Scriptures in the native languages; or to inquire into the meaning of the different passages which awaken their curiosity or excite their feelings. The interesting result has been a certain degree of intimacy between us, and, in some instances, the ultimate conversion, baptism, and consistent Christian deportment of those who have joined themselves to our Church. One of these men, whose uprightness and abilities qualify him for the office, is employed by me to conduct this little church under my own eye and direction, which he does with zeal and considerable talent. During his absence on occasional Missionary labour amongst the Saadhs (to whom he is particularly acceptable) my Moonshee Mooneef,* who is also one

“ * Mooneef was baptized by Mr. Corrie. I grieve to say that some years after this he awfully apostatized. Yet he was a man of apparently great heart-experience as well as head-knowledge, if an opinion could have been grounded upon his remarkable capability to talk well and scripturally. But ‘wine and strong drink’ were his ruin. He was one of the innumerable instances I have met with of the almost hopeless professions of penitence. Mooneef died miserably, soon after his leaving me, a drunkard.

of our Christian congregation, takes his place.

“Part of the daily occupations of this little party of native converts is to read the Scriptures in their own apartments, which is an old convenient upper room over one of the gateways of the city of M—. Of course this room is free of access to every voluntary visitor. Their congregation of hearers varies much in numerical strength, sometimes six or seven, old and young men, at other times twice the number. Among the occasional visitors at this place, the soldier in question frequently made his appearance, and ultimately requested to be introduced to me. His visits to me, in consequence, were very frequent, and the decided change of his opinions, and, I trust, of his heart, marked and satisfactory. I found he had been long labouring under deep conviction of the worthlessness and wickedness of his heathen ignorance and idolatry, even for nine years. He kept these thoughts much to himself, preferring to wait “the convenient opportunity,” but the convictions of his heart became stronger and stronger until he went with his regiment to the Isle of France. There he used to watch for opportunities to steal into the Christian church, and comfort himself by thinking to worship the Christian’s God in spirit, though ignorant of the meaning of the language, or of the terms of devotion which were in use, and could only comfort his sorrowful heart with the conscious reflection that “*the Christian’s God knew his heart.*” He earnestly longed to meet with some one who should be competent to instruct him what he must do to be saved. Yet many depressing fears of consequences, both of a temporal and spiritual nature, frequently discouraged him. At last, he made up his mind, that if ever opportunity should offer itself to speak to a Christian clergyman, he would unfold the state of his soul, let the consequences be what they might. He gave a very affecting account of his state of mind during the remainder of his stay at the Mauritius, and in his voyage back to Calcutta. A furlough being granted to the soldiers who had distinguished themselves, *Pradu Din* went to his native village; and after spending a little time with his relations there, he was not contented merely to display the medal upon his breast, but unfolded his whole mind, and his fixed resolution to embrace Christianity. At first they endeavoured to dissuade him, but, finding him immovable, desisted, and parted from him with many tears, his mother exclaiming, as he left her, “You have changed your faith and lost your caste, and say you have found the true God. Beware, you *never change again!*” He re-

joined his regiment at Cawnpore, which happened almost immediately to be moved to the station of M—. His first inquiry was, “Who is the chaplain, and does he teach my brethren?” He was told of the little upper chamber where the native Christians met together, and went to see them. “I felt at once,” said he, “when I saw the nature of their employment, and heard their words, I said, *Jesus Christ has heard my prayer! God’s mercy has brought me here.*” His frequent visits were soon observed by the Brahmins of his corps, and, when they became apprised of his intention to become a Christian, they manifested extreme sorrow to him, and strove to convince him of what they thought his folly, and by kind remonstrances to shake his purpose. They enlarged on the perilous consequences which would surely follow—the irremediable loss of his high and honourable caste, the rejection of all intercourse, in future, with his numerous and dear friends, *the certain displeasure of the Government*, who would assuredly disgrace and dismiss him for becoming a Christian; thus that he would lose every thing dear to him in life, and finally life itself, for who would give him *khana peena*?* His reply was uniformly the same: “Jesus Christ will be my friend: He is the friend of all who trust Him: and as to caste, there is none so high as the Christian caste. It is more honourable than all, for Christians are the people of the true God: He is their *Father*. My becoming a Christian cannot make me a bad soldier, and I see no reason to believe that Government will cast me off any more than any other of the non-commissioned officers—for instance, the sergeant-major, or the quarter-master sergeant, or the drummers, all of whom are Christians; and why should they punish me unless I commit some fault?”

“The Brahmins, now finding him so resolved, tried to shake his steadfastness by the offer of money, and proposed to subscribe and settle upon him a monthly sum of twenty rupees for his life. This he instantly rejected, saying, that he believed Jesus Christ would provide for him much better than they could, and with this advantage, that it would be *for ever*. Finding him resolute, they endeavoured to vilify his character, represented him to be a drunkard and a glutton, nay, at last, insisted upon it that he was insane. Some of these scandals appear to have been believed by some of his superiors, for a regimental court of inquiry was instituted into his conduct; the result of which, however, was, that the most satisfactory evidence was brought forward,

* Maintenance.

not only that he had always conducted himself remarkably well, but that he was a particularly smart, intelligent, and active soldier.

“He was baptized by me at his own request (which I beg your Lordship will have the goodness particularly to observe) on the 10th of October, just before his departure on some regimental duty, and there was an end of the matter. The Brahmin soldiers ceased to trouble him, and the only symptom of “consternation,” which the major in the plenitude of his zeal so pathetically laments, is that the Naick cooks and eats his meals by himself, barred from admission within the magic circle by which the Brahmin surrounds his choola. In every other immaterial respect he remains just as he was before, to use the military phrase, “a steady soldier and a good man.” The only mark upon him is that he reads his Bible, and prays to the one eternal God, through Jesus Christ his Saviour.

“I trust this plain unvarnished statement to your Lordship will place the matter in its proper light, and be a sufficient proof that the intemperate and irritating representation which it has been thought proper to transmit for the information of Government, was not warranted by the circumstances of the case, if only it had been properly understood.

“I have the honour to be, &c.’

“To this letter I received a brief reply from the Bishop, thanking me for my prompt compliance with his wish. ‘I have read your narrative,’ said he, ‘with intense interest, and think it exceedingly affecting. You must, however, prepare yourself for the official inquiry which will be instituted, but I cannot see that you can have any thing to apprehend from this faithful and prudent discharge of your duty as an ordained minister of God, or as a chaplain upon the establishment,’ &c.

“A Court of Inquiry was called at Meerut on the 6th of January 1820, in obedience to the orders of Government, and the following contains the copy of the proceedings, as recorded by the President—

“Proceedings of a Special Court of Inquiry, held by order of Sir G. Martindell, commanding the 2d division of the field army, to inquire into all the circumstances attending the conversion of Prabhu Din Naick, of the 1st battalion 25th regiment, to the Christian faith.

“President—Captain S. Arden, 1st battalion 27th regiment.

“Members—Captain H. D. Showers, major of the brigade; Captain W. Reding, 1st battalion 27th regiment.

“Prabhu Din, being called into court, is

desired to state what were his motives for embracing the Christian faith, to which he replies—

“I frequently observed the conduct of Christians. In various particulars, their superiority and strictness of behaviour and love of truth were visible, and it induced me to inquire into their religion, and, believing it to be true, I embraced it.

“Q. How long is it since you made your first inquiries into the Christian faith?

“A. About nine years since, when I went as a volunteer to the Isle of France. My attention was particularly attracted by the regular observance of the Sabbath, and by seeing the Europeans going to church to worship. I from thence determined to make diligent inquiry when I could. But neither on my return to Calcutta, nor afterwards at Cawnpore, did I find what I thought a convenient opportunity, or leisure, for I had heavy duty to do; so it is only since I came to Meerut that I have had leisure or means of information.

“Q. When you arrived at Meerut did you yourself first make inquiries, or did any body come to you in the lines?

“A. I made my own inquiries myself from these two men now standing here, and who live near the Sudder Bazaar. (Mooneef, Mr. F.’s moonshee, and Bahadur Musseeh, a native convert baptized by Mr. F.)

“Q. Did you go to Mr. F. of your own accord, or did Mr. F. send for you?

“A. I went of my own accord to Mr. F.’s house. Indeed, I went to every body of whom I thought it wise to inquire.

“Q. Did you know, or did you ever hear, of any person visiting your lines to instruct any of the Sipahes in the Christian faith?

“A. Never! I neither knew nor ever heard of such a thing.

“Q. How were you received after your baptism by your corps and company?

“A. They said nothing to me upon the subject. I did not receive any unkind treatment from any of them except one Sipahes of the left Grenadiers, who was always an enemy of mine. He reviled me, and frequently said I was become a sweeper. I quietly remonstrated with him. I felt angry, and so I left him.

“Q. Did ever any of the Sipahes offer you any money not to become a Christian?

“A. Yes. Two of the men called after me and said, We suppose it is money that you want, and if so, we will give it you, provided you will not become a Christian. I replied, My mind is resolute: I shall not change. I am determined to seek God, the only true God, in whose sight rupees are nothing.

“Q. How much did they offer you?

“A. Twenty rupees a month for my life.

“Q. Indeed! how could you refuse that offer.

“A. (Accompanying his reply with a very expressive look and action indicative of contempt) *Rupeia muttee hain.* I wanted the salvation of my soul, which money will not buy.*

“Q. In your daily intercourse with the men, after baptism, did they ever show you any ill-will?

“A. No! none at all.

“Q. By the Court to Major B—. Did you ever know of any emissaries coming into the lines of your regiment with the design or attempt to convert any of the men to the Christian faith?

“A. No, never. If there had been any I certainly should have been informed of it.

“To Prabhu Din—Did you ever hear any soldier in your corps, commissioned officer, non-commissioned officer, or private, assert, that now you were become a Christian Brahmin recruits would not come to enlist?

“A. No, I never heard any such words.

“Q. Proposed to Major B— by Mr. F—. Will Major B— have the goodness to inform the Court in what way the “consternation” which he described having been evinced (in his letter to the Adjutant-General) betrayed itself after the baptism of Prabhu Din.

“A. By Major B—. The men seemed to be dissatisfied with the Naick’s conversion. They exceedingly *wished that it had not taken place*, for he was a man of very high caste, and much respected in the corps. Major B— does not know of any improprieties in the man’s conduct since his baptism, but the major would rather offer to the court this summary statement (presenting it) of his information first received of the proceedings in the affair in consequence. This statement was accordingly received, entered in the proceedings of the Court, and the original, according to standing orders, forwarded with them to head-quarters.

“STATEMENT.—On the 21st of October I received a note from Lieut. S—, the adjutant of the corps, intimating that there were rumours in the lines of a Naick in the 2d Grenadiers, named Prabhu Din, having been baptized; but as the Naick was on the Judge of Circuit’s guard, he could not ascertain the fact, and requesting to know if the circumstance had, been reported to me. I replied, that his note was the first intimation which I had received upon the subject, and requested that he would be particular in his inquiries,

and let me know the result. He called on me in the evening, and said that he had not a doubt but that the Naick had been converted. Upon this I wrote to Captain Showers, the brigade major, on the subject, who called on me the following morning, and said that the Naick had been baptized on the 20th by the Rev. Mr. F—.

“Shortly after this the Adjutant called for orders, and then stated to me that the men of the corps appeared very much dissatisfied at the Naick’s conduct. I therefore thought it advisable to order such of the native officers as were Hindoos, as also Lieut. Smith, the interpreter, to attend me at the adjutant’s quarters at ten o’clock the following morning, when their apparent consternation at the conversion of the Naick, induced me to add the second paragraph in my letter to the adjutant-general of the army, respecting this singular occurrence.

Signed,

“M. B.

“Comg. 1st Bat. 27th Reg.

“The proceedings of the Court here closed.
(Signed), S. ARDEN, Capt.

President.

“For the result of this inquiry I somewhat anxiously waited, expecting that Prabhu Din would be, of course, restored to his forfeited rank and situation in his corps, but it was deemed advisable to abide by the directions already given respecting him, and he has remained at Meerut ever since, living on his pay. Better than all, he continues to live consistently with his profession, a sincere and faithful Christian believer.

“When Sir Edward Paget was Commander-in-Chief, and was passing on his tour of inspection through Meerut, I stated, in conversation, all the above particulars to him. He expressed a most lively interest in the situation and circumstances of such a man, and authorized Colonel Nicol to propose to Matthew Prabhu Din to appoint him to a higher rank in some one or other of the local corps. Matthew expressed himself very grateful for such condescension, but said, with great emotion, although respectfully, I cannot accept this; I have done nothing that should involve dismissal from my own corps, in which I am now a degraded man. Send me back to my regiment, and I shall have the disgrace washed out, and I will thankfully go back. As this request, however, could not be complied with (though I know not why) Matthew remained on his pension pay. I ought not to withhold one circumstance, which I think highly creditable to his character. At the commencement of the Bur-

* Gold is sordid dust.

mese war, Matthew Prabhu Din requested me to communicate to Major-General Sir Thomas Reynell his wish to be allowed to volunteer and join any of the native corps that were going on the service. "I have long eaten their salt," said he, "and men are wanted: I am ready!" Sir Thomas highly appreciated his military feeling, and admired the man. He is a fine tall athletic soldier, and his spirit is of a noble order, but it seems there were some insurmountable difficulties in the way, and he was courteously told it could not be. I am not acquainted with the reasons.

"Some few years, too, after these events, his old corps marched through Meerut. The non-commissioned officers and men of his company came to visit Matthew, and greeted him with *much cordiality* and kindness. Many of them exclaimed, "Why don't you come back to us? what harm have we done? Our officers, the Saheb log, are Christians. Our sergeant-major and quarter-master sergeant are Christians. The drummers also are Christians: why cannot you remain?" What could he reply? "It is the Company's will and pleasure."

"I believe this feeling now widely prevails, for I have learned, from authority which I cannot doubt, that many Sipahes have expressed their conviction that, however our British law of toleration warrants the free exercise of his own faith to the Mahomedan or to the Hindoo, yet that, in embracing Christianity, the doom of Matthew Prabhu Din most inevitably awaits them. They would be dismissed from their regiment as unfit to be employed, and disqualified for any association with their equals, and for the confidence of their superiors. The Rev. Anund Museeh assured me that several Sipahes had expressly told him, "We are heartily disposed to embrace the truth, but these *consequences* are too painful for us to endure."

"Surely, however, we may venture to indulge the hope that such consequences will *not* follow, but that we may yet live to see the day, when a similar reply may be made respecting the *Christian* Sipahes, as once was given to the late General H—— respecting the pious soldiers of H. M.'s 14th Foot. "What sort of fellows are these," said the General to the officer who then commanded them, "for whom the chaplain is pleading to build them a private reading-room? He calls them '*his men*.'" "The best men," said the major, "in the whole regiment. I only wish they were all '*his men*.'" "Then," exclaimed the General, "they shall have their room."

"H. F."

Such, then, was the issue of this important case. Against the individual in question no charge could be made, except that he had become a Christian, but that sufficed, and he was dismissed from the ranks. Did this special case rule a general principle or not? Assuredly, with reference to those who were disposed to inquire, it must have done so, at least for a considerable time. By them it must have been regarded as an understood principle, that for a Sepoy to become a Christian was to incur the certain displeasure of the Government, and that long continued to be a stumbling-block and hindrance.

We make no vague assertions. We narrate a specific fact, in which a Christian Government discountenanced the conversion to Christianity of one of its native soldiers. Could so remarkable a circumstance have taken place without attracting attention? Must it not have been a subject of general conversation amongst the native soldiery? Had there been amongst them at that time any disposition to inquire, how completely it must have been checked? One from amongst themselves had been dismissed the ranks because he had become a Christian. The inevitable conclusion was, that if they followed his example they would be similarly dealt with. This discouragement anticipated inquiry, and closed the door against it. No sooner did the stagnation of the mind begin to be disturbed than this idea suggested itself—The Government does not wish us to become Christians, and if we do so we shall provoke the displeasure of our superiors. And yet to thinking men amongst them how inconsistent all this must have appeared!

Well might they have reasoned in their own minds, "What are we to think of these Feringhees? They have a religion, and yet they keep it to themselves. They will not suffer us to have any thing to do with it. Is it that they consider it nothing worth, or that they think it too good for us? In either case we cannot but despise them." Instances might be produced of men in the ranks of the native army who would have inquired, had they not been apprehensive of Government displeasure. We heard, the other day, a well-known general, belonging to the Madras service, who had been often visited by a Jemahdar of the regiment in which he then served as major, simply because the man's mind was in an anxious state on religious subjects, and he wished to be helped in his difficulties. He read his Hindústán Testament, but as light increased, and convictions became stronger, an obstacle presented itself, and his inquiry was, "Is there not a government order against

my becoming a Christian?" That there was no formal order did not suffice him: practically he knew that it existed, and would be acted upon, and, whatever were his convictions, he suppressed them, and remained as he had been, a Mussulman. Thus the action of the Government has been to deter their native soldiery from availing themselves of Christian instruction, and retain them in Moham-medanism and heathenism. We say, then, that for present results the Missionary is not responsible. With the Sepoys he has had less to do than with any other portion of the population; and when addressing them, as sometimes happened to be the case, he felt that, in attempting to do good to that particular class, he had to contend, not only against ordinary but special difficulties. He naturally directed his attention to other classes, less burdened by restriction, and in addressing whom he had a fairer opportunity of usefulness.

Now this has been a most selfish policy. The question which immediately occurs to the mind, on a review of the whole subject, is this—"What are the claims of Christianity, and what has it a right to expect from us? Is it the alone true religion, that alone which can avail to the salvation of a soul? Is it true that the name of Christ is the only name under heaven given among men whereby they must be saved, and that there is salvation in none other?" What shall be said, then, of the Government or the nation, that, interposing itself between the gospel and the heathen and Mussulmans under its employ, should say—"This is indeed the true religion, and therefore, as a nation, we profess it; but we do not want you to become Christians, for if you do, it will cause us much inconvenience and disquietude; and therefore, remember, the moment you become Christians we shall dismiss you from the service." Thus we have disciplined these men for war, and led them on to fight our battles, and many, very many, have died in our service; and yet we have done all we could to discourage them from embracing the only religion which secures salvation to a sinner. True, some amongst ourselves cherish latitudinarian opinions. They think that men will be saved in their religion, whatever it be, if only they endeavour to walk according to the light they have. According to this view, the Hindú and the Mussulman, the frantic devotee of the blood-stained Kalí, the devil-worshipper, &c., are all travelling, although by diverse paths, to the same eternal destination with ourselves. But whence the necessity for the gospel, if men can be saved without it? Why was it introduced into the

world, with such lengthened and elaborate details of type, and prophecy, and promise? Why consummated by such a profuse expenditure of suffering on His part, who, on the cross, atoned for sin? If men can be saved without it, then there exists no absolute necessity that men should know of it. It needs not, then, of course, that the Hindú be evangelized. But we release ourselves from our duty at the expense of our faith, for either it is truth exclusively or not truth at all. We must either receive it in its integrity, and so become bound by its obligations, or else take our place among men of loose and sceptical views, who are not qualified to express an opinion on these matters, because their own religious position is undetermined and undefined. They profess Christianity, and yet disbelieve its most explicit declarations. Either Christianity is nothing worth, or it must be given to others. If it be the truth of God, to withhold it from our fellow-man is the height of inhumanity. We inquire of those who object to Missionary efforts, into which of these principles is their indisposition to be resolved? is it that Christianity is of no value in their eyes, or that it is a matter of indifference to them whether the soul of a heathen man be saved or not? The individual is indifferent, either because he concludes that the knowledge of Christianity is not essential to the salvation of his fellow-man—and then we ask, where is his faith?—or because he concludes that the eternal interests of another are of little moment when compared with his own individual interests, and the interests of the nation to which he belongs—and then we we ask, where is his humanity?

It has been an unjust policy—we add, it has been a most unwise one, and has re-acted on ourselves. Would Prabhu Din Naick have been a less effective soldier than his heathen or Mohammedan comrades? Scriptural Christianity sets a man free from superstitious influences, which always, where they are in existence, compete with lawful authority for the control and direction of the man. In this lies the difference between Christianity and every form of false religion. Christianity strengthens lawful authority, concurs with it in action, makes the man more loyal, more submissive to his superiors, more attentive to their commands. Caste is a law which exercises great power over the man, and rules him in an infinite series of minutiae affecting his social and domestic life. The man of high caste obeys lawful authority, until it interferes with his caste: then comes a collision between his superstitious law and the command of his superior, whether it be to cross

the sea to Burmah or Persia, or to use a cartridge, the paper of which is not precisely that to which he has been accustomed. Then comes the refusal of the other members of the corps to arrest a comrade in open mutiny, because he is a Brahmin. The commanding-officer has come into collision with the caste of the regiment, and he finds himself powerless. So with Mussulmans. They are the members of a vast fanatical community, which has its centre in its molwis and their connexion with Mecca. From these go forth the impulses of fanaticism, and according to the strength of the element in each heart, is the power which is exercised over individuals. The whole system is penetrated by an intense hatred of Kaffirs unbelievers. Their extermination was its original dream and vocation, and it does not fail to use the sword wherever it has the opportunity. It is a decaying system, but, like an old tree, its vigour is in the extremities, and occasionally it exhibits, in its outlying ramifications—Africa or India—a degree of energy, which in Turkey is wholly wanting. To these periodical impulses the Mohammedan is subject. Sometimes it acts on a section of the community, as on the Moplabs, and some able and effective Christian, like the late Mr. Conolly, falls a victim to their fury. Sometimes its outburst is on a more extended scale, as at the present moment. When the impulse comes, the Mohammedan obeys, and becomes involved in political complications, and the tool of designing malcontents. The Mohammedan is well affected to his own system only, and his apparent submission to another system is merely a matter of interest, which is only influential when not overruled by his fanaticism.

Had the Sepoys been free to follow the convictions of their conscience, without the fear of prejudice to their temporal interests, and the apprehension of incurring the displeasure of their superiors, there might have been, on their part, a greater readiness to inquire, and to avail themselves of such opportunities of instruction as might have been afforded them in common with other natives of India. We do not desire that any influence *ab extra* should be exercised on behalf of Christianity; let it win its way by its own inherent excellence. Any mere human influence which would interfere with the honest action of the human mind in coming to a decision on the grand subject of Christianity we would earnestly deprecate.

We do not propose that the Government should engage in Missionary action, nor do we desire it to say to its heathen and Mohammedan subjects, "We will send among

you Christian teachers to read to you and to your children the books of the Christian religion, and to expound and discuss with you their contents, nay to invite you to embrace our holy religion." Such declarations might induce unhealthy results, and, acting on the pliable oriental mind, generate hypocrisy. The individuals composing the Government, that is one thing; the Government in its collective and official capacity, is another. It is of first importance that individuals, however high in position, should never be ashamed of the gospel of Christ, never suppress their testimony; and that, believing it to be the greatest blessing ever conferred upon our fallen race, they should earnestly commend it to the willing acceptance of all. It was thus that Mr. Thomason acted, when, never making "any secret of his desire that all men should embrace the Christian religion, he attended the public examinations of the Missionary schools, and there openly stated his views before crowds of natives." Would that all Englishmen, placed in positions of trust, had so deported themselves! We should have had, in all probability, a different state of things in India at the present day. But this, we submit, is a very different thing from the collective and official action of the Government. Formal declarations on the part of the Government, expressive of desire that men should become Christians, would overbear the legitimate influence of the gospel, and we should have false profession, instead of genuine conversion. We do not wish Christian Governments, in heathen lands, to take Missionary agents into their pay, and send them forth to teach the people. We far prefer the present arrangement, and consider it to be, in all respects, more desirable, and more promotive of the object we have in view, that Missionaries should have no connexion whatever with Government; that they should be the representatives of unofficial individuals, voluntarily associated, in the way of voluntary contributions providing their own means, and evidently actuated by no other motive than their conviction of the value of the gospel and their love for souls. Let the Government attend to its own proper duties. Let it see that every facility be afforded to the Christian teacher. Let it be careful that no rules or regulations of its own, no violence on the part of those subject to its authority, be permitted to obstruct the gospel, or prevent its freedom of access to all ranks and classes. Here has been the evil. The Missionary should have been permitted free intercourse with the Sepoy, and the Sepoy should have been as free to hear as other

men. Access to the lines should not have been left dependent on the will and caprice of a commanding-officer. Then only ought there have been interference if the privilege had been abused, and the Missionary had acted indiscreetly and with intemperance. Moreover, when native soldiers, under conscientious convictions, embraced Christianity, they ought to have been protected from all persecution, and as full liberty of professing their faith, secured to them, as to the Hindú in his ablutions, or the Mussulman in his prayers towards Mecca.

Had the Sepoy been thus privileged, would there not have been, we may trust, in the ranks of the native army, many such native Christians as Prabhu Din?—men in whom confidence might have been placed, whose Christianity would have been of a sterling character, because, in embracing it, they had done violence to caste prejudices, and had exposed themselves to more or less of suffering because of it: and had such men been interspersed throughout the ranks of the Bengal army, could a conspiracy, such as that under which we are suffering at the present moment, have been formed, and advanced to its maturity, throughout the lengthened period of two years, without its being discovered and prevented? Nay, we go further, and do not hesitate to say, that, had the native army been freely open to the ventilation of Christian influence and effort, there never could have been such an accumulation of fire-damp as that which has just exploded. Apprehensions were entertained that if Prabhu Din had been permitted to continue in the ranks, his comrades would have been offended, and recruits have been deterred from offering themselves. But the interference of his fellow-soldiers ceased so soon as they perceived that he was decided as to his course of action. They would gladly have dissuaded him from it; but their respect for him does not appear to have diminished because he had become a Christian. On the contrary, when, after some years, his old corps revisited Mirut, “the non-commissioned officers and men of his company came to visit Matthew, and greeted him with much cordiality and kindness.” If any natives had been deterred from offering themselves, it would have been the Brahmins and high-caste natives, and the more bigoted of the Mussulmans, and that would have been no calamity: on the contrary, the Bengal army would have been prevented from being, what afterwards it became, the resort of all the more bigoted, as well from the Hindús as the Mussulmans. The very necessity of the case would have with-

held us from indulging our mania for a high-caste army, and thus preparing a dangerous weapon to be used against ourselves. Men who, under other circumstances, never could have associated together, nay, who would have shunned each other, have been thus united in the bonds of fellow-soldiership. We have selected and brought together the most undesirable elements in all India, the most inflammable, and disposed to disaffection, the most easy to be tampered with by designing men: we have disciplined them, and taught them their strength: we have unduly indulged them and petted them, until, feeling their power, they conceived they had only to raise their hand, and our rule was at an end, and India their own. The Mussulman and high-caste Hindú conspire and rebel together, because we have brought them together into the same peculiar military organization; and men, who would otherwise have informed against each other, are now found to be, through our fatuity, accomplices in crime.

We conclude, then, that, as to the grand concernment of becoming a convert to Christianity, the Sepoy was, in the first instance, specially discouraged, and, as might be expected, the spirit of inquiry being unduly interfered with, became, in the end, specially indisposed; so that the mere rumour that Government had changed its policy, and was about to make him break his caste and become a Christian by compulsion, was sufficient to arouse all the bad passions of his nature. He was first consigned to the perpetual ascendancy of a false religion, because it was considered that his remaining a heathen was essential to English interests, and then became bigotted and impracticable; and thus our policy, like all other selfish acts, which, for the sake of some present advantage, ignore high and important principles, has reacted on ourselves.

It is a remarkable fact, and we leave it with our readers to reflect upon, that the military station where the insurrection first exhibited itself in its most terrific and merciless features, and where the first slaughter of Europeans, without distinction of sex or age, was perpetrated, was this very same city of Mirut, where the first Sepoy, that we are aware of, made public profession of his faith in Christ, and was dismissed, as one disqualified from service, from the ranks of the native army.

We introduce a weighty sentence from Buchanan—“The toleration of all religions and the zealous extension of our own, is the way to rule and to preserve a conquered king-

dom:” and we add another—“To countenance false religions, and discourage our own, in the hope of strengthening our influence, and securing the affections of the natives, is the surest way to forfeit the Divine blessing, and deprive ourselves of all we have gained. Kings and Governments who act with such infidelity must expect Belshazzar’s doom, ‘Thou art weighed in the balance,

and found wanting: thy kingdom is departed from thee.’”

The nation has now to decide between these antagonistic principles of Government. We have tried the wrong course, and are now reaping its bitter fruits. May the grace of repentance be given us henceforth to choose the better part!

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF THE SEPOY MUTINY.

IN a previous article we defended the Missionary from the accusation brought against him, of having caused, by his indiscreet zeal, the Sepoy mutiny.

We must be prepared to search more deeply if we desire to ascertain the truth. But, *in limine*, we may observe, that, in this mutiny and its atrocities, we behold what human nature is capable of, when left under the pernicious influence of false religion. The watchword of the mutineers is *Din, Din* (the faith, the faith): this is their rallying cry to the battle, and with this they summon new traitors to join them. It is then, if we are to believe them, for their faith they are contending, and that which they do must be considered as done with the approval and according to the spirit of their faith. What horrid systems, then, these so-called religions must be, which render a man worse than a beast of prey! How many of the hapless sufferers, in the moment of their unutterable anguish, would have gladly chosen death beneath the tiger’s grasp as a merciful deliverance from the pitiless fiends into whose hands they fell! It is not, as in our country, where we have occasional outbreaks of individual depravity, notwithstanding the restraining influence of true religion. We have, in these, deeds so dark, so foul, that we can find no name by which to designate them, the simultaneous acts of tens of thousands—acts in which they glory, and which they are prepared to re-enact on men of European blood and faith, whenever an opportunity be presented them. There are Satanic influences abroad in India. These false religions are the devices, whereby the great enemy has long degraded men, and used them for his own purposes. He knows his time to be short, and he has come down having great wrath. These masses have yielded as readily to his impulse as the waters of the ocean to the action of furious winds; and, lo! the floods have lifted up their waves; and what should we do, had we not this faith to hold by, that “the Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea?”

How detestable, then, these Satanic systems ought to be in our eyes—systems of falsehood with which Satan deludes the millions of mankind! With what energy should not the Christian church arise to prosecute its warfare against them! Their true character is written on them in the blood of martyrs, for many, like young Cheek, have been cut down while bearing testimony to Christ and His gospel. With such systems there can be no peace. We must war against them—not with the sword, that would avail us little, for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. Let the vow be made that prayer and effort shall never rest until these strongholds, these abodes of Satanic power and human depravity, be levelled with the dust, and then we shall be avenged.

Human nature, as personified in the Hindú and Mussulman, is placed under most unhappy circumstances. Exposed to immoral and degrading influences, its natural tendencies, instead of being repressed and corrected, are fostered and developed, until at length it attains a vast capacity of evil, and the heart becomes like a volcanic reservoir, in which dangerous elements have accumulated. The fiery mountain presents then a true emblem of human passions in their outbreak. The crisis has come. The imprisoned and conflicting elements can no longer be restrained. Premonitory sounds are heard, and the crater—one perhaps long extinct—with a mighty travail ejects the murky clouds of smoke and ashes, and towering pinnacles of flame; and the lava, descending from some fissure in the mountain’s side, overwhelms towns and villages, and changes a cultivated and pleasant country into a scene of desolation.

Some of the most formidable eruptions have taken place after ages of inaction. Such was the outbreak of Vesuvius, in which the elder Pliny lost his life, and Herculaneum and Pompeii were entombed, the one in solid volcanic masses, the other beneath showers of ashes.

India, in its past history, has been a quieted land, a great volcanic centre of

human passions. For a season it had been inactive, and we fondly conceived that it had gone to rest for ever. How could we think so, while Christianity in India was yet in its feeble infancy, and had scarcely been felt throughout the land! And we had constructed our homes on the flanks of the vast crater, and knew not of the subterraneous fires that were kindling into action beneath our feet; until, with a sudden disruption, they broke forth, and the fiery lava of human passion has desolated India with calamities, the traces of which a generation will not be sufficient to obliterate.

We deal first with the Hindú, and then with the Mussulman.

What has there been in our day so ominous of danger to the faith of the Hindú, that, casting off the obsequiousness and servility by which he has been hitherto distinguished, he stands forth the very personification of every evil passion?

It is undoubted that great misconceptions have prevailed as to what the Hindú considers to be interference with his religion. It is not an alteration of views and principles which a Hindú dreads, nor is this what he understands by the expression "danger of religion;" but it is interference with his caste, customs, and habits, for these are, in truth, his religion. His religion is fitly represented by the mummy of Egypt: the shell alone retains firmness of contexture: all within is decay and rottenness. There is nothing left but an elaborate formalism, a stringent ritual, in which the dead thing called Hindúism, with its corruptions and abominations, has long been swathed. "The great mass of the Hindú population have no intelligent persuasion as to the principles of their own religion. It is with them a matter of immemorial tradition, mythological legend, outward form and ceremony, and civil and social usage. Their life is made up of a ceaseless round of rites, forms, and customs, all, in their estimation, more or less sacred. Were the Government by law—that is, practically, by force—to alter any long-established rite, form, or custom; were it, for example, to order the porta, or sacred Brahminical thread to be worn on the right, instead of on the left shoulder, or the dhootie, a piece of cloth round the waist, to be differently tied, or the marriage of mere infants to be declared illegal, or the marriage ceremony to be performed on unlucky days, such interference would create a far more intense sensation and alarm, than any amount of voluntary subscriptions for the peaceful establishment of Christian schools or preaching bungalows in every district or village throughout the

land."* A Hindú will hear your exposition of Christian truth, bring forward his objections, and listen patiently to your refutation of them; but if, inadvertently, you touch the chatty which contains his rice, the pollution which, according to his idea, he connects with you as an alien from his system, has defiled the vessel and all that it contains, and the vessel is broken and the food thrown away. While observant of the laws of caste, he is, in his own estimation, clean; and in this consists his religious idiosyncrasy. By virtue of his caste *status*, he regards the European as immeasurably his inferior. Even when rendering his homage, with all the obsequious courtesy of the Oriental, to the European of superior station—it may be the Governor-General himself—he regards him as no better than a *chandala*, an alien and an outcast, with whom he would not eat.

"Caste arrogates to itself the heritage of an exclusive sanctity, and dooms a portion of the human race to pollution and uncleanness. It is founded on supposed birth—purity or impurity, and is considered of divine appointment. Caste is not what many imagine it to be, the mere inheritance of a profession or trade from a father to a son, which, so far as it is entirely voluntary, is common to all nations, and does not involve crime in him who should embrace a new calling, nor crush him who ventures to attempt other trades. Caste is an involuntary, arbitrary thing. It does not simply prevent the Hindú from marrying out of certain lines, which in itself may be harmless, but prevents one man eating whatever, or with whomsoever he pleases. The starving beggar would forfeit his caste if he should dare to eat the food prepared by one of an inferior caste, or by a non-caste man. One perishing with thirst dare not receive even the sacred water of the Ganges, to save his life, from the hands of one of inferior caste. This misanthropy in its vilest form would lead the caste man to revere and adore the cow and consider such deed sacred, while he would despise his own image in his fellow-man. Deprive him of his gods, he will tamely give them up; show him the absurdity of his idolatrous worship and his unmeaning and ridiculous ceremonies, he will laugh, and join you in despising them; but touch his caste, you touch the apple of his eye, the darling idol of his heart: then he is 'fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell.'"†

It is, then, the idea of peculiar sanctity, as

* "State Intervention in the Religion of India," p. 2.
 † Prize Essay on Hindú Caste, by the Rev. H. Bowyer, Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

connected with the observance of caste laws and regulations, which is, in fact, the religion of the native. It is not argument, as affecting his views and tenets, that he dreads, but pollution incurred by offences against the laws of caste. These are his laws of being, grafted upon, and thoroughly interwoven with his sinful nature; like the ivy, its roots strike through and through the crevices or fissures of the ruined building. They constitute in his eyes the essential conditions of his existence, so that to fall from these would be to lose himself. Even Christianity might with facility have many converts, did it only consent to the introduction of caste arrangements within its precincts. "Caste will entwine itself round every thing: it only wants support, and, while supported, it destroys!"

Now, Christianity, in its wisdom of procedure, is well fitted to deal with this peculiarity of condition, in which the sinner under the power of Hindúism is found. The Missionary, in approaching the man, does not commence with an aggression on his caste. He pursues a more direct mode of procedure. His aim is at the heart. He addresses himself to the interior of the man. He affects the understanding and intelligence, and seeks thus to influence the affections. The truths which the Missionary presents to his notice, the Hindú regards as mere abstractions, incapable of exercising any possible influence on his living acts. It were just as possible, in his estimate of them, that they could avail to change the colour of his skin. But the Missionary is aware of the contrary. He knows that the truths he is dealing with are living truths, and that, once implanted in the heart, they will so affect the man, produce such a change in his *morale*, that he will of himself distaste his caste life, and never rest quiet until he breaks loose from it. This is a safe mode of procedure, because it does not unnecessarily irritate the caste prejudices of the man. The Gospel message aims to win the heart to God, assured that in the accomplishment of this the energy of a new life will be introduced, which, in its expansion, will break away the constriction of the caste system, and set the man free. Hence we find, in confirmation of these remarks, that the Missionaries have been patiently heard and kindly treated by the population generally. Going forth alone, and single-handed, they plainly carry with them no compulsory influence, which alone the Hindú considers could ever avail to separate him from his caste. His idea is, that by compulsion he might be forced away: by persuasion never. The Missionaries have been in the habit of visiting the great cities,

and preaching publicly in the bazaars; they have frequented the crowded melas, and have proclaimed Christ as the Saviour of sinners, and that without molestation; nay, the people have gathered around them, accompanied them to their tents to make inquiries, and receive books at their hands. Although itinerant preachers have been more extensively spread over the country than at any former period, yet the instance has been rare indeed in which any rudeness, or attempt at violence, has been offered them. "Yes, rather, is there a Missionary of note in India, from Schwartz downwards, who cannot point to the kindly reception he has met with in the palaces of the zemindars and rajahs, and the amicable religious discussions to which he has been there invited?" Even now, amidst the horrors of the mutiny, there has been no enmity to the Missionaries, as such. The Missionary stations which have suffered have been those in connexion with the European communities, and in the vicinity of the great military centres; while those in the rural districts, and away from Europeans, have remained untouched. Those, that to the eye of the native, stood on an European basis, have been desolated: those which stood on a native basis, have been spared. Where the Missionaries have been murdered it has been as Europeans, not as Missionaries. "Has there been the slightest evidence to show that the rage even of Sepoys or Mussulmans has been especially directed against the Missionaries? It is certain that the reverse is the case—that there is rather a lurking feeling of goodwill. Otherwise, how rapid would have been the attempts to destroy the Mission premises of the Church Missionary Society in the sacred city of Benares, and of the London Missionary Society's premises at Berhampore?" Amidst the chaos at Benares, when the broken Sepoys were scattered in all directions, and armed badmashes were plundering and firing the houses in every direction, the Sagra Mission premises, although removed some short distance from the town, and none there save the little flock of native Christians, remained unmolested; and our Missionary, the Rev. C. B. Leupolt, passed back and forward from the Mint to the Mission premises unhurt. The 19th Native Infantry was disbanded at Barrackpore on the 31st of March, the 34th Native Infantry at Barrackpore on May 6th. To the north-west, distant not sixty miles on the great trunk road from Calcutta to Benares, &c., lay the Missionary station at Burdwan, and to the north, half-way on the route from Calcutta to Berhampore, where the 19th Native Infantry had been stationed at the time of

their exhibiting a mutinous disposition, and whither, on being disbanded, it was not improbable they might return, lay the Kishnagur district, with many Missionary stations, and utterly defenceless. Had Missionaries and their operations been the special causes of irritation, would not the disbanded soldiers have hastened to wreak their vengeance on them? But, no! To the persuasive action of Missionaries there has been no antipathy. What is feared by the Hindús "is not instruction or discussion, for they are rather fond of both in religious matters," but compulsory interference with their caste usages.

But let us now look to the action of Government in India. A Christian nation is placed in a position of ascendancy over that heathen land, and the millions of Hindús and Mahommedans throughout its vast territories have been entrusted to the rule of England. The individuals in whose hands is vested the direction of affairs are Englishmen. They have been accustomed to that administration of law which prevails in their own country, one which has Christianity for its basis; the object of which is the suppression of all that is injurious to society, and the advancement of all that is calculated to promote its true happiness and welfare. As our position in India rose out of its first embarrassments and difficulties, and English power became confirmed and established, such men had time to look around them, and they found many and great social evils in existence; many cruelties perpetrated under the law of caste; and large sections of the population suffering grievously. A Christian Government could not ignore the existence of such evils; it could not refuse to notice them. To do so would be to abdicate its office, and to abandon the cause of humanity. Ameliorative measures were therefore introduced, from time to time, by the acts of successive Governors-General. They were by no means hurried on after a precipitate fashion, but gradually, as it was thought the people would receive them. The most prominent of these may be referred to: the abolition of suttee; the prevention of suicide under the wheels of Juggernaut's chariot; and the *Lex-loci* Act of 1850, which expressly provided that forfeiture of rights or property should no longer be consequent on deprivation of caste, nor the rights of inheritance be in aught impaired because of exclusion from the communion of any religion. Again, the efforts for the suppression of infanticide throughout Western India, the North-west Provinces, and the Punjab. This is peculiarly a high-caste crime. It prevails among the Rajpúts,

whose nucleus is in Rajpútana, but who are to be found, in greater or less numbers, from the Sutlej to the Nerbudda, the Jumna, and the Ganges, the precise area of country which is now in conflagration. Among this race, wherever located, infanticide prevails. It is perpetrated through the pride of caste, lest blood of vaunted purity should flow into meaner veins, or a daughter remain unmarried, and thus prove a dishonour to the family. The higher the caste, the more frequent the crime. "Every step we advance up this ladder of caste, we find females become fewer and fewer, till, on reaching the top, they altogether disappear." We intend shortly to take up this subject in detail, in order that full proof may be afforded, if now, indeed, proof be wanting, of the enormity of that system of caste to which, in India, we have been so shamefully truckling, giving the preference to high-caste men, as the alone superexcellent *materiel* out of which our Bengal regiments were to be recruited—high-caste men, whether Hindús or Mahommedans—for "the Mahommedans of India affect caste as exclusively and as rigidly as to what they eat, drink, aye, and touch, as the most bigoted Hindús."* At present we can only pause to state, that the efforts of the British officials have been most persevering and successful: so much so, that in forty-two villages of the Agra district, where the crime had been prevalent, during the two and a half years "between May 1, 1851, and January 1, 1854, the average increase of female children, under eleven years of age, was not less than 137 per cent: and that in some particular villages it exceeded 600 per cent, and in one village the increase reached to 850 per cent." †

To these measures of reform may be added the recent act which removed the illegality of widow-marriage, and the contemplated law for the limitation of polygamic practices amongst the Kulin Brahmins.

Now all these enactments were of a becoming character, having for their object the suppression of great social evils, and the alleviation of calamities which pressed sorely upon large sections of the population; yet, let it be observed, they were all direct interferences with the laws and usages of caste. Legislative alterations of this character, reversing the current of old-established usages, and diverting the popular practice into new channels, are most safely made where Christianity has gone before to prepare the way; for this is a powerful persuasive, addressing

* "The Crisis in India," by a Military Officer, p. 37.

† "Indian Infanticide," pp. 105, 106.

itself to the intelligence of the man, by an imperceptible action altering his principles, and presenting objects to him in a new light, so that he is enabled to see the evil of many practices to which he had habitually yielded himself, and becomes willing to renounce them. In proportion to the diffusiveness of this great alterative amongst a population, and the corrective influence which it has exercised on their moral habits, will be the favourable disposition towards such remedial measures, until they come to be regarded and welcomed as of a popular character. It was this facilitated the constitutional changes which were introduced in our own land at the period of the Reformation, when Protestantism was substituted instead of Romanism as the established religion, because the free distribution of the sacred Scriptures in the vernacular, and the eagerness with which they had been read by numbers, prepared the way for such alterations, and enabled them to be accomplished without any serious amount of disquietude. Men saw they were necessary, and approved of them. Unhappily, this grand preparatory element, which so materially aids the action of a Government desirous of correcting existing evils in society, and introducing beneficial changes, has been very sparingly used in India. In former years, the authorities were decidedly averse to its introduction. It was pronounced to be in the highest degree dangerous to tamper with the religious prejudices of the natives. In the Government Educational Institutions the same distrust of Christianity has been apparent. The students were permitted free access to the stores of western knowledge, the Christian Scriptures excepted. Here, again, the results have been of a most injurious character. The one medium through which secular knowledge might have been safely conveyed, and have exercised a wholesome and improving influence on the native mind, has been omitted, and that on the old and mistaken plea, that to furnish instruction in Christianity would be to interfere with the religion of the native! But has the religion of the student been left untouched? Impossible! it could not be preserved intact in the presence of European science. Its falsehood became so palpable that numbers of these Government *élevés* renounced the imposture. What did we give them to supply the void? They were taught that Hindúism was a lie, and they were kept from knowing that Christianity is truth. Thus they were left without any religion; and, returning to their homes unbelievers, their minds in negation of all religion, insulted "their parents and the elders of their

various castes, by laughing at their time-honoured prejudices, eating and drinking forbidden things, &c."

Thus the Government, while solicitous to improve the condition of these millions, by an unwise and deeply to be regretted policy, distrusted and put aside the great assimilating medium, which would have brought the native mind into harmony with such changes, and caused the people to become the willing recipients of the same.

But it is not alone the Government that has been blameable in this matter: the Christian church is far more so. Christians at home have admitted the urgent necessity there existed, that India should be evangelized; and they have had the opportunity, for India has long been open to Missionary effort, and various Missionary Societies have chosen it as a field of labour, and have sent thither their agents. But the efforts put forth have been feeble and disproportionate. "If there be one fact more than another which condemns the professing Christians of Great Britain, it is, that India, with her tens of millions, has been under British influence so many tens of years, and that so little hitherto has been attempted for her conversion. There is one country, and one country only in the whole world, with a larger population; but the mass of the people of that empire are not, at present, accessible to Missionary labours; and civil wars, anarchy, and many unexpected hindrances may check the progress of the gospel. ". . . . Now, forty years after India, by the charter of 1813, was thrown open to the gospel, what is the state of things? Is India thronged with messengers of mercy? Are there here as many proclaiming salvation, and inviting the people to the Saviour, as there are spending their lives in laying up treasure for themselves, and for those, they know not who they may be, that shall come after them? Far, very far from it. All Ráj-pútana, with seventeen millions of people, has no Missionary; Oude, with three millions, has none; Nagpore, with four millions and a half, has two; the Nizam's territory, with ten millions, has none; Gwalior, with three millions, has none; There are, moreover, in the North-western provinces, 150 towns, each with a population of upwards of 5000, but below 10,000; and more than 5000 towns and villages, with upwards of 1000 souls, but less than 5000; and many thousands of others (about 67,000) with less than 1000. But there is scarcely a Missionary or a catechist in any one of these places."* Such

* "Bengal as a field of Missions," pp. 24, 27.

were Mr. Wylie's expostulations, three years back. We have had a day of glorious opportunity; India has been open to us; there was quiet throughout the land, a great calm; there were means, facilities. One thing only was wanting—a devotedness equal in some measure to the occasion—an enlargement of heart proportionate to the largeness of the opportunity. But this has been wanting. Societies have been crippled both as to men and means. It was with fear and hesitation they ventured to push forward their operations, under the apprehension they would not be supported, and that expenses would be incurred which they should have no supplies to meet. Continual adjustments have been requisite between the expenditure and the income, and the healthful expansion of the work has been unnaturally repressed, because of the financial restrictions to which the various organizations have been subjected at home. British Christians had the gospel in abundance, and they had wealth in abundance. But while they prized the gospel for themselves, they were not willing to part with a just proportion of their wealth, that their perishing fellow-men might have the same advantages also.

In fact, we have never fully realized the greatness of our responsibility; that we were put in charge of an important trust, and, if found unfaithful, had reason to fear a deprivation of our stewardship. We have not energetically improved the to-day of opportunity which God gave us. We have done little more than touched the surface of society in India. A mere fragment only of the population has been brought under the direct influence of Christianity; and there were but few, very few indeed, who were prepared to receive, cordially and thankfully, the great social changes to which we have referred. The huge and cumbrous mass of the inferior castes lay buried in their usual stagnation, and were moved to no interest in the subject. But the high castes, whose exclusive privileges and arbitrary practices were specially interfered with, viewed them with displeasure and aversion, and although, with the usual duplicity of the Oriental, they apparently submitted, yet disaffection widely extended itself; so much so, that forgetful of the traditions of their fathers, and of all that they suffered under Mahomedan dynasties, when whole tribes, even of Rajpûts,* were forcibly

constrained to become Mussulmans, they have preferred the Mogul pretender to the British rule, and turning our own weapons against ourselves, have ranged themselves under the green banner of Islam.

To iterate a previous sentiment, the attempt on the part of the authorities to carry out the improvements to which we have referred, was praiseworthy and becoming. But the misfortune was, that the true element of human progress, which, if permitted free and unrestricted circulation, would have prepared the way for such changes, and enabled them to be accomplished without disaffecting the people, and enkindling opposition and rebellion, was by some distrusted and put aside, and by others so feebly used, that its measure of influence has not been equal to the emergency. Happy indeed would it have been for ourselves, happy for India, had it been otherwise; if that had been done on a larger scale in India, which on a smaller scale had been accomplished in New Zealand. When disaffection arose among the natives in connexion with certain land questions, and a portion of them took up arms, Christianity was strong enough to restrain the great mass of the population, and the conflagration, thus narrowed in its action, and prevented from extending itself, was soon put out. Had the same relative amount of effort been put forth in behalf of India, that was deemed requisite for New Zealand, would there not have been found abroad throughout the land, to aid us in the moment of peril, the same tranquillizing influences? Would not the Christianity which, with self-denying effort, we had dispensed, have been reflected back upon us in the way of heartfelt sympathy and ready co-operation, from the numbers amongst the natives of India, to whom we had proved instruments of blessing? The native Christians have been staunch throughout the movement; they have shown us what they would have been had they been more numerous; but they have been few and feeble, and all that they have been enabled to do, is to suffer with us. How could it have been otherwise? We have had forty years of opportunity; and, for North-India especially, what has been done in proportion to the vastness of the work and of our own resources?

Have we not dwelt in our ceiled houses, while the Lord's house in India, the spiritual building which might have been raised of living stones, hewn out of the vast deep quarries of India's population, has been permitted to lie waste? Where is Solomon's levy of 30,000 men, and the three-score and ten thousand that bare burdens, and four-

* "Many of them, especially of the higher classes, were converted to Mahomedanism west of the Jumna: most of the Rajpût communities have gone over in a body, and generally the worse for the change," &c.—Campbell's "Modern India," p. 48.

score thousand hewers in the mountains, besides the chief officers which were over the work, three thousand and three hundred which ruled over the people that wrought in the work? Where are the agents of the Christian churches for the prosecution of the work in India? They must be diligently sought, for they are microscopically small—so few and far between, as to be lost among the masses! What vast districts of country that have never been visited by a Missionary! What dense masses which have never heard the name of Jesus! It is vain for us, with inquisitorial search, to be occupying ourselves in discovering the defects of others. They have been numerous enough. But the great blame lies at the door of those, who professing to value Christian truth as the great element of renovation, have doled it out with such a niggard hand to the millions of India. Should it please God that, after a time—whether more or less prolonged who can tell?—this magnificent field of labour again subside into tranquillity, under the rule of England, it is to be hoped, that, warned by the past, the Christians of Great Britain, on whom the responsibility especially lies, will address themselves to this great duty, as though they were in earnest and had a mind to work.

But our reference has been hitherto to the Hindú race. There is another element of population, which has acted upon the Hindús with pernicious influence, and ignited those discontented feelings, which otherwise, had they been left to themselves, would have remained latent and smouldered in secret—the Mahommedans of India. From their hands we wrested the sceptre of dominion. We overthrew their tottering thrones, and reducing them to an equality with the Hindús, held both races in subjection. But if the Hindú cleaves to his caste, so does the Mahommedan to the idea of supremacy: that he conceives of right belongs to him. He is the Esau who ought to have the birthright, and the Kaffir races, more especially such as are Nazarenes, are the Jacobs, the pretenders and usurpers whom in his heart he hates, and, when opportunity presents itself, does not hesitate to kill. The Mahommedan system is one based on a fanatical spirit of conquest and dominion. "The Korán," says one of the Mahommedan historians, "declares that the highest glory man can attain in this world is unquestionably that of waging successful war against the enemies of his religion. Accordingly, how often do we read in Mahommedan narratives, of warriors hastening to the doomed cities of unbelievers, that they might share in the merit of sending their souls to

the abyss of hell! How often do we read of their sparing neither the old men, nor young children, neither rich nor poor, male nor female, and of scores of pyramids being made of heads for trophies!"

Yes, undoubtedly Mahommedanism to its followers is a religion of self-indulgence; to all other men, one of pitiless intolerance. Its own people itsensualizes, to all others it offers the Korán or the sword; even when under restraint, the heart of the system remains unchanged, and the "old spirit of hatred, revenge, and slaughter of the Kaffir, is sure to burst forth with a violence proportionate to the period during which it has been chained down by the coercion of superior force."

In India the Mahommedan has clung to the remembrance of his former power, nor has he ever abandoned the hope of its recovery. The faded pageant, permitted to live on at Delhi, has helped to feed these aspirations. Is it not a fact that for nearly the last one hundred years, daily prayers have been offered in the mosques throughout India for the house of Timur and the re-establishment of the King of Delhi on the throne of his ancestors? Is it not a fact, that no Mahommedan has ever succeeded to an inheritance, or been appointed to any place or office, without rendering his homage to the King of Delhi as his lord paramount, to whom the investiture of right belonged? The Mahommedan element throughout the entire period of our rule has been an uneasy and disaffected one, nor is this the first occasion on which it has broken out in overt acts of rebellion. The ostensible cause of the mutiny in Vellore in 1806, was a slight change in the dress of the troops: the real originating cause was a dark conspiracy hatched by the Mahommedan princes of the recently extinguished dynasty of Mysore. The ostensible cause of the sanguinary outbreak of 1857 was the greased cartridge: the real originating cause the same as before—privy conspiracy on the part of the Mahommedans, with a view to the re-establishment of their own dynasty on the subversion of British power.

That such elements of discontent have had place in India cannot now be disputed. There has been the chronic disaffection of the Mahommedans generally, and the more specific designs of treason and rebellion, which, as favourable opportunities presented themselves, have been diligently concocted amongst "Mahommedan maulavis and ex-princes, with their greedy band of discontented satellites;" there have been displeasure and irritation amongst the Brahmins and other high-caste natives, as they found themselves, by

successive acts of the British Government, deprived of the privileges they had long enjoyed of perpetrating crime with impunity, and pleasuring themselves at the expense of the rights and happiness of other sections of the population. Feelings of disquietude were spread abroad throughout the land, precisely such as designing persons, intent on their own purposes, might take advantage of, and with facility ignite to overt acts of disturbance and rebellion. Had these dangerous elements been kept separate, and prevented from combination, matters, perchance, might have slumbered on; but, marvellous to say, we have ourselves afforded them the opportunity of coming to an understanding. We have brought together, into the same military organization, the high-caste Hindú and the disaffected Mussulman. Of such the native army of Bengal has been composed, while the low-caste men and aboriginal races have been excluded. History alone should have sufficed to show the folly of supposing that, of the natives, high-caste men alone made good soldiers. "In the wars of Lawrence, Clive, and Coote, in the Carnatic, the aborigines constituted by far the great majority of the Sepoys. It was they who opposed Hyder Ally, the ruler of Mysore, and who gained the battle of Plassey, in Bengal, before a Bengal army existed. It was they, the Parwaries of the Bombay army, who, in the siege of Mangalore, together with the 2nd battalion of the 42nd Highlanders, under Colonel Campbell, defended that fortress for six months against a besieging army of 40,000 men, and consented to honourable terms of surrender, only when on the point of starvation (as did the garrison at Kars), having buried within its walls more than half their numbers. The Bengies of this race, the aborigines of Bengal, constituted a portion of the infantry of the Mogul armies; and it is a fact not generally known, though nevertheless true, that they claimed the honour, as the indigines of the soil, to form the forlorn hope, and the storming party in all its desperate services. A chosen party of Bedars, or Bedas, the aborigines of Mysore, whose Rajahs, under the denomination of Polygars, held many strongholds, or baronial estates, as we should call them, in our times, formed the personal body-guard of Hyder Ally, the sovereign ruler of Mysore. They are mentioned by the historian, Colonel Wilks, as the bravest and best soldiers of that country. The Minas, and other original races in Central India, constitute the guards of the palace of the Rajpút princes of the present day. They have none of the prejudices, occasionally so inconvenient, of the Hindús or the Mahom-

medans; and as they may fairly be calculated at sixteen millions, they afford of themselves, at present, a source of four millions of males, between the ages of twenty and forty, to supply, at any time, the casualties of the native army."*

So needless was this high-caste preference, on the ground of military fitness; so undesirable, moreover because these men are under special influences as connected with caste and Islamism, which must of necessity interfere with fidelity to their colours. "The effect of enlisting men of a certain caste or creed to the exclusion of others in the Indian army, is to subject that army to the control, not of government and of the articles of war, but to that of Brahmins and Goseins, Múllahs, and Fakirs. By this system a man is not to be chosen on account of his fitness to be a soldier, his willingness and strength, docility and courage, but because he is a twice-born worshipper of Vishnu! Whatever his other qualifications, if a man think that a stone, with a patch of red paint on it, is not the image of the Creator, still more, if he have been a shoemaker, &c., he is not to be admitted into the ranks of the Bengal army, for fear of offending the lazy and insolent Brahmins. The consequences are ruinous to discipline. By reason of this, a native soldier in Bengal is far more afraid of an offence against caste than of an offence against the articles of war; and by this means a degree of power rests with private soldiers which is entirely incompatible with all healthy rule. Treachery, mutiny, villany of all kinds may be carried on among the private soldiers unknown to their officers, to any extent, where the men are of one caste of Hindús, and where the rules of caste are more regarded than those of military discipline. To such an extent does this exist, that I have known a Bengal commanding officer express his regret at being compelled to discharge an excellent Sepoy, because the other men had discovered him to be of inferior caste, and had demanded his dismissal."† Such was the alarming voice raised six years ago against the organization of the Bengal army; words disregarded at the time, but which events have since, alas! how sadly verified.

But we conceived that the Mussulman and Hindú would act as a natural check on each other; and that, as antagonistic elements, they would never fuse. We have exhibited in this

* "India and Europe Compared," by Lieut.-General Briggs, pp. 49, 50.

† "The Present Condition of the Bengal Native Army considered with a view to its Improvement." London, 1851.

our ignorance, not only of the high-caste Hindú, but also of the Mussulmans of India. "They affect caste as exclusively and as rigidly as the most bigotted Hindús. They make the precepts of the Koran of none effect through their traditions. The Turk or the Arab will eat or drink with a Christian or a Jew, being permitted to do so by his law. The Indian, professedly under the same law, will do neither; but he will do what his western brethren—still in accordance with the precepts of the Koran—regard with abhorrence, viz. eat food and drink water from the hand of an idolater, even though the said idolater, instead of reciprocating the concession, openly regards him as next to a Christian in impurity of caste.

"Remember that the sons of Islam, although they dominated in India for ages, are numerically as one to fifteen or sixteen. To follow literally the stern injunctions of the prophet, all redolent of a haughty superiority, was found to be practically impossible; and as the Parsee, a protected and fugitive race, have, to conciliate Mahommedans, and Hindús, renounced their ancient spiritual privileges of eating beef and pork, &c., so the Indian Mahommedans have succumbed to the overwhelming pressure of Hindú prejudices, and have for ages held the doctrine of caste with bigotted fervour. A very few among the intelligent Hindús maintain the true doctrine of their religion, viz. that only that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man, which . . . militates against the Christian dogma, and which is equally repugnant to the doctrines of the Koran, certain exceptional cases being allowed for, which are derived from the Mosaic code. But the Indian Mahommedan having departed from his faith in many respects, in accordance with the doctrine of expediency, actually reverences various Hindú shrines; seeks for the blessing of religious Hindú mendicants; and is so scrupulous as to what he introduces into his mouth, that he would cast away a piece of cake, presented to him by the fair hands of a western Princess, as a horrible abomination."*

The idea, therefore, that our Bengal army consisted of two repugnant races, which could never fuse, and that in this we held ample security against any widely extended disaffection, or combined attempt at mutiny, was one entertained by us, either in ignorance or forgetfulness of the fact, that Mahommedanism in India has been already, to a considerable extent, Hindúized; and therefore, when the trial came, it failed us, and proved to be utterly unsound. We forgot that assimila-

tion had already taken place to a considerable extent; and, incautiously off our guard, have brought these two races into closer proximity with each other. We have selected and brought into combination dangerous elements. We placed the discontented Hindú side by side with the disaffected Mussulman. We accustomed them to the same discipline, trained them to the same movements, furnished them with the same arms, conjoined them in one great military brotherhood, accustomed them to regard each other as comrades, and convinced them it was possible for them to act in concert.

In what a convenient position the Mahomedan conspirator found himself! How easy to work upon the mind of his Hindú fellow-soldier; to collect all the vague discontentedness of his mind into a settled purpose and determination, and eventually associate him with himself as a fellow-conspirator! There appears to have been little difficulty in the attainment of this object. It is evident that the Hindú Sepoys were wrought upon by rumours of Government interference with their caste. Major-General Hearsey, writing from Barrackpore, under date of January 28, 1857, suggests the possibility of some secret effort of this kind being in action to disaffect their minds. "Perhaps those Hindús who are opposed to the marriage of widows in Calcutta, are using underhand means to thwart the Government in abolishing the restraints lately removed by law for the marriage of widows; and conceive, if they can make a party of the ignorant classes in the ranks of the army, believe their religion or religious prejudices are eventually to be abolished by force, and by force they are all to be made Christians, and thus by shaking their faith in Government, lose the confidence of their officers by inducing Sepoys to commit offences, such as incendiarism, &c., they will gain their object."* Confirmatory evidence was not wanting. One Sepoy of the 34th Native Infantry ventured in the beginning of February to communicate to the European officer of his company, Lieutenant Allan, the existence of a plot among the Sepoys of four different regiments at Barrackpore, under the apprehension of being forced to give up their caste and be made Christians, and their consequent determination to rise up against their officers, &c. So serious did the complexion of affairs appear to be, that the Major-General paraded the whole brigade with the hope of disabusing their minds of this misconception. "I, myself, energetically and explicitly explained in a loud voice,

* "The Crisis in India," pp. 37, 38.

* Parliamentary Papers, 1857.

to the whole of the men, the folly of the idea that possessed them, that the Government, or that their officers, wished to interfere with their caste or religious prejudices, and impressed the absurdity of their for one second believing that they were to be forced to become Christians. I told them that the English were Christians of the Book, *i. e.* Protestants; that they admitted no proselytes, but those, who, being adults, could read and fully understand the precepts laid down therein; that if they came and threw themselves down at our feet, imploring to be made Book Christians, it could not be done; they could not be baptized until they had been examined on the tenets of the Book, and proved themselves fully conversant on them, and then they must of their own good will and accord, desire to become Christians of the Book ere they could be made so, &c."

But it was too late. The poison had been infused, and had spread too widely. The Mahomedan had tempted the Hindú, and found him too well disposed to fraternize. Under the equitable action of British rule, the Mahomedan has been withheld from being what he once was, the bitter persecutor of the Hindú. The Hindú has forgotten that the Mahomedan ever had been such. It only remained that the train should be fired. What moved the Mussulman conspirators to do so at this particular moment remains to be searched out. There is a restlessness throughout the whole Mahomedan system, as though its days

were numbered, and it had but a short time to live. Its dormant fanaticism is being aroused, and it seems resolved to end as it commenced, with the sword in hand. In India there has been a special irritation in connexion with the annexation of Oude, and old wives' fables, that the British rule was to end with the centenary of the battle of Plassey, fanned the flame. The moment was an opportune one, denuded as India was of European troops, first for the Russian, then the Persian and Chinese wars. The cartridge grievance was merely the port-fire. The dread explosion has taken place, and the calamitous results have filled us with mourning and woe.

We have much more to say in connexion with this absorbing subject in our next Number. Meanwhile, let not our beleaguered countrymen at Agra, Lucknow, and elsewhere be forgotten—those little isolated spots, the last stand of a few gallant Britons, fighting for more than life, while around are those that are worse than enemies! With what earnest prayers ought we not to plead for their deliverance! What entreaties should rise from every family, every congregation! What a moment for national humiliation—what a time "to sanctify a fast, and call a solemn assembly!" Why does not the nation sit in sackcloth and ashes before the Lord, and say, "Spare thy people, O Lord! and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the heathen should rule over them! Wherefore should they say among the people, where is their God?"

MISSIONARY CONFERENCE AT BENARES.

Continued from page 216.

"MISSIONARY deputations to India, and their results," was the second subject marked out for the consideration of the Conferences. A paper was read by the Rev. J. Mullens with reference to which the "Calcutta Christian Observer"* remarks—

"The writer, after proceeding a considerable time, suddenly pulled up, and withstood the earnest and repeated entreaties of the Conference to proceed. We are not able, therefore, to give a correct report of the essay. It commenced with a brief but comprehensive outline of proceedings of the several deputations that have visited India from Europe and America; but soon after finishing these sketches the writer stopped. So far as we could learn, he did not enter upon the more delicate question of the expediency of deputations, or the powers with which they

should be invested. The Conference, however, was not disposed to pass over these topics in silence, and the brief discussion which ensued had chiefly reference to those points. The following extract from the resolution arrived at so fully embodies the views expressed, that we need not add more.

On Missionary Deputations.

"RESOLVED—That this Conference, having had their attention drawn to the proceedings of several deputations that have recently visited the Christian Missions of this country from Europe and America, and to the inquiries instituted by them into the various plans of Missionary agency carried on in India, desire to express it as their conviction, that, owing to the imperfect view which even the best correspondence must give of these important Missions, occasions may arise when the visit of a deputation will be found both wise and useful, and even in some cases necessary.

* "Calcutta Christian Observer," March 1857, p. 120.

But owing to the peculiar circumstances of life and manners in which evangelical Missions in India are carried on, they consider that no important changes in their agency should ever be introduced rashly, or in haste, or in opposition to the tried experience of those to whom those agencies form the familiar habits of daily life; but that in all cases where changes are proposed, Missionaries should be fully and freely consulted, and due regard be paid to those views which they have attained, it may be by a tedious and painful experience. The Conference also earnestly hope that all the inquiries which have been recently instituted into Indian Missions, and from which these present meetings have sprung, may greatly help to diffuse correct information concerning them.

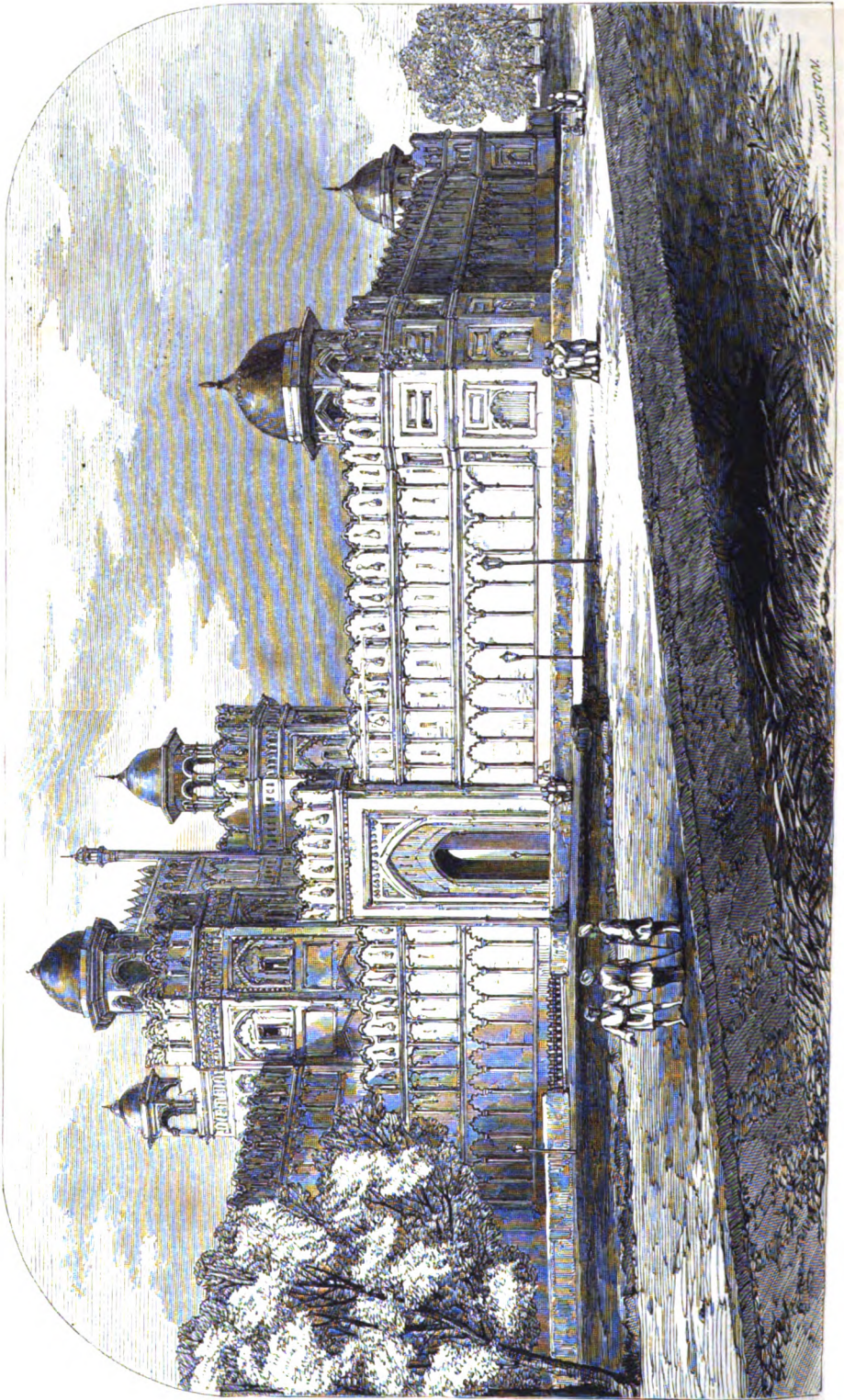
At the morning meeting of the second day, the Rev. C. B. Leupolt read an essay on the character and position of native Christians, &c., which met with warm and general approbation: on this ensued a "lengthened, and deeply-interesting and valuable debate."

"A very large number of topics were touched upon, and on one or two a diversity of opinions was expressed. In reference to the character of native Christians it was pretty generally admitted that there is ample room for improvement; though some also expressed their conviction that Missionaries generally do not do full justice to the excellencies of the character of native Christians, nor sufficiently appreciate the temptations and difficulties of their position and the extent of their capabilities. There seemed to be but one opinion as to the desirableness, but, at present, impracticability, of doing away with Christian villages, and the importance of dispensing with them as speedily as circumstances admit. Only one or two representations were made to the effect that native Christians are far from having full confidence in Missionaries, and to a wide extent look upon them as by no means their friends. These views were, however, very warmly controverted by many members of the Conference, as totally opposed to their own observations and convictions; and it was also justly alleged, that, if such cases did exist, the Missionary himself must be greatly to blame. The resolution on this subject is as follows—

"On Native Christians.

"RESOLVED—That this Conference agree for the most part with the views expressed in the valuable paper read by the Rev. C. B. Leupolt. They would rejoice to see their native converts distinguished by more manliness and independence of character, a higher-

toned spirituality of mind, and more enlarged Christian intelligence and devotedness: still they believe that some few might be found who, in all these respects, would bear favourable comparison with advanced European Christians. The proper treatment of native Christians is a matter of acknowledged difficulty. As brethren of our common Lord, they feel the imperative obligation and necessity of treating them with the utmost kindness, consideration, and respect; but at the same time are convinced, that, in some cases, there is danger that injudicious kindness and attention may produce a spirit bordering upon assumption and vanity, injurious to the individuals themselves, and hurtful to their influence as Christians; and that to pursue the proper course will require the utmost wisdom and discrimination of the Missionary. The Conference is of opinion that, whenever practicable, the convert should be left in the locality he occupied previous to his conversion. At the same time, from the present position of Christianity in this part of the country, they believe this, in the majority of cases, to be scarcely possible, and hence regard the location of native Christians in compounds—especially in large towns and cities—where they are saved from much contact with evil, and kept near the means of grace and the influence of the Missionary, as desirable. They regard, however, this location as merely temporary, and would heartily rejoice if circumstances should justify its speedy abandonment; and they believe that now there are cases in which Christians of great strength of character, and knowledge, and experience, may, with advantage, be encouraged, as in some parts is successfully done, to dwell in the midst of their heathen fellow-countrymen. The Conference is further of opinion that the Missionary should interfere as little as possible with the secular affairs of such villages, and that the native Christians should be taught to arrange and settle their differences and other common matters by juries among themselves. The Conference is of opinion that something might be done towards improving the character of native Christians by more direct, stated, and personal inquiry into the state of their religious feelings and progress, accompanied with suitable advice, appealing more directly to the *heart*: and further, in regard to the increased assistance so much to be desired from their own countrymen, the Conference is of opinion that, without neglecting their own proper work, Missionaries should use their utmost endeavours to promote their personal piety, and endeavour to interest them in Missionary work.



LAHORE GATE OF THE PALACE AT DELHI.

NATIONAL SINS THE SOURCES OF NATIONAL CALAMITIES.

HEAVY national calamities are resting upon us. They have come suddenly upon us like the rushing of the whirlwind. Tidings of calamities reach us with each mail—enormities, such as we thought could never have ventured forth into the light of the nineteenth century, pitiless atrocities inflicted on helpless women and children of our race. Who can read of that piteous scene at Cawnpur, without having his very soul stirred within him—the recaptured boat brought back after the vain attempt to escape, the very elements seemed to combine against the fugitives, and, amidst the darkness and storm of the night, it was impracticable: our countrymen, officers, civilians, all doomed to die; the vain, agonizing effort of the wives to be permitted to perish with their husbands; the murderous office of shooting them down, declined, if native report be accredited, by the 1st Bengal Native Infantry, but readily accepted by Sepoys of another regiment; the chaplain's request to be permitted to read to his companions in tribulation a few words of divine support and comfort, and commend one another in prayer to God; his bonds so far unloosed as to permit him to take a small book out of his pocket and read; the closing of the book, and the touching farewell, as these victims to a barbarism never surpassed in the blood-stained annals of the human race, shook hands with each other; and then the death sound! What scenes are these! Is this India, British India, where, amidst the obsequious natives, life and property were deemed to be so secure? Yes, truly, and this only one of many others, some too revolting, of too overwhelming a nature to be brought to light, over which a mourning veil had better far be thrown, to hide them for ever from human eyes. Well may we exclaim with the prophet in his day of national tribulation, "My bowels, my bowels, I am pained at my very heart: my heart maketh a noise in me: I cannot hold my peace, because thou hast heard, O my soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war. Destruction upon destruction is cried, for the whole land is spoiled. Suddenly are my tents spoiled, and my curtains in a moment. How long shall I see the standard, and hear the sound of the trumpet?" The blow which has been struck is of such a nature that we cannot but feel it most sensitively. It has descended upon a specific point of our national organization, where many nerves and fibres meet, so that the shock has been felt throughout the whole frame. The English in India are

a representative population, drawn from all ranks and classes at home, so that there are few families, especially of the middle classes of society, who have not some friend or relation in that vast dependency, and wherever such a connexion exists, there is a nerve, which, when rudely dealt with there, reacts on ourselves at home, and causes intense pain: and even where there is no direct affinity, there is the relationship of race; and such have been the depths of that terrible calamity into which our countrymen in India have been plunged, that the whole nation is violently perturbed. The dispensation is of such a nature, that we cannot be inattentive to it: we cannot affect to disregard it, and so far it has answered the purpose for which it is intended. "I will do a thing in Israel, at which both the ears of every one that heareth it shall tingle." And thus the prevailing inquiry at this moment, that which is echoed from heart to heart and lip to lip, is the same with that which agitated the Jews of old in the season of national distress—"Wherefore doeth the Lord our God these things unto us?"

To that inquiry we propose to address ourselves in this paper, and, in doing so, shall we permit ourselves to look no higher than mere secondary causes, the faultiness of successive administrations, the incapacity of those placed in positions of responsibility, the treachery of the Orientals? Nay, at such a crisis, God commands that *He* should be remembered. Dispensations so calamitous are as the fingers of the man's hand, which wrote mysterious words over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall of Belshazzar's palace. They have a meaning. There is a lesson conveyed in them, one of solemn rebuke and warning; and it is our duty to inquire into their true interpretation. "Will a lion roar in the forest, when he hath no prey? Will a young lion cry out of his den, if he have taken nothing?" Events have come upon us appalling as the lion's roar. What, then, has provoked them? "Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth, where no gin is for him?" And if a nation find itself involved in tribulations, shall they be considered as accidental circumstances? If a bird fall into a snare, there has been purpose and design: the gin was set with the intention that the bird should fall into it. Such calamities are not unfrequently the results of our own sins, which God has permitted should spread themselves abroad like the meshes of a net, until guilty nations and individuals are caught in the meshes of

them. "Shall one take up a snare from the earth, and have taken nothing at all?" Is it probable that such chastisements will be removed, until they have answered the purpose which was intended? "Shall a trumpet be blown in the city, and the people not be afraid?" Shall calamities supervene in individuals, families, and nations, and the affected parties remain as callous and indifferent as though there were no speciality of discipline? "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it;" and, if the Lord hath done it, is it not because he has a controversy with that people? Shall such dispensation be considered so mysterious, that it is hopeless to attain a satisfactory solution of them? "Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but He revealeth His secret unto His servants the prophets. *The lion hath roared, who will not fear? The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?*"

To shut our eyes upon the fact, that with us, as a people, God has a controversy, is the surest way to provoke new inflictions. The peculiar nature of the calamities which have come upon us, proves that the ground of displeasure is no slight one, but one of a very grave and serious character. What, then, is it?

Favoured nations, on whom providential mercies and spiritual privileges have been largely bestowed, when they yield not a proportionate measure of grateful and effective service, come under special chastisements. So it was with Judah of old. They had been specially favoured, specially instructed, raised up to be a model nation amongst the people of the earth, to commend God's truth to the acceptance of all around; yet, in the fulfilment of this great duty, they failed so completely, that they would have gladly surrendered their distinctive privileges, if, at the same time, they might have disembarrassed themselves of responsibilities which they distasted. "That which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the heathen, as the families of the countries to serve wood and stone." Hence there came chastisements upon them. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore will I punish you for your iniquities." That which, of all that earth contains, is most precious in the sight of God, because designed to bring glory to His dishonoured majesty, peace to a distracted world, and love and union to a divided race—truth, salvation-truth, prepared at a most costly price, and eminently fitted to meet all the necessities of man—has been committed to our care: we have been enriched by it ourselves, we have been put in trust with it for the good of others. While other nations of Europe re-

main under the profession and power of corrupt Christianity, we have been led to recognise the religion of the Bible as the only true faith, and, disconnecting it from the errors and superstitions wherewith men had disfigured it, by a national profession to honour it before the world. It has been incorporated with our national laws and institutions. Our forefathers suffered and died that they might bequeath it in its unsullied integrity to future generations. Of England, with more truth than of Tyrus, might it be said, "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God." For as a people we have been introduced into that, of which Eden was but the poor prefigurement, the richness and beauty of gospel privilege and blessing. Every precious opportunity, every glorious truth, have been placed before us for our use; and putting honour upon us as a nation that honoured his truth before the world, God in His providence has raised us to high national pre-eminence. Large temporal blessings have been given us. "Every precious stone was the covering, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold." "Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth." We have been placed in a position to maintain and defend the truth: our monarchs, at their coronation, have pledged themselves to do so, and "Defender of the Faith" has been the peculiar title of Britannia's sovereigns: nor was it ours only to maintain the truth at home, but to extend it abroad. In this respect there has been an amplitude of opportunity. Vast possessions, universal influence, have been conceded; wealth, boundless wealth, placed at the disposal of England; commercial relations established with the nations of our earth; ships that touched on every shore, and traversed every sea. But in modern times, as in the days of yore, riches and prosperity have proved a snare. "By thy great wisdom and by thy great traffic hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches." We have proved false to the high trust reposed in us. An image of jealousy has been set up in the midst, which provokes the Lord to anger. From the distinctive recognition of scriptural Christianity, as the alone true and saving faith, the nation has departed. There are principles now extensively circulated amongst us, and received and avowed by many, which are utterly subversive of God's intentions respecting us as a people—that in our collective capacity and national acts we are not bound to a distinctive recognition of God's truth; that whatever be the duty of the individual, it is not that of the

nation to discriminate between one religion or another, or to form any judgment as to which be true or false; that each man, being free to select and profess whatever mode of faith may be most pleasing to him, it is the duty of the state to extend to all modes equal encouragement and patronage. We are now told that the religion of the majority, irrespectively of truth or falsehood, ought to be the selected and professed religion of the country. Upon this principle it is, indeed, conceded that Protestantism, under the Episcopalian form in England, and under the Presbyterian form in Scotland, is rightly put forth as the national faith; but it is contended, that, for the same reason, Romanism ought to be the established religion of Ireland, and that it were well the change should be made, could it be done without much of national inconvenience. As a nation, we have grievously deteriorated from that distinctness of testimony to the truth of God, that discrimination of it from imitative errors, which characterized our forefathers at the Reformation. We have done so at home. Abroad the severance of the nation from the testimony we speak of, is still more apparent. In Malta, England is the covering cherub to Romanism as the state religion of the island; and other instances in our dependencies might be mentioned, in which the representatives of that corrupt system receive direct pay and recognition from the state; but to enter into such an analysis would be to lead us away from our main subject—India.

In India we have, in our national capacity, ignored, in the presence of the heathen, that pure faith to which we are so much indebted, and have compromised ourselves with false systems of religion. We have done that for Hindúism and Mohammedanism which we have not had the courage to do for Christianity. In India, as elsewhere, England has accepted power on condition of identifying herself with false systems of religion. She has yielded to the very temptation over which the Saviour triumphed, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." She has consented to hold in trust, endowments for the support of Hindú temples and Mohammedan mosques. The system exists all over India, more particularly in the Bombay Presidency. In that Presidency there are thirteen Collectorates. The average amount of money payments in each of these, out of the State Treasuries, to the support of heathen worship, is calculated at 2500*l.*, together with rentals from villages to the amount of 1500*l.* To the sum total of these—some 50,000*l.* a-year—

are to be added lands of the value of some 100,000*l.* annually, which are liable to be resumed if the collector has reason to think that the idolatrous worship is no longer performed. And this is the point to which attention needs specially to be directed, not only that England holds these endowments in trust, but, as the trustee, becomes herself the security for the continuance of idolatry and its attendant rites. The annual stipend is not paid to the officiating Brahmin or Syud until the collector has been furnished with a certificate from the inhabitants of the district in which his temple or mosque is situated, to the effect that the customary worship has been duly performed throughout the year. So that if, in any district, there was a disposition on the part of the people to allow heathen worship to fall into desuetude, England herself interferes to prevent this, by insisting, as the condition of payment to the parties concerned, that the usual rites and ceremonies have been sustained. The identification of the applicant as the incumbent of a particular mosque or temple is not enough, until the Government be assured that he has duly exerted himself in keeping alive the hurtful action of the false system which he represents. So far as England acts thus, she lends her influence to buttress up the decaying systems of false religion which have so long enslaved India, and withholds them from that consignment to the grave, which every right-minded man must devoutly desire.

But, again, in our educational institutions, is it not beyond dispute that we have done that for Mohammedanism and Hindúism which we have refused to do for Christianity? There has been the Mohammedan Madressa at Calcutta, founded by Warren Hastings in 1782, where Moslem literature and the Korán have been studied. There has been the Sanskrit College at Benares, founded in 1792, where the Hindú youth has been indoctrinated into the arcana of Brahminical learning. The motives to the establishment of these institutions were, "To gratify national predilections, and thus gain over the learned and influential classes, and to secure a regular supply of Hindú and Mohammedan law-officers for the courts of law."* To these was added the Hindú College at Calcutta, transferred to Government superintendence in 1823. In these earlier-founded colleges the studies were purely Oriental; but the folly of this procedure soon became so obvious, that, in a despatch bearing date 1821, the Court of Directors observe—"In teaching

* Statistical Papers: India. House of Commons, 1833.

mere Hindú or mere Mohammedan learning, you bind yourselves to teach a great deal of what is frivolous, not a little of what is purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility is in any way concerned." Accordingly, in 1835, the Government of India passed a resolution substituting the English for the Oriental scheme of education. Thus English was inaugurated as the classical language of India. Even the old Mohammedan and Hindú institutions, although upheld as seminaries of Oriental learning, had English classes attached to them; while throughout all colleges of more recent formation, dispersed, to the number of forty, throughout the principal cities and towns of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, the new system was introduced. The native student had presented to him the advantage of a complete education in European literature, philosophy, and science, through the medium of the English language. But of the Christian Scriptures, and opportunities of instruction in Christian truth, there was no mention. This important department was altogether excluded from the arrangements, and as completely ignored, as though it had no existence. A professedly Christian Government, undertaking to provide an education for the Hindú and Mohammedan youths placed under its rule, conceived itself under no obligation to furnish them with opportunities of becoming acquainted with Christianity, not even if any from amongst them should desire so to do. That was left to Missionary schools. Of their organization it was indeed a vital point that the Bible should be read and taught; and it is a remarkable fact, that the attendance on the schools where Christianity was professed was far greater than in the governmental institutions, where it was suppressed and put aside, as inconvenient to be brought forward, and likely to occasion difficulty; plainly showing that there were many amongst the youth of India not indisposed to come under Christian instruction. But from the Government schools the Bible, until very recently, was excluded, while the Korán and Shastras were read: nor was any Professor "ever allowed, even if required, to explain any thing with reference to the Bible, not even as an historical book."*

A singular illustration of the disloyalty of position to which, as a professedly-Christian nation, we had thus reduced ourselves in India, is to be found in certain proceedings which occurred at Bombay in the April of the present year. A memorial from the native

inhabitants of Bombay was presented to the Governor in Council, in which they complained of certain class-books used in the Government schools, as violating in their contents the pledge given that religious books or instruction should not be introduced within the limits of such institutions. They grounded their memorial on the second fundamental regulation of the Native-Education Society, still in force in the Elphinstone Institution, and on a communication made by Government to the Committee of that Society, bearing date March 1824, recommending adherence to the rule. The regulation is to the following effect—

"II. It shall form no part of the design of the Society to furnish religious books; a restriction, however, very far from being meant to preclude the supply of moral tracts, or books of a moral tendency, which, without interfering with the religious sentiments of any person, may be calculated to enlarge the understanding and improve the character."

The confirmatory communication of the Governor runs thus—

"The Governor in Council relies on your carefully adhering to the rule of your Society, that religion, whether Christian or heathen, should not be touched upon in any of our schools or publications, and directs me to observe that the rule should be extended to every topic likely to excite discontent amongst the natives."

The class-books complained of were the Scotch series edited and published by Dr. J. M. McCulloch and Messrs. W. and R. Chambers; and they were objected to, because, having been prepared for the use of Christian children, they contained references to doctrines incompatible with the tenets of the religions professed by the Parsí, Hindú, and Mohammedan youth in attendance on the schools. The following paragraph concludes the memorial—

"We beg leave to represent to Government the strong feeling of the generality of our countrymen, who entertain serious apprehensions on this point, and consider it highly dangerous to place into the hands of their children such books of instruction as are calculated to interfere with, and undermine, their faith, and lead to the conversion of their beloved offspring to Christianity. The alarm prevailing for a considerable time amongst the native community has, as Government are well aware, increased of late, and created immense excitement and strong dissatisfaction."

The Government, in reply, consent to supersede partially the Scotch series, and to substitute in its place the books of the Irish

* Rev. Mr. Hay.

Commissioners' series, as approximating more closely to that negation of Christian truth which constitutes, in India, the beau ideal of Government instruction. The petitioners are also made acquainted with the issuing of an order, prohibiting teachers in government schools from reading or teaching the lessons complained of. Several of the instructors, aghast at the charges brought against them, of having permitted any fragments of Christian truth to escape their lips, and fearful of governmental displeasure, hastened to forward exculpatory statements, one of which contained an assurance on the part of the writer that he had been in the habit of omitting all passages in which the name of Christ was mentioned, and of only sometimes retaining those in which he was indirectly referred to. What a complete renunciation this of all Christian responsibilities! What can be conceived more calculated to provoke the Divine displeasure than this suppression of the name of Jesus, the only name under heaven given amongst men whereby they may be saved, and to which every knee shall bow? The principle upon which the Government acted in these institutions was one dishonouring to Christianity, and sure to react upon themselves. Leaving the heart as they found it, under the power of Hindú or Mohammedan delusions, as the case might be, the authorities superinduced on this the superficial polish of secular education, and hoped thus to raise up for themselves efficient servants. They prided themselves upon the admirable manner in which the students stood the test of severe examinations. So runs the Educational Report for 1849, where Mr. Bethune observes—"There is no institution in England with which I am acquainted, where the published answers are subjected to so strict and severe a test. I have no hesitation in saying, that every succeeding examination which I witness increases my admiration of the acuteness and talent, literary and scientific, which are evinced by the educated young men of this country." But where was the security as to the purposes for which this acuteness and talent might be used? Knowledge is power, and may be used for evil as well as good. How it will be used is entirely dependent upon the character of the possessor. As his principle, such will be his conduct. But Christianity is the only religion which corrects natural depravity, and introduces good principles into the heart, such principles as will be suggestive of actions beneficial to society. False religions exasperate human depravity, and infuse evil principles. With this vital point, however, the authorities

troubled themselves not. They desired effective, faithful servants; but they did not seem to think that the employment of Christianity was in any degree requisite for the attainment of such an object. It was not so important in their estimation but that it might be done without. It might be, it was thought, set aside, out of deference to ignorance and prejudice, and yet the desired result be secured. And what has been gained? Let us hear the testimony of one who has been on the spot, and who speaks what he knows—"Nearly all the native Professors and graduates of the Government universities and schools are atheists. Their education caused them to disbelieve paganism, and they were not encouraged to believe in Christianity. Many of them are implicated in the present revolt. Some extraordinary disclosures have yet to be made public in this matter."* We believe it. There must have been sharp intellects at work in the organization of this vast conspiracy. We have developed, after a fashion, and that a dangerous one, the intellect of the wily Oriental, and qualified him with skill and great ability to conspire and to plot: we have collected into our Bengal army the most bigoted and prejudiced from amongst the masses of India's population. Discouraging all attempts to convey to them Christian teaching and enlightenment, we have left them just in that state of mind which rendered them the easy dupes of each wily conspirator and malcontent; and as we furnished the educated Hindú with knowledge, to be used against ourselves, so we trained the fanatical Mussulman or high-caste Hindú to arms, and perfected him in a military organization to be used against ourselves, and thus our own unchristian policy has recoiled on ourselves, and we have found ourselves snared in the work of our own hands.

And this leads to the consideration of another point, in which we have grievously failed in our duty as a Christian nation. We have repressed Suttee, coerced Thuggism, brought our strength to bear on the suppression of Female Infanticide, but we have sanctioned Caste—caste, the worst emanation of the Hindú system, and the productive root of innumerable evils; that law of licence and unrestricted self-indulgence to some, and of cruel degradation to millions; which makes a god of the Brahmin, and an outcast of the Pariah; investing one with an exclusiveness of privilege, of which no amount of criminality can deprive him, and dooming the other to a depth of pollution from which no

* Rev. Mr. Hay.

excellence of conduct nor perseverance of effort can ever avail to deliver him—caste, that law of partiality, which lifts one man up with insufferable pride, and demoralizes others by the hopeless degradation to which it subjects them—caste, that iniquitous law, which, in defiance of the law of God, confounds all the distinctions of good and evil, of moral right and wrong, and sets up another standard or estimate of its own by which human actions are to be judged. “A caste man is at liberty to be an atheist or heretic, to commit any crime in violation of the moral law, to scorn and ridicule the gods, and still his caste is untouched. It is not inconsistent with any villainy he may perpetrate. But let him only drink a drop of water from the hand of a low-caste man, or let his vessel be touched by a European, he must be immediately turned out of society; his wife and children and friends must consider the tie of relationship and bond of unity broken. The simple eating with a virtuous friend, the embracing the religion of his conscience, which are the honourable actions of a free moral agent, are branded with infamy. Infringement of the rules of caste is the deadly sin which the Hindú commits, and one which subjects the perpetrator to as dreadful a doom as can befall a mortal. No punishment is more severe than this excommunication: he is henceforth a marked man, a wretched and miserable outcast.”* Thus caste overrules and sets aside the fragmentary remains of the moral law originally written on the heart of man. It permits where God prohibits, and restricts where God would leave us free. It is Satan’s device to oppress and break down human nature, and reduce it, as he would hope, to an impossibility of restoration. It completes the disseverance of the members of the human family, and teaches the high-caste man that others owe to him submission, but that he owes them nothing. “The very highest of social morality, while at the same time the most comprehensive of all its rules, is, that we should love our neighbours as we do ourselves. Love to our neighbours is the thing which this rule measures off, and love to ourselves is the thing which it measures by.” How could a nation, or group of nations, ever improve, or rise in the social scale, while pressed to the dust beneath such a load as this? It has crippled for generations the energies of an intellectual people. “From the time when our acquaintance with the history of India begins, its inhabitants, so far from possessing any political importance,

have groaned under the dominion of a foreign yoke. They have dragged the chains of ignominious servitude for ages, under a people whose numbers have scarcely exceeded a tenth of their own population. . . . This system not only fixes, but even paralyzes the genius and industry of the country. It severs the sinews of a country, it impedes and destroys it. India is now what it was 2000 years ago. . . . Not only has it a powerful influence in contracting the intellectual faculties, but it also operates in contracting the social affections. It is emphatically unsocial. It has been known to impede the flowing forth of sympathy, to destroy kindness of heart and love for country. Where egotism reigns, benevolence must languish. It resists the progress of truth; it perpetuates ignorance.”† And yet this abhorrent system we have sanctioned: this system, so pernicious in its influence on our fellow-men, we have countenanced, and recognised, and strengthened with our strength, so as to prolong its despotism. We have preferred the high-caste man, and pronounced the low-caste man unfit for our military service. It has been recognised in our Courts of Law, and permitted to interfere with the due administration of justice. We introduce an illustration from the pages of an able pamphlet—

“The ayah of a European lady was required to give evidence on a pending case. Before she was admitted into Court, the acting magistrate considered himself bound to inquire her caste. ‘A Dair,’ was the reply (low caste, but not the lowest) and accordingly preparations must be made to protect the Brahmin clerks or writers from the pollution of her presence. At the magistrate’s order the covering was unfastened from the floor, nails were taken out, the matting rolled back, and then the witness might be permitted to stand on the bare ground, and give her testimony without injury to the susceptible officials. The same woman daily sat with her little charge beside her mistress on the sofa. But then, that is nothing. English men and women are Dairs and sweepers in the eyes of their servants—tyrants, or ought so to be, if the system of caste were honestly a matter of belief and conscience among them. Be it remembered, however, that had one of these very men occasion to go next day to the house of that ayah’s master, where he knew no such nonsense would be tolerated, he would approach the sofa on which she sat, and salaam to the lady beside her, without

* Bower’s “Essay on Hindú Caste.”

† Ibid.

the gentlest scruple! If Englishmen would only reflect upon all this, there is no one who would not burn with indignation at such a farce being daily enacted in their Courts of Justice, where they are accustomed to boast all may find refuge and defence without distinction of persons.”*

This unclean thing from the mouth of Brahminism, once admitted within the precincts of England's administrative law, has become more and more presumptuous, until at length, like a viper which we have cherished and fed, it has risen up against us, and fastened its fangs on ourselves.

Thus we have been guilty, in the rule which we have exercised over India, of a double trespass. We have violated our duty to our God, by ignoring, in the sight of the heathen, our own true faith, and withholding from it the testimony which we were bound to render by every high and honourable motive; and we have violated our duty to our fellow-man, by our public recognition of a tyrannical system, by which he is cruelly oppressed, and which we have thus helped to strengthen and maintain. In such a double dereliction of duty we have been actuated by motives of self-interest. We thought it was the easiest way to rule the native, and to accomplish this, we were satisfied to sacrifice alike our duty to God and our duty to man.

Now there is one practical issue of a most dangerous character, which is likely to ensue when once a nation, by an indirect patronage, becomes identified with false systems of religion, and departs from its singleness of alliance with the truth: it is, that, encouraged by the favour accorded to them, these systems will grow more bold, and claim to be protected from the aggressive action of the truth; and then there is State interference, and the truth, placed under restrictions, is deprived of freedom of action. The State, becoming the patroness of all religions, ceases to distinguish between them. Regarding them all as systems, with the truth or falsehood of which it has nothing to do, it proceeds, under this misconception, to extend equal protection to all, and, to relieve itself from the inconvenience likely to arise from collisions between the different members of this family, imposes quietude on all. The great cage, containing a strange assemblage of birds and beasts, which, in their natural state of freedom, are repugnant to each other, presents an apt and familiar type of such a con-

dition: all are quiet, because all are too dull and lifeless to exert themselves, and a general stupefaction is the prevailing feature of the happy family. When a state ceases to recognise God's truth in its distinctive character, and to raise other systems, once repudiated, to a level with it, as deserving of equal encouragement and protection, it has itself ceased to be religious, and has reached, in the downward scale, the position of the pantheist, who, professing to believe that God is in every thing, realizes Him in nothing. In this pantheistic temple of state expediency, truth—so long as it deserves the name—can never consent to occupy a niche. It is truth alone, and can never consent to share its oneness with another. To consent to restrain itself from aggressive action would be to forego its own nature, and sign its own death-warrant. It must speak; it must bear testimony, or die. But, when thus faithful to its Lord, it refuses to suppress its testimony, and replies in the language of the disciples to the mandate of the Jewish council—“Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye, for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard”—then is it pronounced contumacious, and the State draws the sword and begins to persecute.

That, in our Indian administration, we were approaching this dangerous issue of discouraging, under the name of proselytism, all efforts to communicate to the ignorant the saving knowledge of God's truth, will appear from the following passage taken from the Penal Code, which, but for the present outbreak, was to have been finally discussed in June last—“Whosoever, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word, or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, or places any object in the sight of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment, of either description, for a period which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both:” ch. xv. sec. 5. We cannot be surprised that the Protestant Missionaries, in and near Calcutta, hastened to remonstrate against such an enactment. In their petition they urge—

“Your Petitioners are continually engaged in discussing with the Hindús and Mohammedans of this country, the important theme of true religion in all its branches, with the deliberate intention of convincing them, if they can, that Christianity is the only true religion, and ought to be embraced by them all. Discussion tends to elicit truth by

* “A few Remarks on the Present Crisis” pp. 25, 26.

awakening the minds of the sluggish, enlightening the debased, and giving information to the ignorant: to your Petitioners it is a necessary instrument of their daily work. But discussion also tends to arouse feeling; and so sensitive is the human mind in cases where its habits and prejudices are concerned, that it is by no means uncommon for the feeling of the worsted party to be deeply wounded, not always by the spirit or manner of an opponent, but often by simply finding his own cherished opinions overmatched by sounder arguments. To charges of so wounding the feelings of the Hindús, Missionaries, under this clause, would be peculiarly obnoxious. The religious system of that people in its comparison with Christianity, is placed at such immense disadvantage, and presents so many vulnerable points, that a complete and convincing exposure of its errors may be made with comparative ease. Yet such an exposure must carry with it a terrible conviction to the hearer, that the religion of his ancestors, revered and followed for thousands of years, is, after all, false. It is scarcely possible for any feeling mind to contemplate such a thought for the first time, in all its fulness, without the intensest pain. With such wounds of the heart, your Petitioners thoroughly sympathize, and they require nothing more than a consciousness of this tendency of their work to make them at all times courteous, gentle, and compassionate, however earnest their efforts be. But by the strict letter of the Clause 5, under review, such injury to the feelings of their hearers, would be liable to punishment.

"Were a Missionary to exhibit before a congregation of Hindús one of their well-known idols, to describe the character of him whom it professes to represent, and with earnestness of voice and gesture to expound the folly of worshipping the image instead of honouring the one true God, and were he to do this so forcibly as to produce a corresponding conviction in his hearers' minds, he would at once offend against each of the expressions contained in that clause, and, on the complaint of any litigious or evil-minded opponent, be liable to a year's imprisonment in consequence of his success. Thus to punish men who peaceably strive to expose prevailing errors, is to place those errors, however pernicious they may be, under the protection of the criminal law; and to secure for those errors a stability and a permanence which they do not in themselves deserve.

"Such stringent restraints upon their public teaching your Petitioners believe that

they have not deserved. They fearlessly appeal to the past history of Indian Missions to prove that, while they have carried on the difficult task of turning men from error into the path of divine truth, they have done so with gentleness, with kindness, and with courtesy. They have endeavoured to show themselves real friends of the natives, against whose religion it has been their duty to argue; and they believe that, in general, the people regard them as such. Under this conviction, your Petitioners fearlessly stand up in the very midst of idolatrous crowds; and, without any special protection, proceed both to argue against the religions which these crowds recognise as divine, and to invite them to accept the faith which they have till then despised.

"While objecting to suffer undeserved penalties in the prosecution of their work, your Petitioners would further take still higher ground against the proposed clauses. They believe that those clauses would most seriously interfere with the sacred duty to which they have been appointed, of preaching the gospel to every creature. Bound, in this high employment, to obey at all risks the voice of their Master in heaven, like their brethren in China, Madagascar, Travancore, and other localities where the Government is not Christian, they regard the Saviour's command as superior in authority to any human law that would hinder them from obeying it. But they cannot think that any such laws can be intentionally framed by your Honourable Council against that preaching, which, although in all ages an offence to some, has proved to others the power of God unto salvation. Their liberty freely to exercise their calling in this country, was guaranteed by the Charter Act of 1813, and they trust it will never be curtailed."*

Truly it was full time for faithful men, who desired to act boldly and honestly, to speak out, before this first step was taken to reduce them to silence. But God has spoken more forcibly, more strongly. He has spoken in the voice of that terrible earthquake, which is, at this moment, causing the magnificent structure of British supremacy in India to rock to its very foundations.

Now, one way in which a just God punishes a nation or individual, is simply to permit the sins of which they have been guilty to work out, without interference or restraint on his part, their own natural results—"that our own wickedness may correct us, and our

* "A few Remarks on the Present Crisis," pp. 13—15.

own backslidings reprove us, and that thus we may be brought to know and see that it is an evil and a bitter thing to forsake the Lord our God." We have truckled to the false religions of India; we have, in various ways, compromised ourselves with them; we have evaded our plain and palpable duty as a Christian nation, and, to humour the heathen, have dishonoured Christ. We have either deemed the Gospel unnecessary for the salvation of the natives, or, believing it to be necessary, have withheld it from them, lest the communication of it might, in the first instance, excite disquietude, and so cause us trouble and inconvenience. Our chief object, as a Government in India, has been to establish our own rule; and to ensure this we hesitated not to disobey the command of God, as well as sacrifice the eternal interests of our perishing fellow-men around us. We seemed to think it a small thing that they should live and die in ignorance of the only Saviour, and under the degrading spell of false religions. God has permitted us to know the virulent action of those false religions, which we have so patronized and tenderly dealt with. The earth has suddenly parted, disclosing an infernal gulph beneath; the mouth of hell has opened at our feet, and fiery vapours ascending have fearfully scorched us. We know more now of Mohammedanism and Hindúism than ever we did before—what hideous promptings come from them—what atrocious acts—how, under their influence, their terrible influence, men cease to be men, they become demons. We lament over those of our countrymen, who have suffered beneath the merciless stroke of heathen vengeance. But what prepared the natives of India for such acts? In what school had they been trained? What discipline had so successfully erased every feeling of humanity, as that no place was left for one generous act? We answer, they were morally distorted and indurated under the power of those false creeds, in which, so far as our national administration was concerned, we suffered them to remain. This was our compassion to them, we were contented they should live and die in ignorance of Christ. What has been theirs to us? "With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again." It has been so. Verily, we had no pity on their souls, and they have had no pity on our bodies. Do we stand amazed at such an outbreak of enormity? Beneath the thin crust of society in India, which we misnamed civilization, similar enormities have long prevailed—the interior life of Hindúism teems with them; in that vast country there are endless facilities for the commission of every

species of crime to which man's corrupt nature, under the irritating influence of false religions, is disposed. Our criminal administration has been ineffectual to grapple with its redundancy. "The result of our system has generally been a great decrease of crime on its first introduction, when the old facilities of disorder ceased, and the criminals had not yet learned the niceties and loopholes of our law; but a subsequent increase, as they became experienced in the latter means of escape, and able to meet us with our own weapons. Partly from this circumstance, and partly from other causes, it has, singularly enough, happened that the amount of violent crime seems now to be greatest in our oldest possessions. It is comparatively small in the Punjab (*cis* the Indus) compared to the districts of Bengal, immediately around our capital of Calcutta, where violent gang-robberies are of very frequent occurrence." And again, "The longer we possess any province, the more common and grave does perjury become, and the more difficult to deal with." In fact, it is but a small proportion of the crimes perpetrated throughout the dense masses of India's population that comes to the knowledge of English administrators; and the fact remains indisputable, "that our criminal administration is not successful in its main, or rather sole end and object—the suppression of crime." It is indeed only such acts as are of public notoriety that we have attempted to deal with; the domestic life of the native has been beyond our reach. "It is by exercising as little domiciliary interference as possible that our rule is most agreeable to the people."* Within the arcana of the domestic circle, what wrongs, what pitiless oppressions! Could all be bared, laid open to our view, how would we not shrink back from the appalling disclosures! We should not then so much wonder at the atrocities which have marked the course of the present insurrection. In the every-day life of India, the natives become habituated to crime, and learn to perpetrate it without compunction; and the grand corrective for such evils we withhold.

Disloyal to our own pure faith, we compromised ourselves with the unholy systems by which the heathen are enslaved, and thus helped to strengthen the delusions under which they laboured; and now God, in just retribution, has permitted these horrid systems to overflow on ourselves. We have proved their energy for evil; and if they have in-

* Campbell's "Modern India," pp. 441, 442, 486, 497.

flicted such wrongs on the bodies of our countrymen, what murders are they not daily and hourly inflicting on immortal souls? *This we believe to be the great lesson which God designs to teach us, and which we needed to be taught.* With truth, does the aged Bishop of Calcutta urge this as a subject of special supplication at the present time, that God would enable us "perfectly to understand the nature of the horrible superstitions and idolatries which are producing such bitter fruits in the rebellion, and cruelties of the native soldier. These are the natural effects of the fallen heart of man, in ignorance of the one living and true God, of the holy rule of duty he has prescribed to his creatures, and of his astonishing love in sending his only-begotten Son, to bring men back to him, and assist, and enable them to keep his commandments. Nothing but Christianity can create man anew, awaken and direct conscience, write God's laws on his heart, and dispose and enable him to walk in the way of his commandments. This lesson we should pray that we may learn from the events around us, and discern clearly the essential difference between the religion of Christ and the idolatries and vices of the barbarous superstitions of 3000 years." God has permitted these Satanic systems to expand before us in all their repulsiveness. To these our hatred should be transferred; against these our vengeance should be directed. Had the natives of India been under the same benignant, refining, and restraining influences with ourselves, they would not have been as we have found them; the act of treachery would never have been conceived, the pitiless cruelties never have been perpetrated. Such of them as have been evangelized are unlike the rest of their countrymen, and loathe their deeds. Let there be no more national cold-heartedness to the Christian faith, let Governments and authorities no longer be ashamed of it. This has been the national sin, and if persevered in, must bring down even worse calamities.

A tremendous hurricane recently raged over that portion of the vast Atlantic, that intervenes between the shores of Cuba and the North-American continent. The force of the gale exceeded all previous experience; it was as the roar of steam from an escape-pipe. A low, gloomy, cloudy sky shut out both sun and stars; the sea did not rise in heavy waves, but was one plain of foam, over which was driven, by the force of the wind, a heavy mist of spray. In the midst of that storm were several vessels, conflicting with its horrors, and amongst them a steamer of large magnitude, one built under the active superinten-

dence of officers appointed by the United-States Government, and, before her acceptance by the Secretary of the Navy, examined as to the character and sufficiency of her construction, by naval-officers of discrimination. She was reported staunch, strong, and well fitted for sea-service as a Government mail-steamer. The engines were unusually massive, and very efficient; her frame of the best material known in the country, the top timber and frames being live-oak; and the entire frame being double, diagonally braced with long iron bars, reaching from the floors to the top of the ship. In addition to the usual fastening, the planking of the ship, as a safeguard against springing a leak, was bolted edgewise, streak by streak, the entire length of the vessel—a method seldom resorted to in the construction of ships. She was new, having been in service three years only. Yet "The Central America" was lost. It was not the fury of the storm from without that prevailed against her, but a leak within, which admitted the water so rapidly that the engines stopped: the vessel fell off into the trough of the sea, and was at the mercy of the waves. Not only were the engines disabled, but the pumps worked by the engine, and which were the main dependence for keeping the vessel free of water, were also rendered useless. For twenty-four hours the passengers and crew toiled unceasingly in bailing and hand-pumping; but the waters gained slowly, yet surely, until all hope of saving the ship was given up. Then came the varied expressions of human nature in the moment of extreme distress. Some calmly addressed themselves to such preparations as might conduce to the preservation of life when the struggle came; for about a mile distant from them was the brig, to which the women and children, with some of the crew and passengers, had been conveyed; and although the night was now closing in, and no more help could be yielded them until the morning, yet some hoped the vessel might keep up during the night, and with early dawn they should be saved. Others felt the contrary, and prepared themselves for the worst. There was much treasure on board, for numbers of the passengers were homeward-bound, from San Francisco. Many of them had bags of gold-dust, and no doubt perished in their efforts to save them; but others disembarassed themselves of it, and, to save life, cast away that on which they had spent their lives. The cabin-floors were strewn with gold-dust, and heavy purses lay neglected on the sofas—there were none to touch them—"Riches profit not in the day of wrath." At

length the crisis came. Three waves broke successively over the doomed vessel, the last, one of great force and volume, sweeping into the sea many of those on board, and then, with a tremendous lurch, the vessel sank to her watery grave, carrying with her nearly 400 passengers and 1,800,000 dollars in treasure. Other vessels weathered the storm, although, to the eye of man, far less fitted to do; but there was no leak, they were secure within; there was no unsound spot that betrayed them to the enemy without. Allowed sins in nations and individuals are the leaks which compromise safety. The noble vessel of our state has conflicted with numberless dangers, and surmounted, through

the good providence of God, many a conflict with antagonistic elements. But there are derelictions of national duty, to which many are consenting parties, and against which few have the courage to protest, and these in the most serious manner imperil her safety. May they be forsaken! else, in a crisis of great danger, will they prove a source of internal weakness and confusion, and England be found without strength before her enemies, because not sound before her God. "Thou wert replenished and made very glorious in the midst of the seas. Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas." "The nation and kingdom that will not serve Thee shall perish!"

CASTE IN ITS STRINGENCY OF ACTION AS EXHIBITED IN TRAVANCORE.

IN a previous article* we have referred to caste as a great social evil—a system of delusion, which unduly exalts a favoured class, while it dooms the many to abject degradation—"an imaginary celestial origin of a privileged class, to the exclusion of all others, who are debarred for ever from all access to rising in the social scale, whatever may be their merits." It may not, therefore, be confounded with diversities of ranks in civilized society, where the path to eminence is free to all, or where constant alternations are taking place; where those high in hereditary rank, through their own misconduct, not unfrequently descend low in the social scale, while others, by the blessing of God on their personal efforts, rise from obscurity to distinction. No viciousness of character can divest a Brahmin of his birth-purity, nor any excellence of conduct free a low-caste man from the birth-pollution which attaches to him. Neither is it to be classified with slavery. Opposed as slavery is to those happy issues which the gospel, in its beneficent action, is designed to produce amongst mankind, and evil and injurious as that violation of God's rights and man's liberty must be pronounced to be; yet, on a comparison with caste, there is this difference, that the slave-owner, although a man, and claiming to exercise arbitrary power over his fellow-man, is not elevated, as the Brahmin is, to be a god. Once invested with the triple cord, the Brahmin is no more to be considered a mere mortal: he is said to be an incarnation of Dharma, god of justice, and to

him, therefore, must be offered "the salutation of the Namaskára, made by elevating the hands above the forehead, or over the head; and also the Shastánga, a salutation of great reverence, made by the prostration of the six members of the body touching the ground, is chiefly to be given to the Brahmin priest, while he, in return, gives the Sudra his *Asirvâda*, or benediction. In giving or pronouncing the blessing, the Brahmin does not return the compliment, but stretches out his hand, generally the left, as if he wished to receive something from the person who pays him homage. Such is the power and influence of the Brahmins, that they, as well as the Sudras, are conversant with the following most extravagant and blasphemous assertions, packed up in Sanskrit verse, and put forth in a syllogistic form—

' All the universe is under the power of the gods ;
The gods are subject to the power of the mantras ;
The mantras are under the power of the Brahmins :
The Brahmins are therefore our gods.' "

With this view of Brahminical assumption, and the veneration with which the priestly caste is regarded by the low-castes, let us glance at the composition of a Bengal regiment. One thousand strong, it usually consisted of one-fifth Mussulmans, and the main body Hindús. "Of these, it often happens that more than 400 are Brahmins, or priests; about 200 Rajpúts, a high caste, but lower than the Brahminical order; and the rest a lower caste." In such an organization, Brahminical influence was supreme. The Brahmins ruled the lower castes, and used them for their own purposes. "If a low-caste Hindú happens at any time to fill the respon-

* *Vide* "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Sepoy Mutiny," p. 230.

sible post of subahdar (rank corresponding to captain), he would be entirely under the spiritual guiding of the Brahminical clique. Were a mutiny hatching in the lines, he would not dare to divulge it, from the fear of a penalty more dreadful than death—that of excommunication.”

Our recognition of caste has re-acted with calamitous results on ourselves. We cannot wonder at it, nor do we deserve it should have been otherwise. We have adapted the arrangements of our military service to the overweening and fastidious usages of caste; we have stooped to this, in order to flatter the prejudices of the more influential sections of the Hindú community, and thus attach them to ourselves. In doing so, we committed two great evils: we recognized a system which contravenes the beneficent purposes of the great Creator with reference to man; and we wronged to an infinite extent, the low-caste millions of Hindústan, by countenancing and strengthening a law which dooms them to hopeless degradation; one so iniquitous, that there have not been wanting, from amongst the Hindús themselves, those who have declaimed against it. Thus Vemana, the most popular of the Telugu poets, Book i. v. 171—“We are imprisoned in delusion; our inclinations are as chains; empty distinctions are the shackles attached to us: when shall be the deliverance from this life of bondage?” Book ii. v. 128—“Which is the chief caste among all the sects? What is the use of going on without sense? He who has understanding is of the noblest tribe.” v. 225—“Disputations as to which caste is the best are all fruitless: all the tribes originated in the same origin: who can decide as to the inferiority of one?” v. 231—“Though a man be by birth an outcast, if he orders his heart aright he is no outcast: he who cannot govern his affections is the vilest of the vile.”*

The happiness of human society consists mainly in the mutual interchange of kindly offices amongst those who constitute its members, each gladly contributing, according to his measure, to the well-being of the whole, and receiving in return the sympathy and service of his fellow-members. The happiness of a family will be in proportion to the exercise of this mutual benevolence; the happiness of a nation is dependent on the proportionable development of the same principle; the happiness of mankind shall have attained its fulness when there shall prevail amongst nations the same kindly spirit which unites the

* Consult Bower's Prize Essay on Hindú Caste for further testimony on this point.

members of a loving family. The difficulty has been in the depraved state of the human heart, which, in its estrangement from God, is estranged also from its fellows. Hence the disunion amongst men. To correct this is one grand end of the gospel, in which there is provided a new centre, a new basis of brotherhood, in the Lord Jesus Christ. In Him there is a power of attraction; and they who, by His spirit, are drawn to Him, find that in Him there is both reconciliation with God, and reconciliation with their fellow-man: the unbrotherhood of the human heart is taken away. In travelling to the accomplishment of this great object the gospel is met by various difficulties, and, amongst others, by that of caste, an antagonistic system devised of Satan to prevent this happy consummation, in which all the pride, and misanthropy, and anti-social feelings of the fallen heart are taken and bound, and firmly riveted together, like some massive Cyclopean structure, which sets the advancing tide at defiance, and seems to say, “Here thy progress shall be stayed.” We know what shall be the issue of the conflict. Like all other vain attempts to arrest the advancement of God's truth, caste, and its oppressive usages, shall be broken down, and, amidst the storm and the earthquake, be so uprooted, that there shall be no place found for them. But it is sad to find a nation indebted, as we have been, to Christianity, engaged in patronizing, and thus helping to perpetuate, a system, which is antagonistic to God and hurtful to man: and therefore at the present moment, God is teaching us a lesson on the subject; one moreover, of a stern character. He is causing us to have a practical experience of what caste is, how it hardens the heart, and prepares man for the commission of every horrid deed. We have only to glance at the enormities perpetrated on our suffering countrymen in India, to know what high-caste men are, and what they are capable of doing, that we may thus learn to commiserate those millions of the Hindú race, who for generations have been prostrated beneath this incubus, and that caste, sprinkled as it is now with the blood of men of our own name and race, and stained with shameful wrongs inflicted on them, may henceforward be a hateful thing in our eyes, which we shall no longer prefer to the first place, but discourage and humiliate by every becoming means.

A reference to the existing condition of India's native population presents many illustrations of the injurious influence of caste. But there is one part of that region to which we may look, as calculated to afford us special

information on the subject—a province where the caste system prevails with perhaps more stringency of operation, than in any other part of India—the Brahmin's inheritance as it once was; a pleasant portion which he chose for himself, and where he still retains much of his original prestige and power; a native state, unannexed, one of those classified as subsidiary, under its own native government, but this modified independence liable to be superseded, in case of misrule, by the paramount authority of the Supreme Government. The state we mean is that of Travancore. The condition of its heathen population is singular and pitiable. It is peculiarly so, because, in that country, caste retains so much of its ancient power. In entering upon this analysis we shall avail ourselves largely of a valuable paper recently received from one of our Missionaries in that country, the Rev. J. Peet, of Mavelicara.

The population of Travancore, amounting in the aggregate to 1,011,824, may be divided into Brahmins, Sudras, Tiars, and Christians.

Let us consider the status on which these respective classes are placed by the action of the caste-system; and first the Brahmins.

It is computed that there are in Travancore some 28,000 of this priestly caste, divided into three classes—the Namburis or native Malayala Brahmins, the Pute or Canara Brahmins, and the foreign Brahmins from other parts. The Namburis are the highest in rank, and, with the Canara Brahmins, number 10,000; of the foreign Brahmins there are 18,000. With the Brahmins must be connected the temples.

“The temples are altogether about 4000 in number: amongst them 300 are dedicated to Vishnú and Siva. They are all reckoned so holy, that no Europeans are allowed to enter them, or to build their churches within a considerable distance of the road along which their worshippers march in procession. The annual festivals in Travancore are of course celebrated with great pomp and spirit, especially the Wonom, at which the people observe a general holiday, decorate their houses with flowers, and illuminate them at night. One important feast, the Murájabam, is celebrated at Trevandrum only once in six years; it lasts fifty-six days, and all the Brahmin population of the province, who join in its ceremonies, are hospitably entertained by the Government during that period. Again, for the special benefit of the Brahmin population there have been established, in various parts of the province, uttupáras, or public inns, where free meals are given to such of the Brahmins as choose to accept of them. These places are forty in number. At one half of them food

is prepared twice a day; at the other half only once; and so numerous are the priestly applicants for the royal bounty, that their maintenance costs the government no less than 25,000*l.* a year. The other religious institutions and temples swallow up 51,000*l.* more; and thus the Brahmins obtain from this petty state, with a revenue of 370,000*l.*, no less than 76,000*l.*, or one-fifth of the whole. As another illustration of the strength of Brahminism in Travancore, I may mention that it is the rule, when a new raja ascends the throne, to weigh him with golden weights: the process completed, the amount is coined into very small gold coins, and distributed to all the Brahmins, male and female, young and old, that are found in Trevandrum on the auspicious day. A story is current that the present raja, on his accession to the throne, was a thin man, and the Brahmins, fearful of losing their accustomed *douceur*, purposely delayed the ceremony till he had attained a respectable size.

“Their sway, however, over their august monarch is not confined to this undignified but profitable ceremony: they make a gain of every circumstance that occurs in his person or his family, and compel him to observe all the private and public ceremonies of Hindúism with rigid punctuality. On not a few occasions does he walk barefoot on visits to the sea or to the great temples, in token of his holy zeal for the faith to which he is enslaved. The Brahmins, too, lord it over Europeans as far as they can. If a procession is moving towards a temple, or holy food being borne along the streets, Europeans are ordered to get out of the way, that they may not pollute it. The Government is chiefly in their hands, and is as full of corruption as it can well be. Being independent of the East-India Company, it contains very few Europeans. The raja, his dewan or chief minister, the judges of the supreme and inferior courts, are nearly all natives, and possess the whole authority.”*

Let us now refer to the Sudras.

“It is demonstrable that the greater and better part of Travancore was originally under the dominion of the Brahmins, who had their homesteads in different parts. To assist these Brahmins was the work of the Sudras, as soldiers, police-officers at religious services, and as domestic servants. These had their habitations within the sacred precincts of the Brahmins' temples and houses. But as the Sudras were not sufficiently numerous for all purposes, Christians—of which proof can be shown—were called in, and encouraged to locate

* Mullens.

just outside the sacred places; and this is the reason why so many have the surname of Alynmootil, 'Root of Banyan,' that sacred tree bounding the consecrated land, up to which the Christian was invited by privileges to locate, and he became John, or whatever his name may have been, Alynmootil." In a previous Number of this periodical we considered at some length "The Christians of Travancore," and to that paper we must refer such of our readers as may desire information respecting them.*

The Sudras were called Nairs, and it is in examining into the condition of this portion of the population, that the pernicious and demoralizing influence of caste comes out most strongly.

The Nairs are the military caste, constituting the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, the one to which the royal family belongs, as also the most numerous, numbering between 300,000 and 400,000. They are the pure Sudras of Malayala, all indeed pretending to be born soldiers, but, notwithstanding, of various ranks and professions. The highest rank are the Karit† Nairs. "On all public occasions these act as cooks, which, among Hindús, is a sure mark of transcendent rank, for every person can eat the food prepared by a person of higher birth than himself." They "support themselves by agriculture, by acting as officers of Government, or accountants."‡ The second rank are called more especially Sudras: these are farmers, officers of Government, and accountants. Then follow various other occupations—palanquin-bearers to the Namburis; Wattacata, or oil-makers, who are likewise farmers; Attacourchis—"when a Nair dies, his relatives, as usual among the Hindús, are for fifteen days considered unclean, and no one approaches them but the Attacourchis, who come on the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth days, and purify them by pouring over their heads a mixture of water, milk, &c.;"§ Wullacutra, barbers; Wullaterata, washermen; Tunar Naimar, tailors; Andora, pot-makers; "the eleventh and lowest rank are the Taragon, or weavers; and their title to be considered as Naimar is doubtful: even a pot-maker is obliged to wash his head and purify

himself by prayer, if he be touched by a weaver. The men of the three higher classes are allowed to eat in company; but their women, and both sexes of all the lower ranks, must eat only with those of their own rank."¶ Their proper deity is Vishnu; but they wear on their foreheads the mark of Siva. They have no priests, the lowest of the Namburis acting for them in that capacity. In conversation with our Missionaries, they have frankly acknowledged that they have no Vedam or Shaster of their own, but are led entirely by the Brahmins, whose dictation they implicitly follow.

Nor amongst the Nairs there is one singular usage which at once arrests attention—that the inheritance descends, not from father to son, but to the sister's children. The Nairs marry while yet children; but the fact that they have been formally united, separates them for ever after. The husband and wife never dwell together. The man takes another woman, who is not his wife; and the wife lives in her mother's house, or, after her death, with her brothers, or with another man, who is not her husband, usually a Namburi. These alliances are dissoluble at the pleasure of the man. But even when they are permanent, still the Nair's partner is not considered as his wife: she has none of the rights and privileges of a wife, nor do her children inherit. His house is managed by his mother so long as she lives; and then, if the death of her partner has left her free to do so, his sister assumes the management of his household, bringing with her all her children, who are her brother's heirs. Thus the leading and important relation of father is depreciated and set aside, and that of mother predominates. The child never inherits any thing by his father, even where there be no uncertainty as to the individual who stands to him in that relationship; but through his mother he becomes the heir of his uncle's property. Neither the brother's nor the sister's children are born in wedlock; yet this, which disinherits the brother's children, entails on the sister's children no such disadvantage. Every Nair looks upon his sister's children as his heirs. "He, indeed, looks upon them with the same fondness that fathers, in other parts of the world, have for their own children; and he would be considered as an unnatural monster were he to show such signs of grief at the death of his own child, as he did at the death of a child of his sister."

Nor is it only in the inferior ranks of Nairs

* Vide "Church Missionary Intelligencer," vol. vii., pp. 217—226.

† Among the princes of Malayala, the Rajah of Travancore was distinguished as the "Karit Rám" Raja."

‡ Francis Buchanan's "Journey from Madras through Malabar," vol. ii., p. 408.

§ Ibid. p. 409.

* Buchanan, vol. ii., p. 409.

that this usage holds, but in the highest rank of all. The rajahships of Malayala have descended in the same way; and from the time of Cheraman Permal until the time of Hyder, Malayala continued to be governed by the descendants of the thirteen chief's sisters, according to the custom of Travancore, the male offspring of the Tamburetties, or princesses, being the only legal heirs to the throne. The husbands of the Tamburetties are very frequently Namburis. Thus the children of Brahmins have often ascended the thrones of Malayala, while the children of rajahs have been set aside. The present rajah is described as a man of uncommon intelligence, and liberality of sentiment. He can speak and write the English language with the greatest fluency, has read much of English literature, and is conversant with English science, especially chemistry and astronomy. Dr. Duff, in 1849, was much interested in this prince and his children—two sons and a daughter—who were introduced to him. They were all learning English, and the father was evidently imbuing their young minds with his own information and intelligence; but he cannot transmit to them his throne: this must pass to other hands.

Usages more seriously demoralizing, and disruptive of all the rights and proprieties of domestic life, never entered into the social organization of a people. The Brahmin retains privileges of which other men are deprived. He may multiply wives, and transmit his property to his children. The Nair, who is without a wife, may have children, but no heirs, his exclusion from the privilege of marriage depriving them of legitimacy. To exalt the Brahmin, the Nair caste, even in its highest ranks, is injuriously dealt with, and laxity and uncertainty introduced into the most important relations of life. These are some of the profound depths of heathenism, painful to look down into; so much so, that nothing but a sense of duty would constrain us to do so. In the investigation of customs like these, by which nations are enslaved, we resemble the traveller in Iceland, who unexpectedly finds himself at the brink of one of the gulfs of thick black mud, not unfrequent in that disrupted island, lying like a boiling cauldron at his feet, and emitting sulphureous exhalations: one look suffices, and we gladly turn away.

The Tiars were called Chogans, a corrupt name from that originally given, "Sevagan," the Sanscrit for servant, a term designating their employ, and, in fact, they were what may be termed the domestic slaves, permitted, to some extent, to mingle with society, but slaves to all, oppressed equally by Brahmins,

Nairs, and Syrians."* "In the days of Brahmin rule, the cultivation of gardens, dry crops, and the care of cattle, &c., were given to the Chogans, on condition that they should work for the Brahmins and Sudras, for which they were remunerated by gifts of garden grounds; but then the produce of their gardens might be, and often was, appropriated by the higher classes. In a word, the Chogans were upon a standing with the serfs of Europe during the times of feudalism, the paddy lands being cultivated by the slaves chiefly under the Chogan superintendence."

In this serfdom they remained until a revolution took place, not unlike that in Europe, when all authority passed into the hands of the Regal Government, at which time all the inhabitants down to the Chogans became legally enfranchised,† all alike holding their property immediately from the Crown, upon the authority of Government documents, and for which they paid an annual rent to Government, and all alike, from that time to the present, have been at full liberty to dispose of their claims to their property, and to remove and dwell where they like, without let or hindrance. Let it be observed that the overthrow of a Brahminical Government was comparatively the enfranchisement of the population. We may well conceive what must have been the condition of the country when the regal and priestly power were concentrated in the hands of these high-caste oppressors of their fellowmen. "The new Government gave indifferently to all who were willing certain lands to possess, as payment for the performance of Sircar work, and some of each of the classes of Sudras, Syrians, and Chogans do, to this day, hold such lands, and sell their right to them upon the same condition on which the land was granted." This liability to Sircar work was long used by the higher castes as a means of oppressing the Chogans. "As the Sudras have always held important Government situations, and have been considered the *élite* of the towns and villages, they have continued to exact upon the Chogans, and, in fact, to keep them in slavery, and have been aided in it by the Syrians, partly with a view of plundering these people, and partly to keep the monopoly of pressing out oil in their own hands." It is with thankfulness we are enabled to acknowledge, that since the accession to office of Lord Harris, the present Governor

* Rev. J. Peet.

† This is the revolution accomplished by Cheruman Permal, to which reference will be found in our article on "Travancore and its Missions," vol. vii. p. 204. He terminated the misrule of the Brahminical Government.

of Madras, this Sircar oppression has ceased, and some restraint has been put upon the mal-practices which hitherto have overspread, as with a dense jungle, the Travancore territory. We trust that this initiative will be followed up. There still remain many harsh and unjust restrictions and disqualifications to which the Chogans are subjected.

"The Chogan's unconverted condition is, practically, that of a slave to the native Sircar and high class people. The husband must not go near enough, in a court of justice, to obtain redress; but is usually compelled to pay a go-between—often a Nair: he may rear cows, but must not milk them. When the calf is born, it, with the cow, is conveyed into the house of a high-class man, and if eventually he gets back the calf with the cow it is because his star was propitious. He cannot press out his oil, a monopoly now usurped by the Syrians. The Sircar gives a rupee for a certain amount of labour: the Chogan is paid one anna, and no redress; the odd fifteen being divided among the party that received it from the Government. The Sircar frequently compels the Chogan to labour without pay. Sudras have a great deal of land freed from tax, for the performance of Government work; but almost in all cases, especially if influential, they compel the Chogan to do their work without remuneration, and these poor people have no redress. Upon any excuse the Sudras go and take away the fruit from a Chogan's garden, and there is no help. The Chogan's wife may not cover her breast; and I have known the covering to be torn from the bosom of my Chogan converts in open court, by order of the magistrate. This is the practical *status* of the Chogan class."*

These Chogans form the base of Travancore society, and although despised as an inferior caste by the Brahmins and Nairs, are the most numerous, and some of them very influential. They are, moreover, free from some of the disadvantages to which the Nairs are unhappily subjected. There is no perverse usage among them inhibiting marriage, and interfering with the development of the social relations; nor are they dependent on the Brahmins for the performance of their religious ceremonies, but have priests from among themselves. Yet here, also, the pride of caste is to be found; and they are as exclusive toward their inferiors, as the Brahmins and Nairs are towards them. They are described as being an industrious people. The proper duty of the

caste is to extract the juice from palm-trees, to boil it down to jaggery, and distil it into spirituous liquors. They are also very diligent as cultivators, potters, and cutters of fire-wood.

The system of caste in this part of India, where Brahminical influences are so high, is, as might be expected, excessively arbitrary and oppressive. Each inferior caste may approach, but may not touch, that which is immediately its superior. The separation is still greater where the castes are not contiguous, but separated by the intervention of one or two grades; while between the extremes of society, the distance is such, that the lowest caste may not use the high roads, but must turn aside into the byways, lest they should meet or pollute one higher than themselves. Hamilton thus specifies the system of distances—"A Nair may approach, but must not touch, a Brahmin; a Tiar must remain thirty-six yards off; a Poliar, ninety-six steps off. A Tiar must remain twelve steps distant from a Nair; a Malear—musicians and conjurers, but freemen—three or four steps further; a Poliar ninety-six steps off. A Malear may approach, but must not touch, a Tiar; a Poliar must not come near even to a Malear, or to any other pure caste. If he wishes to speak to a Brahmin, Nair, Tiar, or Malear, he must stand at the above prescribed distances, and cry aloud to them."

Thus, under harsh and unkindly influences man repels his fellow, until we come to the lowest grade of the Travancore population, the slaves, of whom there are said to be not fewer than 128,000. They are composed chiefly of two races, the Pariar and Poliar. The Pariar appear to be of the Hindú stock, and to have been ejected for violation of caste. They eat carrion and other loathsome things, and claim as their privilege the carcasses of all domestic animals. The Poliar, the more numerous, appear to be quite a distinct race, not wearing, like the Pariar, the kutommy on their head. They abstain from the flesh of dead animals, and are considered to be so superior, that if a Poliar be touched by a slave of the Pariar tribe he is defiled, and must wash his head and pray. Yet are they also de-graded slaves.

"With few exceptions, in some parts of India the *status* of Travancore slaves is unquestionably unique. There never has been part of a community so thoroughly shut out from intercourse with the rest as in Travancore. A great part of Travancore is morass or paddy ground. This is dotted with smaller or larger hillocks, scraped together from the surrounding swamp, and here the slaves re-

* Rev. J. Peet.

side, and grow a few dry crops. From these and the adjacent grounds, they continue also to raise roots, or appropriate other people's paddy, so as to render themselves nearly independent of the markets; on which account numbers of them, except in sowing and reaping seasons, never come in contact with the other inhabitants. This unfrequency of communion keeps up the prejudices of the class people against them. Besides that, being legally polluted and polluting outcasts, the slaves dare not walk or assemble in the public roads with other people, but are compelled to remain separate and excluded, like people in quarantine, or lepers under the ceremonial law; and when compelled to walk where other classes go, they are obliged to shout and run out of the way when a class man passes by, lest he should be contaminated by their too near approach." There is one advantage which these poor outcasts have derived from the degradation to which they have been subjected, that the society from which they are excluded was one originally organized under Brahminical law and influence, and retentive to this moment, in a very remarkable degree, of the peculiar leaven of that system—that it is of an unclean and defiling character, and that thus the cruelty to which they are subjected has secured for them this advantage—that they have remained but little influenced by the powerful sway of the surrounding Brahminical religion, and are almost entirely ignorant of it. Indeed, virtually, if not in fact, they are altogether a distinct people, their language peculiar, their customs differing from those of the other inhabitants, so that they reside in the land as so many strangers and outcasts, neither influenced by, nor influencing other parties of the community.

In the condition of these poor outcasts we may clearly trace the misanthropic character of caste, and the degree to which it hardens man's heart against his fellow.

They are everywhere paid for labour at the lowest possible rate consistent with the sustaining of life. In places where the spontaneous produce of the earth is abundant, and where they have work every day, the rate of their daily wages is so low as a pice and a half, three-fourths of a farthing, while the highest rate does not exceed seven pice—three farthings and a half. The common kulis are paid at the rate of somewhat more than an anna—three halfpence—per diem; while carpenters and other artisans are paid at double the above rate, their usual daily wages in the interior being threepence farthing and a half for each man.

We introduce some answers, given by slaves

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under Christian instruction, to questions put to them with the view of ascertaining what has been their actual condition, and the treatment to which they have been subjected. They do indeed speak for themselves, and reveal a state of misery which may well excite commiseration.

“Q. What are your wages? A. Three-quarters of edungary of paddy for adults above fifteen years of age—man and woman equal. Q. What are the wages of the slaves in other districts? A. In Pambardy Cham-bakarea, Menrdum Nerdukkunna, in the Chaganacherry district, half edungary, with a trifling present—onum once a-year. Q. In sickness, is relief given by masters? A. At first a little medicine, soon discontinued: no food is given during sickness by masters. Q. What is your food? A. The leaf of a plant called *thagarah* boiled, and for six months roots of wild yams are dug from the jungle. Q. How do you get salt? A. Exchange one-sixth of the paddy (*i. e.* daily wages in rice) for a day's supply of salt. Q. And for tobacco? A. Give same quantity of paddy for tobacco. Q. How for extra expenses, such as weddings, &c.? A. Borrow, and repay at harvest, when we get gleanings. Q. Are slaves sold, and transferred to other countries, or to distant districts? A. Four days ago saw a man and woman, and two children, about seven and five years old, bought for sale. Q. In your neighbourhood, are wives and children separated from the father by these sales? A. It sometimes occurs: have known cases where the wife and children have been taken away. In one case the man followed: he was beaten and driven away. The Wattacherry Syrian-Christian family have slaves. They had four slave women, who were married: these women were compelled to separate from their husbands, and to take others chosen for them by their masters. Q. Are slaves' children brought for sale? A. About six months ago, two children were brought, and sold. Afterward relatives came to take away: master would not suffer. Master's name, Thavalee Narayanan. Q. Are slaves sometimes chained and beaten? A. In our neighbourhood not now chained, but have known cases where slaves have been beaten, and disabled for work for months. Q. Do you remember any recent case of cruelty? A. Yes. Five days ago a Nair beat two of his slaves cruelly for being absent from their work for one day through sheer exhaustion, not having had a day's rest for a whole month. Q. In old age what support is given? A. When old age disables from work, no wages or support of any kind is given by masters. Q. How are children paid? A. Not

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having proper food, the children are weak, and unable to do hard work : therefore they are not paid any wages until fifteen years of age."

There is said to be a section still lower, and more degraded even than those we have described—the eastern slaves, who hang around them bunches of grass or leaves as a substitute for clothing. So debased are these, that even a Pariah would consider himself polluted by coming in contact with them ; and yet, low as these people are, they are not the lowest. Below them still are the almost unknown jungle people, to Europeans as yet altogether, and, even to the natives but very little known, their language not being Malayalim.

"Lying, stealing, and drunkenness are the prevailing vices of these different tribes of slaves : crimes of an aggravated nature are very rare, except among the Pariahs. With respect to their religious notions and practices, they admit the existence of a Supreme Being, but are unable to comprehend how the government of this vast world can be carried on without the assistance of subordinate agents. They believe that the spirits of dead men exist in a separate state, but do not seem to think that their happiness or misery depends upon their conduct in this world. They believe them to be moving about the earth, watching over the interests of their friends in the body. They pay them offerings of rice, arrack, cakes, and other things ; which if they withhold, the spirits are believed to haunt them, to take possession of them, and to punish them with maladies. The principal object of their worship is the bloody goddess Kalf, whom they propitiate by offerings and sacrifices. They also worship hill gods, in order that the harvest may be plentiful, and that they may be secure from the attacks of wild beasts."

Caste, as it exists in Travancore, is now before our view—the Brahmin at the apex of the pyramid, and, crushed beneath its foundations, the abject slave. In no part of India has the caste theory been more systematically wrought out into practice, and nowhere does it manifest more unmistakably its tyrannical and pitiless character.

We may judge from this specimen, whether the description given of caste in a previous article is correct, as a device of Satan, destructive to all classes, as well to those whom it privileges as to those whom it degrades ; demoralizing the one by giving them a licence to do wrong, and the other by depriving them of the power to do right ; developing to their utmost intensity of action all the depraved and hateful tendencies of the human heart, and rendering man the tyrant and pitiless oppressor of his fellow. This system must be

cast out. There was a time when this intrusive evil was permitted to find entrance even within the limits of the infantile Christian churches which Missionary effort sought to raise up from amongst the heathen of India. We speak not of Romish Missions. Compromise with the evil elements of the world has ever been the action of that corrupt system, nor has it ever hesitated to sacrifice essential truth in order to secure its own advancement ; and therefore it is not surprising that the Synod of Diamper, held under Archbishop Menezes, permitted "Christians to refrain from touching persons of inferior caste, when in the company of heathen of superior caste, but forbids all such scruples when none but Christians are present." No, we speak of the labours of Protestant Missionaries, and their mistaken compromises with caste, more especially in the Tranquebar and Tanjore Missions ; until at length men's eyes were opened, and, better instructed in the true character of this evil, they perceived, that in admitting caste, they had prepared a worm, which, at no distant period, would smite their gourd and cause it to wither. "Caste will entwine itself round every thing : it only wants support, and, while supported, it destroys. We think of Christianity as of a goodly tree, which has been transplanted from the west for a shadow to the east, and a refreshment to the weary and heavy laden. The husbandmen were faithful, and it has taken root and spread out its branches to the heavens. But the adversary has sown his seed, and the parasite shot up beside the tree, and under her shadow and support. The husbandmen were not alarmed, for the shoot at first was small and tender, and it has crept and twined with her growth, and strengthened with her strength : the stems are now incorporated, the branches are mingled, the foliage is unnatural, the growth is checked, and there are symptoms of decay. Is this the tree which was planted for the healing of the nations ? Is this the emblem of Christianity ? No ! it is the emblem of Christianity with caste." In such eloquent language was the alarm sounded, and, blessed be God ! the dangerous parasite has been wrenched away, and the infant churches of India, with perhaps some very few exceptions, stand clear from it. To the aged Metropolitan of India a large debt of gratitude is due. His opposition to this evil was prompt and decisive. His Circular on the caste question, dated July 1833, remains—a document worthy to be preserved amongst the choicest records of the Christian church in India. Caste, thus disconnected from the Christian action of Great Britain, transferred itself to its political life in

India. Around this it has clung, and there it has found support: and is it not true here also, that while supported, it destroys? Has it not taken advantage of the countenance given it by those in power, and the privileges extended to it, to counteract British influence, and undermine British authority amongst the inhabitants of India? Has it not neutralized every effort by which our Government has sought to attach the native soldier, and make him a faithful and loyal servant? Has it not hardened his heart, and kept his affections estranged from those by whom he was paid and fed; so that, while in external appearance disciplined and civilized, he remained a savage at heart, hating the European officers, whom, with consummate hypocrisy, he so readily obeyed, and ready to butcher them on the first favourable opportunity? Again we say, let caste be ejected: as it has been cast out from the Christian efforts, so let it be cast out from the administrative action of this country. Let it be dealt with as Christianity has hitherto been dealt with by our Government in India. Let Christianity and caste be permitted to change place: let Christianity have the countenance, and caste the contempt and discouragement. Let Christian natives, when such as they profess to be, Christians from conviction—good men and true, as in affinity with ourselves, as possessed of a principle which may be depended upon—have the preference which has hitherto been accorded to the high-caste man, and let the fanatical Mussulman and bigoted Brahmin be subjected, as the native Christian hitherto has been, to a sentence of perpetual exclusion from our military and civil employment. Let them descend to the Pariah position of society, where they well deserve to be, and let the classes they have trodden down be compassionate and raised. The man who, after all that has transpired, shall advocate a perseverance in the old cowardly attempts to conciliate caste, and shall continue to utter forth the old worn-out maxim, “let caste prejudices be respected,” is unfit to have hand or part in the government of this great country and its dependencies. He is one whom no experience will instruct. Having run the noble vessel, the guidance of which was committed to him, amongst the breakers, he is ready, when, beyond all expectation, extricated from his dangerous position, to pursue without deviation the same course, and jeopardize, from an obstinate adherence to a theory, the great interests entrusted to his charge.

No! instead of caste and its exclusiveness, let Christianity, in its beneficent action, be encouraged. Let Government remove obstructions, and open doors by which it may enter in. Let the word of the living God have

free course; its blessed principles be widely diffused, and, with an influence for good superior to any other means which can be adopted, they will be found to strengthen and consolidate the rule of Christian England. Christianity will effect that which mere legislation never can. It will penetrate beneath the surface, and bring its renewing influence to bear on the foundations of society. It will change the nature of the people, and thus render them susceptible of social improvement; so that ameliorative measures, instead of being resisted and thwarted by their perverse temper, shall be welcomed and responded to. They shall then be like the prepared ground, waiting to receive the seed of improvement, instead of as the hard rock, on which it is thrown away.

In no field of labour that we are acquainted with does the improving, restorative action of Christianity come out in more beautiful contrast with the disuniting, demoralizing influences of heathenism, than in the Travancore country. In all Missionary fields there is the one great difficulty, the natural indisposition of the human heart to the reception of divine truth; and this can be overcome only by divine influence—the Spirit of God, through the instrumentality of the gospel faithfully taught and preached, operating to the conversion of the sinner. But the difficulty of approaching the natural heart, and of laying close siege to it, may be increased by many incidental circumstances. In one Mission field there may be in existence an elaborate system of heathenism, binding together the whole body in one strong concrete, so as to render the detachment of individuals from the mass, by conversion, a more slow and laborious process. In addition to this, there may have prevailed in that land, from time immemorial, a system of Christianity so corrupt, that the heathen around have become familiarized with the name of Christian only to despise it. Such may be the features which present themselves in one field; while in another, and not distant one, the prevailing heathenism may be of a much ruder caste, and offering less obstruction to the action of the truth on the individual conscience; while Christianity, unknown except in the native beauty of its own pure evangelism, may never have been injured by corruptions and misrepresentations. In the numerical results obtained in these respective fields, there may be a wide disproportion, and yet the lesser results in the more difficult one may just as strongly evidence the power of the gospel, and the satisfactory nature of the work which has been carried on, as the larger yield of that which has been of more facile cultivation.

The more difficult field of labour is that of Travancore; the less difficult one that of Tinnevely. The results attained in this latter Mission are of a more extended character. Yet in Travancore, also, great things have been accomplished, nor, although numerically inferior to those of Tinnevely, are the effects produced less demonstrative of the power of the gospel. True, in its aggressive action, it has been there obstructed by a corrupt form of Christianity, and also by a system of heathenism, elaborately Brahminical, designed to exalt the Brahmin, and to depress all inferior castes; and which, although touched with decay, and having lost much of the rigid accuracy of arrangement which originally belonged to it, is still powerfully indisposing the human mind to the reception of that gospel, which enunciates this as an essential principle—"Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all." Yet amidst these difficulties is it achieving its mild triumphs. It is acting simultaneously on all sections of the population, Brah-

mins, Nairs, Chogans, and slaves, and is producing encouraging results amongst them all. The foundations of a new brotherhood are being laid, on which this disunited people may meet and become one. A grand power of attraction is abroad, drawing men, from amongst the highest and the lowest, to the love of a common Saviour, in union with whom, they shall find themselves approximated to each other. Opposition there is; how could it be otherwise? By all who are interested in upholding caste it is impossible that the gospel can be viewed as otherwise than antagonistic, for it comes to liberate those whom man has cruelly enslaved. Elastic, vigorous, compassionating all, despising none, by words of loving kindness it would turn the hearts of men to God, and the heart of man to his fellow, and gather all into one happy fellowship in Christ. When the proud Brahmin will not hear, it condescends to the friendless slaves, and finds those who are glad to hear; and while it rebukes the privileged classes for their inhumanity, it consoles the oppressed under tribulation.

MISSIONARY CONFERENCE AT BENARES.

Continued from page 240.

WE continue to place before our readers a condensed report of the proceedings of this Conference. It is true that since it has been held, every thing has been changed; and it might be thought by some, that the records of its proceedings might be set aside. We do not think so. True, the scene the Bengal Presidency presents at the present moment is one of waste and desolation. It is the time of inundation, and the waters are abroad; but after a while the waters will subside, and the cultivation of the land will be resumed. Then it will be for our advantage that these conclusions had been placed on record. They will be found available for use when the new era of labour shall commence, under happier circumstances than we have yet experienced. We act as Jeremiah, when, predicting the speedy capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, he yet used his raiment of redemption, and buying his uncle's field, commanded the evidences of the purchase to be deposited in an earthen vessel, where they might continue days, feeling fully persuaded, that "houses, and fields, and vineyards, should be possessed again in the land." So we look forward to the re-establishment of our Mission stations. Whatever be the aspect of the present, we have no doubt as to the future. The Lord shall possess the land.

At noon, on the second day, January 7th,

1857, the Conference addressed itself to the subject of "Preaching to the Heathen," &c., on which were read two admirable essays, the one by the Rev. J. Kennedy, the other by the Rev. J. Gregson.

"Mr. Kennedy's paper was largely taken up with an inquiry into the precise nature of preaching; his object, if we caught rightly his meaning, being to show that preaching refers not to any PARTICULAR mode of communicating truth—that it may be public or private—to a multitude, or to an individual; in the open streets, a private house, or a public building; and that its meaning is simply 'an open, undisguised declaration; an unserved statement of the gospel.' Mr. Parsons' essay was less critical, but more practical, and was rich in valuable suggestions as to the most efficient modes of preaching."

The "Observer" adds—

"The discussion that followed was very interesting. It was both theoretic and practical, abounding in the results of very lengthened experience, and distinguished by the most free and unfettered expression of opinion on the one hand, with the most perfect and unbroken cordiality and good feeling on the other. Of course, Mr. Kennedy's views were not allowed to pass unchallenged. In the

* "Calcutta Christian Observer," March 1857. pp. 121. 122.

discussion which immediately ensued they gave rise to the utterance of varied sentiments, and, more especially on the following morning, when the resolution adopted led to an animated debate on this subject. * * * We thought we observed, on the part of several speakers, an almost unaccountable, and certainly, as it appears to us, a very unnecessary sensibility on this subject; as if it involved the very legality of schools, and as if the denial that teaching is preaching were to censure all Missionaries engaged in schools."

We may be permitted here a few observations. Questions having respect to educational work, whether to be regarded as strictly Missionary, or only indirectly so, or merely as philanthropic, have of late elicited much inquiry and discussion in India; more especially since the visit of the Deputations from the two great American Societies—the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the American Baptist Missionary Union—the one to their Missions in Hindústan, and the other to their Missions in Pegu. Extreme positions have been taken up, and, we doubt not, much discouragement and disquietude cast upon those self-denying labourers who, in schools, are labouring for Christ and for souls. We cannot undertake to enter at any length on this subject, but we would indicate the extremes of opinion to which we have adverted, and which need to be carefully guarded against. One extreme is, that the teaching of the young is necessary, as a preparatory work to the successful preaching of the gospel; that the adult population of a heathen land, from previous habits, present peculiar difficulties to the action of the truth, and that the chief element of hope is to be found in the children, to whom, therefore, special efforts ought to be directed. Such a position involves a disparagement of the gospel, which is divinely adapted to the necessities of the human heart, and competent to deal with it under every phase, whether of adult or early age. "It is saying that the Bible revelation is not adapted to man in all circumstances; that he may wander so far from God, may sink so low in vice, may be bound so firmly by the cords of sin, may go down so low in the intellectual scale, as to possess nothing upon which the truth of the gospel can fasten itself and reclaim him."* The gospel is a message from God to the sinner, wherever, and under whatever circumstances, he may be found; and except in cases where immaturity of intellect, as in infants, or aberration of the mental powers, as in insane persons, operate as a hindrance, is ca-

pable, by its own inherent energy, of making itself understood by those to whom it is addressed. "The entrance of Thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple." "As it is designed for a world, so it is suited to the exigencies of a world. It has a universality of purpose, and a universality of character, in order to carry out and perfect that purpose. It takes the world as it is, and goes about the work of making it better. It can reach men just where they are, notwithstanding their national peculiarities, and makethem the friends of God and the heirs' of heaven. It needs no pioneer. It asks for no herald to invoke other agencies to prepare the way for its coming and reception. It is itself the pioneer of Jehovah, the herald of the great King."*

The other extreme is the opinion, entertained by some, that schools "do not fall within the divinely-appointed means in the work of evangelization." According to this view, schools are neither to be considered "as a work preparatory to the preaching of the gospel, nor as a scriptural mode of evangelization." Now we fully admit that "the special object of Christian benevolence is to convert men to God;" that the authority for the performance of the duty is the command of Christ—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" that the means to be used is the preaching of Christ, and Him crucified; and that the hope of success rests upon the promised aid of the Spirit of God. The message, moreover, is to be delivered without distinction of class or age. "Whether men be young or old, wise or unwise, civilized or barbarian, bond or free, it matters not. All are enemies to God. God commands us to preach to them all." Yes, God commands it to be communicated to all "in living words from living lips." But this may be done in schools, as well as from the pulpit. The apostles occupied themselves in preaching and teaching Jesus Christ: there was tho continued discourse brought to bear on adult understandings, so as to interest them and gain their full attention; there was the communication of truth in the way of more private intercourse between man and man; and there was the *παιδεία και νοθεσία Κυρίου*, in which children were to be trained. But each of these procedures involves the delivery of the message in living words, and from living lips, in order to the conversion of sinners to Christ. The variation between them has reference, not to the message, which is the same in each, but to the capabilities of the individuals to whom it is addressed. On the hill of the Areopagus, or when defending

* Forty-seventh Report of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, p. 62.

* Ibid. p. 63.

himself before Agrippa, and by the river side at Philippi, Paul set forth the same Jesus; but in the one case he acted as the κηρυξ or herald, who proclaims aloud, and in the most public manner, the message he is commissioned to deliver; to the few women by the river's side he taught in the way of ordinary conversation. So with children, and others as yet possessed of limited powers of perception—"Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he make to understand doctrine, them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts. For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, and there a little." There are cases, both as regards adults and children, in which, if the gospel is to be conveyed to the understanding and the heart, it must be by this instillation of divine truth. The value of that which is more properly and strictly preaching none will dispute. It must ever hold the prominent position; but as an initiative method of instruction it is imperfectly adapted to the minds of children, and, if the message is to be conveyed to them, we must use schools as the mode of action by which they are to be reached. Oral preaching is well described as including "all presentations of religious truth, whether stated or occasional, formal or informal, in the pulpit or elsewhere, by whomsoever made."* We can picture to ourselves a large class of Hindú pupils in one of our larger institutions—Jay Narrain's College, at Benares, for instance—each with the Christian Scriptures in his hand, and the Missionary in the midst of them, earnestly pressing home on their attention some passage, which, like the point of Ithuriel's spear, promises to dispel the unwholesome illusions which had pre-occupied their minds, and, as with the powerful action of a sunbeam from on high, reveal to them Jesus; and as we contemplate so interesting a scene, we should feel ourselves rebuked if we attempted to exclude such instruction from the category of oral preaching. To our perception, Christian schools, where the gospel is faithfully and affectionately taught, are as necessary for children as oral preaching, in the more strict sense of the expression, for adults; and for immature minds, under training and development, they must be considered as the chief and leading instrumentality. It is so in the working of our parishes at home: so far as the children are concerned, our main dependence is on schools; and the pastor, when teaching out of the Scriptures the children committed to his charge, is as directly engaged in the presen-

tation of revealed truth to the human mind, as when proclaiming it from the pulpit to the large congregation.

We say, then, that both instrumentalities are requisite; and as each is necessary, so is there a place for each. Let not one be magnified to the exclusion of the other. Their relative importance is precisely identical with the importance which the rising generation bears to the adults, and may thus be accurately calculated. To exclude schools from our range of instrumentalities were to exclude children. To narrow down their action to the children of the converts, were to shut out the great mass of heathen children from our sympathy and consideration. To justify such a proceeding we must be prepared to show that the gospel is not intended for children, that they are under an incapability of coming under gracious influence, and that to them we have no commission. In these remarks we have dealt with a question that involves the very existence of Missionary schools, and have expressed our opinion that they are indispensable as a direct Missionary instrumentality for a special class, and that, therefore, they ought to be recognised and employed. The details of organization, so as best to answer the end for which they are intended, is a separate question, on which we cannot now enter. But with these views we are constrained to regret our inability to concur in the conclusions arrived at by the deputation of the American Baptist Missionary Union to their Burman and Karen Missions, that "schools are not a wise or scripturally-appointed agency for propagating Christianity among a heathen people; that they are not a scriptural mode of evangelization.*

The views of the Conference on schools were reserved for another day's sitting, when that department of labour was brought more specially under consideration. That arrived at on vernacular preaching we annex.

"On Vernacular Preaching."

"RESOLVED—That the Conference agree, with few exceptions, in the sentiments expressed in the papers of the Revs. J. Kennedy and J. Parsons. They would express their conviction that the preaching of the gospel is the first department of Missionary labour. They regard the qualifications for this work as coming direct from God Himself; and, whilst sensible of the obligation and necessity of cultivating and improving them to the utmost, believe they cannot be acquired by mere industry or learning. To ensure success in this work, they think it important that the Missionary, in addition to deep piety and

* Forty-seventh Report A. B. C. F. M. p. 53.

* The "Missionary Magazine" (Boston, U.S.), July 1854, p. 238.

earnest zeal, should possess a thorough knowledge of the language of the people whom he addresses; that he should be familiar with their most homely and idiomatic phrases; and should even be able to copy their very accents and intonations of voice. They deem that the copious use of similitudes is very frequently attended by a good effect. They regard it of great importance that the Missionary should ever exhibit a spirit of great kindness and affection, and a temper unruffled by the most bitter provocations. The Conference is further of opinion that a good effect is often produced upon a heathen audience by the Missionary's insisting on the divine authority of his message, and the fearful consequences of treating it with indifference. They feel it difficult to lay down specific rules as to the extent to which preaching to the heathen should be doctrinal or practical. It ought to be both. Our great object is to lead our hearers to Christ, and therefore it is necessary to exhibit the doctrines of the cross. Yet, owing to the bitter dislike of the Musalman and Hindú population to these truths, it is often found advisable to begin with some precept of Scripture, or, perhaps, read the Ten Commandments, and from these lead them to the foundation of all true morality—the doctrines of the gospel. It is also found advantageous at times to attack some particular vice or sin to which the people are addicted, and expose it at length, though in every case care should be taken not to end with mere moral exhortation. And further, having finished his discourse, the Missionary should not walk away and consider his work done, but, on the contrary, he should, ordinarily, enter into conversation with all inclined to do so, and form acquaintance with them, and, if practicable, visit them at their houses, and invite them to his own. The Conference is of opinion, that in many cases controversy cannot be avoided, and that it is not desirable that it should. Even when there is little hope of silencing or convincing the heated disputant, the surrounding listeners may derive valuable instruction and impressions from the remarks of the Missionary.*

The subject of native agency was then entered upon, an essay being read by the Rev. J. Newton. A discussion followed, of which the "Calcutta Observer"† presents the following *résumé*—"It did not call forth much diversity of opinion, but brought out many interesting and suggestive facts, together with many valuable remarks. As to the mode of edu-

cating catechists and preachers, it was thought advisable that, where practicable, they should have a thorough English education, so as to open to them the treasures of the English language. At the same time, all the speakers appeared to be in favour of their being *trained for their work* in the vernacular. It was alleged that it did not follow that a youth who has acquired much instruction through a foreign tongue is therefore able to impart it readily to others in his own. Facts showed the reverse. Those natives, educated for preachers exclusively through the medium of the English language, were not the most efficient: they usually appeared to lack the power of remodelling and rightly using the knowledge thus acquired, and, as a rule, were not equal to those whose knowledge had been acquired through the vernacular. Some remarks were made on the great importance of obtaining Christian schoolmasters. It was stated, on the authority of more than one Missionary, that, in Missionary schools, heathen and Musalman teachers systematically endeavour to counteract the influence of the religious instruction, and even enter into a compact with the parents of the children to do so. There was much said as to the payment of schoolmasters, catechists, and preachers.

"The following resolution expresses the sentiments of the Conference on this subject—

On Native Agency.

"RESOLVED—That this Conference agree in general with the views expressed by Mr. Newton in the paper now read. As India must evidently be converted chiefly through the instrumentality of its own people, the Conference consider that it is impossible to overrate the vast importance of raising up a holy and efficient native agency of every kind; and they heartily concur in the recommendation now presented to their notice, that it should be made, both in general and on special occasions, the subject of earnest prayer before the throne of God. If He has said, 'Pray ye to the Lord of the harvest, that He will send more labourers into His harvest,' they feel assured that when such prayer is offered in faith it cannot be offered in vain. They consider that, owing to their importance, native pastors and Missionaries, catechists and schoolmasters, should all be selected with the greatest care, and that no possible means should be left untried for rendering all these classes of agents as efficient as circumstances will allow. They deem it essentially necessary to their success that pastors, evangelists, and catechists, should be men of decided piety; and most desirable that schoolmasters should be the same. They recommend that, in order to qualify these

* "Calcutta Christian Observer," March 1857, p. 125.

† *Ibid.* pp. 125—127.

agents for their work, a theological class and training-school should be maintained in every considerable circle of Missions; and that, if practicable, at least one of the most competent Missionaries should be set apart for the task of training them. They would like to see all schoolmasters and teachers instructed, not only in a goodly number of branches of general knowledge, but in the best modes of communicating knowledge to others, as, for instance, in the infant-school system. For all preachers the standard of general knowledge should be fixed somewhat high, and as many branches of theological science as possible be included within the course of their studies. They consider that experience has clearly taught, and they accordingly recommend, that, with a view to render all native preachers apt and ready in their public services, all those branches of knowledge in which they will have to instruct others should be communicated to them in the vernacular. They may thus be expected to become familiar with all the terms which they will constantly employ; with native modes of thought, native illustrations, native objections; and with that native literature, the doctrines of which they will have continually to refute and explode. At the same time, with a view to secure a larger amount of biblical and general information than vernacular Christian literature alone will permit them to acquire, the Conference think it a great advantage that their preachers should learn English, and that some portions of their studies be carried on in that tongue. The Conference also consider, that while, in general, school teachers may claim that amount of salary which their services would command in society generally, all preachers and pastors dependent upon Missionary funds should be paid on the great principle which governs the allowances of Missionaries, viz. that they are not paid according to the worth of their service, but only that they may live in comfort, and be freed from secular anxieties. They consider that this salary should be fixed rather under than above the average amount paid to men of a similar position in life. They desire to see the native churches speedily coming forward to support their own native pastors: and suggest that where a considerable church has been gathered, and a really fit man can be found as pastor, he should be appointed to superintend it; that the native church should be urged at once to do all they can for his support; and that the Society with which it is connected should guarantee and supplement his salary up to a certain point. They recommend strongly that at present no catechists should be *ordained* as Missionaries to the heathen,

except in the rare cases of men possessing very peculiar endowments and superior religious worth. May the Lord of the church greatly increase this native agency for the enlargement of His kingdom in the conversion of many souls!"

The important questions involved in the sixth of the series—the chief causes of the little success which had been realized, and its collateral considerations—occupied the third day. Nehemiah, a catechist of the Church Missionary Society at Sagra, at the request of the Rev. W. Smith, read an essay in Hindi, prepared by himself, an epitome of which, in English, was given by the Rev. C. B. Leupolt. An English translation of this essay will appear in the printed Report of the Conference. It was followed by two essays on the same subject by the Rev. W. Buyers and the Rev. J. Scott. The writer in the "Calcutta Christian Observer"* remarks—

"We are utterly unable to do justice to the discussion which ensued: it embraced so wide a field, and glanced at so many topics, that it scarcely admits of epitomizing. The discussion was characterized by a devoutly religious spirit, as if all were impressed with the serious importance of the subject, and, whilst deeply deploring the smallness of the success realized, were anxious to arrive at conclusions which might lead to more satisfactory results. All admitted that large actual success had not been realized. All equally appeared to feel that to the deficiencies in Missionaries themselves—their defective qualifications—their occasional disagreements—want of proper study of the religion and character of people, &c.—this failure might in part be attributed. At the same time, the Conference was very decided in its opinion that other and still more powerful obstacles to success exist. The apparent results of Missionary labour, it was alleged, must greatly depend upon the soil cultivated—upon the character, habits, and other antecedents of the people among whom it is put forth. Among a people like the Karens—prepared of the Lord, white already to harvest—labours may be followed by the most signal success, which, put forth among the Burmese or Hindús, to all outward appearance may fall powerless and ineffective. It is therefore not to be inferred that trifling results are a criterion of feeble or defective labours. There may be something in the character and habits of a people to baffle the wisest and most earnest appeals. Such is believed to be the case with the Hindús, and hence the need of earnest prayer for the outpouring of the Divine Spirit."

(To be concluded in our next.)

* March 1857, p. 128.



CALCUTTA, FROM FORT WILLIAM.

THE RAINBOW IN THE CLOUD; OR, MERCY AMIDST JUDGMENT.*

THERE are two modes of penal action, either of which, when God is pleased to bring them into force against a nation or an individual, are demonstrative of a settled displeasure upon His part. One is, when He withdraws Himself from all interference, and allows them to go forward, without restraint, in the way of their own heart, that their own wickedness may correct them, and their own backslidings reprove them; that they may know and see that it is an evil thing and a bitter to forsake the Lord their God, and that His fear is not in them. "Ephraim is joined to idols, let him alone;" "let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind." Such was the punishment put on Balaam, when, breaking through the restraints which God placed upon him, his heart went after its covetousness, the Lord said unto him, "Go with the men;" and, in so doing, he signed the death warrant of his own soul. And so when the devils besought the Saviour that they might go away into the herd of swine, and He said unto them "Go;" in so doing, they expedited the very doom they dreaded, their being cast out into the abyss, "for the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choked." The other mode of action is, when He heaps punishment on punishment upon His adversaries, until His anger has ceased in their destruction. "O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest, and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon, and against the sea-shore: there hath He appointed it?"

But the chastisements of God are an intermediate course, in which there is a combination of punishment and mercy, in which God neither leaves the offender altogether alone, nor yet presses His anger to the uttermost; one well described in the words, "I will not make a full end of thee; but I will correct thee in measure, and will not leave thee altogether unpunished." This is the procedure which He is pleased to adopt, when with His just displeasure there are intermingled purposes of mercy. "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee, Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? How shall I set thee as Zeboim?"

Mine heart is turned within me; my repentings are kindled together. I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger." God smites; for otherwise how shall the offender be arrested in his downward course, and be brought to repentance? And yet, amidst the inflictions, the prayer is remembered and answered, "O Lord, correct me, but with judgment; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing." It is this tempered dealing—displeasure mingled with pity—which the prophet describes. "Hath He smitten him as He smote those that smote him? or is he slain according to the slaughter of them that are slain by him? In measure, when it shooteth forth, thou wilt debate with it. He stayeth His rough wind in the day of the east wind. By this, therefore, shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged; and this is all the fruit to take away his sin; when He maketh all the stones of the altar as chalk-stones that are beaten in sunder, the groves and images shall not stand up." The object is to effectuate repentance, that, in the national chastisements, national sins might perish, and no longer rise up, as the groves and images, used for idolatrous purposes, to provoke God to anger.

Such is the mode in which God appears to be dealing with us as a people at the present crisis. There have been national sins, and we are feeling severely the scourge of the divine displeasure. It is to India that we specially refer, and the commotions there. Very marked it has been, that a conspiracy so comprehensive, embracing tens of thousands, various regiments extended over an immense territory, indeed, that the entire of our Bengal native military organization, should have been in progress during a period so prolonged as two years, and yet never have reached the cognizance of a European. All was apparent tranquillity; nor did there appear to be any thing anomalous or unusual in the aspect of Indian affairs when the storm broke upon us. It is also a singular and painful fact, that the two worst men amongst the insurgents, those who have done us the worst injury, have been the very men who were most intimate with both civil and military officers—the Nawab at Bareilly, in Rohilcund, and the Mahratta chief, Nana Sahib, at Bithur, near Cawnpur. The most splendid ball ever remembered in that neighbourhood, was given, it is said, by Nana Sahib, not long before the outbreak: it was attended by many of the residents.

* It may be stated that all the facts brought together in the following summary have been gathered out of the Blue Books relative to mutinies in the East Indies. No point is brought forward which does not rest on that basis.

And yet does He not stir up all His wrath. There is enough to show that the Lord does not intend to cast us off, but rather move us to repentance, that He may use us for His own great and merciful purposes; that He does not mean to deprive us, as yet at least, of our great Oriental dependency, but rather to remind us of our duties with respect to it, and arouse us to their fulfilment. There are breakings forth of mercy wondrously intermingled with the severe expressions of His displeasure. There is a rainbow in the heavens, to evidence that the clouds are partial, and that there will be no universal deluge.

Let us endeavour to trace out events as they occurred; and, as we do so, providential interferences, on behalf of the English, will become so strikingly apparent, as to move us to admiration and thankfulness.

Disaffection had long been festering in the ranks of the Bengal army. It were a great mistake to regard this memorable outbreak as an impromptu act, originating in the greased cartridges. Long before the Sepoy had been furnished with so opportune a pretext, his temper had been surly and suspicious. The 34th Native Infantry may be specially referred to. So far back as May of last year, they had exhibited marked disrespect towards their European officers, neither standing up nor saluting them when they visited the lines on duty and in uniform. When coming down by water in October and November of 1856, the regiment was encountered by a severe gale, in which three boats were wrecked, not a single Sepoy came forward voluntarily to assist the European officers in getting their boats out of danger; and when the mens' boats came into collision with those of the officers, the Sepoys who were seated above and looking on, never lent a hand to save their officers' boats from being damaged.

At the commencement of the present year the spirit of disaffection seems to have reached its height, and to have been ripe for explosion. It was no longer something vague and undefined: it had embodied itself in a conspiracy, involving, in a greater or less degree, every regiment in the native service of Bengal. All that was needed was some pretext, something which might be adroitly used to decide the hesitating, that the movement might be unanimous and overwhelming, and the Bengal army be propelled in one gigantic wave of insurrection on the rule of Britain; like the inundation of a mighty river, when, with a crash like loudest thunder, it fills with a sudden flood the channel which had been

dry, and precipitates itself to a collision with the ocean's opposing tide: then flood meets flood, and the river contends with the sea for the mastery, until, overpowered in the struggle, it is forced backward on itself, and retrogrades in a mountain wave that sweeps its own banks with utter destruction.*

The movement was to have commenced at Calcutta, and the dread initiative to have been taken there. Had this been successfully carried out, the outbreak would have been simultaneous and overwhelming throughout the Bengal Presidency. What had been done at Calcutta would have been imitated at every military station. The Europeans were dispersed throughout the land, unsuspecting of the approach of danger. At the more important of the military centres there was a nucleus of European troops, but these were comparatively few, and, generally speaking, the European residents were in the hands of the Sepoys, and completely at their mercy. It was so at Delhi, and other places which might be mentioned; and, from the calamitous events which took place there, we may clearly understand what would have been the result, if the stroke had everywhere descended with the same abruptness. And such would have been the case, at least to a very great extent, had the design of the conspirators with reference to Calcutta been successful. But they were all remarkably frustrated in that direction, not, however, by the wisdom of man, for the Europeans were in ignorance of their peril until its most critical moment had passed; nor was it until afterwards that the authorities could be persuaded to acknowledge the grave position of affairs. It will be necessary to invite the reader to a minute investigation of events as they transpired, that the imminency of the danger, and the providential manner in which it was warded off, may be fully understood.

In January of the present year, there were lying in brigade at Barrackpur, sixteen miles from Calcutta, four regiments of native infantry, without any European corps of infantry, artillery, or cavalry, to fall back upon in case of any disturbance. In fact, there appeared to be no special reason for such precaution: all was in apparent quietude. Nevertheless the ground was mined, and all ready for explosion. Our readers need scarcely be reminded, that at Barrackpur are not only the commodious lines of the native troops, and the bungalows, and lodges of their European officers, but other lodges also, the residences of European families, "attracted hither by the

* This occurs off the mouth of the Amazon, and is the Indian prorocaca.

salubrity of the air, the vicinity of the Governor-General's residence, or the beauty and convenience of the river." At Berhampur, 118 miles north from Calcutta, was lying the 19th Native Infantry. The only European regiment available in the presence of this strong body of native troops was Her Majesty's 53d regiment, one wing of which garrisoned Fort William, and the other was stationed at Dum Dum, eight miles north-east from Calcutta, the head-quarters of artillery for the Presidency of Bengal. Of the section of the 53rd, engaged in fort duties, not a man could have been spared in case of emergency, so that, in fact, one-half of that regiment was the only European force disposable for Calcutta and its neighbourhood—Dinapur, 411 miles north-west from Calcutta, being the next station where there was a European regiment.

Towards the latter end of January, the first symptoms of uneasiness manifested themselves amongst the native portion of the men attached to the dépôt for instruction in rifle practice at Dum Dum, caused by an idea that the grease used in the preparation of the ball-cartridges, received from the arsenal of Fort William, consisted of a mixture of the fat of cows and pigs. This report was supposed to have been invented and circulated by some evil-disposed persons, possibly the Kulassies or other workmen employed in that arsenal. To obviate this, the Government ordered that, so far as the practice-dépôts at Dum-Dum, Mirut, Umballah, and Sealkote, were concerned, the cartridges should be issued free from grease; and the Sepoys be allowed to apply, with their own hands, whatever mixture they preferred. The Inspector-General of Ordnance was, at the same time, directed to inform the Government, as soon as practicable, as to the ingredients of the cartridge grease. The analysis does not appear to have been satisfactory. All that could be stated was, that it had been made precisely according to the instructions received from the Court of Directors, viz. a mixture of tallow and bees'-wax; but that no extraordinary precaution had been taken to ensure the absence of any objectionable fat. It appeared, also, that the first ammunition made in the arsenal of Fort William, had been intended for the use of H.M.'s 60th Rifles, when under orders to embark at Calcutta for foreign service, to whom it was just the same whether the grease was composed of cows' fat, or pigs' fat, or sheep or goats' fat, or wax or cocoa-nut oil, and that it was probably a portion of this, made up as it had been, without reference to caste, that had been issued to

the dépôt at Dum Dum. Certainly, if the Government preferred to have high-caste soldiers, and to humour them in other and more important ways, it was highly blameable, in so small a matter, needlessly to offend their prejudices. It furnished designing persons with the very element of mischief which they were in search of—something wherewith to irritate and provoke to an explosion the haughty and discontented feelings of the native soldiers. Nor was the disquietude confined to Dum Dum. At Barrackpur and Raneegunge, the same perturbed feeling concurrently manifested itself, and in a more decided way, by acts of incendiarism. At Raneegunge, a serjeant's bungalow was burned down, on the night of January 24th. On the next night, the electric telegraph bungalow at Barrackpur was similarly dealt with, in itself a sufficiently suspicious circumstance, as if intended to interrupt the transit of intelligence to and from Calcutta. Two unoccupied bungalows were subsequently committed to the flames, besides which, one of the European officers snatched a lighted arrow, such as are in use among the Santhals, from the thatch of his own bungalow. This seemed to indicate the incendiaries as belonging to the 2d Grenadiers, that regiment having been employed in the Santhal district, and being quartered, one wing at Barrackpur, and the other at Raneegunge. These facts were telegraphed to Calcutta, and, by one individual at least, were felt to be premonitory of danger. The Town Major forthwith instructed the commanding-officer of H. M.'s 53d, Major Clarke, to strengthen the main and arsenal guards at Fort William, and also to hold a company in readiness to turn out, in the event of any emergency arising for its services. That officer, having ascertained that these precautionary measures were in consequence of disquietude amongst the native troops at Barrackpur, thought it his duty, as in command of the regiment, to put the officer in command of the other wing at Dum Dum on his guard, more especially as there, also, there had been the manifestation of discontent. He notified to him, therefore, in a communication marked "private," to have a complete company ready to be under arms all night, each man provided with ten rounds of ammunition (balled), and to act as further instructions might dictate. This proceeding in a communication from the general in command at Barrackpur was described as one of great impropriety, because calculated, if known to the Sepoys, to create ill-feeling amongst them; and Major Clarke was accordingly called upon for explanations by the Governor-in-Council

it was well for the Governor and his Council that the Town Major, Lieut.-Col. Cavenagh, and his brother officers of the 53d, were thus on the *qui vive*. Their alertness frustrated a plan of the Sepoys to surprise and get possession of Fort William on that very night, as was elicited during the proceedings of a court of inquiry, held at Barrackpur, in the subsequent April. Three companies of the 34th Native Infantry, on their way to Chittagong, had halted on January 26th at Calcutta, near the fort. The Subahdar Major of the same regiment, on guard at the Lieut.-Governor's at Allipur, four miles south-east from Fort William, decided to avail himself of this circumstance to commence the insurrection, and, in conjunction with his fellow-conspirators, to seize the fort. The Subahdar, Muddeh Khan, also of the 34th, in command of the Mint Guard, was another of the chief conspirators. On a signal being given, the three companies of the 34th were to have rushed on the fort, where the native guards were prepared to receive them, the movement being strengthened by the guards from other posts, the people of the King of Oude, and the Calcutta militia; the regiments at Barrackpur, as soon as the tidings reached them that a commencement had been made, rising *en masse*, and, after disposing of their officers, hastening to the scene of action.

Every thing had been arranged, when, on that very day, the guard at the Lieutenant-Governor's was relieved, and returned to Barrackpur, and the Subahdar Major was thus prevented from carrying out, in his own person, the plans which he had concocted. Still he charged his associates in the strongest manner to proceed, promising that, although he could not remain himself to conduct matters, he would render effectual aid among the Sepoys at Barrackpur. But as the hour for action drew near, the unusual precautions which the Town Major had been led to make, without his being in the least aware of what was going forward, transpired. A Sepoy came out from the fort, and told the conspirators what had been done, and that Europeans were posted at the gates.* Disconcerted, apprehensive that they had been betrayed, they sent up a messenger to Barrackpur to say that the authorities were on the alert, and their plot frustrated. That was a providential interference, of a character to be remembered, by which an imminent danger was warded off—the European inhabitants of Calcutta, authorities and all, being at the

moment unconscious alike of the peril and their preservation, and many of them probably remaining in ignorance of it to this moment.

But the malcontents at Barrackpur were not at all disposed to settle down into quietude. The imposthume was too far advanced to be put back: it must needs break forth into a running sore. The 2d Grenadiers objected to the new cartridges to be used with the Enfield rifle. The paper was not the same as in the old cartridges. There undoubtedly was some difference. The bore of the Enfield rifle being so much smaller than that of the old musket, the old thick cartridge-paper could not be used, and a paper, thinner but more tough, had been substituted. The amount of size employed in its composition was more than usual, which gave it a glazed appearance. This was enough for the keen-eyed disaffection of the high-caste Hindús and their Mussulman colleagues, and they objected to its use. A court of inquiry was assembled at Barrackpur, to try and obviate this new difficulty. Sepoys, Jemadars, and Subahdars of the 2d Grenadiers, were permitted to give evidence, and their statements patiently heard. One suspected the paper from its being stiff and like cloth, and because, in tearing it, it seemed different from the old paper; another, because when dipped in water it made a phizzing noise, and smelt as if there were grease in it; another, because, although he could not detect grease in it, yet such was the report. In short, to the fastidious Sepoy, the glazed paper was an insuperable obstacle. The Government in its solicitude, applied itself to the Inspector-General of Ordnance to dispel the new difficulty, and by him the delinquent paper was remitted to the chemical examiner, and the paper was suspected of grease which it did not contain, while the Sepoy was unsuspected of the treachery and rebellion of which he was full.

The night of the very day on which the inquiry had been held had been arranged for a mutinous outbreak. On the previous night there had assembled, soon after eight o'clock, on the parade ground, delegates from different regiments at the station, to the number of 300; their heads tied up with cloths, so as to leave a small part only of the face exposed. They were to murder their officers, plunder and burn the bungalows, and marching upon Calcutta, attempt to seize Fort William, or failing in that, to take possession of the Treasury. But again their path was crossed. About seven o'clock in the evening, a Sepoy of the 34th, sought out his European officer, Lieutenant Allen, as he was sitting in the verandah of his bungalow, and

* Appendix to Papers relative to Mutinies in the East Indies, pp. 136—140.

expressed a wish to speak to him privately on family matters, requesting at the same time that a servant who was standing by might withdraw. He then communicated to him all that was going forward; that delegates from the different regiments were to assemble that evening, about eight or nine o'clock, at a large tree close to the station magazine, to concert what their proceedings should be, as information had reached them of the approaching arrival of a European regiment from Dinapur, as well as of artillery, and there was therefore need for immediate action. Time was necessarily lost in communicating these matters to the colonel of the regiment, and then to the general in command, so that it was past nine o'clock before Lieutenant Allen reached the place of rendezvous which had been indicated. He therefore saw no one in the neighbourhood of the magazine, except the sentries, who challenged as usual. In fact, the delegates had met, and had returned to the lines, in time to be present at roll-call about ten o'clock, P.M. But the officer's visit to the parade-ground, and to the very spot in the vicinity of the magazine where the men had assembled, had been observed: the various orderlies of the different guards around cantonments sent information to the lines, and the conspirators, apprehensive that their intentions were discovered, resolved on again deferring an act of treachery, which, once perpetrated, could never be recalled. We cannot be surprised that they thus hesitated, not indeed from any qualms of conscience, but from a dread of consequences. The truth of the Sepoy's statement was subsequently confirmed by a Jemadar of the 34th, who sought an interview with Major-General Hearsey, in order that he might communicate all he knew of the evil intentions of the Sepoys. Unhappily, we think, instead of a private interview, he was referred to a court of inquiry, and thus brought into notoriety, his evidence was as curt as possible. Nevertheless, in all the main points it agreed with the information given by the Sepoy.

The General in command at Barrackpur began now to feel the uncertainty of his position; so much so, that, on Feb. 11, he thus communicated with the authorities—"We have at Barrackpur been dwelling on a mine ready for explosion. I have been watching the feeling of the Sepoys here for some time. Their minds have been misled by some designing scoundrels, who have managed to make them believe that their religious prejudices, their caste, is to be interfered with by Government; that they are to be forced to turn Christians. I must mention that

I had the whole brigade paraded on Monday afternoon, the 9th, and myself energetically and explicitly explained, in a loud voice, to the whole of the men, the folly of the idea that possessed them, that the Government, or that their officers, wished to interfere with their caste or religious prejudices, and impressed on them the absurdity of their for one moment, believing that they were to be forced to become Christians. I told them the English were Christians of the book, i. e. Protestants; that we admitted no proselytes but those who, being adults, could read and fully understand the precepts laid down therein; that if they came and threw themselves at our feet imploring to be made 'book' Christians, it could not be done: they could not be baptized, until they had been examined in the tenets of the book and proved themselves fully conversant in them; and then they must of their own goodwill and accord, desire to become Christians of the book ere they could be made so. I asked them if they perfectly understood what I said, especially the 2d Grenadiers: they nodded assent. I then dismissed the brigade." The Major-General concludes with the following remonstrance—"May I state my opinion in regard of the policy of having five or six regiments of native infantry assembled in brigade here, without any European corps of infantry, or artillery, or cavalry, as a point *d'appui* in case of a mutiny occurring? You perceive, in all this business, the native officers were of no use; in fact, they are afraid of their men, and dare not act: all they do is to hold themselves aloof, and expect, by so doing, they will escape censure as not actively implicated. This has always occurred on such occasions, and will continue to the end of our sovereignty in India. Well might Sir C. Metcalfe say, 'that he expected to awake some fine morning, and find India has been lost to the English Crown.'"

Just and admonitory as this sentence was, it moved the Government to no immediate effort. Hopes were indulged that the Major-General's address had been effectual, and the bad feeling allayed amongst the troops, a few restless spirits excepted, who were diligently sought for. Three of the officers in command of regiments, the 70th, 2d Grenadiers, and 43d Light Infantry, reported their men to be quite "*koosh*," that is, pleased, and relieved of a weight which had oppressed them; while the authorities, to complete the hoped-for reconciliation, diligently occu-

* Appendix to Papers relative to Mutinies in the East Indies.

pied themselves in endeavouring to obtain from vegetable oils, a substitute for animal grease, and devising a new mode of loading the rifle, by which the Sepoy, instead of biting off the end of the cartridge, and so defiling his lips with the suspected paper, might remove the end of the cartridges with the left hand. Meanwhile, the conspirators were more seriously employed in endeavouring to strengthen their position by securing the co-operation of other native regiments, and preparing the way for a more determined effort. Communications were opened with the native regiments at Dinapur and Berhampur, yet not so secretly, but that something of it reached the ears of the military authorities. A native doctor, under date of February 12, made the following statement to the commanding officer of the 43d Native Infantry—“I overheard a Sepoy of the 2d Grenadiers mention at the hospital to some one, that a *kossid* had been sent to the Ungka Pultan at Berhampur, and to the regiments at Dinapur, informing them that ten or twelve of us have raised a disturbance, and we want you to support us.” But this was not all. Some time in the beginning of February a party from the 34th Native Infantry at Barrackpur reached Berhampur in charge of the Government stallions, and by them the matter of the cartridges was first broached, and began to be canvassed in the ranks of the 19th Native Infantry, then lying at that station. On the 25th of February, a second party from the same regiment arrived, a Havildar’s guard, accompanying some European convalescents, and they were careful to add fresh fuel to the fire which had been already kindled, until it burst out into flame. On the next day, Feb. 26, Lieut.-Colonel Mitchell ordered the 19th to parade the following morning for exercise, with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition per man. It had been customary in that regiment, to serve out the percussion caps over night, but when they were about to be issued, the men refused to receive them, saying there was some doubt as to how the cartridges were made. The Colonel immediately hastened to the lines, and sending for the native officers, explained to them, that, with reference to these particular cartridges, there could be no difficulty, as they had been made up by the 7th Native Infantry about a year before; and desired them to tell their men, that on their refusal to obey, they would be liable to severe punishment. A general parade of all the troops at the station was ordered for the next morning at six o’clock. The Commandant of the 11th Irregular Cavalry was to have his regiment on the ground at that hour: the

post guns were also to be present. But the 19th did not wait for this. Between ten and eleven o’clock that night, they broke open the bells of arms, took possession of their muskets and ammunition, and carried them to their lines. The report of this mutinous proceeding was at once reported to the Colonel. Two courses were open to him: either with the other troops in hand, to occupy the buildings, and so await the early dawn; or by a prompt action, endeavour to overawe the mutineers. He decided on the latter course, although there appeared to be many reasons against it. The night was excessively dark, so much so, as to render necessary the use of torches. The ground near the lines was interspersed with tanks, which would necessarily interfere much with the movements of cavalry and artillery. Yet so important did it seem to arrest, if it were possible, by a bold front, this dangerous movement at once, and without delay, that he hesitated not, but calling out the cavalry and artillery, proceeded towards the lines, where the men of the 19th, in undress, but armed, were formed in line and shouting. His position was evidently a critical one; for he felt,* that if called upon to act, the native cavalry and artillery were not to be depended upon; and it was by no means improbable, that if ordered to charge or fire, they would at once sympathize with the mutineers, and then, instead of one, there would be three regiments in revolt. He deemed it prudent, therefore, to try in the first instance the effect of conciliatory measures, and, addressing the men of the 19th, endeavoured to show them how unreasonable were their apprehensions, and conjured them to lay down their arms and return to their lines. This the native officers declared to be impossible in the presence of the cavalry and artillery, but they promised that if these were withdrawn, they would do so, and that promise they fulfilled, dispersing at 3 A.M. At six o’clock the next morning, there was a parade, and the men turned out as usual. They were quiet and orderly. The arms and ammunition were examined. It was found that some of the men had in their pouches only nine rounds of ammunition, the proper complement being ten rounds, whilst with others, who had their ten rounds complete, one of the rounds bore the mark of the worm in the bullet, as if it had been drawn from the musket.† How nearly matters had reached an extremity! Had the 19th persevered in

* See Col. Mitchell’s letter. Appendix to Papers, &c., inclosures 10—19, pp. 292, 293.

† Appendix to Papers, p. 49.

their mutiny, they would, in all probability, have been joined by the other arms of the native service at Berhampur, and the brigade at Barrackpur, which only waited until an initiative was taken, would at once have followed their example. How defenceless the state of Calcutta at the moment, if these five regiments of native infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, had advanced towards it! But there was just enough of indecision left amongst the men of the 19th to induce them to pause before they took the final step, and the opportunity being afforded them of retiring from a position, in which, unless unhesitatingly supported by the other regiments, they were sure to be sacrificed, they at once laid down their arms, and Calcutta was again safe. Colonel Mitchell's conduct was animadverted upon by the Governor-General and four members of his Council, in a Minute dated May 13th, 1857,* in which his removal from the command of the corps, to be raised in place of the 19th, was recommended; but assuredly, had they been aware of the imminent danger in which Calcutta was placed, surrounded by a thoroughly disaffected soldiery, bound together, as to the great mass of them, in a dark conspiracy, the object of which was the utter extermination of the English name, and only waiting until some bold spirit had taken the initiative, and the first stroke had been given, they would have felt that the only policy which remained to be pursued, was to act cautiously, and yet with a bold aspect, so as to overawe, while abstaining from actual collision with the malcontents, and thus to defer the outbreak, and gain time until succour had been sent for and arrived. This was precisely the result obtained by the line of conduct adopted by Colonel Mitchell. His prompt action overawed the Sepoys, yet a collision was avoided. We do not at all mean to say that he had this clear perception of all the bearings of the case: it was impossible he could have. There was not an European in India, not even the most experienced official, who had the slightest idea of the treason that so extensively prevailed, and the near approach of a crisis which has imperilled the very existence of the English name in India. He acted according to the best of his judgment, a position of very serious responsibility. At the moment, before the veil had been removed which concealed from the authorities the true state of affairs, it was not thought to be a becoming course. But now, looking back

from a more advanced period, after time, the great expositor of mysteries, has laid bare and naked all which had been then concealed, we perceive that the course which he pursued was the only one which, at the moment, could have saved Calcutta from utter disaster, and that his having so acted as to arrest, without the employment of force, the mutinous action of the 19th Native Infantry, must be ascribed to the Providence of God.

The ominous aspect of affairs began now to break on the perceptions of high officials, and the disbandment of the 19th was decided upon. "The open refusal of the whole regiment to obey orders, the seizure of arms with violence, and a tumultuous but combined resistance of the authority of its officers with arms loaded, is an offence for which any punishment less than dismissal from the service of the State would be inadequate: mutiny so open and defiant cannot be excused by any sensitiveness of religion or caste, by fear of coercion, or by the seductions and deceptions of others. It must be met promptly and unhesitatingly, and without the delay of a day more than may be necessary."* It was determined, moreover, that the disbandment should take place at Barrackpur, and that for the following reasons—"There are many indications that the seeds of insubordination, which have grown to a head in the open mutiny of the 19th regiment, were first sown in some of the regiments quartered at Barrackpur. Unfortunately the acts of incendiarism, and the tendency to insubordination, which, during the last two months, have prevailed at Barrackpur, have not been traced to the individual agents; but whoever these may be, I believe that no more effective warning can be given to them of the danger to which their present courses expose themselves and their comrades, than that the 19th regiment, in the guilt of which there is reason to believe they have a large share, should receive its sentence and its punishment before their eyes."†

To carry out so decided a measure with no larger an amount of European force than half a regiment, and that in the presence of an imposing array of native troops, amongst whom it was admitted, disaffection to some extent prevailed, could not be safely attempted; and the authorities felt, that in order to the disbandment of the 19th, the presence of another European regiment was necessary.

* Minute of the Governor-General in Council, March 27th.

† Minute of the Governor-General, &c., Appendix to Papers relative to Mutinies, &c., p. 51.

* *Vide* Appendix to Blue Books. Inclosures Nos. 10—19, p. 296.

On the 6th of March, therefore, the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer "Bentinck" was despatched to Rangoon, with a requisition to the commanding officer of the Pegu division, for the temporary services of Her Majesty's 84th. It was directed that the regiment should come as light as possible, there being no intention of detaining them at Calcutta. Yet there appeared to exist in the mind of the authorities, the faintest possible idea that circumstances might render necessary the retention of the regiment, for instructions were given to the officer commanding in Pegu, that in case the 84th foot did not return shortly to Rangoon, and European troops were required there, he was to bring round a wing of Her Majesty's 35th foot from Maulmein to Rangoon. How little did the Government at that moment foresee that they should need, not only the 84th, but the 35th likewise; nay, not only every soldier which Pegu could furnish, but as many more as could be obtained from Madras and Ceylon, until the cry for help had echoed from Ceylon to the Mauritius, and from the Mauritius to the Cape, and England found herself summoned, as with the startling blast of a trumpet, to put forth all her strength for the preservation of her Indian empire.

The requisition for the 84th was attended to with remarkable promptitude. It was received at Rangoon on the morning of March 13th; and the regiment having embarked on the next morning, was under weigh with the afternoon's tide, and proceeding to Calcutta with all the speed possible.*

Indeed, there was no time to lose; for between the 6th and 13th of March, a new attempt was planned by the conspirators to get possession of Fort William; and again was it provisionally frustrated. Two Sepoys of the 2d regiment of Grenadiers, belonging to the Town Major's guard, having been relieved from sentry duty at nine o'clock in the evening of March 10th, were found on roll-call, at a quarter to ten o'clock, to be absent. They continued absent all night; and their absence was duly reported to the Havildar Major immediately, and to the Town Major at half-past one o'clock A.M. The morning's dawn cleared up the mystery. About seven o'clock, they were brought back as prisoners under a guard of the 34th Native Infantry. They had proceeded to the Mint, about two miles distant, where a guard from that regiment was stationed, consisting of four Havildars, three Naicks, and eighty-six Sepoys, under the command of the Subahdar, Muddeh Khan. This

Subahdar was the very same man who had been deeply implicated in the plot which had been laid to seize Fort William on January 26th. It was natural, therefore, to suppose that he would gladly co-operate with them on the present occasion; and no doubt this was one of the favourable circumstances which encouraged them to the effort, that he was the Subahdar in command at the time, of the Mint guard. But on this occasion, his conduct was precisely the reverse of what they expected. He was seated on his *charpoy*, about half-past ten o'clock at night, when the two men, dressed in native clothes, came up to him. On asking their business, they told him, "The Havildar Major has sent us. The Governor-General is going to Barrackpur to take the magazine, and there will be fighting there. The Calcutta Militia are coming into the Fort at twelve o'clock: you bring your guard, and join them." The Subahdar, however, was resolved not again to embark, at least on this occasion, in such an undertaking. He appears to have thought, that if he were to fight against the "Huzoor Log" (the State), it should not be just then; and his reply to the message was at once, and without hesitation, by placing the bearers of it in custody. The conspirators waited for their messengers, but in vain. At length, a Naick, of the Town Major's guard, coming in search of them to the Mint, found them in custody, and vainly solicited their release. Thus the whole plot was deranged, and compelled to be abandoned. The two Sepoys were sentenced to imprisonment and hard labour for fourteen years. It is remarkable that these men were tried by a native general court-martial, consisting of twelve Subahdars and three Jemadars, of ten different native regiments.* Of these regiments, one was subsequently disbanded, three were disarmed, one mutinied at Azimghur, another at Benares, and three more at Dinapur. Of the members of the native court-martial, there does not appear to have been one, who when the time of trial came, separated himself, by a bold and loyal course, from the treacherous conduct of his fellows. At the very moment when sitting in judgment on these two Sepoys, they were, in all probability, implicated themselves, and sacrificed their dupes to keep up an appearance of loyalty, and prevent the detection of the conspiracy. No information whatever was elicited as to the principals behind the scenes, by whom the Sepoys had been sent to tempt the Subahdar of the Mint guard.

The 84th reached Calcutta on March 20th.

* Appendix to Papers, pp. 61, 62. Inclosures in Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 6.

* Appendix to Papers, pp. 71, &c. Inclosures in No. 7 to 19.

Nothing could be more unexpected than their arrival: as one private letter says, "it was as though they had dropped down from the clouds." Anger and discouragement filled the hearts of the conspirators, for they now perceived, that in hesitating to strike the blow, they had lost the most favourable opportunity.

At Barrackpur especially, the excitement amongst the conspirators, when made acquainted with the arrival of a European regiment, was very great. The bolder spirits reproached the more timid with cowardice, and even now, although the hope of succeeding in their plan was much diminished, urged them to an effort. One from amongst them, unable any longer to restrain himself, broke out into open violence, hoping, by his example, to arouse his comrades. On March 29th, about half-past three o'clock P.M., a Brahmin Sepoy, named Mungul Pandey, was seen walking up and down in front of the quarter-guard of his regiment, the 34th. He had on his regimental coat and cap, with his dhotee, no pantaloons, and, armed with a musket and sword, endeavoured to arouse the soldiers to mutiny, crying out, "*Nikulao pulten, nikulao hunzara sath,*"—"Come out man, come out, and join me: you sent me here; why don't you follow me? Come out, you Bhainchutes, the Europeans are here. From biting these cartridges we shall become infidels. Get ready; turn out all of you." It is evident that this man was one of the fanatical dupes, so thickly sown throughout the native regiments, who laboured under the deception, so skilfully got up, that the English really intended, by force or fraud, to deprive them of their caste, and who were invariably pushed forward by the more wily conspirators to attempt that which they had not the courage to commence themselves. He then rushed toward the quarter-guard, exclaiming, "Where is the bugler?" and pointing his musket at him, ordered him to sound the assembly. The bugler, however, a Christian drummer, seeing the excited state of the man, partly owing to the effects of *bhang*, got under shelter. A Naick of the quarter-guard, immediately reported what was going forward to the sergeant-major of the regiment, who, in his uniform, and with a sword, hastened to the parade-ground. The Sepoy, on observing him, immediately levelled his musket at him, and fired, but without effect. The guard, on being ordered to fall in, for the purpose of seizing him, hung back; the men grumbled; the Jemadar declined to act. Meanwhile, the Sepoy had reloaded his musket; and every time the sergeant-major attempted to come out of the quarter-guard,

he levelled it at him. At this moment the adjutant of the regiment, Lieutenant Baugh, on his charger, reached the spot, and had scarcely pulled up in front of the quarter-guard, when the Sepoy fired, and the adjutant's horse dropped. Disentangling himself as quickly as possible, Lieutenant Baugh drew a pistol from the holster, and, seeing the prisoner in the act of reloading, fired; and then, drawing his sword, rushed at him to secure him. Perceiving that the Sepoy had drawn a tulwar, or native sword, he turned round to get the other pistol out of the holster, but the horse had been removed, and the pistol placed beyond his reach. Calling upon a Sepoy, Sheik Pultu, to follow him, he advanced towards the mutineer, the sergeant-major, with his sword, also rushing on at the same moment. A conflict ensued; the Sepoy, making a feint at the sergeant-major, who was instantaneously knocked down from behind by one or two blows from a musket, inflicted a sword cut on the adjutant's left hand, which entirely disabled it, then a very deep wound on the neck, while a blow from behind struck him to the ground. The sergeant-major, recovering himself, now rushed upon the Sepoy, and catching him by the collar of the coat with the left hand, struck him several times with his sword, receiving in return a cut on the head from the tulwar. At this moment a shot was fired from the direction of the quarter-guard, passing close between the sergeant-major and the adjutant, the sergeant-major, at the same moment, receiving a second cut on the head from the tulwar, and being knocked down by repeated blows from a man dressed in regimentals, and beaten when on the ground. This stupified him, and the Sepoy would probably have murdered one or other of the officers thus treacherously disabled, but for Sheik Pultu, who, rushing forward, caught the Sepoy by the waist, and, extending one hand to avert the blows from the adjutant, was wounded in that hand by the tulwar, yet with the other retained his hold on the Sepoy, and called on the officers to retreat. Finding himself hemmed in by the men of the guard, Lieutenant Baugh withdrew, followed by the sergeant-major. During the whole of this extraordinary scene, the rest of the Sepoys, of which there were some 400 in the lines, the three right-wing companies having gone to Chittagong, remained looking on, nor did any of them appear disposed to render assistance, some Sikhs who were on the quarter-guard excepted, who were prevented from doing so by the Jemadar. As the sergeant-major was returning, severely wounded, towards the

bungalow of the sergeant-major of the 43d Light Infantry, he looked towards the lines of his own corps, and, seeing all the men collected outside, he said to those of the light company, as he passed them, "You cowardly set; you see an officer cut down before your eyes, and not a man of you advanced to assist him." They made no reply, but turned their backs on him, and moved away in a slow and most sullen manner. His conviction was, that they were all cognizant of what was going to take place, fully prepared for it, and all more or less implicated. What withheld them from an open outbreak? It is difficult indeed to say. All throughout the native brigade at Barrackpur, appears to have been a focus of disaffected feeling, from whence tentatives towards a general insurrection amongst the troops were being unceasingly put forth. Again and again these regiments appeared to have been on the eve of a furious outbreak, and yet still it continued to be deferred. Much, under God, is to be attributed to the decision and experience of Major-General Hearsay, himself a native of India. On the present occasion when the guard refused at the command of the colonel of the regiment, to move forward and apprehend the criminal, the Major-General, accompanied by his aide-camp and some other officers, rode up, and, having ascertained that the muskets of the guard were loaded, ordered the Jemadar and Sepoys of the guard to follow him. They did so, and he led them forward against the mutineer, who, upon their drawing near, shot himself.*

It was not then, before events had become sufficiently ominous, that the 84th reached Calcutta. The temper of the native troops required immediate decisive action, and arrangements were promptly made for the disbandment of the 19th Native Infantry. That regiment had arrived within a short distance of Barrackpur. It had left Berhampur on the 19th, and, marching through Plassey and our Missionary district of Kishnagurh, reached Baraset, in the vicinity of Barrackpur, on March 30. Aware that guns and Europeans had been concentrated there, they were afraid that they were about to be roughly handled. On reaching Baraset, therefore, the Lieut.-Colonel convened the native

officers in his tent, and assured them, that if the regiment behaved properly, and every thing took place as on an usual parade, nothing would happen beyond paying them up and dismissing them.

All available troops of all arms, within two days march at Barrackpur, had been concentrated at that place; so that, on marching into cantonment on the morning of March 31, the 19th found themselves in presence, not only of the native brigade, but of two field batteries, with the European reserve companies, a portion of the 9th battalion of Artillery, a wing of Her Majesty's 53d Foot, the dépôt of musketry from Dum Dum; the Governor-General's body-guard from Ballygunge, and Her Majesty's 84th Foot from Chinsurah. They were brought in front of the two field batteries, at about eighty yards distance. The translation of the Government orders for their disbandment having been read by the interpreter of the 34th Native Infantry, at the command of their Colonel they piled arms, being permitted to retain their uniform, and receiving their pay and hackerey hire for their journey. They loudly bewailed their fate, many men saying the regiment had been misled by the 34th regiment of Native Infantry, on which corps they vowed vengeance. Two features may be referred to in this regiment: first, that out of the entire strength of 1000 men, 409 were Brahmins, and 150 Rajputs; and, secondly, that of twenty-seven European officers nominally connected with it, ten were alienated from it on various services, and two had never joined. The regiment, previous to its disbandment, had petitioned to be pardoned, declaring its purpose, should this be granted, to offer itself for general service. It may be questioned whether it might not have been better to have taken them at their word, and shipped them at once for China. The real malcontents would thus have been sent out of the country, instead of being let loose to go where they pleased, sowing the seeds of further mischief, while the many who had been the dupes, would have had an opportunity of recovering the position they had lost, and, at a distance in a foreign land, from various unhappy home influences which kept them in a continually disturbed state, might again have rendered, as in past times they had done, good and faithful service. There is no doubt but that, in these native regiments, a tyranny was exercised of a very oppressive character, so that many men have been forced to act against their own better judgment and inclinations. They have been discouraged from attempting any resistance,

* This man, having sufficiently recovered of his wounds, was brought to trial on April 6, and condemned to death, a sentence which was carried into execution two days after. The Jemadar of the guard suffered a similar fate on April 20. He died admitting the justice of his sentence, and exhorting his fellow-soldiers to take warning. *Vide* Proceedings of Court-martial, Appendix to Papers, Inclosures Nos. 7 to 19, p. 125, &c.

because they saw no hope of escaping from the despotism of the high-caste party; whereas, had the opportunity of volunteering for foreign service been conceded, it would have afforded to them the very door of escape they desired. After all, there was nothing in the process of disbandment to which this regiment was subjected, which was cal-

culated to overawe the disaffected in other regiments, or deter them from perseverance in their mutinous intent: the utmost they had to apprehend was, being dismissed the service, and, with their uniform and pay, being permitted to go whither they pleased.

We must here break off our narrative, to resume it in our next Number.

GOVERNMENTAL PRINCIPLES CONSIDERED, MORE ESPECIALLY WITH REFERENCE TO INDIA.

THE duty of a Christian Government, in a land where Scriptural Christianity is professed, is to maintain the truth: in an unevangelized country, to promote the truth.

The first member of this thesis is not without its impugnors. We quote from one of the most eloquent and popular writers of the day. "We hear of essentially Protestant Governments and essentially Christian Governments, words which mean just as much, as essentially Protestant cookery, or essentially Christian horsemanship;" that is, as we understand the writer, the attribution of Protestant or Christian to Governments, is just as irrelative and misplaced as to cookery or horsemanship, Governments and cookery being alike remote from all connexion with Christianity or Protestantism. Having thus nothing to do with religion, even in its best and purest form, the writer proceeds to tell us what they are intended for—"Government exists for the purposes of keeping the peace; for the purpose of compelling us to settle our disputes by arbitration instead of settling them by blows; for the purpose of compelling us to supply our wants by industry, instead of supplying them by rapine. This is the only operation for which the machinery of Government is peculiarly adapted—the only operation which wise Governments ever propose to themselves as the chief object." And these objects Government is supposed to be able to effect, without such aid as Christianity is capable of affording it. It is upon such a principle that India has hitherto been governed, with what result let recent calamities testify. Government has not kept the peace, not prevented sanguinary collision, nor averted rapine. Why? Because it dispensed with the aid of Scriptural Christianity as needless. The Government, wise according to the above principles, has proved to be a foolish one, as foolish as any other individuals, who attempt to accomplish an object, whether the launching of the unhappily-designated "Leviathan," or whatever else it may be, with insufficiency of power. The miscalculation might be pardoned, were it not productive of calamity.

But, thus controverted, our thesis needs to be sustained, and we put forth in support of it some arguments.

It is the duty of every man in his sphere and station, to promote to the utmost of his power the general well-being of the community of which he is a member. Unless this be conceded, human life, in its social aspect, is reduced below the standard of insect life.

But a national profession of pure Christianity, is an unspeakable blessing to a people. The nation which has attained this point has reached an elevation of no ordinary character. The value of it may be estimated by the travail and sufferings of previous generations. They who had it not, amidst the persecutions to which they were exposed, sighed for its attainment, and laboured for it as a great national good. They had to do with a false religion and an oppressive Government. The Government supported the false religion, and the false religion rendered the Government oppressive. They desired the subversion of what was false, and the establishment in its place of what was true, that Government, instead of supporting what was false, might support the truth, and that true religion reacting on Government, by its healthful influence, might render it, instead of being oppressive, benignant and impartial. That has been achieved, and we have that for which others suffered. We may undervalue, as many do, this high advantage. We have no experience of that contrast of religious suffering which would most powerfully convince us how happily we are circumstanced. Empirics may subject the most vital points to the uncertainty ever inseparable from an experimental process; but this men may be assured of, if Scriptural Christianity be ejected from the national profession, the vacancy which has been made will not long be left unoccupied. A false religion, which once sat there in the arrogance of religious absolutism, and which has never relinquished the hope of regaining the elevation from which it was cast down, will climb up again into the high place of the land, and religious freedom will have to be recovered by the same ransom-price of na-

tional tribulation which was paid down before. He who, after the experience of the past, would disturb the existing status, is a rash experimentalist. In the indulgence of a precipitate vanity, he may inflict an injury upon the nation which half a century of bitter regret will not suffice to repair. Imperfections and blemishes there are undoubtedly. Where is the human structure that is unsullied by them? Well, then, correct, repair, but touch not the foundation.

We repeat it; it is no slight attainment that a nation has been so enabled to identify the truth of God amidst a multitude of vain pretensions as to recognise it accordingly. In other lands, false religions are set up, and are injuriously influential on the community. But amongst ourselves our national Protestantism dispenses corrective and restraining influences. There is a religious reality amongst us to meet and resist the swellings of national depravity, a sea-shore barrier beyond which the tide is not permitted to advance.

It is true that our national Protestantism is not recognised under that particular form which some would prefer. But it must be under some form, in order that the recognition may be practical; as, for instance, in the matter of education, where neutralized among contending sections, it is only by disseverance from the religious element, that the State is able to act at all. If, in other departments of the State, the same equal consideration were to be given to the various subdivisions of Protestantism, and there were to be no precedence, the same practical result would ensue: we should have no religious service at the Sovereign's coronation, no prayer at the opening of our Legislative Assemblies. The State would be compelled to withdraw itself from a Protestantism so disunited as to the specific action to be adopted on each particular occasion, as from an impracticability with which it could not work. The State must either recognise Protestantism under some particular form, or not at all; and if, unhappily, the latter, the displacement of Scriptural Christianity, from the national profession, will reinstate Romanism. Moreover, if the present episcopal form were displaced to make room for some other, whatever might be substituted would be equally objectionable to all who dissented from it. The alteration would not have removed the difficulty.

Calmly and dispassionately considered, there can be no doubt that our present national position with reference to Scriptural Christianity, is one that carries with it many

and great advantages. It is not so much the form that is recognised, as the truth which is embodied in that form, and in that recognition, Scriptural Christianity participates, whatever be the form and aspect in which it be arrayed. The common truth is now nationally recognised, wherever or with whomsoever it is found; and in the important consequences which result from this, all Protestant Christians, of whatever name or denomination, are partakers.

On this broad and comprehensive basis we desire to consider the subject; and surely we do not advance too much, when we say, that this great blessing, our national recognition of Scriptural Christianity, in contradistinction to the superstition which superadds what is worthless, or the unbelief which takes away what is valuable, ought to be maintained. It is essential to the common weal: if lost, it will be to the serious injury of the nation. It is, then, the duty of every man, in his position, to maintain it; a duty which becomes the more grave in proportion to the measure of influence which each individual possesses, because its dereliction by one whose social status is of a commanding character, and whose example by numbers is deferentially followed, alienates from this object so large an amount of important aid. If it be the duty of the head of a family to maintain the standard of truth and godly practice in his household, of a landlord amongst his tenantry, *a fortiori* is it the duty of a King amongst his subjects. The royal authority, in its exercise, carries with it this concurrent obligation, that it be used for the commonweal, and therefore, above all things, for the promotion of true religion, in which the commonweal is most deeply concerned; and wheresoever a portion of that authority is to be found, to whomsoever delegated for executive purposes, whether the statesman, the judge, or lesser officials, it carries with it the same inseparable obligation, that it be used by each individual, in his station, conscientiously for this purpose. Unless, therefore, it can be shown that a profession of Scriptural Christianity is an injury, and not a benefit, to a nation, how can the statesman, or any other member of the community, be pronounced to have no concernment in its maintenance?

But we shall proceed to put the subject in another light. It is the duty of every man, who has the opportunity of making himself acquainted with it, to submit himself to the influence and action of that religion which is by revelation of God. Christianity is provided with accumulative evidence as to its divine origin and consequent claim upon the

belief of every man. He, therefore, who declines to yield it his personal recognition, does so, either because he neglects the evidence on which it rests, and refuses to it that consideration, which he does not hesitate to give to matters of far inferior moment, or else, because, although he finds the evidence conclusive, he allows himself to be swayed through his own wilfulness to unbelief, or contents himself with a nominal assent that carries with it no obedience. That such an obligation exists, must we think, be universally admitted. It respects, moreover, every member of the community. The highest is not so elevated as to be placed above the limits of its action, nor the lowest so depressed as to remain unaffected by it.

But let the obligation be complied with, and Christianity be permitted that ascendant influence which is its right, and then it carries with it the whole man, in all his energies and influence to its service, and that not reluctantly, but by a cheerful, willing surrender. In his obeying the truth through the Spirit, a new motive is introduced into the believer's heart, one which is paramount in its authority, and takes precedence of every other. He is actuated by a personal affection of the most powerful kind, of which Christ is the object, whose presence he realizes, to whom he is bound by the strongest obligations, to whom he has consecrated himself, and in whose service he delights. The service which he renders is not a random service, but one formed after an exemplar, that exemplar being Christ Himself. He purposes to be to Christ, as Christ has been to him. He perceives that Christ gave Himself unreservedly, in his "Godhead and his manhood, personally and officially, in soul and body;" that there was no portion of his power, his excellence or influence, unengaged in His acts of love for man, or held aloof from that great concernment. This is the Christian's archetype, and his dedication of himself is after the same enlargement—it is comprehensive of all, all he is, all he has to give, his public life, his private life, his person, his office, his intellectual and physical capabilities, all to be used for Christ, and if for Christ, then for that gospel-truth of which He is the sum and substance, which Christ wrought out by his life and death; and in the exemplification and upholding of this he is prepared to live and die. The gospel claims to be made known: he labours to extend that knowledge. It claims to prevail in the hearts of man: he seeks to win men to the acceptance of it, and persuades them to enrol themselves in its happy service. Where initiative impressions have been made,

he labours to strengthen them: where a footing has been gained, he would give the truth establishment. Service to his Lord involves the maintenance of his Master's truth, according to his measure of opportunity, whether he be a cobbler or a statesman. The distinction attempted to be drawn between a man in his private and public capacity, contravenes the spirit and purpose of the gospel, which will have the whole service, or none; which claims the throne—"My son, give me thine heart"—and will accept no subordinate position, no divided empire. Not only is such a distinction baseless and without authority, but in practice, impossible. Either his religion will Christianize his office, or his office un-Christianize the man. Either his Christianity will constrain him to the resignation of an office, on entering the precincts of which he must divest himself of his Christianity for the time being, or else his office will react upon his private life, and bereave him of his Christianity. Once admitted, it is difficult to say where this denudation is to stop; for if the statesman in his public acts, has nothing to do with religion, the tradesman behind his counter is equally at liberty to dispense with its inconvenient remembrances.

To sum up this part of our subject—the positive obligation resting on every individual to submit himself to the ascendancy of Christian truth involves this as the necessary sequence, the hearty dedication of each individual, who has complied with that obligation, to the cause of the gospel. Compliance with the obligation constrains him so to do, whatever be his position in society. He comes under a law which binds him to this activity. The statesman in his high office must needs concern himself in the maintenance of the truth, and seek to advance its interests, just as much as any other member of society; and he will do so, unless indeed, he has failed in that submission to the mind of God as revealed in the gospel, in which consists his primary obligation. And this leads us to remark on another dangerous position put forward by the same eloquent author to whom we previously referred. We find the following passage—"The points of difference between Christianity and Judaism, have very much to do with a man's fitness to be a Bishop or a Rabbi. But they have no more to do with his fitness to be a magistrate, a legislator, or a minister of finance, than with his fitness to be a cobbler. Nobody has ever thought of compelling cobblers to make any declaration on the true faith of a Christian. Any man would rather have his shoes mended by an heretical cobbler, than by a person who had

subscribed all the thirty-nine Articles, but had never handled an awl. Men act thus, not because they are indifferent to religion, but because they do not see what religion has to do with the mending of their shoes. Yet religion has as much to do with the mending of shoes as with the budget and army-estimates. We have surely had several signal proofs within the last twenty years, that a very good Christian may be a very bad Chancellor of the Exchequer."*

The argument couched in the above passage amounts to this, that Christianity has nothing to do with the fitness of a cobbler for the mending of shoes, and therefore nothing to do with the fitness of a statesman for the administration of national affairs. We deny the premise, and the conclusion lapses with it. We believe that Christianity has to do with the very lowest measure of responsibility; and if it has to do with the least, it has surely to do with those that affect great interests. We do not say that it will place a man of inferior powers on an equality with the more gifted man; but we do assert that it will make the man infinitely superior to what he would have been without it. Christianity does not undertake to fit every man for every position, and therefore it is quite possible that "a very good Christian may be a very bad Chancellor of the Exchequer;" but Christianity will develop the influenced man's natural powers to their highest points of excellence, and, in the position which he is qualified to fill, will render him a much more effective member of society than he would otherwise be. Christian principle operates in this way: it leads each man in his position to aim at excellence, and that from the highest motives, and with reference to the most elevated objects. He puts forth all the powers that he has, that he may adorn the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things. The cobbler in his stall will seek so to mend his shoes, as that religion, even in that small matter, may suffer no disparagement. Small as it is, he has a conscience in the discharge of it, to do it in the best way, with punctuality and fairness. It is his privilege to serve God even in this his poverty of occupation; and he believes that, in the faithful discharge of it, God can be glorified. Christianity, then, *has* to do with the fitness of the cobbler for his work. The cobbler, if recovered from his heresy, and brought under the action of genuine Christian principle, will be a more trustworthy person than if he had remained in it. It is not so much the channel through which the principle operates, which

is to be considered. It may be a very feeble and contracted one, or the reverse; but, in either case, the operation of the principle is the same. The individual from his own experience, convinced of the value of Christianity, strives to exemplify its principles in his own character and conduct; and, in so doing, to please God, and commend the gospel to the acceptance of others. And thus, if Christianity has to do with the fitness of the cobbler for his toil, assuredly it has to do with the fitness of the statesman for his office. It will enhance his qualifications. The moral element will be raised, motives purified and elevated, conscientiousness secured, as well as a sounder judgment and a more steady application of his powers to the great trusts reposed in him. But once let it be admitted that Christianity has nothing to do with a man's fitness for his position, and the next step on which the foot may rest as it descends, obtrudes itself, and it is this, that so far as the interests of society are concerned, it matters not of what religion a man may be; true religion does not advantage him, nor false religion disadvantage him, for the discharge of social duties: a cobbler will mend shoes just as well, and a statesman administer the affairs of a great kingdom just as well, whether he be Christian or Jew, Mohammedan or Heathen. All, so far as religion is concerned, are equally qualified, and all equally eligible to the highest offices. Once it is so decided, the abrogation of Scriptural Christianity, as the national religion of England cannot be far distant.

It may be thought, perhaps, that we have dwelt too long on this first member of our thesis; and yet, unless we had done so, we should have had no foundation on which to commence the consideration of the second head.

The duty of a professedly Christian Government in the midst of a heathen people, providentially subject to its rule, is to promote the truth, and that for a variety of reasons. If it be the duty of the statesman to maintain Christianity in a professedly-Christian land, it is equally his duty to promote it in a heathen land. If the presence of a national Christianity be a blessing in the one case, the absence of it must be a grievous detriment in the other; and it is as much his duty to remove the injury as to perpetuate the blessing. The great need which man has of the gospel, is especially patent in a heathen land. The debasing superstitions and immoral practices, the vice and consequent misery, are appeals to the commiseration of every Christian man for help. Moreover, the statesman, like every other man, is

* Macaulay's Essays, vol. i. p. 297.

bound to honour the gospel by such a personal reception of it as will lead him to interest himself in all that concerns the extension of its influence. To be personally influenced by it, and yet withdraw himself from its communicative action—to be governed by it in private and yet ignore it in public, we have shown to be an impracticability. Christianity claims the heathen as the very material over which it is to be extended, and addresses injunctions to those who have received it, to make provision for the necessary extension. No Christian man, in any portion of society, is at liberty to release himself from such obligations, and exempt himself from their general application: on the contrary, he is bound to inquire how far, and in what way, he may best subserve them. True, an individual may be insincere in his profession; his faith may be inert, putting forth no motive power, while elements of an opposite tendency may be very busily in action. It is no unusual thing in professedly-Christian men to find the governing principle not the professed one, and the unbelief which is concealed more active than the faith which is declared. These factitious elements of Christian society, like the artificial stones of chemists, composed of substances that have no natural affinity, meet us everywhere in its private and public arrangements, and, wherever they have been surreptitiously introduced, interfere with and weaken the action of Christian life. Still, if a man profess Christianity, although it be not the administrative principle of his life—if, for conventional purposes, he attends a place of Christian worship, and conforms to Christian ordinances, although he offers no Christian service in his heart, then is he bound to act according to the obligations which connect with that Christian profession. Moreover, there are special reasons why a Christian statesman in a heathen land, should seek to promote the gospel. He must necessarily desire the social improvement of the people committed to his charge, that they may be peaceable, loyal, industrious, contented. But Christianity, in its corrective and improving influences, can alone make them such. The superstructure of a healthful and happily-arranged human society, can be raised only on the basis of Scriptural Christianity. On the foundations of idolatrous systems this cannot be effected. The site is unhealthy. Noxious vapours arise around. Idolatrous fables may appear to us very puerile and contemptible. They are something more: they are depraving: they are congenial with the evil tendency that is in the heart of man: they foster and develop it.

“Out of the serpent’s root comes forth a cockatrice, and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent.” In our national experiences we have found it so. Idolatrous influences are adverse to the efforts made for the social regeneration of a people; they will oppose and thwart them, and that successfully, if such efforts be merely of a secular character. No degree, however high, of administrative ability, exercised irrespectively of Christian truth—no amount of secular effort, however ingeniously devised or zealously prosecuted—will ever avail to make a heathen people, so long as they continue such, loyal, contented, or self-improving. We might as well take the ashes of the dead, and attempt to reconstitute them into a living organization. In a land like India, where systems of idolatry, powerful in their influence for evil, have long been in the ascendant, it is not merely resuscitation, but resurrection, that is needed: there is not only death, but decomposition. In such an extremity the power of God alone can be effectual. It is only through the gospel that it operates to spiritual results, as it was on the sacrifice laid upon the altar of burnt-offering that the fire of God descended. The Government which, while admitting the truth of Christianity, declines to employ it in the effort which it makes for the social regeneration of a demoralized people, arises to this work, not in the strength of Samson while his locks remained untouched, but in the feebleness which afflicted him when they had been shorn. In an undertaking of great difficulty, it divests itself of the true element of strength, and prepares for itself disappointment and confusion.

This has been the great defect in our government of India, carried on as it has been under the double direction of the Board of Control and Court of Directors, and administered by the Governor-General in Council. It is not that there has not been solicitude for the improvement of its inhabitants: administrative ability has been called into requisition; able and zealous men have been selected for the various departments; and in every branch—educational, financial, commercial—there has been unwearied diligence. Every thing has been done, save one thing, and that omission has rendered ineffective all else that has been done.

But here we must carefully introduce a distinction that needs to be observed. The strength of Christianity consists in this, that, by a secret inward power, peculiar to itself, because it is of God, it so changes the hearts of men, that they willingly yield themselves to its influence, and, of their own accord,

unite in the hallelujahs that greet its onward progress. If the accessions which it obtains are to be worth any thing, they must be thus wrought by the simple action of the truth on the heart. There are, therefore, two dangers from which it must be guarded, two Governmental interferences of opposite characters from which it needs to be shielded. The one is, the adverse action of the State, embarrassing it, and aggravating by its unfriendliness, the difficulties with which it has to contend. In the case of a professedly-Christian Government, it might be supposed that there could be no reasonable apprehension of such an interference. The records of the past show that Christianity has been thus molested, even under our own Government in India. The other danger is, the Government, in its anxiety to forward the progress of Christianity, interfering with its genuine, unartificial, growth and spread of conviction from heart to heart, and, by an indiscreet action, generating a false profession, assumed from interested motives. A Government, with the best intentions, may place itself in such a position with respect to the increase of the Christian profession, as that the people may imbibe the persuasion, that if they would avoid the displeasure, or obtain the favour, of their rulers, they must become Christians. Such an idea is greatly to be deprecated. The Oriental, with that disingenuousness which is natural to him, would soon put on an outward conformity; while the very consciousness that he does so hypocritically, and has been so dealt with as to induce him to appear what he really is not, increases his repugnance to a heart-reception of the gospel. An illustration of the effects produced by such mistaken action on the part of Government will be found in the history of Ceylon under the Dutch *regime*. They were zealous for the spread of Christianity, and much was done that was admirable and excellent: schools were distributed throughout the various districts; young natives trained as schoolmasters; others prepared for holy orders; numerous churches erected; zealous Missionaries appointed, who laboured indefatigably. But law was made use of to force on Christianity, and the results, as might be expected, were disastrous.

“The number of proselytes in Ceylon so far exceeded those in any other Protestant Mission in India, that we are naturally induced to look into the cause of this difference. At a very early period of their settlement in the island, the Dutch issued a proclamation that could hardly fail to tempt the natives of all descriptions to embrace the Christian religion,

without understanding the faith which they professed to receive. It was decreed that no native should attain the rank of *moodelias*, be permitted to farm land, or hold any office under Government, without subscribing the Helvetic profession of faith, becoming a member of the Reformed Church, and submitting to be baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity. The consequence of this decree was such as might have been foreseen. The higher orders, both of the Singalese and Tamulians, together with all who aspired to any dignity or office, did not hesitate long to comply with these conditions, and assume the name of Protestant Christians. Many who, under the Portuguese Government, had professed the Romish creed, were as easily tempted as the heathen to change their religion, and conform to that of their new masters. We are not surprised at the hesitation sometimes expressed, to credit the accounts given of the Dutch Missionaries' success in Ceylon; for had their converts been devout and enlightened believers—could all this be fairly attributed, under God, only to the inculcation of Scriptural truths—the progress of Christianity in the island, under their ministrations, would have been almost unparalleled in the history of the church since the days of the Apostles. But we have not such a spiritual triumph to record. There is no reason to question the numbers given of those who submitted to be baptized; and we have the testimony of one who lived and laboured among them that they were not all hypocrites. M. Valentyn, speaking especially of the disciples of Baldæus, in Jaffna, describes them as good Christians; and affirms that some of them would make many Europeans ashamed of themselves. We must acknowledge, however, that this was not their general character. Many of them remained heathen and Romanists at heart, and secretly observed their old superstitions? And what better results could be expected in any country from a similar proclamation to that just described? Such is the natural infirmity of the human heart all over the world. The Dutch, therefore, committed a serious mistake in issuing this decree: it was tantamount to setting a premium on hypocrisy. No doubt their motive was good, and it is the duty of every Government to establish the truth in its dominions by every legitimate means; but, in the present instance, the Dutch legislated with little consideration of the nature of man. Christianity appeals to the best affections of the heart: they were pandering to the worst. They probably thought to consolidate their power if they could induce all,

or the majority of their subjects to embrace Christianity; and no doubt they would, had the people been sincere in their profession: for, possessing the same religion as their rulers, they would have been more likely to feel a community of interest with them in other respects, and been ready to defend them against all invaders. But the expedient they used for the purpose was likely to retard rather than promote the advance of true religion, and such was the result. The Missionaries were using the only legitimate means for the purpose—the Scriptural instruction of the people; but they found it all but impossible to form a satisfactory judgment of their converts' motives, and they were constantly impeded in their course by this ill-advised proclamation."*

If secular influence is thus unhappily employed to force on the action of Christianity, its genuine growth is interfered with, and an injury inflicted of a most serious nature. In a work so sacred, and which, in order to its value, needs to be kept so pure from alloy, there ought to be no suggestion of interested motives, lest men should be led to profess it, not because of their conviction of its excellency, but from a desire to recommend themselves to those who have honours and favours to bestow. The evangelizing agency ought not to be in Government pay or under governmental direction. For the avoidance of secularity, and that the work may be kept quite clear from it, both as regards the agents themselves, and the people on whom the gospel is brought to bear, Government ought not to act directly in the matter. Its duty is to promote, not handle, the work of evangelization. It should encourage others to enter on this work, and observe them, not interfere with them. It ought to remove hindrances and obstacles that prevent the free action of those who proclaim the gospel; but, having done this, it ought to leave the truth to make its own way. In its administrative proceedings it ought to deal with men, not according to their creed, but according to their conduct. The religion of truth will produce truth of character, and Christians will be employed because trustworthy.

There are, however, certain positive duties in relation to Christianity, imperative on a Christian Government in a heathen land. While it tolerates all religions, however vain and false they may be, so far as the reduction of their principles to practice does not inter-

fere with the decencies and good order of society, it should at the same time punctiliously separate itself from all connexion with them, and carefully eschew all such ambiguous dealing as might serve to delude the people into the idea that it considers these religious systems as otherwise than untruthful and evil. Moreover, a Christian Government in a heathen land should bear upon it a Christian stamp and aspect, as acting in subordination to Him who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords. It ought loyally to avow its belief in Christianity, and honour it by an open preference. In its public acts the God of the Bible ought to be acknowledged and revered, and the Christian Sabbath respected in its sanctity, throughout all the departments of State administration.

In the matter of education—children are the society of the future in a ductile and plastic state. The character of their future depends mainly on the use made of this embryo period. Government is bound to forecast for the nation's good. The present ought to be so used as to tell on the future. The Government, therefore, which neglects to improve the opportunity which childhood affords, is guilty of a dereliction of its duty. It is bound to regard the education of the young as an object of its proper solicitude. If done by the spontaneous action of the people, and throughout the various relations of life, parent and child, landlord and tenant, rich and poor, minister of religion and flock, it is well. Government then has only to encourage and aid where help is needed. But if there be no sufficient life in the nation to move it to this duty; if parents, uneducated and ignorant themselves, have no sensitiveness as to its urgent nature, and the same inertness and stagnation prevail throughout all the relations of life, while on the part of the Government there exists the very consciousness of its importance which the nation lacks, then the education of the young becomes a governmental duty, one which, in default of action on the part of those who are in nearer proximity to the children, it is bound to fulfil; and this is precisely the position, which a Christian Government, presiding, as in India, over the destinies of a heathen nation, occupies. Such, in fact, has been conceded in the official papers issued on this subject. We refer to "Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government" on the subject of education.

The late Mr. Thomson, as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-western provinces, prepared a scheme for the promotion of vernacular education, by the institution of govern-

* Hough's "History of Christianity in India," vol. iii. pp. 92—94.

mental schools in each Tahseel. Although designed ultimately for the whole of the districts within his jurisdiction, it was to be applied, in the first instance, to eight districts only out of thirty-one. This scheme having been recommended by the Governor-General, was acceded to by the Court of Directors, in a despatch dated October 3, 1849, and carried into effect. At the end of three years a despatch from the Government of the North-western Provinces, to the Government of India in the Home Department, presents a summary of the results which had been obtained, of a very satisfactory character. The necessity for such efforts is presented in a very clear light, by the fact, that out of a male population of 4,270,565 in the eight districts, not more than 209,123 persons could read and write in the most imperfect, manner; that is, less than five per cent. The Lieutenant-Governor then urges upon the Central Government their obligations in this matter of education. Alluding to the hill population of Kemaon and Dehra, as well as the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, and Jaloun, which were as yet without any effort of the kind, he observes—"In all these parts there is a population no less teeming, and a people as capable of learning. The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced; the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated; the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the same spirit of inquiry, and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterize the inhabitants of the few districts in which the commencement has been made."

This despatch elicited a Minute from the Governor-General, concurred in by the members of the Council, in which the duty of Government, as stated by Mr. Thomason, is in the fullest manner recognised. A few paragraphs from this document will suffice.

"The sanction which the Lieutenant-Governor solicited for an increase of the means, which experience has shown to be capable of producing such rich and early fruit, I now most gladly and gratefully propose; and, while I cannot refrain from recording anew, in this place, my deep regret that the ear which would have heard this welcome sanction given with so much joy, is now dull in death, I desire, at the same time, to add the expression of my feeling,

that even though Mr. Thomason had left no other memorial of his public life behind him, this system of general vernacular education, which is all his own, would have sufficed to build up for him a noble and abiding monument of his earthly career. I beg leave to recommend, in the strongest terms, to the Honourable Court of Directors, that full sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North-western Provinces, with every adjunct which may be necessary for its complete efficiency. I feel that I should very imperfectly discharge the obligations that rest upon me as the head of the Government in India, if, with such a record before me as that which has this day been submitted to the Council, I were to stop short at the recommendation already proposed. These will provide for the wants of the North-western Provinces, but other vast Governments remain, with a people as capable of learning as those in Hindústán, and a 'population' still more 'teeming.' There, too, the same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests upon the Government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. *These wants ought to be provided for; those obligations ought to be met.*"

Otherwise, indeed, in a country like India, how are educational wants to be provided for? By whom, if not by Government, is the duty to be discharged? By Missionary Societies? They can, indeed, render valuable supplemental aid; but they have their own proper object, and can educate only so far as is consistent with the prosecution of this. They cannot cease from their proper work of evangelization, to merge into educational instrumentalities. The adult population is before them, one which is rapidly passing from this life, and, while the day of opportunity lasts, needs to have Christ made known to it. We again ask, by whom, or in what way, is the educational duty to be discharged? By grants in aid? But these pre-suppose a consciousness amongst the people as to the defects under which they labour, and the commencement of remedial efforts from amongst themselves, which the grants in aid are designed to supplement. If nothing more than this be attempted, the duty of Government may be discharged without much trouble or expense, the amount of native educational effort being feeble and weak indeed. Let us take, for example, the following paragraph from the report of the Inspector of Public Instruction for the province of Behar, dated August 21, 1855—

"It is unnecessary here to dwell upon the prevalent ignorance of the masses of our population, an ignorance gross and so firmly established by long custom, that tyrant so doubly tyrannous in India, that even the more enlightened among the higher classes can scarcely be persuaded that it would be right or necessary to remove it, even were it at once feasible; while the lower classes themselves are quite content to acquiesce in the theory that education is of no use to them.

"These feelings acquire a deepened hue in Behar. We have to contend against the most profound indifference on the part of those whom we desire to benefit, varied occasionally to active resistance through the agency of superstition and suspicion, or the instigation of the influential classes, who have not only a religious antipathy to assisting us in such an enterprise, but anticipate, shrewdly enough, that the spread of knowledge might make their inferiors more independent of them, and, consequently, less valuable chattels. Indeed, all classes seem to combine in rejecting all knowledge as something, they know not what, profane and dangerous. The most absurd objections find a voice. I have been seriously told by a well-educated man, that to make the attempt to spread education generally, was an unjustifiable invasion of the vested rights of the molwis and pundits; while the molwis and pundits, on their part, affect the greatest contempt for a knowledge of which they are profoundly ignorant, and, being the immemorial authorities on these subjects among the people, contrive to spread pretty generally their own prejudices against a system which they guess would rapidly oust them, with their antiquated and pretentious ignorance."

Before the grants in aid can become effectual for India, the initiative must be taken, and the people aroused to a consciousness of their need. This is a task to which the Government must energetically address itself, so soon as the existing disturbances have sufficiently subsided.

But wherein is the youth of India to be educated? Is it the duty of a Christian Government to educate them in religious principles which it knows to be false? Nothing can be more inconsistent with its duty, or foreign to the object which it has in view. Its duty is, so to educate children as beneficially to influence their adult life. But to educate them in idolatry—to provide for their instruction in its fallen and absurd tenets—is to counteract its own object, and aid in perpetuating the demoralization of the people.

Can it be the duty of a Christian Government to teach men to be idolaters, or believe in the imposture of Mahomet? How then, are the children to be trained? Without any religious instruction whatever? That has been the position hitherto occupied. "The Indian Government has, within the last twenty years, done incredibly much for school education, but always with the precaution of keeping Christian teaching, as contained in the Bible, and the latter itself, out of the system. The result has been, that the youth of India, which have participated in this system, have grown up into atheism, or, a few years after completing their school studies, have relapsed into disgusting idolatry, and thus produced a young India, that even its own members are revolted at." Is this defensible? A nation and Government, having a religion itself, decides so to deal with the rising generation of India, that, in adult life, they shall have no religion at all. The Government undertaking to educate, educates without religion; and if the eventual formation of character be according to the educational process through which it has been made to pass, then will it be one utterly divested of any sense of religious responsibility. The man has no religion because the child was educated without religion. Is it the duty of a nation, acknowledging God, to train the heathen children committed to its care to the denial of God? What more enormous culpability? Here in this country, through the jealousy of the various denominations into which our national Protestantism is split, Government is shut out from religious action in schools. But then it knows that the deficiency will, in some way or other, be made up, and that the children educated in the schools to which it grants aid, in the great majority of cases will not be left to grow up without religion. But in India there is no such supplemental influence. The Government education expressly excludes Christianity, and the practical result is, to leave the student without any religion at all, for the education he receives leads him to despise the superstitions of his forefathers, while at the same time he is kept in careful separation from that truth of God which would alone fill up the void. Surely it can never be the duty of a professedly-Christian Government to leave the native youth entrusted to its care without any religion at all. A Christian State imparting an infidel education does seem to be a gross anomaly!

To refuse to educate, to educate in false religions, or to educate without reference to religion at all, are all flagrant violations of

the duty of a Christian Government in its relation to heathen subjects. A Christian State withholding from heathen youth the benign influences of its own pure faith, compels them to the unhappy alternative of continuing under the false systems which shed their baneful influence on previous generations, or, discarding these, to be left destitute of any religion whatever.

What, then, is to be done? There is but one safe, one honest course. Let the children under Government education be instructed in the Christian Scriptures, and the Bible be introduced into, and opened wide, in all its educational institutions throughout heathen India. Why should it not be done? The native youth will be withdrawn! Experience proves the contrary. The Missionary schools, where the Bible is read, are much more popular than the Government schools, from whence the Bible has been excluded. It will provoke the hostility of the Brahminical and priestly classes! Has the exclusion of the Bible averted such hostility? To conciliate them, we have been false to our principles. We have treated Christian truth as though it were a poor dependent, permitted the lowest place, and no more, while Hindúism and Moham-medanism have been advanced to the chief seats. Have we been successful? But it is not the duty of the Government to proselyte! This was the objection to the grant-in-aid system being extended to Missionary schools, put forward by Mr. J. P. Grant in his Minute of June 23d, 1854, and we therefore introduce it in his own words, as, perhaps, the strongest form in which it can be put. "I object strongly to Mr. Halliday's proposal of grants in aid to Missionaries, which would be—no matter how we might attempt to mystify the thing—in appearance, as well as in reality, to appropriate the money drawn by taxes from the pockets of the people, for the purposes of making proselytes from the religion of the people"* Now, 'proselyte,' as Dr. Johnson observes, is a bad word. It carries with it the idea of an unsound process, which will not bear to be scrutinized, either as to the motives from whence it has originated, or the means whereby it is carried forward. But in the introduction of the Christian Scriptures into its schools the Government only discharges its duty, and that in the most open and candid way. There is no compulsion as to the use of them. The students come by their own voluntary act.

* Selection from Records of the Bengal Government, No. 22, pp. 47, 48.

If the natives desire to commence school operations of their own on a Hindú or Moham-medan basis, they may have grants in aid to assist them in the effort. If the Bible dispenses light and illumination, this cannot be charged on the Government as proselytism. It is the Bible, not the Government, that has produced the change, whenever such takes place in any of the students. The Bible, of course, if opened and read, will produce such effects. It was intended to do so, just as much as the sun to dispense natural light—"the entrance of Thy word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple"—but it is a change wrought by the simple action of God's truth on the heart of the individual, and Government has nothing to do with it. It is not proselytism; nor has it been produced by Government influence. There has been offered no inducement, no bribe. It is God's own word producing its legitimate result, and that by its own inherent excellency. All that the Government has done has been to abstain from proscribing any longer the Scriptures of God in its educational institutions. They have the opportunity of pleading for themselves, and applying themselves with persuasive force to the consciences of men. The objection, on financial grounds, that the money appropriated to schools in which the Scriptures are read, is money drawn by taxation from the pockets of the people, is one of the popular objections of the present day, more plausible than sound, which, if fairly acted out, precludes the employment of money raised by taxation to any purpose, however excellent, unless with the consent of the heathen contributors. We surmise that, on the same principle, the suppression of female infanticide, or any of the police regulations in the Bengal Presidency for the correction of evils in society, would have been found impracticable. But the true question is this—Is it for the true welfare of the people, that, without the employment of any disingenuous mode of action on our part, without inducement, without compulsion, but as the result of honest conviction, on their part—of their own choice and free determination—the youth of India should prefer the Christian faith to their degrading idolatries? Let the professedly-Christian statesman, who would shut out the Bible from all education in which the Government is concerned, nay, who would, except the school in which the Scriptures are read, from the support which, without hesitation, is dispensed to schools where the Hindú Puranas and the sanguinary Korán are used—let him answer that question.

If constrained to admit, as we conceive must be the case, that the change, if genuine, would be for their advantage, then tax-money applied for the highest advantage of the taxpayer can never be considered misappropriated. Mr. Grant, in the Minute to which we have referred, proceeds to say—"If I were living at home, I should have no objection whatever to any Mohammedan spending his own money in attempting to convert me and my neighbours; but I should object strongly to a portion of the income-tax, to which I am obliged to contribute, being expended in that manner; and I think the objections of my neighbours would take a form disagreeable to the molwís, Missionaries, and their supporters." The argument is forcible, one point being conceded, that Christianity and Mohammedanism, are to be placed in the same category. The Gordian knot, however, is soon severed. To use the public money for the conversion of professing Christians to Mohammedanism, would be a very wicked employment of the public money. To facilitate the action of truth, and enlarge the opportunities which it has of applying itself to the consciences of men, is an employment of it in every way praiseworthy and commendable. But some of our Indian statesmen have become so accustomed to place Christianity in the same official bag with Hindúism and Mohammedanism, that, in argument, they use them as convertible terms. "Justice and policy equally demand that the Government, by its acts, should not assume the truth or falsehood of any of the several faiths followed by its numerous subjects."* Truly, we have travelled sufficiently far in that direction. Justice! what more unjust than that a Government should conceal its conscientious convictions, and deal with Christianity as though it were not one whit more true than Hindúism, and with Hindúism as though it were not one whit more false than Christianity? What greater injustice to the native? What greater wrong to ourselves? for as to policy, no proceeding could have been more impolitic. The principle of compromise has been altogether a failure. The Government has sacrificed its relations to Christianity, and yet, by its disingenuous proceedings, has incurred the suspicion of designing the fraudulent or forcible conversion of the people. Proselytism, that dreaded suspicion, to preserve itself from which, Government sacrificed

so much, has been the very accusation that has been brought against it. Let the following testimony be observed. It is extracted from the report of the Inspector of School Instruction for Behar. Speaking of the difficulties to be met in carrying out the scheme of vernacular education, he mentions this one—

"In addition to such obstacles as are peculiar to no special period, I must here remind you, that in judging of the results of our first quarter's operations, due weight should be given to the special accidents, which have militated against us during that period. The principal of these was the design of depriving the jail prisoners of their lotahs. This is still universally believed to be the opening act of a general scheme, of which the educational system is supposed to be a part, for the forcible conversion of the natives to Christianity. 'We understand,' is the significant answer frequently given to my subordinates, '*Udhar Magistrate Sahib khiláte khiláte, our idhar tum log parháte parháte!*' The fact is, the presentiment is strong, and by no means transitory, that Government will not only attempt to make its subjects Christians, but will succeed in doing so. The conviction is shared in alike by all classes and all sects, and I do not think it is in the power of Government to remove it."

Truly now, if ever, is the time when such unworthy policy ought to be abandoned. We trust that the voice of Christian England shall be heard, loud as the voice of many waters: that the doors of our Legislative Assemblies will be blockaded with remonstrances and memorials, demanding that the Government schools for heathen youth should be such as to afford them access to the Christian Scripture. Let this from henceforth be understood as the unalterable principle of such schools—that all who attend shall be Bible-taught. That is the only arrangement which will set free the child, and the parent also, from the trammels of an imperious priesthood. If the parent be permitted the power to interfere between the child and the Scriptures, which no parent has a right to do, and say, "I do not wish my child to read the Christian Scriptures," even if disinclined to use that power, the priest will compel him so to do: let priests, of whatever name or class, have no such opportunity.

There are other ways in which a Government may promote the action of the gospel amongst a heathen people, and that without intruding on the Missionary's vocation, or going beyond its proper limits. But we may not trespass further on the patience of our

* Minute by Babu Ramghopal Ghose, one of the members of the Council of Education, July 11, 1854.

readers. Nothing can have been more injurious than the policy of the past. May we learn, although in the school of adversity, the lesson of experience, and the policy of the

future be one, which, in the recognition of the one true God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, shall be such as to carry with it His blessing!

MISSIONARY CONFERENCE AT BENARES.

(Concluded from p. 264).

IN our last, reference was made to the discussion on hindrances to success. We append the resolution on this important subject, and such other notices as our limited space permits us to introduce.

The following is the resolution of the Conference—

“On Hindrances to Success.”

“That, while the members of this Conference can never forget the numerous difficulties in the external circumstances of their work, which arise from the climate of India, from the moral degradation of the people, from their social connections, powerful priesthood, religious systems, system of caste, and other causes; and which form in the aggregate a gigantic mass of hindrances to the progress of the gospel—they would, on the present occasion, rather contemplate such difficulties as may arise among themselves, with a view to their removal. They feel that hindrances to our success may spring from deficiencies in acquiring and speaking the languages of the country—from ignorance or defective knowledge of the habits and views of the people, and of the objections which they offer to the religion which we preach. They may spring from an undue engagement in the secular affairs of the Mission, distracting the attention, and deadening the feelings of the heart; or from a multiplicity of employments, leading Missionaries to neglect that proper study, and that prayerful preparation of heart, with which their public services should be accompanied. They have sometimes sprung from want of cordial agreement among Missionaries of the same or belonging to different Societies, and also from a lower standard of holiness and zeal than Christian men, anxious to promote the conversion of the heathen, ought to maintain. All such hindrances to their spiritual usefulness the members of this Conference would deeply regret; and they pray the Master whom they serve graciously to forgive all errors of which, in these respects, they have been guilty. They desire to see all Missionaries earnestly striving to attain as complete a knowledge as possible of the languages and notions of the people

among whom they preach—devoting as much of their time and efforts as may be to direct engagement in their work, and seeking so devout and pure a spirit from their Master as to render their service pure and efficient. As some of those difficulties spring from a paucity of labourers in this great country, they would draw from them an argument for urging on their Societies at home a considerable increase in the number of Missionaries employed.”*

At the close of the day, essays on the subject of Itinerating were read, one by the Rev. J. H. Budden, the other by the Rev.—French, the discussion being reserved until the next morning. The object of itinerating was the special point to which attention was then directed—whether to secure immediate conversion, or as preparing the way for ultimate success. The general impression appeared to be, that itinerating was mainly useful as a preparatory work, but that immediate results ought to be desired and aimed at. A mode of itinerating similar to that which is being prosecuted in North Tinnevely was recommended; not a hasty transit through a country, which does not admit the improvement of hopeful incidents, but a *sejour* in a village for days, or even weeks, where special encouragement is afforded. A central position may be selected, from whence daily excursions may be made to the different villages around, until the entire vicinity has been thoroughly worked. Much stress was laid on the desirableness of assigning in this work a prominent position to the native catechists and preachers, as the main instrumentality by which the work of evangelization is to be rendered co-extensive with the wants of the country, and which therefore requires to be thus exercised and strengthened.

The resolution of the Conference is as follows—

“On Itinerating.”

“RESOLVED—That in reference to the sub-

* “Calcutta Christian Observer,” pp. 128, 129.

ject of the essays of the Rev. Messrs. Budden and French, this Conference would express its deep conviction of the importance and value of Missionary itineracy. They believe it opens to the Missionary most valuable spheres of usefulness, which must otherwise be neglected. They are of opinion that, in general, it is desirable such itineracies should be undertaken by experienced Missionaries, though younger Missionaries may with advantage accompany them. They regard the grand aim of such itineracies to be the conversion of sinners to God. To be successful, they should not be superficial or hasty. They think it desirable that the Missionary should usually, unless circumstances forbid, remain for several days at one village or locality; and, when encouragement is present, it may be desirable to protract the visit to weeks or months. The Conference is of opinion that it is desirable to employ native preachers and catechists in the work as much as possible, and that they should be trained with a special view to their usefulness in it. The Conference is further of opinion, that, *ceteris paribus*, purely native stations are to be preferred as fields of Missionary labour to those in which there are large numbers of Europeans; and that there may be circumstances in which an old station may, with advantage, be abandoned for the purpose of forming a new one; and that, with the view to prevent the necessity for such painful measures, the strictest previous inquiry, and the greatest care and judgment, are needful in the selection and establishment of Missionary stations.*

On the assembly of the Conference at its final sitting, the afternoon of the fourth day, four subjects remained to be dealt with, on each of which only a brief consideration could be bestowed. That of Schools had been, to a considerable extent, anticipated in the discussion on Vernacular Preaching. We append the Resolutions—

“ On Schools.

“ RESOLVED—That this Conference concur generally in the views presented in the preceding essay.† They consider that Christian schools in India can be made efficiently to subserve the purposes of the gospel. They think that all such schools should be rendered as complete as possible in all the departments of instruction, and that their Christian cha-

racter should be always carefully preserved. They believe, also, that in some cases they should be so worked as to benefit even the native Christian community. They should always be suited, in their internal arrangements, to the localities where they are placed. For instance, English schools are better adapted to the great cities of India, where there is a demand for English knowledge; where students will remain long enough to benefit by the higher branches; and where the younger members of respectable families are in danger of giving up their own religions for scepticism and infidelity. In such institutions, however, it is most desirable that, whenever practicable, the secular departments of instruction should be committed to laymen or to native teachers, and that Missionaries should endeavour to spend the best of their time and strength in the general superintendence of the school system, and in the direct communication of the various branches of Christian truth. They think it desirable that as many Christian teachers as can be obtained should be employed, and rejoice to hear that the number of such teachers is on the increase.”

“ On Female Education.

“ RESOLVED—That this Conference deem the subject of native-female education on Christian principles to be as important as it is difficult. Its importance, they think, can scarcely be overrated, since, under present circumstances, it equals, if it does not surpass, that of the education of boys. They deeply lament its low state in these Provinces, and pledge themselves to make every effort to increase the number and efficiency of female schools, and especially to establish them in stations where they do not exist. In respect to the pecuniary encouragement at present given in many such schools, the Conference do not see how, under present circumstances, it can be dispensed with. They think that the encouragement should not merely be given for regular attendance, but be made conditional, also, on good conduct during the hours of instruction.”

“ On Orphan-schools.

“ RESOLVED—That the Conference rejoice to hear of the great blessing that has attended the important orphan-schools which sprang from the famine of 1837; and thank God that out of so much suffering good has come forth to His cause. They think that, where practicable, the present institutions should still be maintained; and that efforts

* “ Calcutta Christian Observer,” p. 130.

† Rev. J. Owen's, Presbyterian Society.

should be made to secure such orphans as may now fall into the hands of magistrates and other officials.”*

On the general character and proceedings of the Conference, the “Calcutta Observer”† thus concludes—

“We believe that, in every important respect, it far surpassed the most sanguine anticipations of its originators, and that not one attended who did not feel himself amply repaid for any sacrifices he might have made to be present. The entire spirit of the meetings was unexceptionable. For the most part, there was a wonderful unanimity of sentiment and feeling in reference to the subjects discussed. Where differences of opinion did exist, they were frankly and fully expressed, and as frankly and fully encountered, without for one moment disturbing the spirit of Christian and fraternal concord, or giving rise to the least acrimony or bitterness.

“The proceedings of the Conference struck us, likewise, as being pre-eminently characterized by solidity. We had here brought before us, in a condensed form, and on many subjects of the highest importance, the results of the wide and varied experience and earnest thought of numerous Missionaries, who had laboured for years in different stations, and among diverse races of men. Not a few of the speeches, delivered apparently without premeditation or effort, would, we believe—had they been taken down—have been found well worthy of being printed, repeatedly perused, and permanently preserved; whilst, on the other hand, there was a remarkable absence of vain, pointless talking, which is so apt, to a greater or less extent, to intrude into all deliberative assemblies.

“Finally, the proceedings of the Conference struck us as being eminently practical. The great burden of the whole appeared to be, ‘What can we do that we have not already done? or how can we increase the efficiency

of what we are now doing?’ To us, we confess, an air of sombreness appeared to overshadow the whole, as of an assembly of men long engaged in an arduous and difficult enterprise, who were constrained to acknowledge that their efforts had not been attended with the success they once anticipated or hoped. Still, there was no sign of despondency. Success must come: it is only a question of time. And meanwhile the inquiry was earnestly pressed, ‘Can we do aught, that we are not doing already, to hasten that success?’ To say that multitudes of wise, practical suggestions were thrown out, is only just; and yet we venture to add, that none will look for any new or very powerful impulse to be given to the cause of Missions by this Conference. Doubtless many have obtained some new ideas, and some fresh encouragements to labour, but by no means sufficient to justify us in dating from this day a new era in the history of the Missions of the North-west Provinces. No! The lesson that this Conference has, in our view, most emphatically conveyed, is this—of showing us how little we can do; because the necessities of the case are far beyond the reach of human ability, and it is not so much new plans, as new agency, that is required. We need ourselves to be baptized in the Holy Ghost, and in fire, to have all the secularity and worldliness of our spirits consumed, and to be animated with one exclusive, absorbing passion for the glory of God and the salvation of mankind. Such a spirit, manifested in a life of self-sacrifice and zeal might do something to disturb the appalling apathy around us, and might awaken new views of Christianity in the minds of many heathen. And, accompanied as such a spirit would be by larger influences from above, it must secure larger and more speedy results. If this Conference shall be the means of impressing these truths more deeply on our minds, and of leading us to a more steady and earnest application for divine influences upon ourselves and others, it will not, it cannot, have been held in vain.”

* “Calcutta Christian Observer,” pp. 131, 132.

† Pp. 132—134.

THE CRISIS IN INDIA.

At the present moment, when such intense solicitude prevails throughout this country respecting our empire in India, and the safety of relatives and friends amidst the solemn events which are transpiring there; when the native soldiery, trained and disciplined by England's care, as though seized by some sudden insanity, have revolted, murdered their own officers, and arrayed themselves in avowed rebellion against the Supreme Government and Parent State, whose battles they had often nobly fought; the Committee feel it to be their duty to communicate to their friends and supporters, without delay, such information as they have received from the various stations in the Upper Provinces of India respecting the progress of events. It is a time for prayer and humiliation before God. The loss of European life has been great: it might be much more so. The crisis is the most dangerous to which our rule in India has ever been exposed. It may be aggravated, or it may be mercifully averted. It rests with God to do so. Let the appeal be to Him!

The localities from whence communications have been received are scattered over a vast extent of territory—Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Meerut, Amritsar, and Peshawar. In every one of these places disaffected movements on the part of the native soldiery have taken place, of a more or less serious character. In most of them bloodshed has been mercifully averted, and the lives of Europeans are safe. In one, the conflict has been marked by much loss of life, the Europeans, many of them, treacherously massacred, and the mutinous soldiery, in considerable numbers, shot down. Our communications point also to other places, Ferozepur and Lucknow, where the collision, although soon terminated, was still san-

guinary; while, amongst them all, the old Mogul city, Delhi, claims a sad pre-eminence, as the place where Europeans and native Christians were alike inhumanly butchered by an infuriated soldiery, which, entrenched within its walls, according to the last despatches, defiantly awaited the action of the Government. A glance at the map of India will at once serve to show how widespread the conspiracy has been in the North-west Provinces of India. Its outbreak in the localities referred to has been almost simultaneous, so rapidly through the native masses has the intelligence been conveyed. The first shock was felt at Berham-pur, 120 miles from Calcutta; then at Lucknow, as manifested in an attempt at mutiny by the 7th Oude Irregulars; then, on May 10th, at Meerut, the massacre of defenceless Europeans, the march of the insurgents on Delhi, with all the calamitous events which followed. Then, on the 14th, the disarming of three native regiments at Lahore; their attempt, on the 15th, to break loose from the restraint put upon them, and march on Ferozepur, prevented, under God, by the decisive action of those in command. On the 16th, two native regiments at Ferozepur in open revolt, and severely dealt with by Her Majesty's 61st regiment. At Peshawar, the disarming of four native regiments on the 21st; the seizure of the fort of Murdan by the 56th N. I., and their overthrow by Europeans, sent on elephants and cavalry. Again, two native regiments disarmed at Agra on May 31st, and that in the presence of a single European regiment. After this date the outbreaks became so frequent and widely extended, that an enumeration of them becomes too difficult, and we must refer our readers to the daily papers. Evidently, it is a mine that

has exploded—one long laid, carefully prepared, and ignited at a moment, amidst the horrors of which it was confidently expected, and openly stated by the native press, that the English dynasty would perish. The wonder is, that, with such a yawning gulf before it, English supremacy survives; but, although it does so, it is at the brink of the precipice. But for the forbearance of God, the sceptre had already fallen from our hands, and India remain to be re-conquered.

We shall place before our readers the communications to which we have referred. The first is an extract from our friend M. Wylie, Esq., of Calcutta, dated May 29th. It is of importance as bearing upon the idea that this outbreak has been caused by interference of Missionary action with the superstitious prejudices of the natives.

“It is pretended by some that Missions have caused the mischief, but this is utterly ridiculous. For, consider, the 19th mutinied at Berhampur. Did they show the least ill-feeling to the Mission there? When the 19th and 84th were disbanded, they might, with perfect ease, have destroyed the defenceless Missions at Serampur, Chinsurah, Burdwan, and Kishnagurh; but they did not even threaten one of them.

“Had the movement been occasioned, in *any degree*, by the Missions, they would have felt the vengeance. But hitherto they are all unscathed, except in Delhi, where there was a general movement, as destructive to civilians and shopkeepers as to others.”

The other despatches had better stand arranged in the order of time. That of earliest date—May 16—is from the Rev. A. Medland, of Meerut. His and Mrs. Medland's position was critical, and their escape most providential.

“I take an early opportunity of giving you some information respecting what has occurred here during the last week. You have probably learnt from the papers, that, for some time past, a mutinous spirit has been manifested by many of the native regiments, in consequence of the introduction of some new cartridges, which required greasing previous to being used. By some means, reports had got abroad that the cartridges had been dipped either in bullocks' or hogs' fat, for the purpose of making the Hindú sepoys break their caste, and with a view of defiling the Mussulmans in order to make them Christians. Notwithstanding the men had been assured again and again to the contrary, they nevertheless manifested extreme reluctance to use the

cartridges. When commanded to do so, in several regiments they resolutely refused, and, in some instances, proceeded to burn the hospitals and other buildings in the lines in which they were quartered. This was the case with the 3d light cavalry, quartered here. The consequence was, the authorities proceeded to punish the offenders. Last week eighty-five troopers were tried by court-martial, and on Saturday morning they were sentenced, at a general parade, to ten and five years' imprisonment, according to their culpability. This had the effect of producing considerable excitement, both amongst the troops and the native population generally; but no serious outbreak was anticipated by the authorities.

“Whilst I was performing service in our Mission chapel on Sunday evening, I heard a great noise, shouting, yelling, accompanied by an occasional firing of musketry. At the conclusion of the prayers I inquired the cause, and was informed that the sepoys were fighting in their own lines. Apprehending no danger, as the lines were at some distance, I commenced my sermon; but had not proceeded far, when a man rushed in and informed me that the sepoys were advancing upon us, and murdering all the Europeans they could lay hands on. Mr. Parsons, our catechist, quickly followed, confirming his statement. I at once dismissed the congregation, and, at his suggestion, drove off in a direction opposite to my house. By this time huge masses of smoke were ascending in various directions, and, shortly after, we passed the European troops marching to the scene of disturbance. Being assured the danger was imminent, we proceeded to seek shelter in the house of a friend. Ere we could enter his compound, we heard a savage yell behind us, and an empty buggy passed, the owner of which, we have since heard, was murdered on the spot, and a gentleman who accompanied him very dangerously wounded. We, however, were mercifully permitted to enter our friend's house in safety, where we remained until escorted by some officers to a place of greater security. The night was spent in a state of fearful suspense, whilst the illuminated sky, and the distant firing, proclaimed that the work of destruction and carnage was proceeding. Towards morning the firing ceased, when we were horrified by the various accounts of the carnage and destruction which had taken place.

“On Monday my servants came, and informed me that a large crowd of natives from the city, probably a thousand, came to my house on the preceding evening, inquiring for Mrs. Medland and myself, and threaten-

ing to cut us in pieces. Finding, however, that we were not in the house, they instituted a diligent search throughout the compound, but, failing in their object, they deliberately set fire to the house and adjoining premises. The whole of our property was either burnt or stolen, and, with the exception of a few articles of wearing apparel, which have been thrown into the compound, we have nothing left save the clothes we have on. The people next inquired for Joseph, my catechist. He, however, was at church, and fled with me as far as he could keep pace with my horse. I then directed him to follow me as he best could; but, mistaking my directions, he proceeded by a circuitous route to my house in the city. He was unfortunately recognised, beaten very severely, and left for dead. After a short time, however, he revived, ran away, hid himself, and a day or two after, having carefully disguised himself, returned to me. I have since heard that a crowd approached the Mission premises, but, learning from the chowkedar that Mr. Lamb's house was empty, and the sahib in the hills, they departed without doing any damage. I have not yet been able to venture into the city: it would probably be risking my life to do so; but I gather from my servants that the dwelling-house, school-rooms, and a small bungalow used as a girls' school-room, have all been destroyed. We have been most hospitably received by Major Scott, formerly a Member of the Calcutta Committee, who, with Mrs. Scott, have, in the most kind and hospitable manner, ministered to all our wants. We are now quartered with the civilians and ladies of the station in the Artillery Dépôt, where it is supposed we shall be obliged to remain for some considerable time.

"We are living in a state of continual excitement; and when the intelligence of the Delhi massacre was received, and it was generally supposed that the insurgent troops would return here, the faces of many 'gathered blackness,' and many, I may say all, began to prepare for the worst. However, thanks be to God! we are still in safety; and now that favourable accounts are being received from many of the surrounding districts, hope again beams on our countenances, and confidence is being restored. Several regiments are ordered here, and it is supposed, that, shortly after their arrival, an attack will be made on Delhi, which still remains in the hands of the insurgents. Martial law has been proclaimed.

"May 18—Since writing the preceding, the sappers and miners have arrived from Rur-

kie. On Saturday afternoon one of them deliberately shot his commanding officer, and all the men who were in the barracks at the time—about 400—fled into the open country. They were quickly pursued, and about fifty were killed: the rest escaped in different directions, carrying their arms with them. Last night was passed very quietly, and we are now awaiting the arrival of reinforcements.

"The Missionaries and native Christians at Delhi are, I believe, killed. All our Christians are in safety, and have returned to the Mission compound.

"We cannot be too thankful to Almighty God for His merciful preservation of us; and, whilst praising Him for the past, we are encouraged to confide in Him for the future; being confident that He who has helped us will continue to do so, and ultimately will overrule even this afflictive dispensation for the promotion of His own glory."

The next communication is from Agra. The Rev. F. E. Schneider writes thus, on June 2d—

"I cannot tell you how difficult I found it to write this letter. We are in Agra, at present, in very critical circumstances. The whole of India is in a state of alarm, in consequence of mutinies which have broken out in many native regiments. Two native regiments stationed at Agra were disarmed last Sunday, May 31st. One of them has left their lines, and is scattering over the country. We have only one European regiment, but it is by no means sufficient to secure order and peace in the district. Round about Agra, plunder, and burning of houses, and murder, are so very frequent, that we are not a moment safe. In fact, we bear our life in our hands. Missionary work is, at present, quite impossible. My two flocks of native Christians, at Secundra and in the city, are lying heavy on my heart, for I can do nothing for their security. O God, have mercy upon us, and forsake us not in this dangerous time! You will read sad things enough in the papers. I will not increase their number. Since one month we have no news from Hoernles, in the hills, nor from our Meerut and Punjab brethren. O pray for us, and the Lord's work in India, and that we may be ready to meet the evil day!"

From Calcutta we received, from our Secretary, the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, the following letter, dated June 5th—

"In the letter just referred to, reference is made to the disturbance and alarm prevalent

throughout this Presidency, in consequence of the sudden breaking forth into mutiny and violence of several regiments of the native soldiery, as well as the too-palpable appearance of discontent and disaffection extending throughout the greater part of the native troops of the East-India Company in Bengal and the North-West Provinces.

“It is pleasant now to be able to state, with thankfulness, that the extreme alarm, which kept many persons in a very excited state in particular places, has in great degree subsided. But things are very far from having assumed a settled or safe aspect in most places as yet. Every two or three days, tidings reach us of some outbreak having occurred, or being on the point of occurring, in some up-country station. The last mentioned was Lucknow, where it was hoped that the great decision, and most remarkable tact and skill, of Sir H. Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, had in great degree averted the danger of a rising of the troops. But, on the 31st ultimo, two or three native regiments burst into open revolt, and, though firmly opposed and very severely handled by the English regiment—Her Majesty’s 32d—and the artillery, most of the mutineers made good their escape, and took the route to Delhi, along which, it is to be feared, they may succeed in prevailing on other native corps to join them. Brigadier Handscomb, and, it is supposed, some other officers and men, were killed in this affair at Lucknow, but there was no massacre of Europeans, as far as we have heard, like those at Delhi and Meerut.

“In the meantime, the insurgents, who are said to be strengthening themselves in every possible way at Delhi, have met with their first serious check, a large body of them—it is said 7000—who had taken up a position twelve miles outside of Delhi, having been completely beaten, and deprived of their guns, by a comparatively small European force from Meerut.

“Even yet we have received no *direct* tidings from our brethren at Meerut. We have heard indirectly, however, that Mr. and Mrs. Medland have escaped, though very narrowly, with their lives. This we are thankful for. Mr. Lamb and family were, we believe, at Landour, in the hills, at the time of the outbreak at Meerut.

“Indirect tidings have at length arrived respecting Mr. Sandys’ son, Daniel, and Mr. A. Hubbard, brother to our Benares’ Missionary, at Delhi. A fugitive native Christian, who escaped to Agra, states, according to Mr. French, that he saw D. Sandys lying dead, and that another native Christian told

him that he had seen Mr. Hubbard cut down by the mutineers. There is but too much reason to fear that this information is correct, though, so uncertain is *native* testimony in most cases, some little doubt must still attach to it till it is confirmed. Mr. Sandys, as you may suppose, is in the most anxious and distressing suspense respecting his son.

“It is probably premature, as yet, to theorize on the real original cause of this disastrous outbreak. The opinion seems gaining strength that it is, in its origin, a Mussulman movement—possibly instigated by some of the dethroned Mussulman princes—and that the poor simple Hindú sepoys have been merely made cats’-paws of by crafty and hostilely-disposed Mohammedans, who excited them about the new cartridges, which were to have been greased, they said, with beef suet, to destroy the caste of the Hindú, and with pigs’ fat to defile the Mussulman; the fact being, however, that not a single cartridge of the kind has yet been issued.

“The Mohammedans are said to have a tradition among them—founded, they allege, on something in the Korán—that the English rule in India is to continue but for 100 years, and that we are to be expelled about the centenary—this year—of the battle of Plassey. This tradition does not, however, seem to have been known by many till the present disturbances had broken out.

“Irreligious persons at home will, probably enough, try to raise a cry against Missionary work, as if it had given rise to these disturbances. But as yet *not the slightest symptom has appeared to indicate any thing of the kind*. Indeed, right-minded men will conclude that the lack of Missionary work, the leaving men in such dense ignorance of our religion, has had much more to do with the matter.

“Prayer-meetings have been, and are to be, held here, to implore the divine interposition in this alarming crisis; and we have no doubt that Christian friends will in this way cordially help us.”

We now turn to the Punjab. And first, our Missionary, the Rev. A. Strawbridge, has forwarded to us, in a journal form, a narrative of the occurrences which took place at Lahore and Amritsar during the eventful days of May 14th, 15th, and 16th. We regret that we have not in our possession the whole of this document, and can only give the substance of it, with some few extracts.

Such was the state of the native corps at Lahore, that it was thought necessary to dis-

arm the three regiments stationed there. They were not, like the 89th, disbanded, but, after being called upon parade on the morning of May 13th, they were informed of the state of things existing in Hindostan, and that, as a preventive measure, it had been decided that they should be deprived of their arms. They were, however, to remain on duty, and under the command of their respective officers. They offered no resistance, and apparently acquiesced in the views of their brigadier.

At Amritsar there was only one native regiment, and that, for the present, remained peaceable and quiet. There were, however, guards placed at every house, and an application was forwarded to Sealkote for more European troops to man the fort of Govindghur. The city also remained apparently quiet: how long it might continue so no one could say. The Missionaries accordingly received intimation from the authorities to hold themselves and their families in readiness, at a moment's notice, to flee to the fort. The native newspapers at this time openly asserted, that, within the short period of three days, British rule would cease in India.

On the night of the 14th a report reached Amritsar that the three disarmed regiments at Lahore had rebelled, and threatened to march on Ferozepur: their real destination was concluded to be Amritsar. They were, however, overawed by the decisive conduct of the authorities. The artillery was brought out, and prepared for action, and they were warned, that, if they attempted to leave their cantonment, they would immediately be fired upon. The civil authorities, sustaining the action of the military officers, hastened to raise the country, and all the Sikh Sirdars promised help.

On the receipt of the intelligence that the disarmed regiments were threatening open rebellion, the European ladies in the civil lines were collected, to pass the night at the Mission house, so as to be in readiness to enter the fort should occasion call for it, the military authorities having first of all cleared it of all native troops, and entrusted it to the safe keeping of European artillery. The next day the fort was victualled for a month, in case it should become a refuge.

On the next night tidings reached Amritsar of the sanguinary collision at Ferozepur, and as this was marked out as the fatal night, the ladies, at their own request, were introduced into the fort. The night, however, passed over peaceably.

And here an interesting circumstance occurred, which served, at this distressing time,

to encourage and cheer the hearts of the Missionaries. There is at Amritsar a small congregation of native Christians, of which the Christian Sikh, Daud, ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta some few years back, is the native pastor. Speaking of him, Mr. Strawbridge says—

“Last evening our native pastor, Daud, came to say that the people of the city were abusing the native Christians, and warning them that their days were now numbered. Upon his being asked whether he would like to move into the fort, he emphatically said no; but that he would rather die in his house than flee. He gave as his reason the fact that he daily preached in the city, and exhorted the people not to fear them who can kill the body, but to fear God. Should he then leave, his conduct would be opposed to his teaching, and, of course, would be without effect. We really felt much strengthened by the words of our dear brother.

“Another circumstance occurred yesterday, which tends to show what the people would do should the English Government be overturned. My munshi, Secunder Ali, when he came to me to tell me of the state of the city, informed me that, early that morning, the head master of the Government school, one who, like himself, believes in the truth of the gospel, and yet remains unbaptized, came to him and said, that, should the English Government cease for a short time, they must both prepare to die, so greatly was the anger of the people kindled against them both. As to himself, he said, the present state of things only increased his belief in the truth of the Old and New Testament, and in the speedy coming of Jesus to judge the world.”

Our last communication is from Lieut.-Col. Martin, at Peshawar. It bears date May 27th.

“It would scarcely be kind in me to allow this mail to leave India without assuring the Committee of our safety at Peshawar. Through the great mercy of God, perhaps less has happened here than in other parts of the country, although this is of course the post of the greatest danger, inasmuch as we had not only our own sepoys to fight against, had we not disarmed them, but the inhabitants of the valley, people bred up in rapine and blood, and who spare no one. All reports must be received with some degree of caution, till another month has elapsed, when truth will find its way to the press. I shall speak of what has happened in this valley. On hearing of the massacre at Delhi, Colonel Edwards and Colonel Nicholson, with the chief officers, held a council of war, and raised a

moveable column of troops, on whose fidelity they could depend at such a trying crisis. This was for the Punjab. In consequence of this, less disaster has occurred here than in other places, where energy is dormant.

"We waited here, in some trepidation, having so large a force of native troops. No one seemed to know the extent of the conspiracy, but several little signs were visible. The worst regiment was ordered off at once to the frontier posts, the most suspected regiment; and for some days we kept making our preparations — removing the treasure; the bridge at Attock was secured; the artillery were on the *qui vive* day and night; and, hearing that the 21st May would be the day for the sepoy to rise here, the authorities made the best disposition of the Queen's troops here with the artillery, and waited the result. Not one person in this station slept that night, I am quite sure. The ladies all went to the barracks. The mutineers, seeing us prepared for them, did not attack us; but, at midnight, Colonel Edwardes heard that the troops at Nowshera—the infantry — had risen in revolt, and commanding officers were summoned to a council, and four regiments were disarmed in the morning. People were surprised how soon they laid down their arms; but we are strong here, and it is not easy for the sepoy to get out of the valley. That night, the 22d, 230 men deserted: several were drowned in the Indus, and numbers brought back prisoners by the country-people. Strange to say, they did not plunder them. The 55th native infantry, not far from this, rose in rebellion, seized the fort of Murdan; and the commanding officer was so certain that they were not mutinous, that he wrote to several people, saying they were taken with a panic. Poor fellow! he found too late that his suspicions were ill founded, and then he blew his brains out. Having disarmed our foes here, we despatched a force against the rebels, the Europeans on elephants; and the accounts up to this time are, that 120 have laid down their arms; 100 have been cut up by the cavalry; the rest have retreated into a fort; and the European officers are safe: they did not kill them. This is good

news! Perhaps the report of this detachment will reach before post-hour to-morrow, and then I will close. We are all well. We are very fortunate in having such men as Edwardes and Nicholson here. 'If the Lord had not been on our side!—' We are 50,000 Europeans to 186 millions of heathen. Why, they could swallow us up quickly. It is quite a miracle from beginning to end. Many chiefs are on our side—many poor. The King of Delhi is at the head of the insurrection. A letter has been given up by the Rajah of Patiala. I hope your letters from all your stations will be as favourable as this. The Fitzpatricks are safe at Multan. I have not seen the name of Hubbard amongst the killed at Delhi.

"Since I penned the last sheet, I hear that a force of infantry, cavalry, and guns, left the station at 6 P.M. yesterday, the 27th. A new danger has sprung up. A chieftain has left his hills with his followers, and intends to burn and destroy in our territories; so a wing of Her Majesty's 87th Foot arrived this morning to strengthen our position. I must say, every thing has been done here with great judgment and decision. I only hope it has been so at other stations."

We have placed this digest of such intelligence as we have received before our friends. The crisis is a portentous one. Some say the worst is past. We trust it may be so, but who can tell? More than human ability, although of the highest degree, is needed—more than an arm of flesh. "There is no king saved by the multitude of an host; a mighty man is not delivered by much strength. An horse is a vain thing for safety: neither shall he deliver any by his great strength. Behold, the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear Him, upon them that hope in His mercy; to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine. Our soul waiteth for the Lord: He is our help and our shield." We feel persuaded that there are many in India, who, in the spirit of this passage, are looking to God for succour at this great crisis; and we entertain the persuasion that such prayers afford the best hope for India's deliverance.

REMARKS ON THE SUPPOSED CONNEXION BETWEEN MISSIONS AND THE OUTBREAK IN INDIA.

1. Missions have been carried on in more than 300 stations, scattered throughout all India; and Mission schools, in which the avowed object is to convert the natives to Christianity, have been established to the number of 2015, containing 64,480 boys and 14,298 girls.

2. Missionaries have itinerated in all directions—singly, and in company with native Christians.

3. In no instance has there been any thing like popular disturbances—no offence has been taken—very few instances have occurred of individual anger or ill usage. Of late years there has been a marked disposition to hear, and to receive the Missionaries with respect.

4. The chief success of Christian Missions has been in South India, where there are nearly 80,000 Christian converts and many native preachers, and where large districts have been systematically traversed by itinerating Missionaries; but no public disturbance whatever has taken place, and these districts are amongst the most quiet in all India.

5. It is therefore an extravagant supposition that the present military revolt in North India has been occasioned by Missionary operations.

6. Neither can it be supposed that the revolt has arisen from the apprehension that Government was giving its countenance to Missionaries.

It may be asked, in what way has Government countenanced Missionaries? The only way has been by grants-in-aid to Missionary schools. But this was conceded, a few years ago, on the statistical fact that Missionary schools had become so popular with the people that their scholars far out-numbered the scholars at Government schools, where Christianity was excluded.

The case of the late Santhal rebellion has an important bearing upon the present question. After a full investigation of the circumstances of this rebellion, and of the most probable way of preventing a recurrence, the Government officers of India on the spot ascertained that the influence of a single Mis-

sionary among the Santhals had been so manifestly peaceful, that they made overtures to the Church Missionary Society to establish Christian schools amongst the Santhals, and have guaranteed the necessary expenses of such schools.

7. The present is a military revolt, and the sepoys have been as a class the least accessible to Missionary influence of all the inhabitants of India. They live in cantonments, and the Missionaries very seldom come into contact with them. And it may fairly be argued, that, had Missionary operations been directed to them, the results would have been the same as amongst other classes—no offence or disturbance, but a gradual respect, as the character and message of Missionaries became known.

8. The alleged occasion of the revolt has been the greased cartridges. It was supposed that Government wished hereby to make the sepoys break caste, and so to make them Christians stealthily. Now this cause of offence is in its nature utterly opposed to Missionary operations. The Missionaries have ever acted openly, addressed the understanding, appealed to their sacred books. There is no breaking caste by listening to a Missionary, or arguing with a Missionary: the breaking of caste has always been the convert's own deliberate act previously to his receiving baptism.

9. As far as accounts have been received of the present lamentable outbreak, there has been no popular outcry against the Missionaries, nor any acts of violence specially perpetrated upon them, except in indiscriminate rage against all Europeans. Where native regiments have been disbanded, as at Berhampore, there were Missionary stations in the neighbourhood, but no injury or insult was offered. Missionary stations are scattered over the Mofussil, often a single Missionary residing in the midst of the heathen, alone and unprotected, yet in no case has there been any threatening of danger.

H. V.

NOTES ON THE ASSUMED CONNEXION OF THE MUTINY OF THE BENGAL SEPOYS WITH MISSIONARY EFFORTS IN INDIA.

1. Has there appeared a single instance in the proceedings of the mutineers of any reference to Missionaries or to Missionary proceedings?

2. Is it not the fact, that, of all the natives of India, the sepoys have been most overlooked by Missionaries, the sepoys having been,

from obvious causes, unapproachable by them ?

3. Of all places in the North-west Provinces, Benares and Agra are the only considerable scenes of Missionary labour. At the former of these cities, with the most bigoted Hindú population in existence, even with the mutiny of the native troops, no outbreak of the population, among whom the Missionaries live and labour, took place. At the latter, the mutineers have been the most effectually restrained.

So also at Lahore, at Peshawar, and at Amritsar, stations in the Punjab, where, with active Missionary work going on, no murderous outbreak has occurred; and the people and local Sikh corps have all proved loyal.

At Delhi, the only place where any Missionary has been killed, it was in the indiscriminate massacre of Europeans.

4. The most successful scenes of Missionary labour in India are in the southern parts of the peninsula, where, both in the Company's territories and in Travancore, an independent Hindú State, thousands of converts have been made, and are continually making. Throughout those parts the native inhabitants and the troops are as tranquil as in England.

5. In Bengal, the chief scenes of Missionary labour and of conversions are in the districts of Burdwan and Kishnaghur; but no disturbance has happened in either.

6. It is notorious that no conversion of sepoys has taken place, that none have been attempted; nor can it be shown, however pretended, that umbrage has been taken by the sepoys on this ground.

7. It is true, that, from time to time, the sepoys have attributed to Government an intention to force Christianity upon them, but upon what grounds? Invariably, first, from the introduction of some ill-judged attempt to force upon them changes of some sort, *always of a purely military nature*, as alterations in dress, cartridges, and the like things, deemed to affect *caste*; or, second, from alterations in the pay, privileges, or customs of the sepoys; but never from any act in any way whatever connected with Missionary proceedings.

8. But the cry has always been in some people's mouths, that outbreaks among the sepoys are connected with Missionary proceedings.

It was so in the case of the Vellore mutiny, an event which occurred seven years before Protestant Missionaries were permitted to enter the Company's territories—without, in

fact, a Protestant Missionary being at the time within many hundred miles of the place.

In Thornton's History of the period is shown the absurdity of attributing that calamity to Missionaries or their proceedings. And, in the present instance, the public press of this country, with rare exceptions, have refrained from giving colour to such wholly unfounded insinuations; while a portion of the press, the least likely to be favourably disposed to Missionary enterprise, thus states the question, in the emphatic language of the *Examiner*—

“Missionary propagandism has been affirmed by some parties, who were beating about for a reason, to be the cause of the present mutiny; but for this there is obviously not a shadow of foundation. Catholic Missionaries have for 350 years been actively employed in the work of conversion, and Protestant Missionaries for at least eighty, without ever producing disturbance or revolt, or even complaint. The Mohammedans worked hard to convert, by circumcision and other unpleasant means, from the time of Mohammed of Ghuzni to that of Aurung Zeb, but excited thereby no insurrection. Almost in our own time Tippoo was a mighty propagandist, but incurred no insurrections on that account. The assertion, then, is too absurd for refutation.”

In corroboration of these views, let the private letters of persons of all classes, written from the scenes of the calamitous events that have taken place, be referred to. They are either wholly silent on the point, nothing having occurred to suggest the notion of any such thing, or they are positively contradictory of the notion, as in the following passage of a letter from Calcutta—

“It is pretended by some that Missions have caused the mischief; but this is utterly ridiculous. For, consider, the 19th mutinied at Berhampore. Did they show the least ill-feeling to the Mission there? When the 19th and 34th were disbanded, they might, with perfect ease, have destroyed the defenceless Missions at Serampore, Chinsurah, Burdwan, and Kishnaghur; but they did not even threaten one of them.”

“Had the movement been occasioned, in any degree, by the Missions, they would have felt the vengeance. But hitherto they are all unscathed, except at Delhi, where there was a general movement, as destructive to civilians and shopkeepers as to others.”

J. M. S.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

WE are happy to be able to announce the safe arrival in England of the Rev. I. Wood, and of Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, of the Ceylon Mission, all in improved health.

We have much gratification in announcing the safe arrival of John Baptist Dasalu at Lagos, on his way to Abbeokuta. The following touching account of his reception at Lagos is extracted from a letter of the Rev. S. Crowther, of Nov. 3—

“I am glad to inform you that John Baptist Dasalu has safely reached Lagos per ‘Gambia.’ We had been doubting whether he had come by this mail or not, and, as the rain was pouring incessantly, we could not manage to send to the beach just then to inquire after him; but, shortly after, the intelligence reached us that he was on board. About an hour after, he made his appearance, quite drenched. He was heartily received by us. No sooner had the tidings of his arrival reached Philip and James, and two others of our native converts, and intimate companions of Dasalu, than they ran up into the house, and, with indescribable expressions of joy, lifted him up between them, putting in succession, with wonder and astonishment, this emphatic question, *Iwo ni?* ‘Is this you?’ No sooner was he let down, than he was grasped again many times over. They were perfectly astonished, and scarcely could believe their own eyes that the person before them was their lost brother, whom they had despaired of seeing again in the flesh. In the literal sense of the words, John Baptist Dasalu was dead, and is alive again, and was lost, and is found.

“The news of his arrival soon spread in the town, and the visits made by both Christians and heathen were many. Some sat down with profound silence, looking at him as a man singled out to be favoured by the God of heaven; others could not refrain from remarking, that, among so many others taken across the Atlantic at the same time, he was the only one who could return to them in so short a time, and in a way different from any other persons. Dasalu had forgotten that he was in his wet clothes, nor did the visitors think to remind him that he needed to change his apparel, till I had come and requested the friends to give him a little time to change his wet dress. The next morning a messenger left for Abbeokuta, with the tidings of his arrival.

“Oct. 30: *Thursday*—This afternoon, as we were at church in the usual service, Martha, his wife, arrived from Abbeokuta. Nobody being at home, she left her package in the house, and hastened to church, where she was told Dasalu was gone. We had just knelt down at the conclusion of the service, but her eyes were roving about to see whether she could recognise Dasalu among the congregation. This she did not immediately, till she was out of the church, when Dasalu made his appearance among the crowd. She grasped hold of him, but, being overpowered, she let go her hold, and burst out into a loud cry of joy inexpressible, and so came into the house. For a long time she scarcely could believe that the meeting was real: she many a time had dreamed of such a meeting, which, when she awoke, increased her disappointment, and she was afraid this might be one of those visionary sights.*

* Compare Ps. cxxvi.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"It is a common saying in this country, that, when the object of joy is great, joy cannot be expressed to the degree it deserves: so it is in Dasalu's case: they cannot express their joy adequately to the realization of their high privilege. To give greater effect to the occasion, I lodged Dasalu with me in the Mission house, that the mind of every visitor might be led in gratitude to his kind friends and benefactors in England, who, under God, had taken such deep interest, and exerted themselves in his liberation and restoration to his wife and relatives; as well as that I might have the opportunity of observing what was passing in the course of conversation between him and his numerous visitors. He will soon go to Abbeokuta, where all are anxiously and impatiently waiting to see him.

"Many things were stolen out of Dasalu's box on board the 'Niger,' including sundry parcels to me from friends in England. On the arrival of the 'Niger' off Lagos, I asked for his luggage which was still on board, but received only the box which was robbed. Dasalu says there was another box on board, containing sundry articles he had carefully preserved as curiosities from Havana, which has not been delivered. He is very much indebted to the Christian friends in Sierra Leone, who helped him liberally to replace some of his stolen wearing-apparel, and to pay his passage from Sierra Leone to Lagos. His Christian friends will express their gratitude to the Society when he arrives at Abbeokuta."

BISHOP GOBAT'S ARRIVAL AT JERUSALEM.

Dr. Sandreczki, in his journal, October 28, gives the following interesting narrative of the return of the Bishop of Jerusalem—

"At a distance of more than twelve miles from Jerusalem, we met the first friends, who had preceded the others to welcome the Bishop and his two daughters. At almost every step onward others made their appearance; and long before we reached Jerusalem, a large cavalcade preceded and followed the beloved shepherd of the flock of Mount Zion. The Pasha had sent an escort of fifty Bashi-Bazouks, with three oddly-clad kettle-drummers. The faces of many of the congregation were beaming with joy at the sight of the Bishop and his daughters, who were little girls when they left, four years and a-half ago, and are now grown up wonderfully. I saw that the joy and love of those sincere friends affected the Bishop very much. All the Abyssinians, too, had come out to meet him. I need not add that my joy, also, is great and sincere."

CHINA.

The following important extracts are from a recent publication, "The Chinese and their Rebellions," by T. T. Meadows, Chinese Interpreter in Her Majesty's Civil Service, pp. 446—448.

"THE EASTERN PRINCE HAS STATED, IN WRITING, THAT UNDER THE RULE OF THE TAE PINGS THE BIBLE WILL BE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE SACRED BOOKS OF CONFUCIANISM, AS THE TEXT-BOOK IN THE PUBLIC-SERVICE EXAMINATIONS."

The capitals are Mr. Meadows': he remarks, respecting this statement—

"I fairly despair of imparting an adequate idea of the importance of that resolve of the Tae Pings, nor of the immense significance which it gives to the piece of yellow shading in the middle of the accompanying map of China.* Upon the gradual extension or diminution of that piece of shading,

* Intended to show the extent of country under their power.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

during the next ensuing years, it depends whether or not, in a prosperous population of 360 millions of heathen, all the males who have the means, and are not too old to learn—all the males, from boyhood to 25 or 30 years of age, who can devote their time to study—will be assiduously engaged in getting the Bible off by heart, from beginning to end. Should the thing take place, it will form a revolution as unparalleled in the world for rapidity, completeness, and extent, as is the Chinese people itself for its antiquity, unity, and numbers.

“The resolve of the Tae Pings to make the Bible the text-book at their Public-Service Examinations will cause a number of intelligent Chinese—private gentlemen, as well as officials, and all of them masters of their own language—to devote themselves to the study of Hebrew and Greek, in order to read the book in the original languages. And as, in order to do this, they will, in the first place, learn the English, the common language of the two great peoples with whom they have most intercourse, numbers of channels will thus be opened through which will pour into China constant streams of Anglo-Saxon literature and Anglo-Saxon ideas, mingling, at the very fountain-head, with the flow of Chinese mental life. A prospect is hereby disclosed of a rapid assimilation of fundamental beliefs, and a consequent peaceful and mutually-beneficent extension of free intercourse and free trade, which, I repeat, it is in vain to hope for in any other way.”

Mr. Meadows expresses his conviction “that the Tae Ping Government would, once fairly in secure possession of the sovereign power, itself be foremost in encouraging the study and translation of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and that it would appoint a commission for that purpose.” He, however, recommends Missionary Societies to adopt a step which, he considers, cannot fail to be advantageous to the propagation of Christianity, whether the Tae Pings succeed or not; namely, to publish interlinear Hebrew-English-Chinese and Greek-English-Chinese editions, with historical sketches prefixed. Whatever may be thought of the desirableness of such a step in the present state of China, the proposal of it indicates the estimate which Mr. Meadows entertains of the Chinese nation.

A great variety of concurrent and independent testimony, subsequently received, confirms the above statement of Mr. Meadows; and places it beyond a doubt, that, so far as regards their literary examinations, the Bible is the text-book of the insurgents.

The “Times” Correspondent, in a letter dated October 7, after alluding to rumours of important successes on the part of the insurgents, not yet confirmed, adds—“What is quite certain is, that the Tae Ping Wang continues to tolerate every form of Christianity within his own dominions, and is issuing edicts for the protection of commerce and transit, and other wise purposes, as an established Emperor ought.”

Meanwhile, our Missionaries find the country more and more accessible. The Rev. H. Reeve writes, Oct. 6—

“Year by year the door has been gently pressed wider open, and it needs but a little more to throw open the whole of Keang-nan to the Missionary boat, and many of its cities to the undisguised European resident. The good Lord hasten it in His time!”

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

The Rev. J. S. Burdon says, Sept. 30—

“To-day I have been nearly a fortnight residing in my own hired room, only a few hundred yards outside the gate of a city (Bing-oo, about seventy miles south-west of Shanghai) containing, with its suburbs, somewhere about 100,000 souls.” Mr. Burdon adds, that, though his presence there is no secret, he has remained “without any inquiry from the authorities, or molestation by the people;” receiving all who come to him—and they are many—but deeming it prudent for the present to discontinue street preaching, which he had at first attempted.

The Rev. F. M'Caw—Oct. 1—after alluding to many trials, adds—

“Notwithstanding the difficulties of our position, we can see nothing calculated to discourage us in our efforts to declare the gospel of Christ. On the contrary, every day brings more hopeful signs for greater success in the future, both as respects the readiness of the people to hear instruction, and their prejudices towards us as foreigners and Englishmen gradually dying away.”

And the Rev. M. Fearnley—Sept. 22—says—

“All is not dark, however, in the character of this people. They are most indefatigable in their study of their own literature, committing incredible quantities of it to memory. I hear them in the adjoining temple, late into the night, in a dark, desolate apartment, reciting with a loud voice their favourite authors. And this disposition of theirs to a diligent, painstaking memorizing of what books they admire, will avail greatly towards their learning the oracles of God, when they shall have been brought before them. I had given my two boys, who clean the house and cook the food, the Ten Commandments, expressing a wish that they should learn them by heart; and going, according to my custom, just before retiring to rest, to fasten a certain door near their room, I overheard them, towards midnight, reciting and singing the holy words.”

All things put together, we are full of hope for China!

NEW ZEALAND.

We are thankful to report that Mr. J. Booth arrived safely, and in good spirits for his work, at Wanganui, April 28. On June 4, when on the point of starting for Pipiriki, he writes—

“I am glad to tell you, that, from what I hear, the natives at Pipiriki are favourably disposed towards us, and feel glad that we are going thither.

“The Government Industrial School for native boys, on the opposite side of the river, has been broken up for want of pupils. They find that the native boys are not inclined to work without payment. This is the greatest obstacle which I shall have to contend against. It will require a great amount of tact and perseverance to bring about the self-supporting system in the present state of things. Still, I do not despair of succeeding. I beg the favour of your prayers, that our gracious and loving Father may be pleased to grant unto us the spirit of wisdom and perseverance in our work.

“Last Monday evening I exhibited the magic lantern. I wish you could have heard and seen all that was said and done. The natives were almost beside themselves with excitement. It is long since I have heard such an uproar as they made.”

Mr. Booth's influence is likely to be much strengthened by the presence of his brother—a carpenter—who has accompanied him, and will make himself useful to the Maoris in the neighbourhood.

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

On the 19th of December a Special Committee assembled at the Society's House, Salisbury Square, to take leave of the Rev. Messrs. R. P. Greaves and J. M'Carthy, together with Mr. Duncan, Mrs. Clemens, and Misses' Buhler and Hohermuth. By one of those coincidences so frequently observable in the providential dealings of God, the three first-named Missionaries were called upon at a very short notice—in one case, of a few days only—to leave their country and friends; but they were ready—nay, it was a matter of rejoicing to them—to respond to the sudden call.

It has often been urged upon this Society, and upon Christian England, that an open door stands before us in Calcutta, giving access to the well-educated and intellectual youth of Bengal, from off whose neck the fetters of Hindúism have been knocked, but the bonds of Christian love have not been riveted around their hearts. The Bishop of Calcutta having assigned to the Society the use of the church and parsonage situated in Corwallis Square, Calcutta, and also a stipend out of the Cathedral Mission Fund, the Committee were anxiously seeking a suitable Missionary for this Station, when they received the offer of Mr. Greaves, Incumbent of St. Peter's District, Manchester; which they thankfully accepted, and appointed him to Calcutta, with a view to efforts specially directed to the class above adverted to.

Mr. M'Carthy proceeds to Peshawur, to relieve Mr. Clark of the important school at that place. Mr. Clark will thus be set free for more direct Missionary efforts among the people in and around Peshawur.

Mr. Duncan's sphere of labour is new to the Society, being, in fact, an important extension of the North-West-America Mission. The attention of the Committee was directed by Captain Prevost, of Her Majesty's Navy, to the Red-Indian tribes west of the Rocky Mountains, on the mainland, opposite and northwards of Vancouver's Island. It is estimated that from 80,000 to 90,000 of these roving Indians are located within the limits of British territory, among whom no Missionary effort has yet been made; though they sometimes assemble, for the purposes of trade, in numbers amounting to 12,000 or 15,000, for two or three weeks together. Captain Prevost, being about to proceed to the Pacific in command of H.M.S. "Satellite," kindly offered, under the sanction of the first Lord of the Admiralty, a free passage, and every assistance in his power, to any Missionary whom the Committee might be willing to send with him. Experience has shown that such a station is better commenced by a Missionary schoolmaster than by one in holy orders; and one of the Society's students at the Highbury Training College, Mr. Duncan, having long been noted as a young man combining qualifications peculiarly fitting him to occupy such a post, he was at once selected for it. For, here again, so striking a concurrence of providences was not to be overlooked: the opportunity, as the Bishop of Rupert's Land expressed it, was a golden one: the pillar and the cloud were seen to move; and in faith the watchword is accepted, "Go forward." Mr. Duncan sailed on Tuesday, Dec. 23. His station for the present will be Fort Simpson, on the mainland, about midway between the northern point of Vancouver's Island and the commencement of the Russian territory.

Mrs. Clemens returns to her old charge in Sierra Leone, and is accompanied by two German ladies who have devoted themselves to the work of female education in Sierra Leone. They sailed on December 24th.

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RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

The Committee also took leave, on Tuesday, January 20th, of their old and tried Missionaries Messrs. Gollmer and Rhodes. They, with their wives, and Messrs. Smith and Buckley (vol. i. New Series, p. 265), sailed on January 24th; Mr. Rhodes returning to Sierra Leone, while Mr. Gollmer will proceed to Abbeokuta.

We announce, with deep regret, the decease, at Benhall, Suffolk, on the 14th of January, of Mrs. Smith, wife of the Rev. I. Smith, of the Yoruba Mission. She was visiting in the parish. Feeling ill, she sat down by the road-side, and there expired. Her call was sudden, but she was ready. Her loss will be severely felt, not only by her bereaved husband, but by many who had learned to value her high Christian character.

We have much pleasure in announcing the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson, from Benares. They landed at Southampton on the 6th of January.

ARRIVAL OF JOHN BAPTIST DASALU AT ABBEOKUTA.

Every reader of our monthly periodicals will unite with us in grateful acknowledgment to Almighty God for His mercy in finally bringing back to his home our African friend and brother in Christ, John Baptist Dasalu. He has now safely reached Abbeokuta. The news of his arrival is briefly conveyed in a letter from the Rev. J. A. Maser, dated November 27, 1856—

“John Dasalu arrived at this town on November 13. He came at once up to Aké, accompanied by a great multitude of people, who were rejoicing, and firing guns. After he had taken some refreshment with me, and Messrs. King and Macaulay had come over from their stations, we went over to the king, and presented to him Dasalu his son—*omo**—as having been taken captive by the king of Dahomey, but restored to him by the exertions and benevolence of the British Government, the Church Missionary Society, and Christian friends in England. Dasalu spoke then to the king, a great audience surrounding him. The king presented him with one dollar.”

Mr. Maser promises fuller particulars hereafter.

Another extract from the same letter of Mr. Maser possesses interest, as marking satisfactory amelioration in what we may call the international relationships of the African tribes, due to the happy intervention of British Christian influence.

“The chiefs of Ishaga have asked the king of this town to allow them to flee to Abbeokuta, should the King of Dahomey come to avenge them for their faithfulness towards Abbeokuta in the last war; and the king and chiefs have permitted it, against their traditional custom, to consider all fugitives in time of war as slaves; ‘because,’ said they, ‘they were allowed to flee to the English for help also.’”

NORTH INDIA.

The “Friend of India,” Nov. 20, 1856, supplies us with important information respecting Female Education. The article is appropriately headed,

FEMALE EDUCATION—A GLEAM OF LIGHT.

“It is now beyond question that a great spontaneous movement in favour of Native-female Education has commenced in the vicinity of Agra. In our paper of the 25th of September it was announced that Pundit Gopal Singh, one of the zillah visitors of indigenous schools, had succeeded in establishing, in the Agra district, upwards of fifty schools, attended by 1200 girls of the

* “*omo*—child, offspring, servant.”

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most respectable families. The hope was then expressed, that the number of schools would be doubled in the course of the current year. This hope has been already far more than realized. We are informed, that, up to the first week of the present month, nearly 200 schools had been established, with an aggregate daily attendance of 3800 girls. It is rather a social revolution than a local movement which Pundit Gopal Singh has inaugurated. Our information is not yet precise enough to enable us to trace the steps by which such results have been attained. But it appears that Pundit Gopal, who is a man of high character, and of a social standing above his official position, was convinced that the failure of former attempts to establish girls'-schools was attributable 'to the suspicion with which every thing coming from a foreigner is received by the natives, and to the want of co-operation of the educated natives.' The fact is, when stated in less decorous language, that an educated native cares nothing about education. 'But,' continues the Pundit, 'the establishment of a little school, in which my own daughters and those of my immediate friends and relations attended at first, like a charm dispelled in a great measure the prejudices of my neighbours, and induced many to send their girls also. This example, and my constant persuasion and reasoning, have at last succeeded in inducing many respectable inhabitants of other villages to yield.' And so the movement bids fair to become national. The pupils are nearly all Hindús, belonging, as the European officials assure us, to the most respectable classes of the native community. The teachers are *all males*. 'Want of female teachers,' says the Pundit, 'was one great obstacle in the way; but the guardians of the girls composing the respective schools pointed out men of approved character, in whom they have full confidence, and I have appointed such persons only as teachers, and the result is very satisfactory.' Only at Agra, where the Pundit has persuaded the wealthy bankers and merchants to establish a girls'-school, has any objection been taken to the male instructors. Wealthy but uneducated bankers and merchants are naturally the most bigoted of their race, since custom is always most tyrannical where luxury exists without education. But Agra will soon be abundantly supplied with teachers from among the more advanced pupils of the rural schools. One more statement must close this enumeration of facts. Lieut. Fuller, the Inspector of Schools, reports, that about one-tenth of the whole number of pupils are more than twenty years of age—the remainder varying from six to twenty years."

In connexion with the subject of education in India, it may be mentioned that the Government Inspector of Schools has asked, and obtained, the sanction of the Society's Corresponding Committee at Calcutta, to secure the services of a trained pupil from the Santipúr Training Institution, under Mr. Bomwetsch, to organize a Government Training School on the Pestalozzian system at Húghly, for teachers of village schools.

SOUTH INDIA.—TINNEVELLY.

A short extract from the journal of the Rev. W. Clark, under date July 16, 1856, Coviloolroo—gives a pleasing picture of the simple village churches of Tinnevelly, their efforts, their wishes, and their wants—

"Marked out the foundation for a new church, which is to be built of brick and mortar. It is to be fifty feet long and thirty wide. The body of it is to be divided into nave and aisles, and it is to have a chancel and small portico. The converts of four villages, for whose use it is intended, have contributed thirty rupees, and are to add thirty more in a short time. Twenty-five more will be added from another source, and the remainder must be obtained in such ways as Divine Providence may direct. Our ordinary funds,

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I regret to say, will not be able to meet the want. They are scarcely sufficient to keep our present churches and prayer-houses in repair. We must, therefore, look to our friends for help. The people, I am sure, have given according to their ability, and therefore I cannot ask them for more. Only a short time ago they collected money for a ghurree, and, before that, bought two brass lamps for their present prayer-house. With these instances of their willingness to do what they can, I cannot but acknowledge that they have in no respect come behind in this matter. I would gladly have deferred the commencement of the building a little longer, but they were urgent; so I decided to begin, and go on with it as means came to hand."

NEW ZEALAND—COMPLETION OF THE MAORI BIBLE.

It is matter for the deepest gratitude, that the translation of the entire word of God into the language of the New Zealanders has now been completed. Many hearts will sympathize with the writer, as their eyes run over the annexed extract from a letter of the Rev. R. Maunsell, dated Waikato River, August 12, 1856—

"The termination of my labours at translation having given a respite from study, I avail myself of this first opportunity to write to you. The whole word of God is now in Maori; and you, I dare say, can imagine the feelings with which I regard the completion, so far, of my labours. I have, through His great goodness, been now spared to assist in the revision of the New Testament and Prayer-book, and to finish an original translation of the Old Testament.

"Dark indeed were my prospects, when, this time thirteen years back, I saw my house, with all my books and papers, swept away in an hour and a-half by fire; when my wife, who was confined next day, lay in a wretched native hut; when our assistant, Miss Rymill, was also in considerable danger from an attack on the lungs; and I myself prostrated, my hands having been severely burned while I was endeavouring to extinguish the second fire—which took place in the shed in which, with the remnant of our goods, we had taken refuge.

"Still, the feeling has always been strong on my mind, that God had called me to be useful in this particular service. Even when in England, I longed, from reading Martyn's life, to render some service in the translation of God's word, and commenced studying Hebrew, and laying in a stock of books on criticism. Immediately, as soon as my hands recovered, I set to work again at my delightful employment; and, though often discouraged by the apparent impossibility of getting the work printed in this country, yet God—as I have already informed you—opened a way for my object, in a manner particularly gratifying to my feelings; and has enabled me to complete my work just on the anniversary of my time of sorrows. Whatever portion of my time may now remain to me, it is my earnest desire and prayer that I may have grace to give it entirely to Him."

On the reception of this cheering information, the Committee recorded their sense of its importance in the following resolution—

"That this Committee praise God for the completion of the whole Bible in Maori, and pray that it may be the means of increasing fruitfulness in the infant church of New Zealand; and they congratulate Mr. Maunsell on the honour conferred upon him by God, of being the chief instrument in the accomplishment of this good work; and they trust that he may be long spared to witness the blessed results of this and of all his other 'labours of love, and patience of hope, in our Lord Jesus Christ.'"

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SIERRA LEONE.

MRS. CLEMENS and her party (pp. 29, 30) have, we are thankful to say, arrived safely at Sierra Leone.

It will be remembered (p. 10) that the Rev. J. Beale had gone on a voyage to Lagos, in greatly impaired health. It is with deep regret that we have now to announce his death at Lagos, Dec. 17, after nineteen years' faithful labour in the West-Africa Mission. The best interests of the people to whose welfare he had dedicated himself were very near his heart to the last. One great object of his visit to the Yoruba Mission was, that he might make an effort to reclaim those of the Sierra Leone-Christians, who, when restored to the land of their fathers, had caused the name of their God to be evil spoken of. To some of them he preached with much energy and effect, on Sunday, Dec. 7, from John viii. 33—36, when the hand of death was already upon him; and in his last hours he expressed the sense of comfort it afforded him that he had done so. During his illness his mind appeared to be free from care. He once said, that, had it been the Lord's will, he could have wished to die in his own house; and then added, "But the Lord's will is best." "The whole place is in great grief," writes one from Sierra Leone: "our departed friend was much loved." "He will not soon be forgotten," writes the Rev. S. Crowther, "by those with whom he had to do. May the Lord supply his place with a man of like faith, zeal, and energy, in the service of God!"

It has pleased God to remove by death Mr. Samuel Campbell, one of the three young men sent to this country, for education as army surgeons, at the expense of Government. He was compelled to return to Africa in consequence of an attack of bronchitis, which was the commencement of a disease which eventually carried him off. "He was," says the *African*, "a young man of much promise, and a large circle of relatives and friends are made to mourn the disappointment of their cherished hopes. The Lord hath done it all; and, while we bow in submission to the stroke, we are thankful for the comfortable hope left us, that his absence from the body is now actual presence with his reconciled Father and all-loving Saviour."

INDIA.

The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* writes, Dec. 22—

"The Government has recently taken another step in the direction of social reform. It is even more daring than the widows' marriage law. The Santhals have at last completely settled down. . . . The military police has been organized, and there is little apparent danger of a new outbreak. It is felt, however, that there is no permanent security for the Damun till the savages have been civilized. The Government, therefore, has handed the whole race over to the Church Missionary Society. Teachers are to be selected by them, and responsible to them alone, the State finding the funds. School-houses, boarding-schools, books, and money for travelling, are all to be provided by Government, but administered by the Society. The Missionaries are free to teach any creed they please; and it is understood, though not stated, that attendance in the schools will be pretty rigidly enforced. Mr. Droese, the Society's agent in Bhagulpur, is a man of some energy; and the Santhals have no creed, no caste, and rather a respect than

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otherwise for Christianity. It is not, therefore, improbable, that, in a generation, the savages who recently desolated Birbhúm may be an educated, civilized tribe of Christians. No prejudice has been excited among the Hindús. They hold a Santhal to be about as important as a rat; and, if they have any feeling at all, it is one of passive surprise that Government did not put the whole tribe to death."

The same writer also makes the following important statement—

"The law permitting the re-marriage of widows has been carried into effect. Pundit Greeschunder Surma, a Koolin of Koolins, a man of the very highest sacerdotal rank, has married the widow of a pundit of equal birth. The ceremony was attended by hundreds of Brahmins, and created a profound sensation. There has been some talk of excommunicating all concerned; but so extreme a step is improbable, for this reason among others—if the orthodox excommunicate the guilty couple, they must excommunicate every Hindú who attended the wedding. They will do nothing so dangerous, and the prohibition may be considered finally abolished. I am told that some degree of coercion was exercised on the bridegroom; but Hindús invariably account for their defeats in that fashion. Even if true, the fact will make no difference. A Koolin has married a Koolin widow. He has not been excommunicated. Anybody, therefore, may marry a widow without fear of consequences. This result is admitted by the most bigoted opponents of the reform: so there is an end of one of the oldest social evils that ever afflicted a community. The bride in this case was a girl of about twelve. Under the ancient system she must have remained single all her life, an object of perpetual anxiety to her family."

The following paragraphs are from *Allen's Indian Mail* of Jan. 30.

"The re-marriage of a Hindú widow has taken place at Salem. She was a girl of thirteen, who had never lived with her deceased husband. Her father determined to re-marry her, and did so, though threatened with excommunication by his caste. Numbers of respectable natives were present at the ceremony, and 'a gentleman of the Civil Service honoured the occasion.' The caste of the family is not mentioned.

"A very interesting meeting has been held at Amritsar, to test the practical results of the anti-infanticide measures taken three years ago. The leading Sikh sirdars, and other influential natives, were present, and gave most satisfactory evidence of the success of the measures. It was especially shown that the religious mendicants, whose extortionate practices at weddings are cited as a principal cause of infanticide, have ceased to be troublesome. All the chiefs present renewed their engagements to use every effort for the suppression of infanticide; and these men seem to have a habit of keeping their promises. Still, it is found that there must be special legislation before the practice can be effectually put down."

NEW ZEALAND.

We have much pleasure in announcing the arrival at Wanganui, Aug. 8, 1856, of the Rev. R. Taylor, with the native chief Hoani Wiremu, or John Williams, who accompanied him to England. Mr. Taylor was welcomed by a deputation, bearing a congratulatory address from the inhabitants of Wanganui; and the natives, on his landing, hailed him with a loud "*Haere mai!*" ("Come hither;" the native salutation), all being drawn up on the beach to receive him.

Mr. Taylor found much to discourage him. "There is," he says, "a remarkable feeling of apathy in the parents towards their children. In fact, there is such a degree of independence in the native character, that the parent has very little control over his child; and if he attempt to exercise any,

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some relative is sure to interfere, and take it away." In this manner the school dwindled away during Mr. Taylor's absence. The church had fallen into ruins, the effect of the earthquake of 1855, and the pathway was quite grown up; and in an out-station the Roman Catholics had wiled away some of the flock. Yet, amidst these disheartening circumstances, "there is," adds Mr. Taylor, "more to encourage us, and faith bids us persevere. There are many sincere Christians, and others, who, though apathetic, are still living more consistently than many of our own countrymen."

"John Williams," says Mr. Taylor, "had a most enthusiastic reception from his tribe. He has conducted himself with great propriety since his return, and has gained the esteem of both races. I feel assured that his visit to England will prove a blessing to the natives. He has seen much, and has a very reflecting mind, which will enable him to draw much good from what he has seen."

We have already (p. 4) reported Mr. Booth's arrival in New Zealand. His reception at Pipiriki appears to have been very enthusiastic. Mrs. Booth writes, Aug. 5, 1856—"We were very kindly treated at the different stopping-places on the river; but when we at last reached Pipiriki, we received a welcome which outshone all the other welcomes put together. Before we came in sight of the pa the natives had got intelligence of our coming from the cheering of the natives in our canoes; and as soon as we came in sight of the pa we found the right bank of the river thronged with natives, who made the hills re-echo with their shouts of welcome. It did not take many minutes to carry up the greater part of our things, as all set to in right earnest. The natives have been exceedingly kind to us ever since we came here. When we had been here about a month, all the natives joined in making us a present of seventy baskets of potatoes, five or six baskets of kumeras, one of Indian corn, and three pigs. This place has more of the appearance of an English village than any we have yet seen."

NORTH-WEST AMERICA.

We have received the following interesting letter from the Rev. A. Cowley, dated Indian Settlement, Red River, Nov. 6, 1856, announcing the safe arrival of himself and Mrs. Cowley at the station, and the cordial reception they met with—

"By God's mercy and goodness I have to announce our safe arrival at the end of a long and dangerous journey. We embarked [at York Fort] for Red River on Monday, September 8th. Our journey up the country proved very tedious, owing to contrary winds, &c. We had a good deal of wet, unpleasant weather, but our health was good, our spirits were high, and our comfort was quite equal to our expectations. We did not reach Red River till the 10th of October, and it was on the day following that we arrived at this place.

"We were welcomed by our people most cheerfully. Our approach was no sooner perceived than the old chief hoisted his flag to announce it, while he and his wife stood on the bank to shout us welcome, as the good old man did at the top of his voice. Nor was it less grateful to see the people, as we approached our landing-place, assembling to salute us, and assist in getting our property ashore. Many were away fishing, some of whom have not yet returned; so that, from then till now, we have been greeted as welcome back to this scene of our labours. Amidst the greetings of our people we landed in safety, grateful to God for all the mercies which we have experienced at His hand, and truly thankful that our wanderings have come to an end. We felt at home: our house was familiar; the scenery, too, was the same; the mixed language of the people fell on accustomed ears. The church, the school, the little cottages around, seemed to carry us back to former days: even the very horse and cow aided to familiarize us, and swell

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the tide of happy feeling that we were again at home. And, strange to say, that nothing might be wanting, the very servant-girl who lived with us when we left for England hastened, uncalled-for, to the house, and commenced working as though she had been here all the time. It was indeed very delightful to find all so happy. On the morrow, it being the Lord's-day, we went up to His house with light and joyful hearts, to return thanks, and to worship before Him in the great congregation. That was a blessed day indeed: may the savour thereof remain, and may God's blessing rest upon it!

"As the time is so short, I have little to report; and would only add, that the same kindly feeling between us and our people continues. Since our arrival there has been, as is usual at this season, much sickness. This we have been able, I trust, in some measure to alleviate, through the great kindness of friends, who gave us many valuable medicines, for which I can hardly be too thankful. We have had but one death. Under these circumstances, I cannot refrain from expressing the great gratitude we feel for the very valuable aid afforded us by the Ladies' working-parties, and other kind friends, throughout the country. Through their munificence we have been able to relieve much distress, and to meet many wants, at this very inclement season of the year. Our supply this year is ample. God grant it may continue to flow in year by year continually, as thereby much, very much, good will be done. If you can, in any of your publications, make a general acknowledgment of the above in the most grateful terms, I shall feel greatly obliged, as, owing to the confusion in re-packing, and in the absence of some lists of things sent, I fear it will be impossible for me to make the particular acknowledgments which gratitude prompts.

"Our winter has set in in earnest: the river froze over on the night of the 3d inst., and much snow has fallen, so that all seems now stable. May our souls be so too; and may a gracious God so shut us up from the world of sin that the under-current of love may the more steadily flow towards Himself, sheltered from the rude blasts of vice and ungodliness!"

The Rev. C. Hillyer arrived at Liverpool from this Mission, in improved health, on the 6th of February.

MAURITIUS.

In a letter dated Dec. 26, the Rev. Stephen Hobbs gives a hopeful account of the work already set on foot in this island. He says—"I have, to some extent, shared with Mr. Taylor"—a Colporteur in connexion with the British and Foreign Bible Society—"the duties of his little Tamil congregation. It numbers about fifty adults and about twenty children. Most of them are from congregations at Madras or Tanjore, and a few are recent converts, the fruits of Mr. Taylor's own labours. The congregation appears to me to be in a highly satisfactory state. The attendance is very regular, and the attention given to the word of God very marked. It cannot be doubted that the nucleus of a Tamil church is thus formed here, and firmly established."

From Ceylon the Rev. Septimus Hobbs writes of a kindred work among the Tamil Coolies—"We calculate that we have had the privilege of addressing about 70,000 adult persons, on the great subject of their souls' salvation, within the last twelve months. The results we cannot calculate, but we see much encouragement. We have found only 370 Protestant Christians. But almost all the multitude of heathen have listened with great attention, and many have inquired further in private about the things which they have heard. I have met with some who, having heard the gospel in Ceylon, returned to the coast, sought out the nearest Missionary, received further instruction, and were baptized."

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FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

THE following arrangements have been made for the ensuing Anniversary of the Society—

The Annual Sermon will be preached on Monday evening, the 4th of May, in the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, by the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. Divine Service will commence at half-past six o'clock.*

The Annual Meeting will be held on the following day, Tuesday, the 5th of May, at Exeter Hall. The Chair to be taken by the Right Hon. the President, at ten o'clock precisely.

A Meeting of the Society will also be held in the evening of the same day, at the same place. The Chair to be taken by the Most Noble the Marquess of Cholmondeley, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, at half-past six o'clock precisely.

The Regulations for admission to the Meetings are printed on the wrapper of the present Number.

The Rev. Charles Tanner and Mrs. Tanner embarked at Portsmouth on the 6th of March, on board the "Earl of Hardwicke." Mr. Tanner's designation is Masulipatam, the head-quarters of the Telugu Mission.

WEST-AFRICA AND YORUBA MISSIONS.

The Rev. H. Rhodes and Mrs. Rhodes arrived at Sierra Leone on the 10th of February.

The Rev. H. Townsend, with Mrs. Townsend, and the two catechists who accompanied him, have arrived at Abbeokuta. They reached Lagos on the 22d of November.

WESTERN INDIA.

The observations made in our December Number on the state and prospects of the Western-India Mission have elicited the following remarks from the Rev. G. Candy, Jan. 30, 1857—

"Our Report for the past year is rather a record of diligent and earnest labours, than of gathering in the fruits and reaping the harvest. To the mind of man the latter is far more gratifying than the former; but does it follow that it is so to the mind of God? With Him, may there not be as hearty approbation of those labours, the fruits of which have not yet begun to appear, as of those whose desired results are abundantly manifest? I have been led to take up this strain especially by your notice of Western-India Missions in the 'Record' of December last. I can only again, for my own encouragement and for yours, fall back upon the promise, 'In due season we shall reap if we faint not.' But we must leave to Infinite Wisdom the fixing of the 'due season.'

* A Sermon will be preached on Sunday morning, the 3d of May, in St. Paul's Cathedral, by the LORD BISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND. Divine Service will commence at a quarter before ten o'clock.

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“But my full conviction is, that, instead of lamenting or apologizing, we are called upon to occupy ourselves in praise and thanksgiving; and that, thus heartily and gratefully giving praises to God, we shall find the causes and occasions for such praise abundantly multiplied unto us. I will therefore set forth to you some of our grounds for praise.

“The work which the Lord of the harvest has committed into our hands is steadily and surely progressing. That work will not be without its full effect in due time; and for that time it is our duty to wait with ‘long patience.’ And even now we are not without the effect suitable and proper to the season of waiting: the very progress is an effect for which our praises are due. Who can tell but that the Lord’s purpose concerning the people of Western India may be to bring them to Himself, not by distinct and isolated individual conversions, however numerous, but by awakening and moving them by the mass? This, indeed, would be in accordance with the character of the people, who lack individual boldness and decision. The ‘leavening of the mass’ is most manifestly going on. The native mind is coming more and more in contact with Christian truth; and though, doubtless, there is much opposition and enmity manifested, there are unmistakable marks that the truth is telling upon the minds of the people. This remark holds good, not with respect to spiritual truth only, but also moral and scientific truth. The light may, for a long time, shine around, and dispel the external darkness, before its rays are admitted within the recesses of the inner man.”

Mr. Candy then adduces other detailed proofs of God’s presence among our Missionary body.

In “Allen’s Indian Mail” for March 3, 1857, it is stated that a Marathi Illustrated Magazine for native females has been started at Bombay. The contents of the first Number are as follows—“The Duties of Mothers and Daughters; a Good Woman—Queen Victoria; My Friend’s Wife; the Results of Internal Quarrels; the Punjab; the Sandy Desert. Miscellaneous—Canine Affection; Advantages of a Kind Temper; Flattery; the Wealth of the World; the Evils of Procrastination; a Deception detected; the Benefits of Salt; Songs.”

The extensive diffusion of infidel works in Bombay is thus alluded to by the Rev. C. W. Isenberg, Jan 12—

“My hearers generally know little of the Bible, except what they have read concerning it from Tom Paine and other infidel writers, whose books are much spread among those who know a little English; or rather, those misrepresentations of Christian truth which are contained in these infidel works have been so eagerly adopted by these people, as to make it a hard task for them to pay the least attention to a sober and true statement of the truth.”

NORTH INDIA.

We have much pleasure in announcing the arrival at Calcutta of the Rev. Messrs. Cobb, Erhardt, Greaves, and M’Carthy. Mr. Erhardt has been appointed to Bhagulpúr, to labour among the Santals, and was, when he last wrote, about to set out for his station at an early period.

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The Rev. R. Clark, in a letter dated Peshawur, Jan. 12, gives the following encouraging review of the proceedings of the past year—

“The principal characteristic of the past year has been, I think, the gradual settlement of the Mission, and its becoming more fixed and rooted amongst this new people, and in the new country in which it has been established. Almost every direct Missionary work that has been attempted has succeeded, and further opportunities have continually offered themselves; so much so, that there is no branch of direct Missionary labour which may not be here engaged in, almost to the same extent, and equally well, as at our older stations in India. I may especially refer to the preaching of the word of God, both in the city and the neighbouring villages; to educational labours through the agency of schools; and to the work of translation, or publishing books or tracts by means of the press.

“The tribes around Peshawur appear to be, at this time, in a more quiet state than probably has been the case for several centuries; and the political relations which now exist with Cabul will tend at once to make them more so, and encourage the prosecution and extension of Missionary efforts in this immediate neighbourhood, and also ultimately open out vast opportunities for large and extended exertions in other countries and districts, of which it may be difficult to define any limit.”

CHINA.

Many of our readers may have felt some degree of anxiety respecting our Missionaries in this country. When our last accounts were written, the tide of war had not reached the stations they occupy; and the intelligence of it, while it led them to make every preparation to meet any emergency, had awakened hope, rather than apprehension, as to the ultimate issue. Within the last few days it has been officially announced in Parliament that the Emperor has written to the Chinese officers at the other four ports, directing them to remain on terms of peaceful and amicable relations with the English, notwithstanding what had happened at Canton. No one, however, can fail to perceive that our beloved friends are in a position of no inconsiderable peril, and need the earnest intercessions of their countrymen at home, that they may be preserved from all dangers, ghostly and bodily, and enabled to go on their way rejoicing.

Mr. Burdon, with whom is associated in friendly co-operation Mr. Aichison, of the American Mission, is at his newly-acquired station, Ping-Hoo, about eighty miles from Shanghai.* They began with caution; but now find that they are sufficiently established to show themselves in public, and, for several weeks, have gone daily into the city, preaching, each of them, twice in different temples, to large and attentive congregations, while visitors at their own house have been very numerous. Mr. Burdon's letter was written on the last day of 1856.

We regret to say that the state of Mr. Reeves' health is such as to render his return to this country at an early period imperative.

At Ningpo the Rev. W. A. Russell is occupied in preparing, in the vernacular, or spoken dialect of the country, and in the Roman character, translations of the

* “Church Missionary Gleaner” for February last.

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New Testament, and portions of the Liturgy; and in preaching to the converts and the heathen, and other Missionary vocations. He has been privileged to baptize (on Sunday, September 28) five of the inhabitants of the Eo-san-poh district.* These converts appear to be all entirely free from worldly motives, the idea of receiving any pecuniary advantage from embracing Christianity never having crossed their minds. On Sunday, November 2, the Lord's Supper was administered to ten native converts, eight belonging to this district. Subsequently to this, Mr. Russell had many most interesting interviews with several of the Vu-we sect, which left a strong impression on his mind of an unusual preparedness among them for the reception of the gospel.

The following very important exhibition of sound principle on a point of vital moment—the observance of the Sabbath—will be read with much interest. Mr. Russell writes, Oct. 14—

“I felt much the difficulty with regard to the keeping of the Lord's-day, which this poor fellow, from his position as a servant, would most likely experience. Still I could not refrain from setting before him what I believed to be the truth with reference to this subject, and its great importance for the preservation of vital Christianity in the world. On presenting the matter to him, I was, however, both surprised and rejoiced to find that he himself saw very little difficulty about it. Christianity, he said, he believed to be true, and the fourth commandment to be a command of God, and that what God commands must be for his good. Why then should he not obey it? But it was suggested, ‘How about your master?’ ‘Oh,’ said he, ‘I have already arranged about another man taking my place on Sundays, and having the wages of that day deducted from my salary, which surely my master cannot object to. But even if he should do so, and cast me off, I feel certain my Heavenly Father will provide for me.’ The simple, straightforward, confiding way in which he spoke quite cheered as well as shamed me. I was cheered to find so little difficulty, when I had anticipated so much; and shamed to find in myself so little genuine faith, while this poor fellow, with less than twenty dollars a-year for his salary, manifested so much real confidence in God. Surely ‘where there is a will there is a way.’ The imposition of the institution of the Sabbath on converts from heathenism is felt to be an almost insurmountable obstacle by some Missionaries; so much so, that, reasoning from its impracticability, even its divine authority is called in question: but if it be a Divine command, universal and permanent, as I believe it to be, then let us feel persuaded that nothing is too difficult for the Lord.”

The efforts set on foot in this country for the suppression of the opium traffic have greatly cheered the hearts of the Missionaries. Thus Mr. Russell writes—“Though this monster of the opium trade is still progressing with its wonted strides, yet even here our hearts are greatly cheered by the intelligence which has lately reached us, that men of power and influence at home are now preparing to grapple with the evil, and, with united heads and hearts, to make such an appeal to the good sense and Christian feeling of our people as shall cause them to rise as one man for the obliteration for ever of an iniquity which so tarnishes the honour of our country, and so obstructs the progress of Christianity, which is dearer to us than even country itself.”

* *Vide* “C. M. Intelligencer” for October and November 1856.

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INDIA.

THE progress of Christianity in India is daily attracting more and more attention. We have several times lately inserted extracts from various secular periodicals bearing upon our work; and we now lay before our readers the greater part of an article from the "Friend of India" of February 12. It contains some inaccuracies, and the tone and language are ill suited to the subject. Its testimony, however, is valuable; and it is useful to look at Missionary results from another point of view besides our own. The foot-notes are ours.

"We do not often notice Missionary efforts, and our silence is deliberate. The oak can grow without watering, and we see little use in perpetually calling attention to the number of its rings. It is time, however, to mention a few plain facts. We are tired of listening to nonsense about the small results of Missionary work, the enormous revenue expended, the inadequate return secured. In the midst of the mighty events now passing over Asia, though every throne is rocking, every dynasty crumbling into dust—though the Tartar lords are ceasing from the face of the earth, and the great struggle of the North and the South seems rapidly approaching—there is no event more wonderful than the progress of the Mission power. Within one poor half century, the unregarded efforts of a few fanatics, with a 'visionary cobbler'* at their head, has become the strongest of social levers. If a third of the human race are now in internecine struggle among themselves, it is because a Missionary instructed a poor Chinese lad sick in his hospital. Dr. Livingston has done more to open up Southern Africa than ten expeditions could possibly have accomplished. He has revealed the great fact, that far beyond the wild tribes who fringe our southern colonies lies a great black race, gentle, and with that capacity for a low civilization which all negroes seem to possess. Dr. Krapf has opened Eastern Africa; and Europe hears from a Missionary for the first time of cities like Abbeokuta, where great and prosperous communities dwell without knowledge of any world beyond. We have Sir H. Rawlinson's word that a Missionary saved 30,000 Nestorians from extirpation. We say nothing of their success in the Southern Seas. . . .

"It is, however, in India that we are told that nothing has been done. Is it true? Is it nothing that one entire race, shortly to people an entire province, eagerly embraces Christianity, maintains its own pastors, builds its own churches, and, when called upon to suffer for the cause, dies calmly with Christ upon its lips? Those who know the Karens, know that they have done all this. Is it nothing, that at this very moment, in the jungles of Chota-Nagpore, among a race wild as our painted forefathers, three thousand men have declared their eagerness to be baptized?† that Government, with another wild race to tame, and that race recently in rebellion, can find no civilizers

* Dr. Carey.

† From a letter of Mr. Rebach, of February 19, we find, that, within six years, from 3000 to 4000 of the Coles have been baptized. They do not look up to Europeans for assistance, but build their own churches, chapels, and schools, and have

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so efficient as Christian Missionaries? * Is it nothing, that, among . . .
 . . . the pariahs of Lower India, one hundred thousand † men have embraced
 the faith, and do, so far as the human eye can see, live according to it?

“It has been evident for years, to all men with eyes, that the old fabric of
 Hindúism is breaking up. In the Arctic Seas, before the ice cracks, a low,
 steady murmur is heard, never ceasing, springing no one can tell whence, yet
 always, in the midst of the vague terror it suggests, announcing the approach-
 ing deliverance. The ice has not cracked, but the murmur which precedes it
 is on the air. Who believes in Hindúism? . . . Certainly not the Hindús.
 Suttee and widow celibacy are abolished; polygamy is doomed; and what Hindú,
 knowing all this, raises a hand? There is no heart left in the creed; and
 though it may exist for generations yet, as the corpse of the Roman paganism
 did, its downfall is assured.

“This has been accomplished by Missionaries, and is not the greatest
 of their achievements. For years their influence, and that of the class
 which supports them, has been permeating Indian society. That society
 is consequently utterly changed. . . . The tone of the official world has
 utterly changed. The dignitaries who, in 1810, endeavoured to drive the
 ‘fanatics’ from the country, in 1856, even while refusing their requests, admit
 that much is due to their ‘earnestness and experience.’ The avowed support
 or opposition of the body is as potent as that of any other single class. Is
 this nothing to have achieved? We have not spoken of souls saved, for we
 are not writing to religious men, who know these things without our guidance.
 We address those who will look only at the social aspect of the question, and
 we ask them whether the result does not justify the cost?

“We believe these truths are beginning to be felt in Europe. In 1832,
 there were twelve Missionaries beyond the Kurumnassa: there are now 102.
 Within the last few years, four new bodies have entered the field—the Swedish
 Missionary Association, the Moravians, the American Episcopal Methodists,
 and the Canadian Presbyterians.

“There is more wisdom shown, too, in the selection of men. Special Mis-
 sions are to be organized to the half-educated class which calls itself, and
 perhaps is, the hope of Bengal. Dr. Pfander, long engaged in efforts among
 the Mussulmans of Upper India, has been selected for the Mussulmans of
 Turkey. The patient, simple Germans, with their handicraft and medical
 skill, are selected for the jungle Missions. But the greatest hope of all
 remains in this—our schools and colleges, among the thousands they turn
 out, may yet produce a native apostle. We have ourselves seen
 two thousand natives losing all their apathy, jumping, screaming, gesticulating,
 at a song. The power of preaching among such a race has yet to be understood.”

CHINA.

Considerable anxiety continues to be felt for our Missionaries in China, more
 especially since the publication of a statement in the newspapers, to the effect
 that many Missionaries, as well English as American, have left Ningpo, and
 taken refuge in Shanghai, at which place the foreign community is better

already a Missionary Society among themselves, from which they send gospe mes-
 sengers towards those places where it is not yet known.

* P. 61.

† The numbers given in Mullens' Revised Statistics of Missions in India and Ceylon
 (1853) are 76,591 for the Madras Presidency. The grand total for all India, 112,191.

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protected than at Ningpo. The statement needs some explanation. There were rumours current at Ningpo respecting dangerous plots contrived by certain Cantonese residents, who were believed to be in secret communication with the authorities of the place. A conference was accordingly held among the Missionaries, and some of them deemed it prudent to remove with their families to Shanghae; while others resolved to continue at their posts. Of our own Missionaries, Mr. Cobbold had already gone to Shanghae, for a purpose entirely independent of the circumstances which, subsequently to his leaving, had led to the conference above referred to, and his family have since joined him. Mr. Gough has also deemed it right to send away his wife and child, but he himself determined to stand fast; while Mr. and Mrs. Russell both remain at their post. All praise be to God for their bold resolution! May He be their shield and their tower of defence! The native Christians have stood firm.

WESTERN INDIA.

The Rev. A. Frost, writing from Nasik, Jan. 1857, says—

“The experience of this year’s intercourse with the people, and a more intimate acquaintance with their character, and social habits, and prevalent religious opinions, bring more and more before my mind the formidable strongholds of Hindú heathenism. A native who is not influenced by any hope of worldly advantage must indeed be drawn by a mighty power before he can take the decisive step of confessing Christ, and enduring all its well-known consequences. It is only by continued intercourse with the natives, and reading their own books, that this so necessary knowledge can be obtained. I feel sure that the merely being informed of the habits of the Hindús, as many may be while living in England, is quite insufficient to give that realizing apprehension that is so strongly and painfully forced on the mind out here. Thus, for instance, at home we may read of Hindú caste customs, and their doctrines of transmigration—for in themselves the ideas are simple—but the constant acting out of caste prejudices in its innumerable ramifications must be witnessed to be invariably realized; and as to transmigrations, I am only lately believing and realizing that all the religious thoughts of all classes of the people radiate from that centre, which thus influences practically their daily ideas.

“How important is this increasingly intimate acquaintance with what is habitually passing in the native mind, in order to apprehend the obstacles the gospel of Christ has to surmount! I say important, not in order that these outworks may be the better assaulted, but that we may feel more and more the utter fruitlessness of all attempts to pull down these strongholds of Satan by mere human reasoning, when the wisdom of God has ordained that ‘the foolishness of preaching,’ the lifting up of Christ alone, is the single and only instrument. Thus, while continued dwelling among the heathen would tend at first sight to discourage and dishearten, yet if our experience be used aright, it will lead us more to rest on the promised power of the Spirit of God accompanying the simple and affectionate setting forth of Christ, and to trust that God will do for us what we might be led vainly to attempt, perhaps unconsciously, by, at least, a mixture of the wisdom of man; a wisdom to which, in the turning of man to God, Scripture gives no promise.

“This leads me to express here my strong feeling that our real spiritual usefulness as Missionaries, whether our duties be educational, pastoral, or itinerant, consists in the scriptural exhibition of Jesus Christ.

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“Even when the name of Christ has been often uttered, it too often happens that, excepting the holiness of Christ’s character, the hearers would be able to gather nothing more of Him than they might say is to be found in the shasters of the Hindú gods. There is too often a painful omission of those sweet traits in our Lord’s character, that are so well calculated to draw the hearers to Him in love, and which would unfold to them a gracious Person, as different from any of the heathen gods as light from darkness.

“How much do we all need the prayers of our brethren at home, that we may so know Christ, by a growing, happy experience of Him, that it may be more natural, so to speak, to dwell and enlarge upon the gracious and loving character of Jesus, than to speak of His miraculous power and holiness, and other subjects rather connected with the law than the gospel.

“And here—without wishing to express any opinion as to the aid afforded by Government schools to Missionary effort—I would merely recal the fact, that God has, in not a few instances, seemingly employed them as a preparatory step to the final enlightening of the heathen mind through a knowledge of Christianity. Doubtless, then, the same kind of aid, though different in degree, may be expected among the lowest classes from that simple showing of the folly of idolatry, and its innumerable customs, which the native preachers do with a facility and in a manner that perhaps no European could ever attain, even if he wished. I cannot doubt that God overrules all truth that is spoken in His name for His own glory, in His infinite wisdom.

“In conclusion, I would earnestly ask your prayers on our behalf, that we may have grace to be faithful in the setting forth of the Lord Jesus Christ in His fulness. And—as of next importance to us as Missionaries—that we may do this not only with our lips but in our lives—that we may show, to Christians and heathen alike, more and more of the mind that was in Christ Jesus. If this be deeply important in the ministry at home, how much more so is it here, where every inconsistency is observed and commented on by the native Christians, and where the heathen about us, in our household and elsewhere, narrowly watch us, and gladly lay hold of any thing by which they may lessen our influence and hinder our work?”

SOUTH INDIA.

In a letter from the Rev. P. S. Royston, dated March 14th, written immediately after his return from a tour in Tinnevely, he says—“On landing here, the first piece of good news which I heard was, that God has been pleased to give grace to two of Mr. Cruickshank’s senior pupils, and to the Preparandi Institution munshí, to embrace Christianity. This occurred the Monday after I left Palamcotta. The sensation caused in consequence has been exceedingly great, and no efforts have been spared to induce these young men to renounce the religion of Jesus; but He has kept them so far stedfast. I need not say how gladdening was this piece of news to us [Mr. Thomas and himself] on our arrival here. The former munshí* is now with them in one of the upper rooms of the printing-office, whither they have been sent for safety’s sake. Pray for these now tried brethren. Only four days previously, they, with some dozen others of the school, waited on me, with forty-five rupees, as a donation—as yet incomplete—from them in acknowledgment of their debt to the Church Missionary Society. I little thought when addressing them how soon I should hear of their far better donation.”

* “Church Missionary Record,” June 1856, p. 131.

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FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY.

THE Annual Sermon was preached before the Society on Monday evening, the 4th of May, at the parish church of St. Bride, Fleet Street, by the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, one of the Vice-Presidents, from John xx. 21. Collection 100l. 6s. 1d.

The Annual Meeting was held at Exeter Hall, Strand, on Tuesday, the 5th of May. The Right Hon. the President took the Chair at ten o'clock. Prayer having been offered, and Phil. ii. 4—11 read, by the Honorary Clerical Secretary, the Meeting was addressed by the Chairman. An abstract of the Report was then read by the Rev. John Venn, M.A., Prebendary of Hereford, and Rector of St. Peter's, Hereford. Resolutions were submitted and adopted as follows—

Movers and Seconders.

The Lord Bishop of London, and the Dean of Carlisle—the Lord Bishop of Victoria, and the Rev. J. A. Jetter, lately returned from a visit to Turkey, supported by the Rev. R. Clark, B.A., Missionary from Peshawar—the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, and the Rev. T. D. Bernard, Vicar of Terling, Essex—P. F. O'Malley, Esq., Q.C., and the Rev. W. Keane, A.M., Vicar of Whitby, Yorkshire (formerly attached to the Calcutta Cathedral Mission).

Resolutions.

—That the Report, of which an abstract has now been read, be received, and printed under the direction of the Committee; that the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle for his Sermon before the Society last evening; to His Grace the Vice-Patron; to the Right Hon. the President and the Vice-Presidents; and to all those friends who, during the past year, have exerted themselves in its behalf; and that the following gentlemen be appointed the Committee for the ensuing year, with power to fill up vacancies—

Major-Gen. Alexander.	H. Harwood-Harwood, Esq.	Robert France, Esq.
George Arbuthnot, Esq.	J. Gurney Hoare, Esq.	Lt.-Col. Rutherford.
John Ballance, Esq.	Lt.-Col. Hughes.	Colonel Smith.
John Bridges, Esq.	John Labouchere, Esq.	John Sperling, Esq.
Lt.-Col. Caldwell.	William Lavie, Esq.	H. Stokes, Esq.
William Dugmore, Esq.	Major Tudor Lavie.	J. M. Strachan, Esq.
James Farish, Esq.	H. Seymour Montagu, Esq.	John F. Thomas, Esq.
Russell Gurney, Esq. Q.C.	P. F. O'Malley, Esq., Q. C.	Robert Trotter, Esq.

—That this Meeting, while it would express its deep concern at the late manifestation of a fanatical and sanguinary spirit among the revolutionary party in China, and also at the infraction of peace at Canton, as well as the events in Turkey and Persia, would nevertheless remember that the God of nations has often, in the history of Missions, overruled the darkest providences for the furtherance of His truth; and would cherish the hope that He will yet cause the late wide dissemination of His holy word in those countries to bear fruit, and make the wrath of man and the diplomacy of Governments subservient to the entrance of gospel light.

—That, although the millions of Asia and Africa invite the friends of Missions to put forth their most strenuous efforts to impart to them the word of life, yet the scattered tribes of the great human family—such as those in North-West America—

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have a peculiar claim upon Christian sympathy; and the dispensations of Providence warrant the hope that their in-gathering into the fold of Christ may bring unlooked-for blessings to the church, and special glory to the Redeemer of the world.

—That while this Meeting thankfully acknowledges the liberal addition to the funds of the Society, chiefly through the exertions of its Associations, and the increase of Missionary candidates, during the last year; yet it would only regard these blessings as incentives to increase their efforts to enlarge both the funds and the agency of the Society, till they shall become more commensurate with the vast resources and the solemn responsibilities of this great Christian nation, and with the amount of success already granted to Christian Missions.

The financial statement presented to the Meeting was as follows—

<i>Income.</i>	
General Fund—Associations, Benefactions, Legacies, &c.	114,554 8 11
Deficiency Fund	6900 6 6
	121,454 15 5
Fund for Disabled Missionaries, &c.	1719 17 4
Total received in the United Kingdom	£123,174 12 9
<i>Expenditure.</i>	
On account of the General Expenses of the Society at home and abroad,	113,642 13 3
On account of Disabled Missionaries, &c.	5015 2 5
Total Expenditure	£118,657 15 8
Expenditure as above	118,657 15 8
Add Balance of last year	6493 6 7
	125,151 2 3
Income	123,174 12 9
Excess over Income	£1976 9 6

This excess has arisen, in a great measure, from the very unfavourable rates of exchange which have prevailed, especially in South India and China, throughout the year.

Local Funds raised in the Missions, and expended upon the operations of the Society, but independently of the General Fund, amounted last year to 12,574*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* This year's accounts have not yet been received.

The Report concluded thus—

The Committee feel it incumbent upon them, after reviewing the operations of the year, to add a word of caution, that they may not lead any to over-estimate the progress of the work of Missions. Though they can tell, through the great mercy of God, of work accomplished in the Colony of Sierra Leone, and in New Zealand, and in North-West America, yet these are comparatively insignificant tribes of the great family of uncivilized man, scarcely in the proportion of 1 to 3000. Though they can tell of a great work accomplished in South India, yet, taking all the converts of all Protestant Missions in India, there is not one in a thousand yet brought into the fold of Christ. And then, if the eye traverses the map from Constantinople, through the Turkish empire, Persia, Arabia, Central Asia, and China, and then ranges over Central Africa, it will have traversed more than half the population of the world, scarcely yet touched by Missions.

Nevertheless, the foregoing Report shows that the work of evangelization, though slow, though often imperceptible, though sometimes interrupted, is still a *sure* work. "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed

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into the ground . . . and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how." Forty-five years are spent in Sierra Leone, yet at last there is a Native Church established, with an indigenous ministry. In New Zealand the people now nearly all profess Christianity. In North India, however, more than forty European Missionaries labour a whole year, and scarcely one hundred are added to the number of converts. In South India, the journals of the Missionaries speak of many relapses—of many checks—yet at the close of the year more than a thousand converts have been added.

The conclusions to be drawn from these facts are—

That the conversion of the world is a great work, as yet scarcely commenced.

That the agencies now in operation are able, if adequately enlarged, and accompanied by the Spirit from on high, to accomplish that work. And,

That if the church of Christ desires to prosecute the work *in earnest*, it must put forth a far larger amount of effort, and of self-sacrifice, and of persevering prayer, than it has hitherto done.

Encouraged by the large income of the last year, by many tokens of sympathy, and by offers of co-operation, the Committee, at their last meeting, before resigning their annual functions, resolved to encourage their successors to enter, in the strength of the Lord, upon an era of more enlarged effort and of bolder aggression. With this resolution they closed their annual proceedings a few days ago. But since then it has pleased God to lay an additional obligation upon the Committee about to be elected. He has put it into the heart of an old friend of the Society to give a donation, expressly to encourage the Committee to send out additional labourers, in the confidence that God will provide, from year to year, the means of their support. That donation is 10,000*l.*, together with a sum, in the Long Annuities, equivalent to 1000*l.* a-year, for three years and a-half! "Enlarge then the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited. Fear not; for thou shalt not be ashamed: neither be thou confounded; for thou shalt not be put to shame: for thou shalt forget the shame of thy youth, and shalt not remember the reproach of thy widowhood any more. For thy Maker is thine husband; the Lord of Hosts is His name; and thy Redeemer the Holy One of Israel; The God of the whole earth shall He be called!"

The comparative view of the Statistics of the Missions for the last four years stands thus—

	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.
Stations	118	122	129	135
Clergymen: English	103	110	119	122
Foreigners	49	50	54	50
Natives and East Indians	24	29	30	46
Total number of Clergymen	176	189	203	218
European Laymen—Schoolmasters, Lay Agents, Printers, &c.	30	39	33	38
European Female Teachers (exclusive of Missionaries' wives)	14	12	9	12
Native and Country-born Lay Teachers of all classes	1652	1738	1849	1872
Communicants	17,152	17,909	18,725	18,786

The Meeting was closed as usual by singing, "From all that dwell below the skies," and the Doxology. Collection, 178*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*

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At half-past six o'clock in the evening another Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall, the Most Noble the Marquess of Cholmondeley, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair. The Rev. W. Knight, M.A., Secretary, offered up a prayer; and, after a few remarks by the Chairman, the Meeting was addressed by the Rev. J. Ridgeway, M.A., Editorial Secretary, and Major W. H. Horsley, Madras Engineers—the Rev. D. Hinderer, Missionary from Ibadan, in the Yoruba Country, and the Rev. J. Hawksworth, Missionary from Tiruwella, Travancore—The Rev. J. W. S. Powell, M.A., Rector of Abinger, Surrey, and the Hon. and Rev. S. Waldegrave, M.A., Canon of Salisbury, and Rector of Barford St. Martin, Salisbury; and was closed by singing, "All hail the power of Jesu's name." Collection, 17*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*

DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF SIERRA LEONE.

We have only room to insert, without remark, the annexed affecting extract from a letter of the Rev. E. Jones, dated April 23—

"My letter last month will in a measure have prepared you for the sad intelligence I have now to communicate. The Bishop gradually sank, and expired at about five o'clock in the morning of the 25th of March, just five days after the departure of the mail. It was little that he was able to say to any of us, owing to his extreme debility; but he lay quietly contemplating his approaching end. Once he attempted to speak to me of his journey, and the prospects of the Mission-work in Yoruba; but all he could utter was to say, in broken sentences, 'It is a glorious country, a glorious country.' The day before his death we had some hopes, however faint, but we were afraid to let him speak much. It became evident, on the Tuesday afternoon, the 24th, that he must soon be taken from us. He was perfectly conscious of what was passing around. On my daughter's coming into the room, he turned his eyes upon her with evident pleasure, and, holding out his hand to her, said, with a sweet smile, 'Sarah, is that you?' But he soon again lay quiet, only answering the questions that were put to him. A touching scene occurred about four hours before he breathed his last. A little after midnight Mrs. Frey said to him, 'Bishop, is the Lord precious to your soul?' A smile lit up his deathly face, and he spelt the word 'P-r-e-c-i-o-u-s,' distinctly articulating each letter, and then added quickly, 'Yes, very.' After this expression of how it was within him, he scarcely spoke another conscious word: the pangs of death came on, and he was no more amongst us."

Nor is this the only loss the Mission has sustained. The Rev. C. T. Frey, who first went out in 1841, was to have left for Teneriffe by the steamer which has brought the sad news of the Bishop's death; but a few hours before she sailed he breathed his last.

We have much pleasure in reporting the arrival in this country of the Rev. J. A. Jetter, from Turkey, and the Rev. A. Burn, from Sindh, on the 2d of May; the Rev. R. Clark, from Peshawar, on the 30th of April; the Rev. A. Mann, from Ijaye, and the Rev. J. S. Wiltshire (native), from Magbeli, on the 18th of May; the Rev. E. C. Stuart and Mrs. Stuart, from Jubbulpur, on the 14th; and Mr. and Mrs. C. Batstone, from Bhollobpur, with Miss Bomwetsch, from Santipur, on the 18th.

On the 19th the Committee took leave of the Rev. I. Wood and Mrs. Wood, returning to Ceylon; and of Mr. Paul Ansoerge, with Mrs. Ansoerge, late of the Krishnaghur Mission, who proceed to the Mauritius, with a view to labouring among the Bengali-speaking coolies in that island.

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DELIVERY OF THE COMMITTEE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO DEPARTING
MISSIONARIES.

AT a special Meeting held at the Missionaries' Children's Home, Highbury Grove, on Friday, June 5, the Committee took leave of the following Missionaries and their wives—the Rev. T. Tutting and Mrs. Tutting, proceeding to Peshawar; the Rev. T. G. Gaster and Mrs. Gaster, proceeding to Agra; the Rev. C. G. Daeuble and Mrs. Daeuble, to Benares; the Rev. Alured Clarke and Miss Stammer, to Tinnevely; the Rev. F. W. N. Alexander and Mrs. Alexander, to Masulipatam; Miss Meredith, to Madras; the Rev. J. T. Jones and Mrs. Jones, to Kandy; the Rev. T. Fleming, to Moose Fort; and Mr. J. P. Gardiner, with Mrs. Gardiner, to York Fort.

The Instructions of the Committee were delivered by the Rev. J. Ridgeway, and comprehended the following points—that, although the Missionaries were going forth to various and widely-separated parts of the world, they would find man, wherever they went, a sinner, the wreck of what he once was, and requiring the power of God to be interposed for his deliverance and salvation. Their duty, therefore, was to preach and teach Jesus Christ, and to instruct men in the knowledge of the gospel, through which God works out His purpose of mercy to man. One feature of Christian consistency was specially referred to—that of holy love and union. They were reminded of the dangers to which they were exposed in this respect, the need of Christian watchfulness. For the better conservation of this Christian grace, the Committee suggested united prayer; a measure the more desirable to be adopted, because such meetings would afford opportunity for the exercise of a most necessary Christian duty, the watchfulness of love. Even in professedly Christian lands, so numerous are the dangerous influences around, as to render necessary such mutual help on the part of Christian brethren: how much more in heathen lands, where morals are so depraved?*

The Missionaries, having acknowledged the Instructions, were addressed by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, who occupied the chair, and by other friends; and were finally commended in prayer to Almighty God by the Rev. C. F. Child.

The interest of the Meeting was enhanced by the fact, that among the departing band were two graduates of Oxford, and two of Dublin, three of whom had served for a considerable time in the sacred ministry of the church at home before giving themselves to the same blessed work abroad. May many have grace to follow them!

BISHOP WEEKS' LAST LETTER.

We have received an unfinished letter written by Bishop Weeks on his way to Sierra Leone, after having visited the Yoruba Mission, and giving very interesting details of that visit. It is dated Akropong, February 1857.

* The Instructions are given *in extenso* in the present month's "Intelligencer," and may also be had in a separate form on application to the Secretaries.

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At Otta, a town of 8000 inhabitants, where our native Missionary, the Rev. J. White, is stationed, speaking of the baptisms which we have already recorded, and the subsequent administration of the Lord's supper—Mr. White interpreting—the Bishop says, "It was the first time in the history of this town that either of the sacraments had been administered."

The next day, Monday, the Bishop left early for Abbeokuta, escorted by a number of converts from that town, who had come to Otta for the purpose. The party reached Abbeokuta on Tuesday.

"On Christmas-day, and the day after," the Bishop writes, "soon after breakfast, the communicants and candidates from Ake and the other churches in and near Abbeokuta, men and women, and their children, began to assemble, to pay their respects to us. They were dressed neat and clean; some, from Sierra Leone, in English, the rest in the Yoruba costume. It was a novel sight to witness from each church some sixty, eighty, or one hundred, squatting on the grass under the agreeable shade of the fine trees in the compound which Mr. Towasend had planted when he first came here. I had some word of advice and encouragement for each company. Andrew Wilhelm acted as interpreter. He was a member of the church at Hastings, Sierra Leone, when I was resident there, and now, after more than twenty-five years, I meet him in his own country, acting consistently all these many years.

"When our conversation and exhortation to each company were ended, they would all rise, with pleasant, smiling faces, to express their gratitude and thanks to God for His blessed gospel, and the rich blessing thereof, and also for the many dear Missionaries whom He has sent to minister to their spiritual and temporal necessities.

"Verily, I never spent a more happy day in Africa. The whole scene now passing before me bore the evident stamp of genuine native Christian simplicity. I was powerfully reminded of the general gathering together of the church of Christ from *all* nations, when they who have sown and those who have reaped shall greatly rejoice together.

"It was truly affecting and interesting to be told by one and another from among these Christian groups, who had been liberated by our Government, and located for a time in Sierra Leone, but who had now returned to fatherland, several of them to embrace their dear parent or parents, or relatives and friends—'You, Sir, taught me to read God's holy book in the Sunday-school.'—'You, Sir, instructed me in the Christian religion, and then baptized me at——.'—'By you, Sir, I was married at Regent Town.'—'You, Sir, sent me to Fourah Bay to be trained for a schoolmaster,' &c.

"My dear friend, the Rev. C. T. Frey, had far more of these touching recognitions than myself, as the members of the Yoruba tribe were more numerous in and near Waterloo, Mr. Frey's station, than any other part of the colony. Many a time, during my residence in St. Thomas', Lambeth, did I secretly desire to pay a visit to Abbeokuta, yet not daring to hope to have it gratified, and how far less that I should be here performing the holy duties of chief pastor to Christ's flock!

"Marvellous are Thy ways, O Thou King of saints!"

BAPTISM OF TWO NATIVES OF CENTRAL AFRICA.

During a special service—the second of a series—for the working-classes at Chatham, on Whit-Tuesday, June 2, two natives of Central Africa were baptized.

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Their ages are twenty-three and seventeen respectively. They accompanied the great African traveller, Dr. Barth, from their native town, Sakatu (Sokkato), on the Niger, through the Sahara to Tripoli, on the Mediterranean, and were brought by him to England. When on the eve of embarking on their return to Africa, they were, by a singular providence, brought into connexion with the Church Missionary Society, and committed to the care of the Rev. J. F. Schön, well known from his connexion with the first Niger Expedition. By means of their assistance Mr. Schön has been enabled to resume his study of the Hausa language, the most-extensively spoken in Africa—the court language of several kingdoms, holding the same position there that French does in Europe—and to complete his translations of several books of the Bible into it. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and the Book of the Acts, have been already printed, and some hundreds of copies of each have been forwarded to the Missionaries at Sierra Leone and the Niger.

While assisting Mr. Schön in the literary labour of translation, the word of God proved effectual to their conversion, a happy harbinger of what we trust it shall effect on a far wider scale on the Niger. In the baptismal service, those portions which were more immediately addressed to the catechumens were rendered into the Hausa language: thus one more tongue was employed for the first time at the recent Pentecostal season in the public worship of the true Prophet and Redeemer. The elder was baptized by the name of Frederick Buxton Abbega, and the younger by that of James Henry Dorygu. Frederick's sponsors were the Dowager Lady Buxton, Mr. T. Fowell Buxton, and the Rev. George Venables. James's were Mr. and Mrs. Fowell Buxton, and the Rev. H. Venn. An appropriate sermon was preached by the Rev. E. Hoare, of Tunbridge Wells, on "The baptism of the Holy Spirit."

There is every reason to be assured of the intelligence and sincerity with which these two youths have embraced the gospel.

SOUTH INDIA.

Native translation of an address delivered to the Rev. P. S. Royston, B.A., Secretary of the Corresponding Committee at Madras, on his arrival at Mengnanapúram on Jan. 27, 1857, by the catechists and schoolmasters of the above district.

"We heartily thank God, the Author of all goodness and mercy, for having preserved you from all the dangers and perils to which you have been exposed on your journey down from Madras, and having brought you to this place in sound health and strength, that we may be comforted together with you by mutual faith and love. We are desirous of bringing to your notice 'what God hath wrought' among us, through the instrumentality of the Church Missionary Society. While grateful to God for His unspeakable goodness to us, we feel thankful for the manifold blessings which we have received at the hands of benevolent gentlemen in Christian England, 'who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, and eternal life.' We pray God to bless them an hundred fold in this world, and in the next to bring them to that 'inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for' all them that love Christ's appearing.

"The country in which we are living was, half a century ago, in thick darkness, a land that was 'full of the habitations of cruelty,' theft, lying, suicide, assassination, and practices of the most debasing sensuality. Profi-

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gacy was universal, and chastity scarcely known. While it was in this deplorable condition, God, in mercy, sent forth His ambassadors and faithful servants from England, that blessed and favoured land, to declare His word, that its inhabitants, who sit in darkness, may know the joyful sound, and walk in the light of His countenance. The happy effects produced in this land by the preaching of the gospel are to all manifest. It humbles the sinner, and makes him flee to the God of salvation, by whom alone he obtains the remission of his sins. Where there was no education, instruction is provided; where no mercy felt, institutions of public benevolence have been established; where human misery lay unnoticed, there the sick are visited, the mourner comforted, and the bereaved children are earnestly cared for. Virtue, morality, and religion, are honoured. The female sex, which has been unkindly treated and degraded in all pagan, barbarous nations, is now gradually being elevated. Hospitals, asylums for the orphan, the blind, and the idiot, numerous institutions of learning, with Christian churches for the poor as well as for the rich, have been erected. Societies for the cheap circulation of many good and useful books, and, above all, of the Bible, have increased to an amazing degree. Finally, it gives its sincere followers happiness in death, when they go to that eternal abode of happiness, where they will reign as kings and priests with Him who bought them by His precious blood. Many more things can be described; but these few facts will suffice to show how Christianity, and it alone, has produced such happy effects in individuals, families, and nations, in times of health, in hours of sorrow, and in a dying day. Thanks be to the Almighty and most merciful God for His infinite and resplendent love and beneficence to us, the poor inhabitants of this heathen land, for ever and ever! Amen."

ENGLISH RIVER, RUPERT'S LAND.

We have received tidings from the English River, under date Dec. 22, 1856. The following is an extract from Mr. Hunt's letter—

"We are very sorry that no account has reached us even of the names of the friends to whom we are indebted for various gifts of clothes, goods, &c., for this station; and we are therefore reluctantly compelled to defer any particular and personal acknowledgment of the highly-valued favours we hope to receive some time next August, but this will be too late to write by return of the ships in 1857. We beg our Christian friends to accept this explanation till we can embrace the first possible opportunity of making a more suitable acknowledgment. We trust that our difficulties, which so distress us, will not diminish, but increase their charitable and prayerful remembrance of us and our church in this wilderness."

EMBARKATION OF MISSIONARIES.

Mr. and Mrs. P. Ansoerge embarked, May 25th, on board the "Wellesley," for the Mauritius. The Rev. I. Wood and Mrs. Wood embarked at Gravesend, June 3d, on board the "Fortitude," and the Rev. J. I. Jones and Mrs. Jones at the same place, June 8th, on board the "Caroline Coventry," for Ceylon. The Rev. F. N. Alexander and Mrs. Alexander, with the Misses Meredith and Stammer, embarked at Portsmouth, June 10th, on board the "Nile," for Madras. The Rev. T. H. Fleming, with Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Gardiner, embarked at Gravesend, June 19th, for Rupert's Land.

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PERILOUS POSITION OF OUR MÍRUT MISSIONARIES DURING THE LATE MUTINY.

THE perilous position of our Mírut Missionaries, during the late mutiny of the native regiments stationed at that city, will be appreciated from the ensuing extract from a letter of the Rev. A. Medland to the Secretaries, dated Mírut, May 16, 1857, six days after the outbreak of the disturbances.

“Whilst I was performing service in our Mission chapel on Sunday evening, I heard a great noise, shouting and yelling, accompanied by occasional firing of musketry. At the conclusion of the prayers I inquired the cause, and was informed that the sepoys were fighting in their own lines. Apprehending no danger, as the lines were at some distance, I commenced my sermon; but had not proceeded far, when a man rushed in and informed me that the sepoys were advancing upon us, and murdering all the Europeans they could lay hands on. Mr. Parsons, our catechist, quickly followed, and confirmed his statement, when I at once dismissed the congregation, and, at his suggestion, drove off in a direction opposite to my house. By this time huge masses of smoke were ascending in various directions, and, shortly after, we passed the European troops marching to the scene of disturbance. Being assured the danger was imminent, we proceeded to seek shelter in the house of a friend. Ere we could enter his compound, we heard a savage yell behind us, and immediately an empty buggy passed: the owner, we have since heard, was murdered on the spot, and a gentleman who accompanied him very dangerously wounded. We, however, were mercifully permitted to enter our friend's house in safety, where we remained until escorted by some officers to a place of greater security. The night was passed in a state of fearful anxiety and suspense, whilst the illuminated sky, and the distant firing, proclaimed that the work of destruction and carnage was proceeding. Towards morning the firing ceased, when we were horrified by the various accounts which were brought in. On Monday my servants came, and informed me that a large crowd of natives from the city, probably a thousand, came to my house on the preceding evening, inquiring for Mrs. Medland and myself, and threatening to cut us in pieces. Learning, however, that we were not there, they instituted a diligent search, but, failing in their object, they set fire to the house and adjoining premises. The whole of our property was either burnt or stolen, and, with the exception of a few articles of wearing apparel which have since been thrown back, we have nothing left save the clothes we have on. The mob next inquired for Joseph, my catechist. He, however, was at church, and accompanied me when I fled as far as he could keep pace with my horse. I then directed him to follow on as best he could, but, mistaking my directions, he proceeded by a circuitous route to my house in the city. He was recognised, beaten, and left for dead. However, he revived, ran away, hid himself, and a day or two after, having carefully disguised himself, returned to me. I have since learned that a mob approached the Mission premises; but,
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learning from the chowkedar that Mr. Lamb's house was empty, and he on the hills, they departed without doing any damage. I have not yet been able to venture into the city to ascertain if any of my property remains—it would probably be at the risk of my life to do so—but I gather from my servants that the dwelling-house, schoolroom, and a small bungalow used as a girls' schoolroom, have all been destroyed. We have been most hospitably received by Major Scott, formerly a Member of our Calcutta Committee, who, with Mrs. Scott, have, in the most kind and hospitable manner, ministered to all our wants. We are now quartered with the civilians and ladies of the station in the Artillery Dépôt, where it is supposed we shall be obliged to remain for some considerable time. We are living in a state of continued excitement; and when the intelligence of the Delhi massacre was received, and it was generally supposed that the insurgent troops would return here, the faces of many literally 'gathered blackness,' and many, I may say all, began to prepare for the worst. However, thanks be to God! we are still in safety; and now that favourable accounts are being received from many of the surrounding districts, hope again beams on our countenances, and confidence is being restored.

"The Missionaries and native Christians at Delhi are, I believe, killed. All our native Christians are in safety, and have returned to the Mission compound. This necessarily causes an entire suspension of our work, and it will, I am afraid, be a very long time ere we shall be enabled to resume it. The desire of the mob for the Missionaries was too marked to be mistaken. For ten days previously the conduct of the people in the streets and lanes where we preached was exceedingly insulting, more so than I have ever before experienced. At present we are in great confusion and excitement. I am writing this in a large barrack-room filled with people, and children crying and playing about. We cannot be too thankful to Almighty God for His merciful preservation of us; and, whilst praising Him for the past, we are encouraged to confide in Him for the future, being confident that He who helped us will continue to do so, and will ultimately overrule even this afflictive dispensation for the furtherance of His own glory."

Since the above was put in type, despatches, having reference to the same solemn events, have been received from Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Amritsar, and Peshawar, too late, however, to admit of their introduction into the "Recent Intelligence." Extracts from these letters are now being printed for immediate circulation, to a limited extent, among our friends, and the whole will be placed fully before our readers in the next Number of the "Intelligencer."

VISIT OF THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA TO BENARES, AGRA, &C.

We are glad that we have it in our power to present our readers with an interesting extract from a letter of the Bishop of Madras to the Bishop of Calcutta, dated Dera Ghazee Khan, on the banks of the Indus, March 10, 1857, giving a comprehensive view of our work in the districts visited by his Lordship during the last cool season.

"I visited the Missions of the Church Missionary Society at Benares, Juanpur, Azimgurh, Gorruckpur, Agra, Mirut, Simla, Oude, Amritsar, and Peshawar. I have to express my unabated admiration and thankfulness of

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the efficient manner in which they are carrying on their great and important work. At the two old and long-established Missions, Benares and Agra, which have had the benefit of the labours and prayers of dear Corrie and H. Martyn in their commencement, and have had such a succession of faithful and zealous labourers since that time, I felt that there had been the most marked and manifest progress and improvement. At Benares I merely visited the Mission as a friend. My labours did not commence there, but I could not help feeling, as I stood in the fine church on the Mission premises, which I opened ten years ago, and as I went through the noble institution of Jay Narain's school, that God was owning and blessing abundantly the labours of His servants in a most wonderful manner.

“And at Agra every thing impressed me with a sense of progress. The church, crowded with happy faces, more than could be accommodated—as the 174 candidates for confirmation almost filled it; the schools, and especially the girls' and the infant-schools; the scene at the press, with its openings for employment for the native Christians; but still more the noble schools at the Kuttra, under your single-hearted men, Messrs. French and Leighton, and the Mission in that part of Agra; gave me the abiding conviction that they were not spending their strength for nought, nor their labour for that which profiteth not. Two cautions I would make with regard to these Missions. First, I hope the Committee will not be in a hurry to remove those honoured Missionaries who are labouring with so much acceptance and success. Remove those, if you think good, who have been long at a place, and have given no token that their labours have been owned and blessed, but do not remove those who are happy in their work, and evidently blessed of God in it. Secondly, guard against secularity in your Missions. I refer to your press, and to your industrial openings for the employment of your converts. I know they are necessary—you cannot get on without them—but leave them to secular agents. Do not let your ministers have any thing to do with them if it can be avoided. Let them not leave ‘the word of God to serve tables.’

The other Missions of this Society are, generally speaking, in their infancy; but my heart was cheered to see so many stations in our recently-annexed territories occupied by the Missionaries of this Society. They are for the most part well chosen, and the commencement, as far as I could judge, is all that could be desired. At Amritsar, Peshawar, and Múltan, you have just the men for the places—clear-headed, judicious, earnest, and full of the spirit of love. The schools are ably carried on, and already give promise of blessed fruit. Indeed, I could not help feeling that it was a most gracious Providence which led the church to seize upon these openings so soon after the annexation, and an indication of the gracious purposes for which these lands have been put into our possession. May all the members of our church, both at home and in this country, be grateful for the mercy vouchsafed, and not be backward to help, with their prayers and their pecuniary resources, these benevolent designs!”

RUPERT'S LAND.

The following is an extract from a letter of the Rev. A. Cowley, dated Indian Settlement, Red River, May 8, 1857—

“Here the Lord's blessing continues to rest upon our labours: one and

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another, from time to time, join us in Christ. Besides, as a matter of course, a great number of infants, I have lately baptized two adults from among the heathen Indians, and there are others under instruction with a view to baptism. I trust the whole Mission field is as promising as ever, if not more so, in some points of view, while in others we fear we discern gathering clouds, threatening evil. Population is on the increase, and a spirit of enterprise is gaining among the people. The Company are no longer able to rule the people as formerly. The United-States' subjects are approaching nearer and nearer: every year a reciprocal trade is carried on with them, and causing increased activity. A proposition, too, for annexation to Canada has lately been made, and a petition to that effect drawn up, and signed by very many, with a view to its presentation to the Canadian Parliament. A steam-engine has been introduced from the States, and has been worked very successfully, in grinding grain, by a native of the country. Another is talked of for the lower part of the Settlement, approachable from this, and, it is likely, will really be erected. I hear, also, that the Americans are building a steam-boat on this river, with a view to its plying between the Settlement and the nearest town in the States. It is in these movements that we think we see danger to the Indian in his present state. **Q** that the Gospel of God could reach and prepare him for this change! A rival Company is springing up, and it requires no great discrimination to see, in the future, the sad effects of competition among a people already scattered and peeled. May the Lord avert every evil!

“The winter through which we have just passed has been, I think, the most severe and most protracted I have known. It was not only intensely cold, but it continued cold for a very long time, which here is rather unusual; and it is only this week that we have begun to plough for wheat. The ground is not yet thawed, and in many places it is still covered with winter snow. The ice on the river moved a little on the 5th; it was much broken and carried downward by the current the day following; and yesterday nearly all floated away. To-day we have only the ice lodged along shore, fragments of which occasionally find their way into the stream, and float down: otherwise the river is clear. May the genial showers of mercy, and the beams of love from on high, so thaw our poor souls and enliven our spirits, that the graces of pure Christianity may flow out!”

EMBARKATION OF MISSIONARIES.

The Revs. Messrs. Tuting, Gaster, and Daeuble, with their wives (p. 177), embarked at Portsmouth, on the 1st of July, on board the “Barham,” for Calcutta.

RETURN HOME OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. W. Young—with Mrs. Frey, widow of the late Rev. C. T. Frey (p. 152)—left Sierra Leone in the steamer “Niger,” on account of the failure of his health. Off Teneriffe, in the evening of the 12th of June, the steamer was wrecked, but the lives of all on board were mercifully preserved. Mr. Young and Mrs. Frey subsequently left Teneriffe in the steamer “Candace,” and arrived at Plymouth on the 8th of July.

The Rev. H. Reeve and Mrs. Reeve left Shanghae, in the “Palmyra,” on the 2d of March, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 18th of July.

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AMONG all classes in society the all-absorbing subject of public—and, in thousands of cases, of family and personal—interest for some weeks past has been, INDIA. The soldiers of Jesus Christ, though the weapons of their warfare are not carnal, are at this moment encountering in that country perils of a kind far different from any which they or their friends anticipated when they left their native shore. Many anxious inquiries are addressed to us in their behalf, and many, who do not write to ask, are, nevertheless, longing to hear how a gracious God may have dealt with them in the hour of woe. And anxiety on their account is especially enhanced among those who are confidently told that Missionary effort is the main cause of the outbreak. We have therefore *quadrupled* the number of pages usually set apart for Recent Intelligence, in order to give a somewhat extended view of the events which have suspended the work, and harrowed the feelings of so many of our beloved friends abroad. So far as regards *our own* Missionaries, it will be seen that, though some of them have been brought through the flood and the fire, not a hair has hitherto been suffered to fall from the head of any; and even the destruction of property has been less than might have been anticipated.

We do not wish to take up space devoted to the narratives of eye-witnesses, already too limited, by remarks of our own. It would be unfitting, however, to send out these pages without noticing two special points. One is, the call for devout thankfulness that the good providence of God, up to our latest accounts, has been so signally manifested in the preservation of His servants. The other is, *the absence of the slightest indication of any thing like an onslaught on Missionaries or their establishments*. It is true, a religious complexion has been given to the movement; but all this notwithstanding, the one or two Missionaries who are known to have fallen, in connexion with other Societies, have fallen as *Europeans*, and, as such, as *Christians*, but not as *Missionaries*. Those who have been in peril, or who have lost their all, have shared in equal measure the common lot of their countrymen and fellow-religionists; but in no instance have any suffered as marked men. It will be recollected, that, at Meerut, Mr. Lamb's bungalow was not burned down; and, at other stations, it is said that the *churches* have escaped, where residences have been destroyed. And as regards the Missionaries themselves, though it were presumption to limit the power of God, or His willingness to protect where He is loved and served, yet it is not going too far to say, that, had the Missionary body been a special object of attack, there must have been either a far larger loss of life among them, or a far more marked and special providence in their escape. We regard this in itself a sufficient answer, independent of other considerations, to the allegation that the root of the insurrection is Missionary aggression. Who can doubt that it will be proved eventually that the friends of Christian progress, like Elijah and Elisha, have been, throughout this frightful struggle, the "chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof?" and the discerning reader will pick out from the ensuing extracts a few of those many indications

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from which it may be made to appear convincingly, that the feelings which THEY have called forth among the natives in general have been in mitigation, rather than in aggravation, of terrors which, half told as they are, have made both the ears of them that hear to tingle.

We shall place first in order extracts from our most recent intelligence from each of the three Presidencies, and then insert passages narrating the occurrences at some of the most heavily visited of the stations. Several of them are from letters addressed by the Missionaries to members of their own families, and by them kindly placed at our disposal.

A portion of the information here embodied has already been printed, and partially circulated, in a paper entitled "The Crisis in India." It is reprinted here, in order to give the substance of our intelligence under a single point of view.

The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert writes from *Calcutta*, July 4—

"Since my last letter to you, on the 19th ult., we have, thank God, been preserved in safety and peace in *Calcutta*. There has indeed been much alarm and excitement, especially amongst the East-Indian population; but since more decided protective measures have been adopted by the Government; since numbers of persons, before quite defenceless, have got arms, and are prepared to defend themselves and their neighbours; and since the much-dreaded 23d of June (the centenary of the battle of *Plassy*) has passed over without disturbance here in *Calcutta*, the extreme fear has much subsided amongst us.

"There appears to have been some ground for fear. It seems pretty certain, or at least highly probable, that the Mussulmans did contemplate some general and desperate move on the 23d. But the detection of their plots—the finding of their papers, including, it is said, a plan of *Calcutta*, marked out into districts for general and simultaneous attack—the seizing of the king of *Oude*—the generally-believed reports of the failure of the rebels at *Delhi*—the state of preparation in which they saw us to be to repel any violence—and, above all, the gracious interposition of our God in sundry ways—all concurred to cow and to disconcert them; so that, though there was much alarm amongst the middling orders on that day, and many took refuge in places of security, there were no real grounds to apprehend danger.

"In the mean time, however, the revolt has been going on up the country. We still hear of station after station being the scene of some furious outbreak. *Cawnpur* and *Lucknow*, especially the former, appear to be in a sort of state of siege, the end of which is still uncertain, though becoming less painfully so every day, as our European force is increasing in the country. *Sultanpur*, *Seetapur*, *Fyzabad*, *Shahjehanpur*, *Bareilly*, and *Futteghur* stations, in or near *Oude*, have all been lost, and the barbarities inflicted on the Europeans in some of them are most horrifying, as you will doubtless see fully in the newspapers. Many other places, too, have fallen, with varying degrees of atrocity in the details. In some, as at *Azimgurh*, the Sepoys appeared anxious to avoid shedding blood, and only wanted to secure the public treasure: in others, they, and especially the Sowars (native horsemen), seem to have rioted in carnage with a fiendish delight.

"Thank God, all our Missionaries and their families are still safe. Mr. Stern, respecting whom we were for some days very anxious, has written to us, and

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we forward to you a copy of his letter (June 17)" [not yet received], "assuring us of his safety, and stating how affairs stand at Gorruckpúr.

"We have not heard further from Mr. Medland, nor at all, since these disturbances began, from several of the Missionaries up the country; but we have the best hopes that they are all safe and well.

"Native Christians in Calcutta and in Krishnagurh have sent memorials to the Government, expressing their sympathy and loyalty, and offering the best aid in their power. But those who have been entrusted with presenting them have been requested by Government Secretaries not to ask for a public presentation, as it would not be expedient under present circumstances! though Hindú and Mussulman memorials of the same sort are officially received and publicly acknowledged by the Governor-General in Council, through his chief Secretaries.

"Thus affairs go on here. Much prayer has been, and is being, called forth on behalf of India and its people, by these events; and these prayers surely cannot all be lost. Let us have the help of your's."

The next extract is from a letter of the Rev. P. S. Royston, dated *Madras*, July 10.

"Through God's mercy we have been kept in perfect quiet here, although our East-Indian community has more than twice been in a shameful state of panic. Bengali Sepoys have already arrived upon us; but all due precaution has been taken to suppress any thing like disaffection. The natives seem apprehensive of a rising among the Mohammedans, who are said to be swarming into Madras from various quarters; but probably *they* are in an equal state of alarm.

"The death of the late Nizam, just when it did occur, bears evident marks of our great Father's providential care. I mention these things, as I dare say you will feel anxious to know the state of feeling that exists in our Presidency. Every thing is as usual, except that there is a troop of horse artillery in Government Gardens; that most people are getting arms in their possession, and that a regiment of horse and infantry volunteers has been raised from among our residents. No official news as yet of the fall of Delhi. What will be the issue of all? Will the oppression of the poor ryots cease; the opium trade be suppressed; Brahminism be crushed; and Christianity acknowledged as the religion of England? Doubtless God has some great design, which is gradually being accomplished by all these severe visitations.

"We had a special meeting for humiliation and intercession for Christian brethren in the north, last week, in our Mission house. We could hardly find room for all our friends. Next Friday evening will (D.V.) be set apart for the same object."

From *Bombay*, the Rev. G. Candy writes thus (July 14)—

"My last letter to you was despatched only fourteen days ago. As my strength is very small, I should not write to you so soon again, were it not that in these disastrous times you must be anxious to get tidings by every opportunity. How the heart of England must be stirred up from one end of the land to the other by the tidings the last four mails have conveyed! What mourning and woe throughout the country! You must feel it at home even more than we out here, by reason of distance and uncertainty. The catalogue

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of murders is not yet completed, but I trust it is drawing near its close. Thanks be to God! the Bombay army has stood firm, as has also the Madras army; and there have been no mutinies in either Presidency, except in connexion with Bengal troops—as at Neemuch and Nusseerabad—or contingents formed of men drawn out of the disaffected provinces—as at Aurungabad, Mhow, Indore—&c.

“As yet very few particulars have been made known of losses sustained by any of the Missionary Societies, or what proportion of native Christians there is among the slaughtered. It will be a work of time to collect accurate information upon these points. The Rev. Mr. Hubbard, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at Delhi, is the only Missionary, as far as I am aware, of whose murder there is certain information. At Loodianah the American Presbyterian Mission has sustained a heavy pecuniary loss in the destruction of their press, premises, &c.

“Our dear brethren at Nasik have been in some alarm and anxiety, as a bad feeling has been manifested by some of the townspeople, and they were quite without any means of defence, save a trust in the Lord of Hosts. I have had one or two letters from Mr. Price upon the subject, who has been desirous of obtaining arms for the converts. He has agreed with me, however, that prayer is their best weapon. We make special prayer for them continually here. I trust, moreover, that their ground of apprehension is by this time removed, as troops moved from this place and from Poona last week, to form a moveable column at Malligaum, to act in whatever quarter occasion may arise. The passing of a portion of these troops through Nasik will no doubt have tended to quiet the inhabitants.”

Our next extracts are from earlier letters of Mr. Cuthbert's.

“June 5—Indirect tidings have at length arrived respecting Mr. Sandys' son, Daniel, and the Rev. A. Hubbard, brother to our Benares' Missionary, at Delhi. A fugitive native Christian, who escaped to Agra, states, according to Mr. French, that he saw D. Sandys lying dead, and that another native Christian told him that he had seen Mr. Hubbard cut down by the mutineers. There is but too much reason to fear that this information is correct, though, so uncertain is *native* testimony in most cases, some little doubt must still attach to it till it is confirmed. Mr. Sandys, as you may suppose, is in the most anxious and distressing suspense respecting his son.

“It is probably premature, as yet, to theorize on the real original cause of this disastrous outbreak. The opinion seems gaining strength that it is, in its origin, a Mussulman movement—possibly instigated by some of the de-throned Mussulman princes—and that the poor simple Hindú sepoys have been merely made cats'-paws of by crafty and hostilely-disposed Mohammedans, who excited them about the new cartridges, which were to have been greased, they said, with beef suet, to destroy the caste of the Hindú, and with pigs' fat to defile the Mussulman; the fact being, however, that not a single cartridge of the kind has yet been issued.

“The Mohammedans are said to have a tradition among them—founded, they allege, on something in the Korán—that the English rule in India is to continue but for 100 years, and that we are to be expelled about the centenary—this year—of the battle of Plassey. This tradition does not, however, seem to have been known by many till the present disturbances had broken out.

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“Irreligious persons at home will, probably enough, try to raise a cry against Missionary work, as if it had given rise to these disturbances. But as yet *the slightest symptom has appeared to indicate any thing of the kind.* Indeed, right-minded men will conclude that the lack of Missionary work, the leaving men in such dense ignorance of our religion, has had much more to do with the matter.

“Prayer-meetings have been, and are to be, held here, to implore the divine interposition in this alarming crisis; and we have no doubt that Christian friends will in this way cordially help us.

“June 19—At the dead of night—13th and 14th—an express arrived from the Brigadier at Barrackpúr, that the native troops there—three or four regiments—including the lately bepraised and bethanked, “loyal and devoted” 70th, were prepared to rise in mutiny early in the morning of the 14th—Sunday—and asking for English troops from Calcutta. At two o’clock in the morning a regiment was marched off to meet the insurgents, who seem to have been expected, according to what was rumoured of their intentions, to come down by the *road* upon Calcutta, for the English troops were sent up by the road, instead of by the railway, which is on the other side of the river. Barrackpúr is about fourteen miles off. These sudden and unwontedly vigorous movements, together with the fact of two or three ladies arriving in the middle of the night from Barrackpúr, and reporting, as was said, that the troops *had* risen on the evening of the 13th, and were marching on Calcutta, produced a tremendous panic as they began to be known. Hundreds of persons took refuge in the fort, and great numbers went on board ships in the river. Many more arranged, as they best could, central places, to which they could easily resort in case of an alarm, and defend themselves and their families. Arms were given out freely from the public arsenal to every respectable applicant during the whole of Sunday, and private arms’ shops were also engaged in disposing of weapons all day long. Parties of Europeans—sailors and others—were hastily organized, to defend some of our large school establishments, especially female-schools, which would probably be made points of attack, and of terrible atrocity, by a licentious Mussulman rabble, also hotels and other places. The banks had wisely organized such a guard for themselves some days before. The churches were, in the evening, very thinly attended, and all Calcutta was most seriously alarmed, though many persons became a little more tranquil when the native soldiers *in* Calcutta were disarmed, which was done about five P.M., and when news came from Barrackpúr, that up to that morning at least there had been no actual outbreak.

“For myself, having been called on, very early in the morning, by two persons, one after the other—who had gained their information quite independently of each other, and from quite different quarters—telling me of the alarming reports that were abroad, and one of them bringing his wife to place her here, and the other saying that he had put his family into a vessel on the river, I thought it right to go out and inquire further what real ground there was for alarm. The result was, a conviction that no desperate step need be taken just then. It happened that I had to preach in the morning in the old church, in behalf of our Society, and I endeavoured to adapt my discourse to the occasion, dwelling upon, the Present Crisis—the Future Prospect, both in a Missionary point of view, and the Path of Duty; urging, on this head,

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that we should, 1. resort to our God; 2. stand by our Government; 3. maintain a calm, collected mind, and be ready for whatever was before us; 4. show ourselves thankful for mercies already vouchsafed. The congregation was good. Early in the afternoon, after a hospital service which I have, I went to see what arrangements had been made by our brethren in Amherst Street—I had seen and consulted with Mr. Long already twice during the day—for themselves and those around them. The almshouse, close by, was to be the rendezvous for all that part of the town: arms had been obtained for its defence, and arrangements were made to receive female fugitives in one large apartment, and males in another. Dr. Duff and Mr. Long had chiefly arranged this. After this I came home, sat up part of the night, till all seemed to be quiet, and the night passed off, thank God, without any disturbance.

“Before daylight, however, of Monday morning the ex-king of Oude, who was living at Garden Reach, near Calcutta, was seized, with his chief attendants, and brought a prisoner into the fort. His followers—reckoned at from 800 to 1200—were all disarmed. This was done with much judgment and skill. Information, it seems, had been received, connecting their names most seriously with the present insurrection; and papers found with some of his people are said to confirm the suspicion which had long been entertained by private persons. The King of Delhi is also said to have thrown himself fully into the movement, so that it is becoming more and more decidedly a Mohammedan one.”

The following extract embodies the views of a newly-arrived Missionary, the Rev. T. Greaves (Calcutta, June 16), whose first experience has differed materially from that of most who have preceded him; yet his courage is undaunted, and his hope full of lively anticipation of good things to come.

“Our little Missionary body in this part of the town, which is as little protected as any, have felt it quite necessary to be on their guard against possible exhibitions of fanatical violence on the part of the thousands of Mussulmans and others by whom we are surrounded. But we are in God’s hands, and I confess I have, from the beginning, had little personal fear. The state of things is indeed painful, for I suppose there is scarcely an European here who does not feel, to some extent, as if he was in an enemy’s country. The very servants, of whom our houses are full, are whispering dark things among themselves, and throwing out hints—by no means the most benevolent—of what may happen to their “sahibs;” and as for the regiments, there is not one whose fidelity can be trusted for a day. This mail will bring home further news of treachery and murder at Allahabad and elsewhere, and of regiments, who were supposed to be quite uninfected with the mutinous spirit, suddenly turning round, shooting their officers, and slaughtering every European they could lay hold of.

“Yet, although all this is doubtless a chastisement for our national and individual sins in regard to India, and in particular that we have done so little to make known the Gospel of Christ, and to diffuse scriptural truth among the people of this land, I have faith to believe that things will yet be brought round again, and perhaps set upon a surer basis than they have ever been before. There will, of course, be a complete change in the discipline of the Bengal army. Officers will be required to know more of the men, of the

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language, and of the native character, than they have hitherto done. Many more Europeans troops will be kept here. Is it too much to hope that the Government may see the rottenness of the principle upon which they have hitherto acted, of refusing to interfere, as they call it, with the wretched systems of religion under which the people of this land are debased; and that they may at length admit that by giving secular education without the word of God, and thus training up a race of infidels, we are not going the right way to make loyal subjects for Queen Victoria—to say nothing of aught else? And may we not also hope that the church of Christ in England may be aroused to a deeper sense of the duty which devolves upon her of doing far more for the evangelization of India than she has ever yet done; and that, besides more soldiers to keep the country in order, we shall be having, also, fresh soldiers of the cross, to aid in furthering the kingdom of the Prince of Peace? Such petitions are rising from the hearts of many of God's people in Calcutta, and will surely be joined in by many more at home. A spirit of prayer has been awakened here, and meetings—public, private, Missionary, and congregational—have been and are being held, for the purpose of supplicating the divine blessing upon this land, and the elicitation of ultimate good out of the present evils. Much confidence, also, is expressed that it will be thus. The fact that this wicked conspiracy was entirely unprovoked, and also that it has been characterized by the most disgraceful perfidy and brutality, of itself inspires the hope that we shall not in vain seek for the interference of that Lord who “will abhor the bloody and deceitful man.” And although we, as Englishmen, have no cause for self-complacency, but much for deep humiliation before God, yet I am disposed to believe that He has still a work for us to do in India, and that, for the accomplishment of that work, He will yet preserve to us our dominion. May He also grant that we may, as a nation, act for the future more worthily of the important trust committed to us!”

BHAGULPÚR.

Mr. Erhardt writes from Bhagulpúr, June 20. It will be recollected that he had previously laboured in East Africa, but has lately gone to North India, with a view to extended operations among the Santhals.

“You have, of course, heard—who has not?—of the lamentable state the country is in hereabout and higher up. But the great mercy of our Heavenly Father has hitherto spared us from an open outbreak, but we do, indeed, not know what one day or one hour may bring forth. All the ladies of the station left last week, except the Missionaries' wives. We are still at our post, but living, the last sixteen days, in constant fear and apprehension. A report of the fall of Delhi, communicated last night, has diminished our fears a little: still we cannot manage to enjoy one quiet night. May the Lord, in His great mercy, save us from the hands of cruel and bloodthirsty men.

“The rains have set in in right earnest, and they may probably, in God's mercy, tend to keep us quiet here, as the rivers between here and the Santhal country rise very much.

“Our work is almost entirely stopped, at least as regards school and bazaar preaching; but we trust the Lord will nobly compensate this temporary stoppage when the victory has been gained. There is already a feeling gathering ground, that the British rule is, after all, better than any other, and

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a larger and wider door will be opened for the successful work of the servants of God. May the Lord preserve His work from the ravages of the wicked!"

BENARES.

Mr. Leupolt writes from Secrole Barracks, Benares, June 5—

"Here I sit in the midst of rebellion. Yesterday I wrote to you, all quiet. The letter went off. We went to our dinner, and I had scarcely finished the same when we heard firing. I went on the church tower to see, and, as I saw the smoke arising from the barracks, I understood the firing well. The previously-adopted plan was carried into execution. Smith and family, Fuchs and family, and my Jane Martha, the Cobbs, Hubbards, and Storrs, set out for Gharwa. My large omnibus was in readiness to take them on. I then arranged for our Christians and the girls. We found it best to remain where we were. In fact, we could not move for want of conveyance. I posted our people round the bungalow and the compound, and then took quietly my tea. P— joined me. I intended to stay in my bungalow; but towards ten o'clock P.M. Colonel Gordon sent me word by P— to come to the barracks. I did so, and spent the night here. This morning I went to the Mint to see how things went on there. It was crowded with Europeans, it being the rendezvous appointed.

"At Sigra all is well, and, as yet, safe. On Wednesday last, the 17th, at Azimgurh, revolted, and took all the treasure. In consequence of this, it was agreed that the 37th should be disarmed here. The European troops went on the parade with three guns, and no sooner did the 37th see them there than they gave them a volley. The Sikhs, hitherto believed safe, joined the rebels, and part of the cavalry also. The 37th rushed at the guns, but they were charged with grape, and one is said to have brought down thirty. They flew to their lines, but these were fired, so they had to leave them; and now the carnage commenced. How many fell I don't know. About ten Europeans are killed and wounded. I have been among them, and tried to speak a word to them on their souls; but I could not speak to all: some seem unable to comprehend at present. We expect more fighting to-day, and the officers think all the bungalows will be set on fire. I think they had enough yesterday. We had only 250 Europeans, but eighty-six came in this morning at half-past one o'clock. Our party are at Ramnagurh, the rajah having promised protection to them, so I heard. Pray for us.

"*Sigra, June 6*—Yesterday I looked after the wounded and the dying. The wounded are in a fearful state. The dead lie still on the battle-field. All the Europeans, except our party, are in the Mint, guarded by a hundred Europeans. I have remained in the barracks during the night. The various rumours frighten people much, and some think I should not venture as far as Sigra. I have gone to and fro in a most unclerical position, with three loaded muskets, of which I have one, and two native Christians have one each. The very sight of them frightens badmashes. Yesterday all the treasure was carried into the lines. All safe. To-day we, *i.e.* P—, E—, and myself, went to Ramnagurh, to see our party. They were glad to see us. They are on their way to Chunar Fort, the safest place no doubt. Here we have various rumours. The Azimgurh regiment is said to be upon us. Well, let them come. What the end will be the Lord alone knows. The badmashes

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have meeting upon meeting; but the Lord is on our side and I fear nothing. There is, of course, no direct Mission work going on.

“*Sigra, June 7: Sunday* — I endeavour to send you a line daily, and hope you have received my notes. Here every thing is very quiet, but the authorities and military are still much afraid, but of what they cannot say exactly. I am, too, afraid; but not of the soldiers, only of armed badmashes, who like to plunder and set fire to houses.

“I told you yesterday that P—, E—, and myself, paid our party a visit at Ramnagurh, but found they had set off for Chunar. We followed, and soon overtook them. . . .

“I made up my mind to return to Sigra. Our people have behaved well, but their courage began to fail. The native soldiers have all fled, and we have only to fear badmashes. P— and E— joined me, and spent last night at Sigra. We divided the night into three watches; patrolled all round Sigra, and P—, being on horseback, visited Bhilapúr also, and found all the men at their post.

“Several bungalows in the lines have been robbed; but, thank God, all our property is safe, school and all. We have only had a visit from four badmashes: three escaped, one was caught, and our people gave him such a pounding as he will remember for a long time.

“This morning I preached on the 90th Psalm. An hour hence we shall have afternoon service. May the Lord be with us! The Lord has been most merciful to us. We will take it as an earnest that He will continue to preserve us.”

JUANPÚR.

Mr. Reuther narrates an escape, which he justly terms almost miraculous, in these terms (he writes from Benares, June 10)—

“Though you may have received the melancholy news of Juanpúr having been plundered and fired, yet I take the earliest opportunity to inform you of it myself. I mentioned to you, some time ago, that we were not afraid of our own people, but feared marauders from the neighbourhood. What we had feared came to pass on Friday morning, the 5th instant.

“A party of the 37th regiment came over from Benares, and began to plunder an indigo factory near Juanpúr. The planters came rushing, themselves, into the station, and brought the news. Just before this took place we had received information of Azimgurh having been taken by their regiment, and, as the Benares dák did not come in either, we thought that something must have occurred there also.

“Under these circumstances the magistrate desired all the residents at our place to assemble at the public treasury, and two companies of Sikhs, who were considered loyal, were immediately ordered for our protection, and we had hopes that we should be able to weather the storm. But the Lord was not so pleased. A little after two o'clock in the afternoon, our sepoy, having no doubt been tampered with by spies from the 37th, suddenly turned against us. They shot the captain, and then plundered the treasury. It was a fearful half-hour that we were together in one room, firing taking place all round us, and balls being sent from time to time into our room, whilst we were every moment in expectation that they would rush in and slaughter all of us. We prayed to the Lord, and He heard our prayer. The sepoy, walked away with

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their treasure, and left us unhurt. Besides the captain, only the joint magistrate, Mr. Cuppage, was shot by them, because he went out armed, and tried to leave the compound during the time of the plunder.

“When the sepoy had left we took our little ones, and walked away from the station as fast as we could. We tried to hide ourselves at Zufferabad, but, as soldiers had been seen near that place, we went on as far as Pasewa, sixteen miles from Juanpúr, on the road to Ghazeepúr. Scarcely had we arrived at this place when Mrs. Mara, the captain’s wife, died, evidently from the sad occurrences which had taken place during the day. During the night we were informed that a body of the irregular cavalry from Benares had arrived at Juanpúr, had opened the prison, had fired all the bungalows, killed many, and taken an oath not to spare a single European whom they might meet with. Under these circumstances we thought it best to get, if we could, to Ghazeepúr. We left Pasewa again during the night, by boat, but so fast spread the news of the revolt, and so fast rose the people in the district, that we were stopped already the next morning. At Karakut the Lord sent us a kind friend, a lala, and a man of influence at that place, who took us into his house for protection. We stayed with him two days, the whole of Karakut being plundered three times during this time. We went then back again to Pasewa, from whence we were conveyed to Benares by an escort of Europeans, which Mr. Tucker kindly sent for us. We arrived here last night, the 9th. Our party consists altogether of thirty persons.

“Glory be to our heavenly Father for what He has done for us during these days: almost miraculously we have escaped! If He had not been on our side when men rose against us, our enemies would have swallowed us up quick. He will be our helper also in the days to come.

“We have it on good native authority, that the Mission property, excepting the church, is destroyed at Juanpúr, together with all the other bungalows: only two pukka houses are said to be standing.

“We have saved nothing excepting our lives. Our good friend, Mr. Leupolt, has provided us with some clothes to-day, and has made us again as comfortable as circumstances will allow. May the Lord provide for the future! If only He be on our side, then all is right, and I am persuaded that nothing shall be able to separate us from His love which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.”

“June 17—The church has not been left unhurt. The windows have been smashed, and the chairs, &c., have been taken away and destroyed. *All the native Christians are safe.*

“June 25—Timothy, the Catechist, and his family, have arrived at Ghazeepúr. They have had a narrow escape. One whole day Timothy has been hidden in a dry well. He has lost every thing.”

It has been ascertained that the Mission bungalow was set on fire by an unprincipled servant, a roof-maker, to create work for his own family.

AGRA.

From Agra the Rev. F. E. Schneider writes, June 2—

“I cannot tell you how difficult I found it to write this letter. We are in Agra, at present, in very critical circumstances. The whole of India is in a state of alarm, in consequence of mutinies which have broken out in many native regiments. Two native regiments stationed at Agra were disarmed last Sunday, May 31st. One of them has left their lines, and is scattering over the

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country. We have only one European regiment, but it is by no means sufficient to secure order and peace in the district. Round about Agra, plunder, and burning of houses, and murder, is so very frequent, that we are not a moment safe. In fact, we bear our life in our hands. Missionary work is, at present, quite impossible. My two flocks of native Christians, at Secundra and in the city, are lying heavy on my heart, for I can do nothing for their security. O God, have mercy upon us, and forsake us not in this dangerous time! You will read sad things enough in the papers. I will not increase their number. Since one month we have no news from Hoernles, in the hills, nor from our Meerut and Punjab brethren. O pray for us, and the Lord's work in India, and that we may be ready to meet the evil day!"

Mr. French writes (June 17)—

"We have heard of little else than risings and massacres lately. The fall of Delhi" [incorrectly reported, when Mr. French was writing] "has been a bright spot in the general gloom, and particular friendly acts of natives who have favoured and aided in the escape of Europeans doomed to destruction, have given things a more cheering aspect occasionally. It is vain to dwell on these, for, the posts being closed, we have very little accurate idea of what has occurred. The European troops, and many of the English gentlemen, appear to have behaved with great bravery, and, on the whole, as prudent measures seem to have been adopted as the case admitted of. Meantime we strengthen ourselves in the Lord our God, and have great comfort in committing ourselves, with all that concerns us, into His hands. It is delightful to see how thoroughly those who conduct affairs in Agra are possessed with this spirit. Mr. Colvin and Mr. Drummond both express their full conviction that there are manifest signs of God's hand, of His over-ruling providence, in the events which have occurred. While acting on this principle, they act with great promptitude and decision, and there is no failing of heart. We hope yet to see things righted in a few days or weeks: our distance from England requires of us to exercise patience, which this present trying of our faith will, I trust, work in us. Last week Mr. Leighton and myself conducted a prayer-meeting with a few private friends. We shall only hold it two evenings of this week, the military chaplain having established evening daily service. The plot which is now being carried into execution seems of two years' standing at least, and time continually reveals its widely-extended ramifications. In God's good providence the plan must, in part, have failed at its commencement, or effects far more disastrous would have followed. Since I last wrote, we have had no occasion to stir from our houses by night or day, though many, from perhaps unnecessary pre-caution, have done so. There are several fortified posts in the station to which a number of volunteers from amongst the East Indians and others are attached, and there some people sleep. After school in the morning I am able now to make good progress with my preparations for the work I wish to write, and can get on with the languages also, besides catechists' classes; so that only the preaching department of our work is absolutely closed. Inquirers are, of course, fewer. This will show you that we still enjoy a very large measure of peace and quiet in the station, and have done so, indeed, since the disbanding of the troops on the 31st of May. We have had but a small share of actual danger, and of our civil and military

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officers, only one life has been lost. "Thou shalt hide them in the secret of Thy tabernacle" has been an unspeakable comfort: the future is in His hands. May we be enabled to glorify Him in all and for all. The movement, though a religious turn has been given it, in order to enlist the more supporters, is yet, in the main, political, and seems to have been greatly fomented by female intrigue, which accomplishes so much in Asiatic courts. These proofs of the world's uncertainty make one more than ever shrink from too eager anticipation of any thing earthly. I am sure we ought to hold fast to more unchangeable things—"God our dwelling-place from one generation to another"—"Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever—" and the "city which hath foundations."

MEERUT.

Mr. Medland's escape at the commencement of the outbreak is already (pp. 205, 206) before our readers. On June 22d he writes—"The native Christians are unmolested, and I ascertain, from time to time, that every thing is going on well amongst them."

In the same letter he records one of the inscrutable visitations of God, which, though not directly connected with the outbreak, we insert with much sorrow.

"My chief object in now writing is to inform you of the great loss we have sustained by the accidental death of Mr. Lamb, which occurred on the 13th inst. I gather, from the various accounts which have reached me, that on the 11th Mr. Lamb had gone to Mussoorie; for returning, in the evening, his horse was attacked by another. The consequence was, that Mr. Lamb and his horse were precipitated down a *khud*, or precipice. On being taken up, Mr. Lamb was immediately conveyed to the house of the Rev. E. K. Maddock, his own being too distant; when it was discovered that his collar bone was broken, and, from his continually spitting blood, severe internal injuries were feared, and little hope was entertained of his recovery. He lingered, I believe insensibly, until the morning of the 13th, and was interred in the evening of the same day in the Mussoorie burying ground.

"Thus how mysteriously does God work. Here we are living in danger of our lives, and have with difficulty escaped, whilst Mr. Lamb, living in a place of comparative security and peace, has been suddenly cut off. 'Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight.'"

THE PUNJAB.

We now turn to the Punjab. And first, our Missionary, the Rev. A Strawbridge, has forwarded to us, in a journal form, a narrative of the occurrences which took place at *Lahore* and *Anritsar* during the eventful days of May 14th, 15th, and 16th. We regret that we have not in our possession the whole of this document, and can only give the substance of it, with some few extracts.

Such was the state of the native corps at *Lahore*, that it was thought necessary to disarm the three regiments stationed there. They were not, like the 39th, disbanded, but, after being called upon parade on the morning of May 13th, they were informed of the state of things existing in Hindostan, and that, as a preventive measure, it had been decided that they should be

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deprived of their arms. They were, however, to remain on duty, and under the command of their respective officers. They offered no resistance, and apparently acquiesced in the views of their brigadier.

At Amritsar there was only one native regiment, and that, for the present, remained peaceable and quiet. There were, however, guards placed at every house, and an application was forwarded to Sealkote for more European troops to man the fort of Govindghur. The city also remained apparently quiet: how long it might continue so no one could say. The Missionaries accordingly received intimation from the authorities to hold themselves and their families in readiness, at a moment's notice, to flee to the fort. The native newspapers at this time openly asserted, that, within the short period of three days, British rule would cease in India.

On the night of the 14th a report reached Amritsar that the three disarmed regiments at Lahore had rebelled, and threatened to march on Ferozepur: their real destination was concluded to be Amritsar. They were, however, overawed by the decisive conduct of the authorities. The artillery was brought out, and prepared for action, and they were warned, that, if they attempted to leave their cantonment, they would immediately be fired upon. The civil authorities, sustaining the action of the military officers, hastened to raise the country, and all the Sikh Sirdars promised help.

On the receipt of the intelligence that the disarmed regiments were threatening open rebellion, the European ladies in the civil lines were collected, to pass the night at the Mission house, so as to be in readiness to enter the fort should occasion call for it, the military authorities having first of all cleared it of all native troops, and entrusted it to the safe keeping of European artillery. The next day the fort was victualled for a month, in case it should become a refuge.

On the next night tidings reached Amritsar of the sanguinary collision at Ferozepur, and as this was marked out as the fatal night, the ladies, at their own request, were introduced into the fort. The night, however, passed over peaceably.

And here an interesting circumstance occurred, which served, at this distressing time, to encourage and cheer the hearts of the Missionaries. There is at Amritsar a small congregation of native Christians, of which the Christian Sikh, Daud, ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta some few years back, is the native pastor. Speaking of him, Mr. Strawbridge says—

“Last evening our native pastor, Daud, came to say that the people of the city were abusing the native Christians, and warning them that their days were now numbered. Upon his being asked whether he would like to move into the fort, he emphatically said no; but that he would rather die in his house than flee. He gave as his reason the fact that he daily preached in the city, and exhorted the people not to fear them who can kill the body, but to fear God. Should he then leave, his conduct would be opposed to his teaching, and, of course, would be without effect. We really felt much strengthened by the words of our dear brother.

“Another circumstance occurred yesterday, which tends to show what the people would do should the English Government be overturned. My munshí, Secunder Ali, when he came to me to tell me of the state of the city, informed me that, early that morning, the head master of the Government school, one who, like himself, believes in the truth of the gospel, and yet remains unbap-

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tized, came to him and said, that, should the English Government cease for a short time, they must both prepare to die, so greatly was the anger of the people kindled against them both. As to himself, he said, the present state of things only increased his belief in the truth of the Old and New Testament, and in the speedy coming of Jesus to judge the world."

The Rev. J. M'Carthy writes from *Peshawar*, June 11—

Here in *Peshawar* we have a great many native troops, about eight regiments, and only two English regiments. The people in the city, too, said, that if the sepoy attacked the Christians, they would join them. You may be sure we were in an anxious state of mind. One day a message was sent round to all the English gentlemen, by the officer commanding the station, to the effect, that they were to hold themselves in readiness to fly to the Residency on the first appearance of danger. When I received this message I tied up my travelling rug, put away a few things which I valued, and then sat down to get comfort and strength from God's word. I read the Psalms for the day, and found many "comfortable words" in them. Committing myself, and all in the station, to the guardian care of God—pleading His own promise to Him—I was enabled to lie down on my bed that night in peace, and to sleep soundly and securely all night, though, in common with every other person in the station, I slept in my clothes, even to my boots. In consequence, however, of the wise measures taken by our authorities in this place, the sepoy did not mutiny in *Peshawar*. That night they were all disarmed, except one regiment, which is considered trustworthy; and though we are not out of danger even yet—though our men have their guns loaded every night, and sleep in their uniform, ready to start up in a moment—yet as we have been so mercifully brought through the height of the danger, we have a cheerful hope for the future. Dr. Pfander had a bright, happy face all through, although he has a wife and two little children in the station. He said that he did not think that the God who had given India to England, that the gospel might be preached to its benighted people, would now allow it to fall back into the hands of idolaters and Mohammedans.

"Dr. Pfander preached in the city all through, with exception of two or three days, when the danger was at its greatest. He goes in now, as usual, and amidst scowling faces, and in the teeth of much opposition, he tells these fanatical people about Christ the Saviour.

"My school was rather thinly attended during the height of our peril. Many of the parents of the boys, reflecting, doubtless, that, in case of a general rising of the people, the school would be the first object of attack, withdrew their children for a while. Now, however, that confidence is being restored, they are sending them again, and I have the pleasure of seeing once more the bright eyes and intelligent faces of many, whose absence for a while left a blank in the school."

Mr. Fitzpatrick writes from *Multan*, June 12—

"You will be anxious to hear of our welfare in these troublous and rather alarming times. I am thankful to God that, thus far, *Multan*, though it was one of the most critical stations, has been preserved from all injury, and is now, I trust, as safe as any place in India. We have only one company of Europeans (Artillery); and of the native troops we have two regiments of

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infantry, one irregular cavalry, and a battery of horse artillery. The 69th native infantry showed evident disaffection. The other remained staunch. Our rulers called in the aid of one regiment of Punjab infantry, from Dera Ghazi Khan, and of cavalry from Ismael Khan; and two days ago, by orders from Lahore, disarmed the 62d and 69th native infantry, and now all is peace and quiet. We expect the first detachment of the Bombay Fusileers (Europeans) in a few days, and then we shall be still more secure, if only we continue to rest, not upon the creature, but upon God. It was an anxious time for all of us, from the first news of the Delhi massacre to that of the disarming, but yet A—and I were preserved in much peace, and only occasionally felt really nervous. I have been able to do very little amongst the people, and now, at the Commissioner's request, do not preach at all. He felt alarmed for my safety, and also feared lest any commotion might excite the town, and lead to a general massacre.

“The Punjab has, upon the whole, remained quiet. The disarming of the troops at Lahore and Peshawar, with the preservation of the telegraph, have been amongst the chief preservatives. All the Sikhs, and some others, have stood firm. They are serious times, but I believe we need not fear. God has shown Himself for us in a wonderful way. The most thoughtless European now says that it is not our wisdom or bravery, but God's mercy, that has saved us. The escapes of many have been truly miraculous, and the infatuation of the natives beyond all imagination. We are now getting the upper hand very fast. I am sanguine as to the results. I believe Missions will receive a great impulse—our Government awake to a just sense of their inconsistency in ruling without God—Brahminism and Islamism will be disheartened—and if the church at home will arise and call upon God, many Missionaries will come out to India. May God grant it! Tell all at home that this outbreak, and all its atrocities, demand Bible teaching for India.

“We are quite well. The season is cooler than any we have spent in India. No sickness. Ilyas and his wife are my only flock; but Paulus is to come here. Daud refused to seek shelter when an attack was expected at Amritsar. He said, ‘No, for it is written, “The hairs of your head are all numbered.”’ ”

Our last letters from Peshawar and Multan bring our intelligence down to June 26th and 27th. At that date all were well. They were received too late for insertion this month; but contain nothing new.

We conclude with an extract, published in the *Times* of August 8, from a letter of a military officer in the Madras Presidency, peculiarly qualified, by long experience, calm habit of mind, and sound judgment, to take a correct view of the state of things in India. The opinions of such men are especially valuable amid the various conflicting sentiments of the present day.

“You will have seen from the papers that we are now passing through, what is, without doubt, the gravest peril to which our Indian empire has ever been exposed. I do not feel at all doubtful as to the ultimate issue, because I feel persuaded that our Mission in India has not yet been fulfilled; and because the present fierce outbreak, whatever may be its real cause, has been distinctly put by the mutineers themselves, Mohammedans as well as Hindus, upon the

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ground of religion. It has the character, consequently, of an open contest for Satan against Christ, and 'He shall have them in derision.'

"Meanwhile the danger has been very imminent, and it will be long before it can be considered to have fully passed away. May it lead our rulers to feel that our power here is from God; and may it lead us all to a more humble dependence upon Him, and to more earnest endeavours for His glory! Certainly there has been enough on all sides to beat down our pride. I suppose every one who has known any thing of the real state of the Bengal army for years past has felt convinced, that, sooner or later, there must be a collision between the sepoys and their masters; but no one could have contemplated the actual manner of it; no one could have imagined the possibility of its being accompanied with such fiendish ferocity, not only towards the officers, but towards poor helpless women and children. Had the sepoys been ground down by oppression—had they suffered wrong from their officers to the last point of endurance—the fiercely vengeful feeling which they have evinced might have been somewhat understood; but the contrary of all this has been the case: discipline in the Bengal army has been proverbially gentle—in our judgment dangerously so. By-and-by, probably, some of the details may be published—such as will make an Englishman's blood run cold for the moment. Such things make one feel that the cause of such men must fail. In the mean time, however, the whole of India is convulsed. The wave has been felt over the whole breadth of the land. I believe, myself, that our Madras sepoys are staunch, and that they have no sympathy with the mutineers: still, the Mohammedan spirit throughout the Presidency, and, more or less, in the army, has been excited. It will subside again as soon as all hope of the restoration of a Delhi sovereignty shall have passed away; and that, I trust, will be the case ere long. But what are we to think of the fact, that a conspiracy to murder every European in the land, and to overthrow our whole power, has been deliberately and skilfully organized, during a period of at least many months, among many thousands of men, and over an extent of some thousands of miles, from Peshawar to Pegu, and, during all this, the whole body of Europeans should have been kept in profound ignorance of all! I have no doubt that, as we succeed in obtaining information, we shall learn how God's hand alone has turned aside the purposeed evil. I feel persuaded, myself, that the original design was, for the four native regiments at Barrackpúr to have risen together, murdering their officers, and firing and plundering Calcutta, and that this was to have been the signal for a simultaneous rising of the whole army. There was nothing, humanly judging, to prevent this. But the Government of India, unwisely, as we all thought, determined to disband the 19th native infantry. For this it was necessary to move the regiment to Barrackpúr, and, while they were on their march, the Oriental steamer brought up the 84th, a fine, powerful regiment, who made their appearance as if from the skies. The sepoys no longer dared to act; and their plan was thus *accidentally* disconcerted. Then followed the imprisonment of a number of the 3d cavalry at Meerut, which brought the immediate and, I think, premature outbreak there, leading to that at Delhi. From that time the troops have risen at station after station; but all has been disjoined. Their skilfully-arranged combinations have failed; and time has been given us to hold them in check. Here, at Madras, there has been, I think, much and useless alarm—a panic almost."

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WE again lay before our readers such communications as we have received from India. We make no apology for introducing among the letters of our own Missionaries, a few which have already appeared in print, in connexion with other Societies. The peril is a common one; and if hitherto the ravages of the enemy have fallen more heavily on the agents of sister Associations than on ourselves; their sufferings and losses demand more of our sympathy and prayers. We have, however, confined our selections, so far as these last-named letters are concerned, to those which are calculated to throw light upon the causes and progress of the insurrection. One element has been introduced into the struggle, not unexpected, but of a truly formidable nature, and it is one which proceeds more directly from the hand of God, than the fierce wrath of the wicked, which, up to this time, in his inscrutable wisdom, he has employed as his sword. We allude to the outbreak of disease which has put a rein in the mouth of our triumphant generals, and turned back our brave soldiers; when the hosts of the enemy seemed to be dissolving before them as the mist before the early sun. The tide of success has thus been checked, while, at the same time, fresh, and some of them wholly unexpected, mutinies have occurred; the clouds have again gathered darkness; and we look once more, with anxious suspense, to stations and districts, regarding which we had freely indulged the hope that they were secure.

But there is "a little reviving in our bondage." "The Mohammedan festivals," says Mr. Cuthbert, writing from Calcutta, under date of August 8, "that occur this month, have been looked to by many with great alarm, and it seems pretty certain that designs of mischief have been concerted for them. The first, however, has, thank God! passed over in quietness. It is called the Buckri Eed (goat festival), because Mussulmans then sacrifice a goat, in commemoration of Ishmael (as they tell the story) having been saved by a goat when Abraham was about to offer him up as a sacrifice. It occurred on the 2d and 3d inst. (last Sunday and Monday). This time, however, the Government were fully awake and prepared. Admirable dispositions were made for the military protection of Calcutta. In sixteen different parts of the city English troops and volunteers were stationed, besides the ordinary ones, and guns at some of them; and notice of these arrangements having been duly published, the ill affected were overawed, and the European population was much quieted, though much alarm still prevailed, and many persons went on board ships in the river, or betook themselves to houses which they thought in safer situations than their own. But there was no disturbance here nor anywhere else, so far as we are yet informed, on those days. The Mohurram is to come on on the 21st inst. and to last for ten days, and now the fears of many are directed to that time. The Mohurram is an occasion of much more excitement amongst the Mussulmans than the Buckri Eed. They have processions, &c., and are always in an excited state at that time. However, we trust to the Lord's goodness for protection then also."

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Meanwhile fresh troops are arriving, and more suspected regiments have been disarmed, including the Governor-General's body-guard.

"The day of religious observance" says Mr. Cuthbert, "proposed by the bishop was very generally observed, and much prayer is being offered up.

"Lord Ellenborough's silly and bigoted attack on Lord Canning, for having caused the revolt, by subscribing to Missionary Societies, is ridiculed here by all parties, and it has damaged much the reputation of that nobleman as a high authority on Indian affairs."

Such was the aspect of affairs in the middle of August, the date of the last despatches. No one, however confident as to the ultimate issue of this irregular and unparalleled struggle, can look forward to the tidings of the next few weeks, without feelings of breathless anxiety for individuals and for isolated stations. Never, since the first intelligence of the revolt, has there been a period making stronger demands upon the praying people of England for that potent help which they can give in their families and by their bed-side. It is comforting to reflect that the period embraced by the anxious fortnight of which we have next to hear, is coincident with an unexampled season of intercessory prayer in this land. The Bishop of Calcutta, in an extract kindly furnished to us from a private letter, dated August 10, says, "Three thousand Christians,* have already perished since May 10, also eight chaplains and Missionaries, and seven are shut up in the fort at Agra at this moment. But God is in heaven, and Christ is at his right hand, with the heathen given Him as His inheritance. Faith never appears so glorious as when it is the only light that shines!"

The Missionaries to whom the Bishop alludes as having perished, were in connexion with the Propagation of the Gospel Society, and Scotch, and American Societies. They fell at Delhi, at Sealcote, at Bareilly, and at Cawnpur. Their blood may fairly be accounted the blood of martyrs, and so may that of the murdered native Christians. Their death has been precious in the sight of their Lord. The record of it is on high, and it will be the seed of the church.

In the extracts which follow, many points of deep interest are suggested to the thoughtful mind.

1. The reiterated proofs that *Missionary enterprise* has not been the cause of the mutiny. "We remark," says the "Calcutta Christian Intelligencer" for July, "as a subject of much gratification to the truest friends of India, that *not the slightest symptom has yet appeared of any special exasperation of the native mind against Missionaries or their doings.*" As an outburst of the wrath of Satan, the insurrection, to the eye of faith, can only be regarded as an exhibition of fierce and hellish enmity against the distinctive and saving truths of the gospel. But as regards the intermediate instruments of his malignity, the religious element of the disaffection—and beyond all question such an element has done its work, whether as a prime moving cause, or thrown in, as we believe, by the cunning craft of man—is an enmity to Christianity, as seen at a distance, in a few of its externals, and as apprehended by those utterly ignorant of its essence: to such an aspect of Christianity as is unavoidably presented, when men are brought in contact with the masked form of it seen in ordinary English social life, or in measures of improvement or general policy, and not as seen in the spirituality of the faith, affecting the inner man through his will and affections—the only reli-

* i. e. Europeans, East-Indians, and natives. The latter form but a very small proportion.

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gion with which the Missionary has to do. The Delhi proclamation—the manifesto of the rebels—makes no allusion to Missionaries. “It is well known,” it runs, “that in these days all the English have entertained these evil designs—first to destroy the religion of the whole Hindustani army, and then to make the people by compulsion Christians.” Nena Sahib’s lying proclamation at Cawnpur makes no reference to them. The Governor-General does not venture to fasten the revolt on their proceedings, when he assigns religion as the only certain cause which, at the date of writing (July 4), he had been able to arrive at. “Of this disastrous and extraordinary revolt,” he says, “the only one of the causes that is quite certain, is what appears to us almost an insane, but what is not the less a rooted and universal persuasion in the minds of the sepoys and the people of the north-west provinces, that it is the fixed design of the British Government to interfere by force with the religious liberty of the people:” and again he alludes to “the prevalent and fatal delusion that it is the fixed design of the British Government to interfere by force with the religious liberty of the people.” The officers of Government, and not Missionaries, have first fallen. The outcry has been against the defiling cartridge, and never against the *preaching of a Missionary, or an officer, or against THE BIBLE*. It is true that, in some instances, native Christians have been persecuted, occasionally even to the death, and it could hardly have been otherwise. The marvel rather is that they have been *so little molested*. But if Christians have suffered, so have those identified with Europeans by far looser ties than that of religion. In Delhi, the sepoys are said, by a native who spent a month there in May and June, to have beaten and imprisoned people for speaking English. On the same authority we learn, that respectable English servants confined themselves to their houses; and an officer who escaped from Allahabad says (June 23), “All the village people ran away, and any one who had worked for the Europeans, these murderers killed. A poor baker was found with both his hands cut off, and his nose slit, because he had sent bread to us.” One writer speaks of a “general antipathy which exists more or less among” certain “orders, to a white face.” At Dinapore even a “poor pet buggy horse” was killed in his stable, and “petty revengeful things” were done to inanimate articles of European property. Moreover, the Missionaries, in unprotected districts, and near the seat of disturbances, as in Kishnagurb, have been unmolested. Others have received protection from many influential natives. Those from Benares found shelter for two days with the friendly rajah of that place, and were then sent on, under a guard of his own troops, to Chunar. The Missionary party from Jaunpur, we have already seen, was protected by a friendly lala;* and still more striking instances of the good feeling prevailing towards them and the native Christians, will be found in our extracts of this month. Nay, in the exercise of their proper calling, wherever circumstances have made it possible for them to go among the people, they are still well received, and even sepoys mingle with the hearers, and are silent.

2. We notice the solemn earnestness with which the nation is urged to recognise in this visitation, not the failure only of its false religious policy, but the judgment of God against it, and to stand boldly forward in its character as a *Christian* as well as a *British* Government. To that one great end, the efforts of England must be turned if they will preserve that distant

* *Vide* “Church Missionary Record” for September, p. 242.

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jewel of the national diadem. In one word, if we will rule India, it must be on a principle of simple toleration—not of sinful indulgence, not even of neutrality—with an allegiance at least as profound to a heavenly as to an earthly sovereign.

3. The reader will not fail to notice the constantly recurring remark, that the insurrection is among the sepoys, the very class least in contact with Missionary labour in any of its branches. They have been joined by the bigots and ruffians, and restless incendiaries of all ranks, who, in every community, hail confusion as the seed-time, when they will reap a harvest, be it but for a day. The people generally have not risen; many “are extremely sorry for losing their safety,” or “consider the arrival of the mutineers a sudden misfortune to them,” and “curse the mutineers from morning to evening.”* Round Cawnpur “the villagers are bringing in sepoys daily, and seem very glad to have us back again.†

4. There is a growing conviction as to the Mohammedan origin of the movement. In the letter announcing the death of the Missionaries at Cawnpur (one of whom, Mr. Haycock, was formerly attached to this Society’s Mission in Calcutta), Mr. Kay says, “My last letter from Mr. Haycock was dated May 31. He had then taken refuge in cantonments. He mentioned to me, that his maulvie *had told him, six months previously, that they would ‘soon feel the sharpness of the Mussulman’s sword.’*”

5. The courage is noticeable with which the Missionaries and *their wives* have remained at their posts. Did our space permit, we could greatly multiply instances, from the records of every Society in India. They have continued their work, even when the very framework of Society was disjoined, when funds were failing—for their kind friends were cut off, or spoiled of all they possessed—and when danger the most appalling surrounded them on every side, abandoning their station only, when to stay was certain death.

6. We remark also the steadiness of the native Christians, the ready resumption of work by the teachers, and the liberality of those who had lost least, towards those who had lost more—a liberality not surpassed in kind, if exceeded in amount—by the contributions of sympathizing Christians in England.

7. Then there is the strong confidence as to the future, boldly expressed by all, and by none more boldly and happily than in the brief extract already given from the pen of the excellent Bishop of this troubled diocese; sharing, in his old age, the common peril and suffering, as he has shared so long the labours and affections of his clergy.

8. Lastly, we would point to the employment both of Missionaries and of native Christians by the Government in this their extremity, bringing back to memory, as Mr. Cuthbert remarks, the days of Swartz. A system built on such a principle, pursued in bygone years, might have averted the crash that has now well nigh stunned the entire nation!

We now annex our extracts, for the most part with no other introduction to each letter than the name of the writer and its date.

CALCUTTA.

Rev. G. G. Cuthbert—July 20.

“Some persons fear that the present troubles of this country will seriously

* Letter of a native, regarding Delhi.—*Times*, Sept. 18.

† Letter of July 21—*Times*, Sept. 23.

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obstruct Missionary labour, and, further, will seriously diminish Missionary zeal and interest at home. Lord Ellenborough has already (as the last mail informs us) tried to raise a cry about "interfering with the prejudices, religion, &c., of the natives."

"Lord Canning, to whom he gives undue credit for showing an interest in the conversion of the natives, by subscribing to Missionary Societies, has kept as much aloof from any thing of the kind as any of his late predecessors; and is even now so terribly afraid of the appearance of feeling any regard even, for native Christians, as to request that addresses from such, expressive of sympathy, and offering aid in the present emergency, may not to be presented to him officially, lest he should have to give an official acknowledgment of them, though those of Hindús and Mussulmans have been received and acknowledged most freely and most gratefully, little as they are really worth.*

"But the universal cry here is, that Government have brought all this trouble on themselves and on us, not by "interfering with the religious prejudices," &c., according to the cant of the irreligious, but by petting and pandering to those prejudices, with an inconsistency so great and glaring, that it has partly made the thinking natives despise them, and partly prompted the less reflecting to suspect some deep design, cloaked, in a manner they can well understand, under this outward appearance of indifference, to what, on every principle of reason and consistency, the Government ought to count sacred and important.

"Thus it has happened that the unthinking were the more easily made the dupes of designing men, who, for evil purposes, got up the cry, "Your caste and your religion are attacked by the Government." At all events, we find the Government, who have always paraded their indifference, if not decided opposition, to the spread of Christianity amongst the people, and their respect for the peoples' silly and wicked superstitions—we find them accused of a mean design to attack those superstitions, and advance Christianity by a dirty and miserable trick.

"This ought to be instructive; the more so when we find that there is *no special animosity whatever shown against Missionaries*, who have always honestly and boldly set themselves against those superstitions, and, in the spirit of love, laboured to induce the people to abandon them, and embrace the gospel. I mentioned, in my last, one or two facts illustrative of this. Mr. Reuther, who is here now, has supplied another. When he and his family, with some other persons, were escaping from Jaunpur to Benares in a boat, they were stopped at a village, where a multitude of people assembled to gaze at them, and decide what should be done with them. One man, a Mussulman, recognised Mr. Reuther, and cried out, "There is the padre who preaches about the gospel on the Jaunpur bridge." This was a cry which might well be expected to excite the rage of a fanatical people, if they were much inflamed against Missionaries and their doings. But, to Mr. Reuther's thankfulness, *no one took up the cry*; though he must have been well known to many present, as he had been preaching in that very village. He retired into the boat, and, after some time, they were allowed to go on. Again, in the present disorganized state of every thing about Benares, the authorities have found it impossible to procure supplies enough for the troops and others in the station, and have actually been obliged to avail themselves of the aid of a Missionary. Mr. Leupolt goes out into the villages of the sur-

* Vide p. 235.

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rounding country, and induces the people to send in wheat and cattle, which the Government authorities had endeavoured in vain to procure. It reminds one of things that are told of Swartz, in South India, in former days.

"It is also to be remembered that the classes which have had the chief hand in getting up the present rebellion, are the very classes that have been scarcely touched by Missionary labours. The sepoys have always been most carefully shielded by the Government from any attempt to enlighten or convert them by Missionaries; and the Mussulmans have been very slightly and scantily indeed made the objects of Missionary exertion as yet, in most parts of India. The idea, therefore, of this revolt having arisen in *any degree* from Missionary interference or Missionary proceedings is utterly groundless and absurd.

"As to the present proceedings of the Government here, while they seem to indicate attention to the crisis, and activity in adopting measures of repression, they do not appear to be much more conciliatory than before, and do not indicate that former errors have been repented of and abandoned. Lord Canning has positively declined sanctioning, by public authority, a day of general humiliation and prayer. Our good bishop, however, has of himself, called all British India to their knees on the 24th inst., as you will doubtless see by his sermon, and which will reach you by this mail. There have been many meetings for prayer, and much fervent supplication offered up, in private and in families, for the Divine mercy to overrule the great and terrible events for good, and to preserve his people in the midst of them.

"Since this letter was commenced, tidings have been received, on authority, of the death of Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, in consequence of it is said, of wounds received in conflict with the insurgents. This is a blow much to be lamented. He was one of the very few amongst our public men who could be trusted alike by the world and by the Christian, as a man of great ability and skill, both military and civil, and also of high and sound religious principle. His benevolence and liberality are well known. He was truly the soldiers' and the soldiers' children's friend, and was also the steady and liberal friend of Missionaries and of Missions. Deeply must he be lamented by us all.

"Official information has also arrived of the recovery of Cawnpur by General Havelock on the 16th inst. But alas, he confirms the dreadful news of the death of all the Europeans. Some fifty ladies, with others, about 100 in all, it is supposed, whom Nena Sahib had retained in his hands as a sort of hostage, in hopes of making better terms for himself, he is said to have slaughtered before the final fight, in which he was overcome. He has himself escaped.

"Here we are still quiet, thank God! Fugitives are flocking in from all parts of the country, and the most generous means are being taken for their reception and relief. A large subscription has been raised, and several houses taken for them."

Rev. J. Long—July 19.

"Here we are surrounded on all sides with Moslem enemies, well armed, and who will not spare one of us Missionaries if they can get the power. I was yesterday down in my villages, and there, among simple rural people, the report was prevalent that the English rule was gone, and that Christianity must soon go too.

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“Mr. Bomwetsch told me, last week, that in preaching in the villages he invariably found these objections brought forward :—The Company are robbers, and the Missionaries are paid by them. Now Missionaries appear much better before the natives, when they say they are not the paid servants of the Government. I have always found it of use to say, that the Government gave toleration to all creeds, and left them to succeed according to their own merits.

“News to-day arrived of the destruction of 600 Europeans, men and women, at Cawnpur. Among them was the chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Moncrieff, once a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to China. I found him, when in Calcutta, a staunch supporter of my views of vernacular education. Poor fellow ! in the last letter I had from him, May 13, Cawnpur, he writes—“I quite go with you in your anxiety about the masses, particularly the women masses. If ever you want money, for any set scheme for your masses, I shall be happy to help you in my small way, especially if the women and girls be concerned.”

MADRAS.

Rev. P. S. Royston—August 13.

“Thursday morning next (20th), has been set apart for a special service of humiliation and prayer, with reference to the awful events in Bengal and the north-west. Through God’s mercy, we have hitherto been kept from actual danger, and all precautions have been taken to suppress any insurrection, should it rise.”

BURDWAN.

Rev. A. P. Neele—June 30.

“The news of the outbreak in Barrackpore, which reached this place in an exaggerated form, caused something like a panic, and two families went off at once to Calcutta. Several large parties of sepoys have attempted to pass through the place, but have, I believe, generally been sent back to Calcutta. At one time it appears, though we knew it not at the time, that we were in real danger ; the detachment of sepoys who are kept on guard at the Treasury, it was discovered were in a mutinous state, and had boasted if they could only get a little help they would kill every European in the station. Immediately upon this discovery they were sent off to Calcutta, upon the pretence of some business ; and it was not until they were locked into the railway carriage, and a guard placed over them, that they found out their error.

“A number of jack-tars have been sent up to guard the station ; some of them patrol in the neighbourhood of our house and Mission during the night.”

BENARES.

Rev. C. B. Leupolt—June 20.

“A very curious case took place at Bahursh, near Gharwa. A fire broke out. A Mussulman of renown, stated that he would read an incantation, so that the fire should not touch the rajah’s property, but the Sahibs, *i. e.* ours. He read the incantation. The fire broke out on our side ; but, instead of burning our houses, a spark overleaped six of our houses and set fire to the house of the man who read the incantation ; thence it seized the rajah’s property, and further, burnt ten more of the houses belonging to the rajah’s people. We and ours were spared. The poor conjuror dared not then show his face. Our property was saved, under Providence, by a large tiled house, likewise ours. The people at Bahursh think the whole a miracle.”

RECENT INTELLIGENCE.

"*July 4*—We have reopened our school, and I have recommenced my Urdu and Hindú classes. Our Christians are in a new spirit, and full of hope that a new era opens for them; and really it would seem so, for general employment is thrown open to them, whilst the Brahmin and the Rajput is shut out. I gave notes to several of our people, and they received instantly employ. It is now their business to show that they are the Lord's people.

"My spare hours are given to the commissariat department. As I have been so long in Benares, and know all the resources of the country around us, I can aid our friends, and I think it is our duty to aid them.

"Solomon has been made Jemadar, at a salary of twelve rupees, and the privilege of appointing all the men under him. Fugitive Christians come in from all sides, and I am glad we can provide for them, so as to enable every one to earn his bread, and have something to spare. In our village our people have formed a committee, and opened a subscription for supplying the fugitives with food and clothes, till they can provide for themselves. Yesterday morning came three from Cawnpur, or rather four, and last night four more from Futtehpur; but they all came nearly naked."

"*July 14*—I received a note to have all our able-bodied men made gunners.

"I have strongly advised Timothy to go back to Azimgurh and open school. He will do so: it tends greatly to tranquillize the people, for if they see the boys go to school, they take it for granted that the palaver is over."

"*July 15*—There is not one single native soldier to be trusted; and it is curious that those very men whom Government were most careful to exclude from the sound of the gospel, have risen against them; but the movement is no doubt of Mohammedan origin. The Mohammedans hate us cordially. They hate Christ deeply and inveterately, and would gladly dethrone him could they but do so, and they hate all his people likewise. The Lord reigneth. Would to God Government would in future adopt a different policy. Would to God they would come forward, like Christian men, and tell the people, we wish you to be Christians, but only if you embrace Christianity with your heart and of your own accord; and then place the Bible in the hands of the people, to convince them that preaching is the only way authorized by Christ to make the people Christians. Had Government done so from the beginning they would have been saved the present disturbances; at least the enemy would not have been able to make use of such lies as they propagated among the people. The outbreak would have come, for it would not be difficult to show that the Mohammedans had laid their plans for years.

"A wicked hand intended to set fire to the Mission bungalow; the piece of bamboo, containing matches and other combustible matter, was found in the grass roof in good time to prevent the misfortune it was intended for. So we have much reason to be thankful for the kind preservation of our gracious God and Father."

The Rev. James Kennedy, (of the London Missionary Society), July 18—

"We have been accustomed for years to consider ourselves as safe as in our native land; we have spent months among the people, travelling from place to place and seeing no white face, without the thought ever crossing our minds that we were exposed to danger; and now we are so insecure, that we are warned by the authorities against sleeping in our own homes, and are obliged to betake ourselves to the neighbourhood of the guns for protection. For days, at Benares, we have been obliged to live away from our own

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homes—the whole European and East-Indian community huddled up in one large building—where, so far as we slept at all, we slept in public, of course in our day clothing. During these days the discomfort was indescribable; but, at a time like this, discomfort is to be little thought of, and would have been less thought of, but for the dreadful heat of the weather. I am sure you will unite with us in thanksgiving to our heavenly Father, that as yet, ourselves, our native Christians, our Mission, and private property are safe. . . . As to northern India generally, I must refer you to the papers. Even as to Benares, it is impossible for me to give an outline of what has occurred. I can only say that hitherto our preservation has been most remarkable. Several stations around us are in ruin. Many have been murdered—many have narrowly escaped with their lives; and yet, in this great, turbulent, fanatic city, not a single non-military man has yet perished, and not a single house close to the city has yet been plundered. Several military pupils, officers, and men, have been killed here; and houses a few miles away have been gutted. On June 4th, there was a military outbreak, when a fierce battle was fought within less than a mile of our house, when about thirty were killed and wounded on our side, and it is supposed at least ten times as many on the side of the mutineers. . . . On the 6th another battle was fought by the mutineers, joined by many of the country people, within a few miles of the city, so near that not only the boom of the cannon, but the sharp rattle of the musketry, was distinctly heard by us. We have thus been—what we never expected to be—twice within the hearing of men meeting in deadly strife; and if it be God's will, we earnestly pray we may never be so circumstanced again. To be placed, as we have been and still are, amidst tumult and danger; to be in constant insecurity—ready to flee for shelter to a place of safety, as we have now been obliged to do on several occasions, by day and night, has given us an entirely new experience of human life. . . . To the great question—What can be the cause of all this fury against us—a fury which makes sepoy and others butcher innocent women and children in the most horrible manner? Surely our Government has most cruelly oppressed them? All I can say is, the people themselves give no such reply. What I have heard asserted by scores of individuals is, that our whole system—Missions, schools, railways, electric telegraphs, &c., are taking away their caste, and destroying their religion. They can stand it no longer. We cannot doubt the result. I look forward most confidently and hopefully to the future, but at present the state of things is very disastrous. We are keeping up our schools—we are most anxious to maintain them, but we are sorely pressed for funds, as it is impossible to gather money here. The station is full of people who have lost their all, and such are the demands on those who have not lost their property that we can get nothing from them.”

JUANPUR.

Rev. C. Reuther—Benares, June 25.

“The roofs of the Azimgurh school and the two bungalows, are standing, but the doors, door-posts, furniture, books, &c. have been plundered. Timothy too, has lost every thing. He is now staying with the German Missionaries at Gha-zeepur. At Juanpur a reaction is taking place. The people have heard of the number that have been and are being hanged at Benares, and they are afraid of the same. Hence a great number of things that were plundered have already been thrown away, and are being collected by the Bazar. They

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throw them away in the night, and in the morning the Bazar people gather them up. I was anxious to go over and see with my own eyes how matters stand, but the authorities are against it.

"We have ascertained that the Mission bungalows were set on fire by one of Mr. Cæsar's servants. The ungrateful wretch had done it with a view of creating work for his family, there being a number of them roof-makers. The church has much suffered, but the walls and the roof are standing. The roof of the school, too, is standing, but the rooms, furniture, the new Mission tents, &c. have all being taken away. The plunderers were afraid of setting it on fire, lest the city should catch fire too.

"I am in hopes of recovering the tents, or, at least, parts of them. The new Zuffarabad school-house is standing, for plundering and firing has not taken place there."

GORRUCKPORE.

Rev. H. Stern—June 17.

"You are, no doubt, very anxious to know how things are going on in this corner of the troubled north-west. I am thankful to say, by the Lord's gracious mercy, we are all as yet safe and sound, enjoying comparative ease and comfort. Indeed we have been more than once in imminent danger, and it is marvellous in our eyes and the Lord's doing, that we are still here.

"Our poor native Christians here, and in Busharatpore have all been in great fright, but otherwise we are all well. The work has been going on without interruption, with the exception of bazaar preaching. All our schools have been regularly attended, such is the confidence the people yet place in us. Hitherto the Lord has been our shield and protection, and He will save us to the uttermost. We are convinced that all these sad events which have come over India, will yet tend to the more speedy propagation of the gospel, although our Missions may receive a temporary check."

ALLAHABAD (*American Mission*).

At Allahabad, it was stated by Mr. Hay, of the American Board of Missions, in a sermon preached at Southampton, on Sunday, September 6, that many of the native Christians did not deem it necessary for their safety to enter the fort, and they and their families were apprehended by the authority of the Moulvies. Their families were incarcerated and exposed to every insult and privation, while the native Christian ministers and teachers were put into the public stocks, and exposed there for nearly a week, night and day, with scarcely any refreshment; while savage and infuriated fanatics were often brandishing swords over them, and threatening them with the most horrible mutilations, unless they foreswore their Christian faith and embraced Mohammedanism.

It must have been one of this party who was tortured in the presence of Ensign Cheek, and exhorted by that dying soldier of Christ to be steadfast in the faith. The story has been so frequently printed and reprinted, that it cannot fail to be known to all our readers. It will be remembered that Mr. Cheek and the native, were rescued by Colonel Neil's advancing troops; but too late to save the life of the former, worn out as he was by hunger, exposure, and wounds during his marvellous escape from Allahabad.

The imprisoned Christians were released by the advance of Colonel Neil on the 18th of June. On the 17th, they perished, from the manner in which the mutineers returned to head-quarters, bloody, hurried, and dispirited, that

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they had met with a defeat, and they counselled one another and their families to keep up their spirits, for they knew that the defeated mutineers would not stand another battle. Accordingly, on the morning of the 18th, they evacuated the place, and the native teachers were liberated. A wealthy Hindú zemindar befriended them, until they got to a place of safety.

AGRA.

This place, it is believed, is still beleaguered by a rebel force, but well provisioned. The destruction of buildings has been great, but particulars are not known.

MIRUT.

Rev. A. Medland—July 10.

“I have seen a Native Catechist of the Gospel Propagation Society, who had been employed by the Missionaries at Delhi, and had escaped here on the commencement of the outbreak. I have made particular inquiries respecting the Missionaries, and it is my painful task to report the worst respecting them. He tells me, when the disturbance commenced, the manager of the Delhi Bank sent for Mr. Hubbard to come to him, thinking, I suppose, his own house a place of greater safety than the Mission premises. Mr. Hubbard according went there. Soon after, the place was attacked by a mob from the city. The manager, his wife and family, and Mr. Hubbard, took refuge in the kitchen-house, which in this country is an out-house, at some little distance from the dwelling-house. Here the mob assailed them. The little party resisted as they best could, but were quickly overpowered, and cut to pieces; upon which the murderers filled the house with grass, set fire to it, and burnt it to the ground. Mr. Sandys, long an assistant in the Mission, and son of our Missionary at Calcutta, at the commencement of the outbreak, started off with the deputy-collector's son, who happened to be with him at the time, and was killed near a magazine in the vicinity of the Mission premises. I have every reason for believing this report to be correct: the man from whom I obtained it is still here, residing in our Mission compound.

“The day before yesterday, a catechist from Bareilly found his way here. He fled at the commencement of the mutiny there, and could give no account of the native Christians. Mr. Williams, however, who was a few days since appointed Commissioner here, informs me, that, from information he has received, he fears the little Christian village there has been destroyed, and the inhabitants killed.* The whole of Rohilcund being in the hands of the rebels, we can obtain nothing but native reports, which cannot well be relied on.”

Since our last issue, we have received further particulars of the death of Mr. Lamb, at Mussurie. He was residing, for a short time, at Landour, an out-station at the Mirut Mission, when the insurrection broke out at Mirut. He was returning home from a ride, but when, about three miles from Landour, another horse kicked the one he rode, which caused it to fall over a bank, and, as it is thought, to roll over Mr. Lamb. He died, from the effect of suffusion on the brain, at the house of the chaplain, Mr. Maddocks, from whom he received every kindness which it was possible to bestow. He was buried at Mussurie, his funeral being attended by several chaplains and Missionaries, and other gentlemen of the station, and twenty-five native Christians.

* There were at least fifty, including children.

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Mr. Lamb was able to speak little after the accident; but he assured his wife of his desire to be with Christ, and asked her to pray with him, as the best comfort to them both. Paul, his faithful native catechist, and another native Christian, also watched and prayed with him during the last hours of his life.

Mrs. Lamb, in a letter dated June 24, from which the above particulars were gleaned, says—

“About twenty native Christians attend at this house for morning and evening prayer, which is a great comfort to me. Paul conducts the services. They all express their willingness to die rather than renounce their faith.”

JUBBULPUR.

Mr. W. Rebsch—June 25.

“In our Mission work we have not at all been disturbed; I am going out as usual, and have been going out all the time, preaching in the city and visiting our schools, and found the people as well behaved as always. They were as much frightened as any Europeans, and even the sepoy in the regiment were dreadfully afraid: we have frequently a number of them as hearers. Since the disturbance in the country they have not only behaved well, but more civilly than before. We were advised by several parties to leave Jubbulpur in this critical time. However, I could not see any reason; besides, our presence, and my daily going among the people, without fear and apprehension, encouraged others. However, we are obliged to keep some extra servants at present to watch the premises, as our houses are thatched with grass; and we have also some guns in readiness, but this is not for fear of the sepoy, so much as to keep off the Badmashis, who are only waiting for their opportunity to pay us a visit. Then we have here a great number of Dakoits and Thugs, who are not good neighbours.

“July 2—All Europeans are humbled to the dust at present, as they never were before; you would hear of things now, you could not have believed to be possible when you were in India. A great many of those natives who have been treated with much indulgence, or the greatest kindness, turn now against them; it is now not only the sepoy, but other people, rich as well as poor, who are thirsty of the blood of Europeans. We are all taught a serious lesson by this calamity; God grant we may fully understand and profit by it.

July 20—To-day I am writing to you from our fortified place, Major Erskine's, in which we are altogether since the 5th inst., when we heard news of mutiny in Saugor and Dumoh: we are forty-one gentlemen, ten ladies, and fourteen children, besides some Christian writers, &c.—more than 100 Christians. The 52d regiment has not yet mutinied, but the spirit of it is in them. However, they suffered us to strengthen our position, and lay in stores and ammunition for several months. In the mean time the whole of the district within a few miles of this, got into rebellion and disorder. Two rajahs are standing with their armies ready. One of them gave great trouble to Dumoh. He has two guns, presents of our Governor-General. He is now about twenty miles from Jubbulpur, only waiting for the rising of this regiment. A force of one regiment of Madras infantry and one of cavalry, with six guns, is coming from Nagpore. Our Commissioner, Major Erskine, with four officers, &c. will join them, to meet the rajah, and clear the roads.

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We hope to defend ourselves against 1000 men, if they come only with muskets, not guns. We are doing duty ourselves,* and do not allow any Sipáhi to come into the house. Almost every day we get news of more butchering, hanging, and robbing. India is in a deplorable state now. However, we pray God may give victory to our armies. Most anxiously are we waiting for troops from Europe, though we do not expect any—this district being the poorest. Government will recover those at first which are most important. Fancy the rebels making bullets of our telegraphic wire. These are most trying times for all of us: even from New Zealand we did not hear of such atrocities as we have had here, and there is no hope of it being soon over. We shall have war and hanging now for some years to come, as matters have been allowed to go too far, till nearly the whole country is ruined.

“I have been compelled to closed our schools, as I can no more go out to superintend them; there were also too few pupils left, and the expenses nearly 100 rupees per month. There is, also, no possibility of collecting money now for our local Mission expenses.

“Although we are all deeply humiliated by the present calamity, I firmly believe it will turn out for the best, for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. Now our rulers have seen what Hindúism and Mohammedanism is, they will not countenance them in future, as they have hitherto done, but treat them in the proper way, as Christians.”

AMRITSAR.

Rev. A. Strawbridge—July 6.

“It is for us rather to acknowledge the hand of our God in all this, and to see what effect these events are likely to have upon our work. And here I am full of hope. In what particular way this hope is to be realized I am not prepared to say. There cannot, however, be any doubt but that God intends to get glory to himself by these events.

“Sad as are the accounts of the numbers slain, it is only wonderful how many have escaped the hands of these wicked men; for example, at Sealkote, some twenty-one sick Europeans of H. M. 52d regiment, together with all the writers, &c., are saved.

“We walk by faith. The death of Mr. and Mrs. Hunter is an illustration of this. They only arrived in the country a few months ago, and yet their faith, and love, and zeal, is everywhere spoken of. ‘Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in Thy sight.’ Mysterious indeed are the ways of our God. But He has a purpose to fulfil; so He sitteth in the heavens, directing and controlling all these events to the accomplishment of these purposes, and the promotion of His glory. This is our comfort in our affliction.”

MULTAN.

Rev. T. H. Fitzpatrick—June 26.

“The events which have lately occurred, have had a sad effect upon our Missionary exertions. The Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, more than three weeks ago, urgently requested me not to preach in the city, feeling that it would endanger not only my own life, but the lives of the community also. I at once complied, and however painful it may be to lie by,

* Mr. Rebeck is not in holy orders.

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and refrain from trying to do good, I feel that for the present such is my duty; but I only wait for a decided turn in the posture of affairs to resume my efforts. A kind friend has offered to take us to Simla, and bear all expenses, but we have not considered it our duty to leave the station, although we are doing little good, and the heat is very trying. I trust the Lord will open our way to comfort some distressed soul, and very shortly to do good among the heathen. I have had visits from a few natives, and given the Bible to one.

"I have had letters very recently from Mr. Ball, at Simla, and my brethren at Amritsar. All are well, and I think we need not feel any anxiety on their account. They have European troops at both stations. Nor do I fear that any harm will occur at Peshawur or Kangra. Our fort is very strong in the former station, and if the troops mutiny at Kangra, they will most certainly be cut to pieces; but, as I said before, I do not fear any outbreak in the Punjab.

"What signal mercies we have all enjoyed who have been spared! The deliverances God has wrought, remind us of Scripture records. He has restrained the power of our enemies and shielded His people in such a way, that every Christian is now praising Him. The blessings which God's people have enjoyed during the last six weeks in India have been of no ordinary kind, and I have had letters from several persons, which clearly show that this heavy calamity has been working effectually for their spiritual good. I am much more concerned about the future consequences of this rebellion, than I am about its more immediate effects. The judgment will fall almost entirely upon the native community; the loss of European life, though very melancholy to contemplate, will be comparatively small. The natives will perish in thousands. The rebellion is not national only, it is religious, and when suppressed, the reaction will be most disheartening to Mussulmans and Hindús alike. The most active and the most aspiring in it are the former, and I believe it will be the last effort of the Mohammedans in India, if our Government rise to the occasion, and will only renounce their infidelity.

"I believe the main hindrance to Missionary exertions throughout India is the tone our Government has maintained. Would they but avow their Christianity, and with a firm hand discharge their duty, even without direct efforts, except in the maintenance of Christian schools, we would see a prodigious change in the course of a very short time. Now, then, is the crisis. The native army is gone; the Government is no longer dependant upon that army. Brahminism and Islamism will be greatly disheartened by this fruitless rebellion. If our Government will now become Christian, untold blessings will ensue."

We introduce some weighty remarks from the pen of Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Macdonald, in a letter published in the *Times* of September 11:—

"The more clearly the true source of the calamity is revealed, the more distinctly will it also be seen that the outcry raised on the intelligence first reaching us against Missionary effort, as having contributed to the movement, is perfectly groundless. There are certain individuals, who, opposed to Christianity, in their own hearts, are even ready to charge against it all the abominations that have ever been committed by the wickedness of man. Men who can see no difference between the Divine tenets of Christianity, and those of the followers of the false prophet, and the gross idolatries of the Brahminical code—

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and I have known such—are ever ready to condemn Missionary effort on any pretence. But all those who have closely watched the feelings of the natives towards the Missionaries and their work, know well that their prominent characteristic is one of perfect indifference. In the immediate sphere of their labours, they are generally regarded with much respect; and to show the influence often gained by them among the people, I may mention the fact, that one of our Missionaries at Benares, had, by the last accounts from that place, been applied to by the authorities there to use that influence in obtaining supplies, on the Commissariat failing to procure them.

“To attribute to them the present terrible revolt is therefore perfectly puerile. In the words of the Koolin Brahmin, to your Calcutta correspondent, ‘An old Indian,’ it is ‘mere nonsense.’ And this is still more evident, from the fact that the rebellion is confined to those very men who have been most exempt from Missionary effort.

“That some of the more rabid fanatics among both Mohammedans and Brahmins are madly opposed to the dissemination of truth, and especially the truth of Christianity, no one will deny. All light is hateful to them, because it exposes their debasing idolatry, and condemns their conduct; and as this is especially the effect of the light of Christianity they must hate it. But if we believe in its powers to benefit mankind, if we acknowledge the Bible to be a revelation from God to man, shall we, as a Christian nation, prove such cowardly traitors to the truth as to put an end to the circulation of the word of God, and to the efforts of the legitimate Missionary among our benighted fellow-subjects, because the agents of darkness, the priests of superstition and idolatry, cry out, as of old, “Away with him?” God forbid! We, as the Christian rulers and guardians over that people, have a plain command to obey, and a sacred duty to perform; and, let the timid and the infidel say what they may, woe be unto us if we prove disobedient and unfaithful!”

YORUBA MISSION.

The Rev. H. Townsend was at Oyo in July, where he was building a house for the residence of the Missionary, during his occasional visits. At present he feels it necessary to divide his time between that place and Isein, without going further. There is, we regret to learn, war between Illorin and the Niger, which may interfere with Mr. Crowther’s proposed journey from that river to Abbeokuta by land. The Missionaries are also considerably embarrassed by a war which the Egbas of Abbeokuta are waging against Aibo, a small town on the road to Ketu. The roads are stopped to commerce, though there was a clause put into the proclamation of war in favour of the Missionaries, exempting them and their servants from its operation, and permitting them to go and come as they please on their own work.

NIGER EXPEDITION.

A letter from the Rev. S. Crowther, dated July 7, announces the arrival of the “Dayspring” in the Brass River on the 3d of that month. The expedition was to set sail next day, through the Acassa Creek to the Nun, whence they hoped to make a fair start for the Niger on the 9th. The bar of the Brass River is better than that of the Nun. The entrance is tortuous, but large vessels, of great draft, are piloted into the river in safety at high

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water, which they cannot do in the case of the Nun. When the "Dayspring" entered, there were six vessels taking in palm oil. "We have visited," says Mr. Crowther, "a small village inhabited by Brass people, the name of which is Tuon, a very swampy village indeed; and the inhabitants are very degraded, notwithstanding their communication and intercourse with Europeans these many years. It was among this people that the late Mr. Carr and his servant disappeared in 1841. There is nothing that will improve these poor people, but patient Christian teaching, through the blessing of God's Holy Spirit. I asked the villagers whether they would not like to be taught the white man's book, which we are going to teach King Obi's people at Abo, and they said they would like to be taught also. "The chief town of the Brass district is Nembe, about thirty miles higher up the river. As our time is limited here we could not visit it. Nembe was the town of King Boy and King Jacket, so often mentioned in Lander's journals, during their exploration of this river,"

Lieutenant Glover, R.N., who is engaged in the survey of the Brass and the Acasesa Creek, hopes to accompany Mr. Crowther, should he be able to carry out his contemplated land journey from Rabba to Abbeokuta. All the Europeans composing the expedition were well and in good spirits.

Mr. Crowther concludes thus: "We need, and beg, a continued interest in your prayers for protection and success in this important work, in which the church takes such deep interest."

RETURN HOME OF A MISSIONARY.

The Rev. R. H. Cobbold and Mrs. Cobbold left Shanghai in March, on board the "General Wyndham," and arrived in London in August last.

EMBARKATION OF MISSIONARIES.

The Rev. T. G. Barenbruck left England, in July last, *via* Germany, for Suez, to embark in the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer, for Point de Galle, preparatory to rejoining the South-India Mission.

The Rev. J. P. Mengé and Mrs. Mengé embarked at Portsmouth, on the 12th of September, on board the "Queen," for Calcutta.

ORDINATION OF MISSIONARIES.

On Sunday, September 20, Mr. H. W. Shackell and Mr. Thomas Spratt were admitted to deacons' orders by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and Mr. W. H. Collins also to deacons' orders, by the Bishop of Victoria.

We have much pleasure in announcing, that the Rev. John Bowen, LL.D. Trinity College, Dublin, Rector of Orton Longueville, who, on two several occasions, spent some years in Palestine as a Missionary, at his own charge, but in communication with this Society, was consecrated Bishop of Sierra Leone, on Monday the 23d instant, at the Archbishop of Canterbury's private chapel, Lambeth.

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It is with devout acknowledgment to the mercy of Almighty God, that we issue our Indian intelligence for the present month. It will be found to contain the particulars of losses already recorded in general terms; but there is no more of massacre; there are no fresh instances of destruction of property. On the 10th of September Mr. Cuthbert is able to write from Calcutta—“The spirits and hopes of our countrymen are now pretty good and steady. A persuasion that, in this Presidency at least, the worst of the mutiny is over, is gaining ground; and as reinforcements—English troops—are arriving, though not very quickly, and powerful ones are promised and expected soon from England, people’s minds are becoming tranquillized.”

The only painful occurrence which is new to our pages is the abandonment of Gorruckpur; but even there, we are happy to say, no violence had taken place up to the period of our latest despatches from the neighbourhood.

The two points in addition to those noticed last month which come out prominently in our present issue, are—

1. The usefulness, not of the Missionaries only, but of the native Christians, to Government. If bodies of men, like those taken into the fort at Agra, had existed all over the disturbed districts, how much of suffering and sorrow might have been saved.

2. The friendliness of the native princes, zemindars, and population generally. There have been exceptions, but, on the whole, these classes have behaved, we might almost say, considering the difficulty of their position, hemmed in on all sides by an infuriated army, with astonishing benevolence and fidelity. The revolt has been a mutiny, and not an insurrection; the perpetrators and abettors of it, were the servants, and not the subjects, of the Government. It is not enough to spare those who have deserved so well at our hands: they must be rewarded. And what better return can a Christian nation make, than to present them the riches of the glory of Christ’s inheritance in the saints?

The following statements, from a letter by the Rev. P. S. Royston, dated Madras, Sept. 14, will be read with great satisfaction.

“I am happy to be able to report the continuance of quietude and peace throughout this Presidency. The Mohurram passed away with perhaps less disorder than usual.

“Sunday, October 4th, is appointed by the Governor-General to be a day of national humiliation.” Such observances in India have been uniformly held on a Sunday, and the day fixed is thus, as nearly as possible, coincident with that observed in England.

CALCUTTA.

Rev. G. G. Cuthbert—August 22.

“I think I may adopt a more cheerful tone in this letter, in reference to the sad disturbance which has so long held us in alarm, than I felt warranted

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to do in my last two or three communications. It is true that Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, three of the greatest and most important places of the north-west provinces, are still either in the hands of the rebels, or surrounded by them, the English holding out as a little besieged band. But I hear at Delhi—as far as the accounts we receive can be relied on—the spirit of the insurgents is fast sinking under the repeated defeats they have experienced in every attack, though made with overwhelming superior numbers, on our little force. That force is said to have been strengthened by some additions, both of Europeans and natives, to have abundance of supplies, and to be, on the whole, in wonderfully good health and excellent spirits, notwithstanding the loss of three chief-commanding officers in succession—Anson, Barnard, and Reed—by disease, and several others in conflict.

“The insurgents are described now as in great straits for ammunition, and even provisions; whilst disease must be making fearful havoc amongst the many thousands cooped up together in the city, and under no sanitary regulations, or the very worst. It is thought that General Wilson, who now commands there, could take the city even now; but his force is too small to prevent vast numbers of the mutineers escaping, and if permitted to do so, they would probably spread disaffection and revolt, still more widely through the country; so that, dreadful as the necessity is, it seems to be thought indispensable that the many thousands of rebels who hold the city of the Moguls, should be as far as possible annihilated, and this can only be attempted by a large force, unless distress, disease, and intestine conflicts first largely reduce their numbers.

“Bengal, in general, is pretty quiet, and Calcutta quite so at present, though the Mohurram, so dreaded by many, has commenced. The strong European force now here, the ships of war in the river, the volunteer corps, which are now getting into excellent training, both horse and foot, as well as artillery, and the general preparedness of both Government and people, keep the ill-disposed in check, and few persons of cool judgment expect any serious disturbance; but so fierce is the Mussulman spirit when under the influence of fanaticism, especially at a time like this, that any unfortunate occurrence taking place during their processions would be likely to be regarded by them as an insult, and to lead to an outbreak of violence which might be productive of much trouble and mischief.

“As the revolt goes on, every thing shows more and more plainly that it has not in the remotest degree been occasioned by any Missionary proceedings. I was almost about to say I wish it had; at least, I wish that Missionary proceedings had been extensive, prominent, and successful enough to have aroused the mind of the great masses of the people. Satan, indeed, may have seen that the work was beginning, or likely to disturb his reign, and may have stirred up all this furious rage against the English and the Christians who have disturbed him, but the people generally here have no thought of this.

BENARES.

Rev. Clement F. Cobb—August 2.

“Before I proceed to any reflections of a more private character with regard to the troubled past and the eventful future, I cannot refrain from congratulating your Committee, that not a single imprudent act of any

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Missionary has ever been alleged as either kindling or fanning the flame of rebellion and fanatical fury, which has raged throughout the whole northern district of India. I am well aware that many will be too ready to ascribe all this trouble to the indiscreet enthusiasm of the propagators of Missionary efforts; but facts are wholly against them. The seat of the rebellion has been in the army, which has been scarcely at all reached by Missionary effort. The mutinies first appeared at Barrackpúr and Mírut, and have since become concentrating about Delhi and Lucknow; two of these places having been never, I believe, the seat of Missionary operations, while these only existed in a very elementary state in the other two: whereas of the chief Mission stations, Agra had been kept in peace up to June 28, with but a small European force present; Benares was undisturbed for near a month after Delhi, and now our schools are already at work again; the Kishnagurh district has been wholly undisturbed; at Gorruckpúr, isolated as it is, close on the borders of Oude, and without any European troops, the pastoral and educational work has never been suspended,* and up to this time no actual outbreak has taken place; at Jubbulpúr, Mr. Rebsch continued his preaching to a considerable date, at least a month after the mutiny had become general, without any injury arising either to himself or the public cause; and it is only after two months, when mutinies have taken place in near stations, that the inhabitants have thought it right to intrench themselves, and, up to the latest date, no disturbance had occurred. If Calcutta be urged, on the other side, still it is not a fair argument, because, of course, as the seat of Government, the emporium of wealth, and the residence of the King of Oude, there were the greatest inducements to the rebels to attack these. In all the terrible massacres, too, it has always been our gallant and lamented officers who have been the first mark of the traitorous assassin, not the propagators of the gospel.

“ But while no indiscretion on the part of Missionaries has excited this awful revolution, I have no doubt that the propagation of the gospel, conjointly with the general spread of knowledge, and the consolidation of the British power, has had its influence in raising the spirit of furious insubordination, both among Mussulmans and Brahmins. With our ‘chronic’ enemy, the Mohammedan, political and religious ascendancy, Islam and the sword, are indissoluble; and, on the other hand, the spread of truth, knowledge, and the advance of English influence, are all diametrically opposed to his darling objects, the establishment of the Mussulman rule and faith. And whether you persuade Hindús that Jesus is the Saviour, not Ram, or teach them that an eclipse is calculable, and does not depend on the whim of the demon who pursues the moon, you alike empty the Brahmin’s pocket, and he makes a disturbance because his craft is in danger. St. Paul, however, did not desist from his mission at Ephesus from the fear of such disturbances, and we are safe in following his example. And our enlightened statesmen will surely agree with Sir C. Wood, that, even if we endanger our empire here by enlightening the minds of the masses, it is more worthy of a great nation to do so, than to fill its coffers by keeping them in the dungeon of darkness and ignorance. But while admitting that evangelization, together with other enlightening influences, has provoked the spirit of the aspirants (in this country) to poli-

* It has since been abandoned. See Mr. Stern’s letter, below.

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tical and religious tyranny, I believe that, among the masses, it is *ignorance*, not *knowledge* of the spirit of the gospel, which incites hostility to it. No boy educated in this college would believe that he could become a Christian by eating the fat of a pig or a cow. But the ignorant look on Christianity simply as a subversion of external customs to which they are deeply attached. I believe the Mohammedans were at the bottom of this whole insurrection, and that the cartridge difficulty was a lucky accident, which they bent to their purposes. So far from Missionary influence having exasperated the 19th and 34th regiments, if Missionaries had been among them, they would never have been duped by the inflaming lie, that Government intended to make Christians of them by greasing the cartridges of the Mohammedans with pigs' fat, and those of the Hindús with that of the cow. What our gracious Master may design to bring about by these sore judgments for the future we cannot foresee. It seems almost inevitable that both Musulmans and Brahmins have brought down on themselves their own degradation; and Government have had a most afflictive lesson, that pampering caste does not promote our security. Surely the head of this viper will be crushed, which has stung its cherishers so vitally and so fiercely."

The following affecting incident is from a letter of the Rev. C. B. Leupolt dated August 1, 1857—

"Yesterday afternoon the S—s arrived here, from Hardarpur, in a very sad state. As soon as I heard of the mutiny of the troops at Dinapur, I wrote to them to come to Benares. Thus prepared, about thirty fellows of a neighbouring village, hearing of their going, waylaid them, and wounded them fearfully. Poor S— saved himself by feigning to be dead. Mrs. S— was dreadfully wounded in the head and eye, and would have been murdered but for my little Eliza. The man, wishing to give her a finishing stroke, seized hold on Mrs. S—, when my little girl looked full into his face. He stared at her for a moment, and then said to the other villains, 'Let them go, let them go.' Mrs. S— had all her clothes torn off her, and was pulled out of the buggy by two fellows laying hold of her feet. Mrs. S—, being unable to stand, sat on the ground, and the first fellow then took Ellen by the hand and brought her to Mrs. S—. The buggy contained all their cash, gold watches, gold chains, jewels, &c. They took the buggy, and horse, and all away. No sooner was it known, than the surrounding zemindars came round the S—s and guarded them during the night; they also promised to take care of their bungalow and factory, but whether they will be able to do so is another question."

About the same date, some of the designs of the irregulars having been divulged to Mr. Leupolt, he was enabled to give information to the authorities, in consequence of which they were disarmed.

GORRUCKPUR.

Rev. H. Stern—August 15.

"I have now the sad duty to inform you that Government and all the English residents have marched out of Gorruckpur, under the protection of the Goorkah force, and encamped on the other side of the river. At three o'clock P.M. on the 13th inst., English protection ceased to be afforded to any individual in Gorruckpur, as we were informed by a circular from the authorities. No choice, therefore, was left to me, but to pack a few things

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together, and follow the English flag wherever it may be planted. It was a very sad sight, thus, in one long procession, to leave the station; and I could not help thinking of King David, when he, with his nobles, fled from his son Absalom.

“Here we are then, in camp these two days, within sight of Gorruckpur; and, if the report proves true, we are to march on to-morrow. As to the Mission, I have made such arrangements as I could under the circumstances. The schools were closed the day before we left; and the whole Mission property in Gorruckpur, together with Basharatpur, and every thing belonging to that establishment, were made over by me to the rajah of Gopalpur, one of those rajahs who have hitherto assisted Government in the suppression of disturbances, and to whom the authorities made over the whole station and district. The rajah of Gopalpur has agreed to protect the Mission property, and to afford every assistance and protection to the native Christians residing at Basharatpur; and I have agreed, of course on my own authority, (for there was no time allowed to write to Calcutta,) to make over all the revenue of Basharatpur, for one year, to the rajah. As soon as we return, which I trust may be after a short time, the rajah will make over the property to me, or my successor. All this is written down on paper, and a copy, with my signature and Charles Dass’s, is in the rajah’s hand, and the copy with the rajah’s signature and seal, is in my hands.

“Since the 13th, inst. a guard of twelve men has been stationed at Basharatpur. There are left there 162 Christian souls; the rest are partly with me as servants, and have found employment with some gentlemen, and three families proceeded down the river in charge of some property belonging to the judge.

“Yesterday afternoon, I visited the village for the last time. The whole number collected in the catechist’s house, where I read the 71st Psalm, and offered up a prayer. When I departed, the whole number broke out in tears, especially the women and children. It was a most affecting scene, and I had great difficulty myself to remain firm. I hope I may see them all again after a short interval. I have made them over to the Lord, who can move the heart of the rajah to remain faithful to his word, and to protect the Christian flock, now in the wilderness without a shepherd. I cannot help feeling most sad at leaving these poor Christians behind. I trust I have done to the best of my judgment. Should any evil befall them, which the Lord forbid, may it not be laid to my charge.

“I am also happy to say, that, in the agreement of Government with the rajah, Basharatpur was especially mentioned as a place of which they must take care.”

Up to the date of the latest intelligence there had been no outbreak at Gorruckpur.

AGRA.

Rev. F. E. Schneider—July 21.

“Although I do not know whether these lines will ever reach you, yet I venture to send them. It is under peculiar circumstances, and with a broken heart, that I sit down and write. By God’s mercy we are still in the land of the living; but what a change has taken place in Agra since I last wrote to you. To describe to you all that has happened, I feel myself altogether unfit.

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“Immediately after the battle had begun, the prisoners (about 4000) in the jail broke loose; and they, with an immense number of bad fellows from the city and surrounding villages, commenced the work of burning, plundering, and destroying, which they continued for three days and nights, without being disturbed. It was an awful sight, from the ramparts of the fort, to see the burning houses. You have no idea of the destruction, and it would be in vain to describe it to you. May it suffice to tell you what I have seen, when I went out with an armed party on the 17th inst. We visited the Kuttra college, and Mission-compound. The new church in the Kuttra, which was ready for service, has been deprived of doors, windows, railings, chairs, benches, the handsome pulpit and reading desk, punkahs, and every thing they could lay hold on; the wood-work either all burnt, or so destroyed that it is quite useless: even the stone flooring, they have greatly torn up. The loss of the church I cannot estimate at less than 2500 rupees. The bungalow, which Mr. Wright occupied, and which had only lately been thoroughly repaired, and every house in the Kuttra, have been burnt, and all the wood has been taken away from the roofs: the old chapel also has been pulled down. The Mission-college and Mr. French's house, have experienced the same fate: all the doors have been taken away. The Mission-compound, which we occupied, is a complete wilderness; our dwelling-house, with all the doors, burnt to ashes; the catechist's house, the servants' houses, stable, godown, and out-houses, deprived of the roofs and doors, only the bare walls are standing, and these also must fall in when we have heavy rains. The loss in the Mission-compound is certainly not less than 4000 rupees. Secundra is a complete ruin. I myself have not been there, but the description which Mr. Longden gives of the destruction, is most melancholy. The church, with all its furniture, organ, bells, railings, pulpit, font, &c., utterly destroyed; no door, no window left. The village nothing but naked walls, most of them dug round about, so that they must fall. The extensive press-buildings, which had only just been completed, with all the stones, presses, machinery, and furniture, entirely destroyed; all the dwelling-houses, schools, out-houses in ruins. Mr. Longden has not even saved his office-books, so that the ruin of the press establishment cannot be more complete. Our Christians have lost their all; they had been removed from Secundra, on the 4th and 5th inst., to a place in the city called Hamiltongunj, under the guns of the fort. For some time our endeavours to procure for them admission into the fort proved in vain. Then, at the last hour, when the wounded and troops were returning from the field of battle and entering the fort, our poor Christian families were standing before the gates, imploring the guards to let them in: Mr. French and myself took advantage of the time when the troops entered, and brought in the children and women to the number of about 240; the men entered afterwards. I cannot describe to you the scene which I witnessed when we thus brought in our native Christians. The men did, immediately afterwards, good service in saving medical stores from a house nearly a mile from the fort, in carrying sick and wounded, and taking service wherever they found it. All the heathen and Mussulman servants had fled from the fort during the battle; and the applications, from the most respectable parties in the fort, the Lieut.-Governor not excluded, for Christian servants, were far more than could be procured. From two parties, I had applications, each for 500 men, for public service. The burden upon me, for

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the first three days, was beyond my strength; on the fourth day, Mr. Longden was appointed superintendent of all the native Christians; and I have now only to care for the thirty-five orphan children, for whom I cannot even procure a place to live in. Oh, what anxieties and cares, which the Lord only can help to bear!

“The great loss which our Mission has experienced, makes me less feel my own loss, which is certainly not trifling; having lost my library, nearly all my furniture, my palkegaree, buggy, and two horses. At present we have plenty of provisions in the fort, as it is open for all who bring provisions; but prices are high, and it is feared will rise still higher, as all communication with the country has ceased: the bridge of boats is broken up on both sides of the river. We have a small room, as large as a ship's cabin: the heat is often fearful. It is certainly a matter of thankfulness, that we have not more sickness in the fort. There have been several cases of cholera: I had three fatal cases in my flock: bowel-complaints are very frequent. The oldest member of my Kuttra congregation, old Thakur, a convert of Bishop Corrie (he remembered well the first taking of Agra by the English in 1803) was cruelly murdered by the Mussulmans when they plundered the Kuttra. Three families, which were obliged to remain behind in Secundra, were saved, by God's mercy, although they were in imminent danger. Two Christian families are still at their post at Runkutta. The villagers, among whom they have now lived for so many years, have indeed nobly behaved towards them: they have defended them against the Mussulmans, and will not let them go; comforting them with the assurance that they will not forsake them, but defend them with their lives. It is a pleasing instance of the influence which our Christians have exercised on the minds of their heathen neighbours.

“How long we are to remain in our present condition no one can tell. We are in the centre of the disturbed provinces, and almost cut off from every communication. Last week, we were rejoiced by overland letters, from the middle of May. Perhaps our relief is nearer than we are aware. A siege would be fearful. The fort is crowded: I should think from 4000 to 5000 souls.

“The destruction in Agra is chiefly to be ascribed to the Mussulman police-force, who were only traitors. Mr. Hubbard, brother of our Missionary in Benares, and professor in the Agra Government-college, was murdered by the police on the day of the battle. The murderer has been hanged.”

In a later letter, dated August 12, Mr Schneider says—

“I am sorry to say that two of our Kuttra Christians were murdered by Mussulmans on the day of the outbreak; but, thanks to the Lord, none of our Secundra Christians have been killed, although they have lost their whole property. The two families at our branch Mission in Runkutta, ten miles from Agra, have been able to keep their post and continue their school. The villagers have behaved nobly towards them, and show them all kindness: they will not allow them to leave the village, but will protect them with their lives. As to the cause of the destruction in Agra, there cannot be the least doubt that it is the work of the Mussulmans: they invited the mutineers' force to come to Agra; they were the leaders in the destruction: the kutwal, or chief native police-officer, and other Mussulmans of high rank, proved traitors. The present aspect of affairs is very gloomy, and I am afraid

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a good time must elapse before we can carry on direct Missionary work again, as we did four months ago. Our own minds have to be prepared and fitted for the work by the Holy Spirit. I am sure that the disasters and calamities we have experienced during the last three months in India, have been the severest trial which a Missionary's zeal, love, and perseverance can experience. I am afraid our poor native Christians have somewhat to suffer for what their countrymen have done to the English.

"With difficulty I have penned these lines, as my dear wife and myself are constantly suffering of fever and great exhaustion. I could, also, not write more, as only small and light letters are received. Remember us kindly before the throne of grace in our trials, that it may please the Lord to perfect His work in us, and that we may be found His faithful servants in life and in death."

Rev. J. Long—Calcutta, Aug. 8.

"As I write these lines I can scarcely refrain from tears, as before me lie two globes which I lately got from the Agra jail, made by the prisoners, under a contract to supply Bengal vernacular schools with globes at two and a-half rupees each. Around my room are lying lots of pamphlets, maps, and books in Hindú, which were printed at that jail, where they had thirty-six lithographic presses. Now, the printer-prisoners are let loose, to ravage all the country. Then, our own enormous Mission press at Secundra sent out, at the orders of Government, vernacular works, for the masses, by millions! Oh, it is heartrending to think that all this goodly apparatus, which would enable the villagers to read God's word, is smashed; educational institutions swept away; nothing but life saved.

"While Missionaries feel that their work has had nothing to do with this disturbance, they also feel that it shows how much on the surface their labours have been—that they have not yet touched the heart of the country.

"We Missionaries require our hearts to be more quickened, to have the love of Christ as a more predominating motive; we need to live more in the light of the Spirit, feeling the sunshine of God's favour on our souls.

"I do feel, to my heart's core, how shamefully and disgracefully we have neglected the Mohammedans. Oh, where are the men, Hebrew scholars, imbued with Oriental lore, and a love of souls, who will come out as Missionaries, to the Mohammedans especially! Events have taught us here, that our Missionaries are far too little equipped with Oriental learning, to make much impression on the natives; hence much of their teaching and preaching does not enter the Oriental mind. How beautifully our Lord knew it, as His parables and sermon show. The whole of the late events seem to show that, if our Mission plans are to succeed in India, they must be more adapted to the Indian mind, and European Missionaries must enter more into it."

JUBBULPUR.

Mr. W. Rebsch—August 1857.

"I am happy, till now, I have not heard of any of our native Christians having been mixed up in this rebellion; on the contrary, I read, in the 'Bombay Times,' that a native Christian in Monghyr, came forward and informed the magistrate of a rich Mohammedan, who was detected in a plot to kill all Europeans in that place. Government servants, of high standing, and Mohammedans, had taken part in that conspiracy.

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"I fear, in many stations, the well-educated natives, high in office, are partakers in this present movement;* they are longing for the reins of government, to have them in their hands. I wish we had more European and native Christians in these departments; the present mischief could not have been so extensive as it now is."

PESHAWAR.

Rev. Dr. Pfander—July 14.

"Neither the mass of the Hindú population, nor any of the Hindú rajahs, have as yet taken any part in the rebellion; and it is remarkable, also, that all the Mohammedan hill-tribes around us have not only remained quiet, but are bringing in all the Sepoys that have deserted, and they have themselves flocked in by hundreds, to be enlisted in the new levies raised here, to be used against the rebels. Thus we see God's hand clearly watching over us. He is chastening, but not destroying us and our Government. The movement is a religious one; but it is a fact, that as yet nowhere have the Missionaries or their labours been mentioned by any of the rebels as the cause of their rebellion, but they give as the reason the plans and intentions which they fancy Government has secretly laid to force them to embrace Christianity. And is not this a remarkable retaliation and punishment, for the ungodly and unchristian policy of Government, pursued from the beginning, in regard to religion? Government has never had the courage openly to own and honour Christ; but, on the contrary, in their anxiety to avoid all appearance of favouring Christianity, they have often been led away, secretly and openly, to honour and support idolatry and to hinder the gospel. Now this very Government is accused by their army, of desiring to convert them forcibly, and is well nigh losing its empire. Here we cannot but see God's retributive and chastening hand. But notwithstanding, for His name's sake, and for His work's sake, He has saved us, and prolonged the stewardship of our Government. But the movement also shows the danger Satan feels himself in, of losing his long hold upon this benighted land; and therefore his struggle, and the Satanic enmity evinced by the rebels against the Christians. And further, it proves what a deep impression the spread of Christianity has made upon the native mind. Both Hindús and Mohammedans feel that the ground is giving way under them, and that if the progress of the truth is not stayed they will all be obliged ultimately to yield to this unseen power and become Christians; and as the means hitherto used by them to oppose this progress have been found of no avail, they in their desperation have resolved to try force. Government education, the spread of European learning, the introduction of widows' marriages, the opening up of the gigantic Ganges canal—the holy Gunga having been obliged to obey the Sahibs, and to flow in the channel dug out for her by them—the absorption of one native state after another, the introduction of railways and telegraphs,—all these facts, together with the wide-spread

* On this point, "The Friend of India," August 13, remarks, "Of all the native officials in the disturbed districts, who have been high in office, scarcely one has proved himself faithful, and all have sided, more or less, with the insurgents. Few have rendered any valuable information, and some have behaved with the greatest villainy. Hiekmut Ollah Khan, the deputy-collector of Futtaypur, was the real murderer of the judge of that district, Mr. Tucker, and not only never attempted to save him, but took an active part in his slaughter. This is only one out of many instances of treachery and villainy which are known, and as the fidelity of any native official is seldom or rarely spoken of, we suppose that all have, more or less, shown the same spirit of bitter hostility to the Europeans."

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preaching of the gospel, have produced that impression ; and however melancholy and awful the scenes enacted here and there by the rebels, and however serious the crisis we have to pass through, I notwithstanding think, that, looking from a Christian point of view on these events, there can be no doubt that God will overrule all to the glory of His name, and to the advancement of His kingdom, and to the hastening on of the conversion of benighted India. Satan, instead of destroying God's work, will only be again made to help it on, and to advance Christ's cause. Government also will be obliged to pursue a different policy. Their old policy of conciliation, and inconsistent and sinful yielding to idolatry, has totally failed. They can now no longer hold the country by a Hindú or native army, they must in future look to a Christian army : and to Christians, to support and help them. Thus we may hope they will in future regard with more favour our native Christians, and make more use of them than hitherto, and will also do more for the spread of Christianity.

"About our work here, I have not much to say. There is no spirit of inquiry visible, and no desire for books. Of the inquirers mentioned in the Report, I have lately baptized two, and a third will be baptized in a few weeks hence. The school is going on regularly, and we prize Mr. M'Carthy highly. He is with heart and soul in his work. The preaching in the city, and cantonments too, I carry on as usual, and have always hearers. Since the outbreak of the rebellion, however, I do not go out quite so often as formerly, and am more careful in avoiding discussion. We continue all well, through God's mercy. Colonel Martin, however, had an accident two weeks ago : his horse ran away, and threw him out of his buggy : he sprained his foot, and got a wound in the head. He is, however, now almost restored again."

MÚLTAN.

It has sometimes been asked what were the sentiments of Sir H. Lawrence on the subject of Missions. The following letter from the Rev. T. H. Fitzpatrick, August 14, will give a sufficient answer.

"We mourn the death of Sir Henry Lawrence very much, he was such a useful man. When he lived at Lahore, where he was chief ruler, he used, when going to church, to call upon younger officers to take them with him, that none might stay behind. When there happened to be no chaplain, and our friend, Colonel Martin, was not there, or unable to officiate, he used to read the service and a sermon to the congregation. He always had morning prayers in his house, however large the company of visitors might be, or however urgent public business, and his example led others to do the same. He subscribed 50*l.* a year to our Amritsar Mission, and offered 50*l.* more per annum if we could get up a girls'-school. He founded an asylum for the children of European soldiers in the hills, and subscribed 1000*l.* per annum to it; and, more recently, established another, to which he also contributed munificently. He was the support of many, and has died, I suppose, a poor man. My groom was once in his employment, and when I told him of Sir Henry's death, he cried bitterly. India will mourn his loss for a long time. Well, for him it is, I trust, a happy release. Oh to live always near to eternity!

"I am doing very little work, and feel as if I was out of place. I have now to do every thing alone. Perhaps there is not another Missionary in India

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without a colleague or a native assistant, but this is my portion. I go to the city alone, and preach, for a short time, every second day. I feel it is a great cross to stand up alone before a very degraded, polluted people, who gainsay in their hearts every word I say, or pity my folly; but if I could realize the love of our Saviour on the cross, and the real state of these perishing myriads, as I ought, I think I should forget self altogether, and entreat them, or reason with them, with unwearied earnestness and tenderness. Perhaps this is what God would have me learn in these trying circumstances."

SOUTH INDIA.

To the Right Honourable GEORGE FRANCIS ROBERT, LORD HARRIS, Governor of Madras.

The respectful Address of the native Protestant Christians of Madras—
HUMBLY SHOWETH,

That we, the undersigned native Protestant Christians of Madras, having heard with pain and heartfelt sorrow of the rebellious and mutinous behaviour of troops, Mohammedan and Hindú, in the northern parts of India; of the atrocities committed by them in the destruction of property, and the massacre of many valuable and innocent lives, of both sexes and of all orders; and of continuance of the same mutinous spirit and conduct still among them; deem it our duty as loyal subjects, to declare our faithful adherence to the British Government, and to offer our united service in the present crisis as the friends of order, peace, and good government.

In conclusion, we desire to express our readiness to do, act, and assist, to the utmost of our power, in whatever manner the Government may prescribe.

We beg to remain,

Your Lordship's most loyal and obedient servants.

Madras, 21st July 1857.

With 361 signatures.

In the wisdom of God, it has been assigned to the Tinnevely Mission, to mourn one of the most promising of its labourers. The Rev. Charles Every was suddenly taken to rest on the morning of August 18, after a brief season of three years' sojourn in India. His end was peace. "If I did not know," he said, "that God was my Father I should be the most miserable of men;" and then, with a sweet smile, he added, "What I should like, would be to go and be with Jesus; but if it is His will that I should remain and work for awhile, it is all well." Owing to the nature of his disease (cholera), he was forbidden drink. On this he said, "They tell me I must not drink any thing, and I am so very thirsty. But it does not much signify. I shall soon be where they hunger no more, and thirst no more."

WESTERN INDIA.

Rev. C. C. Mengé—Nasik, August 8.

"Our native Christians, weak and fearful as they are, have, upon the whole, evinced much Christian holy courage in this trying time. They have experienced indeed the truth of God's promise—'Call upon me in the time of trouble, so I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me.'"

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NEW ZEALAND.

Rev. J. Morgan—Otawhao, June 10.

"I would call the attention of ladies, interested in the progress of the Lord's work in heathen lands, to the valuable assistance often rendered by them to schools by donations of *strong clothing*. For such donations we shall at all times be truly thankful. The clothing department, with our limited means and assistance, is very heavy. The stronger the articles, the more valuable to us. I would, however, here notice, that packages of clothing are generally received without any note or memorandum of the address of the ladies by whom they are so kindly sent. I recommend that a note be enclosed in every parcel sent out; and we, on our part, will not neglect to reply to it, and thank our kind friends at home."

NORTH-WEST AMERICA.

The Rev. W. Mason, September 11, writes thus in acknowledgment of goods kindly sent out to him in the spring of the year—

"The sales of charity goods have all come to hand, and I desire to acknowledge with thankfulness those precious gifts which have been sent to this station, both this year and last, to those benevolent individuals who think of the poor natives of York, Churchill, Severn, and Trout Lake, and hope we may not be forgotten during the coming years. The warm clothing and unmade-up dress pieces, cotton, flannel, tweed, and cast-off clothes, are just what we require. Our wants in this respect have been very well anticipated."

On Friday, October 16th, at a special meeting held at the Church Missionary Institution, Islington, the Committee took leave of a large party of Missionaries proceeding to their respective stations, viz. Rev. G. R. and Mrs. Caiger, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. C. Knödler, Mr. H. Bockstatt, and Miss Hehlen, for Sierra Leone; Rev. J. S. and Mrs. Wiltshire, Mr. Gittens, and Mr. Oberley, industrial agents—all natives of the West Indies, for the Timneh Mission; Rev. D. and Mrs. Hinderer, Rev. J. A. and Mrs. Maser, returning to the Yoruba Mission; Messrs. Green and Abbege, one of the Haussa youths baptized by the Rev. J. F. Schön at Chatham,* to the Niger; Rev. D. Fynes-Clinton, Wadham College, Oxford, Rev. H. W. Shackell, Pembroke College, Cambridge, appointed to Agra; and Rev. W. H. and Mrs. Collins, proceeding to Shanghai.

The Instructions of the Committee were delivered by the Rev. H. Venn, and acknowledged by the several Missionaries. The party having been addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Schön, Green, and D. Wilson, and the Bishop of Sierra Leone, were commended in prayer to the protecting care of Almighty God, by the Rev. W. Vincent, Incumbent of Trinity Church, Islington; and the meeting closed with singing and the benediction.

The Rev. George and Mrs. Candy, with Mrs. Price and family, arrived at Southampton, from Bombay, on Oct. 7.

The Rev. F. N. and Mrs. Alexander, with the Misses Stammer and Meredith, arrived safely at Madras on Sept. 13. The Rev. J. I. and Mrs. Jones have also reached the same place on their way to Ceylon.

The Rev. T. H. Fleming arrived at Moose Fort August 16th, and Mr. J. P. and Mrs. Gardiner at York Factory, August 12th, all in good health and spirits.

* Vide "Church Missionary Record Recent Intelligence," pp. 178, 179.

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ON the 17th of November, the Committee took leave of the Rev. J. T. Tucker and Mrs. Tucker, about to return to their work in Tinnevely, as also of the Rev. George E. Moule, proceeding to China, and Mr. Samuel Black to Sierra Leone. The Missionaries were addressed by various friends, and, among them, by the Rev. Joseph Fenn, Rev. H. Moule, and E. R. Le Mare, Esq., each of whom testified to the thankful joy they experienced in having sons or daughters, into whose hearts the Lord had put it to devote themselves to His service in the Mission field.

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With much thankfulness to Almighty God, we are enabled this month to bring our Recent Intelligence within its usual compass. We have but few Indian letters from which to quote; and they present no new features. Our trust is, that, under God, Missionary work, where it has been suspended, will be resumed at no very remote period, with renewed vigour and success.

Our first extract is from a letter of the Rev. A. Strawbridge, dated Amritsar, Sept. 14. When it is recollected that the former Prince of the Punjab, Duleep Singh, is a Christian; that the country was taken possession of, soon after its conquest, by Bishop Wilson, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and that, from the commencement, its Government has been in the hands of such men as the Lawrences, Colonel Edwardes, and others of like spirit, the fidelity of the Sikhs, and the aid drawn from the Punjab, bespeak the blessing of a watchful Providence full of significance.

"I think," writes Mr. Strawbridge, "it should be borne in mind that, humanly speaking, India, and consequently many European lives, have been saved by the fidelity of the Sikh Sirdars, and the bravery of the Sikh soldiers. On more than one occasion they have shown themselves superior, under fire, to the British soldier, and more than once have places been saved by their devotedness, even though English soldiers have been present. This was the case at Jhelum, and, I believe, at Allahabad; and here they have formed our chief defence from the very beginning. I believe so high an authority as Brigadier-General Nicholson—than whom no European soldier has done more for the saving of British India—may be quoted as a proof, that to the faithfulness of the Punjab population are we indebted for our present position in India. These are indeed, to the servant of God, but minor considerations. Still they should not be forgotten; and if for their carnal things, we can impart unto them spiritual things, it is our duty to do so."

The Rev. J. Vaughan writes from Calcutta, Sept. 7—"We had a very interesting service yesterday—the baptism of a Brahmin from Lucknow. His father was in the employ of the King of Oude's Prime Minister, who has become so notorious. Being cast off by his master, he sought comfort in a pilgrimage to Juggernaut. He never returned, and his wife and son set out on the same pilgrimage. The mother died on the road. In the son's mind there arose some doubts about Hindúism. He abandoned the pilgrimage, came to Calcutta, and, in his wanderings, entered our church during service, and, at the close, opened his heart. We trust that he is a true convert to Christ, and that he will become a useful labourer."

*

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PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN CHINA.

(From the "North-China Herald," Sept. 5, 1857.)

This day, August 5, 1857, Protestant Christians complete the first half century of their Missionary labours in "the land of Sinim."

A few brief details regarding these will surely be acceptable to the readers of the *North-China Herald*—to those abroad not less than to residents here: indeed, something of this sort is due to those who have shown themselves friendly to the Missionary enterprise in this country.

The whole number of labourers sent by Protestant churches is now about four hundred. Of these, nearly one-half have been ordained ministers of the gospel; a few have come out as medical Missionaries or secular agents; the others have been, either the wives of the Missionaries, or unmarried ladies, nearly all of whom, both the married and unmarried, have engaged directly in the work of education or other Missionary duties.

Coming as these have from twenty and more different Boards or Associations, Protestant Christians of almost every denomination, and in nearly every part of Christendom, have here their representatives: consequently a very large amount of personal interest is concentrated on this field of labour, in magnitude second to no other on earth, whether regard be had to the work to be performed, the numbers to be acted upon, or the good results certain to follow in due time.

The increase in the numbers of labourers has been very gradual: during the first ten years they were but four, counting only the men; in the second, fifteen; in the third, thirty-nine; in the fourth, one hundred and five; while during the last decade of years the numbers have nearly or quite doubled.

At present, in Shanghai, there are two-and-twenty ordained Missionaries, three Missionary physicians, and one lay-agent; also four unmarried and sixteen married ladies, with five-and-twenty children; or, say, seventy-one in all.

Means are not at hand for giving more than an approximation to the exact numbers now at the other stations.

At Ningpo, say, sixteen ordained Missionaries, seventeen ladies, and twenty-six children.

At Fuh-chau, seven Missionaries, three ladies, and ten children.

At Amoy, eight Missionaries, six ladies, and thirteen children.

At Hong Kong and Macao—there being none at present in Canton—say, twenty-two Missionaries, eighteen ladies, and twenty children.

Besides these—237, more or less—there are several families and others now absent from China, yet still in connexion with the Missions here, and expecting ere long to return to their respective stations.

The labours performed, from first to last, have been so various, and in such diverse circumstances, that, for the most part, none but general estimates can be set down at all: the acquisition of this language, in its numerous forms and dialects, and the preparation of linguistic apparatus to aid therein; the daily labours of oral preaching in churches and chapels, in temples and on the highways, in their own residences and from house to house, in tours on land and while in junks or boats on the rivers; often to solitary individuals, occasionally to vast congregations, but most frequently to small audiences of a few tens; the translation of the sixty-and-six books of the Old and New Testaments into the general language, and parts thereof into several of the dialects, together with printing of the same and the getting ready the material means for that purpose; the preparation of Christian Tracts, and the distribution of these and of the Sacred Scriptures; also the

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establishment of boarding-schools and day-schools, with the writing of books for the same; the organizing of Bible-classes and meetings of inquiry; the conducting of catechetical services and the examination of candidates for Christian baptism; watching over infant churches, instructing the ignorant, and striving to reclaim the wanderers; visiting the sick and the blind, and distributing medicine and alms to those in need; likewise, collecting and publishing various information, and the preparation of journals and letters, for public bodies and private friends;—all these, and other such like things, make up the catalogue of labours, which, during the days and nights of the last fifty years, have given ample occupation to the hands and the heads of all these four hundred men and women, who have entered on this wide field.

These labours, taking them all in all, have been very abundant, well-directed, and are not wanting in good and great results. It should be borne in mind, that many of the labourers have but recently entered on their work, and that it is still rather the seed-time than the harvest. In the essentials of Christianity—its cardinal doctrines and facts—a large amount of instruction has been communicated to the Chinese. In such a field as this, where the term of service is so short, the labourers cannot expect to see but a part, and often it must be only a small part, of the legitimate good fruits of their work.* Enough, however, they can see to call forth abundant thanksgiving for the past, and to inspire courage and hope for the future, knowing that the work, in which they are only co-labourers, is of no doubtful issue.

Among those who have come to China, under the auspices of the Protestant churches, for Christ's sake and His gospel, there are many worthy and noble examples—both men and women—of zeal and labour, of faith and patience. Not to mention the living, such were Robert Morrison and William Milne, Samuel Dyer and David Abel, Edwin Stevens, Pohlman, Goddard, Lowrie, and W. H. Medhurst. These, and others whose names are less known abroad, have done much excellent work, the fruits of which will doubtless, by divine grace, make many souls happy and blessed for ever.

The present prospects, and the signs of the times too—when compared with what met the lonely adventurer on these shores half a century ago—how very different!

In coming to China, that zealous and heroic man realized what, as now appears, had been the earnest prayer of his youth, "that God would direct him to that part of the Missionary field where the difficulties were the greatest, and, to all human appearance, the most insurmountable." Then not only did an exclusive native policy restrict all intercourse with foreigners to one narrow spot, and to one small company of monopolists, but his own Government, also, was so afraid of giving umbrage to the Chinese, that Morrison found it necessary to cross the Atlantic, and to come to Canton in a vessel not carrying English colours. And on his arrival there, for a season, he was watched with a jealous eye, and even by those who, not long subsequently, were eager to secure the benefit of his services in the advancement of their "Honourable Trade."

For more than twenty years afterwards, he laboured almost alone—the

* In one of the Missions at Amoy—that of the London Missionary Society—there were baptized, during the last ten years, 182 adults, and about the same number in the Mission of the American Board. In other Missions, and at other places, the numbers professing Christianity have been much less: in some of the Missions, however, there have been more additions to the churches during the last eighteen months than in all the previous years of their history.

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only Protestant Missionary resident in this empire. Milne came to Macao, but was forced away; and, as others who followed him, he found a residence at the "Straits." To preach the doctrines of Christ, or to profess and practice His religion, was then, by the Penal Code of the Great Pure Dynasty, declared to be a capital crime. Then, too, by common law, or the "old customs" of this realm, all the foreigners in Canton, regarded as merchants, and "so booked," were required, after the business of a season was over, in spring, to retire from the city of Rams, and migrate to Macao. By special permission, said merchants were permitted to bring their families to reside within the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Settlement; but no "barbarian woman" could be allowed to approach even the suburbs of the provincial capital. For attempting such a monstrous act, on one occasion, all commerce was stopped, and the whole Imperial cabinet and dragon-throne together were moved for the immediate expulsion of the two or three fair intruders.

Such was the state of affairs in 1830, those palmy days of monopolies and Cohongs. Four years later, the exclusive rights in China of the Hon. East-India Company terminated. The royal commission, under Lord Napier, arrived in July 1834. Denied an audience with the Governor at Canton in the first place, the generous nobleman, unwilling in any way to compromise the honour or the rights due to foreigners, and harrassed and constrained, retired to Macao, where shortly afterwards, on the 11th of October, he expired.

A few weeks previously—August 1st, 1854—Dr. Morrison had died at Canton, leaving there, in the Missionary work, only two persons, who for three or four years had been his co-labourers in the dissemination of Biblical truth, chiefly by means of the Press and the agency of one native Evangelist.*

Early in 1839 came the imprisonment of all the foreigners in Canton, and the surrender of the twenty thousand and odd chests of opium: next came, on three successive years, armed expeditions, and the signing of the English Treaty before Nanking, on the 29th of August 1842: and finally, two years later, the Act of Toleration, given by the vermilion pencil, dated Táukwáng, 24th year, 11th month, 19th day, or December 28th, 1844.

Thus, by a wonderful and mysterious Providence, wide and effectual doors have been opened for Protestant Missionaries. As yet their work is but begun: to it, however, they are fairly committed. By Him, who holds all power, both in heaven and on earth, the disciples of the Lord Jesus are commissioned to give the bread of life—the word of God—to all people. This high warrant, in God's own good time, will most assuredly be fully executed: and as the years roll on, during the next coming half century, His truth, if we rightly read the promises, will make achievements, bright and glorious beyond any thing witnessed by His people on earth since the days of the Apostles and primitive martyrs. China can be no exception.

CEYLON.

The Rev. J. I. and Mrs. Jones arrived at Colombo on the 5th of October, and were about to proceed to Kandy in a few days. The Rev. Isaiah and Mrs. Wood also arrived at Colombo on the 11th of the same month.

* During the public examinations, and within five successive days, upwards of eleven thousand Christian Tracts, or parts of the Holy Scriptures, were distributed by Liáng Afáh to the literati in Canton. It was on one of those days, probably, that Hung Siutsiuen [Tae-ping-wáng], then a candidate for literary honours, received a copy of "The Good Words," which subsequently made so deep an impression on his heart.